

**SOCIAL IDENTITY AND PERSONAL INTEREST:  
A STUDY OF CASTE, FAMILY, AND  
INDIVIDUAL IN A TELANGANA VILLAGE**

**A thesis submitted for the *degree of***

**Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Anthropology**




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DEAN

**DEDICATED  
TO  
MY LATE FATHER  
AND  
MY MOTHER**

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### Abbreviations used for description

BJP	-	Bharatiya Janata Party
<b>MLA</b>	-	Members of Legislative Assembly
MP	-	Members of <b>Parliament</b>
MPTC	-	Mandal parishad Territorial Constituencies
OBC	-	Other Backward Classes or castes
SC	-	Scheduled Castes
ST	-	Scheduled Tribes
TDP	-	Telugu <b>Desam</b> Party
VAO	-	Village Administrative Officer
ZPP	-	<b>Zilla</b> Praja Parishad

# **CHAPTER - I**

## ***INTRODUCTION***

## 1.1 Preliminaries

The present study is entitled '*Social identity and personal interest: A study of caste, family, and individual in a Telangana Village*'. This study is intended as a descriptive analysis of the maintenance of social identity, on the one hand, and the pursuit of personal interest, on the other, in terms of caste, family and individual in a Telangana village called Kandi of Andhra Pradesh, India. Maintaining social identity of the people and pursuing their personal interest do not always coincide, that is they are in conformity as well as in conflict with each other. The study aims to see how the people maintain or modify their social identity in seeking their individual or group interest, in the socio-politico-economic circumstance Of the village.

People's social identities<sup>1</sup> are sustained and acquired through social comparisons which differentiate the 'in-group' from 'other-groups'. In other words, any group in society exist in the midst of other groups; no one group lives alone (see, Cohen 1969; Tajfel 1978b:63-64). Through the processes of social interaction, the aspects of social identity are maintained and interpreted, and the boundaries of social institutions are enclosed or rearranged in relations to, or on comparison with others (see, Barth 1969; Cohen 1969; Murphy 1988). That is, social identities "are always multiple, contingent and continuously constructed, so that traditions, also continually reinvented, are shared and reiterated practices and beliefs which reflect the collective memories of previous constructions" (Robb 1997:245).

Social identity can be recognized and expressed in significant attributes and in significant interactions. These attributes are either cultural - such as caste, religion, language, costume, etc., - or physical - such as skin colour, body shape, etc. - or both. These distinguishing features are considered significant in the society, and people use and reinforce them for differentiating themselves from others. The persistence of social identity implies not only criteria and symbols for identification, but also presupposes a 'structuring' of interaction, such as a set of prescription as well as a set of proscription, which govern situations of contact with 'others' (see, Barth 1969).

The people order their actions and have their actions ordered through the process of separation, combination or linking social formation. Group solidarity is maintained by the mechanism of separation of 'ours' from 'others', particularly in the caste system<sup>3</sup>. And each group or caste signifies its social identity

through ritual ceremony, **sanskritization**, language, or physical **objectification** (e.g., sacred thread, *purdah*, hair style, costume, etc.). Social identity is, to some extent, signified or represented with various '**symbolic representations**' stereotyped and located in **others'** mind, whether for approval or disapproval (see, **Berreman** 1982). Each social status and group identity will be persisting with group endogamy, to exclude others and to strengthen in-groups.

On the other hand, each group or individual cooperates with and combines others in pursuit of political, social and economic interests. For material and ideal interests, social groups or categories maintain **differentiation** from '**others**', and incorporate with '**ours**'. **Differentiations** between social groups or categories can be understood in both social and economic **domains**. For politico-economic interest, some groups or castes become political '**interest group**' through '**invention**' or '**reinvention**' of tradition (see, Cox 1948; Shah 1994), and others as an economic interest group through separation, combination or transform with '**in**' or '**out**' groups. With increasing new economic opportunities, the '**traditional**' inter-caste or group service exchange system is forced to transform its payment system and relationships, and '**traditional**' family relations and value systems are also to change.

As an '**empirical agent**', the individual plays a key role in organizing inter-caste relations in pursuit of self-interest. The acquisitions of wealth, reputation, and power are the key motives behind the inter-caste organization. Within the context of castes, the individuals seek personal interest or reputation, other than those of caste or kin-group collectivities. The desire to prove oneself better than others, and the perception of self-interest are essential elements to politico-economic success. Individuals compete with each other and claim individual achievements and reputation in a growing number of fields (see, **Béteille** 1992b, 1996; Mines 1992, 1996) .

That is, it is not the religious hierarchy nor the conceptualization of purity/pollution, but competition that characterizes a changing social order or paradigm of society. Individuals, however, conform to norms in so far as the norms specify how to obtain validation for particular or important identities from certain others. The competition is not yet the characteristics of the whole society but definitely that of the certain individuals. The **present study has drawn on** these theoretical foundations although the conclusions are independent of such earlier studies. They **agree with as** well as refute the earlier studies.

## 1.2 Objectives of the present study

The people conform to or comply with norms or values<sup>4</sup> to get and maximize their self-interest on the one hand, and in order to obtain validation for an important and/or particular identity from certain others on the other (see, Cancian 1975; **Ensminger & Knight 1997**). In this regard, Keesing observes that "cultures do not respond to pressures. Rather, individual human beings cope as best they can, formulate rules, follow and break them; and by their statistical patterns of cumulative decisions, they set a course of cultural drift" (Keesing 1975:140-141).

That is, the individual human beings as 'creators and manipulators of rules' (Keesing 1975:141), interact with the social context of choices to establish or maintain their particular identity, as well as to gain their self-interests under intra- and/or inter-group competitive pressures in a community.

With this viewpoint, the following objectives have been framed to pursue the present study:

- (1) to describe the boundary of castes which is the main criteria of social identity in Indian society, and its **maintenance** mechanism, such as, the hereditary occupation, the rule of **commensality**, and endogamy.
- (2) to analyse the importance of the units of social activity, mainly the '**caste**' and '**family**', in terms of reproduction of socio-economic inequality and marriage transaction, and
- (3) to examine the role of individual as '**empirical agent**', and see how he manipulates or complies with norms or rules, within the hierarchical caste system.

## 1.3 Selection of village and research method

A delicate and important methodological problem in the anthropological study of Indian rural society is posed by the unit of study - such as, caste, village or region (see, Beteille 1980; **Dumont & Pocock 1957**; Rao & Rao 1982; Srinivas 1960, 1987 etc.). In spite of diverse castes, religious and linguistic groups, the village exists as a unit of social organization rather than as an '**architectural** and demographic **fact**'. However, the village has outward linkages, and is a part of a wider system.

The village possesses certain distinctive features such as (1) socio economic activities and interdependence within a certain geographical **boundary**, (2) the concept of solidarity and multiplex interpersonal relations among the villagers (see, Rao & Rao 1982:120), and the facts render it a relevant unit of study.



For the present study a village named Kandi was selected with following criteria, in correspondence with the purpose of this study. Firstly, it is a **multicaste** composite village, which is supposed to provide an opportunity to identify several dimensions of social interaction between the members of different castes, both horizontally and vertically.

Secondly, there are more than one religious communities; mainly Hindus, Muslims, and a small number of Christians. Therefore, this situation expected to offer a good chance to understand the mechanism and **maintainance** of social identity and the pursuit of personal interests between the main religious communities and/or between their members.

Historically, this village was a part of Muslim Kingdom, the **Nizams**, where the Muslims were the dominant and ruling groups. After independence of India, in consequence, the Muslims lost their politically dominant position. This situation is supposed to reveal readjustment mechanism of social identities, especially for the Muslims.

And thirdly, the village is located near Sangareddy, the district headquarter town, and is directly connected by Bombay-Hyderabad Highway. This village is not static or rustic but dynamic and rapidly changing one, under direct influence of urban, commercial style of life. While, at the same time, it has maintained to some extent, certain traditional and agricultural relationships among the members of different castes.

Apart from the pilot survey, this study is based on intensive field work carried out from November, 1994 to January, 1996. Besides, several short period field trips, lasting from one day to a week long, were undertaken after the main survey, for seeking **clarification** or confirmation of information, or filling in gaps of differences.

The main fieldwork techniques which were used in collecting data, were participant observation, case study, genealogies, and interviews that were conducted with both the structured questionnaire and without any formality. These were administered mostly with the help of interpreters, and occasionally enquiries were made through informal talks, without the help of interpreter, with some key informants. And photographs were used for identifying special scene, particularly of religious functions which were occurred simultaneously in several places were very rapidly in **progress**.

## 1.4 Chapter division

The present work is spread over seven chapters. The first chapter is an introduction which gives some background to the study, objectives and nature of the study, research methodology and chapterization.

The second chapter is a brief description of the socio-economic, historical, and demographic background of the village and its environs. Besides, it presents the village administrative system, both traditional and modern, and the relations with people and village as a whole. This chapter is intended to provide certain basic socio-economic information, caste composition and population, etc., on the one hand, and to describe the village as a social unit, on the other.

The third chapter examines caste boundary maintenance mechanism through three main features of caste system, i.e. commensality, traditional occupation, and endogamy, in terms of social identity of the groups and their personal interests.

The fourth chapter analyses the family structure and kinship groupings, as well as marriages of the Hindus. It describes the importance of family as a social unit, in terms of education, occupation and castes on the one hand, and the interrelations of kinship terminology, the rules of marriage, and the behavior of marriage practices, on the other.

The fifth chapter focuses on the Muslims, and the topics such as the maintenance of their social identities, relations with their co-resident Hindus, and their family structure and marriage alliance, in terms of similarity and difference with those of the **Hindus**.

The sixth chapter explains the roles of individual and voluntary associations within caste oriented society. It focuses on the individuality rather than on '**collectivities**', and the role and composition of voluntary associations in the context of competition or co-operation for maintaining or achieving politico-economic status and interests, in the village circumstances.

The seventh chapter, finally, presents the findings of this study, i.e. the conclusions. Then follow the bibliography and **appendices**.

## 1.5 Presentation method

The study is presented mainly through description and interpretation of facts and figures. Also quantitative statistical methods of tables, as well as maps, charts, and figures are utilised to clarify the presentation.

### Notes to Chapter - I

- 1) Here, social identity refers as Brown (1985:771) puts to "a person's self definition in relation to others" and/or "a collectively defined kind of person" in **Cancian's** (1975:137) words (see also, **Berreman** 1982; Robbins 1969).
- 2) In other words, social identity is formed and sustained by social interaction, and it is conceived as a background variable in intergroup behaviour (see, **Tajfel** 1978a; Robb 1997). In this regard, Berger and **Luckmann** (1966:173) observe, "Identity is formed by social process. Once **crystalized**, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. The social processes involved in both the formation and maintenance of identity and determined by social structure". Especially in the caste system, the distinctive cultural and **socio-structural** attributes have been both a consequence and a symbol of social separation and inequality (see, **Berreman** 1981, 1982; **Béteille** 1992b; Shah 1994).
- 3) However, as Leach observes, "caste does not exist by itself. A caste can only be recognized in contrast to other castes with which its members are closely involved in a network of economic, political and ritual relationships" (Leach 1960:5). In other words each caste is linked or combined with other caste through multiple ways, vertically or horizontally, and the boundaries between castes are maintained **by** the rules of endogamy and the concept of hierarchy (see, **Barnett** 1977).
- 4) Here, norms are interpreted as shared conceptions, and standards for evaluating or ranking people, good or bad. To put in **Cancian's** (1975:11) words, "norms and values are culturally specific beliefs about what actions and attributes bring respect and approval".

## **CHAPTER - II**

### ***THE VILLAGE***

## 2.1 Introduction

The socio-economic and political life of certain people is, to a large extent, subject to the topography of the land as well as some turning point in the course of its history. So, this chapter primarily describes socio-economic-politico-demographic details of the village Kandi, as well as the historical and geographical profiles with particular reference to the village and its environs, Medak district<sup>1</sup>. With a view of introducing the village under study (i.e. Kandi), the following subsections will present its geography followed by historical background.

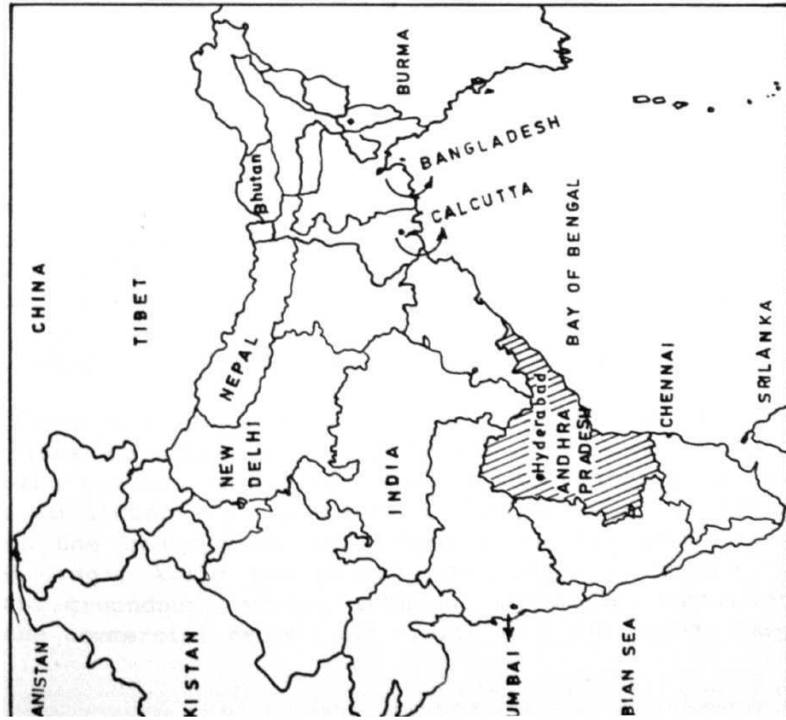
## 2.2 Geographical background

Kandi is one of the 1,224 villages of Medak district which is a part of Telangana region, Andhra Pradesh State of India. Medak, which is one of 24 districts of Andhra Pradesh, lies between 17°27' and 18°19' of Northern Latitude and 77°28' and 79°10' of Eastern Longitude and occupies an area of 9,699 sq.km. with the average annual rainfall of 884.8mm. The district is bounded on the North by Nizamabad and Karimnagar districts, on the East by Warangal and Nalgonda districts, on the South by Ranga Reddy of Andhra Pradesh, and on the West by Bidar district of Karnataka state. Administratively, Medak, is divided into 45 Mandals. Kandi village belongs to Sanga Reddy Mandal (see, Map-1 & 2) .

Medak district forms part of the table land of the Deccan and is crossed by different ranges of hills like Medak hill and various hillocks. Of these numerous hillocks, one range extends from Ramayampet in the North to the southern part of Nizamabad district and it then turns to the South and again enters the district. The district has not any big river. The river Manjira, a tributary of the Godavari, is the only important river in the district. This rises in Bidar district of Karnataka state and enters Medak district in south-eastern direction. It flows for about 96 kms. in western and north-western direction. Some other important streams are the Haldi or Pasuperu and Kudlair. Pasuperu is a tributary of the Manjira and enters the district from the North and flows through Medak town, Kudlair lies in Siddipet Mandal of this district.

### 2.2.1 Climate

The district generally experiences a dry climate. The period of monsoon is very much short lived. Monsoon season starts from June and ends in September. The average annual rainfall in the



MAP 1. India



MAP 2. Andhra Pradesh / Telangana

district is 884.8mm. The rainfall during the monsoon amounts to about 84 per cent of the annual **rainfall**. The variation in the annual rainfall from year to year is appreciable. On the average there are 54 rainy days in a year in the **district**.

After February temperature increases rapidly. May is the hottest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at about 40°C and the mean daily minimum temperature at about 26°C. The heat during the summer is very trying and the day temperature often exceeds 44°C. With the onset of south-west monsoon by about the middle of June, temperature decreases considerably and the weather becomes more pleasant. With the withdrawal of the monsoon late in September or early in October, the **day-temperature** steadily decreases. December is the coldest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at about 14°C. During the cold season the night temperature may sometimes go down to about 6°C.

During the monsoon, humidity is generally high ranging between 60 and 80 per **cent**. which decreases from the post-monsoon period. The driest part of the year is the summer season (March to May) when humidity in the afternoon is about 35 per cent or less. Winds are generally light and moderate with some increase in May and the south-west monsoon, during the **post-monsoon** season winds are very light and variable in **directions**. In the period from December to April winds continue to be light and variable in directions between North-East and South-East. By May westerlies begin to blow, in the **South-West** monsoon season winds are mostly westerly to north-westerly. Storms and depressions originating in the Bay of Bengal during September and the **post-monsoon** season affect the weather over the district causing widespread heavy rains and strong winds.

**Medak** district generally experiences a dry climate. Irrigation is carried mainly through tanks, wells, reservoirs (such as Manjira Reservoir, Pochavaram Reservoir, etc.) and streams. Manjira is the only river which flows through the district. The filling of tanks wholly depends on rainfall in their catchment area. Wells have become the main sources of irrigation in this area, after the introduction of electric pumps.

There are two cropping seasons, namely **kharif** that lasts from June to September and **rabi** from November to March. The cropping pattern in all the district is almost **same**. Paddy is grown in almost all the parts of the district. In addition to paddy, the other principle crops grown are jowar (sorghum), maize, ragi, korra and pulses, and chillis, potato, **ginger**, onions, groundnut, cotton, tobacco, sugarcane, sunflower, etc. are the commercial crops and fruits such as, guava, mango etc.

are grown there. The cultivation of commercial crops is now become increasingly popular.

### 2.2.2 Population

The population of the district of **Medak**, according to 1991 census, is **2,269,800** (male 1,152,079, female 1,117,721) residing in 1,224 villages and 10 towns. The district is facing the problem of enormous growth of population. The following table gives the picture of population growth from 1961 to 1991.

**TABLE - 1**  
**MEDAK DISTRICT POPULATION GROWTH, 1961-1991.**

	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	<b>1,227,361</b>	1,467,744	1,807,139	<b>2,269,800</b>
%	(100)	(119.6)	(147.2)	(184.3)
Male	614,852	739,066	911,868	1,152,079
%	(100)	(120.2)	(148.3)	(187.4)
Female	612,509	728,878	895,271	1,117,721
%	(100)	(119.0)	(146.2)	(182.5)

Source: Census of India

The table shows that in a period of three decades the total population has increased by 84.3 per cent. Another remarkable feature of the population pattern of the district is its distribution among the various religious groups. The Hindus constitute the bulk of the population, Muslims constitute the second largest religious group and the Christians form the third. The Muslims who are numerically next to Hindus in the district belong mostly to the Sunni sect, though there some Shias also.

### 2.2.3 Language and literacy rate

Even though the major language of the district is Telugu, the phenomenon of **bilingualism** is present to a great extent in Medak. Some of other significant languages are Urdu, Hindi, Marathi, Kannada and **Lambadi**. The script mostly used in the district is naturally Telugu. According to 1991 Census, **the** total population of Kandi which includes a hamlet and three tandas is 5.483, of them 2824 are males and the remaining females (2659). Of the total, only **45.4%** are literates<sup>2</sup> (2015). The literacy rate between males and females is not same - only 28.9 per cent of the females are literates (629), whereas the literacy figures for the males is 61.2% (1386). But when the total literacy rate of Kandi is compared with that of Medak district, the village shows a better picture by 13 percentage because Medak district shows a literacy **rate** of **32.4%** only (male, about 45.1%, female 19.2%).



#### 2.2.4 Industry

**Medak** district has vast potentialities for the development of fisheries. A large number of tanks, and reservoirs are available there. It is also worth noting here that Bestha and Tenugu communities in the district are generally engaged in fishing profession. The economy of the district depends mainly on following sources, such as agriculture, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry, mining and industries, i.e. cottage industries and other modern large scale **industries**.

Medak district is industrially developing. The district is provided with industrial estates for promotion of small scale industries at Sangareddy, Zahirabad, Siddipet and Medak. The large scale industries are situated at **Patancheru**, Zahirabad and Ramachandrapuram **townships**. Patancheru has the highest number of industrial connections followed by Siddipet. The industries cover diverse areas such as engineering, textiles, electronics chemicals, cottage and ancillaries. In respect to public sector, there are several major industries such as BHEL (Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited), **A.P.** Scooters, Nizam Sugar Factory, Hyderabad Allwyn Ltd. Watch Division, Allwyn Nissan, Hindustan Flare Carbines and the Indian Ordinance Factory, etc.

#### 2.2.5 Transportation facility

The district is **ill-served** so far as the railways are concerned. Of the ten towns in the district, only Zahirabad is on the railway line. The district headquarter town, i.e. Sangareddy is at a distance of 22 **kms.** from the nearest railway station called Shenkarapalle. All the towns in the district have bus communication facility and APSRTC (Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation) service has been providing necessary transport facilities.

All these natural as well as man made conditions have direct impact upon the lives of the people of Kandi because the village shares with the fate of the district more or less invariably. The following subsection is the historical introduction of Medak.

#### 2.3 A glimpse of history

The early history of Medak district is not very clear. The district formed a part of the Kakatiya Kingdom (AD 1000-1324) . After its downfall it became a part of Bahmani Kingdom (AD. 1347-1526) and subsequently passed to **Qutb-Shahi** dynasty (AD. 1512-1687) of Golconda and in 1687 Golconda was annexed to the **Mugal**

Empire. After **Nizam-ul-Mulk's** establishment of the independent Hyderabad state in 1724 A.D., **Medak** district along with the rest of the Telangana, came under the control of Asaf Jahi dynasty.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Deccan Subedar Mir **Qumaruddin** Khan Chin **Qilich** Khan, popularly known by his title Nizam-ul-Mulk **Ashafjah**, established the hereditary rule of **Nizams** in the Deccan, in 1724. However, during the period of the **Nizams**, both the English and the French companies struggled for taking advantage in trade and occupying colonial territory. Both of them took part in the disputes between Nizam families for succession to the throne. Through the wars and fights for succession, they got new territories as grants. At this time Medak was granted to the French commander Raymond for his help to subdue the revolt of Nizam **Ali's** son **Aly** Jah and the Medak Jagirdar Sadasiva Reddy, till the death of Raymond in 1798.

At the time of the transference of the fertile Berar region to the East India Company in 1853, the economic situation of the state deteriorated alarmingly. And after this treaty, the Nizam was under the control of the British Empire, indirectly.

During the reins of the Diwan (Prime Minister) Salarjung (1857-1911), there were financial reforms, as well as reforms of judiciary, administrative system, revenue system and public services.

Originally Hyderabad state was divided into six regions or **subas**. Each suba was divided into sarkars or divisions and each Sarkar was divided into Talukas or Districts. In the early decades of the 19th century the subas were abolished. Each Taluka was under charge of a Talukdar who instead of being **paid-servants** of the government, was given commission on the revenues collected. The Talukdars were appointed on account of their position and influence and were required to pay a '**nazar**' (an offering to the Prince). In 1855, Salarjung introduced paid Talukdars (Collectors), in the place of contractors. In 1865, the state of Nizam/Hyderabad was divided into fourteen jillas (districts). Each district was headed by an **Awal** Talukdar (District Collector).

Before 1865, there was no regular police system in Hyderabad state. In the Telangana region the hereditary system of village watchmen flourished. The police functions were performed by the revenue officials. Each village had a hereditary official called **patel**. The village accountant was known as **patwari** or **pandya**. Villages were grouped into circles under **Deshmukhs** (head **patels**) and **Deshpande**, who were entitled to a share of revenue called '**rusum**'.

Under the rule of Hyderabad state, Urdu became the language of administration and medium of instruction in educational institutions. To save Telugu language and culture in that suffocating atmosphere, Andhra Jana **Sangham** was formed in 1921. In 1930 the Andhra Jana Sangham held its Conference at Jogipet in **Medak** district and converted itself into Andhra **Mahasabha**. From 1941 onwards the Andhra Mahasabha came under the leadership of leftists. In December 1946, when the Communist Party was banned, the activities of the Andhra Mahasabha also came to a halt.

During the Second World War, the Government of Hyderabad in order to overcome the shortage of food, introduced a system called compulsory levy of paddy from the peasants. Under this system, every cultivator was forced to sell to the Government a certain amount of paddy at a fixed price. Against this compulsory levy to paddy, malpractice of government officials and the big **jagirdars** who escaped this levy system, there was the peasant revolt against the **land-lords** with the support of Communists which was later called as the Telangana Armed Struggle (1946-1951).

After India got Independence, the Nizam's dominions became a part of Indian union in 1948. In 1956, during the Re-organization of States, the Hyderabad state was trifurcated. The nine predominantly **Telugu-speaking** districts (Mahbubnagar, Hyderabad, Medak, **Nizamabad**, Adilabad, **Karimnagar**, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda known as Telangana region) were transferred to Andhra Pradesh. The three **Kannada-speaking** districts (Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar) were transferred to Karnataka state while Maratwada comprising five districts (Aurangabad, **Osmanabad**, Bhair, Parbhani and Nanded) and a portion of Bidar which was predominantly Marathi-speaking were transferred to Maharashtra state. These changes were effected on 1st November, 1956.

Since the emergence of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, there were two serious violent political agitations in 1969 and 1972. These agitations, popularly known as the Telangana agitation and the Jai Andhra Movement, took place mainly due to social tension and discontent between Telangana and Andhra region. During this period the separation of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh was demanded.

In 1973, the '**six points formula**' was endorsed by the leader of both the regions, and the Lok Sabha passed the constitution (33rd Amendment) Bill to give effect to the six points formula. In 1982, a regional party called '**Telugu Desam**' emerged. Under the rule of Telugu Desam Party, the hereditary village officers

like '**Karanam**' and '**Munisiff**' were abolished, in 1986, and 44 per cent of jobs in government services and an equal percentage of seats in educational institutions were reserved for the Backward classes. As a result of this the percentage of the reservation has gone up to 67 per cent.

## 2.4 Kandi, the village under study

Kandi is located at seven kilometers south-east of Sangareddy, the headquarters of **mandal** and district, and 50 kms north-west of Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh state. It consists of the gram panchayat with a hamlet called Chimnapur, and three Lambadi tandas (or Lambadi settlements). Chimnapur which is two kms north of Kandi village is connected with a narrow bund of water tank. In addition to this bund road, it is linked on the Highway through three kms unpaved road which takes five kms to Kandi.

The **Hyderabad-Bombay** Highway passes through the village and the **Kandi-Shenkarapalle** road branches off from the highway on the village. Due to the ease of transportation and the vicinity of big market, Hyderabad city, numerous industries are growing along both sides of roads. In the boundary of the villages, one machine tool factory, a cloths mill which recently closed, one sugarcane factory, four food restaurants (**dhaba**) and several small scale repair shops are located there. Because of these facilities, a lot of immigrants poured into the village looking for job opportunities from other villages and districts, some others came from other states or nation, that is Nepal, as well.

### 2.4.1 Residential pattern and settlements

**Settlementwise**, the village is divided into two parts, that is new Kandi and old Kandi. In old Kandi, most of service castes, that is, Chakalli, **Mangalli**, Vaddla, Ausalli and **Kammari**, and Yadav Caste are dwelling together with a lot of Muslim and Harijan people. And then it is a home of traditional agricultural caste (**Reddy**) and there are the **Patel**'s houses. Compared to the old **Kandi**, more numerous and diverse castes have inhabited new Kandi, and a lot of immigrants also are dwelling there (see, Map - 3).

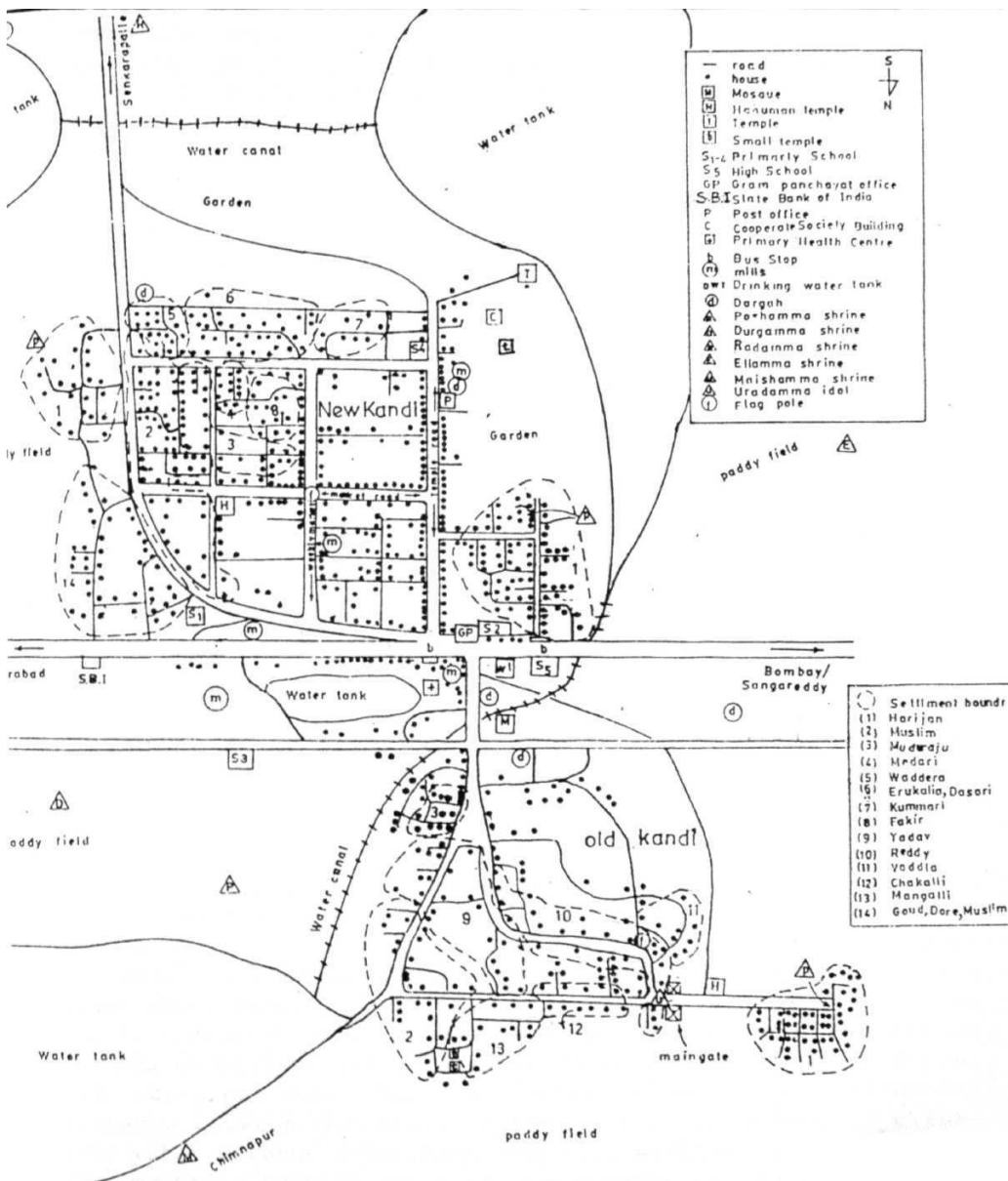
The structure of old Kandi looks like amorphous with narrow and undesigned roads. Old Kandi has been inhabited by the villagers since immemorial times. Compared to old Kandi, new Kandi is literally a new residence and has grown during the last several decades. It is said that after the construction of the Pandu Ranga **Swami** Temple which is also, a residence of the Deshmukh,

and the opening of the village Market, it rapidly developed as a new village for businessmen or self-sustaining merchants and the people who are working as daily labour. Since the new Kandi was a pre-designed residence, it has wide straight roads and well-equipped **drains**.

Away from the Hyderabad Bombay highway lies the old Kandi, a traditional settlement of the people of divergent castes and creed. The settlement has narrow, winding roads and alleys, open stinking drain and dwellings constructed out of locally available, traditional building materials. This looks amorphous and undersigned, yet it provides the most typical picture of South-Indian village in that the whole village area can be divided into various patches of land each allocated for a separate caste of people. For example, on the eastern flank outside the village lies the **Harijan** settlement, and along the leftside road that leads to the inner village are groups of dwellings of Chakalli, Vaddla, Mangalli each separated from the other - all these are inside the main village gate. On the extreme end lies the settlement of the Muslims which is connected to the **Chimnapur** road, and the Yadavs live both sides of this road. On the northern flank of the village are Vaddla, Reddy and **Kammari** settlements. Outside the village all around is surrounded by paddy fields. **Pochamma** temple and water tanks are separated from the village and a road link old Kandi to the High Way. The structure of this settlement has some deep **significance**, a symbolic value, an image or the real picture of the distance created by castes and caste-related occupations. The caste-hierarchy and divisions are self-evident or clearly reflected in the typical, traditional structure of old Kandi. People's code of conduct and way of life is reflected there when viewed traditionally. For instance the Harijans have traditionally lived outside the main settlement, along its boundary, the Muslims live separately from Hindus.

On the contrary the structure and make of new Kandi, that lies close to the high way presents a different **symbol**, a symbol of modern society where each individual owns a particular house or belongs to a particular settlement not because he is supposed to be there but because he deserves it, he is capable of doing so economically. New Kandi is a modern, **well-planned** settlement where there are straight, broad roads. On both sides there are modern concrete houses, some of them **two-storey** buildings made for business purposes. Somehow the houses, there too, are separated castewise, for example the Harijans at the outskirts, **Kumari** Erukulla and Butcher to the extreme north etc. But the new Kandi, symbolises mostly a commercial spot where the priest lives beyond the post office, the Reddys behind the market place.

Map - 3 Kandi Village



As new Kandi has been developed for commercial purpose by the **Deshmukh**, the roads are wide here. The weekly market place in the centre provides men a place for weekly buy and sale. The temple road that links to the high way is the main attraction of new Kandi with good commercial buildings occupied by rich, merchant class people. Here too, though not strictly, the poor and low caste people occupy the outskirt and borders of the main settlement, the separation not clear sometimes yet visible clearly.

#### 2.4.2 Structures of houses

Most of the houses in the village have been constructed by stone or red-burnt bricks with the local made roof tiles. A few dwellings are built with mud and red-burnt bricks with the thatched roofs. But some houses are constructed with stone and concrete with flat roofs like the buildings in urban area. Almost all of these modern type of buildings are found out in new Kandi.

The houses in the village are mostly single-storied structures, except eight two-storied ones - seven of them are located in new Kandi. A lot of small houses consist of single or two rooms for every housing life. The elaborate and newly constructed houses have a drawing room, kitchen, and a few bedrooms. But almost all houses do not have toilet facilities except in modern style buildings which are constructed recently. The villagers who do not have toilet facilities in their houses, go bushes for natural callings. Even though two public toilets - one in old Kandi, the other in new Kandi - are constructed at the village outskirts, the villagers hardly use them, because of uncleanness, negligence and uneasiness of the users.

#### 2.4.3 Water facilities

In a traditional Indian village the distribution or consumption of water also deeply symbolises the values and ways of life people share with. The people of Kandi rely on the piped water for drinking that is supplied from the **Manjira** reservoir. The piped water supply in the village started in August 1975. After the introduction of this, wells and hand pumps are being used for washing as well as for some other miscellaneous purposes. Moreover, the piped water has contributed to the decrease of social distance between different castes. That is, everybody drinks same water without separation, not only symbolically but really. Earlier the situation was different because the *Harijans* and the **low-caste** people were not allowed to take water from the wells that were situated in the residence of the highcastes. They used only their own wells or hand pumps. The supply of electricity

brought out further changes in the village life and transformed agricultural water supply which had been managed by manual or animal power into electric motor pumps.

#### 2.4.4 Shops and stalls

On both sides of highway and the road of new Kandi there are many small stalls which sell pan (betel leaves), sweets, tea, drinkables and simple eatables, etc. Besides, there are barber shops, cycle repair shops, bangle shops, etc. Generally tea stalls in the village offer the spots where men tend to sit together for chatting, smoking and resting after their work or on the way to somewhere. In general it looks as if people sit together without considering the caste boundaries. Moreover in public places nobody dares to observe caste difference. But the members of higher caste or class would not generally take tea in the public shops, so they can escape the unwanted opportunities to mix with other lower caste or class, especially *Harijans*.

#### 2.4.5 Faiths, temples and shrines

The important places of worship in the village are Panduranga **Swami** (an incarnation of God Vishnu), **Hanuman** and **Phochamma** temples or shrines for the Hindus, and Mosque for the Muslims. The Panduranga Swami temple is the **Deshmukh's** own temple which is located at the end of new Kandi residential boundary by the side of a water reservoir. It represents, symbolically a center of worship for the villagers as well as its neighbouring villagers, especially during the period of annual temple festival (*jatra*). Three Hanuman temples are situated at the residential areas of both **Kandi's**. In new Kandi, it is on the midst of residential area, while in old Kandi it is outside village gate which was once used as checkpoint to the outsiders. Another Hanuman temple was built, recently, by the Hanuman Youth Club (cf. 6.3.1). The people of village irrespective of caste and sex visit the Hanuman temple on Saturdays, offer prayers with perfumes and break coco-nuts<sup>3</sup>.

**Pochamma** is worshipped once in a year during the Dasara festival. The main **Pochamma** temple is in the midst of paddy fields near old Kandi. Other three **Pochamma** temples or shrines are located at three different residential areas of the Harijans. The Harijans worship their own Pochamma shrines or temples during the Dasara festival separately (cf. 2.9.22).

Besides these temples, there are shrines for several other goddesses such as, **Durgamma**, **Uradamma**, **Ellamma**, **Nalla Pochamma**, **Radamma** and **Maishamma**. These goddesses are worshiped during the



Dasara festival, the villagers offer worship to **Pochamma** and **Radamma** the day before any marriage ceremony takes place there, with '**baonalu**', '**kumkum**', perfumes coconut, and others. **Radamma**, it is said, has an origin of the **Desmukh** family's goddess, which is situated on the southern side of new Kandi, inside a sugarcane factory. The **Durgamma** shrine which was built by a Goud businessman is near the **Pochamma** temple, while **Uradamma** has no specific idol, it is nothing but a stone in front of old Kandi main gate. The **Ellamma** shrine is located near water reservoir of the western side of new Kandi, in the midst of paddy field, and the **Maishamma** shrine is on the **tank** bund road which leads to Chimnapur. These goddesses, except **Radamma**, are said to be daughters of Lord Shiva, but no information is available to confirm the details of the mythology, in the village (see, **Elmore** 1984; Singh 1961; Whitehead 1983).

Muslims offer prayers in the Mosque which is located near the entrance of old Kandi. Besides, there are six **Darghas** in the village, where the villagers, the Muslims as well as the Hindus, pray regardless of their religion on Fridays. And, also two *pir* festivals are organized in old Kandi and new Kandi once a year, the occasion of '**Moharram**' (cf. 5.4.2).

There is no church in the village, although the western mission was established in Kandi, as early as 1880s (see, **Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State** 1909:25). An inscription on a tomb stone which is located on the southern end of new Kandi, near Shenkarapalle road side indicates that the Christian missionary came and/or lived in the village, at least before 1878<sup>4</sup>. And, one of the Harijan residential area in the new Kandi is called by some villagers '**bungalow colony**' where the missionaries once resided. But the Harijans today prefer to call it '**Ambedkar colony**'.

#### 2.4.6 Modern facilities

Several significant public institutions have been located in Kandi village such as a post office, a primary health center, a branch of State Bank of India, an Agricultural Co-operative Credit Society, and a Veterinary Dispensary - almost all of these institutions serve several neighbouring villages of Kandi. In addition to Primary Health Center, there are five medical practitioners, one drug store and one Ayurvedic doctor who expired during this study.

## 2.5 Demography

The population of Kandi according the 1995 survey is 3,928 which is distributed in 630 households, excluding immigrants. The average size of the household is 6.25. About 23.9% of the village population is the Muslim. Even though some Christian households (all of them Harijans) are dwelling there, no official record showed their existence in the village. But during this survey, a few Harijans confessed that they are Christians. They do not like to disclose their Christian status after conversion because they lose the constitutional protection and privilege as Scheduled Caste (or Harijans) of Hindus. Because Harijans converted to Christianity come under the category of OBCs who do not enjoy the same type of protection and privilege as SCs. Therefore, officially they report as 'Hindus', mainly because they want to utilize the Schedule Caste reservation benefits<sup>5</sup>.

Table - 2 represents the distribution of population in different castes and households. Among the Hindus, the Madiga is the largest population group, with 571 persons constituting 14.5% the total population. The **Harijan**, that is the Madiga and **Malla** together, constitute about 20% of the village population. The Muduraju, Yadav and Reddy constitute about 10.4% 5.9% and 5.9% respectively.

The distribution of population by age indicates a decrease of population in 0-4 age group compared to the 5-9, 10-14 and 15-19 age groups. The population of the age group below 20 reaches nearly a half of total population (49.4%).

The data in the **Table-3** shows that the total population of Kandi village is 3938, of them 2030 are males and the remaining 1908 females. Of the total population 1816 people, that is 51.8 per cent, are literates. But there is a visible difference between the literacy rate of males and **females**. Only 36.6 per cent, that is 619 of females, are literates, while the literacy figure of males is 65.9 per cent.

Looking across the age groups of below age 20, the literacy rate is higher in the age group below 20 years, compared to other age groups, though there is a gap between the literacy rate of males and **females**. The literacy rates of age group 5-9, 10-14, and 15-19 are over 50 per cent, in both males and **females**.

The population of immigrants is growing rapidly since the last decade. About 77% of the total immigrants migrated into the village only during that period. A lot of them, that is 34.5% immigrated from within Medak district. Almost all of the **immi-**

grants came to Kandi village looking for a job either in private factories, the Government offices, or establishing their own business. Their job positions are various: from daily labourer (**cooli**) to teacher, Bank Officer, Police, Government Official, etc. The increasing number of immigrants helps to relax the traditional caste boundaries, especially the norm of **commensality**, between villager(s) and **immigrant(s)**.

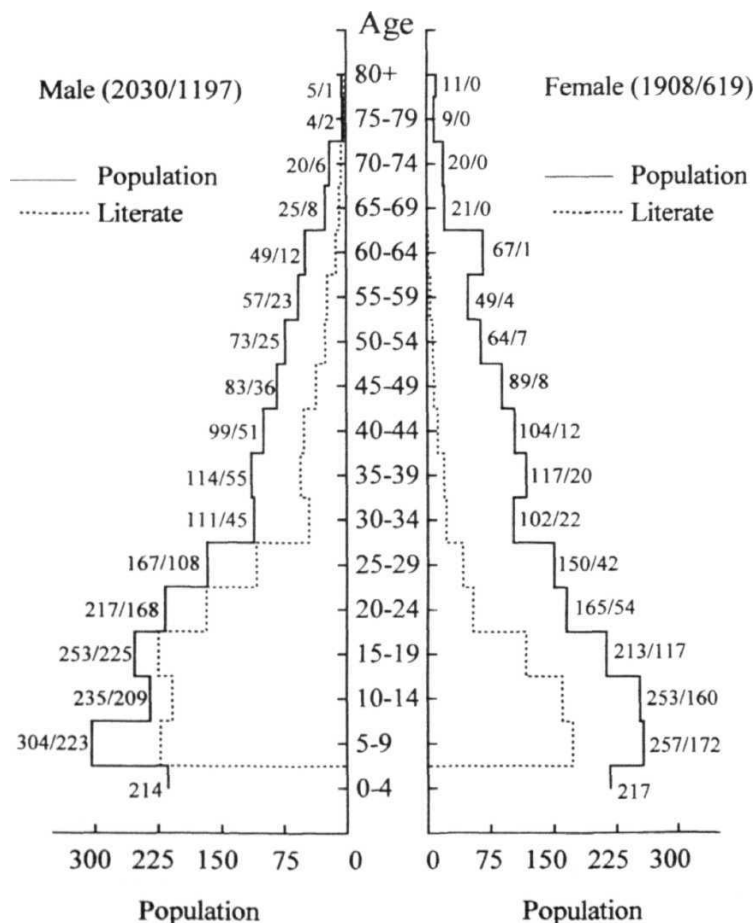
**TABLE - 2**  
**POPULATION OF KANDI VILLAGE**

No.	Castes	Male	Female	Total	House holds	Average size of house-hold	% of* total population
01.	Brahman	8	5	13	3	4.33	0.3
02.	Thakur	15	13	28	4	7.00	0.7
03.	<b>Komati</b>	26	29	55	9	6.11	1.4
04.	Reddy	110	121	231	38	6.08	5.9
05.	Lingayat	40	27	67	11	6.09	1.7
06.	Padmasalle	90	88	178	28	6.36	4.5
07.	Yadav	124	108	232	38	6.11	5.9
08.	<b>Muduraju</b>	208	703	411	65	6.32	10.4
09.	Goud	66	64	130	22	5.91	3.3
10.	Sara	14	<b>18</b>	32	5	6.40	0.8
11.	<b>Mera</b>	15	20	35	7	5.00	0.9
12.	<b>Mdari</b>	36	25	61	10	6.10	1.5
13.	Satani	4	2	6	1	6.00	0.2
14.	<b>Kummari</b>	38	34	72	11	6.55	1.8
15.	Ausalli	11	8	19	4	4.75	0.5
16.	<b>Kammari</b>	6	7	13	2	6.50	0.3
17.	<b>Vaddla</b>	28	32	60	10	6.00	1.5
18.	Waddera	62	57	119	18	6.61	3.0
19.	Arekatika	6	8	14	3	4.67	0.4
20.	Dasari	19	10	29	5	5.80	0.7
21.	<b>Gandla</b>	8	5	13	2	6.50	0.3
22.	Chakalli	40	33	73	16	4.56	1.9
23.	<b>Mangalli</b>	57	51	103	12	8.58	2.6
24.	<b>Budigajangam</b>		7	15	2	7.50	0.4
25.	Dore	45	46	91	15	6.07	2.3
26.	<b>Mochi</b>	6	3	9	1	9.00	0.2
27.	<b>Malla</b>	<b>107</b>	113	220	38	5.79	5.6
28.	<b>Madiga</b>	299	272	571	101	5.65	14.5
29.	Erukalla	44	56	100	17	5.88	2.5
30.	Muslim	422	375	797	102	7.76	20.2
31.	Fakir	73	68	141	30	4.70	3.6
Total		2030	1908	3938	630	6.25	

\*Percentage do not always add up to 100 due to rounding error.

+Source: Field Survey

**TABLE-3**  
**THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION/LITERATES BY AGE**



Age group 0-4 is not included in the count of literates

\*\*Source : field survey

TABLE - 4  
NATIVE PLACE OF IMMIGRANTS

State	No. of Household	% of total households
<b>A.P.</b>	89	81
<b>(Medak)</b>	(38)	(34.5)
(Ranga Reddy)	(13)	(11.8)
Other State	21	19
& Nation (Nepal)	(2)	
Total	110	100

Source: Field Survey

## 2.6 Village administrative system

This subsection will briefly touch upon the administrative system of the village. The old district administrative structure which consist basically of three layers were, **talukdar** collector at district level, **tahsildar** at taluk (or sub-district), and village officer. After Independence, **Panchayat** Raj system was introduced in 1959, which consists of a three-tier administrative structure in this area (see, Robinson 1988:51). What follows is the introduction to the Panchayat **Raj**, the current system of administration in the village.

### 2.6.1 The Gram Panchayat

The first level of the three tier administrative system consists of the Gram Panchayat. A village whose population is between one to five thousand each, is formed into a single Gram Panchayat with one council member elected for every five hundred to one thousand people. A village with less than one thousand population is grouped together with others. The village panchayat s have been the live centres of direct and real democracy. The Panchayat is elected by the entire adult population of a village. It is responsible for providing drainage, drinking water and other amenities to the public programmes; agricultural production, rural industries, medical relief, maternity and child welfare, management of common grazing-grounds, maintenance of village roads, tanks and wells are some of its main functions. Panchayats also look after primary education and realization of land revenue. Panchayat elections are held every five years, under the supervision of the Election Commission. Among the elected representatives, 30 percent of the seats would be reserved for women. In addition, seats are reserved for scheduled

castes (SO and scheduled tribes (ST) in proportion to their population, to be filled by elections not by nomination (see, The Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act, 1994) .

The middle tier in Panchayat Raj is *Mandal Praja Parishad* in Andhra Pradesh. Mandal Praja Parishads constitute a group of village panchayats. It consists of 15 members directly elected in **village-cum-population** basis. The objectives of Mandal Panchayats are: to involve people at all levels in developmental programmes and to provide adequate financial support to these programmes, etc. Mandal panchayat would be responsible for the **implementation** of the schemes and projects assigned by the **Zilla Parishad** (These Mandal Praja Parishads were introduced in 1987, with the abolition of Panchayat Samithis).

The third tier at the district level, is represented by district council that is Zilla Parishad which is a body composed of the presidents of Mandal Panchayats, local MLAs (Member of the Legislative Assembly) and MPs (Members of Parliament) with the co-opted members. Although the district council elects its own Chairman, it can virtually exercise little power. On the other hand the collector controls the district administration (see, Robinson 1988:52-53).

After the advent of Panchayat Raj and the abolition of old bureaucratic system, the power structure of village has been transformed from the hereditary village officials to the elected village **administration**. In the traditional rural village, one's caste status or membership of certain families has been an important source of social and political power. The introduction of adult franchise and Panchayat Raj has brought some **incongruence** in the social and political structures. They lead the traditional monolithic power structure of village to the democratic, and omnipresent power sources in the combination of caste/class, and power positions (see, Beteille 1996a:7). The fact that the village power system reflects both cooperation and conflict, explains that political **equalitarianism** provides more opportunities for political mobility and stimulates aspirations for politically influential position, especially for the village *sarpanch* position which gives an opportunity to jump to district or state level politics. In the village, politics is centered more on personalities than issues, so leaders encourage and strive on inter-personal faction groups (cf. 6.4).

But, long after the introduction of the system, the Gram Panchayat had not taken up the task of collection of land revenue, taxes and fees on behalf of the Government though there was enabling provision to that effect in the Act. Since Panchayat

Raj system and the system of *watandari* had co-existed until 1984, and land revenue collection was done by the **patels** and **patwari**, the position of village sarpanch was not so much influential (cf. 2.9.1). Before the abolition of *watandari* system, the village *sarpanch* was not so much powerful as now-a-days. The list of previous sarpanchs that is given below represents this situation.

TABLE - 5  
THE DETAILS OF SARPANCHS OF KANDI GRAM PANCHAYAT

Classification	Order	Caste of Sarpanchs	Remarks
1st period (from 1959 to 1975)	1st	Muslim	All family emigrated.
	2nd	Reddy	Lived in <b>Chimnapur</b> .
	3rd	Reddy	New Kandi. F/o. Manik Reddy (President of Market Association).
	4th	Reddy	Old Kandi son of ex-police <b>patel</b> .
	5th	Ausalli (Goldsmith)	All family emigrated (Communist).
2nd period (from July 1975 to June 1981)		Panchayat (Committee) was abolished. Special Officials had been appointed by the <b>government</b> .	
3rd period from 1981	6th	Reddy (1981-1988)	Old Kandi, son of ex-police patel (4th Sarpanch)
	7th	Reddy (1988-1995)	Old Kandi
	8th	Goud <b>(1995-to date)</b>	Son of President of Goud <b>Sangham</b> . (The position of Sarpanch was reserved for BC category).

Before the 1959 Gram Panchayat elections for *sarpanch*, there was a Muslim *sarpanch* appointed by the then Hyderabad State. In the 1959 election he was again elected as the *sarpanch*, under new electoral system which elected the *sarpanch* indirectly by the members who were elected by the villagers.

Although elections were held regularly for Gram Panchayat *sarpanchs* (in 1959, 1964, 1970 and 1976), the terms of *sarpanchs* during first period did not match correctly with the period of elections. Moreover, there was no official records of this period. In the second period, i.e. from July, 1975 to June, 1981, the special officials who were appointed by the Government took charge of village administrative affairs, after village Panchayat Committee was dissolved in 1975. The reason of dissolution was not clearly explained, however, it was said that the fifth **sarpanch** and **vice-sarpanch** were charged with a corruption of Government rice-rations.

From the 1981 election, the *sarpanch* was elected directly by the villagers, hence the position of **sarpanch** has become more attractive, competitive, or powerful, than that of previous period.

During the tenure of the sixth *sarpanch*, the institutions of the *patels* and **patwaris** were abolished. Since then, the Reddys who had dominated village politics in traditional time have occupied the *sarpanch* position until 1995 when the position of *sarpanch* was reserved for backward castes. Before its abolition (first period) also, there had been three Reddys who were elected as *sarpanch*, but two of them were not the member of the dominant Reddy families, only one came from the politically elite family, police **patel**. Moreover, the person who inhabited a hamlet, **Chimnapur** was treated as an outsider by the Kandi villagers. Another two previous *sarpanchs* - a Muslim and Ausalli - had no source of social and political power, except economic properties (Muslim) or political connections to the political (Communist) party leaders (Ausalli). After their tenure of *sarpanchship* both families migrated to some other places. Since then they have no relationship with any other villagers or the village itself.

The members of the present village council consist of 14 persons, excluding the *sarpanch*, and they are elected by the villagers. They include a **vice-sarpanch** and 13 members. Among the 13 members, four are women. And four members belong to scheduled castes (including one women), and one scheduled tribe (see. Table-6).

**TABLE - 6**  
**DETAILS OF THE MEMBERS OF VILLAGE COUNCIL -1995**

Office	Caste	Age	Education	Reservation	Village
Sarpanch	Goud	28	10th	B.C.	Old Kandi
Vice-Sarpanch	Muduraju	37	ITI	B.C.	New Kandi
Members	Muslim	28	10th	.	Old Kandi
Members	Mangalli	48	NIL	BC/Women	Old Kandi
Members	S.C.	35	NIL	SC/Women	Old Kandi
Members	S.C.	38	NIL	S.C.	New Kandi
Members	S.C.	45	NIL	SC/Women	New Kandi
Members	Muduraju	48	NIL	BC/Women	New Kandi
Members	Padmasalle	24	IM	B.C.	New Kandi
Members	Brahman	29	10th	-	New Kandi
Members	Komati	24	10th	-	New Kandi
Members	Muslim	30	10th	-	New Kandi
Members	S.C.	38	NIL	S.C.	Chimnapur
Members	Muduraju	28	?	B.C.	Chimnapur
Members	Lambadi	28	NIL	S.T.	Tanda



Besides the elected village Panchayat members, *sarpanch* and **vice-sarpanch**, there are village administrative officers or workers in the village, whether they are appointed by the Government or Gram Panchayat, as follows: a village executive officer, two bill collectors, a village administrative officer (VAO), two water-suppliers (drinking water), six panchayat sweepers, and three village watchmen (**Machkuri**) and four water tank watchmen (Neerudi).

The institutions of **Machikuri** and Neerudi were once abolished with the institution of *patels* and **patwari**, but again the positions have been reintroduced by the Government. There are five Machikuri families and eight Neerudi families who had hereditary right under the **watandari** system. Until this year (1995) certain number of families have taken the position each year by rotation. The details of both Machikuri and Neerudi families are as follows in **Table-7**.

TABLE - 7  
THE MACHIKURI AND NEERUDI IN 1995

Name	Caste	Position
Machkuri	1. <b>Muduraju (Manne)</b>	Present
	2. Muduraju (Manne)	Present
	3. Mangalli	Present
	4. Muduraju	Not
	5. Mangalli	Not
Neerudi	1. Muduraju (Manne)	Present
	2. Madiga	Present
	3. <b>Malla</b>	Present
	4. Malla	Present
	5. Muduraju	Not
	6. Malla	Not
	7. Malla	Not
	8. Madiga	Not

The VAO is called as *patwari* by some villagers, because the positron or role of the VAO is similar to that of the **patwari** of the **watandari** system. The present VAO is the son of the *ex-Mali Patel*.

## 2.7 The village economy

This subsection will present a glimpse of the local economy that constitutes agricultural and non-agricultural activities, goods and **services**. Therefore the topic will touch upon questions like landholdings, weekly markets, cattle property, etc.

The economy of Kandi is based on two major domains: agriculture and non-agriculture. The land ownership has represented the economic status of the individuals or the families in the village. Since the introduction of the Jagir Abolition Regulations in 1949, a number of Acts were passed concerning the rights of tenants to the land, which they cultivated. As a result of these Acts, almost all of the households in the village have their own lands, however the distribution of land is uneven and insufficient for household subsistence (see, **Appendix-1**). Even though there is a limit of land holdings on the law, a lot of the individuals or families own lands beyond the ceiling, by reporting other's name or dividing the lands to their relatives so, it is difficult to find out exactly how much of lands each household has, because the record-book maintained by VAO indicates only the name of individuals who possess the land (*pattadar*), not the unit of households or families. In addition, a good number of people, generally of high castes, have their lands in the territory of other villages, as other villagers have the lands in Kandi so this situation complicates an effort to locate exact situation of land ownership.

#### 2.7.1 Land holdings

Agrarian activities play an important role in the economic structure of the village. The following **table-15** will present the picture of land holdings by caste and the type of land, etc. only within the village boundary.

The village has total **4,424** acres of the cultivatable land, of which 3,774 acres is dry-land and 650 acres wet-land. And it is distributed to 1,278 landholders **1,051** of them are the villagers (excluding **Inam** landholders). Of the total extent of land of the village, the villagers possess 2,992 acres of which 455 acres are **wet-lands**, and 2,537 acres **dry-lands** excluding **inam** lands. The average landholdings of the villagers per household is 4.7 acres and that of per landholder is 2.8 acres. The upper castes in ritual rank in the hierarchical system, that is, Brahman, Thakur, **Komati** (Vaisha), Reddy and Lingayat occupy a quite high position regarding the average landholding per household. They have respectively, 111.942 acres, 30.869 acres, 7.531 acres, 10.182 acres and 10.46 acres per household of their castes. The lower castes, especially service castes, possess less amount of land than the higher ones, so they rely mainly on the traditionally assigned jobs and manual labour. But almost all of the castes except the Satani and **Mochi** have their own lands, which are cultivated either by themselves or with the help of others. It means that agriculture is no more the occupation of a few

special castes, it is a kind of **open**' or 'caste free' occupation.

**TABLE - 8**  
**CASTEWISE LANDHOLDINGS OF THE VILLAGERS<sup>+</sup>**

No.	Caste	No. of house holds	No. of land holders	Land (Ac)		Total	Average (Acs)	
				Wet land	Dry land		per house holds	per land holders
01	<b>Brahman</b>	3	19	38.675	297.150	335.825	111.942	17.675
02.	Thakur	4	12	12.75	110.725	123.475	30.869	10.289
03.	<b>Komati</b>	9	13	4.45	63.325	67.775	7.531	5.213
04.	Reddy	38.	81.	97.450	289.475	386.925	10.182	4.777
05.	Lingayat	11	28	13.425	53.925	67.35	14.114	10.46
05-1	<b>Baliya</b>	9	26	10.825	39.475	50.30	5.589	1.935
05-2	<b>Jangam</b>	2	2	2.60	14.45	17.05	8.525	8.525
06.	<b>Padmasalle</b>	28	34	6.875	65.475	72.350	2.584	2.128
07.	Yadav	38	102	51.10	196.50	247.60	6.516	2.428
08.	<b>Muduraju</b>	65	98	24.00	156.175	180.175	2.772	1.838
09.	Goud	22	60	21.50	117.05	138.55	6.298	2.309
10.	Sara	5	8	5.20	26.70	31.90	6.38	3.986
11.	<b>Mera</b>	7	9	2.40	19.45	21.85	3.121	2.428
12.	<b>Medari</b>	10	9	4.25	20.525	24.775	2.477	2.753
13.	Satani	1		-	-	-		
14.	<b>Kumari</b>	11	12	3.375	12.20	15.575	1.416	1.298
15.	<b>Ausalli</b>	4	13	8.45	12.175	20.625	5.156	1.587
16.	<b>Kammari</b>	2	5	3.275	5.75	9.025	4.512	1.805
17.	Vaddala	10	4	0.25	5.025	5.275	0.527	1.319
18.	<b>Wadera</b>	18	33	21.30	35.85	57.15	3.175	1.731
19.	Arekatika	3	3	1.50	-	1.50	0.5	0.5
20.	Dasari	5	1	-	3.00	3.00	0.6	3.00
21.	Gandla	2	7	0.75	28.10	28.85	14.425	4.121
22.	Chakalli	16	8	1.325	20.575	21.90	1.369	2.738
23.	<b>Mangalli</b>	12	19	6.075	22.30	28.375	2.365	1.493
24.	<b>Budigajangan</b>	2	3	0.075	5.95	6.025	3.013	2.008
25.	Dore	15	17	10.075	38.875	48.95	3.263	2.879
26.	<b>Mochi</b>	1		-	-	-	-	-
27.	<b>Malla</b>	38	62	12.475	163.00	175.475	4.618	2.830
28.	<b>Madiga</b>	101	149	23.30	364.60	387.90	3.841	2.603
29.	<b>Brakalla</b>	17	17	-	38.825	38.825	2.284	<b>2.284</b>
30.	<b>Muslim</b>	102	208	80.675	355.70	436.375	4.351	2.134
31.	Fakir	30	17	-	8.70	8.70	0.29	0.512
Total		630	1051	454.975	2537.10	2992.075	4.749	2.847

<sup>+</sup>Source: Field Survey

The land prices vary depending on the quality of the land, its location and the accessibility of roads. Dry-lands are transacted for Rs.20,000 per acre but **wet-lands** cost **Rs. 50,000** per acre. But the lands which are located near the roads or the Highway are transacted at a higher price than the lands in the

inner areas, the price of wet-lands have crossed Rs.102,000 per acre and that of dry-land approached Rs.50,000 per acre, which are located on the road **sides**.

### 2.7.2 Cattle property in the village

During this survey, there are 223 oxen, 93 cows, 290 **buffalos**, and 321 sheep and goats. As the agriculture has become open to all the castes, the possession of livestock, especially ox, does not limit to a certain castes only. For example, the Madigas have the highest number of oxen (55) more than the Yadavas (38) and the Reddys (34). While the Muslims have the highest number of buffalos (66), and the Reddys (53), the Yadavs (33) and the Madigas (27) have large number of buffalos. However, the number of cows is much less than that of oxen and buffalos. It is, most probably, connected to the utility value of the cow. Though the cow is the animal of worship in Hindu religion, it is not so much useful for cultivation and transportation, compare to ox, and the production of milk, compare to buffalo. It is reared for the production of ox. The Reddys are the largest (27) owners of cows. The goat and sheeps are generally reared together, so it is difficult to separate each of the number. The Muduraju (65) Yadavs (63) and Madigas (60) have large number of goat or sheeps.

**TABLE-9**  
RECORD OF CATTLE PROPERTY IN THE VILLAGE

Caste	Ox	Buffalo	Goat	Cow
Thakur		2		17
Lingayat	2	6		
Reddy	34	53	8	27
<b>Padmasalle</b>	4	11		
Yadav	38	33	63	12
<b>Muduraju</b>	20	24	65	11
<b>Kammari</b>				5
Wadera	14	21	33	1
Goud	4	5	6	2
<b>Kummari</b>		3	10	
Medari	6	10	13	4
Gandla				4
<b>Chakalli</b>			1	
Mangali	9	11	9	1
Dore			11	
Erukalla	10	14		
<b>Malla</b>	12	4	20	
Madiga	55	27	60	3
Muslim	15	66	16	6
Total	223	290	321	93

\*Source: Field Survey.

### 2.7.3 Goods and services available in the village

Goods and services in the village are provided both by the government and the private sector. The government provides them through a network of institutions, the private sector provides them through shops and establishments. Another mechanism of distribution of goods in the private sector is the periodic markets, on Saturdays, called as '**shanta**' (or **shandi**) or '**anggadi**' by the villagers. This term like the **haat** of the North is commonly used throughout south India (see, Gell 1982; Rao 1988; Wanmali 1981). In addition to these formal mechanisms, there are a number of people who are in the business of many services in an informal manner at the village level or across the village boundary. For example, there are money-lenders, menial labourers, vendors, **milk-sellers**, and so on. These provisions are different from those of formalized private sector. But it is not to mean that these are completely independent of the two major networks.

Agriculture is a major activity, so it has contributed substantially to the village economy. The market opportunities for agricultural produce and inputs are very important to the producers. In Kandi, there are four rice mills, one jowar mill and one oil mill through which the produces are sold or get refined. But big farmers in the village would sell their agricultural produces to the big markets or wholesalers, not inside village. Generally, vegetables or oil seeds or fruits are sold in the village shops or weekly **markets**.

It is **said** that the use of chemical fertilizer is growing rapidly with the increase in cash-crop cultivations. Recently, one fertilizer shop is opened in the village. Since the live-stock market is not locally available in the village, oxen, cows, buffalos, goats and sheep are frequently translated through Sangareddy weekly **market**.

### 2.7.4 The weekly markets

Urban consumer goods such as, drinkables, cigarettes, match boxes, soap, shampoo, textiles, plastics, bangles, electrical goods, drugs, and other items of the organised industrial sectors are sold in the village, together with homemade sweets, bread, **pan**, tea and so on. **Intra-village** markets and weekly market are the places **where** the farmers and other sellers can market their produce or goods **for** cash and benefits. The weekly market has two functions for the people of its own market: firstly, it is a focus for **the** marketing of agricultural produce, and secondly, a centre for the supply of **the rural** production with urban based **goods**.

It is a place where farmers, vendors, artisans and other merchants gather to buy and sell their merchandise. This market follows a weekly cycle and is held every Saturday. The body of market belongs to Gram **Panchayat**, and an agent collects market-taxes from every sellers and vehicles in the market. As in other places of India, the Panchayat annually hires out the right to collect market-taxes to private contractors by auction (see, **Bhole** 1985) . The people who are sellers or buyers visit the market from neighbouring villages as well as towns and cities. The periodicity of the market is an advantage for most of participants because the majority of traders are part-time and they have two or more different occupations, and they are also engaged in some form of primary or secondary production.

## 2.8 Educational institutions

Besides above mentioned **socio-politico-economic** institutions, there are five educational institutions in Kandi, i.e. **Zilla Praja** Parishad (ZPP) High school, two public primary schools and two private primary schools of which one takes Telugu as medium of language, the other takes English. This subsection will present a glimpse of the educational system of Kandi.

The total student enrolment strength of the High School is 382 of which 254 are boys and 128 girls, and the teacher strength is 13. The non-teaching staff consist of one assistant, one at tender, one **attender cum-watchman** and one sweeper. The medium of instruction in the High School is Telugu.

The pupils attend this school from Kandi, Chinnapur, **Mamid-palle**, Kashpur, Kalvemulla, Pottireddipalle, Topukonda and the **Lambadi tandas**. Because the neighbouring villages of Kandi have only primary schools which provide education upto sixth class and send many entrants to this High School, this school has two sections in seventh class. Except in the sixth class, the disparity of the sex ratio between boys and girls is highly **imbalanced**, the ratio of boys is 66.5 per cent and that of girls is 33.5 (see, Appendix-2).

One of the public primary schools educates upto 5th class for boys only. The student strength of this school is 234 with five teachers and one attender. Telugu is the medium of instruction in this school.

The other public primary school is divided into two sections under the same roof, one for girls with Telugu as a medium of instruction and the other for both boys and girls with Urdu as a

medium. All of the pupils (both boys and girls) of Urdu medium school are Muslims. But in Telugu medium schools for girls, there are four Muslim girls. The student strength of Telugu medium school is 174 with four teachers, and that of Urdu medium school is 97 of which 32 are boys and 65 girls with 3 **teachers**. The non-teaching staffs work for both sections of the school/ they include one attender and one sweeper.

In addition to public schools, there are two private primary schools, one of which uses Telugu as a medium of instruction and the other English. In the Telugu medium private school, Indian traditions and cultures (**sadacharam**) in accordance with **the** great epics like *Bhagavathgeeta*, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana* and so on are taught through special classes besides formal education. The student strength of Telugu medium primary school (Sri Saraswati Shishu Mandir) is 312 of which 195 are boys and 117 girls, with 11 teaching staff and one sweeper. This school was opened in 1976 by the school committee led by the **Deshmukh** and 14 other members belonging to high castes, and two Muslims in the village.

The other private school (Gabriel Vignan School) uses English as medium language. The total student strength of this school is 136 of which 97 are boys and 39 girls with seven teaching staff and one attender and one watchman. It was established in 1987.

The student enrollment in both private schools represents apart from **Kandi**, some neighbouring village like Zulkal, **Shivampur**, **Chellaguram**, **Chimnapur**, **Pottireddy Palle**, and **Lambadi tandas**. Both of these private schools have not maintained any record to show the distribution of students belonging to different castes and **tribes**.

## 2.9 Traditional institutions and rituals

In ongoing subunit, the traditional institutions, such as, the *Deshmukh*, the **patels**, and servants and artisans of the village will be described by focussing on both their position and role, under the traditional system and the maintenance of their social identity in present, in terms of **socio-ritual** context of the village.

There were two types of villages in India. The severalty village and the joint village (see, Baden-Powell 1986, 1987; Srinivas 1960:21). This village under study belonged to the severality village **or ryotwari** the features of which were described above (cf. 2.6.1).

In the village, special functions pertaining to the whole have become the tasks of special groups within it. Certain political and economic relationships are crucial to the functioning of a complex society. That is, the interpersonal and/or intergroup relationships of a society must at some point conform to the dictates of political or economic power. These dictates of power are the aspects of group relationships, which are mediated through the forms of economic or political apparatus.

The economic and political aspects of these relationships can be understood through certain historical institutions which are nothing but cultural patterns for group relationships. The present group relationships represent, to a great extent, as a rearrangement of their past, and their **past** as a determinant of their present (see, Wolf 1956) .

### 2.9.1 The **Deshmukh**

Under the Nizam regime, two main type of land tenure systems prevailed, that is, the **diwani** or **khala** system and the **non-diwani** or the **jagirdari** system.

The *jagirdari* systems of tenure were commonly known as **inam**, **makta** or **sarbasta**, **peshkash**, **agarhar** and **ijara**. Under the *jagirdari* system of administration, hereditary feudal tenures (*jagirs*) were granted in exchange for service. The *jagirdar* was entitled to the revenue collection in one or several villages which were allotted to him as his *jagir*. The revenue of *jagirs* was completely exercised by the *jagirdar*. Within his *jagir* the *jagirdar* held administrative, judicial and police powers.

The *jagirdari* system was the most important feature of the political organization of Hyderabad state. The Nizam created his own noblemen and bestowed on them one or the other distinguished rank and order with a large grant of land. In return, the *jagirdar* undertook to maintain an army for the Nizam in time of need. Within the *jagir*, some cultivators were tenants of the *jagirdar*, others held ownership right granted by the *jagirdar*. There were various types of *jagirs* in Hyderabad state, such as: **Al-Tumgha**, **Zat**, **Jamiat**, **Tankhah Mahalat**, and **Sarf-e-Khas**. Among them, **Sarf-e-Khas** was the most important *jagir*, being assigned to the Nizam himself as crown lands (see, Dhanagare 1986; Khusro 1958; Thaha 1992). The *jagirdari* system was abolished in 1949.

**Diwani** or government lands were cultivated by registered occupants known as *pattadars* or *ryot*, who held land directly from the state. According to *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State* (1909), this system was the prevailing revenue system



throughout Hyderabad State. The sum paid by the cultivator represented the land revenue. In 1866, this system was introduced and revenue was collected in cash from individual ryots. *Diwani* in Telangana region was called as *roytwari* (*Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State*, 1909:58) which was prevalent in other parts of India.

In the *roytwari* (or *raiyatwari*) system, the original holders of occupancy rights on land were invariably cultivators. Owner-cultivation or peasant proprietorship was the rule (see, Khusro 1958:18). The *pattadars* or ryots who held land directly from the state, sometimes did sublet the whole or a part of their lands or took partners called *shikmidars*. The latter cultivated land in partnership with the *pattadars*, and divided the produce and expenses in proportion to the cattle employed by each. The *pattadar* received from his *co-sharer* a proportionate amount of the state dues. The right of occupancy depended on the regular payment of the assessment by the *pattadar*, and in case of failure to meet the demand he did forfeit his right. In such a case the land reverted to the state, and the right of occupancy was sold by auction. The period of holding was nominally one year, but if the holder paid the assessment and dues regularly, he might retain his land indefinitely. Revenue from these lands, used for the expenses of the administration was collected by intermediary hereditary landlords such as *Deshmukhs* or *Deshpandes*. About 60 per cent of total land was held under these tenures in 1941.

In 1901, there were 13,039 *diwani* (or *ryotwari*), 2,904 *jagir*, 664 *makta* or *sarbasta*, 681 *peshkash*, 415 *ijara*, 309 *agar-har* and 1,006 deserted villages in the state (see, *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State* 1909:59).

The origin of *Deshmukh* institution is not well established, but the term *Deshmukh* is a Sanskrit word (Kulkarni 1976). Based on the early history of the Deccan, this institution might be established between the pre-Muslim and Muslim periods in the Deccan. During the medieval period in the Maratha and Deccan, the *Deshmukh* was the chief of a *pargana* which comprising a number of villages. The routine administration of the village was conducted by the village officers, the *patels* and the *patwari*, but the ultimate responsibility of the village administration rested with the *Deshmukh*. The *Deshmukh* supervised the work of all *patels* under his charge of the entire *pargana*. In the absence of a permanent *patel* in a village, the *Deshmukh* customarily took the charge of *patel* of that village till permanent arrangement was made. The *Deshmukh*, being the chief of the *pargana*, was too powerful and the *de facto* chief of his *pargana*. This was mainly because of the unstable political situation in Maratha and the

Deccan region. The authority and power of **Deshmukh** was not affected by the change of the powers of state (Kulkarni 1976:105-107).

The title of the *Deshmukh* was conferred by the Nizam on those who were helpful to his Government. The general public still calls the holder of this title **dora**. The word *dora* is Telugu and means '**sir**', '**master**', '**lord**' (see, Gray 1970:119; Rao 1980). Under the Nizam, *Deshmukhs* (and *Deshpades*) were the hereditary collectors of revenue for groups of village. As the system of direct collection was introduced in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the *Deshmukh* and *Deshpande* were granted *watans* based on a percentage of the past collections. But very often the *Deshmukh* himself became the newly appointed village revenue official, after the introduction of new revenue system (see, Dhanagare 1986:184).

According to *Imperial Gazetteer*, in 1866 the **ryotwari** system was introduced and revenue was collected in cash from individual *ryots*. And this system was introduced in Kalbagur Taluk in 1892 to which did Kandi village belong.

#### 2.9.11 The *Deshmukh* family of the village

The *Deshmukh* used to be the most powerful man until the time of Independence of India. He is still called '**dora**' or '**raja**' (literally '**king**'). Likewise the *Deshmukh* in Kandi had collected revenues from 77 villages (**sheris**), but due to the demolition of *Deshmukh* institution by the Nizam he lost his politico-economic power gradually. During the early 20th century, however, the *Deshmukh* worked for the people of Medak district and, especially, Kandi village. After the formation of Andhra Jana Sangham, the branch of Medak District Andhra Jana Sangham was formed in the residence of Kandi *Deshmukh*, Srinivas Rao, in Kandi in 1936. His son Krishna Rao was elected as a president of Medak district unit of the Andhra Jana Sangham.

Andhra Jana Sangham was formed in 1921 to achieve the aims of promoting the social, economic and cultural revival of the people of Telangana. After the change of the name of Andhra Jana Sangham as Andhra Mahasabha, the district level conference was held at Jogipett (Andole) of Medak district in 1930. The resolutions were adopted on important social, economic, and cultural issues, like *Harijan upliftment*, **widow-remarriage**, protection of *ryots*, women's education, eradication of prostitution, introduction of girl's schools, introduction and spread of the co-operative movement, demarcation of Telangana borders. The 13th Andhra Maha Sabha Conference **was held** at Kandi village (in residence of

*Deshmukh*) from 10th to 12th May, 1946. It was the last Conference of Andhra Mahasabha, since the Communist Party was banned on 3rd December 1946 and the activities of Andhra Mahasabha came to a halt (see, Jogaiah 1994:43-50).

With the activity of political movement, the *Deshmukh* interested to uplift economic life of the people. So, he donated his own land for the market place and gave a good incentives for the merchants who opened the shop in Kandi village. The market was opened in 1930s and market association called, '*Varthaka Sangham*' was formed. Until 1980s this market was the main commercial center for the neighbouring as well as outlying villages. Numerous merchants, buyers and sellers came from Hyderabad and other states, especially in weekly markets called '*shandi*' that opened on Saturdays. After Sangareddy (Headquarters of Medak district and Sangareddy Mandal) opened the market in 1988, Kandi market waned slowly as a centre of regional economic transaction. It means the political power drew economic interest. Before the Sangareddy market opened up, there were 15 members of wholesale shops or merchants in Kandi. But almost all of them shifted to the Sangareddy market gradually. Now only three wholesale shops are left in Kandi. In 1969, the Kandi Market was named '*Kishan Ganj*' after the name of the *Deshmukh* who opened up the market. His son, Pandu Ranga Rao is the permanent president of the market association.

Nowadays, the *Deshmukh* family are (Panduranga Rao, the former *Deshmukh* and his two married sons) staying in Hyderabad city. One of the sons is working as a businessman and other is the General Manager of a private company. And his **brothers', sisters'** families are staying in Sangareddy and other cities. But the *Deshmukh* family is keeping relationship with village and village people through lands and temple festival (*jatra*). Through temple festival the *Deshmukh* family maintain their social status, even though they lost legal position of *Deshmukh* long time ago, they are using *Deshmukh* as their family name. That is, by keeping traditional title *Deshmukh* through their family name, the *Deshmukhs* maintain and represent their social identity. It means that the family name which was the traditional title becomes a kind of cultural capital of the family, like the *Desai* (van der Veen 1971), *Patidar* (Srinivas 1966a:35-38) .

#### 2.9.12 The details of Temple *jatra* ceremony

Temple *jatra* (festival) starts on the *panchami* (5th day after full-moon day) day in the month of Kartika according to the Hindu calendar (between November and December) . It used to last for 15 days until 5 years ago, but now-a-days it lasts for only 5

days due to financial difficulties of the **Deshmukhs**. It begins with the hoisting of vermilion colour-flags both in front of temple and the entrance of temple road in the village. After this function, the processes of *jatra* follows like this: *punya utsavam* (cleaning and purification of the temple), *edurukollu* (receiving god and goddess), marriage ceremony, **Hanuman sheva** (offering service to Hanuman), **Bali Haranam** (food offering), *punnya sheva* (service of tree), **Goppala Kalva**, **garudha utshavam** (**Garudha's** ceremony) **ratham** utsavam, (chariot festival) and *nagavelli* (ceremony after marriage).

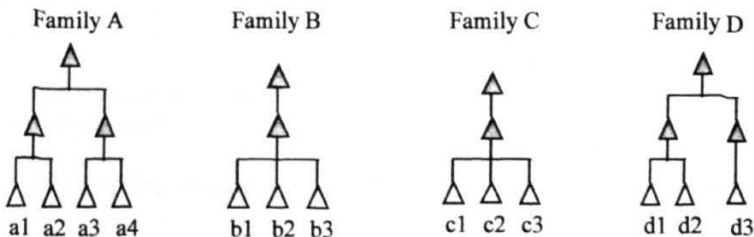
2.9.121 The roles assigned to different people during the *jatra*

During Temple *jatra* functions, a lot of people participate as a special functionaries or menials, but all of them take their role as a hereditary, customary duty of their families since the beginning of the *jatra*. Their roles are as follows:

Brahman priests - During the process of the *jatra*, total five **Brahmans** attend and take a role as priests. They are: the present temple *pujari*, an ex-*pujari* and others who come from Shadanagar, **Kesaram** and Sangareddy. They preside or supervise all ceremonies and functions throughout the whole process of the *jatra*. Food cooking is also one of the main functions of the Brahman priests.

Figure - 1

#### CHAKALI FAMILIES IN THE TEMPLEJATRA SERVICE



Chakalli - There are four chakalli families who participate in the temple *jatra* every year. Eight members of those families clean and paint whole temple ('**sunnam**'). In return of their service they receive some amount of money (in 1994, total Rs.

250) and boiled rice which is offered to the Gods on the final day of the *jatra*. The following **Figure-1** chart represents the Chakkalli families who attend the temple *jatra*.

Among eight members, four members of **family-A** participate every year, other four members come out from family B-D each year by rotation. In the year 1994, **b<sub>1</sub>, c<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>1</sub>, and d<sub>3</sub>** attended the function, next year (that is in 1995) other four members among remaining others of the family B-D will take the charge.

**Tenugu** - During the *jatra* the main duty of the Tenugu is to work as the carrier of pole for flag hoisting and palanquin in which the images of God and Goddess are placed. And they paint vermilion colour (**zaju**) on the wall of the temple after the **Chakallis** have finished the white colour paint on it. These Tenugu constitute 17 families. Among them six came from **Chimnapur**, six from **Alluru** and the rest are living in **Kandi**. They receive some amounts of money and cooked rice after the final function from the **Deshmukh**.

**Mangalli** - During the night functions, **Mangalli** carry the torch light (**dididi**). Three men of three families who are living in Kandi are providing this service hereditarily.

**Musician** - Three persons play the ritual music in marriage ceremony of the God and Goddess and **garuda utsavam** which go round whole village. All of them come from Alluru, two of them are Tenugu and the third a **Tamali**. They play traditional drums and flutes.

**Waddera** - **Waddera's** main job is to maintain the **ratham** (temple chariot) and to protect people from any accident during **ratham utsavam** when it moves along the main roads. Five families attend this function and take this as their hereditary job.

**Kammari** and **Vaddla** - They repair, and maintain the **ratham** before the **utsavam begins**.

**Madiga** - They play **dappu** (kind of drum) during all ceremonies and functions.

**Muslim** - One person comes from Chimnapur and holds the parasol (*chatri*) during **garuda utsavam** which is moved through the village during the night. It is said that originally this job was taken by Manne (Muduraju), but after he did quit this job by unknown reason, this Muslim (Dudekulla) voluntarily applied for this some twenty years ago. Since then he has been doing this service regularly.

Sweeper - Four *Harijans* sweep and clean inside and outside of temple before the *jatra* functions begin. They also belong to certain families which have responsibilities of the hereditary-job.

All the above services are customary endowed to the certain families who perform annually. Although they were paid for their services, the performing service is a kind of proud and privilege for them. Apart from the above mentioned castes or families, there are several persons who attend and participate voluntarily. When the **garudha utsavam** is going on round the whole village, women and children come out and offer their worship to the images of God and Goddess with *dipa* (light), coconut, perfume and flower.

The temple *jatra* offers a good opportunity for the market place and villagers because numerous goods, that is, sweet, petty goods, toys, fruits, clothes, earthen and brazen wares, etc. are displayed on sale along the temple roadside. Numerous merchants come from outside the village, in some cases outside the state. Thus, Temple *jatra* is one of the main ritual festivals as well as a good economic market in the village.

Through the festival, the **Deshmukhs** reidentify for themselves their status and again re-affirm their symbolic position not only to the villagers, but also to the neighbouring villages who were once under their **control**. Nowadays temple *jatra* is one kind of cultural capital and representative symbol of the **Deshmukh** family. Temple *jatra* as a kind of ritual action that represents and re-constructs the hierarchical relationships between castes, rulers and subjects (even though such relationships do not exist any more), or homologous with other social or political domains.

## 2.9.2 The **pat els** and other servants of the village

Kandi, like any other village in Telangana, was administered by the Government through three village officers: **patwari**, **mali patel** and police **patel**. The three positions were hereditary and honorary. The **patwari** was the village accountant and did the job of preparing and keeping revenue records. Transfers of land, recording of ownership, tenant right, etc. were carried out through him. The **mali patel** was in charge of collection of revenue from the **pattadars** or **ryots**, or from the tenants in accords with the records prepared by the **patwari**. The **police patel** looked after the police functions such as maintenance of law and order, reporting the cases of murder, theft or any other crimes and a possible threat of violence or conflict.

Traditionally, these three village officials were assisted in the performance of their official duties by several types of manual servants. The **Machkuri** generally did assist the village officials by performing duties such as calling villagers as required, carrying messages - oral and written - from village to the taluk headquarters, keeping a watch in the village, and reporting any quarrel to the officials. The duties of the Neerudi include protecting water tanks and regulating water supply, **etc.** The Chakalli washed clothes of government officials who Visited the village and painted the walls of temple and village panchayat building ('**sunnam**'). The **Mangalli** barbered the hair, trimmed the nails and massaged for the visiting government officials. The Mangalli carried the torch light (**didi**) during the festival time (whether Hindu festival or Muslim) and also worked as a torch bearer for the government officials at night. The **Kammari** and Vaddla arranged tents for the officials or government military and they repaired and maintained temple **rathams**, and palanquins. The **Kummari** supplied pots whenever needed. The Madiga worked as unpaid labourer ('**vetti**) and removed the carcasses. The **Malla** also worked as unpaid labourer and digged the grave. Both Madiga and Malla were forced to do numerous chores whether official or **not**. The vetti system was a symbol of the dominance of high castes in Telangana, with the other feudal system of Telangana region such as '**bhagela**' system (see, Dhanagare 1986:184-185). And there were two village Brahman priests, one for village as a whole (**purohit**), one for the temple (**pujari**) .

#### 2.9.21 **Watandari** system

Like the partial remuneration of these village servants granted by the Nizam tax-free **inamlands**, the village officials received salaries from the Government. Moreover, they (the officials) were entitled to enjoy certain rights and privileges in claiming services from peasants, village artisans and low castes as '**vetti**'<sup>1</sup>. Their office and accompanying **inaml** and as well as privileges were called '**watan**'<sup>7</sup> which was not only heritable but also saleable and transferable with acknowledgement of state authorities and village panchayat. It is said that this watan-dari system was introduced by **Salar Jung-I**, with **ryotwari** tenure system in the villages of the Diwani administration (see, Raju 1980:52), but in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Deccan villages consisted of village officers, peasants and servants and artisans, whose offices, privileges and **inamland** were called '**watan**' (see, Fukazawa 1984:250-253). According to Fukazawa, village servants and artisans collectively called as '**balutedars**' (or **balutadaris**) included carpenter, blacksmith, potter, shoemaker,

ropemaker, barber, washermen, astrologer, temple-keeper, mosque-keeper, untouchable castes engaged in sweeping, watching and carrying out other menial works, and so on. These **balutedars** were employed by the village as a territorial whole not by individual peasant families. They were servants of the village (see, Fukazawa 1972, 1984; Fuller 1989; Karve & Damle 1963).

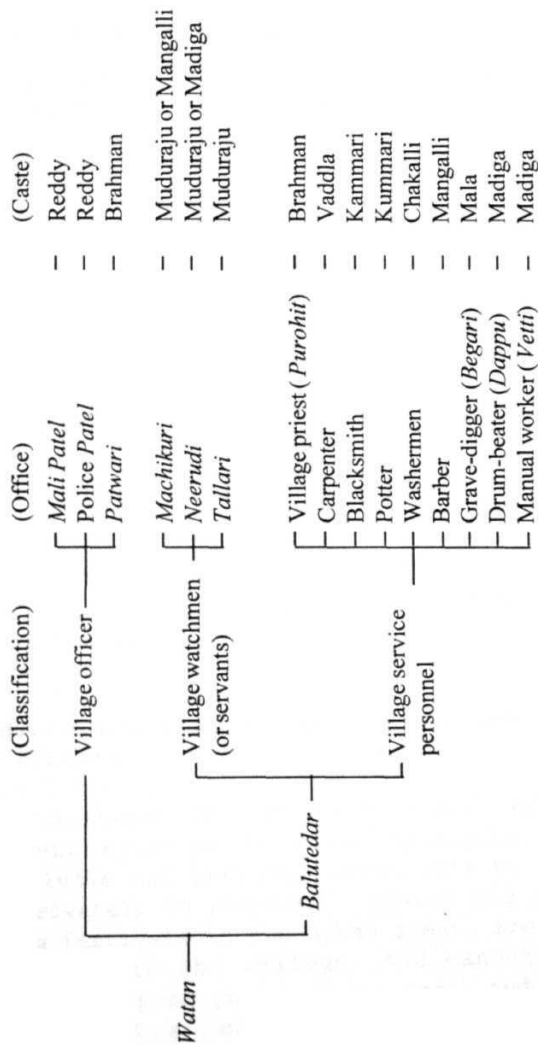
To sum up, the *watandari* system consisted of two categories: they are the village officers, and *balutedars*. The village officers are **mali patel**, police **patel** and **patwari**. The *balutedars*, again are divided into two sub-categories, i.e. village watchmen and village service personnel. The village watchmen, generally called village servants, are **Machkuri**, **Neerudi**, and **Talari** who (the third one) was the watchman of the government orchards and pasture lands. The village service personnel included several types of the functionaries who worked for the village as a whole. They are: Brahman **purohit**, carpenter, blacksmith, potter, barber, washerman, grave-digger (**begari**), drum beater (**dappu**), and manual worker (**Vetti Madiga**) (see, Raju 1980: 56-60). This *watandari* system of the village is shown in Chart-1 (p.44 a).

The Government allowed some pieces of land as **inam** to the servants of village, noted temples and mosques. *Inam* was as a rule revenue free land, and there were two types of **inams**; (1) **kairaiti**, welfare or donation, and (2) **khidmati**, service *inam*. The first kind of *inams* were granted to religious, educational and other charitable institutions, that is temple or mosque. The other kind of *inams* were granted for various village servants and artisans. In the village, several service castes still keep **inamlands** even though the *watandari* system was abolished by the Government in 1983. The **inam** land holders of the village are shown in Table - 10 below:

The village officials, *mali patel*, police *patel* and *patwari* were not granted **inamlands** (Upto 1870, the *patels* and *patwaris* enjoyed *inam* for their services, but since that year the *inam* had been resumed and cash payments was introduced). Instead they received salary (**jeetam**) from the Government and took a fixed portion of the total amount of revenues of the village, that was known as **eskillu**. The **Machkuri**, the **Neerudi** and **Malla** (**Vetti**) were granted the **inamland**, and also received salary from the Government, but the **Chakali**, the **Mangali**, the **Vaddla**, the **Kammari** and the **Madiga** (**baindla** or **dappu**) were granted only **inamlands**. The Brahmins received the **inamlands** as *purohit* of the village and as *pujari* of the temple, and the temples were also bestowed with *inamlands*. Some other Muslims also got **inamland** for various reasons, i.e. maintaining **darghas**, or as a hereditary position of **mulla**.



Chart - 1  
WATANDARI SYSTEM



Even though the *watandari* system was officially abolished, the role and relationship among them, that is, the *patels*, the servants and artisans still remain in the form of ritual function of Dasara. The Dasara festival provides an occasion for both the expression and the maintenance of certain parts of *watandari* relationships. Through Dasara festival, it can be understood why particular individuals play such an important role, none other than that of individuals or families. The following subsection presents a glimpse of the Dasara festival in the village.

TABLE - 10  
**INAMLAND HOLDERS IN KANDI**

Caste	No. of Holder	Wet land	<i>Inam</i> land (ac.) Dry	Total
1. <b>Chakalli</b>	12	2.475	-	2.475
2. <b>Kammari</b>	1	0.625	7.125	7.75
3. <b>Kummari</b>	3	0.125	-	0.125
4. <b>Madiga</b>	24	3.406	8.675	12.081
(Neerudi)	(2)	(0.85)	(1.775)	(2.625)
5. <b>Malla</b>	12	3.388	9.825	13.213
(Begari)	(3)	(1.815)	(3.175)	(4.99)
(Neerudi)	(7)	(1.213)	(5.075)	(6.288)
6. <b>Mangalli</b>	9	2.125	5.625	7.75
7. <b>Vaddla</b>	8	1.9	2.175	4.075
8. <b>Brahman</b>	4	4.45	16.225	20.675
(Poojari)	(3)	(1.375)	(7.625)	(9.0)
(Purohit)	(1)	(3.075)	(8.6)	(11.675)
9. <b>Temple (A)</b>	1	0.4	-	0.4
10. <b>Temple (B)</b>	1	9.825	16.125	25.95
11. <b>Muslim</b>	5	1.65	9.675	11.325
(Mulla)	(1)	(0.6)	(1.425)	(2.025)
Total	80	30.369	75.45	105.819

## 2.9.22 The tradition and significance of the Dasara festival in the village

Dasara (or Dasahara) is a **pan-Indian** festival, and one of the most important holidays in rural Telangana. Many other calendrical festivals are observed relatively by few castes or are celebrated privately in the home. Diwali and **Holi** which are celebrated as big festivals in the urban areas, are the occasions of little importance in the village. And Ganesha festival is enjoyed by certain group of young generations, and it is not the village level festival at all (cf. 6.3.1). Dasara, however, provides one of the rare instances of **village-level**, collective involvement by the villagers. It is also one of the few **ceremo-**

nies in which almost all of the former village officials, servants and artisans participate. And, one of the important aspects of this festival, unlike that of the others, is that a Muslim participates and takes a key role in ceremonies of the **festival**. In the village, the festival represents explicitly, social harmony, since men exchange **jammi** leaves out of friendships and across caste boundaries on this very day.

Dasara is called Durga **Puja** in the East, Devi Navaratri in the West, Dasara in the north and Devi Navaratrulu in the South. While in other regions Dasara symbolises the victory of Rama over the demon Ravana; in Bengal Durga is worshipped, who killed Mahishasura the object of evil. Another legend popular in **Telangana** tells of the victory of the good over the evil, represented by the victory of Pandavas over the Kauravas in the Mahabharata story. On the **Vijayadasami** day the Pandavas (five brothers) supposedly completed the 13 years exile of obscurity, took their arms ('**astras**') from the **jammi** tree in which they had stashed them, and proceeded to battle with the Kauravas. Dasara, therefore, is the festival of victory (see, Biardean 1984).

It is believed that Vijayadasami is auspicious for any project. In this village too, like in other parts of Telangana, cars, trucks, autobicycles and cycles are decorated with **kumkum** powder, and flowers on this day **morning**<sup>8</sup>. In the afternoon, at about 4 p.m. Dasara celebration starts with the beating of **dappus** by the Madigas in old **Kandi**. Around that time other Madiga who are **inamland** holders gather around the place of flagpole where the ceremony would be performed. They bring some amount of hand-made rope ('**nara taddu**') which is used for tying the flagpole. During the drum beating, **Machkuris** and Neerudis come and maintain order of the public who flock to the flagpole sides. They wear white **lungi** and new shirts, and hold a bamboo stick which represents their jobs.

Among other **inamland** holders, Chakallis who clean and paint all the places where ceremonies would be held, Mangallis who take torch light at night, Mallas (**begari**) who sweep all the places and Madigas who attend on the **patels** and the leaders of village {**Sarpanch**, Village Assistant Officer, **ex-sarpanch** etc.) come out. After the patels take part in the ceremony, the Vaddla and the **Kammari** prepare new **tri-colour** flag and tie on the pole and a Muslim (**Mulla**) who covers his head with a handkerchief, applies **kumkum** powder to the flag. And they together, the Vaddla, the Kammari and the Mulla erect the flagpole, then the **patels**, **ex-sarpanch** and present **sarpanch** pray with perfume and break coconuts. Other significant attender who is not inamland holder is the Thakur, the former security man of the **Deshmukh**. One of

them takes a knife, which was once used for their job, now represents the **Thakur's** symbolic mark. This knife is worshipped in the **Thakur's** house in the morning. Thus this worship is connected with the Dasara legend that is, military displays and valours (see, Benson 1983a:160).

Next ceremonial place is the entrance gate of old Kandi which leads to the Harijan residence (cf. **Map-3**). In front of the stone gate, the image of Goddess Urdammadevi is located. This Goddess takes care of the peace and security of all the villagers. This gate was once used for checking other villagers and separating the Harijan from the main village. In this place, first the police **patel** worships with the help of the Tallaris who are the priests of Goddesses shrines in the village. The Tallaris belong to the **Muduraju** caste.

After that, another ceremony takes place in the flagpole of new Kandi. This process started relatively recently. Due to the growth of village population, the inhabitants of new Kandi insisted another flagpole ceremony in site of new Kandi which is **bigger** than that of the original village called old Kandi.

Finally, the procession goes to the temple, receives the **Deshmukh** and moves outside the village where the **jammi** trees are located. The direction for worship varies depending upon the day of Dasara, for example, on Monday and Saturday it is the South, on Tuesday it is the East, on Wednesday and Thursday it is the West, and on Friday and Sunday it is the North. **It** is decided by the village Brahman **purohit**. During the procession that moves from the village to the outside village boundary where **jammi** trees exist, everybody prays his desire.

At the **jammi** tree, while the Brahman **purohit** keeps on chanting **slokas**, the **Deshmukh**, **patels**, **sarpanch** and other literate persons write down the '**slokas**' (hymns) on the paper and the participants offer worship to the **jammi** tree. After the whole process, they take the leaves of **jammi** tree, then exchange the leaves and hug each other. The leaves of **jammi** are referred to as '**sona**' or gold to reiterate its value on Dasara day only. After returning to the village, people offer **jammi** leaves to the elders and the neighbours, and seek their blessings. In Kandi, Dasara seems to be treated as a whole village festival in which all the villagers participate regardless of caste boundaries. This festival shows the oneness of village and social harmony in the village.

Though this Dasara function is a religious activity, it represents that certain traditional norms and relationships are

maintained through **ritual**. There is the gap between actual social position and relationship in daily life of villagers and those of participating in ritual function. The norms and relationships which are represented through Dasara function disclose traditional **watandari** system which was abolished sometimes ago. Instead of the village **sarpanch**, the **patels** (**mali patel** and police **patel**) play important roles in the ritual, although, presently, the **sarpanch** is the headman of village in the administrative system. Almost all of **inamland** holders who were former village servants and artisans play a certain part of role that designated customary to each other's families. Unlike the relations under the **jajmani** system found elsewhere in India, the participants of this system are certain individuals or families, not the whole castes. In case of the **watandari** system, these village servants and artisans work for the village as a whole, not for the certain families. They were the servants of village. All the participants know who play what kinds of role, the **patels** represent and reveal their authority throughout whole process.

Dasara is treated and believed as an auspicious day for the participants; it is a festival which stresses good will and societal harmony, but it also stresses the order and authority. But what is the meaning of Dasara for the participants of low castes, like **Madiga** or **Malla** ? When they are asked why they attend this Dasara festival, they reply 'it is our family duty (or **dharma**) , from my grand-grand father it has been **done**'. They tell proudly that the function which they practice can be done by only the members of their families and not by any others.

When the ceremony is going on at the places of flagpoles, only the **patels**, **sarpanch**, **ex-sarpanch**, the **Vaddla**, the **Kammari** and the **Mulla** can climb up on the altar and perform a ceremonial role. For instance, one old Kammari with his grandson in his arms steps on the altar as if he enjoys or displays his exclusive privilege. All the participants who take any kind of role in the function, look like enjoying a certain kind of the feeling of '**selected**' people compared to the persons of his own caste and neighbours who do not have any special duties towards the function.

Through the processes and preparations of the function the individuals or the families identify their special status and inspire the feeling of **satisfaction**. So, Dasara is a festival which represents social relationships and identities for the individuals or the families of certain castes, not the caste as a whole. In addition, it is a field of which a newly elected village **sarpanch** who belongs to the Goud caste is ritually authorized by his performing ritual ceremony in public, and he

gets even with the traditional village elite group, such as the *Patels*, the ***Deshmukh***, the Brahman priest, and others.

## 2.10 Village as a unit

The village as a unit of social organisation represents a distinct entity different from that of the kin and the caste. Different castes and communities inhabiting the village are integrated in its economic, social, and ritual interaction to a set of ties, mutual and reciprocal relations. In spite of diverse castes, occupations, languages, religions and interests, a body of people living in a demarcated geographical area has some sense of unity (see, Bailey 1960; Mandelbaum 1970; Chapter 19; Marriott 1955; Rao & Rao 1982; Redfield & Singer 1955; Srinivas 1960).

On the contrary, some scholars like Dumont and Pocock (1957) hold that it is not the whole village but the caste which is sociological reality and so the only proper object of study. They argue that village is an 'architectural and demographic fact' and the conception of village solidarity is a '**presupposition**' (1957:26-27). For them the unit of village is myth and the village is only the dwelling place of diverse and unequal castes (see, Srinivas 1960a, 1987).

However, the castes living in a village are interdependent economically, socially and otherwise. A caste itself is not a **self-sufficient** unit. The members of different castes are linked in several ways. The relationships between landlord and tenant, master and servant, creditor and debtor, patron and client, etc., and the memberships of certain political parties or of the voluntary associations cross caste boundaries to bind together people who are unequal. Usually these relationships may cross the village boundary as well, however almost all of them would be found limited inside the village. The ties which cross the caste boundary are as important as the ties of caste (see, Srinivas 1960b) in the daily life of the villagers. The castes are linked together by a set of institutions and sentiment that unite the whole village through the ritual ceremonies, the political organizations, and the common code for conduct for the individual as a member of the village.

Individuals and families of each caste co-exist together and co-operate with those of other castes through a variety of relationships of patron-client, friendships or membership of a certain political party and voluntary associations. So, a village is not only a dwelling-place of diverse castes and families but also a unit of social organization. Every village is a distinct enti-

ty, and has a name and some awareness of the settlement as a community (see, Mead 1980; Reining & Lenkerd 1980).

As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village represents a separate and distinct entity. The residents of the village recognize a cooperate identity, and it is recognized as such by others also. As Mead (1980:23) insists, the "accessibility of every member of a community to knowledge about every other member of that community is [...] a significant characteristic of any village". That is, the factor of '**collective memory**<sup>1</sup> which concerning family histories, physical events of the village, and etc, is a fundamental characteristic of village, and more over, it is **village-specific**. But, inside the village life, there are always disputes and conflicts as well as cooperation and propitiation. In the course of dispute a traditional relationship may be broken off. The establishment of patron-client, friendship, and other relationships which may cross the boundaries of castes, brings about changes in the social system. Social change is not only a movement toward urban and cosmopolitan mode of life but also a revival and persistence of traditional elements of culture and religion.

The village is primarily a unit of political and a ritually cooperative society. And, traditionally, the village as a unit had organized and arranged the people who inhabited there in different ways. The village is "one kind of many subsystems within the larger **socio-politico-religio-economic** system in which it exists" (Marriott 1955:176). Thus, a village that forms part of a complex society can be viewed no longer as self-contained and integrated systems in their own **right**.

The existence of weekly markets indicates the economy of interdependence of villages, other than the economic self-sufficiency of a village. More over, the periodic fairs held on the occasion of the Temple Jatra and/or on Dasara festival are also visited by villagers in large numbers, and these fairs served several functions, secular as well as religious.

In summary, the village functions as a unit in spite of the various cleavages or castes within it, since everyone, irrespective of his caste or other **affiliations**, has a sense of belonging to a local community which has certain common memory and interests, regardless of caste, kin and factions.

According to this point, in following chapters, the relationships between castes, the role of family and marriage, and the individual as a empirical agent will be described in terms of the maintenance of social identity and the pursuit of personal

interests - all these factors and functions in the context of the village under study.

## Notes to Chapter - II

- 1) The details of geography are mainly based on '**Census** of India, Medak district<sup>1</sup> (1981, 1971, 1961) and *The Dynamics of politics in Medak at Micro Level* (Jogaiah 1994) , and the historical details are extracted and summarized from *History of Modern Andhra* (Rao 1993), *The Nizam between Mughals & British* (Bawa 1986) , **Mediaevalism** to Modernism: Socio-**Economic** and Cultural History of Hyderabad, 1869-1911 (Raj 1987), "Hyderabad State - Its Socio-political Background" (Sundarayya 1979), and *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State* (1909) .
- 2) In the calculation of literacy rate, the age group 0-6 was excluded, following the Census of India.
- 3) The Brahman *Purohit* of the village explains the meaning of breaking coconut in front of the God or temple: "coconut contains '**purified**' water, which symbolizes '**coolness**'. When the devotee breaks a coconut, it represents '**sacrifice**', and/or offering whole heart to the God. As non-vegetarians (**tamashis**) sacrifice animal such as, goat, buffalo etc., to the **non-vegetarian** god or goddess, the vegetarians (**satwikas**) offer coconut, lemon or others. Both have same meaning, '**sacrifice**'. It is said that coconut has a third eye which represents a symbol of God Shiva. Therefore, by breaking coconut the people soothe the anger of Shiva. Once he opens his third eye, everything will become ash, according to the Hindu belief. Another meaning of breaking coconut is to purify or clean the unauspicious domain (or person), and make it '**cool**'.
- 4) One of the epitaphs on the tombstone in the Christian graveyard records as follows: "In memory of Ionataus Francis **Marv**. The beloved son of Richard & Kate Franklin, aged 1 year 10 months & 10 days. Died 10th June, 1878".
- 5) All '**untouchables**' who converted to any non-Hindu religion are treated as OBCs, in other words if any '**untouchable**' converts to Christian or Muslim or other religion from Hin-



dus, s/he will lose the category and the benefit of the Schedule Caste reservation (see, **Report of the Backward Classes Commission: 1956:27-28; Report of the Backward Classes Commission 1969:202-203**).

- 6) An informant, a brother-in-law of the **Deshmukh** in the village, explains somewhat differently, "in Urdu term, '**desh**' means place or land, and '**mukh**', head, so **Deshmukh** means '**the head of land**'".
- 7) **Watan** means '**home**', which was the hereditary and intimately valued property of the family. When such a holding and privilege was attached to any hereditary official or member of the family, **he** was said to be **watandar**, i.e. holder of **watan** (see, Baden-Powell 1987:15).
- 8) Regarding the reason for the offering and decoration, it **is** said that: "The vehicles are the carrier of '**energy**' or '**power**'. The '**energy**' or '**power**' is dangerous, if it is not controlled properly. So the people soothe the '**energy**' or '**power**', and remove any potential obstruction by offering **puja** and decorating the vehicles on the auspicious **Dasara** day".

## **CHAPTER - III**

### ***CASTE***

### 3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the discussion was focussed on the village, that is the location of the present study as a whole. It included on the one hand its geographical and historical background while on the other, the village was introduced as a unit in terms of social, economic and ritual activities. This serves the background for the present chapter.

The focal point of the present chapter is the caste. Other topics and concepts related to this central theme are the identity of caste and the economic and political interests of the individuals. From this point of view, the concept of caste, its features, that is, the hereditary occupation, **commensality**, and endogamy will be described in this chapter.

### 3.2 The concept of caste and the context of *varna* and *jati*

The word '**caste**' comes from the Portuguese word *Castas*, meaning '**species**' or '**breeds**' of animals or plants, and '**tribes**', '**•races**', '**class**', or '**lineages**' among human beings (see, Dubois 1996:14; Dumont 1970a:21-22; Hutton 1946:47; Klass 1987; Marriott & Inden 1974; Pitt-Rivers 1971). This means the term '**caste**' has no equivalent in any of the Indian languages. It refers, at one time, to the *varna*, at another to the groups known as *jati* (see, Quigley 1993).

*Varna* is the **four-fold** division in Indian society, as it is defined in the ancient sacred texts. The four divisions are, *Brahman* (traditionally, priest and scholar), ***Kshatriya*** (ruler and soldier), ***Vaisha*** (merchant), and *Shudra* (peasant, labourer and servants). The first three are called '**twice-born**' (***dvija***) as the men who belong to these categories are entitled to don the sacred thread, while *Shudra* is not. In the *varna* scheme, the '**untouchable**' is outside or *panchama varna*.

The ***varna*** scheme refers only to the broad categories of the Hindu society, not to any functional and effective unit. That is, *varna* is only a reference category not a real group (see, Dube 1990:48; Srinivas 1962b, 1966a, 1984, 1989). In the *varna* model of caste, there is a single - **pan-Indian** hierarchy without any variation between one region and another, in the sense that the *Brahman* is placed at the top<sup>1</sup> and the criteria of ranking are based upon the ritual purity given in religious texts. But, in the matter of spread of these *varnas* and caste compositions within the ***varna*** model, there is a variation from region to region. In South India, it is said, there are no indigenous and authentic *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishas* (see, Dube 1990:49; Srinivas

1962b:66). In these areas, these two categories refer to the local castes which claim the status of Kshatriyas and Vaishas (**varnas**) by the virtue of their traditional occupation and their dominant positions. In this scheme, the category of Shudra subsumes the majority of castes (*jatis*) which have little in common. It includes, at one end, a rich, powerful and highly **Sanskritised** group while at the other end the tribes who submerged and assimilated into the Hindus marginally (see, Srinivas 1962b:65) .

*jati*, on the other hand, is a local system. While in the varna scheme there are only four sub-divisions (or five, if 'untouchable' included), there are a number of castes (*jatis*) in a single local area. And the 'untouchable' is an integral part of *jati* system. *Jati* is characterised as the hereditary, occupational, and **endogamous** group which forms a hierarchy in the local rather than universal **context**. Each *jati* has its name and certain kinds of attributes and commonly the term '**jati**' is translated as 'caste' (see, B  teille 1996:46). Therefore throughout the description that follows the term '**caste**' stands for *jati*, and not for the varna.

The *jati* model of caste is characterized by separation, interdependence and hierarchy. Relations between castes are hierarchically expressed in terms of pollution and purity, but the concept of purity or pollution is a disputed criterion and does not order the groups in a strict sense. The position of many castes in the local hierarchy is **ill-defined** and often controversial. However, in most areas of the country Brahmins are placed at the top and the 'untouchables' at the bottom. But in the middle range between the Brahmin and the 'untouchables', the caste system shows lack of clarity in the hierarchy (see. Srinivas 1962b:66) . And the criterion of ranking is not only derived from religious consideration but also has reflected secular power, i.e. economic wealth or political dominance (see, Srinivas 1966a:5; van der veen 1972:18) .

Each *jati* is characterized by a set of regulations to **keep** its own identity as well as to separate it from others. It is clear that certain rules are being prescribed regarding the exchange of food, women, and services. These *jati* regulations are, the rules of **commensality**, endogamy, and traditional *jati* occupations. The rules regarding marriage, i.e. exchange of women, are an expression of one's own identity and extreme separation from other *jatis*. The other distinctive character of the *jati* is the special and exclusive occupation claimed by or attributed to it. There are such *jatis* as 'Barber', 'Carpenter', 'Blacksmith', 'Washerman', 'Weaver', 'Potter' etc., whose names indicate their primary occupations. The commensality or the

pattern of food exchange represents the ritual hierarchy. The restrictions regarding food refer to separation. Thus the acceptance of food is restricted to one's own *jati* and this reaffirms the separation and distance between *jatis*.

The membership of castes is determined not by selection but **by** birth. In the traditional system the only way to become a Hindu was to belong to a caste, so the unit of mobility was actually a group not an individual or a family. Although an individual cannot improve his caste affiliation, a caste group can try to move upward by coping, imitating or adapting the behavior of either the ritually high castes, such as the Brahman or the economically and politically powerful castes called 'dominant castes'<sup>2</sup>. To move up its rank, a caste group may change its name or occupation, follow the way of life of high or dominant caste, and claim its long-lost membership of a higher caste.

The introductions of adult franchise and '**Panchayat Raj**' (local self government) since independence of India have resulted in giving self-respect and power to lower castes, including **Harijans**<sup>3</sup> who enjoy reservation seats in academic institutions as well as government jobs. Therefore, caste mobility moves not only forward for ritual ranking but also backward for economic and political benefits, i.e. reservation seats. In other words, each caste on the one hand maintains its ritual identity and tries to move up its hierarchical position in the caste system by changing name, occupation and life styles. On the other hand, each caste pursues the economic and political interests by claiming its backwardness or insisting its traditionally exploited position. This quality of caste mobility is spurred after the introduction of the Mandal Commission by the Central Government, in 1990 (see, Engineer 1991; **Heuzé** 1981; Srinivas 1996).

However, the traditional system allowed individual castes to move up or down by the King or rulers, but the tendency of upward mobility increased with the survey of census<sup>4</sup>. The census record was treated as a **government-sponsored** channel of caste mobility (see, Srinivas 1966b:94-100). While the census report gave an opportunity to move up or to fix the relative position of different castes, the Mandal Commission proposed to offer economic and political benefits to those castes or class who belong to certain categories, i.e. OBCs (The Other Backward Castes and Classes), SCs (Scheduled Castes) and STs (Scheduled Tribes).

So, it is said, the Mandal Commission would keep Indian society divided along caste lines, and the governmental caste **classification** - Forward, Backward, and Scheduled Castes - roughly parallels the *varna* ranking. Table - 11 shows the similarity

between the *varna* scheme and the government caste (or class) classification.

TABLE - 11  
VARNA, **JATI** AND GOVERNMENT CLASSIFICATION

<i>varna</i> scheme		<i>Jatis</i> of the village		Govt. Classification
Twice born	Brahman Kshatriya Vaisha	Brahman Thakur <b>Komati</b>  Reddy	Lingayat*  <b>Muslims</b>	( <b>Forward</b> Castes or or Classes)
Non-twice born	<b>Shudra</b>	<b>Yadav, Muduraju, Mera, Goud, Are-kitika, Padma-salle, Sara Gandla, Kammari, Medari, Waddera, Chakalli, Mangalli, Dasari, Budigajangam</b>	<b>Vishva-Brahman</b>  Katika (M)  Fakir**	Backward castes or classes
Out of Varna	Out castes	Dore, Mochi, Mala, Madiga		Scheduled Castes
	Tribe	Erukalla		Scheduled Tribes

- The Lingayat and the group of **Vishva** Brahman traditionally rejected the Brahman oriented classification. But gradually they have been included in the formation of caste hierarchy. However, their positions are ambiguous in the hierarchical order.

\*\* Fakir does not officially belong to CEC category, however, some of them reported as the name of Noorbasha, or **Dudekullar** which are the same category of the Fakir.

So, the caste system can be characterized by segmentation of several orders, either by ritual criteria based on the birth or by artificial classification of the Government. A caste may be seen as a segment occupying more or less a specific position in the different orders or classifications (see, Beteille 1996:46-47; Carter 1975: 133-134; Dumont 1983:37). But the boundaries of units in segmentary caste system and the relationships between them are largely based on their group identities as well as their economic interests. In other words, the caste system is composed of discrete castes which separate from each other, whereas individual caste becomes a legally recognized group, with state-allocated benefits and privileges. With segmentary structures and relativity of identity, the castes or the caste systems are empirically various and varying integrated social orders.

In the following **subunits**, the main features of caste system, i.e. hereditary occupation, **commensality** and endogamy, will be described, especially with a focus on the mechanism of social boundary maintenance. That is, how people comply with norms or code of conduct, or how individuals cope with, formulate, follow or break rules to gain the benefits in a social context.

### 3.3 Hereditary occupations and the context of caste division

In the caste system, there is a division of labour between castes. Traditionally, a hereditary specialization is ascribed to each caste, the profession became the obligatory monopoly of the families of each caste. To perform it was not merely a right but a duty imposed by birth upon the children (see, Bougie 1958:8) . Therefore the caste system divides the whole society into a large number of hereditary occupational groups. Theoretically each group has a profession imposed traditionally and its member can depart only within certain limits from it, but in practice, a caste's traditional occupation does not restrict all members of it to that calling.

Each caste has been integrated into the economic system as a professionally specialized group, the exchange of goods and services between families of different caste and/or for the village as a whole has been regularized by such systems as **watan-dari** and **pethubai** in the village. The interdependence between the different caste occupations has been based on hereditary ties. Rewards in terms of agricultural produce, and quantities were fixed.

Now the occupational specialization is tending to diminish, with castes being economically linked more through competition than through functional interdependence (see, Mayer 1960:88-91). In the village the changes of traditional occupation are common at present day when members of all castes are seen opening shops, cultivating lands, driving buses or auto-rickshaws. Moreover, some activities such as agriculture and trade are common to a very large part of population, and can neither be considered as an actual '**division** of labour', nor as a specialization. However, there are some totally distinct groups engaged in the same activity (e.g. fishery) while claiming to be in different castes (see, Meillassoux 1973:91).

The broad and durable relations are essentially those between a **food-producing** family and the families that supply them with goods and services. These links are confined to only some families of certain castes, rather than caste as a whole. This

relationship is supposed to be durable, exclusive and multiple. The stability of relationship is enforced by family inheritance. That is, the right to serve a particular family is treated as a heritable and divisible right (see, **Mandelbaum** 1970: 161-162; **Srinivas 1987a:74-75**).

### 3.3.1 Traditional occupations and castes in the village

Each caste is traditionally associated with a particular occupation, however it does not mean that all members of the caste have to do their hereditary-assigned calling. Moreover, as Gough (1960a) indicates, the caste community is no longer in occupation and wealth due to a series of political and economic changes. Caste is, now, merely a limiting rather than a determining factor in the choice of occupation. A good many members of different castes and, in some cases the caste itself, have given up their traditional occupations, especially with the increase in immigrants and new **caste-free** occupations, the development of new industries which give the opportunities of **caste-free** employment, the expansion of trade, and the establishment of democratic political system.

Castes are, nowadays, obviously no longer characterized by the practice of hereditary occupations, but only by the nomenclature itself, that is, to put in **Dumont's** (1970a:74) terms, "heredity is more important than function". Under such condition, it is clear that the heterogeneous caste members do not share any common economic interest which is based on the hereditary occupation itself. Caste interest is defined as ritual and social, that is, caste members share common ritual and/or social identity. Nowadays, the individual's economic interest is prior to the caste interest to some extent. Therefore, the caste appears as 'a collective **individual**', with the process of '**substantialisation**' in which competition substitutes for interdependence between castes, and each individual confronts other individuals within/out castes. With such processes of the break-down of hierarchical interdependence between castes, and the increase of socio-economic **differentiation** within the caste, any moral obligation to follow an ancestral occupation is practically extinct, and caste membership is seen as unconnected with the means of livelihood (cf. **Dumont 1970a:222**; **Fuller 1996b**).

But contrary to the internal changes of caste system, each caste group is emerging as political interest group based on caste membership rather than on the manifestation of caste because there is an increased awareness of one's own group as a political or economic entity, while the pollution complex or the idea of hierarchy is weakening. **Shah (1985:1)** says, "the caste



system has become weak and its traditional structure has been eroded in more than one way. At the same time, caste sentiments in terms of '**we-ness**' among the members still persist".

In the village, there are Muslims and twenty nine Hindu castes. The occupations and functions of the different castes are not wholly exclusive, but the nomenclature of castes is founded on their traditional specializations. For example, agriculture is one of the caste-free or '**open**' occupation, but it was formerly assigned as the task of the Reddy caste. Similarly, several other castes have taken trading as their means of livelihood, though it was designated to the **Komati** caste only. However, a large number of crafts and occupations in the village still remain the monopoly of specific castes. Besides this they are free to take certain other subsidiary sources of livelihood also. With this reality existing in the village situation what follows will be a description of different castes and their traditionally assigned occupations and the present situation of their occupational holdings<sup>5</sup>. Also a point worth noting here is that the ordering of the castes in the following delineations is more or less according to the accepted ritual hierarchy, though there are many controversial points regarding the intervening castes between two extremes, i.e. the Brahman and the '**untouchables**'.

### 3.3.11 The Brahman

Apart from the immigrants, there are only three Brahman families in the village. Each of them had enjoyed different status and office, for instance, one that of the feudal lord (or the **office of *Deshmukh***), the other that of priesthood (*pujari* of the village temple), and the third one that of a local ritual specialist (*purohit*), respectively. The *Deshmukh* and *pujari* belong to the Madhav subsect, and the village priest belongs to the **Smartha subsect**. However there is no record of intermarriage between these subsects. Of them, the *Deshmukh* family had lost its powerful and prestigious office before independence of India (cf. 2.9.11). But, still he is the largest land-owner, and has maintained a reputation and authority among the villagers through ritual functions, i.e. Dasara and Temple festival as well as by landowning. Nowadays, he stays in Hyderabad city for the most part of the year with his two married sons, one of whom is the businessman and the other the general manager of a private company.

The *pujari* family, also gave up the office since the father or head of household expired in 1971. The late father, had educated his three sons (one of them is the head of the at present household and two of his brothers) and made them to take

other jobs. The present head of family is working for a private company, his younger brother is a government officer and his elder brother who expired in 1994 worked for a government office at Hyderabad city. However, the family takes a key role as a priest during the annual function of the temple of the **Deshmukh** family. It is, they claim, the **dharma** of his family. Though they abandoned the temple priesthood longtimes ago, the male members of the family are still being called as '**pujari**' or '**phanthullu**' by the people with somewhat respective manner. Moreover, the family have retained the **inamlands** which was donated by the Nizam to the family for its temple priesthood. Nowadays, the charge of the temple priesthood is taken by a Brahman family who recently immigrated in the village for the livelihood.

The third Brahman family is the local priest who performs rituals for the marriage and other functions (except those of death) as well as an astrologer. The head of this family enjoys considerable local prestige not only due to his ritual status and office, but also for his secular position as a high school teacher and a substantial landowner. He inherited the ritual office of this family as a son-in-law, because his wife was the only daughter of her father. The family's sphere of ritual services as the local priest crosses the boundary of the village, that is, the village and a part of Sangareddy town are the heritable area of the family. People consult the priest regarding the suitability of proposed marriage, and an auspicious date and time for the wedding. His main duty as a priest lies in performing marriage ceremonies for the villagers. He officiates at the marriage ceremonies of the local people, including those of the '**untouchables**' and Tribes. But in former days he had not officiated the other low castes such as the 'untouchables' and the Tribes. He explains the reason for such changes: "Originally there was no religious difference, but in accordance with the tradition the difference was introduced. For instance, the *Harijans* used to clean the whole village, remove the dead animals and used to eat the meat of carcass following their custom. Therefore, they were being looked down and treated as '**untouchables**'. But nowadays, circumstances have changed. They do not take the meat of carcass any more, and follow 'our' customs. As they come to 'our' society, we should go to 'their' society. There is no separation between them and us any more. The *Harijans* follow the Hindu dharma. So I officiate at their marriage ceremony". This situation has been accepted also as a token of change by the other high castes as well .

On childbirth the Brahman is consulted about the fortune of baby concerned with the planetary position at the actual time of baby's birth. Similarly, after a death too he is consulted. If

it is found that the time of death was inauspicious, the members of the household may be asked to vacate the residence temporarily, for a period of weeks to several months, according to the advice of the Brahman. These consultations on the occasions of birth and death are generally sought by the people of higher castes and those who are well-to-do. In addition to the rites of passage, the Brahman conducts a kind of the **family-welfare** function (or *Sa tyanarayana puja*) of the people in the village. But he does not conduct any kind of agriculture-connected ritual functions in the fields or in the house of farmers, as reportedly found Coastal Orissa (see, Lerche 1993) .

### 3.3.12 The Thakur (or Rajput)

The Thakurs have been defined as the warrior and landowning caste of Northern India. They assert that they are true Kshatriyas who came from Rajasthan. They served for the **Deshmukh** as the security guard in the village. **With** the abolition of the feudal system, the family lost its office. Since then they have no specialized function there. However, they have maintained the identity of family as a Rajput, through a ritual ceremony ('*shastra puja*<sup>1</sup>) which is connected to the worship of sword. The sword which is the mark of the Thakurs represents symbolically the military tradition. If the '*shastra puja*' represents the **Thakur's** military legend, the '*Manik prabhu puja*<sup>1</sup>' symbolizes the status of Thakur in the hierarchical order and its character as generosity. By offering food cooked by a Brahmin during their *Manik prabhu puja* to the Brahman separately they identify themselves as Kshatriya which ranks just below the Brahman, and by supplying foods for a lot of people whoever gathers at the function, they show their generosity (cf. 3.4.3) . Moreover, they speak Hindi as their mother tongue, and their names always end with '**Singh**' which retains their identity. Now, only four households are left in the village. Of them two are teachers (one retired), the other two are working privately as **electricians**. They are the substantial landowners of the village.

### 3.3.13 The Komati

The Komatis are traders. They keep small permanent shops at the main point in the village, and also function as money-lenders. The Komati seem to have lost their monopoly of trading by the change of times. They have to face the competition of some of the comparatively richer **Reddy**, Sara and the Muslims. There are eight Komati families. Of them five keep general shops, one is money-lender and agent of several chit funds, and he has a rice-mill in other place as well, another manages a building-construction business, and the eighth family runs a rice-mill and an

oil-mill in the village. Among eight heads of households, two are teaching and three are retired-teachers. The prestigious position of a teacher helps him to mask his second personality as a money lender, or miser or usurer.

#### 3.3.14 The Reddy

The Reddys are mostly agriculturists and the most powerful and dominant landowning caste of the Telangana. Once they were generals in the armies of the Kakatiya Kings of Warangal. Among them, one family held the office of police **patel**, another held the office of **mali patel**; both were hereditary offices. Even after abolition of the institutions, they are still important leaders in the new political set up. Thus they came to higher position in the secular hierarchy of the village in particular. Recently, two Reddys took the **Sarpanchship** of the Gram Panchayat, of them one is the son of ex-police **patel**. And a son of **mali patel** is in charge of Village Administration Officer whose role is similar to that of former **patwari** office. Their distinguishable secular power and rank have been derived from their political power and economic **status**.

#### 3.3.15 The Lingayats

The position of the Lingayats is somewhat peculiar in Hindu caste system. The Lingayat is a religious sect of Saivaites which aims to abolish the caste, but gradually the Lingayat itself is drifting into the caste system with its endogamous divisions. The Lingayats wear a image of **the lingam** which is the emblem of the God Shiva, either fastened to the left arm or suspended from the neck. In the village, there are two endogamous sub-groups of the Lingayats, i.e. **Jangam** and **Baliya**. Traditionally the **Jangam** is the priest of the Lingayat sect, he officiates at their religious rites. Two of the Jangam families in the **village**, however, no longer officiate at the religious rites. Therefore, the Lingayats of the village rely on a Jangam of other village. Unlike the **Jangams**, the **Baliyas** are engaged in one form of trade or another. For instance, they are **shop** keepers, grain dealers, bankers and tailors. Also, the majority of them are agriculturalists.

The Lingayats reject the ritual service of the Brahman, while they receive **the** services of the craft castes and other service castes (e.g. the Chakalli, the **Mangalli**, the Mala or the Madiga, etc.).

### 3.3.16 The **Padmasalle**

The **Padmasalles** follow weaving as their traditional profession. However, they are wholly distinct from other Telugu weavers, such as the Devangas or Carnatic weavers, and Patkarsalle or **Khatris**. The term '**Salle**' is of Sanskrit origin, being an occupation of the Sanskrit and '**Salika**', a weaver, while the title '**Padma**' seems to be prefixed as a mark of distinction. The Padmasalles in the past used to weave only cotton cloths and manufacture *saris* of different patterns with silk or cotton borders.

By late 19th century, however, their coarse, **hand-loom** made cloths could not compete with foreign made goods which were extensively imported into the country, and their comparative fineness and good qualities were more acceptable to the mass of the people. Thus many of them had been forced to give-up weaving and take up other pursuits. They became, therefore, agriculturists, labourers, shop-keepers, and etc.

But this occupational mobility was collective rather than individual. In 1921 the Padmasalles organized '**All India Padmasalle Mahasabha**' at Pullampet, Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh. With the activities of the Padmasalle **Sangam** of Hyderabad City, and Telangana, the Padmasalle Community tried to change the ways of life, such as, to remove child marriage, to remove bad habits of drinking or smoking, to read **vedas**, to cultivate good manners, and etc. Through these reform movements, they united themselves and encourage the members to be proud of being a Padmasalle. Besides they claim that the ancestor of Padmasalle originated from the God Shiva (Narayana). Nowadays, all the male members of Padmasalle don the sacred thread, to represent their higher status and Sanskritized life style.

The Padmasalle have, now, practically abandoned their traditional occupation, i.e. weaving. In the village, there are twenty-eight households, but none of them engages in weaving. Most of them are working as the trader of vegetables, meals or other eatables, cloths or bangles. Some members are Government employees, teachers, **bus-conductors** agriculturist, and other job holders.

### 3.3.17 The **Yadav**

The Yadavas consist of two sub-groups, namely the **Golla** and the **Kurma**. The **Golla's** traditional occupation was herding cows and/or buffalos, and that of the Kurma was keeping sheep and goat. While the Golla took agriculture as subsidiary job, the Kurma did not. Nowadays, the main sources of livelihood for both

of them are agriculture (either as tenants or owners), the milk production, and other caste-free employments. Among them, only two families earn a main source of income by keeping goats and sheep, but almost all of them keep one or two cows and **buffalos** as a subsidiary means of livelihood. Even though they are no longer engaged in shepherdhood, they retained their social identity by organizing themselves as a **Shepherds'** Co-operate Society on the basis of the Yadav caste committee in which each family becomes member. Through this organization, externally, they seek benefits or loans from the Government and, internally, they unite the members as a group. So, the organization functions as a socio-political interest **group**. In the village, with the effect of '**Yadav Movement**' (see, Rao 1987), the Yadavs worship Lord Krishna as the God of caste, instead of the local God ('**Virapa**') or Goddess ('**Malamma**') whom they worshiped traditionally in the local area, particularly in this village.

### 3.3.18 The Muduraju (or Mutrasi)

The Muduraju seems to belong to '**jati-cluster**' rather than a single caste. In the village, the Muduraju have four sections - Muduraju, Tenugu or Tellaga, Manne, and Bestha, besides one ritually specialized sub-caste or family, that is, Tallari. These sections are called as '**Kulla Urthi**' (occupational names), while the Muduraju as a whole is called '**Kullam**' (caste).

The **Mudurajus** are engaged in agriculture as owner or tenant, landless **daily-labourer (cooli)**, or fishermen. They are peculiar for the absence of any traditional occupation among them except the Bestha (fishery), although their members were engaged as village watchmen (as Machikuri or Neerudi) under the Nizam and they still maintain the job under the village administration.

### 3.3.19 The Goud (or Gaondla)

The Gouds are **toddy-tappers**. This caste as a co-operate unit has the monopoly of tapping the different kinds of palm trees, and also selling the toddy (or **kallu**), or fermented palm juice in the village. The villagers in this area are very much fond of drinking toddy, especially, after the prohibition of other liquors in the State, in 1995.

The Gouds first mark out the trees to be tapped, then tie earthen pots at the points where each tree has been tapped to collect the dripping juice, in the afternoons and evenings. Early next morning and noon they collect the juice and bring back to the main shop where they dilute the juice with water in large pots. Then they fill them in the bottles, and distribute through

three retail toddy shops where the toddy is sold to the customer by **bottle**. Even though, only the Gouds have the right to tap and sell the toddy in the village, several persons belonging to other castes or other villages also work for tapping and diluting the toddy for the Goud Co-operative society. And, moreover, like other castes, the Gouds also have other jobs, of a tenant-farmer, or of a labourer as well as other skilled or **non-skilled** employments. The Gouds as a whole worship the Goddess **Pochamma**, **Durgamma** and some others. While worshiping the **Durgamma**, a large function takes place with a sacrifice of goat in front of the temple of the goddess which is owned by the Gouds.

### 3.3.110 The Sara

The Sara was traditionally **arrack** (**local-made** liquor) maker and seller. The Sara says, its formal name is Bou Sara Kshatriya. There are five Sara families in the village. No one had been engaged as **arrack** maker and seller, since last 100 years. Among them, one family runs a general shop, two work for Government offices, one is working for private company, the last one is an agriculturist.

### 3.3.111 The **Mera** (or Chipollu)

The **Mera** is a Hindu tailor caste. In the village, the Mera is called '**chipollu**' while the Muslim tailor is called '**Darji**', but incidentally the tailors whether they are the Hindus or Muslims are called '**Darji**' without distinction. With the increase in population, the tailors have a good business in the village. Except the well-to-do people, all others get their tailoring done by the Village tailors. There are nine tailor shops in the village, of them five are run by the Mera, three by the **Baliya** (Lingayat), and only one by a Muslim.

### 3.3.112 The **Medari** (or Medara)

By tradition, the Medaris are skilled craftsmen in bamboo works who weave sieves, fans, baskets, cradles, mats, boxes, and tatties (screen, etc.). In the village, except a single family that keeps this job, all the rest live as a daily-labourers or tenant or owner of small pieces of land.

### 3.3.113 The Satani

Traditionally the Satanis were engaged as temple workers, for wreathing garlands, carrying torches during the god's procession, and sweeping the temple floor. They claim to be the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of **Ramanujacharya**. The Satani

is a sect of **Vaishnavites**. In the village, there used to be only one Satani family worked as Ayurvedic medical doctor. But in the course of this survey, they left the village after the death of head of the household.

### 3.3.114 The **Kummari**

The Kummari is potter. In the Village there are eleven Kummari families. Of them only four are actually working at the wheel. Since the introduction of steel and plastic wares and vessels, they have lost the clientele of the village and their monopoly in the market. Today, each of these families is attached to some agriculturists in the village, and it periodically supplies them with a certain number of earthen pots of domestic use. But if they supply the earthen pots for the marriage and death ceremony purpose, they are paid for the extra pots in cash. Although the tradition has prescribed the minimum payment, on happy occasions people often give a little more. Non-agriculturists and the people who do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from them for a cash price. And the potters used to sell various types of pots in the occasions of village festivals.

### 3.3.115 The **Kammari, Vaddla** and Ausalli

These people form a group of artisan castes who designate themselves as Vishwa Brahman (or Panch Brahman) and maintain a certain degree of exclusiveness **from** the other Hindu **castes**. Out of these, two groups the Vaddla (carpenter) and Kammari (blacksmith), maintain the permanent and hereditary relationship with the agriculturists. Under this system they have to repair and supply agricultural implements whenever the clientele need. In return for their services they get a fixed amount of the crops of their agriculturists clientele. However, all their services to non-clientele as well as their services of a non-agricultural parts, used to be paid for the other group. The **blacksmithry** and carpentry are interchangeable occupations and intermarriage between these groups of people is acceptable (see, 3.5.1), for example. Ausalli (goldsmiths) specialize in the field which have nothing to do with the agriculture, and they carry on their craft independently.

### 3.3.116 The **Waddera (or Waddar)**

This caste regards the excavation of stone from quarries, and working in earth to be its original occupation. The Wadderas are also engaged in tank digging, road making, building stone walls, making **mill-stones**, and many kinds of **out-door** labours.



Nowadays, they have taken to the agriculture as tenants or owners, or they work as the milk-suppliers or the daily-labourers for their livelihood.

### 3.3.117 The **Arekatika**

There are three families of Arekatika (Hindu butcher) in the village. '**Katika**' in Telugu means '**cruel**', and refers to the butchers, while the prefix, '**Are**' is the generic name by which all the **Maratha** castes are known to the Telugu people. The occupation of the caste was that of selling sheep and goat meat. Now only one of them slaughters goats and sheep, and sells the meat to the villagers Hindus every Sundays. The other is a medical practitioner, and the third one has no male member in the house; they are working as daily labourers. The villagers, both Hindus and Muslims, buy mutton usually from the Muslim butchers, who open their shops everyday.

### 3.3.118 The Dasari (or Dasri)

The Dasaris catch fish, work as **daily-labourers**. The women-folk sell the miscellaneous articles such as comb, mirror, **kum-kum**, hair pins, purse, needle, thread, neckwear, razor, and other coarse plastics goods. Previously, they used to go from place to place carrying those articles on their heads as hawkers. Today the menfolk have taken up as agricultural labourers or unskilled workers. Also they have little pieces of land.

### 3.3.119 The Gandla (or Ganiga)

The name '**ganiga**<sup>1</sup>' is derived from the Telugu '**ganugu**', meaning an oil-mill. Their occupation is oil-pressing for the villager. There are two Gandla families related to father-in-law or son-in-law for each other in the village. Both of these families have chosen business as their main occupation. So the villagers produce their oil at oil-mill run by a **Komati**. They belong to Lingayat Gandla who have a tradition of burying their dead in a sitting **posture**. **Though** their priests are Jangams under whose presidency all their sectarian and ceremonial observers are conducted, in marriage and other ritual functions, the Brahman is employed as a priest.

### 3.3.120 The **Chakalli** and the **Mangalli**

The Chakalli (washermen) and the Mangalli (barbers) have no direct contributions to produce the agricultural outputs, but their services are required by the agriculturists as well as non-agriculturaists. Particularly, in the **socio-religious** ceremonies

and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death, the agriculturalists as well as the non-agriculturalists find it more convenient to have the permanent relationship with the families of those castes. Their **socio-religious** services during the ritual **functions** are regarded more important than their normal **services**. Such **socio-ritual** services are generally provided for in the rites of passage. In return these castes have to be given something, either in cash or in kind. In the ritual functions, usually both the Chakalli and the **Mangalli** jointly offer their ritual services for the family of their common clientele. On the marriage ceremony, they together make a pedestal ('**kalyana mandapam**' or '**pollu**') on which the wedding function is solemnized, and a bier for the funeral rite. Similarly, on the '**pochamma**' function, they sacrifice the scapegoat to the Goddess. However like other castes, they also work independently outside the hereditary relationships, and take other jobs as a subsidiary means of livelihood. Between them there is no **service-exchanges**.

### 3.3.121 The Budigajangam

There are two **Budigajangam** families in the village, whose traditional occupation is begging. They rely on mat making with the leaves of palm tree hunting of wild animals, and working as a **daily-labourer** for their livelihood.

### 3.3.122 The Dore (Dhor)

The Dore is the tanner caste of Maratha origin. The term '**Dhor**' stands for '**horned** cattle'<sup>1</sup>, bestowed upon this caste with reference to its occupation of tanning and dressing cattle skins. They speak **Marathi** as their mother tongue, and the Marathi title of '**jhi**' is also affixed to their name (e.g. **Dauljhi**, **Vitojhi**, etc.). In the village, there are fifteen households, but all are connected by the blood or affinal relationships. It is said that they immigrated to this village around 200-250 years ago. Among them, only three persons work for their traditional calling, that is, tanning and curing hides. They buy raw hides of goats, sheep, oxen, and buffaloes from the butchers. The dressed hide is sold at the markets or to the regular buyer who is the Muslim. And they have kept the permanent relationship with the agriculturists for whom the Dores repair or supply new harness of yoke and other leather items. Although they are engaged in leather-works, their ritual position in the village is ranked above '**untouchability**'.

### 3.3.123 The Mochi

The Mochi is shoemaker, cobbler and leather worker. In their trade they use the hides of the bullock, buffalo, goat and sheep.

They never dress freshly skinned hides of any of the animals, but purchase them ready tanned from the Dorees or from the market. There is only one **Mochi** family who migrated to this village about a century ago. This family works independently without any traditional or permanent relationship with the others. It runs a petty shoe store at the crossroads. Like the Dorees, the **Mochis** too are treated as '**non-untouchables**' although they have a '**low**' job of leather works.

### 3.3.124 The Mala and the Madiga

The Mala and the Madiga by their birth occupy the lowest and the most degraded position, that is '**untouchables**', in hierarchical order of caste division. Only these castes are referred as the '*Harijans*<sup>1</sup>', amongst other **SCs**. The Mala is, it is said superior to the Madiga in general, but in the village, the Madigas claim that they are superior to the Mala. But they are living in the same dwellings away from other settlements. In former times they were engaged as farm labourer, servants, grooms and the village watchmen. As the forced labourers (*vetti*) of the lands, they were cheap. They used to be under compulsion, and being in no position to protest, they were enslaved by their masters. Now, the conditions have changed, they do no longer put up with indignities. They cultivate their own lands, work as a tenant or a daily-labourer for wages, while some of them associate themselves to the households of the substantial agriculturists in the village. However, a lot of members of these castes are employed **for Government services**.

In terms of occupation, there is little difference between the Madiga and the Mala in general. But internally, there are considerable differences between sub-groups of them. The Begari, a subsect of the Mala, is engaged as grave-digger for the village as a whole, and only the Begari has right to officiate at the Pochamma **pooja** for the **Malas**. Similarly the Pedda Madiga, a sect of the Madiga who is a scavenger has the right to dispose of the carcasses for the village as a whole, and they also officiate at the Pochamma function for the **Madigas**. The Bindlas (or *dapu*), another sect of the Madiga, are engaged as '**priest**' in the marriage ceremonies of the *Harijans*, and they serve as musicians at the marriage and other ceremonies for other high caste Hindus such as Mala and Madiga of the village and occasionally, for the Muslims as well. The Bindla also work as village-criers announcing by beat of drum ('**dapu**') any public order of the village. That is, not the whole Mala is engaged in **grave-digging**, also not the whole Madiga is working as the scavenger. Though these are extremely degraded occupations, some of these subcastes are still engaged in these works. Moreover, they insist that they have

worked from generation to generation as grave-digger or scavenger. It is not only because those subsidiary but monopolised works help their daily livelihood, but also because they wish to get some economic **or** social benefits from the Government by insisting that they are engaged in such degraded **works**.

### 3.3.125 The **Erukalla** (or **Erakalla**)

The Erukalla was traditionally a vagrant gypsy tribe, bearing bad reputation as professional criminal or burglar. They have settled in the village long times ago. Today they earn their livelihood through, mainly, basket making with palm tree, and working in agriculture as tenant or owner, and **daily-labourers**. Presently, there are sixteen - Erukulla families in the village. Among them, one manages a small grain oil shop at the main market street of the village. They rear pigs around the village, eat pork on the occasions of weddings or annual festival season.

### 3.3.2 General observation on caste and occupation

In summary, the hereditary occupations which have been assigned to each caste, remain more or less as the nomenclature of respective castes. Nowadays, might be previously also (see, Silverberg 1968; Srinivas 1966b; Thapar 1979; ), it is not the caste obligation, but the socio-economic interest to maintain the hereditary occupations as livelihood of the people. In the village, a lot of castes desert their hereditary occupation, either totally (such as, the **Padmasalle**, the Sara, or etc.), or partially (such as, the Yadav, the **Kummari**, the Dore, or etc.). This has happened mainly due to the change of socio-economic environment, and the increase in job opportunities other than in the domains of their traditional occupations. They choose their livelihood among certain alternatives, such as, agriculture, trade, business, or others. However, certain castes till present maintain their traditional occupations by monopolization; such as the service castes - the Chakalli, the Mangalli and the crafts - the Ausalli, the Vaddla, the **Kammari**, while certain occupations become '**caste-free**', such as the Tailoring, the Trading, or the Agriculture.

In a certain case, a caste has been asserted of monopoly, not only the occupation itself, but also the materials which connect to perform the occupation. For instance, the Gouds who are **toddy-tappers**, have monopolized the right of the palm trees in the village territory. The Goud caste itself has become a kind of '**cooperative**' society in terms of economic activity. The

Goud caste **committee** has control over all dealings on toddy in the village.

While in other case, when it was not any specific caste for certain occupation, the individuals or families who have been engaged in that occupation for a long time, organize themselves as an occupational association to protect and monopolize their own interests from others. For example, in the village the fishery was not assigned to any specific caste, instead some individuals or families engaged in the fishery as their alternative means of livelihood. There are 22 fisheries, most of them are the **Mudurajus - Manne** and Bestha - and a Dasari and two Muslims. Before 1983, they were under the control of Sangareddy Mandal Fisher Cooperative Society, as registered members. However, after some conflicts between the fisheries of the village and other members in regard to fish, they organized a separate association with the fisheries of the village as the member. At the time of separation, they paid **Rs. 11.000**. Though they have a separate association, officially they are under the control of the Cooperative Society, so they pay Rs.3,000 per year as a rental fee to that Cooperative Society. **In** return they get a right to fish in the three lakes which are locate in the village **boundary**.

That is, this fisher's association named the 'Bestha Sangam', was organized mainly for their own economic interest. And it was based on the occupation, rather than on certain caste on the one hand, and the village boundary on the other.

However, the '**untouchable**' caste status has been decided by birth, not by the possession of certain polluting **occupations**. **In** the village, the Mala and the Madiga have been categorized as '**untouchables**', but among them only a few families or sections (or sub-castes) have hereditarily been engaged as Scavenger (Pedda Madiga) or Gravedigger (Begari). While the majority of both castes are engaged as agricultural or other menial labourers, without any specific, hereditary occupation.

Moreover, the 'untouchables' have possessed somewhat distinctive socio-cultural forms. The most 'polluted' families or sections, i.e. Pedda Madiga and Begari, officiate the ritual ceremony at the **Pochamma pooja** of their respective caste. And both of them are called '**pedda**' or '**peddamanchi**' among their caste members. It means that they occupy '**high**' position, ritually as well as socially, among their caste members.

This fact is contrary to Moffat's insistence; "untouchables do not necessarily possess distinctively different social and

cultural forms as a result of their positions in the system" (Moffat 1979:3). Moreover, to some extent, the categorization of the 'untouchables' seems to be connected to a certain locality. For instance, the Dore has been ranked above the 'untouchability', in ritual domains as well as social context of the village. The Dore whose traditional occupation is tanning and dressing cattle skin, migrated in this village from Maharashtra. The Dore has been classified as SCs in the government reservation, and is living in the main settlement of the village, not outside. It seems that the immigrants are 'free' from the categorization of pre-existing 'untouchables'.

### 3.3.3 The relations among various occupational castes

The character of economic and ritual relationships in Indian villages is largely determined by the specialized traditional occupations based on the castes, and by the particular pattern of service exchange relations between the families of different castes. A major feature of the exchange system is that the relationships between the agriculturists and the families of craft or service castes are usually hereditary, and the rewards are paid in forms of fixed amount of grains or cash.

This kind of hereditary relationship of service exchange between the families of different castes is popularly known as 'the *jajmani* system' following Wiser's (1936) study<sup>7</sup>. But confusions exist concerning the scope of the system, and its relevance to other aspects of the caste (see, Kolenda 1983a). A number of the *jajmani* studies dispute whether it is an **all-Indian** system<sup>8</sup> or a variety of the specific region, Gangetic plain (see, Fuller 1989; Good 1982; Lerche 1993; Mayer 1993; Simon 1983) .

In addition to the **farmer-service** caste relations, there is another relation between the village as a whole and specific family and class of the castes in the village in particular (cf. 2.9.2), and in South India in general (see, Benson 1976; Dube 1955; Fukazawa 1984, 1972; Good 1982; Karanth 1987; Raju 1980). Moreover, the *jajmani* system is by no means exclusive to Hindus, as the Muslims also are partly engaged in the *jajmani* relations (see, Aggarwal 1978; Bhatt<sup>y</sup> 1978; Madan 1984). And the origins of the term '**jajman**' applied to the master of household who employs a Brahman priest as ceremonial specialist, so the existence of the Brahman priest presupposes the existence of the *jajmani* value system (see, Dumont 1970a: 97-98; Gould 1987; Mayer 1993:359; Pocock 1962) .

In the village, the traditional relationships between the agriculturists and the craft or service castes have been called

'pethubai' relation. Basically, in the *pethubai* relation, the Brahman *purohit* is not involved in any ritual service in relation to the agricultural activity, neither is he involved in the field nor in the house of farmer, as to be found in the Coastal Orissa (see, Lerche 1993). The rites concerning to agricultural cycle are performed by the farmer himself. The *purohit* officiates at the wedding ceremony and other family welfare functions, but not during death purification ceremony. He provides services for all the villagers regardless of occupation, and the village as a whole. In return for his service to the villagers, the Brahman *purohit* receives money, eatables, grains or clothes as **dakshina** ('gift to a guru') (cf. Thapar 1979), immediately at the time of each ritual ceremony or after some days, but he does not receive other types of yearly presentation. On the other hand the Brahman customarily receives the services from other services castes such as **Chakalli**, **Mangalli**, etc.

The relation between the agriculturists and the craft or services castes who serve them is locally seen as a relation between '**asami**' (patron, agriculturist) and '**pannollu**' or '**paniwaru**' (worker). But such patrons (**asamis**) can be the members of any castes regardless of ritual or secular **status**. Agriculture is largely considered to be '**caste free**' occupation, that is, agriculture is in no sense a caste monopoly, and all castes down to the lowest '**untouchables**' do practice cultivation (see, Gould 1987:159; Mathur 1958:51; Srinivas 1987a). In practice, the **Erukalla**, the '**untouchables**', and the Muslims are involved in the *pethubai* relations as agriculturist, that is, **asami** position, in the village. But traditionally the **Chakalli** and the **Mangalli**, had not done any **socio-ritual** service for the '**untouchables**' and the Muslims. Nowadays, the latter, however, get certain services, that is, hair cutting, washing or ironing clothes from the **Chakalli** or the **Mangalli** on the payment of money but not ritual services **yet**.

The status of *asami* or agriculturist either of Hindu or Muslim refers to the land-cultivator regardless of its ritual status and position in the caste hierarchy, and of its religious belief, while the position of *pannollu* solely relies on its specialized occupation of the caste. That is, the *asami* is not a homogeneous group, but economically it is a category of agriculturists. This means that there is no connection between the *asami* and the caste.

However, relatively few castes are involved in the *pethubai* relations, and the services rendered within the relations are limited on the specific domains. For instance, the relation between the agriculturist and the carpenter or the blacksmith is

restricted within the economic sphere. The carpenter and the blacksmith whose works are directly relevant to agriculture, are paid semi-annually in grain payment of fixed amount by the agriculturists. However, the *asamis* are charged cash or extra-grain for such works as house-constructions, bullock-cart construction or other production of non-agricultural equipments. The leather workers also supplies his service with the leather goods for his *asami* whenever it is needed. If the families have sufficient land and are cultivating it themselves, or though they have not sufficient land and are cultivating as tenants, they pay for the **agriculture-related** services of the carpenter, the blacksmith, or the leather-worker in grain. But if they are not cultivating, they have no need of these services. The potter supplies various kinds of pots to his *asami* during the year. Virtually, there is no limits to the number of pots, but it is around fifteen pots for the domestic purpose only. The *asamis* have to pay in cash if additional pots are supplied for the ritual purpose either at the wedding ceremony or at the funeral rites or any other similar occasions.

The positions of the barber and the washermen are different in the **petubai** system however. They are not engaged in a direct bearing on the agricultural-related activities. Their services **for** the *asami* are concerned with both secular and ritual **domains**. The barber does the **hair-cutting** and shaving of the members of the agriculturist's family. The washerman, similarly, works for the washing clothes of the family of his *asami*. The barber routinely visits the houses of his *asamis*, the washerman also collects clothes every second or third days and washes them. But the family is charged in cash for the ironing of the clothes if they need, i.e. ironing is treated as an additional job. In addition to these routined services, the barbers and the washermen have specified functions in the rites and ceremonies connected with the major rites of life, such as birth, marriage and death, etc. They perform these jobs routinely without any direct negotiations or prearrangements regarding to wages that they may expect in return **for** their **services**. Those concerned with the ritual services are paid in cash or **clothes**. Depending on their status and financial position, people sometimes pay more for these services at the completion of the ceremony, though the convention has fixed the basic minimum. In addition to cash and grain payment, the washermen are offered a day meal in the patron's house. Unlike other service castes, most of washermen's daily-routine services are carried on by their wives or women **members**.

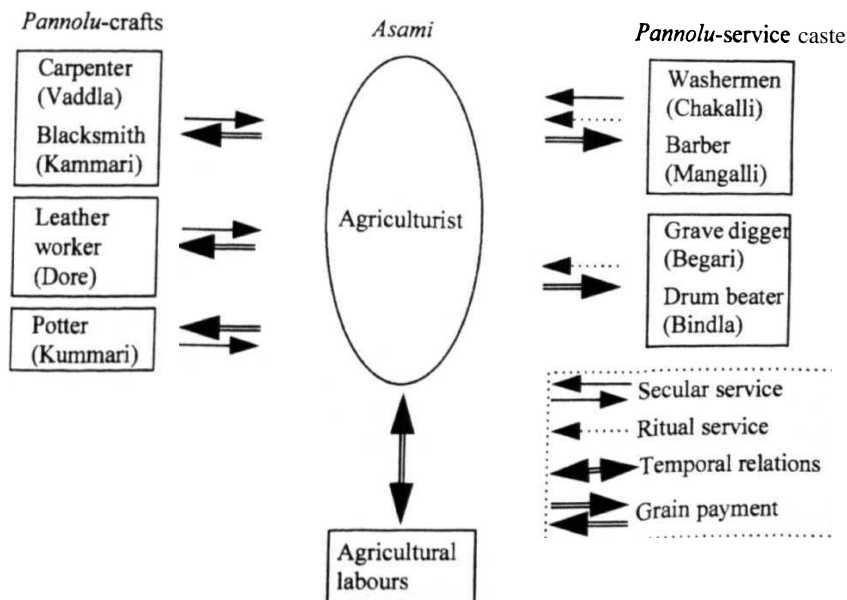
It is worth noting in the context of the village that only two **Mangalli** families provide all the villagers regardless of their caste hierarchies, to Hindu as well as Muslim, with the



midwifery service (for getting their babies delivered). The **Mangalli** women derive this skill traditionally from their mother-in-laws. In return for their service they are paid in cash. The **midwives** offer their services at the time of delivery and massage woman who delivers a child and bathes the newborn baby. But they do not massage for the **Harijan**. Customarily they take higher charge if it is boy. During the survey, they get Rs.200 for a boy, **Rs.150** for a girl baby. However, nowadays, the rich villagers use hospitals, in Sangareddy, for delivery.

The grave-digger and the **drum-beater** are not engaged in any **daily-routine** work for the agricultural pursuits or for members of the agriculturist family. Their services are limited upon the domains of **socio-religious** rites and ceremonies. For these occasions, the agriculturists have maintained the relationship with them. In consequence, the bonds between the agriculturists and the grave-digger or the drum-beater are based on the mutual obligation and expectation.

Chart - 2  
PETHUBAI RELATIONS



The occupation of agricultural labourer (**coolī**) corresponds but little to caste affiliation. Some members of lower-middle castes work either as independent day-labourer or as obligatory labourer who have borrowed money from agriculturist and have promised to work off the debt. In return for the labour work, they are paid in cash or occasionally in kind as per the piece of each work. Between the agriculturist and the labourer, there is no permanent relationship like in the cases of other craft or service castes, but a kind of mutual expectation exists between them. Chart - 2 given below shows the *pethubai* relationship of the village.

All **pannollu** call the patron as **asami**, while the **asamis** call a specialist as **paniwaru** with prefix caste names for example, Vaddla *paniwaru* or **Kammari paniwaru**. There is no special term for an individual servicemen who work for the *asami*.

Categorically, all servicemen are termed as '**pannollu**' or '**paniwaru**' of the agriculturist, however, they have no special or mutual relationship between *pannollus* of an agriculturist. But '**pannollu**' is a reference term rather than a term of address.

### 3.3.31 The *pethubai* relations

The payment of grain to the specialist is in relation to the number of ploughs used by the agriculturist, and the extent or quality of land owned, or the number of family members in the patron's house. Table - 12 represents the rate of payment and criteria for the services of each specialist.

However, the total amount of grain payment fluctuates depending upon the year of abundance or failure of crops though the basic rate of payment has been fixed by the custom. In addition to the fixed grain payments in main foodgrains which are known as '**dhanyam**' or '**katinam**' in local term, all the servicemen receive some quantity of other agricultural products, such as, chilli, onion, groundnut, etc. by a '**bhitcham**' ('alms') or a '**gulla**' (basket).

In order to get the full amount due and more *bhitcham*, the service caste members present themselves at the harvest or threshing floor, if they receive at patron's house they will not get some more extra-amount, apart from the fixed.

TABLE - 12  
PAYMENT OF **PETHUBAI** RELATION

Occupations (Castes)	Rates of payment (per harvest)	Criteria of payment
1. Carpenter (Vaddla)	16 Addas* Paddy*/ Jowar (or 1/2 Quintal)	1 plough + extent of land owned
2. Blacksmith (Kammari)	16 Addas Paddy/ Jowar	1 plough + extent of land owned
3. Potter (Kummari)	8 Addas Paddy/ Jowar	1 household
4. Leather-worker (Dore)	8 Addas Paddy/ Jowar	1 plough
5. Washermen (Chakalli)	8 Addas Paddy/ Jowar	1 household+ family members
6. Barber (Mangalli)	8 Addas Paddy/ Jowar	1 house + family members
7. Grave-digger (Mala-Begari)	2-3 Addas Paddy/ Jowar	1 household
8. Drumb-beater (Madi- (ga-Bindla) or Dappu	-3 Addas Paddy/ Jowar	1 household

\* All service castes also receive other agricultural products, at each harvest time.

\*\* 1 Adda is roughly 3 kg. 1 Quintal = 1 Tummadi = 97 kg.

The value of grain is constant or relatively so. Thus wages and rewards if given in kind remain constant and it is possible for substantial relationship to operate in terms of permanent and mutual reliance. Moreover, the payment in kind for the servicemen contains a moral responsibility for the condition of grain or agricultural production on the one hand, and for the continuation of reciprocal relationship on the other. In addition to grain payment, cash payment is made for all extra services. Thus always cash and kind payments co-exist. It is evident from this that the institution of this relation has adapted itself to suit for the changing needs of the people both in the past and in the recent times.

In the village, apart from the above **pethubai** system, there are certain castes or subcastes who work for all the villagers without permanent relationship with certain families or castes. They are Brahman priest, Mangalli **midwives**, and Pedda Madiga or Scavenger, as well as watan holders (cf. 2.9.2). The former offer their services whoever need. But previously, the Brahman

priest did not offer any services for low castes and the Harijans. The Hindu services castes, generally, offer their services for Hindus **only**, however the **midwives** work for the Muslims also. They receive cash and other gift in return for their service, piece by piece at the time of service. There has been no prolonged relationship with certain clientele.

And the other service castes, the crafts also take cash for their service or goods for the person who has no pethubai relationship with them. Traditionally, an exchange of service between artisans or between service castes has not existed. They do work for each other in return; they are paid in cash or in grain either on a piece work basis, or on a monthly basis.

### 3.3.32 Changing perspectives in the relations

The penetration of a monetary economy, urban-oriented trade, and expanding industries as well as alternative occupational opportunities outside agriculture, and capital accumulation opened up outside the traditional profession roles and interaction. It is because they created new employments outside agriculture for the agriculturists on the one hand and new means of acquiring land for previously landless group on the other. In addition to these, a high rate of population growth has increased the pressure on the land, and the establishment of political and bureaucratic system have led to the fragmentation of traditional ties.

For instance, a barber who inherited forty-two households as his **asamis** from his father, now maintains only eight through the *pethubai* relation since the remaining thirty-four ceased to be the agriculturist, whether because they joined **non-agricultural** jobs or became landless. The barber is paid in cash for his hair-cutting and shaving from the **thirty-four** former **asami** families like other common people who have no permanent relationship. As the barber himself is engaged in the agriculture now, he cultivates three acres of land through *pethubai* relations with other service-castes, that is, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the grave-digger, the drum-beater, and the washermen, in the village.

There is another situation emerging under which if the agriculturists are not cultivating, they have no need for the craft's service, therefore they break off the relationship with the latter except with the washermen (and the potter). While they pay in cash monthly or in grain annually with fixed arrangement. Usually, non-agriculturist also have maintained the relationship with the washermen, and paid in cash every month that is fixed

or negotiated previously. The services of washermen are essential to the villager whether it is for secular or ritual purpose.

In addition to these effects, due to natural disasters such as drought and flood, the changes occur in the relationship and the payment system in the **pethubai** relation. During a period of drought which lasted from 1971 to 1973 in the Telangana region, the social system, not only economic, changed tremendously (see, Rao 1974) . In the village, also, due to the failure of crops and the price increase on agricultural products during the drought, a lot of agriculturists were forced to pay in cash instead of grain payment. For instance, a **Padmasalle** who has cultivated 20 acres of land, has now been paying in cash for the services of other castes except the blacksmith and the carpenter, since the time of drought.

On the contrary, occasionally the servicemen ask to change the payment system from the permanent and fixed amount of grain payments to the cash on a piece work basis. Usually the barber prefers the cash payment for the **hair-cutting** and shaving services.

A commonly held view is that the ties between the **asami** and the **paniwallu**, once established, are inherited agnatically by both parties and that upon the partition of joint family **asamis** are subdivided among coparceners in the same manners as other property. The right to serve for the **asamis** is usually enjoyed by the patrilineal descendants of the original holder or by other relatives. When the holder has no male offspring, it can be transmitted to his son-in-law who joins his family through **iller-ikam** marriage in lieu of other relatives. But there is no periodical **reallotment** as reportedly found in other village of local area (see, Bronger 1975).

The residential location can sometimes be as important as kinship ties in affecting the choice of specialists. For instance, the **Mangalli** have taken charge of the village Kandi and a hamlet **Chimnapur**. The households of Kandi have been subdivided and inherited by the five families of Mangalli. While those of the Chimnapur, similarly, have been subdivided and inherited by other three families.

### 3.3.33 Farmer-agricultural servants relations

In addition to the **farmer-service** caste relations, the farmer-agricultural servants relation has existed as a vital institution **for** the agricultural productions. In the village, like in other Telangana area, agricultural servants are called

'jeetagallu'<sup>1</sup>. The **jeetagallu** works only for one **farmer**, and is bonded as long as the relation lasts. The **jeetagallus** of the village are mostly 'untouchables', commonly belonging to **Madiga** caste. However, some of the **jeetagallus** are Chakalli, **Waddera**, **Reddy**, or Muslim as well.

The **jeetagallus** mostly work for the same farmer for several years, though they are, in principle, engaged on a yearly contract basis orally. The **jeetagallu** is bound to work for his farmer everyday of the year, at the field or the house. In return he gets a yearly or a monthly sum of money plus meals and a daily allowance ('**batta**'). The number of meals and the amount of **batta** (generally two Rupees per day), are decided by the time of **contract**. Usually, the **jeetagallu** who works on a monthly basis gets money higher than that earned on a yearly basis, but he has no security for the period of rain or slack season. The **farmer-jeetagallu** relation is purely concerned with non-ritual services, and is **temporal**.

### 3.3.34 Landowner-tenant relations

There is, moreover, the landowner - tenant relation which is called '**watadarullu**' in the local term. The landowner is called '**yajamani**', while the tenant as a cultivator is called '**raithu**' in the village. Broadly, nowadays, two tenantry systems are operating, one is **share-tenantry** ('**bathai**'<sup>1</sup>), the other is rent-tenantry ('**gutta**'). The **battai** system applies in the wet-land or black soil ('**nallari egari**') on which the food crops ('**thari pantha**') are cultivated, while the **gutta** system applies in the dry-land or red soil ('**chelkal**') on which the commercial crops ('**kusiki pantha**') are produced. In the **bathai** system, the landowner and the tenant share all the agricultural productions and expenditure which include fertilizer, pesticide, seeds, and other **charges**.

The **gutta** (or **kaullu**) system has been introduced in the village since last decade. As a lot of landowners who previously cultivated themselves or got it done by the tenants, nowadays have a job or are employed outside agricultural production, it is difficult to manage or control the agricultural works. So, they prefer the rent system to the share system in which one has to manage all the agricultural process and the expenditure for the cultivation. In the **gutta** system, the rent charge of the land is normally fixed. For example, two and half quintal of rice is paid for the rent charge of one acre of wetland. Particularly, this rice-rent charge is called '**biyam-gutta** (rice rent)' in the village, whereas, the **cash-rent** applies to the **dry-land** based on the quality of land and other facilities, as bore-well or road, etc.

The duration of tenantry is normally one year. Both the landowner and the tenant have no obligation for each other, therefore, the relations are easily broken off and new relations are established with others easily. The landowner as well as the tenant would like to establish the relations with several persons, if possible, for preventing the tentative collapse of the relationships from both sides. And there is no specific 'rule' regarding the choice of the relationship between the landowner/tenant and certain castes. For instance a Reddy cultivates the land that belonged to the **Lambadi**, and conversely an Erukulla is the tenant of a Muslim landowner in the village.

### 3.3.35 *Hamalli*, the **non-agricultural** labourer

In addition to the agricultural labourers, there is another type of labour such as the porter in the village. While the former is called as '**cooli**', the latter called as '**hamalli**' who works at the market place of the village. The *hamallis* are engaged for either in long-term or temporarily basis by the merchants. Most of the *hamallis* of the village are the Fakirs (Muslim) and the Madigas, while some of them are the Mudurajus, the **Medaris**, the Mangalli, and the Waddera. Like the *jeetagallu*, the *hamallis* are engaged in only non-ritual services.

## 3.4 Commensality

The caste system has been characterized as a system of hierarchically ordered units, but caste hierarchies are discontinuous. Caste system is maintained by defining and maintaining boundaries between castes. It is threatened when boundaries are compromised. Even though cultural differences between different castes are minimal, the ideal and mutual distinctiveness is maintained. This subsection will delineate an important signal of caste boundary, that **is** commensality and its importance as well as its existence in the modern, changing society within the confines of the village.

It is said that the interactions of the castes with regard to the giving and taking of food are one of the criteria of caste ranking (see, Freed 1963; Kolenda 1983b; Marriott 1965, 1992; Mayer 1960, 1996). The restrictions regarding food refer to separation. Thus the acceptance of food is restricted to one's own caste or to castes higher than his/her own and this reaffirms the separation and distance between castes. So, those who '**eat together**' are considered to be of the same ritual status. Both Marriott (1965) and Kolenda (1983b) have taken the food transactions between castes as important clues to understanding of the

ritual position of different castes in the caste hierarchy. But Das (1992:76) insists that this restriction of food exchange would be understood in terms of as the concept of purity, not as the principle of hierarchy. She says, "it is forbidden to accept food from certain categories of people, not because they are 'lower' but because they are 'polluted', and hence have to be 'separated'".

Neither of these view-points can explain the whole context of commensal practices. On the one hand, it is forbidden to accept food from certain categories of people because they are 'lower', while on the other, because they are ritually 'polluted'. However, this rule of food exchange indicates that **different** castes have to be separated, either because they are polluted or lower. The concept of pollution (or purity) and the rank are not totally independent or separable, in real life of local area, the 'polluted' castes are regarded as **inferior**. In this regard Mayer (1960:33) says, "the commensal hierarchy is based on the theory that each caste has a certain quality of ritual purity which is lessened, or polluted, **by** certain commensal contact with castes having an inferior quality".

#### 3.4.1 The food types

The distinction between '**kacca food**' that is food cooked in water and/or salt, and '**pakka food**' that is prepared with *ghee* (clarified butter) or sugar, is not clear in this village compared to the distinction maintained in other parts of India (see, Mayer 1960:33-34). This is, probably, due to the difference of life style as well as the main crops grown in this area. The main grains cultivated for the food purpose in the village are rice and sorghum (**jowar**). And almost all of the people take rice as a daily diet that is as staple food, sorghum is taken more as a **between-meal** or a simple breakfast than as main meals. The *pakka* types of foods, such as sweetmeats and parched grains, peanuts, pulses, etc. sell at the tea shops or the petty restaurants.

In the village, the cooked foods include both the *kacca* type such as boiled rice (**annam**), cakes of unleavened sorghum, as well as the daily run of curries and **chutneys**, and the *pakka* types. The *pakka* food is called **payasam** in local area, which is cooked with milk, sugar, or sesame oil. The food that is cooked with mango, groundnut oil, tamarind, chilli, lemon, etc. is called *pulihora*. And another type of food is *biriyani* (or *bagara*) made with rice, spices and lemon - if chicken is mixed '**chicken biriyani**', mutton mixed '**mutton-biriyani**', etc. Only the first type of food (payasam) can be offered to the God, others cannot be. All these types of food belong to the category of cooked



food, while uncooked foods include milk, grains, seeds, fruits and vegetables. Toddy is, also treated as uncooked food among the people of middle and low castes, but the Brahman, **Komati** and Lingayat do not consume it at all. The rule of **commensality** is not strictly observed or neglected in the exchange of uncooked **items**.

All cooked foods are divided into two categories that is, vegetables and non-vegetables. The non-vegetarian eater are treated as '**polluted**' or '**lower**' than the vegetarians. As a whole, the vegetarian castes occupy the higher position in the hierarchy and the vegetarianism is adduced as an evidence of the purity. Drinking of liquor and eating pork and beef, are considered the characteristics of the lower castes. But it is difficult or useless to order caste ranking based on the kind of food consumed. For example, the **Thakurs** (Kshatriyas) have taken non-vegetables, but their ritual position is higher than those of **Komatīs** (Vaishas) who are vegetarians.

Nowadays, the consumption of non-vegetarian food to a great extent relies on the individual opinion or interest because it is no longer valued as castewide conduct. In the village, only the Brahman, Komati and Lingayat are strictly maintaining the vegetarianism in order to keep ritual purity of castes. But, whenever there are opportunities to eat non-vegetables outside the village, one of young Komati informant said, they are not so much hesitant to eat **non-vegetarian** food. He said, surprisingly, he has tasted even beef, too. In this case the phenomenon of '**compartmentalization**' take place not only between office and home, but within and without the village as well (see, Singer 1968) .

### 3.4.2 **People's** attitude towards **commensality** and the context of the village

During the survey, those whoever were asked about commensality replied, "there is no caste bar connected to eating". The observation of Mayer (1960:48) also confirms this, "there is no caste left" regarding the rule of commensality. He is right because the evaluations of commensality are mainly made in private not in public; in public people claim to be equal, and the inequality and caste hierarchy can no longer be legitimately defended in public. Moreover, in the village environment, there is very rare opportunity to eat together between different castes at home. Even in the public occasions like marriage, the people scarcely express caste ranking regarding the consumption of food. The hierarchical values based on purity remain in private or domestic domains only.

In the village, all castes are able to eat together the food offered on such occasions as wedding feasts or ritual feasts. But this situation does not mean the end of all distinctions of higher and lower. While, in public places, there are no accepted distances or separated seats for each other. Therefore high castes or high class people if they wish can escape such an opportunity of mixing with lower castes, particularly with 'untouchables' by avoiding the situation. But occasionally some high caste people accept eating together with lower caste persons who happen to be their **friends**. A **Padmasalle informant** reported that once he, together with his other caste friends, attended a wedding feast of his '**untouchable**' friend's daughter where they ate together regardless of caste boundary, although separate places were set there in the dining hall so as to keep distance from other 'untouchables'.

This process can be explained by the notion that 'one or **two**' individuals are acceptable, however more numerous and **caste**-wide eating together without a little consideration of caste difference has not taken place there. Gradually scattered events of eating together will help to decrease the caste separation, since it slowly becomes customary to allow greater numbers to eat together (see, Mayer 1996) . On the public feasts, the feedings take place over a period several times. At the start of first feeding, there can be a little consideration of seat and position between the members of different castes. But later, everybody simply sits down where there is a place in no particular order. Especially young generation hardly consider about caste differences at least in public **feast**. Generally, in village, the public feasts take place in the wedding feeding which starts after marriage ceremony. In the feasts, all guests sit on the feeding place without much consideration of caste difference. But, for higher caste or elite group of villagers, specially sitting chairs are offered. And if the hosts belong to non-vegetarian caste, they may prepare separately for their vegetarian guests.

### 3.4.3 Real picture of a ritual feeding in the village

In the ritual feast (in village there is only one ritual feast sponsored by the Thakur family), a separate place is prepared only for the **Brahmans**. And the elite group of villagers or **important** guests are allowed to eat on the table. But other common people sit on the floor where they are served by the hosts. In other words this case can be interpreted as the separation of caste in terms of caste hierarchy. Since the Thakurs belong to the Kshatriya they serve the Brahman separately to reconfirm their caste position in front of the others. On the

other hand, the separation of elite guests from common people indicates the change of ideological **norm, from** ritual hierarchy to secular status. The following is the description of a ritual feeding offered by Thakur.

The ritual feast which is offered by the Thakur is performed annually for eight days in the month of **Margashirsam** (which falls usually around the months of mid-November-mid-December) . The ancestors of Thakur once worked for the **Deshmukh** as a personal security-guard. About 70 years ago, the story goes that, one of an issueless Thakur built the **Manika** Prabhu temple in his garden, and offered a prayer for being blessed with a son. After he got a son, Manika Prabhu became a god of the Thakur. Since then they have been offering annual worship and public feeding to date which takes place in the garden of the temple.

During first six days, the food cooked by a Brahman is offered to only those **Brahmans** whoever stays in the village. Next, on the 7th day, all of guests who attend the feeding feast take food offered by the Thakurs, without considering the boundaries of castes or villages. However, a separate place is prepared for the leaders of village and other important guests who came from outside the village. The **Thakur's** friends take food with the host families in the specially prepared place with dining tables. They are well educated Government **Officials, local** leaders of political parties or persons of other high status.

In the public feeding place numerous people who attend to feast sit and eat together on the same seats without caste or status differences. This reflects as if nobody would like to separate or insist on having different seats for each other who comes from different castes. This applies not only with Hindus but also with Muslims and Tribes (**Lambadi**) as well who attend the feeding. But the Muslims and Tribes, usually, arrive late, so they escape an unease or awkward situation. Almost all of the Muslims who attend Hindu ritual feeding belong to the lower-category (such as the Fakirs), among the Muslims. These Muslims and Tribes themselves try to escape uncomfortable feeling by coming late or sitting in their own group on the same line or **row** this has gradually helped to reduce the restrictions put on eating together.

#### **3.4.4 Factors that are forcing relaxation in commensality**

The other factor which helps to decline the rule of **commen-**sality is the existence of restaurants and tea shops in the village. The people who live in village or in the vicinity, sit together with others on the long chair without any caste differ-

ences and cnat **with** them meanwhile they are waiting and taking tea. In the restaurants or tea shops, the caste restrictions are not observed while having tea or food. These contexts have produced a good opportunity for the villagers to remove or ignore the psychological barrier of caste hierarchy or the idea of purity or pollution. However, the villagers are observing the commensal restriction in private circumstances. There is almost no opportunity to eat together between two families that belong to different castes. Even though both families come from the same caste, they seldom eat together. For instance informant A who belongs to the Waddera and B who belongs to the Dasari, are friends as well as working-partners and both are **non-vegetarians**, but A never eats the food cooked by B, while B eats all the food cooked by A, however both usually share a **beedi** (a kind of **local**-made smoke) . At the individual level there has been little relation of commensal restriction, but there is the possibility of individual choice.

#### 3.4.41 The role of the tea stalls in the village

There are nine tea shops in the village, seven of them are at national highway sides, the other two are at the temple road near market-place. These tea shops are places where people wait for bus or autorickshaw, come to read newspaper or simply to kill time. Among them, one is run by an '**untouchable**', one by a Muslim, one by a Bestha (a **sub-sect** of **Muduraju**) , one by an immigrant (**Komati**), and the rest five are run by the Padmasalles. To some extent they attract different clientele, the Muslim's clientele are the Muslims; the '**untouchables**' the '**untouchables**' and the youths; the immigrant's the lower and other immigrants; the Padmasalles' high and middle castes, old people. But this distinction indicates general distribution of clienteles based on their selection; it means that any body can go to any shop. For instances a few '**untouchables**' who are middle aged, are the daily customer of a **Padmasalle's** tea shop, every morning they come to this stall and take tea with other castes.

#### 3.4.42 The **dhabas** and caste-free eating situation

The tea shops, therefore, are a part of public domain, as are the five roadside restaurants (**{dhaba}**) that flourish **due** to the heavy lorry traffic on the national highway. These establishments which are located at about one kilometer away from the main village along the highway, have a place to eat, open almost at **all** hours together with the washing facilities and telephone booths. All of them are run by the immigrants, who came from the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. It is said that the first **dhaba** was started in 1980s by a Sikh who came from the Punjab. The **clien-**

tele as well as the cooks and dishwashers there include various castes. But on the whole, the **dhabas** are not the places for casual village gathering because of the higher cost of food and the distance from the village however, they offer a further element of caste-free eating situation.

#### 3.4.43 The toddy shops and the consumption of hard liquors

Until 1994, there were two wine shops, one in the village owned by a Padmasalle (now he is a tea shop owner) ; the other near a dhaba. After the introduction of prohibition in 1995, both shops were closed. There are three toddy shops in the village. Though formerly drinking toddy has been treated as a token of low castes or menials, a lot of villagers who belong to the middle level castes drink toddy either in the toddy shops or at their dwellings. Nowadays mainly due to the prohibition rule, drinking toddy is popular to the villager. All toddy shops are managed by the Goud Caste Association (**Sangam**). The lower castes or the menial workers, generally, drink toddy in the shop yards, but the people of middle caste or class take it home, mainly because except low caste or menial workers, those who drink it feel ill at ease, especially at public and open places.

#### 3.4.44 The meat shops and the **non-vegetarian** consumers

In addition to toddy shops, there are several meat shops run by the Muslims. Two of them are beef shops which open alternately a week about, two mutton shops and one chicken shop. Apart from these, there are four mutton sellers who sell only on Saturdays (for the Muslim) and on Sundays (for the Hindus). The beef shops are located at the end of new kandi residence, near Shenkarpalle roadside just opposite a Harijan settlement. However, the mutton shops lie in the midst of main residence of both old and new Kandi, especially the shop in new kandi is located at the entrance point of temple road. Both mutton shops are owned by the Muslim Chinna Katika brothers. The weekly mutton sellers, both the Muslims or Hindus, open their business by road sides or near toddy shop. The chicken shop is near the mutton shop in new Kandi roadside.

Unlike drinking toddy, meat-eating is not so much strongly rejected by the villagers. But **beef-eating** is strongly prohibited to almost of all Hindus, at least in the village level. Both meat-eating and drinking mix up the values and concepts of castes formerly distinct, and these further weaken commensal distinction between castes. And, now, both are left to the individual's choice rather than caste wide coercion. In addition to above factors, the establishment of factories near village and the

employment of a lot of villager in there, do more to ease inter-caste relations as well as to reduce commercial restrictions.

### 3.4.5 General observations and **commensal** rules

Several anthropologists and sociologists (see, Freed 1963; Hiebert 1969; Kolenda 1983; Marriott 1965; Mayer 1960) have determined the relative caste-ranking by applying the rules of **commensality**. Mayer (1960:33) insists that the ritual status among castes expressed through the commensal behaviors of the people are clear. It is said that there is a hierarchy in diet to which the caste hierarchy is related, and that this commensal hierarchy is based on the theory of purity or pollution (see, Srinivas 1984b). But the caste hierarchy in the village is not represented as a single, discrete scale along which all castes are ranked. Moreover, the rule of commensality is waning and relaxed, even though it has not totally disappeared even in the public places. Now, in the village as well as at the urban areas, the restriction of commensality does not rely upon the authority or coercion of each caste. Rather, it is left to the individual's choice. That is, the relative ranking of caste in the village cannot be justified by the position of each caste according to their behavior of eating and drinking.

Several villagers who were enquired about the commensal behavior of their caste, replied that, "nowadays, there is no strict rule connected with eating; we eat with anybody without regarding to his caste background, even though he belongs to **Harijan**". A Thakur in the village who is a retired teacher, informed that the better opportunities of education availed by the lower castes than before explains for the reason for eating together by different castes. Due to education, he said, the children of lower castes, including the '**untouchables**', automatically get mixed up with those of higher castes. Therefore, the friendships between the children of different castes have formed and continued for quite a few decades. Moreover, they have exposed the ideology of equality among men through the school. So, the education, it is said, has contributed and is still contributing to remove the caste barrier.

Regarding the rule of commensality, another informants told that there is no caste bar now as far as eating and drinking are concerned; everyone can eat with the another. But in daily life, almost of them agree that there is some degree of separation or hesitation to eat food cooked or served by lower caste, especially the '**untouchables**'. The restrictions of dietary customs between different castes exists unclearly and involves a lot of

complexity. There is no single, clear order applicable to this compared to the form of hierarchy.

For the purpose of **simplification**, the castes are classified into eleven divisions, including the Muslims, specifically with regard to the exchange of cooked food between them. And these divisions concern to the commensal rules applicable across castes as a whole not limiting them to the individual level.

**TABLE - 13**  
**DIVISIONS OF COMMENSAL RELATIONS\***

Vegetarian Castes	Non-Vegetarian Castes
Division 1 Brahman	Division 3 <b>Thakur(Rajput)</b> , Reddy
Division 2 <b>Komati</b> (Vaisha) Lingayat, ( <b>Baliya</b> , <b>Jangam</b> )	
Division 4 Ausalli (Goldsmith) Vaddla (Carpenter) <b>Kammari</b> (Blacksmith)	Division 5 <b>Padmasalle</b> , Muduraju <b>Yadav</b> , Goud, <b>Mera</b> , Sara, Arekatika
	Division 6 Waddera, <b>Kummari</b> (potter) <b>Medari</b> , Dore Chakalli, Mangalli
	Division 7 Dasari, Erukalla (Tribe or <b>Semi-Tribe</b> )
	Division 8 <b>Mochi</b> , <b>Budigajangam</b>
(Untouchable)	Division 9 Mala, Madiga
(Muslim)	Division 10 Syed, Sheik, Khan
	Division 11 Fakir, Katikas

\* In this analysis the Satani caste is omitted, it migrated to other town after the head of house expired during the field work time.

\*\* These divisions are based on the interviews taken with the middle-aged and old sales excluding women and the young. Because the rule of **commensality** between different castes is not so much strict to youths, compared to the then old folks, and it represents an irregular form or a matter of individuals choice for them, while to women, the rule limits or narrows down the choice to the neighbour and adjacent castes.

To describe the situation presented in the Table above, first comes the undisputed position the Brahman. He will eat cooked food only with his family or the member of his own caste, which is cooked by some of them. But the young generation of Brahman does not observe the rule of **commensality** so strictly as the old generation does. For instance, a young Brahman, who is a political leader and the owner of fertilizer shop in the village, usually takes tea or some eatables with a group of youths and the clientele of his fertilizer shop regardless of their caste hierarchy, including the Harijans. However, the position of Brahman concerning to the rule of commensality is recognized and confirmed by all the castes.

Below the Brahman, the hierarchy branches into two directions, Division 2 and Division 4, which belong to the vegetarian castes, and other divisions are non-vegetarian ones. Division 2 takes food only from Division 1, that is, the Brahman, while Division 3 takes it **from** both Division 1 and Division 2. But this does not mean that Division 2 is higher than Division 3. Just because of the vegetarianism of Division 2, nor because of the order of hierarchy between them. Division 2 do not accept food from Division 3. However, Division 2, recognizes the higher position of Division 3. And Division 3 also mutually agree with the ritual hierarchy by accepting the cooked food from Division 2. Within Division 3, the Reddys, it is said, do not accept the cooked food from the Thakur, but the Thakurs agree, that they accept the **food from the Reddys**. The Reddys whose position has been dominant in the village as well as in the local area, treat the Thakur (whose **varna** position belongs to the category of Kshatriya) as potential competitor for the dominant position in the village.

As the Reddys do not receive the **cooked-food** from the Thakur, they reject **the** idea that the position of Thakur is higher than their own in the hierarchical order. Moreover, a Reddy who was enquired about the position or category of the Thakur in the reservation seats, replied (even though he knows very well about the categories of other castes), that the Thakurs belong to the category of S.T., not to the Forward Castes, surprisingly.

The Lingayats in Division 2 are divided into two groups of castes, **one** is Baliya (whose traditional occupation is merchandise) the other is **Jangam** (whose occupation is priesthood for Lingayats). But in the hierarchical order, the Baliya occupies higher position than the Jangams do, while both can eat together. The **Komati and the** Lingayat acknowledge the comparatively equal position of each other as far as the exchange of food is con-



cerned. Though the Lingayat claim equal status with the Brahman, there is no **reciprocal**ity in terms of food exchange between them and the **Brahmans**.

However, the position of Division 4 is placed in, somewhat, straightened circumstances. The Vishva Brahmins or **Kammalan** (see, Hutton 1946:12) or **Vishvakarma** Brahmins (see, Srinivas 1962b:69), that is, Ausalli, **Kammari**, Vaddla, Kasha, and Kanchari belong to this division. In this village, only Ausalli, Kammari and Vaddla inhabit there. They are vegetarian castes, don the sacred thread, and intermarry between Kammari and Vaddla but not with Ausalli, though they can eat together with them.

The Vishva **Brahmins** insist that they do not accept any **cooked-food** from any caste other than their own, while when they offer the food, Brahman, **Komati**, Lingayat, Reddy, Thakur and some other castes do not accept. In other words, though they are the vegetarian castes, the hierarchically higher castes or the pretend-to-be-higher castes do not accept any cooked food from the Vishva **Brahmins**. It means that among different castes the concept of 'vegetarian' or 'non-vegetarian' is not the only or main criteria for the exchange or the acceptance of cooked food. The hierarchy, ritual as well as secular positions are also regarded as important criteria in commensal **relations**.

Concerning the exchange of food, it is not clear whether the Vishva Brahman as a whole or each caste is a unit. The higher castes consider themselves as one unit, while the lower or equal level castes separate the Vishva Brahmins. The Kammari, particularly, is treated somewhat as lower than the other two.

For example, the Thakur treats the Vishva Brahmins as one category, that is, a vegetarian group, while the **Padmasalle** and the **Muduraju** treat them as separate units of each other. The Padmasalle and the Muduraju take food which is offered by the Ausalli and the Vaddla, while they do not take any by the Kammari. However, the Waddera, it is said, never accept any food cooked by the whole Vishva Brahmins. Srinivas (1987a:82) explains the ambiguous position of the Vishva Brahman with the division of Left-hand cast and Right-hand **castes**<sup>10</sup>. But, these concepts cannot totally explain, the reasons why, except the Waddera, the rest of Division 6,7,8 and 9 accept the food cooked by the Vishva Brahmins, and why the **Kammari** is treated lower than the Ausalli and Vaddla by the people of certain castes. It depends not only on the ritual position of the Vishva Brahman as a whole, but also on the secular power of each caste. As the vegetarian castes, they can not take any food from the non-vegetarian castes, while the others treat them separately based

on the secular criteria, that is, the numerical power and economic wealth.

Another explanation regarding the ambiguous status of Vishva Brahmins is that once they changed their names to Vishvakarma Brahmins in pre-British times through the Sanskritization of their rites and customs, claiming descent from **Visvakarma** (the architect of the Gods), and equality with the Brahmins, but they did not get the approval of the others instead of gaining the state what they wanted (see, Hutton 1946:12; Srinivas 1962a:67; Gupta 1991:123). The reason why they have not taken any food from Brahmin, **Komati** and Lingayat who are all vegetarians, is that they (the **Vishva** Brahmins) they have claimed their status as high as that of the Brahmin.

The remaining five divisions (i.e. division 5 to 9) except that of the Muslims, represent somewhat a successive order as far as the commensal rule is concerned, even though the distinction of divisions is arbitrary and, in some cases, its boundary is blurred. The Sara and the Arekatika are often recommended to the Division 6, instead of 5, by certain castes of Division 5 as well as those of Division 6. Similarly, the Chakalli and the Mangalli are treated statuswise slightly lower than the other castes of the Division 6.

Within the Division 5, the Padamasalle and the Yadav have been oriented towards **upward-movement** for establishing their status in the hierarchical order. A **Padmasalle**, for instance, insists that there is no caste inequality nowadays so every one can eat together without caste separation. But in practice, later he confided that he never ate together with the *Harijan*, the Muslims, Tribes, Chakalli and Mangalli. In the cases of the Yadav, the Goud and the **Mera**, their attitudes for the equality of castes are not so much different from those of the Padamasalle. They want equality with castes above them, while they insist hierarchy or, at least, the difference in their relations to the lower caste, particularly to the '**untouchables**'.

However, concerning **commensality** the **Mudurajus** represent two different situations based on the contexts, inside and outside. The Muduraju castes as a whole, take food from castes above or equal to them, that is, Division 1 to Division 5, but they do not take food from castes lower than their own. While, in the relations of food exchange there exists the status difference among them. Until recently, the Bestha which is one of **sub-caste** of the Muduraju, is treated slightly lower than others. While they share cooked food among other **sub-castes**, they did not allow the Bestha to join them, neither did they marry the Bestha. The

position of the Bestha within the **Muduraju** is similar to that of the **Kammari** within the Vishva **Brahmans**. In the village, there are only three Bestha households; they are a father and two married sons, moreover, their economic status is very low.

However the **Mera** in Division 5 insists that he can take food only from Brahman, **Komati**, Lingayat, **Padmasalle**, Reddy, Thakur, Goud and Yadav, and when he offers the cooked food all of the castes accept it, except the Brahman, Komati and Lingayat because they are vegetarian castes. The economic position of the Mera is better than that of other castes grouped under Division 5. Therefore, they pretend (or insist) to belong to higher position by rejecting cooked food from other castes which are ranked equal or lie below economically as well as ritually.

The relative positions between Division 6 and Division 7, as concerns the commensal hierarchy, are not clear. They are almost similar status or the Division 7 locates slightly lower than the Division 6. But this does not mean that the castes within a division show the equal status among them. While each caste accepts the positions of higher castes above it, each caste does not allow others, within same division, to insist equal status with its position. For example, both the Chakalli and the Mangalli insist that their status is higher than that of the others. In practice they never exchange food cooked by each other, but each of them insists that the food offered by one caste (e.g. Mangalli) will be accepted by the other (e.g. Chakalli) however, it will not do so. In this way, by projecting oneself as a 'giver' and not 'taker' and rejecting the possibility of mutual food exchange between these castes, each tries to assume superiority over the other.

The Waddera asserts his position as equal to that of the Padmasalle, the Goud and the Yadav though, lower than the Brahman, Reddy and Komati, and he takes food from these (higher) castes. The Dore, Medari, Erukalla, and Dasari, express similar opinions regarding food exchange between themselves the other castes within the Division 6 and Division 7. That is, they assert their superiority in relation to their inferiors, especially to the 'untouchables', in terms of traditional hierarchy, whereas they would like to be equal in relation to their superiors in terms of modern ideals of equality and democracy. Such opposing views are ordinarily carried with the assertion: nowadays, there is no distinction or difference between castes, we can eat together with any caste except the Harijan (or Tribes), while we offer the food cooked by our member, every caste accepts, except the Brahman, Komati or Reddy.

The **Mochi** and the Budigajangam also hold similar opinions. Although they don't share food with the '**untouchables**' and the Tribes or Dore, almost every caste except the Brahman, **Komati** and **Reddy** accepts the food offered by them. As regards the situation of other Divisions, Division 9 also lacks clarity of relation between the Mala and the Madiga in the village. Each of them insists that one is higher than the other, while they share and exchange the food cooked by each other. Both agree that no caste other than their own accepts or shares the cooked food with them.

The position of Muslims is not **fixed** in any place as **far** as the food exchange is concerned. The Muslims are out of the Hindu ritual hierarchy, so their relation to the other Hindu castes is ambiguous if there are opportunities to take or give **foods**. A Hindu takes food only from a Muslim who has close friendship or is higher politically or economically. But, generally, all of the Hindu caste are reluctant to accept foods from the Fakir, because of its ritual position (of being beggar) and secular state (being poor).

#### 3.4.6 Concluding remarks

To sum up, one of the most striking features of the caste system, as Srinivas (1962b:66) says, is the lack of clarity in the hierarchy. Therefore it is difficult or almost impossible to order exact caste ranking based on only the rule of food exchange. First of all, the evaluation of **commensality** is made mainly in private not public domains. Moreover, all of the castes, except two opposite poles, that is the Brahman and the '**untouchables**', use two different norms to justify or assert equality with castes above them and to stress hierarchy in relation to their inferiors (see, Berreman 1979:10). Regarding such attitude of the double standard, Srinivas (1966b:92) well summed up; "I am equal to those who think of themselves as my better, I am better than those who regard themselves as my equals, and how dare my inferiors claim equality with **me**?". So, the hierarchical values which are based on the concepts of purity or pollution remain in the private, domestic domain as well as in relations with lower castes, while the modern ideals of equality and the secular criteria (e.g. wealth, education) are emphasized in the public domain, and in relation to higher castes.

Having delineated on important topic of commensality here, the following subsection will dwell on endogamy which is one of the main mechanism of maintaining caste boundary and the main source of social identity.

### 3.5 Endogamy

One of the characteristic features of the caste system has been said to be the regulation of marriage. Each caste is characterized by the obligation to marry within the group, by endogamy. Marriage is the time when caste boundaries are considered most importantly, and typically one is allowed to go for marital relations only within one's own local caste group. To put this fact in **Mandelbaum's** (1970:16) word, "Marriage is the relation that demarcates each *jati* most clearly. All marriages are supposed to be between a bride and groom of the same *jati*; no marriage may be made outside it".

Though there are numerous exceptions to the rule of endogamy (see, **Dumont** 1983; Gough 1961; Parry 1979, etc.), castes are generally associated with rules which require endogamy. Stressing on the importance of caste endogamy **Srinivas** (1987a:79) says, "the effects of caste endogamy are, on the one hand, to deny a powerful means of forging solidarity among different castes and, on the other hand, to increase solidarity within each caste". The status of a group in the caste system is based on endogamy, therefore, the children of an **endogamous** marriage reproduce legally or socially the status of their parents.

But the reality is more complex and flexible than the ideal. A caste group is generally endogamous, but occasionally endogamy is found to coexist with hypergamy. Approved intercaste marriage or alliances (see, **Dumont** 1968) are generally hypergamy not **hypogamy**. **Yalman** has observed that, "ideally there should be no give and take of women between **castes**. When there is give and take, it should be asymmetrical so that men of high status may take women of low status but not the reverse" (quoted in **Das** 1992:73). In the village, formally intercaste marriage itself has never been allowed by both the bride and groom side, whether it is **hypergamous** or **hypogamous**, though intercaste alliance exists there. Nowadays, however intercaste '**marriage**' or alliance has taken place as a form of individual affair rather than marriage between families or castes.

The membership to a caste is determined by birth. An individual is assigned his unalterable and permanent status according to his/her parentage. That is, the individual's place is determined by the **kin-group** into which he is born; this is a part of sub-caste or caste to whose collective status he is ascribed. However, the status of the child of an unapproved alliance is nowhere in the caste system. In **Harper's** (1968:61) opinion, "the child of a prohibited alliance in India could (1) emigrate from that area, (2) remain in the region where his ancestry was known

but join an untouchable caste, or (3) remain in the region and become a truly marginal man - an individual without caste affiliation". But these methods are by no means **universal**. Sometimes the membership of caste is assigned unilineally or according to more complex rules based on birth. In the village, the offspring of unapproved alliance is generally admitted, as a member of the women's caste, in the case of hypergamy rather than admitting him/her to an '**untouchable**' caste or a marginal man. But the child of '**approved**' intercaste marriage or alliance takes the right as legal descent of the father, and is treated temporarily as a member of father's caste until the time of his/her marriage.

With the relaxation of commensal restrictions among different castes, and the spread of egalitarianism and democracy, the earlier restrictions on marriage have become flexible, and endogamous groups now include some castes or sub-castes that were outside the sphere of endogamy earlier. Moreover, education, urbanization, the effects of cinema and case of migrations have helped to increase instances of intercaste marriages, though such numbers are marginal in the **village**. In the following subsections the unit of endogamy and its change, the cases of intercaste marriage and the mechanism of acceptance or the rejection of these unions and/or their offsprings will be described.

### 3.5.1 The units of endogamy

Most of the endogamous units are castes {*jatis*) or sub-castes, occasionally they are allied castes or caste-clusters as well. Caste barriers, as **Yalman** (1960:89) indicates, are not fixed like rigid fences, these caste barriers are resilient, and rely upon the situation. The boundary of endogamous unit has not been fixed forever, it changes through time in conformity to circumstances or situations.

In the village, **usually**, the unit of endogamy is *jatis*, but in some cases it is **sub-caste** or **jati-cluster**, too. For instance, the Reddy which is the dominant caste in the village, as well as in the region and in this local area, is divided into two sections, that is '**Kudhati Reddy**', and '**Modhati Reddy**'. The former had migrated here from another village, following one of his ancestor who had got job under the Deshmukh, as a supervisor of **Deshmukh's** own agriculture. However, the Modhati Reddys have lived and dominated this village since the beginning of the existence of the village. While there has been no remarkable difference between them in their life styles, it is said, the women folks of the Kudhati Reddy wore sari differently, that is, they previously made the sari pass over the right shoulder instead of doing it from the left as usually. However now-a-days

they also wear to confirm with the others. The **Modhati** Reddys consider themselves as superior to the Kudhati Reddys. Infringement of the endogamy between them has not been reported and taken place in this village, though the changes have occurred in the social, economic, and political spheres of the village as well as in its environs. Unlike in other villages of this district the Modhati Reddys enjoy the overwhelming position compared to the Kudhati Reddys, economically and politically, as well as numerically in this village (cf. Rao 1974).

The Vishva Brahmans are treated as one category in terms of their ritual position and the rule of **commensality**. This group comprises five divisions. The Vaddla (carpenter), the **Kammari** (blacksmith), the Ausalli (goldsmith), the Kanchari (**brasssmith**), and Shilpi or Kasha (idol maker with wood, stone). Of these only the first three jatis (or sections) are found in the village. However, they agree that they eat together the food cooked by any of them, but there is no agreement about inter-marriage among them. Though they insist they belong to one '**caste**' both the Kammari and the Vaddla separate the Ausali from them, so far as inter-marriage is concerned. Inter-marriage is possible only between the Kammari and the Vaddla, the Ausali is outside the sphere of inter-marriage. In fact, there are inter-marriage cases between the Kammari and the Vaddla, and both of their occupations are **inter-changeable** or combinational.

For example, Eshwaraya, a Kammari in New Kandi, takes carpentry as an additional job. And **Malleya**, a Kammari was born on a Vaddla family, but he was related to the daughter of a Kammari by '**illitam**' (or **illerikam**) marriage. In this form of marriage the bridegroom leaves his natal home and takes up residence with bride's parental household (see, **Mudiraj** 1970). After his father-in-law expired, he took his father-in-law's hereditary occupation, since then he has been called and become Kammari Malleya, instead Vaddla Malleya. But no intermarriage has taken place between the Ausalli and the Kammari (or the Vaddla) in the village.

The Muduraju have four sections (or sub-castes) in the village - Muduraju, Tellaga (or Tenugu), Manne, and Bestha. Of these sections, the first two hardly represent as particular sub-castes while viewed from the nomenclature as well as from the unit of the residential territory. Both Muduraju and Tenugu terms are interchangeably used as a caste name, moreover the status of both **sub-sections** is appropriate to '**category**' rather than 'group'. But the next two, that is, the Manne and Bestha, represent as groups than **categories**. The members of both groups attach Manne or Bestha to their personal names, such as '**Manne**

**Shivaya'** or '**Bestha Ragaya'** ', etc. Almost all of the Marines dwell in a limited area in the village. The Besthas have only one **family** comprising three **households**.

Ritually and socially the Mudurajus are identified by others as one caste. Among them, the Bestha has been treated inferior to other sections, till recently he was not allowed to inter-marry and inter-dine with others. Whenever the Mudurajus refer to themselves as a unit of caste, that is '**Muduraju'**', they exclude or omit the Bestha from it consciously or unconsciously. Though they agree that nowadays they can inter-marry and inter-dine with the Bestha, still they separate the Bestha from the conversation and feel reluctant to accept the fact, that the Bestha is equal to them. It means even though they accept the Bestha ritually and socially as equal in status to them, but the psychological barrier is **left** without any substantial change at **all**.

Figure - 2  
MARRIAGES BETWEEN  
MUDURAJU AND BESTHA

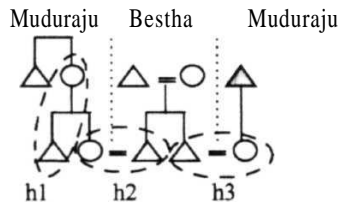


Figure - 2 shows the cases of inter marriage between the Besthas and Muduraju. All three households are living in the village. Nowadays, there is no prohibition concerning marriage and **commen-**sality between the Bestha and others. That is, the Bestha has been accepted as an equal section of the Muduraju as far as inter-marriage and inter-dinning are concerned. But, in the Reservation seats, their positions are different, while the Bestha belongs to the Backward Caste or Class Category-A, the others belong to Category-D. It means, the Bestha represents its ritual or social identity as a Muduraju, but it keeps or main-tains its separation as far as economic benefits are concerned. According to the contexts, either caste (or **jati**) identity or sub-caste identity is emphasized.



The Yadavs provide another instance of how two previously distinct castes can now marry each other and become one endogamous unit. Yadav is a category consisting of several allied castes which are to be found in different parts of India. The Yadavs insist that they are the descendants of **the** Lord Krishna. The Yadav category encompasses a whole range of related castes who have a set of occupation centering round cattle (see, Rao 1987:124; Cox 1948:424).

In the village, there are two divisions of the Yadav, that is, the **Golla** and **Kurma**. The **Golla** was 'cow-buffalo herd - and agriculturist, while the Kurma was sheep-goat herd - and blanket weaver. They didn't inter-dine and inter-marry, traditionally. The Kurma was regarded as inferior compared to the Golla. But most of their members have abandoned their traditional occupations; therefore there is no occupational distinction between these two divisions. Moreover, nowadays there is no difference between them whether socially or ritually, at least in the village; and they prefer to call or be called as Yadav rather than Golla **or** Kurma.

The terms Golla and Kurma are interchangeably used to refer to the Yadav as a whole. An informant, who is a teacher belonging to the Golla division, informed that his caste name was Kurma. It is not because he is ignorant of the distinction between the Kurma and Golla, but because the distinction is meaningless, either Kurma or Gollas, or both indicate and represent the Yadav as a whole, not just a certain division. There is only one Golla family divided into two households, the rest of Yadav belong to the Kurma.

Caste itself is, more or less, a unit of endogamy but in certain cases this unit is expanded into a **jati-cluster** such as in the cases of the Vishva Brahman, Muduraju and Yadav. While in some other cases, a caste has more than one unit of 'endogamy such as the Reddy. As a norm, no intercaste marriage should take place. But practically or in real life situation it takes place. This phenomena of the undesirable inter-caste relations, marital or extramarital their consequences, and the role **or** the response of he society will be discussed basing the issues on case studies in the following subsection.

### **3.5.2 Inter-caste marriage**

The nature of inter-caste marriage is often ambiguous to define. In terms of kinship, a true inter-caste 'marriage' which is accepted and approved by **both** kinsmen does not exist in the village. Moreover, in some cases it is difficult to make clear

distinction between a marriage and a regularized liaison relationship. For an example of the connections between high caste man and low caste woman, while the woman's side insists this relationship as '**marriage**', the man's side never accepts it as marriage instead it is claimed as simple relationship of sexual liaisons or concubinage.

Concerning this distinction, **Yalman** (1960:95) has suggested three separate forms of regular connections, such as:

- (i) regularised sexual liaisons,
- (ii) the establishment of domestic, conjugal and commensal **unions**, and
- (iii) the alliance between kinsmen, with the implication that it be perpetuated in the next "generation".

In the village, however, the last form of union, that is, the alliance approved by both kinsmen, does not exist. Any form of **inter-caste** marriage, whether it is a type of **hypergamy** or hypogamy, had not been accepted and approved formerly by the kinsmen. Naturally, there is no marriage alliance between kinsmen of different castes. Moreover, the offspring of inter-caste union were unwilling to be admitted by either paternal or maternal side regardless of their caste hierarchy.

It is not easy to distinguish between mere sexual intercourse and concubinage. And if a man is having an affair with a woman of his own caste, it may well be difficult to decide exactly what the relationship is. In the village mere sexual intercourse relationships or liaison is treated as if no such relationship between them exists, though such relations are recognized by the public.

There are a lot of rumours connected to sexual intercourse between the members of different castes, real or imaginary. And it is very difficult, if not impossible, to confirm those rumours whether real or not. Usually, those affairs take place very secretly, so nobody can prove, though he has suspicion, without witness of the scene. But sometimes, by accident, such relationships become publicly proved when the woman is pregnant or both run away together. For example, when an unmarried Madiga girl became pregnant, the matter was hushed up and the girl married immediately after artificial abortion. At that time, there was a rumour that a Reddy boy had sexual relationship with her, but without confirming, it was over as a rumour. However, such relationships with the married women keep up for a long time with a safety of pregnancy, and with the mechanism of ascription for the status of illegitimacy. Some of such cases will be related below:

Case - 1) . A married Muslim man (40, butcher) has developed sexual relationship with a married Waddera woman whose husband left her sometimes before they developed relationships. Both are habitual toddy-drinkers, they met frequently on the toddy shop in the village. Gradually, they attracted each other, and became regularized liaisons to each other. Since last fifteen years this relationship is going on. The woman had one daughter from her husband. In the meantime she produced three children from the Muslim. Those illegitimate offsprings took her husband's family name and were ascribed to the mother's caste, Waddera.

Even though her husband left her **longtimes** ago, that is before she produced three illegitimate offsprings, all of her children were ascribed and got the status of family and caste through the name of her husband. That is, her estranged husband is the father of her children. It was made possible with the help of two facts: firstly, the woman was spiteful and her husband was tied to her through **illerikam** marriage, that is he had no relative in the village. Secondly, like other castes the Waddera **Sangam** had already lost its power or authority to control the misbehaviour of its individual members. In this matter the genitor, the Muslim, is regarded as if he does not exist.

In this case, the caste affiliation of the illegitimate offspring is not a serious problem. Those offsprings remain with their mother and take her caste. In the village, in the matter of liaison, whether it is between the members of different castes or religions, the genitor is treated as if he does not exist at all.

Case - 2) One married **Komati** man (53) has kept relationship with a Muduraju widow, since the last two decades. He has a wife and two adult children, the widow also has two sons. He publicly keeps the relationship, he treats her as his wife. In the daytime, he manages the widow's a petty vegetable shop which is located in her house, but he takes food at his own house and takes rest there. Moreover, he sponsors the widow's sons as a patron-like and as the rumour goes, he is also the genitor of a son of the widow. Both families and others recognize this liaison relation, though they are not legally, and ritually bound husband and wife.

In this case, such **hypergamous** inter-caste liaisons are never recognized as alliance between kin groups or castes. However, individual men often establish concubinage relationship across

caste boundaries. Thus the ideology of caste endogamy is **pre-**served because the concubinage relationship is not regarded as a true '**marriage**'. Moreover, in the case that the men had a legally and ritually married wife and her child (a son) this liaison relationship was treated as an extramarital affair, not as a marriage.

Case - 3) A married Yadav man once worked for the Gram Panchayat office as a bill-collector in the village. He was a native of the village. A village sweeper belonging to the Madiga had a good looking daughter. One day the girl came to the office looking for her mother. The **bill-collector** was attracted by her charm, and he allured her, had intercourse with her. Thereafter he continued illicit connection with her, until they were **forced** to get married by the Madiga **caste**. Now they are living together at other village where the Yadav man works still as **bill-collector**. He has one son and two daughters from his first wife, and two sons and one daughter from the sweeper's daughter. His first wife and her children are living with his parents in the village.

This case suggests that a **hypergamous** inter-caste liaison can be transformed into a legal marriage relationship, though it is not ritually accepted by the man's family and caste because, already, he had a married wife approved by the kinsmen of both sides, and a legal inheritor, a son, The man's family and caste did not consider that relationship seriously, moreover they regarded it as an extra-marital union.

But the relationship between **high-caste** woman and **low-caste** man, that is, **hypogamous** relationship, whether marital or extra-marital, is severely controlled and punished by the community, especially of the woman's caste. Such prohibition of **hypogamous** sexual relations is explained in terms of the ideology of caste purity (see, **Yalman** 1960) or the concept of caste hierarchy (see, **Das** 1977). **Das** (1977:78) explains that hypogamous marriages are forbidden because the circulation of women and the prohibition of asymmetrical exchange of women are expressive of extreme separation of caste.

Therefore, whenever there is an asymmetrical exchange of women, the receiver of women are not placed in a lower position than that of the givers of women. However, **Yalman** suggests that the prohibition of **hypogamy** is mainly due to the status of the woman's offsprings. In the case of a liaison between a high-caste woman and a low-caste man, the offsprings of the woman would be

polluted in their blood. The ritual status of the offspring is transmitted through both father and mother, but maternal filiation is given greater significance than the paternal connexion. Therefore, because of the position of potential offspring, **hypogamous** relations are absolutely repudiated (cf. **Yalman 1960:97, 1971**).

**Case-4)** About 5-6 years ago, a Reddy girl fell in love with a **Harijan** boy. By the time others acknowledged it, they ran away to Hyderabad city, and got '**married**' there. After some time, they returned together to the village by the same bus. The Reddy caste raged against this shameful affair. They beat the boy severely. After this, the father of boy forced his son to marry a girl of same caste, for fear of the **Reddy's** wrath. **Meanwhile**, the family of girl regarded her as already died, and offered a *karma pooja* (rites for dead person).

Though the circumstance is **transformably** changed, with the help of spread of education and ideology of egalitarianism, the **inter-caste** sexual relationship, especially hypogamous, is intolerable for the high caste, particularly for the Reddy who is dominant in the village. Moreover, if the low-caste man is a Harijan, the **high-caste** woman must not have intercourse with him on pain of death.

However, the situation is different in the case of liaison or marriage between a woman and a man of similar status or of slightly lower caste. For them the relationship is reluctantly allowed by the both families, but not by the castes, after some-time by a tacit **consent**.

Case - 5) A Bestha boy had developed love affair with a **Padmasalle** girl, about ten years ago. By the time many villagers acknowledged it, the caste elders of both the boy and girl considered the matter seriously, and warned them to cut off the relationship. **In** spite of the opposition of both families and the warning of the castes, they continued liaison relationship. Thereafter, the caste of woman, the Padmasalle, beat the boy severely with a warning to break off the relationship. But, instead of letting it break off, the lovers ran away from the village and married at a temple of Yadagiri **Gutta**, near Hyderabad city. Now they are living in Patancheru, a town near the village, with the children.

This marriage has not been approved by both the castes, however, the parents of both husband and wife drop in at the

couple's house of Patancheru once in a while. The husband visited the village two or three times for his younger brother's marriage, while his wife never did. This case suggests that the case of **inter-caste** marriage, especially hypogamous, would not be accepted by any caste, but after sometime the marriage is approved by a tacit consent of both families, but not castes. Hence, from a standpoint of caste, a true **inter-caste** marriage does not exist. Such inter-caste liaisons or marriages can never be recognized as alliances between two kin groups of different **castes**.

However, in the case of inter-caste marriage of '**outsider**' or divorcee (or widow), it is somewhat easily to be acknowledged by the family, than in the case of villager and/or unmarried.

Case - 6). A Reddy man who came through in the village seeking for a job, married a **Padmasalle** woman of the village. Before the marriage, the reputations of her and her widow mother were not good among the villagers. They had run a tea shop in the village. There are rumours about her and her mother, concerning sexual intercourses, the daughter had deep relationship with a **Malariman** who worked for the Machine Tool Company near the village. Once they lived together as husband and wife somewhere, but that person left her. In the meantime, in the view of her family a poor Reddy man appeared as an appropriate husband for her. They then got married, and dwelt in the woman's mother's house of the village.

In the above case, the man himself was very poor, his position in the village **anomalous**. Though he and his wife's family claim he comes from the Reddy caste, he is usually identified with the Muduraju as the husband of a Muduraju woman. Because he has settled uxorilocally in the Muduraju wife's house and he is an outsider; the village is unconcerned as to what happens to him.

**Case-7).** A beautiful Reddy girl once worked at a rustic bakery shop. Her family was very poor, at that time, temporarily immigrated from a hamlet of the village. The status of her mother was not clear; whether she was a married wife or a concubine of the girl's father. When she was working at the bakery shop, several youths were attracted by her charm. Among them, she induced a Yadav boy to marry her. The family of Yadav boy was immigrant, rich, and both the boy and his father were high salaried job holders. They got married

with the acceptance of both families, except her father. Now the couple is living with the boy's family in the village.

Though it is a **hypogamous** union, this marriage was recognized by both families, but it does not mean, such hypogamous inter-caste marriage was accepted as alliance between different castes. It is not an alliance marriage between kinsmen, but a '**marriage**' of a man and a woman, with or without acceptance of both (or one) families, whether reluctantly or tacitly. Custom recognizes the union of different castes, but does not accept the union as alliance between castes. Thus the principle of caste endogamy is preserved.

Moreover, above mentioned girl does not belong to the Reddys of Kandi, and the boy is '**outsider**' but possessed wealth and influence, therefore the village and the concerned castes did not consider it seriously. The outsiders are always regarded as complete **strangers**.

But in practice an outsider who has wealth and/or influence often finds it possible to make a union with high caste woman. However, if the **high-caste** woman is widow or divorcee, the local low-caste man is also allowed to have marital union with her, without much antagonism against being union, from the high caste.

Case-8). A Chakalli widower remarried (or lived together with) a Reddy divorcee from a neighbouring village. After marriage she works as a Chakalli, that is, washing and ironing clothes for the clientele of husband family. She produced four children from him, living in the village.

Due to her inferior position, as a divorcee within her caste, she could be exempted from the principle of strict endogamy and the penalty of offending the rule of endogamy. To divorce itself is to violate one of the caste principles, especially, among high castes.

### **3.5.3 Affiliation of the offsprings of inter-caste union.**

To decide the affiliation of offsprings is a more delicate problem than to approve the inter-caste union. In practice as well as in principle, such an inter-caste marital or extra-marital union has never been recognized as alliance between castes. Therefore, the position of offsprings is ambiguous or marginal in the caste system, in that they would not to be accepted as a true member, both from the father's caste and the mother's caste.

In the case of a high-caste man having an affair with a low-caste woman, the question of the caste affiliation of the possible offspring does not seriously arise. The children remain with mother and her family, under normal condition and will in her caste (see, **Yalman** 1960:97).

Case - 9) . A Waddera boy had developed a love affair with a **Budigajangam** girl of the village. After the girl's parents acknowledged this relationship, they forced the boy to marry the girl. But the boy's family directly rejected this demand, instead they forced the boy to marry a girl of the same caste. However, the boy kept sexual relationship with the Budigajangam girl even after marriage. Moreover, he took the girl to Hyderabad and got married. After the ceremonial (or legally registered) marriage, he kept the girl at her house. They have two children. The children are staying with the mother and her family.

In this case, the positions of children is not yet clear, though they remain with the mother and in her caste, the mother's family insists that the children's caste affiliation belongs to the caste of father, not the mother. However. The father's family never approves not only the existence of the children but also even the marriage itself. They pretend not to know anything about all these.

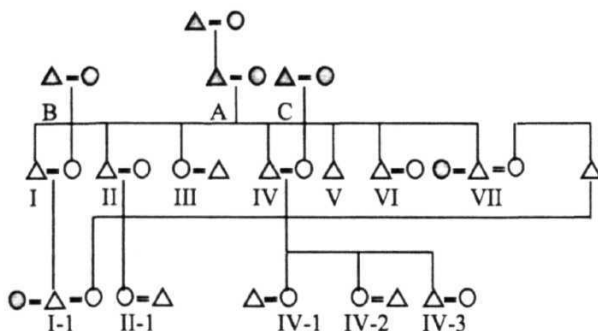
In the case of **inter-caste** union, whether hypergamous or **hypogamous**, the question of the offspring's caste affiliation will exist as ambiguous or uncertain, until the time of their marriage. Though they remain in the mother's caste, their caste affiliation is not fixed, it is tentative, moreover it is not accepted by the whole community. At the time of their marriage, it will be decided, if they can marry a same caste mate, it means, they would be accepted as a member of the caste, or not. But, in practice, the offsprings of inter-caste union remains in the low-caste parent's caste, either the low caste mother's or the low-caste father's caste.

Case - 10) . One Brahman temple priest had 'married' (lived together with) a Muduraju woman without ritual ceremony. They had seven children, six sons and one daughter. None of them was married to a Brahman, moreover, the Muduraju of the village unwillingly accepted them as a '**true**' Muduraju.



A Brahman priest (A) married a **Muduraju** woman, the children of (A) are called '**mixed-caste**' or hybrid-production (**shankara jati**). Of them, two sons married the women of same category, that is, *shankara jati*. (I)'s wife was a daughter of the Lingayat father and Muduraju mother (Fig 3-B), and (IV)'s wife was a daughter of the Goud father and Muduraju mother (Fig. 3-C). The rest of them, that is three sons and one daughter, married the **Mudurajus**, one son still remains a bachelor. All of the next generation, that is, the grand children of (A), married the Mudurajus. Among them, a daughter (fig. 3-IV-2) married a Muduraju of the village. Nevertheless, they maintain their Brahman Gotra to identify themselves to **differentiate** from the rest.

Figure - 3  
THE CASE OF INTERCASTE MARRIAGES



This case suggests that the offsprings of inter-caste union, even though that is **hypergamous**, would not be accepted as a true member of both the father's as well as the mother's caste. They should marry the person of same category that is *shankara jati*. Though they were the offsprings of high caste Brahman father, they would not be classed as belonging solely to the low caste of the mother. However, the next generation is to be accepted as a real Muduraju by the Muduraju of the village. Therefore, the caste affiliation of offsprings, in the case of inter-caste unions, will be decided by the time of their marriage.

Case- 11). A Brahman boy married a Reddy girl, but the villagers expressed their doubt about her caste status. The couples are accepted by both families. Now, they stay at a town where both are working for the Govern-

ment Bank. They, now with a daughter, visit the man's family now and then at the village.

Consequently, an inter-caste union can be legally valid in the eyes of law (registered legal marriage) and/or approved by the families. But in terms of kinship alliance between castes, there is no valid inter-caste marriage. The law asserts that the children of any registered marriage are legally the children of both parents. Nowadays, a legal provision is that the caste can not inflict punishment or excommunicate the person who violates the norms of caste endogamy. Whether the approval or punishment of such a **inter-caste** marriage is not the matter of the caste, but it is the family which decides whether to accept or expel the person who commits extra-marital affair or goes for an inter-caste marriage. In this regard, the caste has lost power, though not totally, to punish its member. The caste is no more a corporate unit which has the indispensable power to punish and to excommunicate its member who violates the rules of caste.

But, however, the caste still controls such an inter-caste union through the caste affiliation of the possible offspring. The castes usually isolate the offsprings of inter-caste union as far as marriage is concerned. For instance, concerning the caste affiliation of the daughter (**Case-11** above), a Brahman of the village explained that the daughter's status is not yet decided. By the time she becomes of a marriageable age, it will be decided whether she will be accepted as a true Brahman or not.

In the society, **the** individual's place is determined by the kin-group of the caste or sub-caste in whose collective status he participates, not by the individual family into which he is born. In the caste system, it is the principle of '**social descent**', rather than '**genetic transmission**', which determines the system. Hence by the rule of endogamy the individual's position would be recognized and qualified, not by a role of **hypergamy** or **hypogamy** (see, Pitt-Rivers 1971:241).

In marriage, caste endogamy is an important principle and is still practised almost universally, but it is justified by claiming that the **way** of life of each caste is distinctive, and expressive of cultural differences, rather than by insisting that a purity-based hierarchy of caste should be kept (see, Fuller 1996:12). Regarding the rule of endogamy, one Brahman informant who knows English says: "every caste has a different form, boundary, and its own rule, as each sport-game has. Every player in the game should follow its rule and respect, otherwise he will be expelled from the play-ground. Like this, the rule of endogamy is a kind of social regulation of the castes."

During the conversation he used such terms as '**cultural group**' or '**community**', instead of the term '**caste**'. However, he insisted that the difference between castes **is**, solely, based on the circumstance, the essence of world is same. But, for the fear of different custom or rule, or for the fear of loss of its own tradition, it is prohibited to match a member of others.

In the matter of caste endogamy, the concept of '**blood purity**' gives meaning to marriage rule and **inter-caste** transaction. The blood purity is transmitted from both parents to children. Blood is the locus of purity, therefore, one must marry a relation, a person of 'same' blood to keep the purity of its caste (see, Barnett 1975:150-151). Regarding this, one old villager who is a Padmasalle explains that: "what is the meaning of caste (**kulam**)? It is nothing but saving the woman of its own, to save the woman from outsider is to save the caste (**kulam lakshana**). The man needs the girl of his own group, therefore, the caste comes out." Therefore, the practice of caste endogamy is an implicit repudiation of blood-mixture and is ascribed to the child the caste affiliation of its parents.

### 3.6 The **features** of castes

The social science literature on India is dominated by the caste approach. One group of scholars claim that Indian society is unique and therefore eludes analysis in terms of traditionally employed sociological concepts (see, **Dumont** 1970a; Hutton 1946; **Leach** 1960a; Srinivas 1966a, 1987a etc). On the contrary, series of studies have attempted to apply and enlarge the concept of caste. That is, the caste system is a kind of social stratification which is found not only in India but in other parts of the world (see, Berreman 1968, 1981; Harper 1968) as well as non-Hindu communities (see, Ahmad 1978a; Ahmad 1977; **Barth** 1960; Bhatt 1996; Caplan 1980; Kaufman 1981; **Tharamangalam** 1996, etc). Which of these positions is tenable and preferable depends upon one's own interests and purposes. The caste system in India is unique in terms of religion and ritual context which explain it, and its complexity and the degree to which it constitutes cohesive and **self-regulating** mechanisms. However, caste also can be defined in terms of social **stratification** which allows the cross-cultural comparison and generalization.

The features most commonly used to characterize caste are: endogamy, **commensality**, and hereditary occupation (see, **Basham** 1967:147; Das 1992; David 1981; Ghurye 1969; Hutton 1946; Leach 1960b; Neelsen 1983; Srinivas 1966a, 1989; etc). These outstanding features are connected with the idea of the purity or

pollution, separation and hierarchy or rank. Caste can only be understood in term of interaction with other caste groups, and such an interfactional structure is characteristic of the structure of an entire system. The prescriptions concerning food, women, and service transactions all aim at preserving the identity of individual caste. This identity is directly linked to the specific **ritual-purity** of the group, whose maintenance is only guaranteed by strict observance of separation or **differentiation**. The rules concerning **commensality**, and endogamy are nothing else but the means whereby each caste attempts to continually reaffirm and stabilize its identity and internal integration. Apart from being an integral component of group identity, each particular caste is integrated into the economic system as a hereditarily specialized group. The exchange of goods and services between individuals or families of different castes has been, traditionally, stable and continuing from generation to generation.

However, as people can not openly speak of castes as unequal nowadays, they only describe castes as different. That is, caste hierarchy can no longer be legitimately confirmed in public. The hierarchical values which are based on the concept of purity or pollution remain only in the private and domestic domain, but in public domain this traditional code of conduct has displaced the norm of '**difference**' as marker of separation (see, Fuller 1996:12). Singer (1968:438-439) explains the phenomenon to separate public domain and private domain as 'compartmentalization'. But Fuller (1996b) and Barnett (1975) insist that it is not a simple adaptive process but a change at the ideological **level**. They explain that this alteration in the normative base of caste-**from** the purity as an index of hierarchical rank to the difference as a marker of separation - is the change of code for conduct, from castewide to individual level. **Dumont** has mentioned this phenomenon as '**substantialization**' of caste. He insists "**the** caste appears as a collective individual, as a substance" (Dumont 1970a:222).

With the increasing economic **differentiation** within castes, and the relaxation of commensal restriction among higher and middle castes, each caste is becoming as a collective individual and each individual is confronting other individuals in terms of economic and political ground. And the castes seem to accept '**equality**', at least in public place, as the ideological discourse. That is, each caste becomes like a '**collective individual**' with its own distinctive culture and way of life, and the norm of '**competition**' substitutes for the '**interdependence**' between hierarchically ranked castes (see, Fuller 1996b). But it is a matter of degree rather than kind. "**Castes** exist but the caste system is no more" says Dumont (1970a:226). Caste member-

ship is no more seen as any moral obligation to follow an ancestral occupation, or it is unconnected with the means of livelihood. It means the primary identity situates within an individual or family rather than the whole caste itself. Now the whole is secondary system, built up from these primary persons. However, every caste, still, has its own positive identity, whether it has been ranked high or low.

Though certain castes have maintained their **socio-ritual** identity through ritual ceremony (e.g. the Thakur, the Yadav, the Goud, the Mala, and the Madiga), language (e.g. the Thakur, and the Dore), or organizations of economic and/or political association (e.g. the Yadav, and the Goud), the boundary of castes, either geographical separation or socio-ritual distinction, has been visibly diluted in the village circumstance. However, some castes or subcastes still monopolize their traditional occupation, especially the crafts or the service castes, such as the Blacksmith, the Carpenter, the Barber, the Washermen, the Scavenger, the Gravedigger and etc. While a lot of castes abandoned their traditional occupations, due to several reasons, mainly by the economic changes (e.g. the **Padmasalle**, the Sara, the **Gandla**, and **etc.**).

In other words, caste as a unit almost lost if not totally the mechanism to maintain its social identity and boundary, and to sanction its individual members who violate the castewide code of conducts. The hereditary occupation is no more practical than that of the past, nowadays, it becomes nothing but the nomenclature of the castes. The occupational relationships or continuity in a large measure depends on the concerned family or individual, according to the socio-economic interests, not by caste obligation.

Moreover, the rule of **commensality** is no longer the caste-wise code of conducts, it solely relies on the individual's decision or choice, especially in public area. But, in domestic area, food **is** still an important part of domestic ritual - daily, life-cycle and calendrical - as the mechanism of maintaining **purity-impurity**, by the womenfolk. That is, still, food constitutes a critical element in ritual idiom of purity and pollution in domestic area. Therefore, it is not the caste but the family who are the custodian of the rule of **commensality**.

And regarding to the **inter-caste** marriage, the caste can not section or excommunicate the person who violate the caste endogamy. Only the caste controls the caste affiliation of the possible offspring by boycotting to accept as proper marital partner. As far as marriage is concerned, the caste still maintains, to some

extent, its social mechanism. While the caste as a cooperative unity lost its power regarding to the approval or punishment of inter-caste marriage, it is the family to decide whether accept or expel such union, by direct control and/or participation. Though the caste as a whole does not lost totally the traditional mechanism of boundary maintenance, the center of authority to maintain the social identity shifts to the family as a unity. In tradition, the norms or values were institutionalized in the terms of caste hierarchy which based on the purity/pollution, however nowadays they are individualized, i.e. the individual or the family is decision-making actor regarding to their behavior.

In next chapter, it will be focused on the relations **between** caste and family structure and between occupational diversification and the family, and the role of family in the reproduction of social inequality through education of the children. On the other part, the marriage relationship, i.e. kinship terminology, the rules of marriage, and the practice of marriage are described, in terms of norms and behavior.

### Notes to Chapter - III

- 1) However, some scholars such as Hocart (see, **Quigley** 1991b; **Dumont & Pocock** 1958), Raheja (**1988a,b**, 1989), and Quigley (1991a, 1993), reject the superior position of the Brahman in a hierarchical order. Instead they focus upon a concept of sovereignty of Hindu king of the dominant caste at the level of village (see also, **Berremen** 1992). Moreover, Quigley (1993:20) warns like that "If one begins with this assumption - that '**Brahmins** are the highest caste' - one will never understand how caste systems work".
- 2) Srinivas (1966a) explains this phenomenon as '**Sanskritization**'. According to him, "Sanskritization is the process in which a '**low**' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, '**twice-born**' caste" (1966a:6), to claim higher social status.
- 3) The term '**Harijan**' literally means a man of God - suggested by Gandhi to replace the term '**untouchables**', in 1931. But this term, Harijan was not Gandhi's own invention. It had been coined in 19th century by the Gujarati Brahmin saint and poet Nasingh Mehta. However, the term "untouchable" or "untouchability" was constructed in early 20th century with the strategy for '**upliftment**'. The untouchables' do not form a distinct and separate identity among themselves. But the category of '**untouchables**' was to be the criterion for identifying them and thus received official recognition with 'the invention of Scheduled Castes' under the Government of India Act. However '**untouchability**' was legally abolished in the Constitution of 1950. Instead of the term '**untouchable**', therefore, '**Harijan**', '**Scheduled Castes**', and '**Dalit**' are all in use (cf. Charsley 1996).
- 4) The first time nation-wide census was taken during the years 1867-1871. From this occasion, numerous castes claimed or wanted to be recorded as belonging to a higher varna than that popularly conceded to them. But at the 1941 census, the column about caste was eliminated by the British Census Commission (see, Srinivas 1966b)
- 5) The details of traditional occupation of each caste are mainly based on the field survey, as well as Thurston (1975a) and Hassan (1989).

- 6) Regarding to this, **Dube's** (1955) observation would be helpful to understand the role or position of Telangana Brahman priest. The Brahman priest, as Dube (1955:37) describes, "**officiates** at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Vaddar, the **Erkala**, the **Pichha-Kuntla**, the Mala and the Madiga. However, he is consulted by these castes also regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies". Moreover, Rao & Murty (1972) say that in the Telangana region, the Vaishnavaita **Brahmans** are non-vegetarian and do not abstain from alcoholic drinks, by the effect of dominant Muslims and their culture.
- 7) Before **Wiser's** (1936) study, there was a general description of the **jajmani** system which was written by E.A. Blunt in 1912 in his Report on the census of 1911 for the United Provinces (see, Mayer 1993:377).
- 8) Fuller (1989) insists that the term '**jajmani** system' is a misnomer, it should be abandoned. That is, there is no discrete and isolable *jajmani* system in full sense of that term, neither internally integrated nor isolable from a wider set of exchange. Moreover, he argues that the *jajmani* system itself has been the construction of 'an anthropological **fiction**', or 'anthropological **imagination**'. Similarly, Mayer (1993) also insists that the *jajmani*, in anthropological literature, is a special kind of 'invented **tradition**'.
- 9) There are a lot of studies on the so called *jajmani* system. Among them, Benson (1976), Bronger (1975), Caldwell (1991), Epstein (1971), Fuller (1989), Good (1982), Gough (1960), Harper (1959), Ishwaran (1966), Karanth (1987), Kumar & Rao (1993), and others, are focussed on the South India.
- 10) The dual **classification** of Right Hand {*Valangai*} and Left Hand (*Idangai*) castes is "a 'root' paradigm, whose function has been to provide a cultural tool for the integration of South Indian Society and this structure is essentially contextual and contrastive" (Appadurai 1974:257). The notion of right and left hand castes bifurcates the horizontally segmented social body into two sides. But this distinction has disappeared (see, Mines 1982, 1984; Thurston 1975b:48).



## **CHAPTER - IV**

### ***FAMILY AND MARRIAGE***

## 4.1 Introduction

The family is the association that **embodies** the institution of marriage which is the socially approved form of **sex-relation**. That is, marriage and family are complementary concepts. In this chapter, therefore, the family and marriage will **be** delineated mainly focussing on the structure of the family and its role in reproduction of social inequality, and the norms, rules, and practices of marriage.

## 4.2 The concepts of **family** and **household**

The term '**family**' is defined, generally, as a group of persons united by marriage, blood, or adoption, residing in a single house. While, the term '**household**' refers to a group of persons (or a person) **residing** at the same place and eating food cooked in a single kitchen (see, Burgess 1963:6; Shah 1996:537, 1973:8). In other words, the family as a corporate kin group is **distinct** from the household as a collection of kin and, sometimes, non-kins who share common residence. The referent of the family is kinship, while the referent of household is geographical propinquity or common residence (see, Yanagisako 1979; Bender 1967). But very often, the term '**family**' and '**household**' are treated synonymously, and are used interchangeably. But The terms family and household, however are analytically and empirically distinct categories. Whereas the household is a spatial concept and refers to a group of persons (or a person) bound to a place, the family is a kinship concept which comprises group of persons bound together by ties of blood and marriage. They are also empirically **differentiated**, because, although the family may form usually a household, it does not necessarily or always do so. Conversely, unrelated kins may live together and form a household but they do not form or constitute a family. However, in the village circumstance, very few households include non-kins as household members. So a family and/or a household contains more or less same **members**. In this regard the **family** will stand **for** a kin group whereas the household as a basic unit of spatial group. Therefore, because of the ambiguity<sup>1</sup> in the concepts of family, a lot of empirical works are increasingly concentrating on households **rather than on the family** itself (see, Carter 1984; **Madan** 1989; Parry 1979; Shah 1973, 1996 etc.).

But as Yanagisako (1979:200) puts, the term '**family**' and '**household**' are merely '**odd-job**' words for the analysis of the statement. For instance, in the village, both a household and a family are referred to by the term '**kutumbum**'. The term '**kutumbum**' "Is used for **either a household** or a family, or sometimes for an extended **close-familial** group as well, depending on the

context. The kutumbum as a household is made up of one (or more) nuclear family which possesses a single hearth, while the *kutumbum* as a familial group is composed of filial and/or fraternal relatives regardless of co-residence and domestic functions. It means, even though a family may be physically separated, even legally split, yet the brothers (or sons) may continue to act as a functioning family, if they have or keep good relationship. However, in the village, almost all of the households are composed of the members of one family, except in a few cases. There is little difference between the unit of family and that of household, in terms of the composition of their members. This reality taken into account throughout the presentation, so the term '**family**' and '**household**' will be used together according to the context.

#### 4.2.1 The family, caste and occupation

While caste as an institution is in decline, the family remains or functions as one of the strongest social institution. That is, caste no longer plays a very important role in the reproduction of socio-economic inequality mainly due to the collapse of traditional economic system, the introduction of new capital market system and various policies of the government. The family, on the contrary, takes a role as most important active agent for the reproduction of socio-economic status or inequality. The active role of the family is seen in the manner in which economic and cultural capital is transmitted from parents to the children (see, Beteille 1991).

If caste offers a very important basis of social identity for the individual, the occupation represents his economic position, his social status, and his own self-esteem in the society. In tradition, there was marked correlation between caste status and occupation, but nowadays the direct influences of caste on the distribution of occupational opportunities is changing. No one has automatic access to a particular occupation out of his caste's traditional occupation, by virtue of his caste position (cf. 3.3.1). But, the family plays a crucial role in the reproduction of social structure, associated with the new occupational system.

Also education is an equally vital element in deciding an individual's social status and occupation. And the school has emerged as a major institution for mediating the relationship between the family and the new occupational system. Moreover, the school itself plays a major part of the reproduction of social inequality. Schools are of many different kinds, and they are ranked differently. In the village, the major distinction is

between fee-paying schools and government schools where the charges are nominal. The emergence of a new education and occupational system has given individuals an increasingly secure basis freeing themselves from the restraint of caste and sub-caste.

However, to a large extent caste still remains a salient feature of the society, and it is correlated with every form of social **stratification**, whether based on wealth, occupation, income, education, or some other criterion. But economic resources are very unequally distributed among families within the same caste. There are rich and poor, educated and uneducated, and advantaged and disadvantaged families in **every** caste, although averages vary greatly between castes (see, Beteille 1991, 1992d).

It is often argued that the joint family in Indian village is disintegrating as a result of occupational **diversification** with the industrialization and urbanization (see, Goode 1963; Kumar 1974). Another view point is that the joint family has not disappeared but it has been adopting itself to the changing conditions (see, Babu & Suryanarayana 1984; Rao 1972; Singer 1968). Even though the commercialization of agriculture brought regular cash incomes to the farmers, and the employment of non-agricultural sectors led to a **diversification** of occupations, these have not affected the formation of the family seriously. The elementary family has not resulted from the **diversification** of occupation, rather the economic opportunity seems to be the largest incentive for the separation of sons from fathers (see, Conklin 1976:19; Kumar 1974:50; Mandelbaum 1970:36). Therefore, material interest can not be excluded from consideration in analyzing **the** family, that is, the property forms the centre of the family division or its maintenance.

Another trend in the study of Indian family is focused on the relation between the caste and the family structure. For instance, Kolenda (1987) insists that the joint family is more characteristic of the upper and landowning castes than that of the lower and landless castes. Similarly, Shah (1973) also argues that the principle of the joint family system is a character of the more Sanskritized, and higher castes than that of the less Sanskritized, and lower castes. But these explanations indicate only the surface relationship between the caste and the joint family. The economic motives, rather than moral responsibilities of the individual members in the joint family may incline to break up or remain as a joint family in a household. Kumar (1974:70) points out, "whenever the economic gains of remaining in a joint family are greater than the existing tension, couples

would not seek to be separated from the family. The reverse case would lead to the disintegration of the joint family into nuclear family". Regarding this, he further insists that the joint family is not a tradition of poor family.

In the following sub-section firstly, the relation between the caste and the family structure will be described, to see whether or not there exists specific or considerable relationship between them. Secondly, it will be focused on whether the diversification of occupations has influenced the structure of families in the village context. Finally, it will be described how the family plays a crucial role in the reproduction of social inequality, through the education of the children.

### 4.3 Family structures

The basic domestic unit in the village is the family. The term **kutumbum** is used for the family in the wide context and for the household primarily to denote a common residence. It is also applicable to a close knit familial group who are connected filially and/or fraternally. The term '**illu**' is used to indicate the house. In the village circumstance, in a single house {**illu**}, sometimes, more than one family may exist, while each household has separate cooking place or hearth, and it stands as an independent economic **unit**.

Therefore, to the outsider, the household as a basic domestic group may be the most clearly drawn unit, if each household consists of only kin or family members. Almost invariably, the people who live in a household form a kin-group, but in some cases, there are non-kin members also such as servants, apprentices, contracted labourers, or etc. A common dwelling or a house may have more than one hearth in it, that is, several families may live under the same roof. Each of the households functions as a distinct domestic unit in terms of economic **and** commensal contexts, while they may represent as a single family concerning to their social and ritual contexts.

For instance, there are three Yadav brothers who have separate **means of production** and separate cooking places, but they are living in the same house. They maintain separate households legally **and** economically, **while** only the eldest of them represents the family as a head of domestic group, and attends **the** Yadav Caste Association in which the family has a membership. In this context, a household is a unit for its economic and legal affairs, **while the family or** familial group represents as a social **and ritual unit**. The family or familial group is a unit for the ancestor worship. In some cases, though a man and woman

and their progeny establish a new household, it does not always mean **the formation** of a new family.

Nonetheless, in the village the family in a household is the principle unit of economic production as well as consumption. **The** ideal type of the family is that of filial and fraternal joint relationships. The norm prescribed for such a family is that the brothers (or sons) should remain together in the parental household after they marry. Patrilineal and patrilocal principle defines those men who are expected to live and co-operate together in a family. Each male is entitled to an equal share of the family property from the moment of his birth; hence all brothers are coparceners, each is entitled for the same share which his **father has**.

But the fission of the large family is an inevitable step in domestic development. The most important factor leading to the breakup of a joint family is its growth and size. The other important influence is the social and economic environment within which the family exists. The material interest or the property forms one of the main causes of the family integration or disintegration. However, the separation of the household does not mean that the cohesion and cooperation between brothers are entirely severed. **The** partition may take place with bitterness, the family ties are often maintained and some degree of mutual support resumed (see, **Mandelbaum** 1970:37). Brothers are expected to help each other whether they live together or not. While **brothers'** sons (i.e. cousin relations) are not expected to fulfill the same obligation to stay or cooperate together as are the brothers. For instance, the term **kutumbum** hardly refers to the kin group beyond cousin relationship, particularly in the village context. The brother who live separately may still feel mutual obligation. That is, a residential nuclear unit is not an isolated entity, but it is a part of wider kin group.

The person is much advantaged if his family is large, harmonious and joint. It demonstrates that its family members are reliable and **trust** worthy people to the others, while the family members themselves show the pride and self-esteem for their joint **familyship**. Despite these advantages, centrifugal forces inevitably build up so that every family sooner or later breaches **the** household. Among the very poor, the breach comes not long after a son or brother marries, while those who own and cultivate land, or who **are** engaged in the trade and business, can keep up **the** large family longer.

But the situation in the household changes drastically when the **father dies**. Each brother seeks to protect the interests of

his own wife and children, and in doing so comes into conflict with the others. Moreover, under the recent tenure ceiling acts it has become profitable for the father and sons to separate, their property legally, while continuing to share residence, kitchen, and joint living in a household.

In village practice, each of the larger categories, the caste and the '**class**', is usually known by a distinctive name to distinguish it from others of its kind, but the family does not have separate label in the local **terms**<sup>2</sup>

In order to make **comparisions** with other studies, the compositional categories of the family in the present study will follow **Kolenda's classification (1987:11-13)**<sup>3</sup>, they are presented below:

1. Nuclear family: a couple with or without unmarried children.
2. **Supplemented** nuclear family: a nuclear family plus **one** or more unmarried, separated, or widowed relatives of the parents.
3. Subnuclear family: a fragment of a former nuclear family. Typical examples are the widow/widower with unmarried children, or siblings - whether married, or widowed, separated or divorced living together.
4. Single-person household
5. Supplemented sub-nuclear: a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family, plus some other unmarried, divorced, or widowed relatives who are not a member of the nuclear family.
6. Collateral joint family: two or more married couples between whom there is a sibling bond plus unmarried children.
7. Supplemented collateral joint family: a collateral joint family plus unmarried, divorced or widowed **relatives**.
8. Lineal joint family: two couples between whom there is a lineal link, usually between parents and married son, sometimes between parents and married daughter.
9. Supplemented lineal joint family : a lineal joint family plus unmarried, divorced, or widowed relatives who do not belong to either of the lineally linked nuclear families.
10. **Lineal-collateral** joint family: three or more couples linked lineally and collaterally.

11. **Supplemented lineal-collateral joint family:** a lineal-collateral joint family plus unmarried, widowed, separated relatives who belong to one of the nuclear families lineally and collaterally linked.

12. **Others**

In these **classifications**, as Kolenda suggests, the term joint family refers to the residential and commercial '**joint family**' rather than the co-parcenary joint family. That is, the term joint family is used to refer to the living members of minimal lineage and their spouse<sup>4</sup>. whereas the term nuclear family defines the parents and their unmarried children.

Table - 14 presents family types by 29 Hindu castes. The common notion that the joint family is a characteristic of upper, more sanskritized, and landowning castes, is not confirmed by the data presented here. **Kolenda's** (1987:26,86) review of 26 studies on family types in India showed that the proportions of joint family units reported in the study from Telangana, by Dube 1955, were lower than those from the other regions in India. That study accounted for joint family only 18.5 per cent of all families. It is remarkable that the proportion of joint family of Telangana was very low compared to other regions, in other words, the proportion of nuclear family was very high (81.5 per cent). However, the proportion of joint family in the present study is 25.6 per cent. But it does not mean that the proportion of joint family is increasing or the nuclear family is being transformed into joint family. It simply shows the difference between two villages in the same Telangana region, without close **comparision**<sup>5</sup>. If joint and supplemented nuclear families are combined in the present study, the proportions are 48.1 per cent which are less than those of the Gangetic plain villages, but higher than those of other rural areas of India which are reported in Kolenda's study (see, Kolenda 1987:84-85).

The data presented in Table - 14 shows that the proportions of joint families do not correlate with caste rank exactly. For instances, the proportions of the joint families in some of the middle castes are higher than those of high castes. Such castes as, the **Mangalli**, **Vaddla**, **Kammari** or **Satani**, on the one hand, the **Wadera**, **Dasari**, or **Budigajangam**, on the other, have high proportions of joint family. The former are the castes whose traditional occupations (except those of the Satani) rely mainly on the cooperate work of male members, while the latter are the castes whose women folks also are actively engaged in substantial activities. Moreover, the Dasari and Erukala take bride-price as



Table-14

## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CASTE AND FAMILY CLASSIFICATION

Group	Caste	Type of Families												Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
I	Brahman	1							1					2*
	Thakur							1	3					4
	Komati	3	2	1					2		1			9
	Reddy	11	12	3		2		4	4		1		1*	38
	Lingayat	4	3	1				1	2					11
Sub Total (a)		19	17	5		2		6	12		2		1	64
II	Padmasalle	10	10	1					5		1		1 <sup>@</sup>	28
	Yadav	18	8	1					7		4			38
	Muduraju	27	14	5	1	2	3	3	8		2			65
	Satani								1					1
	Goud	7	7	3	1				2		2			22
	Sara	3	1					1						5
	Gandla	1								1				2
	Mera	2	4	1										7
	Arekatika	2		1										3
	Medari	6	2						1		1			10
	Ausalli	4												4
	Vaddla	5				1			2	1		1		10
	Kammari								2					2
	Kummari	4	6						1					11
	Wadera	8	3						5		2			18
	Chakalli	11	3	1					1					16
	Mangalli	2	2					1	4	1	2			12
	Dasari	3						1	1					5
	Budiga - Jangam								1	1				2
Sub Total (b)		113	60	13	2	3	3	6	41	4	14	1	1	261
III	Dore	12	1	1					1					15
	Mochi								1					1
	Mala	20	6		1			1	5	4	1			38
	Madiga	46	23	7		1		2	17		5			101
	Erukalla	11	3						1		2			17
Sub Total (c)		89	33	8	1	1		3	25	4	8			172
Grand Total (a+b+c)		221	110	26	3	6	3	15	78	8	24	1	2	497

In this analysis, one Brahman household (the *Desmukh*) is omitted. Since he stays in Hyderabad more than half a year with his married son. it is difficult to classify the family type.

"This household composed of a **widow** and her unmarried son besides her widowed sister with her unmarried children, i.e. two related subnuclear families.

""This household consisted of two widowed sisters.

custom in the marriage, and the Waddera also used to take it until a few decades ago. The case of Dasari and Waddera is against the general belief that "dowry would appear to function as a stabilizer and to support the joint family and has been a custom related to joint-family living" (Kolenda 1987:4).

The data broadly represents that the high castes have high proportions of joint families, the middle castes, average, and the low castes, low (see Table - 15) . The proportions of joint families in high castes are 31.2 per cent, those in middle castes are 26.4 per cent, and 23.3 per cent in low castes. There appears to be a positive correlation between caste rank and the proportion of joint families. But, in individual caste levels, the proportions of joint families do not correlate with their caste ranks. For instance, the Reddy has 23.7 per cent of proportions of joint families, but it is less than the average (26 per cent) proportions of joint families among all castes in the village.

And castes in the middle range (in Table - 15, Group II) vary in having high (such as, the Satani, **Kammari**, Vaddla, Waddera, Dasari **Budigajangam**, **Mangalli**, and Gandla), medium (such as, the Yadav, **Muduraju**), or low or nil (the **Padmasalle**, Goud, Sara, **Mera**, Arekatika, **Medari**, **Kummari**, Chakalli), proportion of joint families. Among the low castes (see, Table -15, Group III) the **Mochi**, Mala and Erukala have higher proportion of joint families than the average proportions of joint families. Hence, there does not appear to be a close relationship between the rank of each caste and the proportion of joint family. On the other hand, there does not appear to be a strong relationship between landowning and the proportions of joint families. Among all the castes, the **Madiga**, the Reddy, and the Brahman have 387.9 acres, 386.9 acre, and 335.8 acres of land, respectively. But concerning to the average landholding per household, the Reddy (10.2 acres) and the Thakur (14.4 acres) represent as the highest landholding castes, except one or two householding castes (see, Table - 8) .

However, the data in Table - 15 shows that the Reddy has only 23.7 per cent of proportion of joint families. These are less than those of other middle castes, that is 26.4 per cent, but the Thakur has all joint families. The data represents that there is very slight or no relationship between the extent of landholding and the proportions of joint families. Thus, caste rank seems to be more closely related to the size of the proportions of joint families than does landownership (see, Kolenda 1987:77) .

Table-15

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY TYPES, IN NUCLEAR,  
SUPPLEMENTARY NUCLEAR, AND JOINT FAMILIES

Group	Caste	Nuclear*		Supplementary nuclear		Joint		Others*		Total
		No	% <sup>§</sup>	No	%	No	%	No	%	
I	Brahman	1	50.0	--	--	1	50.0	--	--	2*
	Thakur	--	--	--	--	4	100.0	--	--	4
	Komati	4	44.4	2	22.2	3	33.3	--	--	9
	Reddy	16	42.1	12	31.6	9	23.7	1	--	38
	Lingayat	5	45.4	3	27.3	3	27.3	--	--	11
Sub Total (a)		26	40.6	17	26.6	20	31.2	1	--	64
II	Padmasalle	11	39.3	10	35.7	6	21.4	1	--	28
	Yadav	19	50.0	8	21.1	11	28.9	--	--	38
	Muduraju	34	52.3	14	21.5	16	24.6	1	--	65
	Satani	--	--	--	--	1	100.0	--	--	1
	Goud	10	45.5	7	31.8	4	18.2	1	--	22
	Sara	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	--	--	5
	Gandla	1	50.0	--	--	1	50.0	--	--	2
	Mera	3	42.9	4	57.1	--	--	--	--	7
	Arekatika	3	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
	Medari	6	60.0	2	20.0	2	20.0	--	--	10
	Ausalli	4	100.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	4
	Vaddla	6	60.0	--	--	4	40.0	--	--	10
	Kammari	--	--	--	--	2	100.0	--	--	2
	Kummari	4	36.4	6	54.5	1	9.0	--	--	11
	Wadera	8	44.4	3	16.7	7	38.9	--	--	18
	Chakalli	12	75.0	3	18.7	1	6.3	--	--	16
	Mangalli	2	16.7	2	16.7	8	66.7	--	--	12
	Dasari	3	60.0	--	--	2	40.0	--	--	5
	Budiga - Jangam	--	--	--	--	2	100.0	--	--	2
Sub Total (b)		129	49.4	60	23.0	69	26.4	3	--	261
III	Dore	13	86.7	1	6.7	1	6.7	--	--	15
	Mochi	--	--	--	--	1	100.0	--	--	1
	Mala	20	52.6	6	15.9	11	28.9	1	--	38
	Madiga	54	53.5	23	22.8	24	23.8	--	--	101
	Erukalla	11	64.7	3	17.6	3	17.6	--	--	17
Sub Total (c)		98	57.0	33	19.2	40	23.3	1	--	172
Grand Total (a+b+c)		253	50.9	110	22.1	129	26.0	5	--	497

\*This category consists of nuclear (No.1), subnuclear (No.3), and supplemented subnuclear (No.5) families in Table-14.

This category consists of single person (No.4) in Table-14.

§Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to rounding error.

If joint and supplemented nuclear families are combined, the data in Table - 15 shows that almost all of high castes, except the Reddy, and more than half of the middle castes have high proportion of joint and supplemented nuclear families, ranging from 50 per cent to 100 per cent. Among the middle castes which have high proportion of these categories of families, a few castes, such as, the **Padmasalle**, the Yadav, the Goud and the **Mera** are newly emerging, either politically or economically in the village scene, whereas none of the low castes has higher than 50 per cent of these categories of families. Once again this evidence suggests that there is a positive correlation between caste rank and the proportion of joint and supplemented nuclear families.

In other words, in the low castes and some of middle castes, the proportions of nuclear families are higher than those of others or the average proportion (50.9 per cent). Such low castes or middle castes are engaged as agricultural labourers, tenants, or independent artisan (i.e. Ausalli). Or their women-folks work actively for their traditional occupation (i.e. Chakkalli) or for daily substantial foods (i.e. Dasari, Mala, Madiga, Erukalla and, etc.)

The largest number of families is nuclear in composition. And this prevalence of nuclear families is not only the result of natural death of the kin of older generation, but it is the result of break-up before the parent's (or the father's) death (see, Kolenda 1987:98). The pattern of break-up refers to the division of hearth group, i.e. **household, rather** than separation of dwellings or properties. In the village, the break-up of joint families occur shortly after marriage, within a few years, before the father's death, or after the younger brother's marriage as in other village of Telangana reported by Dube (see, Dube 1955:133).

The Table - 16 shows the statistics on the number of people included in the various type of families. These statistics suggest that more than half of families (50.9 per cent) are nuclear in the village, 40.3 per cent of the population live in nuclear families, and 37.4 per cent of the population live in joint families. **However**, if joint and supplemented nuclear families are combined, the data in Table - 17 represents that 48.1 per cent of the families are either joint or supplemented nuclear, more than half of population (59.4 per cent) live in these two types of families.

Table-16

## PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN FAMILY TYPES

Group	Caste	Type of Families				
		1	2	3	4	5
I	Brahman	4(2/2)				
	Thakur					
	Komati	13(8/5)	11(4/7)	5(1/4)		
	Reddy	53(26/27)	71(29/42)	8(6/2)		9(4/5)
	Lingayat	21(13/8)	19(11/8)	3(2/1)		
Sub Total (a)		91(49/42)	101(44/57)	16(9/7)		9(4/5)
II	Padmasalle	48(26/22)	61(27/34)	4(3/1)		
	Yadav	85(47/38)	45(24/21)	2(1/1)		
	Muduraju	150(77/73)	88(41/47)	20(10/10)	1(1/0)	10(4/6)
	Satani					
	Goud	30(13/17)	42(21/21)	9(6/3)	1(1/0)	
	Sara	13(8/5)	7(2/5)			
	Gandla	5(3/2)				
	Mera	10(5/5)	20(8/12)	5(2/3)		
	Arekatika	11(6/5)		3(0/3)		
	Medari	27(18/9)	12(7/5)			
	Ausalli	19(11/8)				
	Vaddla	18(7/11)				8(4/4)
	Kammari					
	Kummari	19(11/8)	46(23/23)			
	Wadera	43(24/19)	18(9/9)			
	Chakalli	46(27/19)	16(6/10)	4(2/2)		
	Mangalli	10(6/4)	14(5/9)			
	Dasari	12(7/5)				
	Budiga - Jangam					
Sub Total (b)		546(296/250)	369(179/196)	47(24/23)	2(2/0)	18(8/10)
III	Dore	67(33/34)	9(4/5)	7(3/4)		
	Mochi					
	Mala	93(45/48)	35(17/18)		1(1/0)	
	Madiga	229(117/112)	128(63/65)	28(18/10)		6(1/5)
	Erukalla	51(22/29)	18(10/8)			
Sub Total (c)		440(217/223)	190(94/96)	35(21/14)	1(1/0)	6(1/5)
Grand Total (a+b+c)		1077(562/515)	660(311/249)	98(54/44)	3(3/0)	33(13/20)

Table-16 (contd.)

Caste	Type of Families							Total
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Brahman			8(5/3)					12(7/5)
Thakur		6(2/4)	22(13/9)					28(15/13)
Komati			11(7/4)		15(6/9)			55(26/29)
Reddy		41(22/19)	36(20/16)		8(4/4)		5(3/2)	231(110/121)
Lingayat		10(5/5)	14(9/5)					67(40/27)
Sub Total		57	91		23		5	393
(a)		(29/28)	(54/37)		(10/13)		(3/2)	(198/195)
Padmasalle			49(26/23)		14(8/6)		2(0/2)	178(90/88)
Yadav			45(23/22)		55(29/26)			232(124/108)
Muduraju	27(14/13)	26(9/17)	58(35/23)		31(17/14)			411(208/203)
Satani			6(4/2)					6(4/2)
Goud			17(9/8)		31(19/12)			130(66/64)
Sara		12(4/8)						32(14/18)
Gandla				8(5/3)				13(8/5)
Mera								35(15/20)
Arekatika								14(6/8)
Medari			10(5/5)		12(6/6)			61(36/25)
Ausalli								19(11/8)
Vaddla			15(9/6)	5(2/3)		14(6/8)		60(28/32)
Kammari			13(6/7)					13(6/7)
Kummari			7(4/3)					72(38/34)
Wadera			36(17/19)		22(12/10)			119(62/57)
Chakalli			7(5/2)					73(40/33)
Mangalli		10(4/6)	31(16/15)	9(5/4)	29(16/13)			103(52/51)
Dasari		8(5/3)	9(7/2)					29(19/10)
Budiga - Jangam			5(3/2)	10(5/5)				15(8/7)
Sub Total	27	56	308	32	194	14	2	1615
(b)	(14/13)	(22/34)	(169/139)	(17/15)	(107/87)	(6/8)	(0/2)	(835/780)
Dore			8(5/3)					91(45/46)
Mochi			9(6/3)					9(6/3)
Mala		9(5/4)	39(18/21)	34(16/18)	9(5/4)			220(107/113)
Madiga		16(8/8)	117(67/50)		47(25/22)			571(299/272)
Erukalla			7(2/5)		24(10/14)			100(44/56)
Sub Total		25	180	34	80			991
(c)		(13/12)	(98/82)	(16/18)	(40/40)			(501/490)
Grand Total	27	138	579	66	297	14	7	2999
(a+b+c)	(14/13)	(64/74)	(321/258)	(33/33)	(157/140)	(6/8)	(3/4)	(1534/1465)

One Brahman male is omitted, due to difficulty of classification of family type.

Table-17

PROPORTION OF POPULATION, IN NUCLEAR,  
SUPPLEMENTARY NUCLEAR, AND JOINT FAMILIES

Group	Caste	Nuclear*		Supplementary nuclear		Joint		Others*		Total
		No	% <sup>&amp;</sup>	No	%	No	%	No	%	
I	Brahman	4	33.3			8	66.7			12
	Thakur					28	100			28
	Komati	18	32.7	11	20.0	26	47.3			55
	Reddy	70	30.3	71	30.7	85	36.8	5	2.2	231
	Lingayat	24	35.8	19	28.4	24	35.8			67
Sub Total (a)		116	29.5	101	25.7	171	43.8	5	1.3	393
II	Padmasalle	52	29.2	61	34.3	63	35.4	2	1.1	178
	Yadav	87	37.5	45	19.4	100	43.1			232
	Muduraju	180	43.8	88	21.4	142	34.5	1	0.2	411
	Satani					6	100			6
	Goud	39	30.0	42	32.3	48	36.9	1	0.8	130
	Sara	13	40.6	7	21.9	12	37.5			32
	Gandla	5	38.5			8	61.5			13
	Mera	15	42.9	20	57.1					35
	Arekatika	14	100.0							14
	Medari	27	44.3	12	19.7	22	36.1			61
	Ausalli	19	100.0							19
	Vaddla	26	43.3			34	56.7			60
	Kammari					13	100			13
	Kummari	19	26.4	46	63.9	7	9.7			72
	Wadera	43	36.1	18	15.1	58	48.7			119
	Chakalli	50	68.5	16	21.9	7	9.6			73
	Mangalli	10	9.7	14	13.6	79	76.7			103
	Dasari	12	41.4			17	58.6			29
	Budiga - Jangam					15	100			15
Sub Total (b)		611	37.8	369	22.8	631	39.1	4	0.2	1615
III	Dore	74	81.3	9	9.9	8	8.8			91
	Mochi					9	100			9
	Mala	93	42.3	35	15.9	91	41.4	1	0.5	220
	Madiga	263	46.1	128	22.4	180	31.5			571
	Erukalla	51	51.0	18	18.0	31	31.0			100
Sub Total (c)		481	48.5	190	19.2	319	32.2	1	0.1	991
Grand Total (a+b+c)		1208	40.3	660	22.0	1121	37.4	10	0.3	2999

\*This category consists of the population of the categories of No.1, No.3, and No.5 in Table-16.

\*This category consists of populations both categories of the single person (No.4) and others(No.12) in Table-16.

<sup>&</sup>Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to rounding error.

These proportions of population which are represented by various types of families show that there is a correlation between caste rank and the proportions of population represented by joint family. That is, the higher castes live more in joint families than the middle or lower castes. In other words, the lower castes live in more nuclear families than others. Thus, there is no strong evidence that the majority of people live in joint families. The largest number of families (50.9 per cent) are nuclear in composition, and, also, the largest number of persons (40.3 per cent) live in nuclear families.

The average size of family is 6.03 members, it is slightly lower compared to the picture of the whole India that is, **6.06**, as reported in *1981 Census* (see, Shah 1996: 536-537). The data in Table - 18 represents that firstly among nuclear families, the low caste has the highest of average size, secondly among supplemented nuclear families, the middle caste has the highest number, lastly among joint families the middle caste, too, has the highest of average family size.

TABLE - 18  
AVERAGE SIZE OF NUCLEAR, SUPPLEMENTED NUCLEAR,  
AND JOINT FAMILIES

Caste	Nuclear	Supplemented	Joint	Others	Total
High	4.46	5.94	8.55	5.00	6.14
Middle	4.74	6.15	9.14	1.33	6.19
Low	4.91	5.76	7.96	1.00	5.76
Total	4.77	6.00	8.69	2.00	6.03

And the low caste, compared to others, has the lowest average size of families (5.76), which is lower than the average size of total village. In the composition of supplemented nuclear and joint families, the low caste marks the lowest size, but in the average size of nuclear families, the low caste has the highest position among them. It means that, on the composition of nuclear families, the low caste has more children than others, while, on that of joint families, the low caste has included minimum number of lineal or collateral relatives of the head couple.

#### 4.4 Occupation and family

Family research in India has led to two divergent points of view. One view is that, as a result of occupational diversification and the wake of industrialization and urbanization, the traditional joint family has been disintegrating and yielding place to nuclear family. Another point of view is that the joint family has not disappeared but it has been adapting itself to the changing conditions (see, Babu and Suryanarayana 1984).



Based on his study of the joint families in Bisipura, Orissa Bailey (1957:92) comments that "the **joint-family** cannot survive divergent interests and disparate incomes among its members. Opportunities to make money in fields other than agriculture caused joint-families to be partitioned". He also insists that the agriculturist family economics can be efficiently managed by one head, whereas the members of family working in fields other than agriculture, break more easily than the agriculturist families; thus they keep more nuclear families than joint ones.

While Rao's (1972) study based on the observation of Yadapur, near Delhi confirms that, inspite of occupational diversification and varying rates of cash incomes, kinship obligations play an important economic exigencies in maintaining the interests of members in joint families. He concludes that "the joint household organization is not incompatible with cash incomes and diverse occupations" (Rao 1972:117).

In the village, the economy and traditional division of labour which are based on the agriculture, have been affected by the industrial and urbanized division of labour and economy. In the process, several new occupations have been opened up for the villagers, and moreover, the conversion of a subsistence economy into cash economy has prevailed in the construction of the village economy.

While the commercialization of **agriculture** brought regular cash incomes to the farmers as well as broke out the traditional division of labour, the employments of government or private companies led to a **diversification** of occupation. Above 28 per cent of heads of families have been engaged in salaried occupations, while 59.4 per cent of them have been engaged in agriculture, or as **tenant/labourer**, or in some traditional occupations, such as, carpentry, blacksmithry, pottery, laundry work, **and** barberry. And within the village, 62 families (or 12.5 per cent) have either opened grocery, vegetable, and other general shops, or are engaged in some business. Thus the village economy is characterized by both commercialization of subsistence economy as well as the **diversification** of occupation.

#### **4.4.1 Castewise occupational variation**

Table - 19 represents the relations that exists between caste and occupational **diversification**, and between occupational diversification **and** family types.

TABLE - 19  
PURSUIT OF OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS\*

	Govt. Worker	Teacher Co.	Pvt. Co.	Busi- ness	Far- mer	Tenant/ Labourer	Tradi- tional**	Total
GROUP I								
Brahman	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Thakur	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
Komati	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	9
Reddy	12	1	-	1	24	-	-	38
Lingayat	2	1	2	2	2	2	-	11
Sub Total	14	9	5	8	26	2	-	64
(a) (%)	21.9	14.1	7.8	12.5	40.6	3.1	-	
GROUP II								
Padmasalle	8	1	1	15	2	1	-	28
Yadav	6	3	2	-	5	22	-	38
Muduraju	9	4	7	8	7	30	-	65
Satani	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Goud	2	-	1	5	2	12	-	22
Sara	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	5
Gandla	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Mera	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	7
Arekatika	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	3
Medari	-	-	-	-	1	9	-	10
Ausali	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	4
Vaddla	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	10
Kammari	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Kummari	3	-	-	1	-	3	4	11
Wadera	-	-	-	-	5	13	-	18
Chakalli	6	-	1	-	-	-	9	16
Mangalli	3	-	-	-	-	-	9	12
Dasari	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	5
Budigajangam	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Sub Total	43	8	14	44	23	97	32	261
(b) (%)	16.5	3.1	5.4	16.9	8.8	37.2	12.3	
GROUP III								
Dore	1	-	4	4	1	5	-	15
Mochi	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Mala	15	-	3	1	-	19	-	38
Madiga	16	-	5	3	11	66	-	101
Brukalla	1	-	2	1	4	9	-	17
Sub Total	33	-	14	10	16	99	-	172
(c) (%)	19.2	-	8.1	5.8	9.3	57.6	-	
Grand Total	90	17	33	62	65	198	32	497
(a+b+c) (%)	18.1	3.4	6.6	12.5	13.1	39.8	6.4	

\*Occupation indicates the main income source of the family.

\*\*This category consists of **blacksmiths**, carpenters, washermen, and barbers who are engaged in the traditional pethubai systei.

In the table above among the high castes, 56.3 per cent of the heads of families are working for either salaried occupations or are engaged in business. In the middle castes, 41.8 per cent of them are working for either salaried occupations or are engaged in business, whereas 33.1 per cent of low caste families are engaged in either salaried occupations or business. It is

noteworthy that none of low caste members is a teacher. The teachers are the members of only either high castes or of certain middle castes, such as the Padmasale, the Yadav, and the **Muduraju**.

#### 4.4.2 **Familywise** occupational variation

In the wake of increasing occupational diversity, the economic consideration and other tensions between different members of a joint family are the main causes of disintegration. Thus, the economic motives and emotion in family are the final condition of the family unit, and the composition of family is the result of their delicate balance. For example, a **Komati** household maintains a joint family, despite occupational diversification among the three married sons and **parents**. This **family** runs a general shop which is located at the cross point of temple road and market road in new **Kandi**. The business of this shop is good and brisk. The father is retired teacher, a son also teacher, and other son is private company worker, the last son who recently married works for this shop. All of them are working or take care of this shop. For them, it is better to maintain joint-family for the business of their family, rather than to separate. Moreover, the father of this family has authority to arbitrate the possible quarrel among the sons, on the one hand, still the sons maintain good relationships, at least in public, on the other.

However, when the benefits of maintaining a joint family disappear or become not so much important, they separate out soon after the extinction of socio-economic motives. For instance, R-Reddy had maintained a joint family with his one married brother and unmarried two brothers, when he had occupied the Sarpanchship. Soon after his term was over and he lost Co-operative Society President election (cf. 6.4.3), he built a house in front of his ancestral house and separated out from the family, with his wife and children. In this case, he has no more socio-economic and political advantages to keep a joint family, at the time of separation. Now he runs real estate business by himself alone, though he and his brothers not divide their lands which cultivated by his younger brother, and other properties, such as oxen, bullock carts, and etc.

Among the groups of salaried occupation holders (in the Table - 20 and 21), i.e. the government worker and private company employees, show that the distribution of nuclear family is 60.4 per cent and 69.7 per cent, respectively, while, the agriculturist and traditional occupation groups represent 47.7 per cent and 46.9 per cent of joint families.

**TABLE - 20**  
**OCCUPATIONS AND FAMILY TYPES**

Occupation*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Govt. Worker	50	23	2	.	2	.	2	8	1	2			90
Teacher	6	3	.	1	.	.	1	5		1			17
Pvt. Co. Worker	22	6	1	.	.	.	1	3	.		.	.	33
Business	26	17	5	.	.	.	1	9	1	2		1	62
Farmer	13	14	3	.	3	2	5	17		7	.	1	65
Tenant/Labourer	92	43	14	2	1	1	4	26	4	11			198
Traditional	12	4	1	.	.	.	1	10	2	1	1	3	2
Total	221	110	26	3	6	3	15	78	8	24	1	2	497

\*Occupation means the main income source of a family.

**TABLE - 21**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS IN NUCLEAR, SUPPLEMENTED**  
**NUCLEAR, AND JOINT FAMILIES**

Occupation*	Nuclear		Types of families Supplemented		Joint		Other		Total No.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Govt. Worker	55	60.4	23	25.3	13	14.3	.		91
Teacher	5	31.3	3	18.8	7	43.8	1	6.3	16
Pvt. Co. Worker	23	69.7	6	18.2	4	12.1	.		33
Business	31	50.0	17	27.4	13	21.0	1	1.6	62
Farmer	19	29.2	14	21.5	31	47.7	1	1.5	65
Tenant/Labour	107	54.0	43	21.7	46	23.2	2	1.0	198
Traditional	13	40.6	4	1.3	15	46.9	.	.	32
Total	253	50.9	110	22.1	129	26.0	5	1.0	497

Occupation means the main source of income of a family.

Among the newly emerged occupational groups, such as, government workers, private company employees and businessmen, 58.6 per cent of them belong to nuclear families, while the groups of teachers, farmers, and traditional occupation holders represent 46.9 per cent of joint families. But the tenant/labour group shows higher percentage (that is 54%) of nuclear families in the composition of family types.

Therefore, economic opportunity seems to provide larger incentive for separations of a joint family or the maintenance of nuclear family, than other factors such as, caste, land ownership, etc. To put this reality in Conklin words, "not poverty or untouchability, but economic opportunity seems to be the largest

incentive for separation of sons from fathers" (1976:19), that is, there is closer correlation between the diversification of occupation and family types than between caste or land owning on the one hand, and family types, on the other. One of the important inherent factors which leads to the break-up of a joint family is its growth and size by birth or death, the other decisive factor is the influence of the social and economic environments, such as employment opportunities out of agriculture or traditional occupations of the family, etc.

However, a residential nuclear unit is not an isolated unity, but it is a part of wider kin group. The kinship obligation is an important factor in maintaining a network of social relations (see, Singer 1968:426). When there is a positive value for joint living in the context of changing economic conditions, the sons or brothers live under the same roof with different occupations. For instance, the *Mali patel* family maintains a joint family, with the parent and two married sons, with their wives and unmarried children. First son is VAO of the village, and second son is teacher of a primary school of a town, near the village. Therefore, both of them have not enough time to take care of their lands, if they separate. So, they live under the same roof, mainly for their father's help and supervision of agricultural works. In some cases, the obligations of a person toward his parents and unmarried brothers and sisters may deter a man from establishing a separate unit as soon as he is economically able to support his wife and children.

#### 4.5 Education and family

An individual's position in the society is, to some extent, dependent on his occupation. As the direct influence of caste on the distribution or selection occupation has been greatly diminished, if not totally disappeared, the family takes a crucial role in reproducing the inequalities associated with the new occupational system (see, Beteille 1991).

Education is necessary for all jobs, more especially so in some government departments or other private companies. Not many families can afford to educate their children even up to high school. Therefore, the school has emerged as a major institution for mediating the relationship between the family and the new occupational system. That is, schools are another 'gatekeepers' in Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1992) words for an access to economic achievement, and/or maintaining the family's socio economic status. In other words the family and school (education) are the key mechanisms for '**the reproduction of inequality**' (Beteille 1991) in society.

#### 4.5.1 Castewise enrolment of students

In spite of Government's declaration of equal education and universal access to education (see, Aggarwal and Agrawal 1989), schools are ranked on many different kinds and the families have to spend considerable amount of time on primary school for their children (see, Bêteille 1991:17-18; Tilak 1996:358). In actual practice, the formal education system often reinforces rather than reduces differences which culturally prescribed, among the people (see, Karlekar 1983:183). Education acts as a differentiating agency, on the one hand, and maintains and supplies appropriately socialized individuals to a status group, on the other. The formal education tends to select students from particular socio-economic strata. Individuals belonging to a certain stratum (for example, high class or high income groups) are better able to exploit educational facilities of a high quality than those belonging to the others. This selective function of formal education operates through families according to their economic and cultural resources, and through the schools according to those environment for providing appropriate educational facilities. This selective function of formal education serves to **differentiate** one stratum from another (see, Rao 1972:131-132).

The location of four primary schools and a high school in the village have encouraged a large number of villagers to send their children to receive primary education as well as higher education.

Inspite of the Government's educational declaration, i.e. "all students, irrespective of caste, creed, location or sex, have access to education of a comparable quality" (Aggarwal & Agarwal 1989:36), there still remains a gap between the people of the high castes and middle or low castes. With the carrying of new categories of castes or target groups, i.e. **OBCs, SCs** and **STs**, the Government attempts to give educational and other benefits to these categories of castes with special care. Hence, the membership of these castes entitles one to get admission with a lower minimum of marks to schools and colleges, to get financial assistance, and etc. (see, Rao 1972:136). It also entitles to get a job from the reservation system of Government.

Table - 22 shows that the gap between high castes, and middle or low castes with regards to age group 5-9 and 10-14 gradually decrease, compared to the case of age group 15-19. However, in the age group 5-9 of the middle and low castes, the rate of participation in school is slightly decreased, among total number of children and that of boys in middle castes.

**TABLE - 22**  
**TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND STUDENTS\***

Caste	Age groups					
	5-9		10-14		15-19	
	No. of m/f Child- ren	No. of m/f students	No. of m/f Child- ren	No. of m/f Stud- ents	No. of m/f Child- ren	No. of m/f Stud- ents
GROUP I						
Brahman					2/0	2/0
Thakur	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/1	0/1	0/1
Komati	1/2	1/2	1/5	1/5	2/6	2/6
Reddy	11/13	11/13	14/16	14/16	18/18	18/18
Lingayat	7/1	7/1	6/1	6/1	7/4	7/4
Sub Total (a)	21/18	21/18	22/23	22/23	29/29	29/29
GROUP II						
Padmasalle	10/10	10/9	6/15	6/14	13/16	13/16
Yadav	23/17	19/11	14/15	13/4	15/12	14/5
Muduraju	32/28	25/17	20/36	19/21	26/19	21/12
Goud	11/7	8/6	6/8	6/8	6/8	6/6
Sara	1/2	1/2	1/1	1/1	3/2	3/2
Gandla	3/1	3/1	2/0	2/0		
Mera	2/2	2/2	3/3	3/3	2/2	2/2
Arekatika	0/1	0/1	0/2	0/2	1/3	1/1
Medari	7/2	5/1	4/3	2/0	6/0	5/0
Ausali	1/1	0/1	1/2	1/2	3/1	2/1
Vaddla	3/6	3/5	1/1	1/1	3/9	3/5
Kammari	1/0	-	0/1	0/1	1/1	1/1
Kummari	3/6	3/5	5/5	5/2	7/8	6/2
Wadera	9/8	7/1	6/5	6/0	8/9	7/1
Chakalli	5/5	5/2	4/1	3/0	4/5	3/0
Mangalli	6/8	5/4	6/5	5/2	5/5	5/0
Dasari	5/1	1/0	3/1	2/0		
Budigajangam	1/0	-	1/1	1/0	1/2	1/1
Sub Total (b)	123/105	97/68	83/105	76/61	104/102	93/55
GROUP III						
Dore	9/5	8/5	7/10	7/10	7/6	7/5
Mochi	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0
Mala	11/12	8/9	14/16	14/14	12/10	9/7
Nadiga	47/40	38/25	38/31	33/23	36/27	31/12
Brakalla	4/12	4/6	5/8	4/3	2/8	2/1
Sub Total (c)	72/69	59/45	65/65	59/50	58/51	50/25
Grand Total (a+b+c)	216/192	177/131	170/193	157/134	191/182	172/109

\*The number of students includes the dropouts. Usually the girls dropout with their marriage.

Similarly, it decreases in groups of low castes (i.e. total, boys and girls). Regarding this phenomenon, generally the middle castes or low castes admit their children to the school at the age of above five, in some cases, at the age of nine to the first grade.

**TABLE - 23**  
PARTICIPATION OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

		5-9		10-14		15-19	
Caste		No. of children/ No. of students	\	No. of children No. of students	\	No. of children No. of students	\
High	Total	39/39	100	45/45	100	59/59	100
	boy	21/21	100	22/22	100	29/29	100
	girl	18/18	100	23/23	100	30/30	100
Middle	Total	228/165	72.4	188/137	72.9	206/148	71.8
	boy	123/97	78.7	83/76	91.6	104/93	89.4
	girl	105/68	64.8	105/61	58.1	102/55	53.9
Low	Total	141/104	73.8	130/109	83.8	109/75	68.8
	boy	72/59	81.9	65/59	90.8	58/50	86.2
	girl	69/45	65.2	65/50	76.9	51/25	49.0
Total		408/308	75.5	363/291	80.2	374/282	75.4
boy		216/177	81.9	170/157	92.4	191/172	90.1
girl		192/131	68.2	193/134	69.4	183/110	60.1

Though the percentage of **girls'** enrolment at schools increased more rapidly than that of boys, the gap between the rate of boys and of girls is very large among the middle and low castes (see, Table - 23).

#### 4.5.2 Occupationwise enrolment of students

However, the new system of education after the Independence of India (1947) introduced a gradual dissociation of occupation from caste, but the opportunities for education are neither equal nor accessible to **all**. There exists a hierarchy of educational institutions with respect to the standard and quality of education. Schools are of many different kinds, and they are ranked accordingly. For instance on the end, there are private, fee charging schools that are very expensive, and on the other, there are government schools **where the charges** are nominal or not at all.



Education in a private school is more expensive and only those students who belong to upper classes and higher income groups are able to participate in it. Thus the level of aspiration of the students is influenced to a great extent by the occupation of their **fathers**.

**TABLE - 24**  
**PARTICIPATION IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS**

Occupations*	Age groups			Total
	5-9 M/F	10-14 M/F	15-19 M/F	M/F
Govt. Worker	22/21	13/16	16/13	51/50
Teacher	2/21	2/1	4/1	8/4
Pvt. Co. Worker	11/5	2/3	3/1	16/9
Businessman	16/13	8/3	9/9	33/25
Farmer	10/5	10/2	11/8	31/15
Tenant/Labourer	<b>11/1</b>	8/0	2/1	21/2
Traditional	3/5	-	1/1	4/6
Total	75/52	43/25	46/34	164/111

\*Occupation indicates the **main** earner of a family, **most** of them being the father.

Nowadays, education has become a source of prestige and a symbol of higher status. And it also helps in upward and occupational mobility, and empowerment of people. The poor quality of teaching and the lack of resources in government schools shows that few children pass the examination for admission into higher school. For instance, in 1994 10th grade (SSE) final examination, only 20 per cent, that is 16 out of 80 students passed it, they are 4 boys among 67, and 12 girls among 13, but in 1995 only 18.7 percent of students passed it, they are 10 boys among 53, and 4 girls among 22 of the high school in the village.

While the children of higher income groups or upper classes attend **well-facilitated** private schools in the village or neighbouring towns, thereby guaranteeing that the elite group **will** perpetuate itself in the next generation. Thus family background differences are very important in deciding the questions of obtaining higher education. Once higher education is achieved, the educated sons are regarded as '**post-dated cheques**' (Rao 1972:142), and the professions have high social prestige as well as great functional importance (see, **Bêteille** 1991:6).

Table - 24 indicates the children of government worker, businessmen and farmer representing high proportions in the private school education, especially English medium schools. Here, the group of farmers who have sent their children to the private schools belong almost to the Reddy caste.

Contrary to general impression (or to the government policy) universal access to education can reduce class and social status barriers to individual advancement (see, **Tilak** 1996:277; Aggarwal & **Agrawal** 1989:36-37), but in actual practice the formal education system often reinforces, instead of reducing, the differences among the people. In this regard **Mahon** is worth quoting "the more that educational credentials are required for better paid, higher status jobs, the more important it is for educational participation to be **undifferentiated** along class lines". He further adds, "educational systems [...] are unable to overcome the effects of class differences" (**Mahon** 1985:75-76).

Table - 24 shows that there is a rough correlation between the hierarchy of educational institutions and the social background of students who are admitted to them. The lower classes or income groups cannot spend considerable amounts on their children's education, as the upper classes or richer groups do for their children's education. For instance, the tuition charge of English medium school in the village ranges between Rupees 30 (for Kindergarten) to Rupees 60 (for the 7th grade) per month. In the same way the Telugu medium private school also charges not less than that of English medium school, ranging between Rupees 35 to 50 a month per student. Therefore, with the emergence of new educational institutions and occupational system, the family plays a major role in the maintenance and reproduction of socioeconomic inequality.

#### **4.6 The concept of marriage**

Marriage is a social phenomenon with a great variety of forms and considerable number of functions. Marriage, generally, has been accepted as culturally defined relationship of one man and **one woman, or of** one man and two or more women (or vice versa), in which sexual intercourse is usually endorsed between the partners, and the children of the union expect to get the legitimate right of their society<sup>6</sup>.

Moreover marriage brings about a change in the **jural** status of the parties of the contract. Marriage creates or maintains affinal relationships between the kinsmen of individuals who take the role of husband and wife. The social relationships based on parenthood and descent are termed consanguineal relationship. Therefore, the blood relatives are distinguished from affinal relatives whose kinship status is fundamentally grounded on '**in-law**'. The continuance of affinal relationship depends **on the** prescriptions and proscriptions defined by the community.

In the village, marriage takes place within the caste (or sub-castes) between members of different patrilineal groups of the village and other villages (cf. 3.5). The castes or sub-castes form an endogamous unit, while the clans (or surname group) are the **exogamous** divisions in an endogamous caste. A caste is generally divided into a number of exogamous inter-marrying clans. Within an **endogamous** caste, there are smaller circles of exogamous units which are made up of a few families, giving or receiving woman in marriage. The '**unit**' of marital relation can be divided into three distinguishable ones, that is caste, intiperu and kutumbam as '**extended**' joint family.

In the study of marriage, there are three main aspects of data: behavior, rules, and categories (see, Good 1981; Needham 1973; Trautmann 1995:29). The study of the rules and the behavioral patterns of marriage system depends on a prior understanding of the terminology of kinship. The kin terminology is made up of modes of **classification** and system of nomenclature. The rules comprise the normative, legal, moral, and religious statements of the members of the society or group. The aspects of rules refers to ideals which are made explicit and held by people themselves. The behavior of the individual members comprises the aggregate consequence of demographic, marital, residential and other patterns.

Though those categories, that is rules and behaviors, are independent variables (see, Needham 1973:174), they are not totally contradictory (see, Good 1981). All three levels of data are taken into account one by one in the following subunits, to illustrate the gaps between rules and behavior, between categories and rules or between categories and behavior.

#### 4.7 Kinship terminology

The structure of the kinship **terminology**, in general, involves 'cross cousin' marriage which represents the Dravidian kinship, that is, the MBD and FZD are permitted (or 'prescribed') spouses for a male ego, whereas the 'parallel cousin, the FBD and MZD are forbidden (or '**proscribed**').

But among the cross cousins, a man can marry only his junior, in terminological sense. In this context, the cross cousins stand for the person who are in terminological category of cross cousins rather than the genealogically immediate cross cousins.

TABLE - 25  
THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

	Kinship term	Referents
Level	The Grand parents' generation	
+ 2	1. <i>tata</i>	FF, <b>MF</b> , FFB, <b>MFB</b> , FMB, <b>MMB</b> FFZH, <b>FMZH</b> , MFZH, MMZH, HFF, WFF.
42	2. <b>avva</b> (or <b>tatamma</b> )	<b>FM</b> , <b>MM</b> , <b>FFZ</b> , <b>MFZ</b> , <b>FFBW</b> , <b>FMBW</b> , <b>MFBW</b> , FMZ, MMBW, HMM, WMM, <b>FMZ</b> , MMZ
	The parents' generation	
+ 1	3. <i>nanna</i> ( <b>tandri</b> )	F
+ 1	4. <i>amma</i> ( <b>talli</b> )	M
+ 1	5. <b>pedda nanna</b> ( <i>peddayya</i> )	FeB, MeZH, WMeB, WFeZH, HMeB HFZH, HMZH, WFB
+ 1	6. <i>chinnananna</i> ( <i>kakaya</i> )	FyB, MyZH, WMyB, <b>WFyZH</b> , HMyB
+ 1	7. <b>peddamama</b>	FeBW, <b>MeZ</b> , <b>WMeBW</b> , <b>WFZ</b> , HFZ
+ 1	8. <b>chinnamama</b> ( <i>pinni</i> )	<b>FyBW</b> , <b>MyZ</b> , WMyBW, <b>HMBW</b> , HFBW
+ 1	9. <b>menamama</b>	MB
+ 1	10. <b>menaatta</b>	FZ
+ 1	11. <b>mama</b>	FZH, HF, WF, HFB, BWF, ZHF, <b>WMZF</b> , WFB, HFZH, <b>HMB</b> , MZH
+ 1	12. <i>attamma</i> ( <i>attaya</i> )	MBW, HM, <b>WM</b> , BWH, ZHM, <b>HMZ</b> , WMZ, WFBW, HFBW, WMBW
	Ego's generation	
0	13. <i>anna</i>	eB, e(FBS), e(MZS), e(FZD)H e(MBD)H, HeZH, SWFws, <b>DHFws</b>
0	14. <i>tammudu</i>	yB, y(FBS), y(MZS), y(FZD)H, HyZH
0	15. <i>akka</i>	eZ, e(FBD), e(MZD), e(FZS)W e(MBS)W, HeBW, WeBW e(SWM)ms, <b>e(DHM)ms</b> .
0	16. <i>chellelu</i>	yZ, y(FBD), y(HZD), y(FZS)W, <b>y(MBS)W</b> , <b>HyBW</b> , WyBW. y(SWM)ms, y(DHM)ms
0	17. <b>bava</b>	<b>FZS</b> , <b>e(MBS)</b> , ZH, HeB, e(BWB), e(FBD)H, <b>e(MZD)H</b> , <b>DHFms</b> , <b>SWFms</b>
0	18. <b>menabava</b>	FZS
0	19. <i>bavamardi</i>	WB, MBS, y(FZS), <b>HyB</b> , <b>y(BwB)</b> , y(FBD)H, y(MZD)H
0	20. <b>menabavamardi</b>	MBS
0	21. <i>vadina</i>	e(FZD), e(MBD), eBW, <b>HeZws</b> , <b>WeZms</b> , <b>BWeZ</b> . <b>e(FBS)W</b> , e(MZS)W <b>SWHws</b> . <b>DHMws</b> .
0	22. <b>menavadina</b>	e(FZD), e(MBD)
0	23. <b>maradalu</b>	y(FZD), y(MBD), yBW, <b>HyZws</b> , <b>WyZms</b> , <b>BWyZ</b> , y(FBS)W, y(MZS)W <b>y(FZD)</b> , y(MBD)
0	24. <i>menamardalu</i>	H
0	25. <b>bhartta</b>	H
0	26. <i>bhariya</i>	W

# The children's generation

-1	27. <b>koduku</b>	S, BSms, ZDHms, ZSws, step-S, WZS, BDHws.
-1	28. <i>kuturu (bidḍa)</i>	D, BDms, ZSWms, ZDws, step-D, WZD, BSWws
-1	29. <b>alludu</b>	DH, BDHms, ZDHws
-1	30. <i>kodalu</i>	SW, BSWms, ZSWws
-1	31. <b>mena</b> <i>alludu</i>	ZSms, BSws
-1	32. <b>mena</b> <i>kodalu</i>	BDws, ZDms

# Grandchildren's generation

-2	33. <b>manavadu</b>	SS, DS, SDH, DDH, BSS, BDS, ZSS, ZDS etc.
-2	34. <b>manavaralu</b>	SD, DD, SSW, DSW, BSD, BDD, ZSD, ZDD, etc.

Table - 25 displays kinship terminology of the villagers in general. The various kin terms, and the levels of which they belong, are listed together with some of close genealogical referents to which they are applied. However, all these terms are not the real denotata for every caste. In accordance with the castes or individuals, some terms have or represent slightly different meanings of the corresponding denotata. For instance, the Reddys refer the term **bavamardi** to the MBS, while **bava** to the FZS, regardless of their age. Among some other castes also the MBS and FZS are terminologically distinguished and such a distinction is connected with the prescription rule of matrilineal cross cousin **marriage**.

The kin terms in **Table-25** represent the terms of reference, kins are addressed to generally, either by the personal names, especially of those who are genealogically younger than the speaker, or by the kin term itself, for the kins other than the ego, otherwise they are called by the neutral or respective terms (with or without kin terms), such as **emandi**, *erne*, or **garu**, or in the case of husband or wife, they are addressed as the '**father** of or '**mother** of their child (see, Rao 1968:116).

Like other 'Dravidian' systems of South India, relatives in ego's own generation and in the first ascending and descending generation are classified into two categories, that is, 'cross', and '**parallel**'. Here, the term '**cross**' means the relatives who are the opposite sex siblings of the parents or ego, and their children while the '**parallel**' those of same sex siblings of the parents or ego, and their children. For instance, the cross cousins are mother's brother's children and father's sister's children, whereas the parallel cousins are father's brother's children and mother's sister's children.

The basic form of kinship terminology is based on the principle of generation and relative age, on the one hand, and the differentiation of parallel relatives for cross relatives on the other. The **differentiation** between parallel and cross relatives operates in ego's generation and in the first ascending and descending generation. Apart from the categorical opposition between the parallel and cross kin, the kinship terminology distinguishes the genealogically immediate kins from other parallel and cross relatives, in first ascending and descending, and ego's own generation. In ascending generation, for instance, the FZ and MB are distinguished from other categories of cross relatives, with the use of prefix *mena*. So ego's own FZ and MB are called as *mena atta* and *mena mama* to separate them from others, that is the relatives that belong to the categories of *atta* and *mama*.

In cross cousin marriage system, the FZ and MB will become 'in-law' of the ego, if he marries the children of them. And in ego's own generation, similarly, the FZS, MBS, FZD, and MBD are **differentiated** from other categorical cross cousins, with the use of prefix *mena*. For instance, the FZS is called *menabava* while the MBS is called *mena bavamardi*, when they are particularly distinguished by the kinship term of reference. It reflects the preference of the **matrilateral** cross cousin marriage system.

In the village, the marriage with genealogical MBD is called **menarikam**, whereas the marriage with genealogical FZD is called **eduru menarikam** (i.e. opposite *menarikam*) which is also rejected as in the case of ego's marriage with elder sister's daughter (see, Rao 1973, 1982; Thurston 1975b:63).

In descending generation, also, the ZS of male ego, the BS of female ego, and the BD of female ego, the ZD of male ego are distinguished from other categories of cross relatives. The term **alludu** is used for DH, while **menaalludu** for ZS of male ego, and for BS of female ego. Similarly, the term *kodalu* is used for SW, whereas the term *mena kodalu* is used for BD of female ego, and ZD of male ego.

The meaning and functions of the terms *menamama/mama*, *menatta/atta*, *menabava/bava*, *menabavamardi/bavamardi*, *menavadina*, *menamardallu*, *menaalludu/alludu*, *menakodalu/kodalu*, represent the distinction between the immediate cross relatives and the categorical cross relatives. Thus the kinship terminology shows the preference of matrilateral cross cousin than patrilineal cross cousin, on the one hand, and the preference of the immediate cross cousins (or relatives) than the categorical cross relatives (or cousins), on the other.

In the terminological categories, the age relative to ego is an integral feature of semantic discriminations (Trautmann 1995:32), in first ascending generation and ego's own generation. But the relative age can be referred in all levels of kin by adding the prefix **pedda**, to those who are older, and **chinna**, to those who are younger between two **persons**.

However, there is no difference between cross and parallel relatives, in second ascending and descending generations. All relatives of grand parent's generation are called tata or **avva**, only depending on sex. While in the case of FM and MM, if they are specifically to be distinguished, are referred as *nainamma* and **ammamma**, respectively. In this generation, thus, the MF and FF are grouped together and called by the same term **tata**, while the FM and MM are classified together, in the use of the term *awa*. In the same manner, the SS and DS, and SD and DD are respectively referred by the same terms. Hence, the difference between parallel and cross will be submerged in second ascending and descending generations which is called 'bifurcate-merging' (see, Dumont 1983; Lowie 1968). That is, as he says, the distinctions bifurcate in the first ascending and descending, and ego's own generations, but merging in the second ascending and the descending generations (see, Table - 27).

While kinship terminology indicates only the difference of age between parallel relatives, the rank difference is explicit between certain cross relatives. It is clear from the kinship terminology, that the rank difference is maintained between ZH and WB, and between FZS and MBS, in the use of terms *bava* for ZH and FZS, and **bavamardi** for WB and MBS. These rank differences between cross relatives represent the status difference between wife-takers and wife-givers, that is, the wife-takers are placed upon a higher status than the wife-givers. So, the wife's brother is placed in a subordinate position in relations to the sister's husband; the FZS will be ZH, and MBS will be WB, under the system of asymmetrical **matrilateral** marriage. The Telugu term *bavamardi* is often used in a lighthearted manner to express familiarity and close relationship among friends.

However the terminology does not distinguish MBD and FZD, the younger female cross cousins are termed as **mardallu** and the elder female cross cousins are termed as **vadina**, which eventually include both genealogical and **classificatory** MBD and FZD. While the genealogically immediate MBD and FZD are distinguished in the use of prefix **mena**, such as, **mena vadina** and **mena mardallu**.

In principle, kin terms are arranged in sets, each set contains the possible reciprocals of one, and another specified set. These are various relationships of reciprocity among the kin **terms**. These terms **form** a complete set in the sense that each genealogical kin type sufficiently includes all relatives who may be assigned to one of these **categories**. The reciprocal sets which are found in Table - 25 are represented in Table - 26 below.

In the grand **parents'** and grand children's generations, all relatives are classified by their sex. This is the only reciprocal set, depending on genealogical difference.

TABLE - 26  
RECIPROCAL SETS OF KINSHIP TERMS

	1	<--->	2
I.	-----	-----	-----
	33	<--->	34
	3 5 6	<--->	4 7 8
II.	-----	-----	-----
	27	<--->	28
	9	<--->	10
III.	-----	-----	-----
	31	<--->	32
	11	<--->	12
IV.	-----	-----	-----
	29	<--->	30
	13	<--->	15
V.	-----	-----	-----
	14	<--->	16
	17, 18	<--->	21, 22
VI.	-----	-----	-----
	19, 20	<--->	23, 24
	25		
VII.	-----		
	26		

In the **parents'** and children's generation there are roughly three reciprocal sets (Nos. II, III, and IV in Table - 26). In the first of these, **nanna/amma**, and **koduku/kuturu**, that is father/mother and son/daughter form one set. In the terminology, ego's father's elder and younger brothers are distinguished from



one another by addition of the prefixes *pedda* ('big') and *chinna* ('little'), to *nana* ('father'). The use of these prefixes for father's brothers is obligatory. For the same reason, the equally obligatory distinction between *amma* (mother), *peddaamma* (MeZ) and *chinnaama* (MyZ) are required. While the father and mother must be referred only as *nanna* and *amma* or *tandri* and *talli*, respectively. Here, the **same-sex** siblings of ego's parents are assimilated to them: father and his brothers, mother and her sisters, and they are treated as one another's spouses (i.e. **MZ** = **FBW**; **FB**=**MZH**). The reciprocal set shows that one's same-sex sibling's children are classified with one's own sons and daughters.

The second reciprocal set disposes the **opposite-sex** siblings of ego's parents, and ego's **opposite-sex** sibling's children. The parents' opposite-sex siblings (MB, FZ) are **terminologically** separated from the spouses to one another (FZH, MBW) and ego's spouse's parents (SpF, SpM). Their reciprocals are ego's opposite-sex sibling's children (Zchms, Bchws) which are distinguished from ego's children's spouse (DH, SW). These reciprocals are genealogically immediate cross kins to ego, whereas, the others are categorical cross kins.

The third reciprocal set represents the remaining members of these generations; *mama/atamma*, *alludu/kodalu*, that is roughly, **parents-in-law/children-in-law**. The spouses of parents' opposite-sex siblings (FZH, MBW) are equated with ego's spouse's parents (FZH = SpF; MBW = SpM). The first reciprocal set (No. II) is parallel kin to ego, while the last two reciprocal sets (No. III, IV) are cross kins to ego.

In ego's own generation, there are three reciprocal sets, the first dealing with siblings and parallel cousins (No. V in Table 14), the second dealing with cross cousins (No. VI), and the third with husband and wife (No. VII). In the first of these, *anna/tammudu*, and *akka/chellelu*, roughly elder siblings/younger siblings, represent a radical distinction of age relative to ego. The children of parents' same-sex siblings are classified basing on their relative age to ego, not accordingly their parents' age relative to ego's parents.

In the second of these reciprocal sets, cross cousins are also classified by age relative to ego: *bava/bavamardi*, *vadina/maradalu*, roughly elder cousin, **sibling-in-law/younger cousin**, **sibling-in-law**. Here, as in most Dravidian societies, a man must marry a younger woman, so that the elder/younger distinction represents a functional value. The spouse's siblings are classified as cross cousin, whereas the spouse's siblings' spouses are classed as parallel kins.

The cross relatives who are linked to ego through a marriage with the siblings of parents (i.e. **FZS**, MBS, FZD, and **MBD**), and with the marriage of ego (**HB**, HZ, WZ, BWZ), are categorically distinguished by age relative to ego, except ZH/WB, and, in some cases, FZS/MBS. In this case, ZH/FZS are the cross kins of wife-taker whereas WB/MBS are the cross kins of wife-giver. In the next generation too, they are supposed to be related to each other in the same manner. Thus between them, there are rank differences in terms of terminological level.

However, the cross relatives who are linked through the marriage of children (i.e. children's parents-in-laws), are classified regardless of **age**. The children's father-in-laws to the father are referred as **bava**, whereas the children's mother-in-laws to the mother are referred as **vadina**, irrespective of the status of wife-taker or wife-giver.

It means that the rank difference between wife-taker and wife giver does not go up to ascending generation. Thus, the rank difference which originates through marriage is limited on the same generation and its first descending generation (i.e. children's generation), that is, it is not to be extended to second ascending generations and second descending generation, if there is no new marriage between the members of next generation. Because the units of marriage transaction are the extended families, not other lineage or corporate groups, the rank difference follows the formation and marriage choice of the extended family.

So, it is important to notice that the rank differences are transmitted from father generation to son's generation, not vice versa, on the one hand, and the rank differences are limited to the individuals or extended family members only, not to be enlarged on above the extended family, on the other.

The final reciprocal set, **bhartta/bhavaya**, precisely husband/wife, is by the implication of marriage rule the equivalent of **bava/maradalu** of the previous set.

In summary the kinship terminology can be arranged into a paradigm formed by five principles of opposition. These are:

1. sex: male, female
2. generation: grandparent's, parent's, ego's, Children's **grandchildren's**
3. relative age: elder, younger

crossness: parallel, cross

geneological distance (among cross relative): immediate, categorical (see, Table - 27) .

**Table - 27**  
**THE STRUCTURE OF KIN TERMINOLOGY**

	Male				Female			
G2	1				2			
pedda G1 chinna	9	11	5 6	3	4	7 8	12	10
elder G0 younger	18	17	13	ego	15	21	22	
	20	19	14		16	23	24	
G-1	31	29	27		28	30	32	
G-2	33				34			
	cross		parallel		parallel		cross	

Among these principles, the first four are common with other Dravidian kinship terminologies (see, **Dumont** 1983; **Trautmann** 1995) , but the last principle, genealogical distance among cross relatives, is peculiar to the present case. It classifies genealogically immediate cross relatives and other categorical cross relatives in first ascending and descending generations, and ego's own generation.

These kinship terms operate and are extended or maintained through marital relations. While the kinship terminology shows categorically the prescription or proscription, the rules of marriage indicate directly the preference and/or rejection of marital relation for a certain category of relatives. The following sections will dwell on the rules of marriage.

#### 4.8 The rules of marriage

Almost every caste prefers marriage with matrilateral cross cousin, but avoids marriage with patrilateral cross cousin and elder sister's daughter<sup>7</sup>. Here, a rule of matrilateral cross cousin marriage states that a man can marry only his MBD, but not his FZD, a woman, her FZS, not **MBS**<sup>8</sup>. As a rule only matrilateral

cousin marriage has been preferred, while they reject **patrilateral** cross cousin and the marriage with elder sister's daughter, to avoid diluting the status difference between the wife-givers and wife-takers. The marriage with genealogical MBD is called '**menar-ikam**', whereas marriage with genealogical FZD is called **eduru menakiram**. The MB and FZ, MBch, and **FZch**, spouse's sibling's children and **Dch**, consist of a category, called **menallu**.

In the **menarikam** marriage, that is the preference marriage with **MBD**, the rank difference is explicit on the concept of **kanya-dana** (the gift of maiden), that is, the rank difference between wife-givers and wife-takers. Everyone who informed that his caste (or he himself) prefers marriage with MBD but rejects marriage with FZD and **eZD**, explains the reason, like that: "when my sister married, I, as brother of sister, did pray and worship for brother-in-law (as groom) and my sister (as bride) with touching my hand to their **feet**. In marriage time, bridegroom is treated as a god.

But if my son married my sister's daughter (FZD), in this case, my sister and brother-in-law should pray or worship my son and myself with touching **feet**. It can not be allowed to touch our feet by them (sister, brother-in-law). In our concepts, sister is treated as a being of **pabitrām** (pure or respectable) or **pabitra व्यक्ति** (pure person), so sister should not be allowed to respect brother or brother's son"

Regarding the concept of **kanyadana**, Madan (1989:208) insists, "wife-givers and **wife-takers** must not be mixed up together". The wife-takers assume the higher status in relation to wife-givers after marriage ceremony. Thus, the relationship between wife-givers and wife-takers is essentially and unalterably **unequal** (see, Madan 1989:217-218; Trautmann 1995: chapter, 4.4) The distinction between wife-givers and wife-takers must be maintained with the concept of hierarchy rather than of reciprocity. A Brahman informant says, regarding to this, "If anybody expects the return of the gift which he gave to someone, it is nothing different from the behavior of animal ('**pashutam**') ". In the ideal of **kanyadana**, wife-givers shall not be **wife-takers**, and vice-versa.

But, **there are no** permanent groups of wife-givers and wife-takers, **since the unit of** marriage transaction is the extended joint family (**kutumbam**) rather than a corporate group. And the rank difference is confined only between WB and ZH, and between FZS and **MBS**, as **superior or inferior**. **However if there is** no marriage alliance between them in next generation, **the** rank difference will disappear or be ignored. Moreover, the distinc-

tion is unclear between the father's side and mother's side in the kinship terminology, therefore, there is apparent discontinuity of the norms of rank difference after two generations.

Rules of exogamy prohibit marriages between persons of certain groups or categories. While other types of **jural** regulations express preference for particular or genealogically defined marriage partners within prescribed or preferred group or categories. The residence after marriage ideally and/or is usually **patrilocal**. The members who share ancestor's properties are called as *pallollu*, whether they are living in the same house or not. The transmission of membership in the exogamous group follows the patrilineal, in the context of exogamy. **Whereas** the inheritance of land and the succession of office from transfers only from father to son or the nearest possible equivalent.

The exogamous unit of every caste in the village is termed as **kuduru** or **intiperuwallu** for such category, except the Brahmins who take *gotra* as the exogamous unit. Here, the **intiperu** as an exogamous division in an endogamous caste or subcaste, represents a category of exogamous boundary rather than a corporate group<sup>9</sup>. Karve (1965) calls it an exogamous **clan**<sup>10</sup>, Clans are widely dispersed and intermingled, but do not form a corporate group. In the village none of the clans of any caste have distinctive deity or common property.

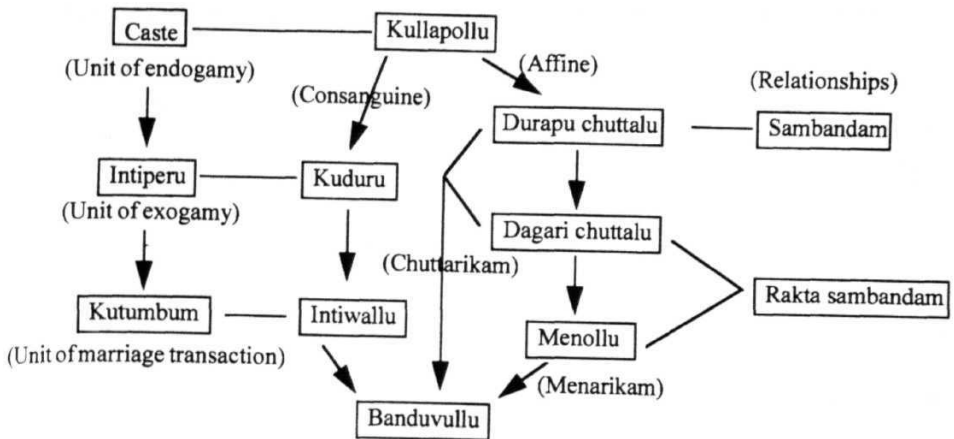
The major rules for the marriage are caste endogamy and clan exogamy, and no type of marriage exists out of these rules. Among the caste peoples (**kullapollu**) only certain categories of persons are preferred as marriageable. This is represented as the term of **chuttarikam**, marriage with relatives. The term **chuttalu** means marriageable relatives, i.e. **affines** in the caste, it is divided into two categories of the people, that is, **durapu chuttaulu** and *dagari chuttalu*.

The former indicates kins of recognition, while the latter kins of cooperation who attend all kinds of ritual and social functions, such as marriage and death ceremony. The former **affines** of **chuttalu** maintain '**distance** relationship' (**durapu sambandam**) , while the latter forms a blood relationship (**rakta sambandam**) .

However, the consanguines and **af** fines form a group by marriage. This close **kin-affine** group is termed as *bandhuvullu* which consists of father side kin, and mother side and wife side affines. The preference of **menarikam** marriage creates the super category, **banduvullu**, and maintains and reaffirms the pre-existing blood relationship (**rakta sambandham**) .

These relationship of kinship and marriage can be represented in the chart given below:

**Chart - 3**  
**CONSANGUINES AND AFFINES**



In summary, the left side in the Chart - 3 represents the unit of marriage, that is, a man should marry his own caste people (*kullapallu*), but should not marry the same intiperu members (***kuduru***). *Kutumbum* is the unit of marriage transaction, and basic organisation of patrilineal descent group (*intiwallu*).

On the right side of the Chart the categories of affines are indicated. Among the caste members, certain categories of people are preferred as marriageable, that is, the people who have the preexisting relationships (***sambandam***). The preference marriage with the relatives (*chuttalu*) are known as ***chuttarikam***. The *dagari chuttalu* and the *menollu* who are genealogically immediate cross relatives, are called as *rakta sambandam*. The consanguines and affines are mixed through the *chuttarikam* or ***menarikam*** marriages, on the supercategory '***bandavullu***'.

The patrilineal descent is associated with the notion of 'same blood', and the idea of solidarity among siblings is extended to patrilineal relatives. The clans (*inteperu*) are the exogamous categories, but these clans do not form the localized or corporate groups. The members of a clans are acknowledged or treated as the descendants of a common ancestor or origin. The extended joint family (*kutumbum*) functions as a basic social group. which is carried on the marriage transactions. There is no distinguishable lineage, as corporate group in every caste.

The ideal of *kanyadana* excludes sister-exchange marriage in terms of synchronic implications. Thus this ideal, as a rule, professes a unilateral cross cousin marriage. On the other hand, the *kanyadana* ideal forbids symmetrical marriage exchange between two groups, in terms of dichronic implications. The *kanyadana* ideal is, therefore, strictly asymmetrical in orientation, which is consistently only with that of **matrilateral** rule (see, Trautmann 1995:203)<sup>11</sup>.

It introduces the obligatory distinction of affines between wife-givers and **wife-takers**, and the rule wife-givers must not be wifer takers and vice versa. In the village, almost all castes avoid marriage with FZD, and sister exchange marriage. They call these as '**wrong**' marriage (*tappu pelli*), but hastily, they add, these marriages are 'minor and acceptable' wrong marriages which depend upon each family's desires and economic status.

The sister exchange marriage is called '**edurubaduru**', while marriage with FZD, '**eduru menarikam**'. The attitude to sister-exchange marriage varies within caste as well as between **castes**. One informant (a **Padmasalle** who was in his 40s) says, "the sister-exchange is preferred type, for the guarantee of another marriage". While others reject this opinion on the ground that, "if one marriage splits, naturally the other marriage also will be damaged". With the same reason, two brothers-two sisters marriages are rejected, though, normally, it is not '**wrong**' marriage.

Unlike in other Dravidian linguistic regions, such as Tamil (Good 1980; Kapadia 1996), Kanada (**McCormack** 1958), and Telugu (Rao 1973), almost every local caste group in the village rejects the marriage with eZD as well as FZD. Regarding this **Trautmann** says, "the marriage of a man to his eZD is a specialized derivative of patrilateral cross cousin marriage (FZD) in which that person anticipates, as it were, the claim of his son to the woman in question" (1995:206). Kapadia (1996) also confirms this view that the MB has his right to claim his ZDs either for himself to eZD, or his sons to any ZDs. The marriage with eZD as well as

the patrilateral cross cousin marriage (FZD) will reverse already existing asymmetrical relationships, if a man marries his eZD. Therefore, this type of marriage is forbidden in the **kanyadana** ideal.

Polyandry does not occur, but there are quite a few instances of polygyny in the village, regardless of caste hierarchy. Among them, a more frequent type is taking first wife's younger sister as the second wife. A man may take a second wife provided the first wife is issueless.

Divorce is permitted, and is termed as **widakulu** (or **parki-katti, parkatnam**). But, among high castes such as the Brahman, the Thakur and the Reddy, the opinions about divorce are more negative than among the lower castes. A Brahman informant (the village priest) says that, "at the marriage time, the son-in-law (**alludu**) and daughter (**bidda**) are treated as the 'divine beings'. If they (or we) accept divorce between them, it is nothing but 'sin' (**pap**)". While members of other castes agree that, the divorce is permitted, at their caste (committee level), though it is not fully accepted. Therefore, they either go to the court for formal divorce or, generally, just live separately. Divorce may result from a personal or financial dispute between the spouses themselves or their respective families. However, another common cause is the husband's preference of another woman, or the wife's for another man, among low castes.

It is said the most important aspect following the divorce is the return of the marriage presentations. If there are children between the union, the father takes them as a rule. The father's right over the children against the mother are explained by a Madiga as follows: "At the engagement ceremony, the boy's side pays **wally** ('**bride price**') to the girl's side. To pay **wally** means to buy the girl (or her production)". Another informant, insisted that "if the man is 'seed' (**vittamam**), the woman is 'soil' (**pantha**). Therefore the (owner of) 'seed' has right over the 'production' (children) of the 'soil'. It is the same reason why anyone takes the production of the field if he sows it with his **seeds**" (cf. Dube 1986). Divorced members of either sex are permitted to remarry, though usually there is no elaborate or ritual wedding ceremony on a second occasion.

Though **widow-remarriage** is permitted among all castes except the Brahman, a widow is not allowed to remarry both the elder or younger **brother(s)** of her husband, whereas a widower can marry his wife's younger sister. **Widow-remarriage** is known as "**chira raike**", while there is no special ceremony for the **widower-remarriage**. The **widow-remarriage** takes place, without any special or



ritual function, after agreement between both sides through with the presentations of the clothes, bangles, rings, and, etc. after the bridegroom ties the **mangalstura** neckwear to the bride, widow. If this is going to the man's first marriage, he should first get married ritually with a tree trunk,<sup>12</sup> before marrying a widow. This marriage with a tree trunk is called *zilleru chettu*, however *zilleru chettu* does not take place, when a girl marries a widower. Concerning this, an informant says, "a man who marries 100 times, marries a girl, it is normal i.e, a new marriage, but a woman who marries just once, marries a never-married man, it is called *chira raike*, "

On the other hand, another informant explains this case a bit differently: "when the widow or widower marries either unmarried or married (divorced, or widow or widower), the widow or widower, not unmarried partner, should marry a tree trunk", And he adds that through *zilleru chettu*, the widow or the widower becomes a '**clean person**', particularly the widow will be pregnant and deliver a baby, without any obstruction. Despite their expositions, nowadays without such proceedings, as they add, the re-marriage whether it is by a widow or a widower, will be take place simply following the agreements and simple rites.

The marriage of a man with his mother's sister's daughter is treated as a taboo, even if she belongs to a different *intiperu*. As a rule, mother's sister is considered as a 'second-mother'. After marriage, mother and mother's sister, usually, may belong to different exogamous clans (***intiperus***), except the two brother-two-sister marriage or polygyny. But in this context, the *intiperu* is treated as a symbol, and the blood relationship between them does not change at all. Therefore, all informants insist that, if any person marries his mother's sister's daughter, he should be excommunicated. This marriage seems to be a general taboo, in the same way as the marriage of a man with his father's **brother's daughter**.

However, there seems to be no preference or rejection of inter- or **intra-village** marriages. That is, there is no rule regarding the village exogamy.

#### 4.9 Marriage practice.

In the marriage practice, the initiative for a marriage is formally taken by the father or grand father of the boy's or girl's family. Indirect inquires may be made by a boy's family, through a mediator or a neighbour, if it is the marriage between **non-relatives**.

#### 4.9.1 The selection of the mates

In choosing the mate for their offspring, usually parents consider, firstly, the relationship, secondly personal character, and family background, followed by education, job, economic status, and, etc. for selecting '**son-in-law**', while, the pre-existing relationship, personal character and family background are most important conditions for selecting a daughter-in-law. Generally, it is said, the son-in-law may be selected from the family which is a higher or equal, compared to their own social or economic status, whereas the daughter-in-law, from a lower or equal family. Fair complexion for a girl is an asset but not for the boys. A good bride is industrious, submissive, respectful and obedient to her elder.

After indirect inquiries by a boy's family, the girl's side may visit to see the boy who will be a bridegroom, and also to enquire about the boy's family status, property, reputation, and etc. This procession is called as '**pillagani chutla vachinam**' (going to see bridegroom). If both sides are found satisfied, they match the horoscope for bride and bridegroom who have faith on it. After everything is matched, they decide the amount of dowry (**wara katnam**), such as, gold, cash, clothes, utensils, and other **items**.

The dowry consists of three parts of gifts. First include the goods for the bride, such as clothes, rings, bangles and other ornaments which are worn or carried by herself. Secondly, there are the gifts for the bridegroom (clothes, a ring, a watch, or a bike, etc.), and for the couple (such as, cooking and eating utensils, and other articles of household use), and thirdly, there is a cash gift for the bridegroom's father or bridegroom himself.

In addition to the **waraktanam** ('presentation for bridegroom') there are specially designated gifts, generally clothes, for the bridegroom's sister. It is called as '**addapadduchi katnam**'. While the bridegroom also may ask for some **gift** to his brother-in-law, with lighthearted manner.

#### 4.9.2 Engagement

At the engagement ceremony, known as '**pullu pallu**', the corporate relatives of both family should attend. The function in the girl's house is called as **nichtartham pooja** (girl's worship), while that in the boy's house is called as '**wara pooja**' (boy's worship). Generally, the amount of dowry is agreed or **fixed** at the time of **engagement**. The engagement ceremony on the

one side is more simplified in such a way that it is almost neglect, while on the other it has begun to symbolise the occasion to show off or give 'demonstration effect'<sup>1</sup> of the party's socio-economic status.

#### 4.9.3 Marriage function

One day before marriage, the bride or bridegroom goes to the **Pochamma** and **Ellamma** temple at his or her own village, for worshipping the goddesses with **bonalu**. And on this day, the pedestal for marriage ceremony is made by the Chakalli and **Mangalli**. The pedestal is called **pollu** or **kalyana mandapam**.

On the marriage day, the groom and his party come to the bride's village, but they should stay at someone's house or a temple, generally in the village, it is the **Hanuman** temple, instead of directly going to the bride's **house**. In the meantime, the bride's relatives come to receive the groom's party, where the latter stays expressing signs of respect. It is known as **edurukollu**.

The marriage procedure starts with 'washing of feet' of the groom by the parents of bride. The groom is regarded as a 'god' during the marriage ceremony. This 'washing of feet' is called '**padaprakshyalana**' (literally this Sanskrit phrase consists of two words, **pada** = feet, and **prakshyalana** = washing or cleaning with water). Then the bride is taken out to the altar, who is separated from the groom by a curtain between them. Then sweetmeats are put on each other's head from over the curtain. It symbolizes, they say, that their married life would be sweet-like, and that they would worship and respect each other. This procedure is called, **zira gurdha**.

On the next occasion, called **padagattam**, firstly the groom sets his right foot on the bride's left foot, secondly the bride does as the groom, under the curtain. This behaviour represents that both agree and accept this marriage, **as** a husband and wife. After this function, the curtain is **drawn**. The groom and bride sit facing each other. This means, **kanyadana** (gift of a maiden) with gold, clothes and other ornaments which are worn or carried by the bride. After the bridegroom ties a **mangalsutra** (marriage necklace literally a necklace of 'good omen') to the bride's neck and puts a ring on her second toe of right foot, then they become ritually one union. Then they sit together side by side (bride sits on **left** side of the groom), by tying the edge of his **dhoti** to that of her **sari**.

Now, it is the time, all relatives of the bride start to present gifts (**katnam**) to the couple, particularly, the bride's mother's brother offer presents for the bridegroom. After some more functions, such as *nagabelly* (to protect a **devil-eye**), **well-wish** singing by all women relatives (except widows), praying, **arundhati**<sup>13</sup> for the couple's wellbeing; '*apagindha*' takes place which represents the bride's going to the groom's (husband's) house, that is, now onwards her **intiperu** (or *gotra*) is changed to her husband's. Just before leaving for the groom's house, the women folks of both bride's and groom's relatives gather and sing **zolla patta** (cradle song) together for a coming baby. Generally they make a small cradle in which a wooden idol, call **bomma**, is placed and swung. Thus, they sing and chant symbolically for a future baby.

By passing the **Hanuman** temple of bride's village, the newly married couple arrives the husband's house. Before entering the house there is a **grihapravesham** *pooja* (worship before entering home). The newly married wife, should step on her right foot first, on the entrance gate.

All these procedures described above will take place only in cases of non-kin marriages which are termed as *kotta* (new) or *bhaitti* (outside) marriage, while in the case of kin marriage, these procedures will be simplified or, some procedures will be neglected by both sides.

No particular society will replicate the system which are inferred from norms and terminology exactly. On the contrary, there is always a gap between practice and ideal. From the rule of marriage, an absolute obligation is taking out, and from the kinship terminology, an ideal picture of kinship is derived. In the terminology the rein of rule is absolute: every marriage is cross cousin marriage, and the marriage with matrilateral cross cousin is preferred than that of patrilateral cross cousins and elder sister's daughter. While in the rule of marriage, the people reject the latter types of marriage.

#### 4.9.4 Marriage norms or rules versus practice

The practice of marriage is subject to many factors: the availability of a cross cousin, the existence of other rules with which it may conflict, considerations of personal or family interests, and so forth. Table - 28 below shows a strong bias in favour of the immediate cross kin marriage as opposed to more distantly related kins, so that the notion of proximity (**rakta sambandam**) which is represented in the kin terminology and the rule, appears at the level of behavior of all castes.

TABLE - 28  
INCIDENCES OF CROSS **KIN** MARRIAGES AMONG THE HINDUS

Caste	Kin marriage			other kin	Kin total	Non kin total	Total
	MBD	FZD	eZD				
Brahman	1 ( 1 )	-	-	1	3	6	9
Thakur	3(1)		-	-	4	10	14
Vaisha	-			-		24	24
Lingayat	1	1	-	1	3	15	18
<b>Reddy</b>	8	1	(1)	-	10	62	72
Sub Total (a)	13(2)	2	(1)	2	20	117	137
<b>Padmasalle</b>	7(2)	(1)		1	11	52	63
Yadav	11(1)	1		2	15	67	82
<b>Muduraju</b>	9		(1)	5	15	105	120
Goud	7(1)	(2)	-	1	11	37	48
Sara	5			-	5	3	8
<b>Mera</b>	1(1)		-	-	2	7	9
Medari	1	1	2	-	4	10	14
Satani	1			-		4	5
<b>Kumari</b>	7	(1)	1	-	4	10	14
Ausalli		-		1	1	7	8
Kammari	2			-	2	8	10
Vaddla	1			-	1	33	34
Wadera	8	(1)	1(1)	-	11	31	42
Arekatika	1			-	1	3	4
Dasari	1(1)		(2)	-	4	2	6
Chakalli	3(1)		-	-	4	25	29
<b>Mangalli</b>	6	-	1(1)	2	10	27	37
Gandla	-			-		6	6
<b>Budigaj angam</b>	1 ( 1 )	1	1(2)	-	6	2	8
Sub Total (b)	72(8)	3(5)	6(7)	12	113	449	562
Dore	5	1(1)		-	7	16	23
<b>Mochi</b>		1		-		1	1
Mala	23(4)	(1)	-		28	48	76
Madiga	18(3)	1	(1)	3	26	156	182
Erukalla	5	3	2(1)	3	14	23	37
Sub Total (C)	51(7)	6(2)	2(2)	6	76	244	320
Grand Total (a+b+c)	136(17)	11(7)	8(10)	20	209	810	1019
%	65.1(8.1)	5.3(3.3)	3.8(4.8)		100		

\* ( ) shows categorical relations of these specific divisions

\*\* Every head of the household or adult **members** was interviewed, and each person's genealogy obtained. Virtually none of **then knows** the genealogy above three ascending generations, although the genealogy has a wide horizontal spread. The study contains **informations** on total **1,019** larriages for which at least one of spouses is still alive and resides locally, as **well** as **many** other peoples who are siblings or children of the head of household.

The incidence of immediate matrilateral cross cousin marriage (65 per cent) is overwhelming, compared to the incidences of the other marriage with FZD and eZD. These data represent that the genealogically immediate matrilateral cross cousin is highly preferred compared to categorical matrilateral cross cousin and other categorical and genealogical cross cousin (FZD) and elder sister's daughter. There is some consistent relationship between the behavior of marriage on the one hand, and kinship terminology and the rule of marriage on the other. That is, the norm or rule does not exist independently. Even though to put in Good's (1981:127) words, "rules do not correspond exactly to behavior but exist in order to regulate it, to set limits upon it". However, as Good himself adds, neither the prescriptive kin terminology nor the preferential rule necessarily determines empirical kinship behavior.

All the marriage exchanges of FZD and eZD can easily occur in conformity with the terminology prescription, whereas the rule of preference rejects these marriages. In practice, a clear tendency of tolerating such marriages which are **terminologically** incorrect, is supported by the rule of exogamy if obeyed. Regarding the practice of '**wrong**' marriage, kinship terminology has modified the terms of address to those in keeping with the fact that a man or woman is a man's wife or a woman's husband. A relationship set up as the result of more recent marriage takes priority over the relationship created by an earlier marriage, if the latter indicates a '**wrong**' relationship **terminologically** (see, Good 1981:122) .

Of the 1,019 unions, 209 (20.5 per cent) were kin marriages, while the remaining others 810 i.e. 79.5% were non-kin unions. Among the kin marriages, 153 (73.2 per cent) were the marriages with MBD, and 18 were with FZD and another 18 with eZD marriage. Moreover, there is a strong evidence of behavioral bias toward the genealogical relatives by the rule of **menarikam** preference marriage. Of all MBD marriages, 136 were the marriages with genealogically immediate MBD. It is worth noting that the incidence of genealogically immediate MBD marriages is remarkably high, that is 136 (65.1 per cent), compared to other close kin **marriages**.

Since, the requirement that a husband must be senior to his wife is built into the terminological prescription, it is difficult for everyone to have a suitable immediate matrilateral cross cousin. Thus, one cannot marry a matrilateral cross cousin, if he does not have such a candidate among his cross relatives. For that reason, given by the nature of terminological prescription, relative seniority is a considerable factor. However, the exact

ages are of little importance and given only approximately, since everyone hardly knows his own as well as his family member's age, except the educated or high class people. Generally, it is said, the age difference between the bride and groom keeps age gap five to six years, but in some cases more than 10 **years'** gap was noticed. But in practice the senior bride is hardly available, since a girl's marriage is, customarily, arranged at the age of fourteen to sixteen, after her menstruation, while a boy's marriage is to be started in his early twenties.

Genealogical evidence verifies the people's statements that there are no preference or rejection in regard to inter- or intra village marital alliances. Of 1, 019 unions, 96 (9.4 per cent) were the cases of **intra-village** marriages, and there is no specific village or preferred direction regarding to marriage alliance.

#### 4.9.41 The incidents of kin marriages

Table - 29 represents the incidences of kin marriage. It indicates that there is a gap between the marriage behavior on the one hand, and the kinship terminology and the rule of marriage on the other. With the preference marriage of **matrilateral** cross cousin, there are two types of 'wrong' marriages, which represent significant number of cases. The first is the marriage with a woman who is rejected as a **nonmarriageable**, by the rule of marriage. They are the categorical or genealogical FZD, eZD, or ZHZ. Second is the marriage of a person known to be related in the wrong way of the kinship terminology, for example, the marriage with the person who is categorical or genealogical MZD, FBD, or BD.

#### 4.9.42 '**Wrong**' marriages

Of 216 kin marriages, each of FZD and eZD class was 18 (8.6 per cent), and the other two cases were marriages with ZHZ (i.e. sister exchange marriage). These marriages violated the **kanyada-na** ideal, that is, the wife-givers must not be wife-takers and vice-versa. But the people justified these marriage as follows: "it is acceptable mistake, relying on personal interest such as economic or physical. So, if everything is going well, that's fine. But if something becomes wrong, people will say, it is because of the wrong marriage". And, they add, the marriage with FZD or eZD are both acceptable and prevalent in coastal Andhra areas. Due to migration of the people such marriages also, nowadays, take place among some castes or young generations. Thus, the rule also **becomes** flexible and does not regulate directly the behavior, if the marriage obeyed the rule of exogamy.

**TABLE - 29**  
**MARRIAGE OF RELATIVES**

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1.	MBD class marriages		
	MBD	136	
	<b>MFBSD</b>	7	
	<b>MMZSD</b>	4	
	<b>MMBSD</b>	2	
	FMBSD	2	
	FBWBD	2	
	Sub Total (a)	153	(73.2%)
2.	Wrong marriages according to the rule		
2.1	FZD class		
	FZD	11	
	FFBDD	4	
	<b>FMZDD</b>	1	
	<b>ZHMZD</b>	1	
	FZHBD	1	
	Sub Total (b)	18	(8.6%)
2.2	eZD class		
	eZD	8	
	<b>MZDD</b>	2	
	FZSD	3	
	FBDD	3	
	FZDD	1	
	FFBDSD	1	
	Sub Total (c)	18	(8.6%)
2.3	ZHZ	2	(1%)
3.	Wrong marriages according to terminology		
	<b>MZD</b>	2	
	FBSD (BD)	1	
	<b>MZHBD (FBD)</b>	1	
	FMBDD (MZD)	1	
	Sub Total (d)	5	(2.4%)
4.	Other kin marriages		
	BWZ	5	
	BWMZD	3	
	FBSWZ	2	
	Sub Total (e)	10	(4.8%)
5.	Unspecified distant relatives	3	(1.4%)
	Grand Total	209	(100%)
6.	Non-kin marriages	810.	

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Other types of **'wrong'** marriages are the marriages with a relative who is wrong way in the kinship terminology. There are five categories of such marriages. Of them, three are the marriages with **MZD**, and each one, with either **FBD**, or **BD**, in terms of kinship terminology. One of the marriages with **MZD** was that a man (who was adopted) married his step-mother's sister's daughter. Another married his **FMBDD**, i.e. categorical **MZD**. Only one case of a marriage with genealogical **MZD** has been reported. The remaining two were, the marriage with **FBSD**, i.e. categorical **BD**, and, with **MZHBD**, i.e. categorical **FBD**. All are parallel kins, equivalents of **MZD**, **FBD**, and **BD**.

Every informant who were inquired, agreed that those marriages were wrong, but, they said, "once marriage is over the marriage is recognized by the society". These **'wrong'** marriages generally, they added, have taken place due to their economic status, for being very poor or very rich, or due to their physical problem or attraction. In the case of very rich, they would like to keep their property in their own group, while in the case of poor persons they cannot find out proper mate from outside due to high amount of dowry. Thus, finally they are forced to choose a member of **'wrong'** kin relatives.

Regarding this **Trautmann** (1995:226) explains that a preference for close kin marriage may in some cases lead to **'wrong'** kin marriage, that is, where close **'wrong'** kins are preferred to distant **'correct'** kin, or non-kin. This hypothesis corresponds with the fact that among correct kin marriages, there is a strong bias favoring close relationships (i.e. immediate **MBD** marriage) over distant one as shown in the Table - 29. This bias seems to affect the occurrence of close **'wrong'** kin marriages. And the terminologically **'wrong'** marriage may be modified as a **'correct'** by the terms of address, such as wife or wife's mother, instead **MZD** or **MZ**. On the other hand, people prefer **'insider'** relatives than **'outsiders'**, since they feel, "outsider is new to us, and outsider is always outsider, and when we are old, insider daughter-in-law will take care us well, than the outsiders".

Finally, as **Good** (1981:226) insists "no marriage can be wrong - in the prescriptive sense in the long run", therefore, "the terminological prescriptions are valid by definition, whereas preferential rules are merely codes which **'must'**, **'should'** or **'could'** be followed but need not be".

Against the ideal of monogamy, there were thirteen cases of polygyny, but polyandry did not exist (see, Table - 30). Of them, two cases were that a man married three women, while the first and second wives had been alive. Eight instances of polygyny,

among thirteen, were the cases in which the first wife had borne children prior to the second or third wife. Of eight, two were that the first wife had borne only **daughter(s)** and not son, the remaining five cases were that a man had taken a second wife at that time, because his first union was childless. Among thirteen cases, there were only two sororal polygynies, that is the cases of Goud and **Erukalla**.

TABLE - 30  
INCIDENCES OF POLYGYNY, SIBLING - SET MARRIAGES, AND  
**SISTER-EXCHANGE** MARRIAGES

Caste	Polygyny	Sibling-set marriages	Sister-exchange marriages
Brahman		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Reddy	1		
Padmasalle	1	-	1
Yadav	-	-	1
<b>Muduraju</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	1
Goud	1*	-	
Sara	-	1**	
<b>Kummari</b>	1	-	
Wadera	-	<b>1</b>	
Mangalli		1	
<b>Chakalli</b>	-	1	
Dore	1	-	
Mala	-	2	
Madiga	5*	2	
<b>Erukalla</b>	1	-	
Total	13	10	

\* The case of the Goud and one of the Madiga, are the polygyny that a man married three women.

\*\* A set marriage that three brothers married three sisters.

There were ten **sibling-set** marriages, i.e. two (or three) brothers marrying two (or three) sisters. Among them, one case was three brothers - three sisters marriage. Three cases had no relationship in the previous generation's marriage, while seven were related each other before the **sibling-set** marriage, interestingly all had matrilateral cross cousin relationships, either genealogical or **categorical**.

The sister exchange marriage also occurred, though it violated the **ideal kanyadana** tradition. Among four instances, two had been related in the previous generation's marriage, as **MD** and/or **FZD**. Like in the case of the sibling set marriages, the attitudes to sister-exchange marriages also vary from people to people. On the one hand, they say that such close relationships are good for reducing serious disputes, while on the other, it is

argued that a dispute affecting one marriage will be a cause of breakdown of the other as well.

The preference marriage of matrilateral cross cousin (i.e. MBD) is perfectly attuned to the **hypergamy**. The MBD marriage rule (**menarikam**) accords with the 'Indian ideal of **kanyadana**: namely, the prohibition on sister-exchange, and the rule that wife-givers shall not be **wife-takers**, and **wife-takers** shall not be wife-givers (Trautmann 1995:204), that is, a major consequence of hypergamy is status asymmetry between wife-givers and wife-takers, and dowry is an integral part of hypergamy (see, Srinivas 1989:98-99).

#### 4.9.5 Dowry

Dowry may be defined as the amount of cash and/or kind given to the groom's side by the bride's side at the time of marriage occasion. Just because of the '**amount**' of dowry, if not the '**dowry**' itself, the cross kin marriage system seems to be 'breaking' in higher class. Also because of the same reason such a system of marriage is being preferred by the lower class or the poor. Kapadia explains this phenomenon as a "typical symptom of urbanization: it is a sign that new interests are supplanting the old obligation to kin" (1993:42). As she observed in south Tamilnadu, nowadays class is becoming an increasingly important factor for selecting children's spouse among almost all the castes, in the village. Thus, the difference of economic status within a caste, is creating a new kind of division between 'marriageable' and 'unmarriageable' kin.

With the effects of, '**urbanization**', '**modernization**', or '**capital market economy**', a pragmatic self-interest becomes more important ethos than the kinship obligation (see, Caplan 1984). Several informants insisted that, though they prefer the **chuttarikam** marriage, if the kin does not offer '**proper**' dowry, they are looking for a bride from outsiders. They said, it is not obligation at all to select a spouse within cross kins. However, the previous relationship will be broken down or weakened, if a person selects the mate from outside relations. Though, in some cases, leaving the chances of relationship break-down open, they marry nowadays, for the money (i.e. dowry) and status rather than for keeping relationship with the poor relative.

**This** attitude is rapidly growing, because the young generation has slowly started playing an active role, in selecting his (or her) spouse, instead of their parents or elders. For the youths, the economic status and education, and the appearance of the girl, are considered most important **factors**. Thus, with the

occupational change, the rising educational attainment is one of the main reasons for this conspicuous change in marriage patterns.

The lower class people can not pay '**proper**' amount of dowry. In the case of selecting a mate from outside relations, the amount of dowry is four or five times higher than in the case of insider marriage. Therefore, the lower or poor prefers to marry the cross kin, not only because '**for love of kin**', but also '**for** avoiding the unnecessary burden of the **katnam** (dowry) '. Due to high amount of dowry and expenditure of marriage function, the lower class or the poor prefer or force to marry close relatives, so as to reduce the amount of dowry and expenditure.

This feature of marriage suggests that the non-kin marriage is more preferred among high class people, and that the private interests of individual families are more important than kinship relations. Moreover, such values of the upper castes and class constitute a very powerful social influences. So impoverished **youngmen** are increasingly emboldened to demand dowry. And lower castes, that traditionally received '**bride-price**' (**billiguduru** or **wolly**) according to their custom have changed the **bride-price** into dowry, nowadays.

Such '**emulation**' of higher caste by the lower "was facilitated by the **latter's** increased access to education, and jobs in the organized sector" according to Srinivas (1989:109). In the village, the Erukalla and the Dasari have maintained the bride-price custom, until recently. Other lower castes, such as, the Waddera and the **Harijan**, have emulated the dowry custom from their neighbouring higher castes, while they still keep the bride-price custom as a form of **wolly** at the time of engagement. The **bride-price** was always fixed amount within an endogamous caste, for instance, the Erukalla takes five Rupees, and other various presentations which are also almost specified. But compared to the dowry, the amount and number of items are very less and few.

On the other hand, the dowry is characterized by asymmetry and it does not fix any amount or items (see, **Appendix-3**). Moreover, after marriage also, in some cases, the groom and his family may be demanding again and again more dowry. Though dowry is perceived as '**Brahmanic**' style, and this Brahmanization is concerned with legitimating a difference of class, it does not become '**Sanskritization**' when others take it over from the Brahmin, that is, it is not concerned with a rise in the caste ranking (see, Kapadia 1993; Srinivas 1984, 1989; van der veen 1971:26).

The dowry is considered as a kind of **premortem** inheritance by the people. An informant explains that the son may get house and land property, but the daughter does not inherit any land or house, because she has been given away in marriage. Hence, he adds, instead of inheritance, the daughter is adorned with dowry of clothes, and other jewelleryes.

Whether the dowry is considered as a kind of premortem inheritance (see, Goody 1973) or 'some sort of a compensation' (see, **Madan** 1989), the daughter, unlike the son, can not dare to claim a share of property as her right of inheritance. Moreover, in rural context, both the parents or the daughters, have no idea at all, of the daughter's right of ancestral properties, as a son has (see, Agarwal 1988; Carroll 1991). Thus, the dowry is no more than gift in their view points. And the amount of dowry is not equal between sisters, it depends on the family's economic situation, at the time of her marriage.

Nowadays, dowry has become an important means of social mobility and class integration. And the amount of dowry itself is an expression of superiority or prestige in the class position. Regardless of caste status, nowadays, "dowry is essential in that a woman cannot be married without it, and a large amount of dowry is necessary to attract a good husband". Moreover, says Upadhyia (1990:42) "to offer or receive a large dowry is in itself status-enhancing".

Another reason for shunning the close kin marriage by the educated people is the fear that such marriages are likely to produce retarded or handicapped offspring. An informant who was a retired teacher, said that his son married his wife's brother's daughter (i.e. MBD) and by chance the first kid of the union was born a handicapped. Thus, he guesses the close kin marriage is a cause of this.

- 1) Because these terms (family and household) are very ambiguous, Yanagisako (1979) and Carter (1984) suggest to draw a distinguish between them, that is the familial dimension of the domestic group from the household dimension. The former is defined by the origin of the links between them, links that have culturally defined relations by birth, adoption, and marriage, regardless of their co-residence and/or domestic functions. The latter, on the contrary, is defined by shared tasks of production and/or consumption, regardless of whether its members are linked by kinship or marriage. But, though the terms are changed, the definitions of the familial dimension and the household dimension in the domestic group are not so much different from the definitions of the family and household.
- 2) The term '**family**' is specifically associated with European and American cultures and societies and their historical antecedents (see, Harris 1985:290). Regarding the disparities between the particular local terms and the social structure, **Mandelbaum** (1970:147) suggests that: "In sorting out the group and categories of kin at any level or region, it is especially important to recognize what was previously noted, the local terms can be misleading".
- 3) **Kolenda's classification** of family types is descriptive and comprehensive without being overtly elaborate and appears to be coming into general use (see, Freed and Freed 1982:190). **But**, it is based on a number of married couples, rather than on the principle of presence of number of generations. Therefore, in the category of supplemented nuclear family, it includes lineal (grand parent and grand children) and affinal (parent-in-law and daughter-in-law) relations, while others classify it as joint (see, Dasgupta & Mukhopadhyay 1993:345) .
- 4) Singer (1968) defines the joint family as a network of social relations irrespective of the presence or absence of joint residence. He sees that the joint residence, joint property and a particular set of kin is only a part of the total structure of obligations. So, the presence of any particular feature does not necessarily make a family '**joint**'. But, in his view, it is difficult to define the boundary of a joint family and a close-knit extended familial group in the context of social life.

- 5) The data which is reported by Dube (1955) was, as Kolenda approved, incomplete and confusing. Dube did not separate the nuclear families from the joint ones. He only suggested the case histories of one hundred twenty families, that is, based on the calculations of the time of separation from their parents after marriage (see, Dube 1955:113,134). Depending on some settlements from **Dube's** work (not from any specific **classification** or statistical figures) Kolenda did estimate the proportion of joint family or nuclear family (see, Kolenda 1987:23-24). Dube (1955:13) reported the total number of houses in **Shamirpet**, Telangana, where he surveyed, was 508. But it is not clear the number of houses represents, either that of household or family, or just building itself. In other passages (1955:71-72), the number of families was counted total 477, both the families of agriculturists (342) and that of craft or profession (135). However, Kolenda explains the difference between other village studies and Dube's (1955) as a regional difference, rather than the incompleteness of Dube's data itself.
- 6) This definition does not include woman to woman marriage, ghost marriage, **Nayar-Nambudiri** Brahman marriage, and homosexual or lesbian partners who are purporting to constitute marriage. Regarding the definition of '**marriage**', Leach states, "marriage is a bundle of rights"; hence all universal definitions of marriage are vain", since the "institutions commonly classed as marriage are concerned with the allocation of number of distinguishable classes of rights" (1966:105,107). **Needham** also confirms, the term '**marriage**' is an '**odd-job**' word (1971:7).
- 7) **In** the village, the castes or **sub-caste** that allow or do not reject the marriage with FZD and eZD, are the Bestha, the Dore, the Dasari, the **Budigajangam**, and the **Mochi**. These castes all belong to the lower status in hierarchical order, relatively, recently migrated groups, and numerically minorities. Moreover, the Dasari, until now, has taken the system of bride price, rather than dowry, whereas child marriage has been in practice among the Budigajangam until recently. In other words, they are minorities, in term of socio-cultural as well as economic standards.
- 8) Through the foregoing description, it will follow the **males'** point of view whenever **matrilateral** cross cousin (MBD) acquires a name to avoid confusion with other kinship studies. However, it is, as **Trautmann** said, an '**auxiliary male orientation**', and '**anthropologist's choice**' of terms, not the indigenous way of looking at things (1995:201). While

Kapadia (1994, 1996) rejects this usage of term, as a '**male discourse**', instead she adopts the point of view of female ego in her study.

- 9) The distinction between group and category, as Verdon suggests, is: "where [...] the individual does use criteria, which are defined with respect to himself or herself, to describe between potential members and the rest of the world, the resulting collection of individuals is called as a group. Whereas, "... when the criteria utilized are, defined with respect to an individual not personally involved in the activity" is called as a social category (1980:139).
- 10) Goody (1968) defines the term '**clan**' that when the links are not demonstrable, and descent is "putative", the group is known as clan.
- 11) Concerned with **matrilateral** cross cousin marriage, broadly there are two arguments. On the one side, Levi-Strauss (1969: Chapter 13) states that in harmonic societies that are both patrilineal and patrilocal, or both matrilineal and **matrilocal**, a rule of cross marriage will take the matrilateral form. Dumont (1983) also explains that where membership in the **exogamous** group, residence and property are transmitted exclusively paternal or exclusively maternal line, the marriage rule is matrilateral. On the other side, Homans and Schneider (1955) correlates the paternal authority and matrilateral marriage rule. That is, the society where the father or father's lineage has **jural** authority over ego male, the marriages with MBD are preferred. The latter argument which is at origin a psychological one, is concerned with individual preferences, therefore, it "leads beyond an objectively observable statistical trend to a socially recognized rule" (Trautmann 1995:205). Moreover, in this viewpoint, the importance of **brother-sister** relationship is not considered properly. Whereas, the former suggests the correlation between descent and locality, on the one hand, and the marriage pattern, on the other. As focused upon the surface interrelation only, it is limited to explain the preconditional logic or cause of the only preference of matrilateral cross cousin, excluding patrilateral cross cousin and elder sister daughter in such case of Kandi village.
- 12) A case of the marriage with a tree trunk is well reported on an ethnography, Py Freeman (1979:chap.21). But in this case, the bride ~~is~~ divorcee, other than widow.



- 13) **Arundhati** stands, literally for fidelity. And it is the star **Alcor**, belonging to the Great Bear, and is personified as the wife of Vasistha, one of its chief stars, or the common wife of the seven stars called the seven **rsis**. Alcor is invoked in marriage ceremonies to represent conjugal perfection (see, A Dictionary of Hinduism 1977).

# **CHAPTER - V**

## ***THE MUSLIMS***

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus directly on the Muslim community in the **village**. Firstly, it will analyse the maintenance mechanism of their social identity, the social stratifications among them and their **socio-ritual** relationship with the Hindus. Secondly, it will describe the family structure, and its relations with occupation and education of children, on the one hand, and the kinship terminology, the rule of marriage, and the marriage practice of Muslims, on the other.

## 5.2 The Muslims and the markers of their identity

The notion of common Muslim identity that is definitely not Hindu, is a vital determinant factor for Muslim ideas about the caste. No Muslim admits the existence of '**caste**' which the Hindu have within their own groups. The denial of caste among Muslims is a logical necessity for their identity as Muslim (see, Fanse-low 1996). In spite of Islam's overtly egalitarianism, although, the Muslim themselves never admit that they have caste and caste ranking, several ethnographic studies reveal, the existence of **endogamous** group, ranking, occupation, specialization, and, etc. (see, Ahmad 1978b). Accordingly, the term '**caste**' (**kullam**) is never used with reference to Muslim in the same sense and symbolic context which applied with the Hindus only (**cf.** Barth 1960). The different divisions within Muslims are called **khandan** or **jat** (•sub-group as they refer when they speak in English). They insist that they do not have Hindu type of caste. Similarly, Muslim as a whole are never referred as a caste but as a religion by both the Muslim themselves as well as by the Hindus.

Thus, the formation of group identity can not be explained without an understanding of group relations in terms of contexts. Generally speaking, a group defines itself by differentiating from the others. In this point, religion and language have been the major **boundary-defining** mechanisms. For most Telangana Muslims, Urdu is a symbol of cultural **identity**. In the **post-independence** period, Muslim in Telangana lost their position as a privileged ruler, their political authority and economic influence. Today their language that is the Urdu, remains the chief marker of boundary, the symbol and arbiter of distinctiveness between Muslim and non-Muslim. In this regard Brass (1975:180) observes that, "the demand for the preservation of Urdu is a demand for the preservation and extension of the language culture of the Muslim in north **India**". Urdu is used to mark off both external as well internal boundary lines: not only to praise and unite the in group but also to isolate or single out the **outgroup**. But an in group cannot be understood without

an outgroup, both are interlocked into a unity of opposites. Therefore, the boundary maintenance and the group relationship can only be understood through social interaction (see, Berreman 1982) .

In addition to the linguistic differences, the Hindus and the Muslims are distinguished by variations in dress, names, food habits, ceremonial practices, and a way of life. To a great extent, Muslims are seen more as a corporate group compared to the Hindus, regarding to religious affairs as well as social matters. Moreover, the Mosque offers a good opportunity to share and/or maintain the distinguishable Muslim identity. While the religious boundary are maintained through the Mosque, it is the family which keeps and transfers the social identity, and teaches the knowledge of *Koran*. So, through the family, the children are educated and socialized as a Muslim.

### 5.3 The Muslim social stratification

A considerable debate exists concerning the extent whether or not the term '**caste**' can be applied to the social **stratification** found in Muslim community (see, Ahmad 1978a) . This is broadly connected to the viewpoint of caste, whether caste is fundamental institution of Hinduism or caste is, in structural terms, a kind of general social **stratification**. Regarding this, the social stratifications of Muslim have been treated either '**caste**' or '**caste-like**' (Ahmad 1978b; Barth 1960; Das 1984; Fanselow 1996; **Lindholm** 1986; Minault 1984; Robinson 1983, 1984).

Although no Muslim admits the existence of caste within their own groups, they "**share** certain features of the caste system but is not quite like it" (see, Bhattacharya 1978:270). In spite of **egalitarianism** of Islam, ranking does exist among the sub-groups of the Muslim. The rationale of ranking or hierarchy between them is based on claims of foreign descent, as among North Indian Muslims (see, Benson 1983b). There is the distinction made by Indian Muslims between Ashraf and the **Ajlaf** (or **non-Ashraf**). The former claim foreign descent (Arabs, Turkish, Afgan), whereas the latter are converts from the Hinduism (see, Ahmad 1966; Lindholm 1986:67; **Mandelbaum** 1970:549-551).

Muslim rule in the Deccan from the fourteenth century onward attracted Muslims from Arab, Turkey and other Islamic countries as well as from North India. In addition, local conversions, whether by force or voluntarily, took place (see, Talbot 1995) . Among **Ashrafs** ('foreigner'), Syeds (descendants of the prophet) ranked **first**, followed by Sheikhs (Arabs or Persians), Moghuls (Turks from Central Asia), and Pathans (from North India and

Afghanistan), respectively. The Ajlafs ('converts') consist of lower-status group, who retain castes or occupational names (see, Benson **1983b:46**). In Telangana area, **Laddaf** or Duddekulla (former cotton carders), Kureshs or **Katikawallu** (butchers), and Fakir (ritual beggars), are **fit** for the **Ajlaf** category. But there are no clear historical or mythological origins of their conversions. Similarly, the claims to foreign origins are almost impossible to verify, that is, their statements about their origins remain vague and ambiguous. The respective status or rank of the Ashrafs is determined by their relations with the Ajlaf groups.

### 5.3.1 The Muslims in the village

In the village, there are three Ashraf groups and three Ajlaf groups of Muslims. They are Syed, Sheik, Pathan or Khan, on the one hand, **Chinna-Katika**, **Pedda-Katika**, and Fakir on the other. Both the Chinna-Katika and the Pedda-Katika are called or termed as Kuresh in the village, but they are separate **endogamous** units and they have different specified occupations. While the Chinna-Katikas slaughter goats and sheep and sell the meat, the Pedda-Katika butcher **buffalos** or cows. The following Table - 31 presents the categorization the Muslims in the village.

TABLE - 31  
RANKS OF MUSLIN **SUB-GROUPS** OF THE VILLAGE

Category	Name of group	No. of Households	Total Population (M/F)
Ashraf	Syed	15	108 (54/54)
	Sheikh	74	554 (295/259)
	Pathan	7	76 (45/31)
	Sub <b>Total (a)</b>	96	738 (394/344)
	%	72.7	78.7 (79.6/77.7)
<b>Ajlaf (non-Ashraf)</b>	Pedda Katika	2	31 (17/14)
	Chinna Katika	4	28 (11/17)
	Fakir	30	141 (73/68)
	Sub Total (b)	36	200 (101/99)
	%	27.3	21.3 (20.4/22.3)
Total (a+b)		132	938 (495/443)
%		100	100

### 5.3.2 Their occupational categories

The groups of Ashraf, that is, Syed, Sheikh, and Pathan have no specialized occupations. The members of these groups are

engaged besides in **agricultures**, in teaching, government employment, business etc. Besides, some of them are technicians, drivers or menial labourers. The families of Pedda-katika have monopolised the trade of selling beef in the village. Each family-slaughters the cattle (buffalo or bullocks) and sell a week about. The Chinna-Katikas also slaughter goats or sheep, and sell the meat in the village or neighbouring villages. Both the Pedda-Katika and the Chinna-Katika together with the Hindu Arokatika (cf. 3.3.117) have monopolized their specialized occupation in the village. In addition to their butchery, the members of these groups earn their livelihood through agricultural labour and menial **works**.

The Fakirs are ritual beggars of the Muslim society. Most of the Fakir households support themselves by mat weaving, working as **hamali** in the village market, rickshaw pulling, and agricultural labour, or begging. Moreover, the dwellings of those three groups are located separately from other Muslims. On the one hand, due to their occupation, especially for the Pedda-Katika, they are living on edge of the village, on the other hand, because of their economic status they dwell at the place which is government donated for them. The Pedda-Katika and the Chinna-Katika have been reserved as the Other Backward Class under the Government Reservation - Classification. However, the Fakir is not included in the OBC **classification**. Therefore, some of the Fakirs got Reservation by the name of Duddekulla or Noorbash which are already declared as **OBCs**. Regarding this, a Fakir comments that the Fakirs do not differ from the Duddekulla or Noorbash economically as well as socially however they are excluded from the OBC category.

While all groups of Muslim can, in theory, interdine and intermarry among them, in practice, intermarriage between the groups of Ashraf and those of **Ajlaf** rarely took place; if there was, only in the form of **hypergamy**. Moreover, each group of Ajlaf, that is, Pedda-Katika, Chinna-Katika, or Fakir, consists of a separate **endogamous** unit. The Katikawallu are treated (or they insist) higher than the Fakir. But there is no rank difference between the Pedda- and Chinna Katika, whereas limited intermarriages are allowed among the groups of Ashraf, that is, Syed, Sheikh, and **Pa** than.

Contrary to their insistence that they can marry any Muslim, it is difficult to find out the **inter-subgroup** marriage, mainly due to the preference of close kin marriage or the difficulty of love marriage among the Muslims. During the survey only one case was reported as **inter-subgroup** marriage between a sheikh man and a **Chinna-katika** woman. It was love marriage. However, the disap-

pointed parents of the husband forced their younger son to marry his MBD. Now the parents stay in the younger son's house, after picking up a quarrel with their first son's wife. They say that they prefer close kin marriage because the insider daughter-in-law knows them very well from childhood, and respect and obey them. However, if someone comes from outside, it is difficult to mix with '**insiders**'.

And there is one case, of Muslim man's marrying a Hindu woman (Muduraju), but before the marriage she converted into Islam. So, their offsprings have no difference from other Muslims. But, it is said, there is no single case of a Muslim girl being married to other than Muslim in the village history.

Benson (1983b:47) explains the distinction among these groups in terms of the traditional occupation of those groups as **DuddeKulla**, Katikawallu and Fakir who are regarded as dirty, or of low status by other Muslims in the same way as the Hindu service castes are treated as degraded by the Hindus. But this explanation cannot justify the facts, that there is no intermarriage between groups of the **Ajlaf**. In addition several persons who are the members of the Ashrafs are engaged as the chicken sellers or leather workers. Moreover, the **Imam** who officiates the ceremony at the village mosque is working as a butcher for a slaughter house, which is located near the village.

This shows that the occupation itself is not connected with the concept of purity or pollution, in the same way as was seen among the Hindus. The relative rank among the groups of Muslim is more directly connected to the origin of ancestors and the time of conversion, than to the specialized occupation itself. Moreover, the groups of Ashraf have no traditional occupation.

Nowadays, the members of Ajlaf group prefer the name Sheikh, they prefix '**Sheikh**' or '**Mohamad**' to their name for the sake of the elevation of social **status**<sup>1</sup>. though they are called Chinna-**Katika**, Pedda-Katika, or Fakir by both Hindus and Muslims on reference to their distinguishable group identities. The change of individual or family identity has taken place throughout times. For instance a Muslim informant told that a family, originally called Duddekulla, has nowadays started claiming as Sheikh. Compared to the Hindu castes, their hierarchy of social stratification is not so much strict and its boundary is somewhat flexible. Therefore the individual mobility of family or group is relatively easy. In this regard Barth (1960:130) mentioned an **oft-cited** popular saying such as "last year I was a *Julaha* (weaver), this year I am Sheikh (Disciple); next year if prices rise I shall be a **Saiyad**".

The disparity between norms and practice in the Muslim lives is explained as the difference between the formal and ultimate which derives from the Islamic texts, and proximate and local, validated by custom (see, Ahmad 1981:15). The ambiguity which exists is in the relationship between religious (Islam) and social values (the world) (see, Prindley 1988). Madan (1981:58) observes that the Muslim (and Hindus) have "two sets of representation, one stemming from ideological considerations and the other from the compulsions of **living**". Therefore, local practice among Muslims is an adaptive response to the constraints of the Indian environment, or the '**survival**' of Hindu ways among local converts to Islam (see, Vatuk 1996:228). Though the Muslim groups are characterized by the features of endogamy, specialized occupation, and ranked units, it is difficult to consider these features as criteria of caste existence, like the Hindus have. (see, Das 1984; Lindholm 1986; Minault 1984; Robinson 1983, 1986; etc.) For instance, the character of endogamy and specialized occupations do not fit for the groups of the **Ashraf**.

The difference of ranks is expressed in terms of relations between the **Ashrafs** and the **Ajlafs**, but it is not clear among **Ashrafs**, if it is, only in terms of ritual or genetic traditions. Moreover, each group of the **Ashrafs** does not fit for the concept, such as an **endogamous** unit. Only the groups of **Ajlaf** represents as a unit of endogamy as well as an occupationally specialized group. Therefore, there exists the segregation between the **Ashraf** and the **Ajlaf** within Muslims. As Fanselow (1996:209) indicates, "the proximity to Islam, both in terms of space (geographical origin) and time (date of conversion), thus entitles them as a superior status in local Muslim society".

Thus their hierarchical relationship is not based on ideology of purity and pollution but on the difference of '**origin**' itself. Most scholars explain that the caste among the Muslims owes itself to Hindu influence, as the '**survival**' of Hindu custom among local converts. It has not been absorbed or broken off, instead it has been reinforced by the **justification** for the idea of birth and descent as criteria of status (see, Ahmad 1978b; Vatuk 1996) .

#### 5.4 Muslim-Hindu relations

Each of the groups of the Hindu and the Muslim see themselves as a member of distinct religious communities, therefore, it is said, there is no ritual or social relationship between them, at least, at the level of whole group. In spite of their



denial, their distinct identities project through a series of cultural symbols, including Linguistic usage, dress, forms of salutation, and other forms of customs (see, Ahmad 1981).

In the rituals and festivals, the Muslims seek to assert their distinct religious identity and represent themselves as a unified Muslim, but in other situations or contexts they also remain separate as a member of separate Muslim sub-groups. The Muslims insist that whoever vows to be a Muslim should follow the cardinal pillars of the faith that is; (1) the belief of oneness of God and in Muhammad as his prophet, (ii) the daily prayers (*namaz*) at the appointed time, (iii) giving alms (*zakat*), (iv) fasting during the month of Ramadan (*roza*), and (v) performing pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*). The significance of religion or religious ideology as a basis of social and communal identification and boundary maintenance is represented on the practice of above rules of Islam.

But in the local circumstance, the composite culture between the Hindu and the Muslim exists as "an environment of reconciliation rather than refutation, cooperation rather than confrontation, co-existence rather than mutual annihilation of the politically dominant Islamic **strands**" (see, Khan 1987:36). Ahmad (1981:15) seeks the root of composite culture from the distinctive situation of the Muslim in India. He observes, "Islam in India was intrusive in character. It came over an already established civilization and could establish itself only gradually and by slow degree over the already deeply entrenched indigenous tradition". Therefore, according to Ahmad (1981), the religious tradition of the Muslim in India has two distinct elements one ultimate and formal which derives from the Islamic texts, the other proximate and local, validated by custom.

There are certain, but limited, economic relationships between the member of Muslim and those of the Hindus in the village. The Muslims as agriculturists have been engaged in the relationships with Hindu service castes or crafts, regarding the exchange of goods and service. But this relationship is between a **supplier** (Hindu) of goods and service and his patron (Muslim); religious differences are ignored by both sides. It is a relationship of mutual dependence and economic transaction. For instance, a Muslim (45) who cultivates 11 acres of land has **pethu-bai** relationship with a Kammari, a **Vaddla**, and a Chakalli. He pays the former two in kind at each harvest time, while the Chakalli is paid in cash on monthly base. Other service castes are not engaged permanently or in contract relationship by him. Whenever he needs their services, he pays in cash for the piece of work.

In addition to the agriculturists, the Chinna-Katikas offer the mutton for the non-vegetarian Hindus. Similarly, the Pedda-Katika supplies the Dore with the hides of cows or buffalos. The Hindu drum beater (**dappu**) works for certain Muslim rituals and ceremonies with or without the Muslim musicians who come from other villages or towns. And the grave-digger Begari used to dig for the Muslim dead until recently. After a quarrel took place between the Begari and the Muslim, the former stopped digging graves for the Muslim society, now the Muslim themselves do the job. Concerning the tradition of **commensality**, there is hardly **any** opportunity to eat or share the cooked food which is cooked **by** either the Muslims or the Hindu, except between close **friends**. But in the tea stalls or outside the village, the people, especially the young generation share tea or other eatables on the same table without any hesitation.

#### 5.4.1 The **dargah**

The **dargah** or Muslim shrine is a tomb of Muslim Saint. The institution of Muslim shrine is an aspect of **Sufism**<sup>2</sup> (see, Pfliederer 1981). **dargah** means literally, a palace or royal court, it applies to more complex type of shrines, while **mazar** is a notch above **qabr** or simple grave. The **qabr** is transformed into a **mazar** once a dead person begins to be venerated as a saint (see, Saiyed 1989:242).

The attraction of a Muslim shrine is defined by supernatural power of the saint's (**pir**) spirit, who is buried in the tomb. The power is recognized by the Muslims as well as some of the Hindus. Many of saints are linked with the power of curing certain diseases. Instances of saint's curing sterility are at a **galore**.

There are six **dargahs** in the village. Of them, three are built by the Hindus, the remaining are constructed by the Muslims. The former are located in the new Kandi residence, while the latter ones are at the old Kandi area. All of them are simple and without any special facilities except walls and about 2 or 3 meter long bamboo flag **poles**. They are just above simple grave size located on the hill tops or high elevations. Every Friday afternoon to evening, both the Hindu and Muslim villagers offer worship in a particular **dargah** with incense, perfume, coconut, sugar and, etc. Most of regular visitors are Muslim girls and boys. The Hindus offer worship, less occasionally than the Muslims.

Almost all the **dargahs**, except one, are not real tombs of the saints. They are made by burying a handful of soil or a piece of brick brought from the main, honourable **dargahs** such as **Ajmer** which is located near Delhi (cf. Jeffery 1981). That is, such **dargahs** in the village are a kind of replicas of the main **dargah**. Most of **dargahs** are built for the wish of family well-being, the success of business, or symbol of faith. One of them is constructed by a **Muduraju** who got his mental disorder cured by the help of a Muslim saint. Now, he accepts the Islam as his faith, while his family members still follow the Hindu faith. However he is not totally accepted as a Muslim by both Hindus and Muslims. And, he is living more as a Hindu rather than a Muslim. He offers worship to the **dargah** weekly, and yearly he organizes a big, special ceremony with Muslim saints and other musical specialists, both in his house and at the **dargah**.

Another **dargah** which is located near the main street of new Kandi, was opened by the **Deshmukh** in 1978, while the real manager or constructor was a Goud businessman. The Goud built this **dargah** for his successful business. Almost all visitors of the **dargah** are the Muslim boys and girls. When the temple *jatra* begins (cf. 2.9.12), the Chakalis whitewash (**sunnam**) this **dargah**. The third **dargah** is also built by a Hindu businessman who belongs to the **Padmasalle**. He got this constructed for his successful business and for the sake of his family welfare. Now his daughter manages the **dargah** after his demise.

The other three **dargahs** which are located at old Kandi, are managed by the Muslims. Two of them belong to a Muslim teacher, who is called **mulla** and takes a role in Hindu Dasara festival. **Inamland** was donated to one of these **dargahs** by the Nizam. The third **dargah** is connected to the ancestor of a Muslim family and is maintained by their descendants.

In addition to daily or weekly prayers, special worships are offered occasionally by both Hindus and Muslims at the **dargahs**, by scarifying he-goats in the month of *shavani* (generally November-December), for the success, achievement, well-being or other purposes of the people. The worships on the **dargah** are called **mukubadi** which are officiated by a **mushrad** (or **murid**) who is a disciple of **Sufi** saint (**pir**). And the worshipers are called **fateha**. In the village, it is not uncommon to see the Hindus offering worship or showing their faith at a **dargah**. For instance, a Chakalli couple performs a special ceremony with the help of the Muslim **mushrad**. Both husband and wife wear white colour dresses after bath. They come to the **dargah** with incense sticks, rice, coconut, sugar, and green garment to cover the tomb. After simple ritual rites, they sacrifice a he-goat. The

blood of the scarified goat is smeared around the **dargah** by the **mushrad** and his helper, and they bring it home. After boiling it once again they offer it to the **dargah**, then they distribute the meat to their relatives and neighbours. During all the process, the Hindu drum beaters (**dappus**) attend and are engaged in the ritual function. In some cases people give certain **dargha's** name to their issue to express their faith towards it if they bear them by praying at the **dargah**.

#### 5.4.2 Moharram

*Moharram* is a very popular and exciting Muslim festivals particularly in the local area. It is observed for ten days during the first month of the Muslim calendar which approximately falls during May. Originally it was the Muslim month of mourning for the memory of the martyrdom of Imam Hassan and Hussein. But in the village, the *Moharram* is called as *piri* (or, **piru**) festival, that is **panduga** in their tongue. *Pir* is to the local Telangana people, nothing but a standard which symbolises the Muslim martyrs or saint. Nowadays in the local context, the term *piri* has replaced *Moharram*. Therefore, in what follows the '**Moharram festival**' is described simply as '**pir festival**'.

At individual level, Muslims participate in Hindu festivals such as the temple *jatra* or Dasara festival, Hindus also attend Muslim '**festival**'. The *Moharram* is observed to mark the death of Imam Hassan and Hussein who were tragically killed at the battle of Karbala. The death of Hassan and Hussein at Karbala marks the split between the Shias and Sunnis<sup>3</sup> in Islam (see, **Ahamd** 1983), so the Shias observe this occasion in mourning whereas the Sunnis observe **Moharram** with gaiety and enjoyment (see, Fruzzetti 1981).

But the local mythology differs from the actual historical fact. A Muslim informant who takes charge of one of the *Moharram* festival in the village, explains the mythology of the *Moharram* thus: "in old times, Hassan and Hussein fought with Hazit who was a devil, they killed Hazit. *Moharram* is the celebration of the victory of Hassan and Hussein". In this regard, Saiyid says that the '**celebration**' of **Moharram** is generally popular in the rural area. In this environment it is mostly individuals and groups belonging to the lower socio-economic strata who seem to participate and enjoy the proceedings (see, Saiyid 1981). Another strata of the village for whom *Moharram* appears to special interest is the women of Hindu low **castes**.

The term **pir** (a Persian word) literally means saint or elder, and refers to the master teacher of a Sufi order, while in

rural Telangana it signifies various holy persons (see, Benson 1983b:49) . In the village *piru* (or *piri*) is nothing but the **cloth-draped**, colorful standard, which symbolizes or represents the saint. There are three different places (called, '**maszid**' or in local tongue the pronunciation variety of *maszid* is **mashid** too) where the *pirs* are kept in. The **Moharram** is organized and observed separately in each of the respective places. The number of *pirs* also differs from each other. There are five *pirs* in new Kandi, four in old Kandi, and one in **Chimnapur** hamlet where only one Muslim family, Duddekulla, is living.

#### 5.4.21 A case of *pir* festival at new Kandi

In new Kandi, five *pirs* consist of Hassan & Hussein, Imam **Kashim** who is the younger brother of Hassan and Hussein, and Imam **Kashim's** three sons named Hussein **Alam**, Ali Abbas, and **Nalla Hardhar**. Though Hassan and Hussein are historically the major martyrs, they are treated as a single *pir* and more over, they occupy minor position among other *pirs* in the village. Further more, the most powerful *pir* is the Nalla Hardhar which is carried by the main organizer of the function. Classically **pandu** (five) *pirs*, as Schwerin says, consist of Muhammad, the Prophet, and his family members - **Fatimah**, Ali, Hassan and Hussein. While in Indian popular usage, a variety of combination is found, each put together by local and individual preference (see, Schwerin 1981:151). That is, the identity of '**the five**' changes from place to place. Moreover, in some other places, the *pandu piris* are replaced by even a goddess of Hindu origin (see, Saiyid 1989:243) .

**Moharram festival** is celebrated **for ten days**. It begins with the offering of *shavhat* (local made alcohol), dry coconut, flowers, sugar, and incense sticks to the *pirs* on the first day. During next six days, there is no special function except simple daily worship at the *maszid* where *pirs* are located. On the seventh day, a group of leading party with the *piru* Nalla Hardhar, their other participants and the drummers (the Hindu *dappu*) go **first**. A group of men and children follows it. People join the procession as it passes throughout the whole village, and finally arrives at the *dargah* which is opened by the **Deshmukh**. On the eighth day when they carry the *piru* Imam Kashim, but the procession is same as that of the seventh day.

The ninth day of celebration is the climax of the **Moharram** festival. In the morning, the procession starts with taking out all *pirs* from the *maszid*, then worshipping ceremony follows. All the leading **groups** of *pir* carriers go to the old Kandi to meet, and celebrate each other. The main organizer who takes **Moharram**

function hereditarily, like other organizers of the village, carries the **Nalla Hardhar piru**. The remaining **pirs** are carried by his son, two Fakirs, and, interestingly, a Hindu **Dasari**. The Dasari performs an important role of a **pir** carrier and distributor of ash-powder to the participants. The route which the procession takes through the village will meet two group of pirs near the mosque which is located by the entrance of old **Kandi**. In the meantime the procession involves in dancings and drum-beating.

After coming back to the *maszid*, boisterous dancing and singing starts, making a round to the model or the replica of the tomb of martyrs (**tazziya** or **allawa**). It is a small dome figure, with simple decoration and a small tree (**Zahad**) stuck in the middle of the tomb shape, which symbolises the burial. During the whole procession, it is difficult to find out any mourning feeling or performing **mattam** (beating one's breast, a sign of mourning or sorrow), which is reportedly found in other parts of Muslim societies (see, Benson 1983b; Fruzzetti 1981; Saiyid 1981). Young boys and girls, and women of both Hindus and Muslims are involved in the procession with joyous mood. They wear new dress, with a festive atmosphere they celebrate the festival of the **Moharram** with a feeling of enjoyment. In the meantime, milk mixed with some sweet and other items, is delivered to all the **attenders**. Most of Hindu attenders are low castes, such as Dasaris, Wadderas, Erukallas, and others.

Finally, the procession goes through the Muslim dwelling and reaches the residence of **Deshmukh** to pay him respect (*salaam*). In 1995, the **Deshmukh** was absent, so instead of him, his brother-in-law represented and donated some amount of *chanda* (donation). In front of his residence, several people both Muslims and Hindus offer worship to the pirs with incense sticks and flowers, in return they receive ash-powder smeared on the forehead and sugar, as if it were **parasdam** (offering of God, etc.) for the Hindus.

The celebration reaches the peak after above procession. In the meantime it is already dark when menfolk, most of them are Muslim dancing and singing together in front of the **Deshmukh's** house. Hindu womenfolk also start dancing a few meters away from the menfolk groups. Most of them are Hindu low castes. The festival of **Moharram** is closed by keeping all **pirs** in the reserve box on the tenth day. They sacrifice a he-goat purchased from the donation collected during the processions at the *maszid*.

#### 5.4.22 A case of *pir* festival at old Kandi

While, in old Kandi, there are four *pirs* which consist of Imam Hussein, Ali Abbas, **Moula Ali**, and **Hul Sab** "who are the brothers of Hussein. The **Moharram** is organized by the '**mulla**' ( or '**mollana**' families who take it hereditarily, but the **mollana** himself does not carry any *pir*. Here too, the powerful *pir* is Moula **Ali's** instead of being Hussein's which is carried by an old Muslim. The Hussein *pir* is carried by a Muslim or sometimes a Hindu (Muduraju); the Ali Abbas *pir* by a Muslim, and the Hul Sab *pir* by a Hindu (Chakalli) who is a sincere devotee of the **dargah** and **Moharram**. Compared to the function and organization of the case of new Kandi, those of old Kandi are relatively simple and not so much in joyous mood. The main function starts on eighth day, by taking out the Ali Abbas who died, they said, on eighth day of the battle. The procession goes to the entrance of old Kandi to meet the *pirs* of new Kandi, then returns to the **masjid** which is located in the midst of old Kandi.

On the ninth day, early morning around 5 AM, all four *pirs* are taken out from the **masjid**, and carried meet the new kandi *pirs*. In the meantime, the Hindu drum beating helps to elevate the joyful mood and to instigate the gathering to dance. They said, this meeting symbolizes the brotherhood and the forgiveness of **fight**. **Moharram** function reaches high peak at evening around 6 pm, with the drum beating by two Hindu drummer (**dappu**). The children of Muslim, boys and girls, gather near the **masjid**, with colourful dresses on. One of the Reddy families brings a pot of water for washing the feet of **masjid** attendance. When the drum beating accentuates and reaches the climax, one of the *pir* (Hul Sab) carrier who lives in Sangareddy gets the possession (*sigam*), after him the *pir* carriers get *sigam* one by one. And then they take the *pir* which is designated to them, stand up in front of the **masjid**. Around this time, a lot of people come and offer sugar, perfume, and **pan** leaves to the *pirs*.

In the meantime an old Muslim *pir* carrier gives a prayer to the worshiper and their kids, almost all are girl babies, by softly touching them with a bunch of peacock feathers, Interestingly, most of the worshipers gather and pray the *pir* of Hul Sab whose carrier gets *sigam*, first and deep. While, there is not any replica of the tomb and relatively less number of participants and joyful dancing, unlike that new Kandi does, the **Mollana** says, regarding this, the person in old Kandi are not so much interested about the **Moharram** festival as those of new Kandi. But this phenomena, might be, connected to the composition of the people, the organizer as well as the participants, who are the people of relatively higher rank, both the Hindus and Muslim,

especially there is only two **Ajlaf** (Chinna-Katika) families in old **Kandi**. After this procession, the **pirs** go around the old Kandi settlement, during the rounding a lot of people follow and offer their prayer to the **pirs**, the Muslims as well as the Hindus, and Tribes (Lambadi) who live in tanda, near the village.

It is noteworthy that the Hindus attend the **Moharram** festival not only as the carrier and the worshipper, but also as a main donator of the building and the **pir** itself. The **Mollana** says that one of the old Kandi **pirs**, the **Hul Sab**, was originally the **Deshmukh** family's, but it was donated around 70 years ago, to the **pirs** of old Kandi which is managed by the **Mollana** family. And the present **maszid** building was donated by a Thakur. Since he prayed the **pirs**, his business and works have been in good progress, so he constructed the building at the original place at his own **expense**.

#### 5.4.23 Syncretism in the **Moharram**

The **Moharram** has mixed up with numerous and unrelated pseudo-religious and non-religious incongruities which is not easy to understand in the light of formal, orthodox Islamic texts. First of all, **Moharram** succeeded, to some extent, in binding the Hindus and Muslim together. As a collective '**festival**', **Moharram** cuts across the barriers of the religion and other social structure. A Hindu, Dasari, who is a carrier of the **pirs**, explains that the '**pir**' festival was originally one of the Hindu festivals: He says, "originally, the Muslims had another **kamini** festival. On the final day of this festival, all Muslims had to '**cry**' and 'shoothe' themselves. But it was difficult or unnatural to cry and soothe. Thus the **kamini** was replaced with the **pir festival**. Since then **pir** became Muslim **festival**. **kamini** is a kind of spirit or goddess. Now the **kamini** is submerged to or mingled with the Hindu Holy festival." The **Mollana** of old Kandi also confirms this story: "In old time, this festival was the Hindu's, but the problem was that the Hindus could not read *Fateha* (or the *Koran*). At that time, the Muslim had '**Holi**' festival. Similarly, the Muslim could not '**play**' or 'understand' properly. Therefore, the Muslim and the Hindus exchanged these festivals each other".

This explanation suggests, firstly, the syncretism between the Hindus and the Muslims (see, **Burman** 1996). A lot of Hindu, mostly the members of low castes, accept the **Moharram** as a non-Muslim festival. Secondly, the actions of '**crying**' and 'shooting', might indicate the mourning attitude of the **Moharram** function. Probably, since the **Sunni** sect in the Telangana is dominant, the atmosphere of **Moharram** changes over time into a festival of '**gaiety**' and '**joyous**' mood. As the **pir** organizer



says, *Moharram* is the celebration of victory of Hassan and Hussein, instead of being an occasion of the mourning of their death. Therefore, *Moharram* offers an opportunity to some avenue of escape from the harsh, monotonous and insecure living conditions of the villagers who are the people of the lower class. Especially in the case of new Kandi the *Moharram* has been torn out of its historical contexts and transformed into a mass festival. The rituals and myths change over time to suit the specific needs of community or **group**. New meaning and symbols are integrated to activities of historical past.

#### 5.4.24 Other functions of the *Moharram*

In addition to being a festival, the *pir* offers an opportunity to cure the indigenous illness or, suggests a solution to some illness. For example, in new Kandi, on the ninth day, of the procession of carrying pirs, all of the pirs carriers are to be possessed ('**sigam**') by the spirit of saint. Among them the carrier of **Nalla** Hardhar, the organizer, takes care of the patients who have various kinds of illness, such as, mental disorder, nightmare, ill-digestion, evil-spirit, **bad-friendship** and other indigenous diseases, etc. He suggests some kind of solution with pseudo-ritual action and jerk. Most of his patients are women, occasionally, Hindu men also complain their problem or illness.

Similarly, in old Kandi also during the ninth day evening procession, an old Muslim *pir* carrier, helps to solve or soothe the physical and/or psychological problem of the people. Almost all of the problem takers are women, and they came with their children, with the family problem or another mental or physical uneasiness. These problems are called '**mannat**' (**ormukkubadi**). The old Muslim simply soothes the people who have '**mannat**', with the bunch of peacock **feathers**. After that, they hang the dry coconut to the *pir* which they prefer.

The *Moharram* has been the physical, social and psychological '**comfort** cushion' of rural societies and communities, where life has few other attractions and escapes (see, Saiyid 1981:135). In addition, the therapeutic cure offered on the *Moharram* gives people a theory of illness which makes it possible for the patients to deal with, or to come to the terms with, their illness.

Unlike in other parts of India, the criticism concerning the syncretic character of *Moharram* comes from the Hindus, not from the Muslims in the village. One of high caste informants bluntly says that the participants of Hindu women folks are those whose character is often loose, just for enjoying and drinking purposes

they attend the *pir festival*. It is not Hindu festival at all. Another informant who lives temporarily in the village with their occupation of **fortune-telling**, says that "*pir* was once our festival. During Nizam period, *pirs* were everywhere. Ten years ago the person who organized the *pir* died. Since then, the children and womenfolk participate the Muslim *pir* festival. But, nowadays we (menfolk) do not attend it at all. It is changed. We are Hindus, why should we attend their (the Muslim's) festival?" With the change in socio-political environment, low castes are struggling to get or maintain their identities as a Hindu. This situation is similar to the attitude of Muslim concerning the Dasara festival in which traditionally numerous Muslims attended, but during recent decades the numbers are gradually decreasing. Hence, the invention and redefinition of **Moharram** reflect the cycle of assimilation or the break off of the boundaries between two different groups, then again creating boundaries or distinguishable identities, so that '*we*' are different from the '*others*'.

## 5.5 The Family

According to Ahmad, the religious tradition of Muslim in India comprises of two distinct elements: "one ultimate and formal, derived from the Islamic **texts**; the other proximate and local, validated by custom". He further says that these two traditions have been co-existed "as complementary and integral parts of a single common religious system (see, Ahmad 1981:15). Local practice among Muslim is, therefore, either an adaptive response to the constraints of the Indian environment, or the '**survival**' of Hindu ways among local converts to Islam being.

Among the Muslims, religion regulates the sacred and the secular practices. The personal law, that is the *shari'a*, which derived from the Koran is the source of tradition that governs the institutions of family and marriage among them. Legally, the classical law of Islam does control most aspects of Muslim family and marriage (see, Carroll 1983), but practically Muslim family norms and patterns in India correspond to those maintained among Hindus (see, Ahmad 1976; Conklin 1976; Khan 1994). Ahmad says that "in terms of the structure of family and kinship groupings, the Muslims in India are not necessarily distinguishable from their non-Muslim neighbours" (1976:xxiv). That is, the Muslims seem to be an integral part of a wider cultural complex shared by the people as a whole who reside in the region.

The Muslim family norms and/or practices do not strikingly differ from those of the Hindus in the village. While almost all of the Muslims recognize and respect the *shari'a*, the doctrine

ordained in *the Koran*, with regard to their marriage and family life. In actual practice these institutions are, to some extents, moulded and patterned by socio-cultural environment, that is, "the actual social practices of Muslim villagers usually those of their Hindu neighbours" (Mandelbaum 1970:546).

The Muslims, however, usually differ from the Hindus in certain family and marriage practices, such as parallel cousin marriage or **polygny**, and in allotting greater inheritance right and stricter seclusion to women. But in family relations they are usually like the Hindus of the village. For instance, the norms favouring joint family living are widely spread among the Muslims as those of their neighbouring **Hindus**.

The term **ghar** is applied to denote the family as well as the household, according to contexts. However, the term **pariwar** is used exclusively for the family. Though the **ghar** literally means 'house' itself, the term is commonly reserved to a household and/or a group of households of brothers who are separated from an extended family. In some contexts, a group of **ghars** is called **gharana** which is distinct from a single **ghar**. A **gharana** constitutes a group of households which are connected by patrilineal descent, usually including the male descendants of great-grand father, their wives, and unmarried daughters.

The term **biraderi** exclusively refers to the lineage in all contexts. However, in the case of small population of kin groups, the distinction between **ghar or gharana** and **biraderi** loses its significance. Usually, a **biraderi** is a unilocal living, or localized lineage, in one village. However, it is not an exclusive corporate group, though its members have mutual rights and obligations in certain ritual and social occasions. Its members are considered each other, as brothers or sisters, that is, the **biraderi** means brotherhood or blood relationships among its members.

While in term **khandan** or **zat** used to refer to the sub-group to the Muslim community, such as Syed, Sheikh or Khan, but in other context it also used to refer to the group of **biradeirs** or a **biraderi**. However, the whole Muslim community is called as '**jamath**', the term **jamath** used to refer to the group of people for **namaz** or the group of people who are eating same plate in ritual occasions, too.

It is a **ghar or pariwar** that forms a corporate unit, so as to maintain economic, ritual and person-to-person relations in the sphere of kinship. Rights of inheritance vest in children from the patrilineal descent, but in the case of **gharjamai** (literally son-in-law of the household) which means a son-in-law

living in his father-in-law's house in such case when mother has no brothers to inherit, the children have rights in their mother's family.

Though, in law the daughter has right of her father's properties to share equal to half that taken by the son<sup>4</sup> (see, Carroll 1991, 1983), in practice "the rule governing inheritance of property is basically that it should be divided between all the male coparceners" (Khan 1994:73). Ahmad explains that "in respect of the rule of inheritance Muslim communities in India have been influenced by customary rules which are indistinguishable from those of neighbouring non-Muslim communities" (1976:xxix).

Other terms used by the Muslims to refer to kindred is *kabilla*, which includes the members of *khandan* and affins of ascending generations. While the term *hilana* used for consanguine, the term *nhahat* refers to the people who are related by marriages. And the term **reshtedar** is used broadly for all relatives who are connected either by blood or marriage.

But the most effective group in the kinship system is a **pariwar** or **gharana**, whose members observe death pollution and attend all the social and ritual occasions. All important events are decided by this group. This unit is a family or an extended family composed of the families of siblings. This kin group was at once the property holding unit and the dwelling group.

The use of the term *ghar* varies depending on the context in which it is used, such as the family, household or house itself. Whereas, the term *chulla* is used for a commensal unit, or household. The term *chulla* literally means 'cooking **hearth**'. But, when the **chulla** has been separated from its common dwelling, such *chulla* acquires the status of *ghar*. That is, the development of *chulla* to **ghar** represents the physical separation of a domestic group.

Usually the division of *ghar* comes with the occasion of a son's marriage or soon after it. Some families may remain together until their father's death. But in most cases, the **break-up** starts up by the separation of living and the distribution of properties, with the marriage of a son, or in some cases, with the marriage of the youngest son. However, the division of *ghar* is usually motivated by economic interests of the members of *ghar*. In other words, the division is intimately tied to the partition of immovable properties, and the separation of economic units in production or distribution of goods.

### 5.5.1 The family structure

Those who live together in a common household are almost without exception close kins. There is no case of non-kin members living together under the same roof. Thus, the household (*ghar*) at least for the Muslims in the village, is a unit which includes only the members of a family (*pariwar*) .

Table - 32 below shows the family types of Muslims in the village, according to Kolenda's **classification** (see, Kolenda 1987:11-13).

**TABLE - 32**  
**CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILY AMONG MUSLIMS**

Cate- gory	Group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Tot- al
I	Syed	6	51	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	15
	Sheik	34	14	5	-	-	-	4	11	-	5	1	-	74
	Khan	2	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	7
Sub Total	(a)	42	20	6	-	1	-	5	13	2	5	2	-	96
II	P.Katike	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
	C.Katike	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
	Fakir	22	2	1	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	30
Sub Total	(b)	25	3	1	2	-	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	36
Total	(a+b)	67	23	7	2	1	-5	17	2	6	2	-	-	132
%		50.8	17.4					24.2						

Of the total 132 Muslim families in the village, 67 are nuclear, whereas 32 of them (that is, 24.2 per cent) are joint. That is, the proportion of their joint family is less than that of the Hindus (25.6 per cent), but the proportion of their nuclear family (50.8 per cent) is higher than that of Hindus (**44.5 per cent. cf. 4.3**) .

#### 5.5.11 The distribution of family

There is a lot of difference in the composition of families between the Muslim groups of Ashraf and **Ajlaf**. For the Ashrafs, the proportion of joint family is 28.1 per cent, while for the **Ajlafs**, it is only 13.9 per cent. Therefore, as the data represents, there is a strong relationship between higher Muslim groups and the proportions of joint families.

If joint and supplemented nuclear families are combined, the data in Table - 33 shows that the Ashrafs have almost a half (48.9 per cent) of families which belong to either joint or supplemented nuclear families, whereas the Ajlafs have 22.2 per cent of these categories of families.

**TABLE - 33**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY TYPES IN NUCLEAR,**  
**SUPPLEMENTED NUCLEAR, AND JOINT FAMILIES**

Category	Group	Nuclear		Supple-		Joint		Others*		Total
		No.	%**	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
I	Syed Sheik Khan	7	46.7	5	33.3	3	20.0	-	-	15
		39	52.7	14	18.9	21	22.4	-	-	74
		3	42.9	1	14.3	3	42.9	-	-	7
	Sub Total (a)	49	51.0	20	20.8	27	28.1	-	-	96
II	P.Katike C.Katike Fakir	-	-	-	-	3	100	-	-	2
		3	7.5	1	2	5	-	-	-	4
		23	76.7	2	6.7	3	10	2	6.7	30
	Sub Total (b)	26	72.2	3	8.3	5	13.9	2	5.6	36
Grand Total(a+b)		75	56.8	23	17.4	32	24.2	2	1.5	132

This category consists of single person (No.4) in Table - 32  
Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to rounding error.

The data in Tables - 32 and 33 show that the prevalence of family divisions or preference of nuclear families is more often a phenomenon among the low rank Muslims, i.e. Ajlafs (72.2%). For them, most probably, there is no reason to maintain joint family after their marriage. First of all, they have no movable or immovable properties except the house to maintain or tie them together to a single joint family. Moreover, in most of the cases, the size of house is not sufficient to maintain more than two married couples. And those who live as the members of a joint family households agree that each nuclear family will be independent sooner or later.

#### 5.5.12 The proportion of population according to Muslim family types

For the Ashrafs, the opinions are not so much different from those of the Ajlafs. They say that though the joint family is ideal, but in practice, especially nowadays, brothers or sons get separated from their parents after marriage. Thus, there is no

single occasion of the first cousins living under the same roof. Like the Hindus, the Muslims also explain that the reason **for** the division of their joint family is caused by the quarrel between/among sister-in-laws. They say, a joint family **may** separate if the wives do not get along.

But the segmentation of a joint family usually occurs when there are plentiful employment opportunities outside the family or there is no economic benefit to stay on a joint family. That is, economic opportunity seems to provide the incentive for separation of father and sons, or brothers. So, Kumar's (1974:53) observation that "the joint family system is not a tradition of poor family" applies correctly not only with the Hindus, but with the Muslims as well.

Table - 34 shows the statistics on the number of people **included** in the various types of families. These statistics suggest that when 56.8 per cent of families are nuclear according to the Table - 33, 43.7 per cent of population lives in nuclear families according to the Table - 34 and 35. On the other hand, 24.2 per cent of families are joint (in Table - 33), whereas the 40.3 per cent of population live in joint families (in Table - 34 & 35). However, if joint and supplemented nuclear families are combined together, the data in Table - 35 shows that when 41.6 per cent of families are either joint or supplemented nuclear, more than half of population (56.2 per cent) live in these two types of families.

**TABLE - 34**  
**PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN FAMILY TYPES**

Group	Types of Families										Total
	1	2	3	4	5	7*	8	9	10	11	
Syed	39(22/17)	38 (14/24)	2(0/2)	-	-	-	19(12/7)	10(6/4)	-	-	108 (54/54)
Sheik	204(110/94)	85 (43/42)	18 (11/7)	-	-	65(32/33)	90 (49/41)	-	75(42/33)	17(11/6)	554 (298/256)
Khan	17(9/i)	8 (4/4)	-	-	7(4/3)	15(10/5)	-	14(11/3)	-	15(7/8)	76(45/31)
Sub	260(141/119)	131(61/70)	20(11/9)	-	7(4/3)	80(42/38)	109(61/48)	24(17/7)	75(42/33)	32(18/14)	738(397/341)
Total (a)											
rakir	30 99(53/46)	9(3/6)	2(0/2)	1(1/0)	3(1/2)	-	27(16/11)	-	-	-	141(74/67)
P.Kat- 2	-	-	.	.	.	.	10(6/4)	-	21(11/10)	-	31(17/14)
ika											
C.Kat- 4	19(8/11)	9(3/6)	.	.	.	.	-				28(11/17)
ika											
Sub	118(61/57)	18(6/12)	2(0/2)	1(1/0)	3(1/2)	-	37(22/15)	-	21(11/10)	-	200(102/98)
Total (b)											
Grand	378(202/176)	149(67/82)	22(11/11)	1(1/0)	10(5/5)	80(42/38)	146(83/63)	24(17/7)	96(53/43)	32(18/14)	938(499/439)
Total (a+b)											

\*The type 6, i.e. collateral joint family, does not exist among the Muslim families.

**TABLE - 35**  
**PROPORTION OF POPULATION IN NUCLEAR, SUPPLEMENTED**  
**NUCLEAR, AND JOINT FAMILIES**

Group	Nuclear*		Supplemented		Joint		Others**		Total
	No.	t	No.	t	No.	\	No		
Syed	41	38.0	38	35.2	29	26.9			108 (54/54)
Sheik	222	40.1	85	15.3	247	44.6			554 (298/256)
Khan	24	31.6	8	10.5	44	57.9			76 (45/31)
Sub									
Total (a)	287	38.9	131	17.8	320	43.4			738 (397/341)
P.Katike					31	100			31
C.Katike	19	67.9	9	32.1	-				28
Fakir	104	73.8	9	6.4	27	19.1	1	0.7	141
Sub									
Total (b)	123	61.5	18	9.0	58	29	1	0.5	200
Grand total (a+b)	410	43.7	149	15.9	378	40.3	1	0.1	938

\* This category consists of nuclear (No.1), Subnuclear (No.3) and Supplemented nuclear (No.5) in Table - 3;

\*\* This category consists of single person (No.4) in Table -32.

\*\*\* Percentages do not always add up to 100 due to rounding error.

Compared to the family types of Hindus, the proportion of joint families (24.2 per cent in Muslims, while 26 per cent in Hindus) and supplemented nuclear families (17.4 per cent in Muslims, 22.1 per cent in Hindus) of Muslims is less. The Muslim's proportion of nuclear families (56.8 per cent in Muslim, while 50.9 per cent in Hindus) is higher than that of the Hindus. However, regarding the distribution of population, higher proportion of Muslim population live in joint families (Hindu 37.4 per cent, Muslim 40.3 per cent). It suggests that the proportion of Muslim's joint family is less than that of the Hindus, while actually more numerous Muslims live in the joint families. That is, the average size of Muslim joint family (11.81) is larger than that of the Hindus (8.69), while the difference between their average family size is not so much conspicuous (Muslim 7.11, Hindu 6.03).

Among Muslims, there are a lot of differences with regard to the family composition and the average size of the family. The average size of family of Ajlafs is 5.56, while that of Ashrafs is 7.69. And in the composition of supplemented nuclear and joint families, the Ajlafs mark only 16.7 per cent which represents much less than that of all Muslims (41.7 per cent). In other words, the proportion of nuclear family of Ajlafs (72.2 per cent) is much higher than that of others or all of Muslims (56.8). The Fakir has particularly the highest proportion of



nuclear families (76.7 per cent), and the highest proposition of population (73.8 per cent) live in the nuclear families. This data confirms that the joint family system is not the tradition of the poor, **and** the joint family norm was more popular in Ash-rafs or upper segments of the Muslim society (see, Jain 1986:66). On the whole, the Muslims seem to be slightly less conservative regarding joint living than the Hindus.

### 5.5.2 The occupation **and** family **structure**

It is said the joint family system has been affected by the occupational **diversifications**. In the process of industrialization or modernization, several new occupations have been introduced in the village, particularly, for the Muslims who did not have certain specialized occupation, except the Katikas, under the traditional economy. Jain says that the joint family norm was more popular in upper or middle income categories, while in the lower income category, the nuclear family was the norm (Jain 1986:65).

Similarly, Khan (1994) insists, on his study of Gulwar, Karnataka, that among the daily labourers, the joint family households are easily separated due to the competition and jealousy between brothers and their wives about individual contributions to the joint budget. Also, among the smaller landowners, the joint families are absent because the ancestral property is usually partitioned soon after the death of their father. While, in the cases where considerable amount of property is maintained under the authority of a father or an eldest brother, the members of family sustained the jointness of the family.

**TABLE - 36**  
**OCCUPATION AND FAMILY TYPES**

Occupation*	Family Types										Total
	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	10	11	
1. Govt. Worker	15	4	-	-	-	2	5	1	1	1	29
2. Teacher	2	-				<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	-	<b>1</b>	-	5
3. P v t . C o . worker	9	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	13
4. Business	11	7	2	-	1	2	4	1	2	1	31
5. Farmer	2	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	6
6. Labourer/ tenant	28	8	4	2	-	-	4	-	2	-	48
Total	67	23	7	2	1	5	16	2	1	3	132

\* Occupation indicates the main income source of a family.

Table - 36 shows the relations between occupational diversifications and family structures. The employees of the Government or independent businessmen seem to be maintaining higher proportion of joint family compared to the farmers or labourers. As Khan (1994) indicates, most of those daily labourers, who work either in agricultural field or in the market, live in nuclear families. The data in Table - 36 indicates that 32 families (66.7 per cent) are nuclear among forty-eight labourer families.

Also, only one of the **farmers'** families is maintaining joint family. But, the families whose heads are working in either salaried occupations or business show higher proportion of joint families, except the families whose heads working for the private companies. Therefore, it seems that the higher the head's authority or the more his contribution to the family economy, the higher proportion of joint families.

TABLE - 37  
**DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS, IN NUCLEAR, SUPPLEMENTED NUCLEAR, AND JOINT FAMILIES**

Occupation	Nuclear*		Supple-		Joint**		Others***		Total
	No.	%+	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Govt. Worker	15	51.7	4	13.8	10	34.5	-	-	29
Teacher	2	40.0	-	-	3	60.0	-	-	5
Pvt.Co. Worker	10	77.0	1	7.7	2	15.4	-	-	13
Businessmen	14	<b>45.2</b>	11	<b>22.6</b>	10	<b>32.3</b>	-	-	31
Farmer	2	33.3	3	50.0	1	16.2	-	-	6
<b>Labourer/tenant</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>48</b>
Total	75	56.8	23	17.4	32	24.2	2	1.5	132

\* This category consists of **family** types at **No.1 No.3 and No.5** in Table - 36

\*\* This category consists of **family** types of **No.7 to No.11** on Table - 36

\*\*\* This category consists of single person (**No.4**) in Table - 36

+ Percentages do not **always** add up to 100 due to rounding error.

**Table - 37 shows that the Muslims, 48 families (36.4 per cent) are engaged in daily work either as agricultural or other labours, while 39.8 per cent of Hindu families are working as daily labourers or tenants. The proportion of the farmers is 4.5 per cent (only six families) among 132 Muslim families, whereas 13.1 per cent (65 families) Hindus are the farmers (cf. 4.4). This data indicates that, on the whole for the Muslim's, the joint property, i.e. land, takes a little role to maintain jointness of family. It is mainly due to the diversification of occupation,**

other than agriculture, that decides the partition of joint property. Therefore, their division takes place usually soon after their marriage or the death of their father. In spite of the norm of jointness of family, the individuals who have independent income source or separate job prefer the partition to joint property and the separation of domestic unit.

### 5.5.3 The education and family

Nowadays, like others, an individual's socio-economic position among the Muslims depends on his occupation. For obtaining high salaried and skilled positions whether in government or private sectors, high education is necessary. The secular power is brought to bear more quickly and forcefully in gaining high rank among Muslims (see, **Mandelbaum** 1970:547) compared to their neighbouring **Hindus**.

Therefore, a large number of Muslims, like Hindus, are sending their children to receive primary and secondary school education. In spite of Government's declaration of equal education and universal access to education, especially for girls, the enrolment of the Muslim girls is still low. It is, mostly, due to an extreme segregation<sup>5</sup> of sex-roles among Muslims. The formal education for girls is de-emphasized by the Muslim community and, again, led to the perpetuation of the lowly position of the Muslim women.

On the other hand, in actual practice, the formal education system reinforces the economic and social rank differences among Muslims. The education system acts as a **differentiating** agent rather than an equalizing one, by supplying the appropriate cultural and/or social capital to a certain status group, as well as by selecting students from particular socio-economic stratum. Therefore, individuals who belong to a certain stratum have better opportunities to exploit a high quality educational facilities than those belonging to others.

#### 5.5.31 Comparison between the children of two Muslim categories in terms of education

The data in Table - 38 shows a gap between the Ashrafs and Ajlafs, in the proportion of education among the children of Muslims. The membership of a certain group represents higher proportion of education among children than others. And, in terms of education of girls, the difference between two groups becomes visible.

### 5.5.32 Relation between parent's occupations and their children's schooling

The phenomenon of education in private schools comes out as very peculiar when their proportion is compared with public schools. Schools are of many different kinds, and they are differently ranked based on the standard or quality of education. Education in private schools is expensive, so only those parents who belong to upper class or high income groups can afford to send their children to those schools. It seems that there is some close relationship between the fathers' occupation and their children's education, particularly in private school. Among Ajlafs, only one boy attends a private school, whose father is working as a businessman. Table - 39 shows the relationship between children's education in private schools and their fathers' occupation.

TABLE - 38  
TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND STUDENTS\*  
The ratio between the total number of Muslim children and school students

Group	Age groups					
	5-9 NO. of M/F Ch.**	No. of M/F St.	10-14 No. of M/F Ch.	No. of M/F St.	15-19 No. of M/F Ch.	No. of M/F St.
Ashraf	66/48	42/34	55/50	44/42	52/49	42/36
%		63.6/70.8		80/84		80.8/73.5
Ajlaf	22/18	4/7	10/16	4/4	10/69	5/0
%		18.2/38.9		40/25		50/0
Total	88/66	46/41	65/66	48/46	62/55	47/36
%		52.3/62.1		73.8/69.7		75.8/65.5

- 1) The **number** of children and students includes only the children of the head or others whether they stay together or not. In other words, the **members** who are married in the family are excluded. While the children who married out or are living outside village are included in the data.
- 2) In the age groups of 10-14 and 15-19, a few number of married-out women are not **included**, since their parents reject to reveal the information about them.
- 3) And, the number of students includes the drop-outs, usually, the girls drop-out with their **marriage**.
- \* **Ch.=children, St.=Students**

Nowadays, education itself has become as a source of prestige as well as a symbol of higher status. Moreover, education helps to get high income occupation and prestige. Greater number of the children of high income groups attend both the public or private schools, either in the village or outside. Therefore, family background difference is reflected on the education of the children among Muslims. Among high income groups, such as Gov-

ernment officials, teachers, and businessmen, the proportion of education of children is higher than other groups of occupation. About 70.5 per cent of students belong to the occupational groups of Government worker, teacher, and businessmen as shown in the Table - 39. Three occupational groups show higher proportion of education in private schools. Table - 40 shows that out of 63, 55 (87.3 per cent) of private school students belong to those high income groups. It is noteworthy that those three groups represent high proportions of joint families. This indicates that there seems to be a close correlation between the joint family system and higher income occupation, and between the education, especially in private school, and high income family. In other words, educational system itself reinforces rather than reduce the difference of economic status.

TABLE - 39  
CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOLS AND THE OCCUPATIONS OF FATHER

Occupations*	Age groups			Total Total (M/F)
	5-9 Total (M/F)	10-14 Total (M/F)	15-19 Total (M/F)	
1.Govt. Worker	40(22/18)	30(19/11)	26 (14/12)	96(55/41)
2. <b>Teacher</b>	5(1/4)	11(6/5)	9 (6/3)	25(13/12)
3.Pvt. Co. worker	4(2/2)	4(3/1)	9 (7/2)	17(12/15)
4. <b>Business</b>	26(14/12)	20(7/13)	20 (10/10)	66(31/35)
5. <b>Farmer</b>	4(3/1)	9(5/4)	4 (2/2)	17(10/7)
6. <b>Labourer</b>	8(4/4)	20(8/12)	15 (8/7)	43(20/23)
Total	87(46/41)	94(48/46)	83(47/36)	264(147/ 123)

\* Occupation indicates the main income source of a family. Most of the main earners are the father of children.

TABLE - 40  
PARTICIPATION IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Occupations*	Age groups			Total Total (M/F)
	5-9 Total (M/F)	10-14 Total (M/F)	15-19 Total (M/F)	
1.Govt. Worker	22(15/7)	5(3/2)	5 (5/10)	32(23/9)
2. <b>Teacher</b>	2(0/2)	4(4/0)	3 (2/1)	9(6/3)
3.Pvt. Co. worker	-	1(1/0)	1 (1/0)	2(2?0)
4. <b>Business</b>	2(0/2)	7(4/3)	5(4/1)	14(8/6)
5. <b>Farmer</b>	3(2/1)	2(1/1)	-	5(3/2)
6. <b>Labourer</b>	-	-	1(1/0)	1(1/0)
Total	29(17/12)	19(13/6)	15(13/2)	63(43/20)

\*Occupation indicates the main income source of a family.

On the other hand, almost all of the girls are attending Urdu medium public schools instead of Telugu or English. The education of Urdu is connected to the maintenance of cultural vitality and sense of identity of Muslim community. For the Muslims in India, language and religion have been among the major symbols of their identity. It is said of the Muslim of India that the demand for the preservation of Urdu is a demand for the preservation and extension of their language and culture. While the boys attend English or Telugu medium schools for joining high salaried jobs or getting good positions in either Government or private sectors, the girls take education for the preservation of Muslim identity and culture through Urdu education in public as well as Koranic knowledge in private domain.

## 5.6 Marriage among the Muslims

The marriage for men and women is one of the most important rite of passages, particularly, in a Muslim's life. Marriage is looked upon by the Muslim as an important obligation which must be fulfilled. It is said that as a Muslim, every one should marry sooner or later. Through marriage a boy or girl becomes a full fledged individual. According to the Muslim norm, only married men and women are the ones who gain significance to participate in all the rituals, while the unmarried ones are thought of as immature hence do not gain any ritual significance (see, Khan 1994:77).

Muslim marriage which is termed as **nikah**, according to Muslim law, is a civil contract, as opposed to a religious sacrament (see, Carroll 1982:280). Since the Muslim marriage is contractual, both the parties have to agree on terms of marriage which are verbally announced to the respective bride and groom. Such written agreement is called *nikahnama* which is signed by either witness or the bride, and the groom, respectively.

The pattern of mate selection seems to rely upon the parents opinion to some extent without taking the boy's or the girl's consent. Since the Muslim women are secluded through the *purdah* which is frequently adhered to them, ideally, whenever going outside in front of those other than her own close relatives, it is difficult for a girl to meet a boy before marriage and pursue friendship. The segregation of sexes after puberty, with exception of close relatives, is still a prevalent norm among upper classes.

The initiative for a marriage is taken by the father, **grand-father** or elder brother of the boy or **girl**. Indirect inquiries

may be made by the girl's family, or in some cases by the boy's family. A good bride is industrious, respectful and obedient to the elders, while a good groom is the one who works hard and has a high salaried job.

Normally, the Muslims is an endogamous group, and they practice endogamy strictly, particularly for the female Muslims. Ideally, all Muslims are marriageable to one another, however, in practice, there are several endogamous divisions among Muslims in the village. Moreover, the wealth or economic status is considered as an important matter for selecting proper mates for their children. And, there is the preference to marry with the people with whom there is previous kinship or marriage relations (see, Donnan 1993; Khan 1994). Most probably, they prefer to marry cousin relations, especially cross-cousins rather than parallel ones. In **Ahmad's** observation, it seems to be "the imprint of the regional cultural environment on Muslim kinship and marriage pattern" (Ahmad 1976:xxv).

In next subunits, the three main aspects of marriage, such as, the terminology of kinship, the rule of marriage and the practice, will be taken into **account**. A prior understanding of the kinship terminology is essentially to be able to explain the rules and behavioral patterns of marriage. The terminology represents the modes of **classification** and nomenclature, the rules comprise the normative, legal, moral, and religious statements of the member of the society or group. The rules offer the ideals which are made explicit and held by the people themselves. However, the behaviour of the individual members comprises the aggregate consequence of marital patterns.

### 5.6.1 The Muslim kinship terminology

The Muslim kinship terms are very much similar to the Hindi kinship terms in North India (see, Vatuk 1969:98-100). However, Khan (1994:177-178) insists that the whole structure of kin **classification** of Muslim kinship terminology represents the characteristic features of South Indian Dravidian Kinship system. Moreover, according to Khan the categorization of relatives in Muslim kin terms is '**logically**' and '**consistently**' based on the rule of bilateral cross cousin marriage as well as the prohibition of parallel cousin marriage.

The system of kin **classification** of North India which is studied by Vatuk (1969), "does not feature the parallel vs. cross dimension of opposition", moreover, the opposition between the wife-givers and the **wife-takers** is not appropriately described. And the consanguinity and affinity are not directly opposed to

each other in North Indian kinship terms, that is, "the classification of kin and affines in terminology and behavior are not congruent" (Scheffler 1980:141-148).

The kin terms used by the Muslim in the village are in their colloquial Urdu tongue. In the Table - 41, the various kin terms and levels are listed together with the genealogical referents with which they are applied. However, these denotations are overlapping to some extent, in accordance with the social ranks of individuals among the Muslims. To avoid this difficulty, therefore, the terms of reference are limited on the lists of the Table - 41.

TABLE - 41  
KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AMONG MUSLIMS

Level	Kinship term	Referents
+2	Grand <b>parents'</b> generation	
1.	<b>dada</b>	FF, FFB, FFZH, FMZH
2.	<i>dadi</i>	FM, FFBW, FFZ, FMZ
3.	<i>nana</i>	MF, MFB, FMB, MFZH, MMB, MMZH, HFF WFF, WMF
4.	<i>nani</i>	MM, MFBW, FMBW, MFZ, MMBW, MMZ, HMM, WMM
+1	The parents' generation	
5.	<i>bha or abba</i>	F
6.	<i>ma or ammi</i>	M
7.	<i>taya</i>	FeB
8.	<b>chicha</b>	FyB, HMB, HFZH
9.	<i>tayi or bada tayi</i>	FeBW
10.	<i>chichani or chota tayi</i>	FyBW, HMBW, HFZ
11.	<i>mamu</i>	MB, HF, WF, HFB, WFB, WMB, WMZH ZHF, BWF, HMB, WFZH
12.	<b>mumani</b> or <i>mami</i>	MBW, HM, WM, HFBW, WFBW, WMBW, WMZ ZHM, BWM, HMBW, WFZ, HFZ
13.	<i>phappu or phuppu</i>	FZ, BWM
14.	<i>phuppa</i>	FZH, BWF
15.	<b>Khala</b> (ma)	MZ, WMZ, WFZ, HMZ
16.	<b>khalu</b>	MZH, WMZH, WFZH (HMZH)
17.	<i>sas</i>	HMZ, HM, WM, BWF
18.	<i>sasura</i>	HMZH, BWM
0	Ego's generations	
19.	<b>bhai</b>	B, FBS, MZS, FZS, MBS, MBDH, HZH, WZH
20	<b>bahan</b> Z,	FBD, MZD
20.1	<b>appa</b>	eZ, FBDe, MZDe, FZDe, MBDe
20.2	<i>bhahen or bhahin</i>	yZ, FBDy, MZDy, MBDe, FZDy, FZSW, MBSW, WBW



21.	<b>marad</b>	H
22.	<b>joru</b>	W
23.	<b>jeth</b>	HeB, HZH
24.	<b>jethani</b>	HeBW
25.	<b>devar</b>	HyB
26.	<b>devarani</b>	HyBW
27.	<b>sala</b>	WB, FZS, MBS, BWB
28.	<b>sali</b>	WZ, BWZ, FZD, MBD
29.	<b>bhaejan</b>	ZH, eBWBe, FZSe, MBSe, FBDH, FZDH MZDH
30.	<b>bhabi</b>	BW, FZDe, MBDe, FBSW, MZSW
31.	<b>bapjan</b>	BW, FBSW, FZSW, MBSW
32.	<b>baijan</b>	FBDH, FZDH
33.	<b>samdhi</b>	SWF, DHF
34.	<b>samdhan</b>	SWM, DHM
35.	<b>nanad</b>	HZ

-1 The children's generation

36.	<b>beta</b>	S, BSms, WZS, ZSfs, HBS, ZDH
37.	<b>beti</b>	D, BDms, WZD, ZD, HBD, ZSW
38.	<b>damad</b>	DH, BDH, ZDH, ZSms, HZS, BSfs
39.	<b>bhanja</b>	ZDH, ZS
40.	<b>bahu</b>	SW, BSW, ZDfs, HZD, BDfs
41.	<b>bhanji</b>	ZSW, ZDms

-2 The grand children's generation

42.	<b>potala</b>	SS, ZDSms, BDSms, ZSSfs, BSSms
43.	<b>potali</b>	SD, ZDDms, BDDms, ZSDfs, BSDms.
44.	<b>navasa</b>	DS, ZDSfs, BDSfs, ZSSms, BSSfs
45.	<b>navasi</b>	DD, ZDDfs, BDDfs, ZSDms, BSDfs.

All the relatives who are senior to ego, either in age or in kin status, are referred to and addressed by the appropriate kin terms, while the younger kins are termed usually by names not kin terms. The terms **bada** (elder) and **chota(e)** (younger) are used for male relatives, and **badi** (elder) and **choti** (younger) for female relatives, respectively to denote the age of the relatives for each other.

In the grand **parents'** generation, the distinction between the paternal sides (i.e. father's father, father's mother and etc. and the maternal sides i.e. mother's father, mother's mother, and, etc.) is clear in the **classification** of kinship terminology. The paternal grandfather, (such as FF.FFB.FFZH or FMZH) is referred by a term **dada**, and the paternal grandmother (such as, FM, FFBW, FFZ, or FMZ) is termed as **dadi**. While the maternal grandfather (i.e. MF, MFB, MMB, or, etc.) is called as **nana** and the maternal grandmother (i.e. MM, MFZ, MMZ, or, etc.) is called as **nani**. Ego's paternal grand parents (**dada** and **dadi**) become **nana** and **nani** to the ego's wife, while the ego's wife's Paternal grand parents become **nana** and **nani** to the ego.

In the first ascending generation of ego, the **classification** of kinship terminology is more complicated than in the second ascending generation. The parent and parent's sibling terms have different reciprocals. The father is referred as **bha** or **abbha**, while the mother is referred as **ma** or **ammi**. The brothers of father are distinguished by the relative age, compared to the father, the father's elder brother is called as **taya**, while the younger brother is called as **chicha**. The wife of father's elder brother is termed as **tayi**, whereas the wife of father's younger brother as **chichani**. Characteristically, a distinction is maintained between the elder brother and the younger brother of the father, and between their wives in spite of their genealogical age, by the different kinship terms.

But other groups of siblings of the parent that is, FZs, MBs and **MZs**, have been distinguished by the respective kinship terms for each other. The FZ is called as **phappu** while the FZH is called **phuppa**. In the same manner, the MB is termed as **mamu** and the MBW **mami**, while the MZ is termed as **khala** and the MZH **khalu**. The kin terms **sasura** and **sas** are used for the HMZH and HMZ (or in some cases HM also). The term **mamu** is used for the male affines of ascending generation of ego such as, the HF, **WF**, HFB, WFB **WMZH**, ZHF, BWF and HMB are called as **mamu**. While **mami** is used for the female affines of ascending generation. It seems that the terms **mamu** and **mami** are used for almost all of affinal relatives of ego's ascending generation.

In the data listed in Table - 41, it is difficult to distinguish the opposition between parallel and cross relatives, and the same versus opposite sex between siblings is not distinctive within the **classification** of the kin terms. Neither is the opposition between wife-givers and wife-takers clear there, see Table - 41 for example.

In ego's own generation, compared to other levels, Khan correctly indicates that "a noteworthy feature of Muslim kinship terminology is the relative abundance of terms of reference as distinct from those of address" (Khan 1994:190). All the brothers (either elder or younger) of ego are referred by the term **bhai**. All the sisters are referred as **bahan**, however the elder sisters are termed as **appa** whereas the younger sisters, **bhahen**. That is, there is no distinction between parallel and cross cousins in the kinship terminology, all siblings or cousins are converged as **bhai** or **bahan**, regardless of cross or parallel relations. This phenomenon confirms Scheffler's analysis on the kinship classification in North Indian kin terminology, that is, "all consanguineal ('by birth') relatives of ego's own generation are designated by the same terms as siblings, **bhai** and **bahen**" (1980:142).

But the affinal relatives, as in-laws, of ego's generation have quite distinctive terms. The WB is called as **sala**, while WZ is as **sali**. The HeB is called as *jeth* and the HyB *devar*, as well as their wives are called *jethani* and **devarani** respectively. The BW is termed as **bhabi** or **bapjan**, while ZH is termed **bhahejan**, the HZ is called as *nanad*. The term **samdhi** and **samdhan** are used for the sibling's father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively.

However, the kinship **classification** in kin terminology of the Fakir which belongs to the groups of **Ajlaf**, shows the distinction between the parallel and cross cousins. Among the Fakirs, the term *bhai* is reserved only for the B, FBS and **MZS**, while the term *sala* is used to refer to the FZS and MBS as well as the WB. And similarly, the term **sali** is used to refer to the FZD and **MBD**, the term *appa* or **bahen** is used to refer to the FBD and MZD, regarding to their relative age to the ego. But there is no distinction between **matrilateral** and **patrilateral** cross cousins or parallel cousins other than above distinction in the terminological categorization of kinship among the Fakirs.

Although there is a distinction between the wife-givers and wife-takers in the **classification** of the Muslim kin terms, this distinction does not extend beyond one generation. The terms *sala* is applied to the WB, while the term *bhahejan* is referred to the ZH, but there is no distinction between their children, that is between the MBS and FZS, or between the MBD and FZD.

In the first descending generation, one's own children, sibling's children, the spouse's sibling's children, and the spouse's children (i.e. as step children) are all equally categorized as equivalent to ego's own children. The term **beta** is used for the sons, while the term *beti* is used for the daughters, without a distinction of cross and parallel relatives to the ego. And the term *damad* is used to refer to the son-in-law, while the term *bahu* to the daughter-in-law. The terms *bhanja* and *bhanji* are applied to the ZS (or ZDH) and ZD (or ZSW), respectively.

However in the **classification** of kin terminology of the Fakir, the ZS is called as *damad* which is applied to the son-in-law, DH. Similarly, the ZD is called *bahu* (i.e. SW), while the ZSW is called **beti** (i.e. D). These usages fit in the practice of bilateral cross cousin marriage.

Finally, coming to the second descending generation, all the grand children are classified as *photra* (or *photri*) and *navasa* (or *navasi*). The son's son is *photra* and the son's daughter is *photri*, whereas the daughter's son is *navasa* and the daughter's

daughter is *navasi*. The distinction is maintained, firstly, between the agnatic and the uterin relatives. That is, the son's children and the daughter's children are **differentiated** in the **classification** of kin terminology. Secondly, the distinction relies on the sex of ego. To the male ego, the ZDS, BDS and BSS are classified as *photra*, while the ZDD, BDD, and BSD are classified as *photri*. However to the female ego, the ZSS is classified *photra*, and the ZSD is *photri*. On the other hand, to the male ego, the ZSS is *navasa* and ZSD is *navasi* while to the female ego, the ZDS, BDS and BSS are classified as *navasa*, the ZDD, BDD, and BSD are classified *navasi*.

Further more, in third descending and ascending generation, the same kin terms are used with a prefix *pad-*, as for instance, *pad photra/photri* or *pad navasa/navasi*, *pad dada/dadi* or *pad nana/nani*. The distinction between the agnatic and uterine relatives is maintained in **the third** ascending and descending generation like in the second ascending and descending generation.

In summary, it is noteworthy to indicate that there are no separate terms for the cross and parallel relatives of all levels. But in the kin terminology of the Fakir, the wife-takers are distinguished **terminologically** from the wife-givers in the ego's own generation only. However, this distinction of the kin classification in the terminology of the Fakir does not suggest a rule of hypergamous marriage. It has nothing to do with relation of wife-giving and **wife-taking**, or with the norm of hypergamous marriage. Moreover, there is no specific terms for the wife-takers and wife-givers. Both are called **susrall walle** which means exchanger. As the Muslims frequently marry cross and parallel cousins, the terminology shows relatively unsystematic character. "Further, given marriage between cousins, the kindred is often very nearly coterminous for several individuals" (Jacobson 1976:180). Therefore, the Muslim kinship terminology itself is similar to that of the North India not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure of kin **classification**. Moreover, in classification of kinship terminology there is no clear opposition between parallel and cross cousin, nor the opposition of consanguinity and affinity is distinguished clearly.

### 5.6.2 The Muslim rules of marriage

The Muslims have few rules restricting marriage beyond the unit of a family. *The Koran* prohibits a man from marrying his mother, daughters, sisters, FZ, MZ, BD, ZD, SW or **WD**<sup>6</sup>.

In the context of the village, however, the preference of marriage among Muslims is, more or less, similar to that of the

Hindus. They prefer marriage with **matrilateral** cross cousins, while they reject marriage with the FZD or ZD. But, in contrast to their neighbouring Hindus, the Muslims are allowed to marry with the MZD, and to some extent, with FBD who have not shared the 'milk relationship', and should be the daughter of the father's younger brother.

The rejection of the marriage with the FZD or FeBD represents the norm of hierarchy between the wife-taker and the wife-giver. The rejection of these types of marriage is connected to the reversal of mutual positions which existed before marriage by the birth or by a previous marriage. In the marriage process, usually the groom and the groom's family are considered or treated superior to the bride and the bride's family. The former is in a position to order or make a demand to the latter. Therefore, if a man marries the FeBDy, the positions of the groom's father (i.e. younger brother) and the bride's father (i.e. elder brother) will be reversed in a ritual context. It means that the elder brother, like the bride's father, should respect or follow the demand of his own younger brother as the groom's father. So the marriage with the FeBD is rejected or prohibited to avoid the reversal of the pre-existing relationship by the birth.

Similarly, the marriage with the FZD is also rejected to avoid diluting the status difference between the wife-giver and the wife-taker, which was decided by a previous marriage. However, there are somewhat ambiguities regarding the marriage with the FZD, some informants insist that they can even marry the FZD.

And the remarriage of divorcees and widows is allowed, although remarriage is not regarded highly. However, the marriage with the eZD is not allowed by the Muslim rule of marriage as well as by **the** Koran.

As cross cousin and parallel cousin marriages are customary among the Muslims the unit of exogamy seems to be a family. However, among the Fakirs, the unit of exogamy is not a family but a *intiperu* group, as among the Hindus. The Fakir has **five** *intiperu* groups in the village; they are **Chamadha, Langotha, Azara, Singkara and Tehenghe**. Among the *intiperu* groups there is no rank difference, and no preference relationship between certain groups regarding marriage. Each group has one to eighteen households in the village.

As mentioned earlier the Muslim marriage is, according to their **law**, "a civil contract" (Carroll 1982:280), which involves the signing of a marriage contract by both bride and groom. The contract includes a statement of the amount of **mahr**. **Mahr** is a

payment to be given to the bride by the groom and his father, and usually takes the form of money and/or immovable property. **Mahr** has two types, one is the '**prompt**' **mahr** being payable on the wife's demand at the marriage or any time, after marriage, another is the '**deferred**' **mahr** being payable at the time when the marriage is dissolved by divorce or death (see, Carroll 1982:218; Jacobson 1976; Khan 1994:119). In case the husband does not agree to pay **mahr** (i.e. the prompt **mahr**), the wife will reject to sleep with husband, to cook for him, and, etc. In the case of divorce, the **mahr** which is mentioned on the contract of marriage should be paid to the wife, and in the case of death also, the widow can take **mahr** from the husband's property, but it is very less or she may not take by saying '**mahr** free' to the corpse of her husband. In the village, the amount of **mahr** depends on the economic status of both families, but it is not below 5,000 Rupees. But, the Muslim **mahr** differs from the bride price that goes to the **bride's father** or brothers and not to the bride herself (see, Carroll 1983:218).

All Muslim brides are expected to bring dowries or **jodeke rakham** to the groom's homes. This institution is common to Hindus and Muslims in the village. The dowry includes the form of money and movable property, such as jewellery, cooking items, household furnishing and appliances, clothing, a motorcycle, and others (see, Appendix-3). The dowry is transferred to the bride before, at the time of, or shortly after the marriage. Detailed lists of dowry items are kept and if a marriage ends in divorce, a woman would take her dowry things away with her.

Regarding the divorce Carroll observes, "Muslim law confers supreme authority in marital relations on the husband, to such an extent that the husband can unilaterally and **extra-judicially** dissolve the matrimonial bond by pronouncement of the verbal formula of divorce (**talaq**)" (Carroll 1982:277). Carroll further mentions that, in *Hanafi* law a triple '**talaq**' is immediately effective and irrevocable (1982:283).

However, the Muslim wife has been entitled to judicial divorce on certain grounds such as desertion, cruelty, failure to maintain honesty, leprosy, and venereal disease, as well as the impotence of her husband and her husband's false accusation of adultery against her, **by** the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act, 1939. Moreover, she will be empowered to pronounce '**talaq**' on her husband's behalf in regard to her own marriage. This delegated right of **talaq (talaq-i-tafwid)**, in general, is helpful to the wife in the event of the contingency arising, to decide whether to effect a divorce or not in view of all circumstances (see, Carroll 1982, 1983).

In the village, both men and women can initiate a divorce, to the some extent. A man is empowered to divorce by uttering *talaq* three times, in front of the *khazi*, or at least two elder persons (one of them should be female) . However, in the period of the wife's menstruation, he should not pronounce *talaq* only after one month or some intervals he can utter *talaq* three times. With the *talaq*, the man immediately should pay the amount of *mahr* which was contracted on the marriage, moreover he should look after her at least three months and ten days which is called as *iddat*. After *iddat* period the woman can marry, but in the case of widow, she should wait at least four months for her remarriage. The woman also will initiate a divorce, though it will take place indirectly. She can secure a divorce by returning her to natal home with all materials which belonged to her. It is called *kulla*.

An informant says that unlike marriage, divorce is only family affair. After divorce both man and woman can marry any time, he says. It seems that there is not so much social or religious stigma for the divorced as well as the divorcee (cf, Ahmad 1976: xxvii; Khan 1994:143-145). After divorce, the children are taken by the man. It is said that marriage gives the husband the right to all the children who were borne to the couple, by *mahr* contract.

The Muslim law permits the practice of polygyny. In legal codes, a man can take wife up to four women at any given time, subject only to the proviso that he must treat his wives equally and justly. However, a stipulation in a marriage contract will be effected that the husband shall not marry an additional wife during the subsistence of the first union (see, Carroll 1982). It means the Muslim woman is not "absolutely defenceless against the possibility of her husband taking on a second or third wife" (Ahmed 1976:xxvi).

The Muslim women can protect themselves, through the marriage contract which contains a stipulation that the husband shall not marry an additional wife as long as the first marriage subsists (Carroll 1982:283) . Though there is no such stipulation in marriage contract, she can demand by the action of *kulla*, as soon as her husband takes a second wife.

The sister exchange marriage is neither preferred objected among the Muslims in the village. However, two **brothers-two** sisters, i.e. sibling set marriage is preferred particularly if the sisters have not their own brother. Because, in this case, probably the husbands will have chance to take or inherit the

property of the **wives'** family (see, Carroll 1991) . A man is allowed to take his wife's sister after his wife's death, while a woman cannot remarry with her husband's brother, whether it is after divorce or death of her husband.

The marriage choice is not bound by any geographical directions or limitations. The Muslim, it is said, is able to marry from anywhere, as long as the marriage conforms to the criteria of Muslim marriage rules. However, the Muslims express a preference for those who live in their physical vicinity.

### 5.6.3 Marriage practice among the Muslims

Marriage is arranged for the young people by the father or grandfather of the **family**. In choosing a mate for their offspring, they emphasize the previous relationship and economic or social status of the family. Economic considerations in terms of dowry play a significant role in arranging marriage. An informant says that if man is rich, he can marry any one. The rich Fakir also can marry anyone who belongs to other groups. However, he adds, marriage is a family affair, therefore, family background is considered as an important matter.

As regards the qualities of a girl as a daughter-in-law, usually they consider firstly family background (**waumsam**) next, the character of the girl, **qualification** (such as, education, religious attitudes or knowledge of *the Koran*, and, etc.) of the girl, amount of dowry, finally the personal attributes (**appearance**, colour, height and others) . Regarding the qualities of a male as a son-in-law, they emphasize firstly, the character and behaviour of a man. They say that a good husband is the one who works hard to support his family and does not spend money on drinking, gambling or other habits. Secondly, his family, and occupation and education are considered.

After indirect inquiries by a boy's or girl's family, if both family are satisfied, marriage negotiation will be conducted formally. A formal proposal is made and the details of marriage are such as expenditure, procession, **mahr** and other items decided between two families. After everything matches they decide the amount of dowry. The dowry varies in amount depending upon the bridegroom's economic status or education as well as his family's social **status**.

As soon as a marriage is settled, engagement ceremony is performed by both families in the presence of elderly relatives and **villagers**. The period between the engagement and marriage is usually a short one. It varies between one month to about one



year. With this period the amount of dowry (*jahez*) will be paid to the groom or groom's father.

The ritual of marriage (*nikah*) is usually a brief affair. The *kazi* who is the priest of Muslim marriage ceremony, firstly, reads *the Koran*, then he requests both the groom and the bride's father, for the agreement of the marriage, responsibility, and the other equipments (such as food, shelter, or etc.)

After the formal request, the *birde's* father in his absence, the paternal grand father, or the legally entitled to act as marriage guardian and the *bride*<sup>8</sup> as well as the bridegroom are asked for their consent to the marriage. If they agree, then they record their signatures (or thumb impressions) in the formal marriage register. The *kazi* then recites the holy *Koran*, following this he leads supplication for the well being of the newly wedded couple and their families.

When the ritual of *nikah* is over, the invited guests and relatives start giving presents in cash or kind. In the mean time, the bride's family or relatives display the dowry (*jahez*) which is given to the bride. Criticisms and judgements are made usually by the groom's relatives, whether the dowry has been given well or not.

Normally, almost all of marriages are conducted at the bride's house and moreover, most wedding expenses are also borne by the bride's family. After the ritual functions are over, the feast is served for all guests, relatives, or villages.

While leaving for her husband's house, generally on the same day of marriage, the bride usually indulges in a lot of weeping and wailing and leaves her parental home with great reluctance. She is lifted by her brother or a cousin and made to sit on the vehicle which is taken by the groom's party. When the members of the party slowly proceed through the streets, the musical bands start to play pipes and beat *drums*. The musical bands generally belong to Hindu low *castes*.

The post-marriage ritual performed by the bride and the groom is called *jumagi* which is performed on *the first Friday* or Wednesday after marriage. This is an occasion for the bride's and groom's families to gift the groom and the bride. The *jumagi* is performed *four* times, out of which two *are* performed at the bride's place while the other two take place at the groom's house. However, in *the last son's* case, the *jumagi* will be performed once more at his house. Because, they say, he is the last son, his parents *or* family show more emotional affection to him.

Most of the girls are married some years after puberty, however among low status Muslims, girls are married by the age of about fifteen or sixteen. The grooms over twenty years are common in the village. Although there is no bachelor, there are three unmarried adult females in the village, who are over thirty. Out of them, only one is physically handicapped as dumb, as well as she belongs to one poor Fakir family. The remaining two are normal physically and mentally. The reason why they didn't marry is unknown, since the families reject to reveal the reason.

#### 5.6.31 Types of **marriage** among the Muslims

In practice monogamy is an accepted pattern of marriage arrangement among the Muslims in the village and there is no polygynous union also, even though in some cases the union is issueless. And, though the accepted mode of residence at marriage is virilocal, but uxorilocal marriages also sometimes occur. In the village, only one case of uxorilocal marriage has been observed. In this case, the wife was the only child of her parents, therefore she married her father's elder brother's son, i.e. paternal parallel cousin, at the time, who had been staying in Hyderabad. This type of uxorilocal marriage is called as *ghar jamai*.

The remarriages of widow or divorcee are quite common, and no heavy stigma is attached to this among the Muslims in the village. However, if the widow has children, she may prefer to remain a widow. Usually the widow returns to her natal house after her husband's death. A divorced woman usually finds it difficult to get an unmarried man as a husband. But, it is said, if she is rich, she can find somewhat suitable husband.

Though there is no objection to a sororate marriage, in this village no single case was found out. In the case of sororate marriage, the deceased woman's parents are persuaded to give their second daughter in marriage to their deceased daughter's husband, if their deceased daughter leaves behind small children. But, it is said, such marriage is not obligatory, it only depends on the willingness of the girl's parents. However, the levirate marriage is not allowed both by rule of marriage and practice.

In the village, the sister exchange marriage is not allowed as a rule, though there is a strong tendency to arrange marriage within related **circles**. There is only one case of sister exchange marriage, but both the grooms and brides are related as MBD or **FZS**. In this case one brother (i.e. MBS) and two sisters (i.e.

MBDs) married a sister (i.e. FZD) and two brothers (i.e. FZSs). They say, it is not sister exchange marriage but a cousin marriage.

Whereas, two (or three) brothers - two (or three) sisters marriages **are** accepted, to some extent this type of marriage is preferred by the Muslims in the village. There are eight so called '**sibling set**' marriages among Muslims. Of them, six cases are previously related as the MBD/FZS, one is related to the FBD/FBS, to the grooms and the brides. Remaining one case had no relationship before the elder brother's marriage.

TABLE - 42  
TYPES OF MARRIAGE AMONG MUSLIMS

Category	Geneological relation to spouse before marriage	No. of marriage among		Total
		Ashraf	Ajlaf	
1.Cousin marriage	MBD	37	8	45
	FZD	4	7	11
	MZD	5	-	5
	FBD	4	-	4
2 . Inter-generation marriage	eZD		1	1
	FBSD		2	2
	MZSD	-	1	1
3.Other close kin/outline marriage	FFZDD	2	-	2
	FMZSD	-	1	1
	FBWZD	1	-	1
	FZHBWZD		1	1
	MZHB		1	1
	MMZSD	-	1	1
	MBWZD	1	-	1
	MBSWZ		1	1
	ZDHFZD		1	1
	BWZ	1	-	1
4.Distant kin marriages			3	3
5. Total kin marriages (1+2+3+4)		65	19	84
6. Total non-kin marriages		188	31	219
Total (5+6)		253	50	303

The practice of marriage largely depends upon the availability of close kin or cousin, their socio-economic status, the

personal or family advantage, and so forth. Table - 42 shows a strong bias in favour of immediate cousin marriage as opposed to more distantly related kins. The incidence of immediate cross cousin, particularly **matrilateral** cross cousin marriages, overwhelm the parallel cousin marriage or other kin marriage. Particularly, the data reveals that the incident of cross cousin marriage among Ajlafs shows very high per centage (78.9 per cent) compared to other kin marriages, however there is no single case of parallel cousin marriage among Ajlafs. This seems to be connected either to 'the imprint of the regional cultural environment on Muslim kinship and marriage **pattern**' (Ahmad 1976:XXV), or 'the **'survival'** of Hindu ways among local converts to **Islam**' (Vatuk 1996:228). The notion of proximity is represented in the strong preference of immediate cousin or kin.

Though the rule of marriage rejects the eZD marriage, there are two cases, one of them is a second marriage of both husband and wife. Both cases have occurred between poor families. In this case, neither the prescriptive kin terminology nor preferential rule determines or directs empirical behavior. Such marriages are rationalized by the people, by insisting that in the Muslim norm everybody should marry, so it is better to marry with wrong category of person than to remain a bachelor. In both these cases, the parties were economically poor and socially low, therefore they could not find out any proper mate. Moreover, one case took place between two divorced.

Though, in the rule of marriage, the people rejected the marriage with the FZD, Table - 42 shows that there is no distinction among other cousins, except matrilateral cross cousins, regarding to the preference or prohibition of a certain category of cousin, at least among the Ashrafs. On the contrary, the Fakir prefers FZD to MZD or **FBD**. Therefore, there is some consistent relationship between the behaviour of marriage and kinship terminology, among Ashrafs, while, among the Ajlafs, to some extent, the rules somewhat correspond to the behavior, but not exactly.

Of the 303 cases of marriage, eighty four (27.7 per cent) were kin marriages, while remaining 219 (72.3 per cent) were non kin marriages. Among kin marriages 45 (53.6 per cent) were the marriages with the MBD. The immediate bilateral cross cousin marriages are 56, whereas the immediate bilateral parallel cousin marriages are 9. Therefore in practice of marriage, the Muslims show a strong preference for the cousin marriage, particularly matrilateral cross cousin marriage. Since they have the requirement that the husband must be senior to his wife, it is difficult to find out a suitable cousin in general. Thus one can not marry, if he does not have a suitable one among his close **rela-**

tives. Moreover, in practice the senior bride is hardly available, it is almost impossible situation in the Muslim society because almost all Muslim girls get married with or immediately after their puberty.

Genealogical evidence suggests that there are no preference or rejection with regard to inter - or **intra-village** marital alliances. Moreover, there is no specific direction also. Of 303 unions which contain all the village residents and their siblings or children who married, 30 (10 per cent) cases were intra-village marriages. Among the inter-village marriages (273 cases), sixty eight couples either married out or in, from or to Hyderabad city. However, it does not mean that the village Muslims prefer to marry the people of Hyderabad. From the village, a lot of people have migrated to Hyderabad since Independence, either to seek jobs or for other reasons. Therefore, the Muslims in Kandi have many relatives in Hyderabad, rather than in other city or region. It is the main reason for high incidence of inter marriage between Hyderabad and Kandi. Of sixty eight unions, thirty seven men married the women of Hyderabad, while thirty one village women were married out to Hyderabad. So, there is little indication of preference for life in the village to life in the city, at least concerning to the marriage.

The preference for marriage among close relatives is either reinforced, particularly among the low and poor, or diverged, probably among the high and rich Muslims. It is mainly due to the consideration of economic factor or dowry. The divergence of wealth breaks the close circle and induces people to see outside for a suitable mate, usually among the people of higher socio-economic status people. On the contrary, among the poor people, mainly due to a large amount of dowry, if they look for a proper mate from outsiders, they prefer or force to marry close relatives who are similar in status to them. Therefore, the dowry or economic status creates another division between '**marriageable**' and '**unmarriageable**' among the Muslims also.

## Notes to Chapter - V

- 1) This phenomenon is described as '*Ashrafization*' which refers to a process of social mobility where those whose status is low in the hierarchy try to imitate the higher groups in their style of living, customs, manners and the like so that they may be ranked with the latter. However, it is distinguished from the term '*Islamization*' which refers to the process whereby groups and individuals wishing to distinguish themselves from non-Muslims rid themselves of the so-called **un-Islamic** customs and practices (see, Ahmad 1978c:190; Momin 1978:120-121).
- 2) **Sufism** or **Tasawwuf** is the mysticism within Islamic culture. The mystic or spiritual interpretation with the detailed ritual and cold formality has coexisted with the legal system of *the Koran* in Islam. Although the *Sufis* who profess the mystic principles of **sufism** differ in name, customs, dress, meditations, and recitations, they agree in their principle tenets and the necessity of blind submission to a **murshid**, or a inspired guide (see, Schwerin 1981).
- 3) *Shia* - the general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects. The starting point of all of which is the recognition of Ali as the **legitimate Calip** after the death of the Prophet. *Shias* refers to the followers of Ali, first cousin of Muhammad and the husband of his daughter Fatimah. The *Shias* maintain that Ali was the first legitimate **Imam** or **Calip**, or successor to the **Propet**. And, therefore, they reject Abu Bakir, **Umar**, and **Usman**, the first three **Calips** of the **Sunni** Muslims, as their opponents.

*Sunni* - One of the path. The term generally applied to the large sect of Muslims who acknowledge the first four **Calips** to have been the rightful successor of Muhammad. The name *Sunni* is commonly given to orthodox Muslims, because in their rule of faith the *Sunna*, or traditional teachings of the Prophet, is added to **the Koran**.
- 4) In the absence of a son, the daughter takes a Koranic share of one-half, or two-third, collectively, if there are two or more daughters (see, Carroll 1983:219). "In respect of inheritance of your children", *the Koran* says, "God **commandeth** you to give the male the proportion of two females and if they be only female, two or more, they shall have togeth-

er two-thirds of what one hath left behind; but if only one, she shall have the half" {Koran, Chapter 4, 11. translated by Latif 1969) .

- 5) The **phenomenon** of seclusion, isolation and segregation of Muslim women is called **purdah**. The Muslim women have been veiled and sequestered to at least some extent, and ideally remain in public. Such feminine veiling and seclusion are referred to as **purdah**, from Persian word for curtain (see, Jacobson 1976; Jaffery 1979) .
- 6) **The Koran** says; "And marry not women whom your fathers had married [...] Forbidden to you in marriage are your mothers and your daughters and your sisters and your father's sisters, and your mother's sisters and your brother's daughters and your sister's daughters and the mothers who have fostered you and your **foster-sisters** and the mothers of your wives and your step-daughters whom you have brought up, born of your wives unto whom you have gone in. [...] And forbidden to you are the wives of your sons, [...] and two sisters together [...] And (forbidden to you in marriage) are wedded women also except those taken captive (**Al-Quran**, Chapter 4:22-24) .
- 7) **Hanafi** law is one of the four surviving schools of *Sunni* Islamic law. The majority of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent are **Hanafis**. Remaining other laws are **Shafi'i**, **Maliki** and **Hanbali** (see, Carroll 1982:278, 1983) .
- 8) It is said that "no Muslim marriage can be solemnized on the basis of a consent given by the **girl's** parents or guardians alone" (Saiyed 1976:242). That is, the bride's consent to her marriage is obligatory. However, in Shafi'i law the father (in his absence paternal grandfather or legally appointed guardian) can dispose his daughter in marriage without her consent, either in her minority or majority as long as she is a virgin. While in case of the divorce or widow, their consent is not only necessary but also it is sufficient to effect a valid marriage. Under the *Hanafi* law, the father (in his absence, paternal grandfather or guardian) can contract the minor child in a valid marriage, the consent or presence of the child is not necessary. But, if she is a major, the consent of the girl is required. In **the** context of Muslim marriage, majority is attained either by the onset of physical puberty or the completion of fifteen years (see, Carroll 1983:214-215) .

## **CHAPTER - VI**

### ***THE INDIVIDUAL, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES***



## 6.1 Introduction

In the predominant agro-based socio-economic structure in India, the family and caste provide an individual with an enduring and bounded social field. They determine the nature and boundaries of social relationship **for an individual**. In other words, in traditional or rural society, groups such as village community, caste, and other kinship based organization had sharply defined the boundaries. But today the situation is somewhat **different**. Boundaries between some of these groups tend to be blurred or broken down. So, there is an increasing degree of interpersonal relationships across the group boundaries. Beteille and Srinivas (1992:142) observe that in modern India **"the** allegiance of the individual to his village, his sub-caste and his lineage has, to some extent, loosened. Along with this, the individual is being progressively drawn into networks of interpersonal relations which cut right across the boundaries of village, sub-caste and lineage". The formation of interpersonal networks and groups primarily depends on the individual's interest, and the inadequacy of traditional collectivities to meet them.

In the present chapter the value of individuality in the context of socio-economic and political domain will be analysed, and the structure and composition of voluntary association will be discussed in accordance with the role of individual **leaders**. Finally, the alliance or realliance of factions will be presented through the panchayat and other elections.

## 6.2 The Individual

Indians are said to value collective identities, i.e. the identities of caste and family, rather than the identities of individuals (see, Dumont 1970a:9). In other words, Indian society has been dominated by institutions of joint family, caste, and village community which are not individualistic but collectivistic (see, Shah 1975). According to Dumont, actions are guided by what benefits and maintains these groups rather than by the person's own motivations and self-interests. That is, each lives for the interest of society not for himself or herself (Dumont 1970a:9: 1970b).

Dumont distinguishes two different meanings of the term '**individual**': first, "the empirical agent, present in every society", **and** second, "the rational being and normative subject of institutions" (1970a:9). According to Dumont, the former, that is **the** empirical agent, stands for the self-conscious physical entity, and the latter, for the idea of the individual as a

cultural value. In his view, the term '**individual**' should be used only when the idea of the individual is valued in a society. He insists that "the individual is a value, or rather part of a configuration of values *sui generis*", therefore, "one will thereby avoid inadvertently attributing the presence of the individual to societies in which he is not recognized, and also avoid making him a universal unit of comparison or element of reference" (Dumont 1970a:9). In other words, conceptualization of the individual as a value is intimately linked to modern western values of equality and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as the value that support the idea of the individual (see, Jaer 1987; Mines 1996:5).

So, although the individual as an '**empirical agent**' exists in India as everywhere (Dumont 1970a:9), Hindu culture stresses collective identities over those of the individual. Therefore, the role of the individual and the individual activities are overlooked or sometimes rejected as a cause of history and as an agent of social mobility (see, Dumont 1970b; Silverberg 1968).

Therefore, on the one hand, Indian actions are attributed to social groups, such as caste, and joint family (in this connection the individual '**Hindu**' has been absorbed in the collective consciousness the orientation of Indian society is toward the collective whole). While on the other, the individuality has been undervalued because of the notion of individualism which is rooted in a western notion, that is used for comparison between '**traditional**' Indian and '**modern**' western society. According to Dumont the values of equality and liberty, which attribute to the **western-style** individualism, are absent from traditional Indian thinking<sup>1</sup> (see, Dumont 1970a:9-10; Mines 1992; Jaer 1987).

But unlike Dumont's insistence, Indians also recognize personal uniqueness, value achievement, and assess personal motivation and reputation. And a sense of individuality is central to explain **who they** are, to understand others, and to conceive their society (see, Mines 1996). In the perspective of Indians, the concepts such as, '**individual**', '**agency**', '**personal identity**', '**responsibility**', etc., are important (see, Jaer 1987:356). That is, not only Indians recognize individuality as an essential feature of ordinary life, but also individuality plays a vital role in their life. The value of individuality is distinguished by several features, such as caste, family reputation, status within group, age, and the like. One's individual achievements, generosity, and personal reputation are important attributes to establish and maintain interpersonal and intergroup relationships.

Therefore, in this context, the individual as an agent, rather than as a value, is more helpful to understand the role of individual in 'modern' Indian society. Jaer also insists that "the concept of 'action' will prove a better starting point" (1987:359), not the concept of 'value', for an interpretation of Hindu society. In Dumont's so-called, 'hierarchical-collectivist' view which sees the concept of person only within the context of ideology, and where the person is depicted as passive without any mechanism for generating change, there is no room for the individual autonomy, personal interests and gain-oriented economic behavior (see, Mines 1988:576). The individual, to some extents, lacks autonomy and is perceived as having the collective identity of his or her family and caste. In other words, "an Indian's personal identity is commingled with the inseparable from these groups" (Mines 1996:3).

Along with the new political, economic and social changes, the introduction of universal franchise, opened up the process for the political participation of all equally, through its liberal, democratic and secular ideology, on the one hand. While on the other, the spread of modern commercial enterprise brought people together on the basis of individually achieved qualities rather than on the ascribed qualities. In other words, as Simmel (1971a:294) indicates "individual freedom and the expansion of commercial enterprises are interdependent". Through competition the speciality of the individual will be developed, the cash economy puts each individual in a free competitive struggle with each other (see, Simmel 1971a:277).

### 6.3 The Voluntary Association

As the bonds of primary group (such as, family and caste) membership become weak, the voluntary associations begin to play significant role in an individual's civic life. The growth of voluntary association brings people together on the basis of individually achieved qualities rather than on the ascribed status. The individual participates in the voluntary association mainly for the satisfaction of his differential needs and interests.

Here, the 'voluntary association' refers to statuses primarily recruited 'voluntarily' (see, Brown 1976:173), and it is not based on family or caste, government, religion or economic firms (see, Knoke 1986; Popilarz & McPherson 1995; Shah 1975), but on the action of individuals. Though, in reality, most associations take principles of equalitarian and voluntary participation (see, Knoke 1986:2), yet in practice, the voluntary association restricts its members and imposes uniformity upon them so

far as its organizational goal requires. However, in other matters, it allows members complete freedom and tolerates every individuality and heterogeneity of their personalities (see, **Simmel 1971b:256**). The proliferation of voluntary association, to some extent, is marked as a token of modern society (see, Brown 1976). Shah (1975:123) also observes that "the voluntary association is one of the new social structures of the modern large-scale society...". Some associations are acting as interest groups, so as to make attempts to influence governmental decisions or to get certain benefits.

On the one hand the voluntary association paves the way to link people who belong to different castes, and to expedite the transmission from **status-bound** ascriptive social order to one which give a contractual relations based personal choice on the other. However, the voluntary associations are overwhelmingly '**homogeneous**' (Popilaz & McPherson 1995:699), and show an '**even spread**' of membership criteria (Mayer 1966:97). People, to some extent, associate with '**like-minded**' persons (Shah 1975:124), therefore, the association shows, "**homophily** the tendency of people in friendship pairs to be similar" (McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1987:370). Since, voluntary associations recruit through friendship network of their members, the members are very similar to their contacts within organization. That is, people associate with others who are similar in **socio-demographic** characteristics.

On the other hand, the voluntary association itself serves as a sort of interstitial glue in the hierarchical society. In this context, the voluntary association is **heterogeneous**. On the composition of membership, it produces substantial homogeneity on some social dimensions. While the heterogeneity, on certain characteristics, serves integrative functions, the homogeneity is the integrating and also a sorting mechanism (see, McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1986, 1987; Shah 1975).

In the following sub-units, the individual's activities will be scrutinized through the formation and function of the voluntary association<sup>3</sup>, such as '**Youth Clubs**', and '**Chit Funds**' focussing mainly on, how to mobilize the constituent and utilize its organization by the individual, and on the structure and function of the voluntary association itself. With the occupational **diversification** and caste change, almost all networks also are changing across caste boundaries, which are based on an individual's choice. Given network change, the study of voluntary organizations become essential, such as chit funds, youth club, or etc (see, Barnett 1975:164).

### 6.3.1 Youth Clubs in the Village

In the village, there are total ten Youth Clubs (*Yuvajana Sangams*) which were developed on the basis of locality or residence and/or caste. Of them, three exist only nominally, either as a different name of caste committee with almost same members (eg., Yadav **Sangam**) , or as an organization with only a president and/or one or two staffs (e.g., the '**Kummari Youth Club**' and the '**Waddera Youth Club**'). Another youth club called '**Shivaji Yuvajana Sangam**' was developed on the basis of locality as well as castes, whose members are recruited from the Dore and the Goud castes. Both of these castes are living in the same geographical boundary and have similar economic and religious status. However, the *Harijans* formed three different youth clubs on the basis of their residential territory.

The remaining three youth clubs were developed on the basis of locality and to some extent, across the caste boundaries. These are most actively engaged as political 'teams' or 'groups' for their leaders or others. Two of them ('**Hanuman Youths Club**' and '**Sneha Youth Club**') are formed in old Kandi, supported by the political leader N. Reddy and R. Reddy respectively. The third one ('**Adarsha Youth Club**') is developed in new Kandi boundary.

Chronologically the *Harijan* youth clubs were formed first, between 1985 and 1987. In 1985, '**Subhash Chandra Bose Club**' was formed by Babu, then '**Ambedkar Club**' was instituted under the lead of **Kesaram**. Both clubs were created without compromise between the two leaders for fear of each other's leadership. Another *Harijan* youth club was also developed on the basis of the locality of residence of the members. But it was formed wholly for the political reasons in the beginning. The organizer, who was one of the *Harijan* leaders was elected as President of Mandal Parishad (since the President position of Mandal Parishad was reserved for SC category) . After the election, he recognized the need of forming his own political team or group. So, he opened up one more '**Ambedkar Youth Club**' as his political core group in his residential boundary, i.e, old Kandi Harijan residence, in 1987. However, he migrated to BHEL where he got job and his family resided after his tenure was over, but he is still keeping his address and house in **Kandi**. After his migration the Youth Club (Star Ambedkar Youth Club) lost the center, therefore became weak, with its members scattered.

After the 1987 Panchayat election, N. Reddy who was defeated by R. Reddy, also recognized the importance of political core group. Soon after the election, he supported, instigated and encouraged the Reddy youths including his own son to organize a

youth club. Consequently, the '**Hanuman Youth Club**' was organized in 1989 with the support of local leader (**MLA**) of the Congress party. N. Reddy's son S. Reddy has occupied the president's position. Until now, this club is most successfully organized and is maintaining its strong solidarity between its members and the president, inspite of some conflicts. But due to this conflict some members seceded from the club, and formed another youth club ('**Sneha Youth Club**') with other non-members by the support of R. Reddy in 1995, a few months before the Panchayat and the Cooperative society elections. A member non-Reddy of this club says, '**Hanuman Youth Club**' is Reddy's club. It is organized by the group of N. Reddy supporters. They do not allow any one to join the Youth Club other than the member of their own group. So, we organized our own club".

The formations of **Harijan Youth Clubs** and **Hanuman Youth Club**, encouraged the youths who resided in new Kandi area to organize their own youth club. Consequently around 1992-93, one more Youth Club ('**Adarsha Youth Club**') came into being on the basis of locality of residence of members. This club is most heterogeneous on the structure of membership, namely it consist of members of several different castes. However, other youth clubs which constitute members of single or two castes were formed around the 1990s. But it is not clear when and how exactly they were formed, since they exist nominally.

The aim of such youth clubs was to carry out various economic, political, social and educational reforms directly related to changing their condition of living. For instance, they aimed at improving water supplies and street lights, repairing inside road, conducting cultural programs and helping the members and others in the community. While the caste based youth clubs such as the '**Harijan Youth Clubs**' indulge, mainly, in social welfare of their own communities so as to improve the condition of their life and emphasise the spirit of equality. Those youth clubs whose memberships are not limited to certain caste only, show the solidarity of group and political activity in the village. The former rely on the construction und maintenance of their official building mostly upon the support of government, and there is not an entry **fee** or a membership **fee**.

While on the case of the latter, they themselves raise money for constructing the official building and purchasing sports goods and others (e.g. T.V., newspaper, etc.), and they collect entry charge and monthly membership fees, too. Moreover, the former has no village level leader, therefore they try to gain benefits by keeping balance between two or more rival leaders, or by making alliance with one of the main political groups during

the competition. However, the latter show a clear support of certain leader who helps the youth club directly or indirectly at various levels.

In spite of their differences of aims of club and basis of membership, the structure of all these clubs is very much similar to each other. The composition and size of groups show, more or less, no difference between them. Since, all groups recruit through the caste membership, or friendship network, and territorial selection at the level of population, the organizations favor '**like-minded**' people as their members. The groups are overwhelmingly homogeneous, in terms of age, education socio-economic status, residences, or, in some cases, the membership of caste. But, this group homogeneity acts as a barrier to social integration, contrary to the general belief that voluntary groups function as an "interstitial glue" (McPherson & Smith-Lovin 1986:61), or to integrate larger inner structure of the society to the whole community (Shah 1975:123) .

Though, the youth clubs serve as a mechanism of integrating functions in micro level, the social dimensions operate to produce a sort of sorting mechanism also. In this regard, Popilarz and McPherson (1995:699) are worth quoting: "When people are segregated into homogeneous groups, access to the important resources that these groups afford inevitably becomes concentrated in small social circles rather than dispersed in the general population". That is, people associate with others who are similar in socio-demographic characteristics, but just this group homogeneity inhibits the member in contact with dissimilar ones. The group homogeneity, to some extent, magnifies social differences rather than mitigating them. In this process, the internal network ties keeping members in the group, but separating non-members from the group. So, there is no competition of other groups for members.

The youth clubs tend to keep distinctive social niches, to some elements other than caste or kin group for the members. They offer the opportunities for satisfying expressive needs of its members, by the formulation of new roles and relationships. The clubs support a much greater variety of ranks and titles than is necessary to the functioning of the organization. The formal structure of all the clubs is highly **hierarchical**. Though there is a provision in each constitution for regular **elections**, in fact selection for office is usually by consensus rather than by election. Each organization has a president and usually the founder president or eminent president holds the office several years continuously without challenge. In addition, there are other posts such as for the Vice-president, General Secretary, Treasur-

er, and other Secretaries (e.g., Joint-Secretary, Sports-Secretary, etc.). The holdings of these offices are, almost in all cases, formal honours often conferred on people who have contributed to the organization through their active roles. Except in one club (Adarsha Youth Club), the same people tend to hold office (especially in President's post) for last several years in all associations in the village.

Moreover, there is a striking contrast between the **Harijan** Youth Clubs and the remainders with regard to the formulation and structure of the club. All three Harijan associations are registered with the government either with **S.C. Co-operative Office** ('**Ambedkar**' and '**Subhash Chandra Bose**') or with Regional Mandal Office ('**Star Ambedkar**<sup>1</sup>'). Mainly for the purpose of getting financial support from the Government, they registered Youth Clubs as the Association of S.C. communities. In other instances, the caste-based associations are weak and no solidarity is maintained among the members, while the youth clubs which were developed on the basis of locality and on the political purpose, represent new formulation of roles and relationships as a sort of political team or group, in the village level.

However, the caste-based youth clubs have brought the conflicts between the traditional institutions or elders and the youths, for grasping the hegemony of political and ritual affair in their communities. Although the bonds among the members of the primary group are waning, the caste and its traditional institutions have a significant role to play in their lives. Their importance is not neglected especially during the ritual activities by the custom. For instance, an informant who is an elderly *Harijan* of new Kandi says: "**We** have no specific caste association. The Youth Club is just a gathering of some young persons. Whenever, there is problem within our community, we elders (**pedda manchis**) discuss and decide whatever it is". In contrast to this view, the President of '**Ambedkar Youth Club**' insists: "Though there are *pedda manchis* in the community (as a traditional institutions), they are not able to solve the problem which is connected to the government or the police. Since they are illiterate and old, it was difficult for them to submit any official petition or application either before Panchayat or any other Government offices, for our social welfare, housing, street light, drainage, or etc. Therefore, we young generation organized '**Ambedkar Youth Club**' by the support of the community leaders (including his father, **Kesaram**)".

Nowadays, this association ('**Ambedkar Youth Club**') represents as a substitute body for their community to the outsider, mostly politically and **bureaucratically**. However, within the



community itself, it has not enjoyed its prestige or authority. In 1994, for example, this youth club arranged a **Pochamma** puja in their community with the intention of expanding their activities, collecting more donations and furthering group solidarity. But in 1995, the **puja** was replaced by traditional priests or elders (**Pedda-Madiga**) who have inherited its role and position. It means that though the Youth Club gained a sort of political role, it could not replace the old traditional institution, especially in ritual domains.

For another example, there have been conflicts and **gles**, between two rival groups to gain the dominant position within the '**Subhash Chandra Bose Youth Club**', after it was organized. These faction groups were developed on the basis of the family and kin groups within the locality. On the marriage day of the younger brother of Babu (who is the founder president of the club), the **conflict** reached the peak between the two rival parties or groups. A trivial quarrel became a fuss and fight between **Babu's** brother and Krishtaya who is a rival of Babu, took place. Finally, the police moved into the village and arrested some of them. With the help of Pandu, the village BJP leader, and Malaya the SC leader (he is **Krishtaya's** grand father), the arrestees were released **after** paying the amount of **Rs.1,500/-** as a fine. Behind this release, there was a help of a local BJP leader who was also the Mandal Municipal Chairman. After this incidence, two rival faction were totally separated. On the occasion of *pochamma puja* in 1995, these factions organised the *puja* separately, as if they competed each other the strength of faction, the decoration of **bonallu** or the size of scape-goat. The leaders of two factions produced friction concerning their job (both are the contractors of building-painting, and both are economically and socially in similar status in their community). Therefore, the conflict had been accentuated between two ambitious leaders within their own communities.

However, on the other hand, the associations which were formed on the basis of a caste, exist and are treated as a kind of attached organizations of the caste (in the case of the Yadav, Waddera, and **Kummari** youth clubs), or the ones which were established as a sort of cooperative body of two neighboring castes (e.g. the Dore & Goud combined youth club, **Shivaji Yubajana Sangham**), represent as a symbolic body rather than practical organization. Therefore, in both these cases, there is little conflict between the elder and **the** young, or among individual **members**.

**TABLE - 43**  
**THE SALIENT FEATURES OF THE SEVEN YOUTH CLUBS**

Same of club Sponsor	Caste of President	No. of (age)	Castes of member	Location members (No.)	Leader
Hanuman	Reddy (27)	28(-30)	Reddy (14), Vaddla (7), Chakalli (2), Thakur (1), Muduraju (3), Ausalli (1)	Old Kandi	N.Reddy (ex-sar Congress Par
Sneha	Lingayat (23)	18	Yadav (4), Reddy (3), Goud (1), Kummari (1), Muduraju (1), Chakalli (1) Mochi (1), Mangalli (3), Lingayat (1), Muslim (2)	Old Kandi	R.Reddy (ex-sar Congress Par
Adarsha	Padmasalle (38)	45	Padmasalle (10), Muduraju (11), Goud (3) Reddy (3), Kummari (1), Komati (7) Ausalli (2), Lingayat (4), Brahman (1) Kummari (1), Yadav (1), Muslim (1)	New Kandi	Shankar Goud (Sarpanch) BJP
Ambedkar	Madiga (29)	12	Harijan (Mala, Madiga)	New Kandi	Kesaram TDP or Communist Party
S'Chandra Bose	Madiga (38)	-	Harijan (Madiga)	New Kandi	Babu (President of club)
Star Ambedkar	Mala (30)		Harijan (Mala, Madiga)	Old Kandi	Jella (ex-Manda President) Das President)
Shivaji	Dore (37)	24	Goud (8), Dore (13), Muduraju (2) Arekatika (1)	New Kandi	Shankar Goud (Sarpanch)
Sri Pandu Ranga , Waddera	-	-	Waddera	New Kandi	
fiolla Yadav	-	-	Yadav	Old Kandi	
Sri Panduranga Adarasha	•	-	Kummari	New Kandi	

In the cases of youth clubs which were developed on the basis of the locality of residence of their members, the associations insists more on the solidarity of the members than on other ends. Moreover, these associations have been organized and maintained financially independently, rather than by the support of the Government. So, the members show high prestige and more integrative attitude, since they joined **voluntarily**, with individual choice. The conflicts have taken place between the members of different rival associations, rather than within members. Compared to others, these associations consist of high educated and relatively same age group members.

The appearance of associations seems to be linked with new forms of political activity. For instance, all of the youth clubs rfere created after the introduction of new **panchayat** election system, namely, the direct election for the *Sarpanch* and presi-

**dentship** of Mandal Panchayats. In this situation, the associations are important as a means of organizing people in order to achieve the prize in the political competition.

But, since the elections take place every five years or so they need a kind of mechanism or opportunity to keep the organization as a united body, and to combine members together. They seek the solution through Ganesha festival {Vinayaka **Chathurthi**}<sup>4</sup> and the birthday of the God or the person who are connected to name of each associations, such as Rama ('**Hanuman Youth Club**'), Krishna PYadav Youth Club'), Ambedkar ('**Ambedkar Youth Club**'), and Subhash Chandra Bose ('**Subhas Chandra Bose Youth Club**'). The Ganesh festival is observed by all associations, while other birthday functions are celebrated by the concerned association only.

The **elephant-headed** God is the most popular of the Hindu Gods. The Ganesha festival which was more popular in Maharashtra, has been promoted as one that would be an ideal occasion for the community in the village. The Ganesh festival is treated as the festival of the youths. Every youth club collects money from the neighbourhood and other villagers including the political leaders, and sets up an idol on the corner of the street. The eleven-day long festival has become a characteristic feature of the activity of youth clubs. Each association spends high expenditure on purchasing an idol and decorating it. It looks like a kind of the competition; as if it show which club set up the biggest idol and decorated the best. The Ganesha festival offers individual members to identify and confirm an affection or affiliation to their association and to each other. That is, it has been adopted as an opportunity to unite **in-members** and to make a display of the existence and solidarity of the association to outsiders. The details of the relationship with the leader and the youth clubs, and the role of youth club in political domain will be described in the next part (i.e. 6.4.3).

### 6.3.2 Chit Funds

The process of **differentiations** characterizes modern societies. New structures arise to assume new functions or to take on functions once performed by other structures. The differentiations occur within social structures as new occupation emerge, new educational institutions develop and new types of communities appear. As more and more people make use of the new educational system and the new occupational **system**, an increasing number of them begin to appreciate that consideration of caste and community ought not to prevail in the field of economic competition. However, the free competition on the basis of formal

equality of opportunity, in fact, leads to an increase of the disparity between individuals rather than a decrease (see, Bêteille 1992a: 226-9) .

The interpersonal network is rapidly expanding nowadays due to three factors - occupational **diversification**, substantialization and conipartmentalization. The occupational **diversification**, the new educational system and the appearance of new types of associations have helped to change and expand the individual networks: from the relatively limited, traditional network, such as marriage alliance network, kinship or caste, to individual centered network, such as friendship network which is based on age, education, occupation, and residence, across the caste boundaries. By 'substantialization', the individual is coming away from the whole which conceived on the model of the person. And the '**compartmentalization**' helps to reduce conflicts by separating the conduct and norms of work and residence, and of inside and outside house (see, Barnett 1975; Fuller 1996) .

In the given network of change, the study of voluntary associations, such as chit funds and youth clubs become essential . A consideration of networks or association needs to understand the caste change and the individuality in the wider society. The formation of networks of chit funds primarily depends on the nature of interests and inadequacy of traditional collectives as well as new economic institutions to meet them. Geertz (1962:242) has defined the chit funds, that is rotating credit association, as "an intermediate" institution grouping up within peasant social stature, to harmonize agrarian economic patterns with commercial ones, to act as a bridge between peasant and trader attitudes toward money and its cases. That is, Geertz conceptualizes the rotating credit association as a "middle rung" economic institution which bridges the gap between agrarian and commercial, economic patterns. Furthermore he argues that the involvement in such associations trains persons to participate in national socio-economic institutions and thus facilitates modernization of developing nations. However, the rotating credit association serves, in urban context, as an adaptive mechanism which provides an alternative source where the national economic institutions simply cannot absorb or utilize the abilities of total population (see, Kurtz 1973) .

The chit fund is called by a lot of different names, region by region: such as, **kye** (Korea), **dhikuris** (Nepal), **esusu** (Yoruba), **arisan** (Java), **cundina** (U.S. and Mexico), **tanda** (Mexico), and other numerous names (see, Bascom 1952; Camphell & Ann 1962; Chhetri 1995; Geertz 1962; Kurtz 1973; Messerschmidt 1978; Miracle, et al. 1980; Shanmugam 1991; Velez-I 1982; and others). This voluntary association is generally known as the rotating

credit association or the rotating savings and credit association.

A rotating credit association refers to an association which consists of a core of participants, each of whom agrees to make regular contributions to a fund, with specific amounts at regular intervals, which is given each members of the association in turn, at specified times and at fixed intervals (see, Geertz 1962; Kurtz 1973)<sup>5</sup>. The key concept is being regular contribution with the pool of funds being rotated.

The promoter or organizer, who is called '**agent**' in the village and "**foremen**" in the chit fund act, selects 12 to 25 persons through his friendship, neighborhood, or other networks, in the village or in some cases outside village also. The selected persons are almost always those whom the organizer knows very well and trusts. Personal relationship and trust are said to be imperative, since there is no written document exists except one in the village (see, Appendix-4), and the association operates on mutual trust and understanding. Moreover, all the associations which are operated in the village, are not registered. The Chit Fund Act, 1982 prohibits any chit which cooperates without obtaining the sanction of the State Government<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, the organizer as well as the contributors, or '**members**' called by the villager, need the '**risk free**' contributors and organizer of their association. Because they cannot sanction any defaulter legally (except socially). Default is a problem of all rotating credit associations. Sanctions against default emanate from the local membership through such tactics as gossips, ostracism or violence.

For instance, once a **Komati** who organized one chit fund worth Rs.30,000 with 30 contributors, embezzled it. The enraged contributors rushed to his house, made a protest and took the holds of his house facilities and other valuables. Since then he has been shunned by the people and not allowed to join any association. In a **trust-based** society, the identity and reputation of an individual can be the critical factors determining his public life effectively. The **Kommati** had been ostracized, and it was unlikely that he would ever again venture to organize or even contribute to any association.

Therefore, the organizers are almost always well known members **or leaders** in the village, and are also comparatively rich or well-paid job holders. If a contributor absconds, the organizer is wholly responsible for the dues of the person. This is one of the reasons for the organizer to enjoy certain benefits, such as agent commission. Maintaining good relation-

ships with members is one of the most essential things for successful management of the association. The most required character of the organizer is **trust**. He is evaluated by the degree of trust which he has in the reliability of a relationship, in terms of other people.

#### 6.3.21 Types of Fund

Chit funds are established among friends, neighbours, or members of a caste and an organization in the village or across the village boundary. The participants of the chit funds are not restricted to a certain caste or class, or sex, education, age, and, etc. There are three types of chit funds, according to the main purpose of participants or that of the organization. They are, roughly, (i) saving purpose, (ii) solidarity purpose, and (iii) charity purpose chit **funds**. But all chits funds are based upon monetary transactions, there is no grain or livestock chit funds in the village, each of these will be discussed below.

##### 6.3.211 The saving purpose chit funds

The saving purpose chit funds are popular, and take a form of commission chit fund (see, Anderson 1966). This incorporates a device for allocating interest and remunerating the organizer by giving the fund each time the highest bidder of reduction. Under the bidding procedure, a participant who bids the higher reduction will take the residue of the total amount of the contributions, minus the reduction. The money which is left by the bidding will be saved, and if the amount reached more or less total amount of one time chit fund, it will be one more extra chit. For example, one of the funds was made up of 20 members paying **Rs.** 100 a month each, to provide a total fund of **Rs.** 2000 at each chit. At the beginning chit, the bidding is high. There were six extra chits which have been accumulated by the bidding, namely the participants paid their contributions 17 times rather than 20 times. Every contributor received **Rs.** 1,000-2,000 in cash at his turn by paying **Rs.** 1,700 (or less) through 17 months.

The organizer takes his commission, equivalent either to the total amount of one chit at a time, or three per cent of total amount of chit at every chit draws. The former device, i.e. one chit for agent's commission, issued for the less amount of chit funds, while the latter, i.e. three per cent of one chit at every chit, used for high amount of chit **funds**. In some cases, the total amount of funds is as high as **Rs.** 50,000. In such cases the organizer or agent takes three per cent of the amount as his commission from the total amount that remaining after the bid at each chit, but if there is no bidding, he takes three per cent of

the total amount of chit as his commission. While, in the case of the chit funds in which the organizer takes the amount of one chit as his commission, generally he takes third or fourth funds, without bidding, that is, there is one more extra commission chit for the organizer, other than for the participants.

The rate of bidding goes on high at the beginning chit or if several participants need cash desperately. The highest bidder takes the total amount of chit funds, after reduction of his bidding. The remaining amount after paying to the bidder is then saved for another extra chit. Therefore, there is always high bidding at first several chit funds since the higher the bidding, the more the extra chits<sup>7</sup> will result.

Table - 44 shows the process of a chit fund mentioned above, which presents the amount of bidding, the number and the turn of extra chit funds, and etc.

TABLE - 44  
THE PROCESS OF CHIT FUNDS WHICH IS MADE UP OF  
20 MEMBERS BY PAYING **Rs.100** PER MONTH

Order	Month of fund	Amount of bidding	Amount paid
1	8-10-93	650	<b>1,350</b>
2	8-11-93	1000	<b>1,000</b>
3	8-11-93	550	1,150 (extra)
4	8-12-93	-	2,000 (agent <b>commi-</b>
5	8-01-94	720	1,280 <b>ssion)**</b>
6	8-02-94	550	1,450
7	8-02-94	600	1,400 (extra)
8	8-03-94	690	1,310
9	8-04-94	520	1,480
10	8-04-94	550	<b>1,450</b> (extra)
11	8-05-94	600	1,400
12	8-06-94	640	1,360
13	8-07-94	500	1,500
14	8-07-94	500	1,500 (extra)
15	8-08-94	225	1,775
16	8-09-94	205	1,795
17	8-10-94	210	1,790
18	8-11-94	150	1,850
19	8-12-94	50	1,950
20	8-01-95	-	2,000
21	8-02-95	-	2,000

Each extra chit was made the amount of bid and interest.

One chit fund was paid as agent commission, but the remaining amount of bid **which** was accumulated from 14th to 19th meeting was distributed to each member, after deducting the amount which was supplemented by the agent at the second and third extra chits.

Another device of chit funds is money lending for the participants only. The amount which is accumulated through bidding is given to the participant as a loan with relatively low interest, generally, of two to four per cent. This kind of money loan, that should be refunded after one month, namely next paying time of contributions is called '**tukudha**'. The interests collected through loans are also accumulated with the amount of bidding. And there will be one more chit fund, when the money which is accumulated through biddings plus interests amounts to roughly that of one chit. The amount of a loan does not exceed one member's contribution.

The villagers reported that this type of chit funds had been introduced there by a **Komati** in the late 1950s<sup>8</sup>. Nowadays, there are about ten agents who have organized two to four chit funds simultaneously or consecutively. The motive of the ordinary participant in commission fund is to accumulate lump sums of money. But there is no social meeting of members, unlike in Java (see, Geetz 1962) and moreover little horizontal relations exist between the participants. This type of the rotating credit association has been developed on the basis of the organizer's reputation and ability, rather than upon an agreement among the **contributors**.

But the organizer's motives are more complex. To a degree, his goal too is savings. Also, he can increase his income with his allotments of money as a commission. Managing chit fund itself has become a major business enterprise at the village. For example, a **Komati** has taken managing chit funds as his main job, he is managing four chit funds simultaneously, ranging from the amount of **Rs.** 25,000 to **Rs.** 50,000. In addition, he has served as money-lender for several years. For him, the management of rotating credit association has become a significant and regular part of his business, after he retired from a lecturership of a college.

The reasons put forward by people for preferring the rotating credit association to financial institutions were varied. For most of the people, it seems to be a shortcut route to make or get money. When funds are needed urgently, the commission chit funds is said to be the best source. Since financial institutions, such as Banks or Cooperative Societies ask too many pre-conditional questions, and take long time to get money, if the loans would be released. Moreover, financial institutions tend to prefer big and established businessmen. And they insist on the guarantors or tangible assets as collateral security. Therefore, it is **difficult** for a petty businessman or the general householders to get loan from financial institutions. The rigidity of the



terms and conditions of loans and the cumbersome paperwork process also are some of the main factors that inhibit or put a barrier on the general householders from approaching the financial institutions (see, Chhetri 1995; **Shanmugam** 1991). In addition, the inadequacy of banking **infrastructure**, shortage of staff, delayed disposal of loan applications, insistence on security, prescription of unrealistic loan **repayment**, and, etc. have encouraged malpractices and has resulted in the exclusion of the poor (*Seventh Five Year Plan*, India. Vol. II: 54). While especially, the rich and publicly well-known people are afraid of the disadvantage of having written records of one's savings and lending activities records which might be scrutinized by government revenue officials.

Most of the people involve in the commission chit funds to accumulate or obtain lump sum of cash to meet emergency expenditures, and to invest with fairly better return. The ways in which the money are spent varies widely. Some of common examples are; to be used for repaying loan, as preparing for dowry of their daughters, for purchasing jewellery, for renovating their house, and for buying luxury goods such as motor cycles, etc.

#### 6.3.212 **The solidarity purpose chit fund**

The solidarity purpose chit fund is commonly viewed by its members less as economic institutions than the commission chit **funds**. The main purpose of such chit **funds** is the strengthening of community or group solidarity. This solidarity purpose chit fund compares with the *arisan* of Java (see, Geertz 1962). Such rotating credit associations have been organized for the creation of communal harmony and mutual assistance.

As the caste solidarity and its role is decreasing through **diversification** of occupation, and the prevailing commercial economy through modernization, the members of certain castes have recognized the need for communal harmony and solidarity. The caste **sangam** (or committee) has lost its authority and power in the village, to some extent. The caste exists no longer as a unit of group that did at the **past**. The individual as an agent of social activity has gained the importance in the social transaction, however, the individual as well as the caste or group need the help of each other, not only socially and emotionally, but also economically. This sense for the need of solidarity is the central characteristic of the '**cooperativeness**' of the caste or group based chit **funds**. Cooperation is founded on "a general ethic **of** the unity of all men or on an organic view of society which **takes** the group as primary and the individual as

secondary", rather than on "the mutual value to the participants of such cooperation" (Geertz 1962:244).

In the village there were three caste based chit funds, but one of them ceased to **function before 1995**. And two chit **funds** have developed among the members of a youth club, and the teachers of a primary school in the village. The purpose of these chit funds is to bring the members together both in informal and formal settings, so as to strengthen their caste identity or their friendship bonds and consequently the caste itself or the association. For instance, the **Erukalla**, the Yadav and the Padmasalle have developed a chit fund on the basis of caste as whole, for the purpose of communal harmony and mutual assistance. However, the chit fund of Padmasalle ceased functioning two years ago due to internal conflict, since the **Peddamanchis** of the caste have lost their authority as head, and the caste itself no more symbolizes or plays as a center of its members.

In the case of the Yadavas, the unit of participant is 49 families. Each paid **Rs. 10** a month. The amount of a chit fund, that is **Rs. 490** was loaned to the member at the rate of **Rs. 3** per 100 a month. The manager or the agent is the '**Yadav Sangam President**' himself. The money which is accumulated by chit funds and interests is used to purchase the utensils which, are lent to the caste members, and spent on constructing the caste *sangam* building. There is no bidding and agent commission. The order of loan would be decided by the urgency of need.

The Erukullas have developed a chit fund with the members of caste as the participants. Unlike the system of the Yadavas, their rotating credit association incorporates a device for allocating interest and remunerating to the agent who is also the president of the caste *sangam*. The current chit fund is made up of 20 members each paying Rs. 100 a month, to provide total fund of Rs. 2,000 at every meeting. By bidding, at every meeting the turn of the member who is allowed to take the sum is decided. A member cannot repeat his turn. The bidder receives the amount deducted the bid **from** the total amount of chit **funds**. The monthly bid becomes the commission of the agent. The final turn of chit funds has no bidding however some amount of money is deducted from the funds for agent commission. The agent, in turn, should collect the contribution from every participant and hand over to the recipient within three days after the meeting.

The '**Yadav Chit Fund**' emphasises the strengthening of caste solidarity and mutual assistance, unlike the Erukalla whose purpose of conducting chit funds is savings money rather social; **emphasizing** of fathering or mutual cooperation. The former absorb

the whole families of the caste as members of the rotating credit association, while the latter do not include all the members of their castes because the membership for them is optional.

The chit fund system has been adapted by a youth club too, their purpose is to enhance positive effect on social solidarity. The intensity of activity among the members of this association is quite astounding, the number of committee meetings, celebrations of ritual affairs, and political activities seem to be working to enhance their communal harmony and mutual understanding among the members. The chit fund acts in this context to support the solidarity of the club also. The purpose of club chit funds is to intensify the feeling of unity among the members and to strengthen their friendship bonds within the club. The chit fund plays an important role to maintain the unity among the members during the non-election period. The chit fund as an economic part of the club, is effective to keep the harmony, and to make the members attend the meetings of the club **regularly**. If anyone does not attend the meeting, he cannot benefit from the fund.

To cite an example of the case, the '**Hanuman Youth Club**' has developed chit funds, after the organization of the club, in 1989. In the meantime, nine chit funds have been cycled. Currently, the tenth chit fund is going on with twenty participants among the club members contributions **Rs.** 100 a month each. The General Secretary of the club plays a role of an agent, but without any commission. The rotation was decided by bidding. From the amount of money accumulated by bidding, first **Rs.** 10,000 (i.e. same amount of one fund) would be used for the club. Therefore, the chit fund has helped not only for the solidarity of the club but has also supported financially, and consequently for standing it independently. Since the organization of first chit funds, about **Rs.** 50,000 was accumulated, and spent on the construction of Hanuman Temple, and club building, on purchasing sports facilities, and the expenditure of ritual functions and other **maintenances**.

Another solidarity purpose chit fund has been developed among the teachers of Shishu **Mandir Primary School**. It also has a device for rotating the order by bidding but without agent commission. The Head of school takes a role for agent. This rotating credit association purposes the solidarity of teachers and harmony rather than economic **functions**. Through the meeting of chit funds, the members, i.e. teachers, are brought together in an informal familial setting, and so they have good opportunities for understanding each other, and developing companionship bonds.

Consequently, it helps the solidarity of the school members, and the development of school itself.

#### 6.3.213 The charity purpose chit fund

Finally, a charity purpose chit fund is the third type of rotating credit association in the village. This fund is based on prescribed deduction from each chit fund in each turn, for charity purpose. This association is made up of 33 members each paying Rs. 700 a month. By bidding procedure, at every meeting, the fund taker is decided. The highest bidder for deduction, will take the **funds**. The money which is accumulated by bidding at each meeting will be lent to the member, at an interest of **Rs. 2** per Rs. 100 a month. And like other **non-commission** chit funds, the **agent** (s) would not take any commission. From the money accumulated through bidding plus the interest of the loan, the amount of **Rs.10,000** will be donated to the Shishu **Mandir** School, while the remainder will be spent on pilgrimage or similar other purposes. However this plan has not materialized so far. Consequently the remainder had to be distributed among the members.

#### 6.3.22 The organizer and the members of chit funds

The chit fund refers to the fund itself, rather than to the group of contributors. The term '**chit**' refers a share of contributions or the meeting of chit **funds**. There is no term to refer to the group of participants itself. However, the membership of a certain chit fund is not distributed randomly in social space. People associate with others who are similar in **socio-demographic** characteristics. In a sense, interactions between persons, or especially, with the organizer in the village have become an important or main criteria for the membership of rotating credit association.

The membership is usually confined to the friends and/or neighbours of the organizer, and to the person who is considered trustworthy. There are, normally, no membership restrictions by sex or **age**, except in the caste or other organization based chit **funds**. But men are predominant, whether as an organizer or as its participants. No woman is managing chit funds in the village, though those who have necessary financial means or are sponsored by adult male **relative(s)** join it. Social and economic responsibility **are** the main criteria which tend to restrict the adults only to the fund membership. But the participation by young people is not ruled out, **if** he or she has his/her **own** income source, or otherwise is sponsored by the **guardian(s)**.

However, there is class or status difference between the members of different chit **funds**. Comparatively, the poor join the small scale chit funds, whereas the rich participate in 'big' funds and generally more than one at a time. The rotating credit association is organized among the poor (see, Kurtz 1973:51) as well as the rich, but the poor and rich usually have separate associations. The commission chit funds are highly commercial than many which have been reported otherwise (see, Anderson 1966; **Bascom** 1952; Chhetri 1995; Geertz 1962; **Messerschmidt** 1978; etc), but the membership involves more or less similar **socio-demographic** characteristics. Since the members are recruited by the organizer through friendship or neighbourhood networks, the associations are largely homogeneous and exclude caste differences. This homogeneity of chit **funds** inevitably becomes concentrated in small social circles rather than dispersed in the general population. The members are similar in terms of their socio-economic status or class, while they are heterogenous in terms of caste composition.

The character of association dictates the composition of membership completely. That is to say, in proportion to the amount of chit funds, there are differences in the composition of socio-economic status or class among the members. The association is formed only by individual choices. The mutual similarity between members is not a result of group formation. Groups merely provide a local area for the formation of individual level ties with similar others (see, **McPherson & Smith-Lovin** 1987:370-371). Such **individual-level** ties or networks are connected to the organizer as a central node.

The organizer selects the members whom he knows and thinks trustworthy. Personal knowledge and trust are said to be imperative since the association operates on mutual trust and understanding. In this connection Mines (1996:32) is worth quoting: "An Indian evaluates the degree of trust he or she has in the reliability of a relationship in terms of knowledge of the other party or parties in that **relationship**".

#### 6.3.23 The organization and participation of chit funds

Reputation of the organizer is most important factor in forming a rotating credit association. The reputation is an assessment of responsibility for past behavior of an individual. Moreover, the relationship with others is directly connected to the organizer's self-interest. So, he has to preserve his eminence by vouching only for those whom he trusts. The organizer plays key roles in the regulation of trust within the association, as a guarantor on the ordinary individual member. If an

organizer for whom members have vouched betrays their **trust**, it is difficult, if not impossible, to recover his reputation again. The **Komati** (mentioned in 6.3.2) who once betrayed his members of association, never came out of the fatal dishonour as a betrayer. He is not accepted by any association, even as a member. In a **trust-based** society, a reputation is very important so, every individual, especially the leader, has responsibility for his own actions. Social ostracism is more effective than other legal sanctions. The reputation of an individual is, to a great extent, separate from that of his family or caste. In this context, the individual is an agent of social activity, and represents an '**autonomous**' rather than '**collective**' identity.

TABLE - 45  
CASTE AND OCCUPATION OF THE ORGANIZER AND  
PARTICIPANTS IN THE COMMISSION CHIT FUNDS

No.	Details of chit funds	Organizer's caste/occupation	Participants' Caste & Occupation
1.	<b>*T: Rs.1,000</b>  <b>C: Rs.50/pm</b>  M: 20 AC: 1,000 (one chit)	Caste: <b>Madiga</b>  age 26 ( <b>IN</b> )  Occ: <b>Postman</b> (with other side jobs)	Caste: <b>Padmasalle</b> , Yadav, Muslim, <b>Waddera</b> , Muduraju, Mala, <b>Madiga</b> Occ. : Shopkeeper (Tea or Pan), Mill worker, Daily worker, Postman, <b>Washerman</b> , Agriculturist, Begger
2.	T: Rs.3,000 <b>C: Rs.100/pm</b>  N: 30 AC: <b>3,000</b>	Caste: Madiga age 29 (10th)  Occ: Govt. Worker	Caste: Mala, Madiga Occ. : Daily worker, <b>Govt.</b> worker, Auto Driver, Agriculturist
3.	T: Rs.2,000  C: Rs.100/pm M: 20  AC: 2,000	Caste: <b>Mangalli</b>  age 23 (B.Sc) Occ: Student  (Father: Govt. Officer) <b>*2nd</b> organizer - Organizer of (1)	Caste: Mangalli, Reddy, Muduraju, <b>Padamasalle</b> , Goud, <b>Moch</b> Madiga, Mala, Muslim, Christian (immigrant) Occ. : Govt. Officer, Student, Business, Cloth seller, Pvt. Co. worker, Baber, Agriculturist, Daily worker, Postman
4.	T: Rs.2,000  C: Rs.100/pm  M: 20 AC: 2,000	Caste: Muslim  age 28 (10th)  Occ: Cycle Shop Owner	Caste: <b>Muslim</b> , Dore, Goud, Padmasalle, Madiga, Muduraju, Brahman, <b>Kummari</b> Occ. : Rice Mill worker, <b>Govt.</b> worker, Student, Toddy tapper, Auto Driver, Agriculturist, Teacher, Shop Keeper, Mechanics, Postman
5.	T: Rs.8,000  C: <b>Rs.400/pm</b> M: 30  AC: 3* of the funds	Caste: Padmasalle  age 38 ( <b>IM</b> ) Occ: Textile Shop Owner	Caste: Medari, Muduraju, Goud, Dore, <b>Brukulla</b> , Waddera, <b>Kummari</b> , <b>Lingayat</b> , Madiga, Mala Occ. : Agriculturist, Toddy Tapper, Leather worker, Potter, <b>Cooli</b> , Teacher, Pvt. Co. Worker, Postman

6. T: **Rs. 10,000** Caste: **Komati** Caste: **Muduraju, Arekatika, Goud, Yadav, Dore, Madiga, Komati, Vaddla, Mulsim**  
 C: **Rs.500/pm** age 25 (IN) Occ. : Shop Keeper, Toddy Tapper, Vegetable Seller, Tailor, **Maïson**, Medical Practitioner, Painter, Auto Driver, Cycle Shop Owner  
 M: 20 Occ: Rice Mill Owner  
 AC:10,000
7. T: **Rs.15,000** Caste: Brukalla Caste: Reddy, Sara, **Lingayat**, Dore, Chakalli, **Padmasalle**, Nuduraju, **Mala/Madiga**  
 C: **Rs.600/pm** age 50 (10th) Others (**immigrants**), Muslim  
 M: 25 Occ: General Shop Owner Occ. : Govt. Officer/worker, Business, Kirana Shop owner, RTC Conductor/Controller, Agriculturist, Bank Officer, Pvt. Co. Worker  
 AC: **3%** of the funds
8. T: **Rs.25,000** Caste: Yadav Caste: **Komati**, Reddy, Sara, Nuduraju, Padmasalle, Thakur, Mera, Dore, and others  
 C: **Rs.1,000/pm** age 49 (IN) Occ. : Govt. Officer, Business, Teacher, Tailor, Agriculturist, Butcher  
 M: 25 Occ: Govt. Officer  
 AC: **2.5%** of the funds
9. T: Rs.50,000 Caste: Komati Caste: Komati, Reddy, Sara, Dore, Padmasalle, **Kammari**, Goud, Yadav, Muslim  
 C: **Rs.2000/pm** age 60 (**MA**) Occ. : Business, General Shop Owner, Driver, Engineer, Rice **Mill** Owner, Teacher, Agriculturist  
 M: 25 Occ: Money Lender  
 AC: **3%** of the funds Rice Mill Owner/  
 Retd. Lecturer
10. T: **Rs.23,100** 1st Organiner/2nd Orgnr. Caste: Muduraju, **Komati, Mangalli**, Yadav, Reddy, Goud, **Padmasalle**, Nera, Erukalla, Madiga, Muslim  
 C: Rs.700/pm Caste: **Muduraju/Komati**  
 M: 33 Age (ed): 56 (10)/60(IM) Occ. : Teacher, Govt. Officer, Business, Agriculturist, Tailor, Baber, Pvt. Co. Worker  
 AC: NIL\*\* Occ. : Teacher/Retd. Village Officer, Shop Owner, **Postman**  
 Teacher, General Shop Owner

\* I: Total amount of chit

C: A contribution of each member

N: Mo. of members

AC: Agent's Commission

Occ: Occupation

\*\* Instead of Agent's **Commission**, certain amount of money (Rs. 21,000) will be donated to the Private School, at the end of cycle.

Table - 45 shows the **socio-demographic** characteristics of the organizers of the chit funds, in the village. Among chit funds, the caste or club based associations are omitted, because their organizer or the agents are based on the position which they occupy, rather than on the reputation or choice of the

individual. The rotating credit associations are organized by the '**foci**', most relationships are connected to and originate from the foci i.e. the organizer (see, **McPherson & Smith-Lovin** 1987:370). Table - 45 represents that, the organizations are homogeneous, to some extent, in terms of economic or social status between/among the organizer and the **member(s)**.

For instance, the organizer of chit funds (1) in the Table - 4, is a Madiga by caste, and low class economically. So, almost all of the participants of this chit fund belong to the low income group and **socio-economically** minors such as, widows divorcees, beggars, physically handicapped, or the poor. Though they belong to different castes, their socio-economic status is similar. But they never had any specific relationships between them, **before** they participated in the chit **funds**. They are connected only through the organizer. The organizer acts as a guarantor for each and everyone in the association.

It is noteworthy that several women participate in the small scale chit funds, as active contributors, while no woman is found joining any fund that required above **Rs.** 100 as contributions per month, except in case of charity or membership chit funds (of teachers) in the village. For example, in the case of (1), among 20 memberships, 10 are reported to be the names of women. Of them, six are active contributors who have seven memberships with their own abilities, as tea shop keepers, private company workers, daily workers or beggars, etc. The remaining three constitute a housewife and two teenage girls, who are supported by their **guardians**.

However, the rich join mostly '**big**' chit funds, and their membership network ties are established across the village. For example, in the case of (9) chit funds, only nine participants are villagers including the organizer. Moreover, almost all of them participate in more than one chit funds simultaneously. Similarly, the organizer of the '**big**' funds also manages more than one, in some case four chit funds together, such as the organizer in the case of (9). The organizer takes the management of the chit funds as his main business. But there is no '**social gathering**' among the participants. While in the other case which has been developed on the basis of friendship ties, the meeting of each chit fund offers a good opportunity for gathering together, such as cases (3) and (5). These chit funds made it possible to accumulate capital as well as to reinforce friendship ties. Those friends and acquaintances who join the association through their connections to the organizer or other members, are very similar to their socio-economic characteristics. This social network tie helps to prevent default and, then, leads to the



success of the chit **funds**. Moreover, since the socio-economic positions of the members are similar, the associations tend to develop distinctive social niches for the members.

By joining a certain association, the participant is provided, to some extent, a kind of prestige or aspiration which is related to the composition of group membership. For instance, the organizer of case (1), joins several other chit funds as a member. He has joined the chit fund (3) as co-organizer, (4) and (5) as a member, and also he is a member of the charity purpose chit fund. By joining several chit funds, his personal network ties have broadened across caste as well as socio-economic differences. He enjoys a wide acquaintance among the villagers through a large number of social connections. He told that: "Once I considered a conversion to Christianity. But, now, I myself am acquainted with everyone, very well. So it is meaningless to convert. Myself am myself. I will be never changed though I change my religion". Thus, the acceptance or acquaintanceship by the others, especially those who belong to the lower **castes**, gives an opportunity for recognizing one's **self-consciousness**. He is engaged in several social works, through them he enjoys self-esteem, on the other hand, and he comes out to some extent from the **socio-psychological** stigma of being an '**untouchable**'.

The would be political leader uses the chit funds as a kind of his own institution in which he plays a leadership role. The leader serves others and tries to establish his own galaxy through the association as an organizer, such as the case of (6).

The organizers are the persons who are well recognized as trustworthy in their own community as well as those of the others, through their business or socio-economic position. The organizers enjoy a reputation among the villagers, but compared to the political leaders somewhat differently. The organizer is called '**chity yazamani**' or '**chity pedda manchi**'<sup>1</sup> by the members or others. Therefore, his individuality plays a main role to organize an association. And the generosity is an important feature of an organizer of chit **funds**. Generosity is an individual attribute that establishes and maintains relationship, but it is judged and conceived by the society. Therefore, several organizers of the chit funds in the village represent themselves as a social worker or at least non-self interested persons, by joining the charity chit funds. Among nine organizers, four persons participate as a member of social charity chit fund, though none of them are parents of students of Shishu Mandir **School**.

The membership and the role of agentship are inheritable to the son or other member of family, if any member or the organizer

expires. For instance, in the case of (8), a son whose organizer father recently died takes the **agentship**, therefore, despite death of any member or organizer the chit funds can be completed successfully without any disturbance or cessation. That is, once a chit fund is initiated, it will complete its cycle. The membership is counted as a number of contribution, not the number of participants. However, the member of an association will participate another one, after the end of an earlier chit fund. That is, more or less, a group of same people organize one after another chit funds with light refreshment or without change.

#### 6.3.24 The functions of chit funds in the society

Geertz (1962) conceptualizes the rotating credit association as a 'middle **rung**' or '**intermediate**' economic institution which bridges the gap between agrarian and commercial economic pattern and between **peasants**' and traders' attitudes toward money and its uses. Furthermore, he argues that the participation in such associations trains persons to develop '**commercialized**' attitudes. That is, the rotating credit association is essentially an '**educational mechanism**' which helps to change the value framework from traditional ascriptive ties between individuals to 'universalistic, affectively neutral, and **achieved**' ties between them. In other words, the functional significance of the rotating credit association, as an institution, is to facilitate social and cultural change in the processes.

However, **Veles-I** (1982) and Kurtz (1973) are critical of **Geertz's** assumption. They insist that the rotating credit association, in '**modern**' commercial setting or in urban areas, **represents** a socio-economic '**adaptation**' to a condition of poverty or relative deprivation. **Velez-I** argues that educational benefits of the continuum model of development were not important for heterogeneous population, such as in urban areas where a variety of occupational sectors, residential areas, and **micro-environment**, transcend class differences. That is, '**commercialization**' or the acquisition of the commercialized ethics would be little important to the diverse social sectors.

In the village, the chit funds have two main functions socializing and economic. The foremost economic function is that of financial intermediation. Commercialized chit funds (i.e. the saving purpose chit funds) exist side by side with other savings, lending, and borrowing institutions, such as Banks, Cooperative Societies, or Post Offices or money-lenders. Because of the explicitly negative attitudes of the formal financial institutions, the villagers are reluctant to participate in such institutions. For real or imagined reasons, the poor or non-poor

regard Bank as unfriendly, demanding, that place restriction on loan or savings. On the other hand, the interest of money lender is very high, and in some case without mortgage or security, it is difficult to get the loans.

Unlike these, chit funds provide the ready access to the capital, and enhance faster economic cooperation in the community. Basically, they are formed in a spirit of cooperation among friends, neighbours or colleagues. Their role in guarding against everyone's expenses of illness and other misfortune is one of the main reasons **for** participation in the chit **funds**. Although people join chit funds to meet some emergency, it seems that they do so frequently to meet some future expenses, such as wedding, or a ritual. But the formal financial institutions give little opportunity for these purpose of loans. Financial institutions prefer large and established **businessmen**. Viewed from these angles, a rotating credit association is a '**intermediate**' economic institution between the people and formal financial institution, rather than between the agrarian and commercial economic patterns.

The chit fund functions as savings institution (see, **Bascom** 1952; Chhetri 1995; Geertz 1962; **Shanmugam** 1991) and also as mutual aid societies (see, Chhetri 1995; Messerschmidt 1978). The contributions of chit funds are seen as a process of '**forced** savings' (Shanmugam 1991:219) or 'saving for **save**' (Chhetri 1995:452) for especially the poor hardly have any opportunity for saving. For instance, an old woman who is a beggar participates as a member of the chit fund in case (1) of the **Table-4**. Though her main or only income source is begging, she makes regular contributions as a duty of member. If she had not joined the association, she would have hardly saved, and moreover she has no mechanism for saving since this single householder is an octogenarian.

Another benefit the chit funds have stressed is their role in promoting group solidarity and integration among the members. The chit funds which were formed on the basis of pre-existing group, such as caste, club, or school, enforce a spirit of cooperation among friends, castes, or colleagues. Those kinds of chit funds are primarily social institutions rather than economic ones.

The relationship between members is an egalitarianism and basically unstructured. It does not involve membership hierarchies. Members share their economic interest in common. Therefore, the chit fund is a kind of '**socializing**' mechanism. The chit funds help to aggregate economic activities from non-economic ones, and to organize traditional relationships slowly

but steadily transformed into non-traditional ones (see, Geertz 1962:260-261). However, the chit fund membership tends to be homogeneous, participants share similar income groups. The rich and the poor generally have separate associations (see, **Bascom** 1952:64; **Bouman** 1995:374; Chhetri 1995:450;). The chit funds are set up for and by poor and non-poor alike. The homogeneity of chit funds represent a mark of class deference. On the other hand, the chit funds play an important role to expand the network of personal relationship in the **multi-caste** village. Through the participation of the chit funds, the people, especially the youths, have demonstrated independence from a type of traditional village elders whose power is based on inherited or ascribed status.

The main flow of chit funds is directed to private consumption, durable consumer goods, or other facilities. But a sizable part is used as fixed working capital in land, housing or other enterprises which have problems to get Bank credit. It is noteworthy that a few bank staffs also participate in the chit funds, though Indian Government prohibits the non sanctioned or registered chit funds according to Chit Fund **Act, 1982**.

In the village, the commission chit funds (or commercialized rotating credit association) have developed only in new Kandi boundary. Almost all of the commercial activities have taken place in new Kandi area, while in old Kandi, there is no single general shop or modern style business transaction. In other words, the chit funds have developed in the place where already '**commercialized**' ethics are prevalent. Moreover, several high officers, businessman, or bank staff join as a member of chit funds. It seems that '**commercialization**' or the acquisition of commercialized ethics as proposed by Geertz (1962) is not important for them. While the concept of '**adaptability**' (see, Kurtz, 1973; **Velez-I** 1982) also does not apply with the people who are well and rich, and who already occupy high position in the society.

In summary, the chit funds as rotating credit association are both voluntary and autonomous institutions with their own objectives, rules and organizational patterns. As financial institutions, they are **self-sufficient, self-regulating**, and independent of the legal and financial authorities of the government.

However, in the village, the importance of the solidarity purpose chit funds is decreasing, while impersonal, specifically economic institutions have become numerous. It seems that the chit funds facilitates social and cultural change in respect to

their processes. The individual choices or activities have become more important today than in the **past**.

#### 6.4 Political activities

The introduction of the statutory Village Panchayat in the village has created the participation of lower castes in the political structure increasingly, either directly holding office or indirectly by holding the balance of power among two or more higher caste candidates for the panchayat election office (see, Robinson 1988:20-21). The villagers have recognized the power of the village panchayat, especially the position of Sarpanch, which can be mobilized to the benefits of individuals. Also, the positions of village panchayat or cooperative society are utilized for increasing one's influence and for forging links with influentials, both official and **non-official**. These links may prove useful in fulfilling various kinds of interests. In addition, in such a multi-caste village as Kandi, none of any single caste has been able to claim a monopoly over any formal organization. Under this circumstance, the villagers forge links, establish personal networks, and form groups without much consideration of caste boundaries. However, still traditional collectivities (such as caste, kin groups and family) and other kinds of relationships (such as landowner/tenant, money-lender/debtor, cultivator/labourer, etc.) are mobilized for the formation of '**resource**' network and groups (see, Sharma n.d.157).

##### 6.4.1 The individuality of the leaders

With the introduction of Panchayat and the decentralization of powers on the one hand, and the abolition of traditional institutions like **mali patel** and police **patel**, on the other, the power of traditional elite-group or dominant caste has strikingly diluted in the village politics. The emergence of new leaders and their activities make, vertical as well as horizontal, political cleavages. The political cleavages appear most frequently in the form of **factions**<sup>9</sup>, or in the forms of division within certain castes (see, Nicholas 1968:248).

Such faction leaders are conceived either as local power-holder or as political entrepreneurs who manipulate the power. The recruitments are not only based on the pre-existing relationships, but also on the friendships, clientships, neighbourhoods, **workmateships**, **classmateships**, and etc. Therefore, rival factions, in general, are structurally similar that is, they represent similar **configurations** of social groups (see, Alavi 1971). Political conflict between rival factions occurs because of **the** individual actor's (or leader's) interests rather than ideologi-

cal differences. **Alavi** further insists, "Rival factions, or faction leaders, fight for control over resources, power and status as available within the existing framework of society rather than for changes in the social structure." (Alavi 1971:347). The factions, generally, occur due to conflict within a group over a particular issues (see, Alavi 1971; Boissevain 1964; Nicholas 1968; Siegel & **Beals** 1960), thus the faction are and/or become "ephemeral interest-oriented groups" (Yadava 1968:898).

The individuality of leaders is a type that is marked by the superiority of leaders over their fellows. The leader is regarded as a self-interested patron who ranks above his constituents. Following **Simmel's** conceptions, **Béteille** (1986) and Mines (1996, 1992) label the character of the leaders who exhibit a type of highly valued individuality, as 'individualism of **inequality**'. This kind of individualism is shown in part by the special influence and autonomy that leaders have within groups and by their abilities to distribute benefits and command others to do their bidding. In this regard, Bailey (1969:35) says that "all men are not equal and that the chosen **few** have the moral right [...] to rule". Such public recognition of a leader's uniqueness stems in part from the fact that he ranks first among his fellows.

Individualism of inequality<sup>10</sup> is associated with a special type of group formation, i.e. '**headman** or leader-centered group' (see, Mines 1992:133). Such an association that forms around a central figure is maintained by ties of relationship that link the central leader to all members of his group. Therefore, leadership needs a great skill to organize and maintain various '**resource** networks and groups'. Bailey (1969:36) rightly points at the fact that "to be successful as a leader is to gain access to more resources than one's opponents and to use them with great skill". Thus individual reputation of a leader has great political and economic value, because the public trust in him as an individual, in effect, based on his social credit. By acquiring offices in the Panchayat or other formal organisations and right to symbolize honors associated with those positions, a leader can place himself at the center of the clientele. So, the competition for offices and honors is the main part of the achievement strategy of leaders and would-be leaders alike. In other words, the individuality rests on a recognition of achievement and of the individual as an agent (Mines 1992:134-135). Leadership in the village is composed of leaders themselves, their institutions, and their constituencies. Institutions and their constituents are important sources of a leader's political and social **achievement**. Generosity and reputation are very important attributes that establish and maintain relationships and are highly

valued in politicians and leaders of all sorts (Mines 1996:11). Reputations derive from several factors, but mostly from the office and other formal organizations.

The political leaders or would-be leaders, therefore, try to establish and maintain their own core group or association which will be a key base for the competition of offices and honors. Again, by acquiring honourable and authoritative office, the leader establishes and expands a reputation through his patronage and involvement in institutions to serve the interest of his constituency. Because, "a faction is a flexible, interest-oriented quasi group", very often "individuals cross over such boundaries" to change membership of a faction (Yadava 1968:900). To keep or organize his own faction or group, the leader needs a great skill to gain access to more resource, to show more generosity, and to have more reputation than one's opponents. Here, again, one's temperaments, caste, family, age, sex, education, wealth as well as his neighborhood, friendship, classmate, and other traditional relationship are considered as the assets of a leader.

As group formations are associated with an individual leader's reputation and skill, these associations are formed around a central figure and his subordinate lieutenants. In this connection it is worthwhile to quote Mines (1992:133), "Such groups in fact are the organization of their central leader, and when who dies or grows too old to command, the association declines or splinters into new leader-centered groups, each organization around a new central **figure** and his personal **following**". He further states that this pattern is typical in joint families, caste, associations, community charities, cooperatives, and political parties. That is, the group formation is mostly, based on **the** individual leader's '**force of attraction**', when the force of attraction of the individual leader becomes weak, or when other more attractive leader is coming out, the '**headman** or leader-centered **group**' declines or splinters into other new **leader-centered** group.

Traditionally, certain descent groups or families of a caste, such as the **mali patel** and police **patel** of Reddy caste in the village, operated as important social and political **groups**. (see, Dube 1955; Rao 1977, 1980; Robinson 1988). The rigid segmentation and hierarchy of different castes eliminated the probability of a political competition or conflict between different castes. So, there was little scope for the growth of any kind of interest-oriented intercaste **affiliations**. The different castes functioned only as caste group, so, little scope was left for any dynamic affiliations among individual agents. The recruitment of political leader has taken place by birth only.

But the introduction of universal adult franchise and the abolition of traditional village offices, such as **mali patel** and police patel, have a great impact upon the political system of the village in which the dominant Reddy caste does not form the majority of the population. Also land reform brought changes in the political system of the village in which control over land has been concentrated in a small number of hands (see, Kusro 1958; Rao 1977). Moreover, the rapid rise in population and the social and cultural changes along with democratization and increasing economic opportunities lead to **intensification** of status-seeking desires that leads to change in the bases and pattern of leadership (see, Yadava 1968). However, after the transformation of socio-political structure, traditional social status was no longer to be of far greater importance than it had been in the past. The power of the old elite has been challenged by popular leaders who are newly emerging.

In the village, the Panchayat, especially the position of Sarpanch, provides the formal arena where this desire can be given practical shape. During the course of competition for power and status, the comparative rigid boundaries of traditional social groups were broken or shaken, but in the political sphere the hegemony of higher castes still **remains**. In the struggle of village leadership, the identify of Reddy caste is one of the important factors for the leadership. Concurrently, the solidarity of the lower castes increased in the process of power competition, however, gradually the solidarity of the *Harijans* was attenuated greatly.

Along with the shrinkage of traditional authoritarian system, the relative improvement in economic well-being and educational opportunities of the villagers tend to make themselves less dependent upon their kin or fellow caste members. In turn, the people begin to depend more upon non-kins and other caste members and this facilitates the formation of groups or networks on non-traditional bases also. Moreover, in situation of conflict among kinsmen, individuals often join hands with non-kinsmen to deal with their opponents. It provokes the individuals to enter into interpersonal relations that cut across the boundaries of caste or kin.

Therefore, **any** political leader or would-be leader can organize or manipulate somewhat easily the **non-traditional** based core group, along with their kindred and caste network and traditional relationship, to operate it on the political as well as the social level. As Bailey indicates, "leadership is an enterprise" (1969:36), so the leader manipulates and organizes his own



action group which is the source of help and security in a general as well as in a specific election time. Furthermore, Bailey distinguishes this action group as the core from the simple '**following**'. According to him, the former are those who are tied to the leader through multiplex relationships, however, the bond with a follower is **transactional** and **single-interest** (see, Bailly 1969: 45-49). Under universal franchise system, such active, core-based group is essential in order to compete more effectively for prizes. In the village, such core-based 'political teams or groups' are bounded as a form of '**Youth club**'. Youth Clubs recruit the members mainly through the networks of friendships, neighbourhoods, classmates, age, sex, etc. But it is noteworthy there is no single woman leader in the village, as well as no women's club or association exists there. Therefore, here the political leader and his core groups are limited men only. In general, the youth clubs as political team or groups are more or less structurally similar, namely, they represent similar configurations of social **groups**.

The growth of mercantile economy, the extension of cash crop, and new cultivation techniques, on the one hand, and the tendency of payment on cash rather than on goods, on the other, instigate to change traditional and hereditary relationship which relied on caste hierarchy to contractual and individual one. Along with these, the effects of industry, educational institution, shop keeping, and cinema, etc. also forced to change the interpersonal relationship among villagers, especially among the youths. The increasing occupational **diversification** and extra-village economic transactions also imply different social relations.

There are, however, some striking differences between the generations, regarding the attitude or behavior of individual and collective **actions**. The younger generation have been more exposed to political ideology and **activitism**, partially through the film industry, therefore they are more militant and politically conscious. The old ones are politically less conscious and are less predisposed to challenge the traditional relationships. But, though the youth show more open and relaxed attitude regarding caste difference, they insist in equality of men publicly and boldly, they continue, in practice, to segregate the '**untouchables**' at all social and religious events. Therefore, the '**untouchable**' youth formed their own 'youth club' meant exclusively for the people of their own castes such as the *Mala* and **Madiga**.

In the village, close interactions between boys of the same age group belonging to different castes are limited to some extent, however their interaction with the 'untouchables' is very

rare. They do not have the habit of calling at each other's house, though they are friends, if one of them belongs to the 'untouchable'. The tea shop is most common meeting place for them. Generally, nobody other than the 'untouchables' dares to visit the street or residence of the 'untouchables'. One of the informants, who is well educated (B.A. degree holder, in his twenties) and politically ambitious person, said: "I never visit this (one of the 'untouchable' residences) street, so I don't know where is whose house at all, they are 'different' from us, (so), never mixed up with them", when he was requested to indicate one of the 'untouchable's' house. He, like other upper caste members, shows somewhat contradictory values and behavior, against the 'untouchables'. Regarding this kind of phenomenon of the Indian society, Beteille correctly indicates that: "the most striking feature of Indian society today is the co-existence of divergent, even contradictory, beliefs and values" (Beteille 1992a:222).

The most significant kind of grouping among the youths is that of friendship coterie. Such grouping generally tends to consist of people roughly of equal age. Young people show preference to share, and give priority to, the values and sentiments of their peer groups. The peer group is transformed, generally, into a formal organization, such as youth club, with or without the help of some local political leader. It becomes a kind of political resource for the leader as well as for the members themselves. Such ties and memberships of a certain youth club would prove especially functional in situation when the formal institutions of a society is unable to deliver sufficient services and somebody gets into trouble with legal or personal matters. Therefore, a membership of certain youth club itself gets opportunities for extending individual's social networks beyond the framework of traditional collectivities.

The idiom of brotherhood gives its moral flavour among the members, on the one hand, while, on the other, the membership of a group or the relationship with a leader can establish and legitimate a member's identity and social standing within the village, at least among the youths. For instance, at a tea shop in the village, a young informant introduced another young man when we were chatting. The person who was introduced, presented himself as a member of 'Hanuman Youth Club' and told us about his name and occupation. Besides, he asked if we knew about the president of his Youth Club: "Do you know S. Reddy? He is our 'big boss'. I am a member of his club". The membership of a youth club or group is represented, generally, by the name of president or leader, rather than by the club or residential name, to a stranger or a villager. Once, a Harijan boy was asked where

about his residence by a high caste elderly villager, the boy replied "I live in **Babu's** colony", instead of naming the colony's location he indicated the leader's name for his colony. The leader is recognized as a representative of the group, and his individuality offers the follower's identity also. In some cases, the leader's individuality establish a pride of belonging for his followers, if he is a great or big leader. Therefore, a headman or **leader-centered** group is maintained by ties of relationship that link the central leader to all member's of '**his**' group. The individuality of leader is distinguished from other constituents, and, moreover, the group and the leader are identified together, to some extent, for insiders as well as for outsiders of the group.

#### 6.4.2 Political leaders in the village

Before independence, the village of Kandi was more or less under the domination of the **Deshmukh** family on the one hand, and the police **patel** and **mali patel** families, on the other. The **Deshmukh** was the biggest landlord as well as the highest level official. Though the village was one of his revenue villages under his control the police **patel** and **mali patel** were, in practice, the real and powerful leaders to the villagers. But they, it is said, never dared to act against the wish of the **Deshmukh** who was officially and legally a more powerful and higher authority than the **patels**. All the servants and service castes in this village as well as other adjoining villages were obedient to the **Deshmukh**. But the **Deshmukh's** influence and authority as well as wealth and landownership were greatly decreased, through the demolition of **Deshmukh** office at the end of Nizam period, and the land reform after the independence.

Although he is the biggest landowner, and has, to some extent, high authority till now, some people dare to act against him, directly or indirectly. About two decades ago, for instance, a drunken Waddera picked up a quarrel with him, when the **Deshmukh** (already the office was abolished, but the title '**Deshmukh**' was used by the **Deshmukh** and the villager) were going outside. The Waddera had a minor problem connected to landownership or tenantry with the **Deshmukh**, it is said, so he dared to quarrel, in an impolite manner. The angry **Deshmukh** did beat him several times with his big umbrella. To make the matter worse, the Waddera died a few days after. So, naturally, villagers suspected or guessed that the **Deshmukh's** beating was the cause of his death. From the time of this accident, the villagers said, the **Deshmukh's** authority has severely fallen down. Nowadays, the **Deshmukh** family is almost out of the village politics and political circle.

The village level politics had been directly influenced by two different centers of power, namely the *Raja* or ***Deshmukh*** on the one hand, and the *patels* or the dominant families of Reddy caste on the other. The evidence of two different power centers had been part of the different shaping of **inter-caste** relations in the village (cf. 2.9). However, the *Deshmukh* as well as the *patels* expressed temporal dominance based on the birth, not on the ascription. Though the *Deshmukh* belonged the Brahman by caste, it was the office rather than the rank of caste, on which his power and authority based. Therefore, the ***Deshmukh's*** dominance above the people represented the temporal one rather than the **structural**. The *Deshmukh* was regarded as a kind of high officer not as an automatic individual. For an evidence of this, the specific families or service castes of the village have served the ***Deshmukh's*** 'temple festival' in the same manner as they have done for the village as a whole, not for him specifically as an individual or a family like other high castes. So, the *Deshmukh* as the office holder, lost his power and authority rapidly, after the abolition of the office. Thus, he has not been seen as an individual socio-political leader by the villagers.

However, the power and authority of the *patels* have relied on the their dominant families of the Reddy caste which is still dominant at the local area as well as in the village. Through the *panchayats*, that were formed in 1959, the *patels* enjoyed their honourable and respectable office until the abolition of the traditional village office system in 1984. After the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, the State government passed the Panchayat Act in 1959, and this Act necessitated immediate constitution of Panchayat in all the villages of the State. The Act of 1959 was intended to make elected leaders responsible for the governance and development of the state at various levels.

The introduction of *panchayats* have provided good opportunities for the villagers who were politically ambitious and economically wealthy, but didn't have any chance under the traditional system. Through the *panchayat* elections, several new popular leaders have emerged from obscurity. But they have enjoyed a little power though they were elected as the Sarpanch of the village since the new *panchayat* system co-existed with the old and traditional, village administrative system, i.e. the *patels*, until the abolition of the latter in 1984. Moreover, the Sarpanch was elected indirectly by the members who were elected directly by the villagers, before the 1981 *panchayat* election.

its political process through the landownership, high rank in caste hierarchy, and its traditional **politico-economically** dominant position at the local area and the village. Though, during the mid 1970s, the national policy on land ceilings, indebtedness relief and abolition of bonded labour were reinforced by the Government (see, Robinson 1988:189), virtually, there was no direct impact on the position of the Reddy caste at least in the village circumstance. Relatively little land has been reallocated under ceiling laws, moreover in many cases small, non-viable holdings of poor land were given to landless families. While small and marginal landholdings have increased, it could not change the traditional structure of land distribution or economic difference between high castes and low castes. However, the indirect result was considerable. The *Harijans* do not now wholly support **Reddys**. They had benefited from several government schemes and were primarily engaged in cultivating their own **lands**.

While, before the direct election, the **sarpanch's** position used to be based on the relationship with local political leaders or political party, but since the 1981 direct election, the leadership and election have greatly relied on the leader's individual reputation and networks. Since 1981, the village level *panchayat* elections have been held under the new system of direct elections for members and *sarpanch*, simultaneously. There were four major changes introduced in the system. First, the *sarpanch* is now chosen by direct election (previously he was elected by the members of the *gram panchayat*). Secondly, *gram panchayat* is divided into wards; each ward elects a member to the relevant body. Thirdly, the election for members and *sarpanch* are held simultaneously, and finally, votes are counted by wards (previously all the votes were counted together either at the polling Station (before 1971) or at the head quarters (after that, until 1981) (see, Robinson 1988:151-152, 237).

In the 1981 *panchayat* election, N. Reddy was elected as *sarpanch*, and R. Reddy, M. Reddy, K. Pandari (**Padmasalle**) and others were elected as members. However, several wards were reserved for scheduled castes or women, so it was difficult to consider that all of the members were the politically popular leaders. Through this election, the ambitious leaders, or would-be leaders contested for the member's position which used to be a springboard of political activity. This period was a heyday of N-Reddy, he constructed a strong political and social relationship with outside leaders on the one hand, and enjoyed his power and authority among the villagers on the other.

However, in the 1987 *panchayat* election, the circumstance was totally different; because the people especially the *Harijans*, recognized the value of their votes that are cast, to elect the *sarpanch*. And the role of the members were relatively decreased, it was literally nominal compared to the position they held before the 1981 election system. A member is elected from only one ward which is divided by the residential boundary. The ward represents more or less the boundary of caste, since the people of same or similar castes live in a particular boundary within the village. Especially, the *Harijans* dwell in the totally separate residences outside of or away from others.

Moreover, the lower castes, such as the *Harijans*, Muslims, and other Backward Classes or Castes became somewhat independent of the dominance of the Reddy caste, economically and socially. Through the policy of land redistribution during the Indira Gandhi government, they received free land from one acre to three acre per family. This free land is called as '*chelka*' in the village. This free land has helped more or less the standing of economic status for the landless people. Though these were almost barren land, some of them were changed into cultivable land by installing electric pumps. And the growth of mercantile economy, the extension of cash crop, new cultivation techniques and artificial fertilizer, the cash payment, and others forced to change from traditional long-term agricultural ones to contractual relations in many parts of the village life.

Many of the factories, managed by either government or private company, i.e. established near the village, have provided a lot of job opportunities for landless and unemployed people, on the one hand, while on the other, numerous outside immigrants poured into the village for seeking various job opportunities. Among them a good number of families have settled there permanently. With the rapid increase in **population**, the post independence generation who was educated under new government educational policy, reached the age to vote, and they became the public opinion leader of their communities. Due to education, the network also changed among the educated young generation. Network changes, especially across caste boundaries, involved greater scope for individual choice.

In addition to the above changes brought about by the various benefits for the SCs, they have become more militant and have recognized their numerical power. However, this reservation policy has contributed to the decrease of caste solidarities for getting more politico-economic benefits from the government. *Harijans* have organized themselves with the name of three different youth clubs which represent, more or less, as the caste

associations. But it is noteworthy that each is based on its residential territory rather than caste boundary, in other words they group themselves as **Harijan** as a whole, not as Mala or Madiga<sup>11</sup>.

However, in the political sphere, the hegemony of the higher castes, especially that of the Reddy, still remains dominant. In the struggle for village leadership the identity of Reddy remains an important factor though without alliances of other castes or factions it is difficult or impossible to get the power. As the numerical strength has been accepted as a means to power, the formation and growth of factions and networks have been activated in the village. The operation of factions or networks at the political level is influenced by interaction in social and economic fields. The point of unity is the leader who manipulates and transacts the political competition or alliances. The political factions or associations are interest-oriented groups, and are operated on the political as well as the social level. But, the membership of faction and the relationship of network are flexible and need not be confined by traditional kin or caste lines. So, a politically ambitious leader usually needs to form his own core group for political competition or political transaction.

In the village, the traditional authoritarian system at all levels of social life has waned. Along with this, the relative improvement in economic well-being of the villagers tends to make the villagers less dependent upon one another. Moreover, in situations of conflict among kinsmen, individuals often join hands with non-kinsmen to deal with their opponents. By the help of decreasing traditional authoritarian system and the improvement of economic and social security of the community, the villagers make themselves, to some extent free from their kins, neighbours, and fellow caste members. This process leads to the development of interest groups or factions across caste boundaries on the one hand, and to the demolition of authority of the elder within the castes or families on the other.

Some important changes occurred in the village political leadership in the 1987 election. Compared to the 1981 *panchayat* election, several middle level political leaders emerged from behind the scenes, as the members of *panchayat*. Among them, Pandu (**Padmasalle**), Prabhu (Goud) and Rao (Brahman) are remarkable persons regarding their skill to make alliance with or conduct negotiation between a big leader and other leaders of castes or factions.

During 1987 Panchayat election R. Reddy (aged 31) who was elected one of the members, comes up to the surface to compete with N. Reddy for the position of *sarpanch*. R. Reddy represents younger generation, and associates with newly emerging and economically higher class (he is a job holder in BHEL). While, N. Reddy is considered relatively old generation (48, then) and a representative of traditional authoritative people. Though both of them belong to the big landowning families, the image of traditional, authoritative, stubborn and self-righteous is adjusted to only N. Reddy. The positions of being a son of police **patel**, on the one hand, and an agriculturist and a big landowner on the other, helped in establishing the image of an stubborn authoritarian. Besides he is also a **tall** and strong person physically. In contrast, R. Reddy is relatively young and working for Government company, other than agricultural sector. And in appearance he looks mild, innocent, and boyish. Their outward appearances are also contrasting to each other. While N. Reddy prefers to wear traditional garment, namely *dhoti* and **kurta**, R. Reddy always wears white trousers and shirts.

Apart from such characteristic features as age, style, personality and appearance there are various different techniques, methods, and attitude to approach the people, to expand personal network, or to manage the resource **group**<sup>12</sup>. N. Reddy relies, mainly, on the traditional relationship with the service castes, labourers, and tenants, and he contacts the elders of a family or caste. While, R. Reddy tries to capture the young voters and newly emerging economic class, job holders, and immigrants, through his friendship, classmates and colleagues and expands his ego centered networks through Kinsmen and caste, and tenants, labourers and service castes. R. Reddy has one more advantage, compared to that N. Reddy. Since he had his elder brother working for government, it is relatively easier for him to raise election funds than for N. Reddy. Besides, he had established a Financial Cooperative Society collaborating with a rich **Komati** in the village. This money, the rumour goes, was manipulated as his personal election fund making his position easier to attract votes.

Moreover, his brother-in-law (sister's husband) also a Reddy leader is living in the village. It is noteworthy that while N. Reddy inclines to the elder of castes or families to mobilize their voters, R. Reddy contacts and makes alliance with the leaders of factions or vote '**brokers**' in the community, especially the **Harijan** Youth Clubs which were formed just before the election. Finally, R. Reddy won the *panchayat sarpanchship*.



#### 6.4.3 Political leaders and youth clubs

The Kandi *gram panchayat* has been divided into fourteen wards in 1995 (previously it had twelve wards); each ward elects a representative, called member, to the body of panchayat. During the 1995 election there were one to seven contestants for each **seat**. Though the members no longer elect the **sarpanch**, they elect the **vice-sarpanch** or **upa-sarpanch** from the elected members, generally, by consensus. However, the strategies underlying nominations of particular members did constitute an important element in the election for *Sarpanch*.

Three wards in the *gram panchayat* are located outside Kandi, two in **Chimnapur**, one at the settlement of the **Lambadis**. In Kandi village, old Kandi contains three wards, new Kandi eight wards. And four of the fourteen wards are distributed into the SC communities; one is located in Chimnapur, one in old Kandi, and remaining two in new Kandi.

Before the 1995 Panchayat election, several political leaders or would-be leaders lined up for the *sarpanch* election: They are R. Reddy who is present *sarpanch*, resides in old Kandi; **M.** Reddy who is the president of Kandi Market Association and a grain wholesale dealer, in new Kandi; a **Komati**, Chandu who is a member of '**Adarsha Youth Club**' and connected with the BJP, relatively young (23) and rich family, in new Kandi; a Brahman, Madhu, whose father was once the temple priest, who is engaged in fertilizer shop, in new Kandi, and others.

However, in June 30th the 1995 Panchayat election, the *sarpanch* position was reserved for the BCs, so the situation suddenly changed; there were numerous negotiations and alliances between the potential contestants and the big political leaders or brokers who can bring voters. Since several wards were reserved for women, and the **SCs.**, the **BCs.**, and the **STs.** (cf. **2.6.1**), there was a certain limit for the leaders who belonged to the high castes, and those who are powerful leaders in the village to contest for the position of members also. Therefore the members were perceived to be virtually powerless, and, moreover, their role was also limited to the certain affairs only, in practice.

Due to the direct election of *sarpanch* and the reservation system, the position of member in the Panchayat was supposed to be 'not so much **attractive**' to the villagers. However, in practice, there were heavy competitions in several wards; seven contestants in two wards, six contestants in one, five contestants in two, four contestants in four, three in one, two in one,

uncontested in three only. It is not easy to estimate whether the people vote on the basis of caste or on the force of attraction of the individual candidates. However, it is, probably, fairly clear that in the past they had voted by instructions of their leaders. But, nowadays, numerous people told that they voted for an individual who is not the person instructed by the leader or community.

First of all, the caste itself has lost its mechanism or power to control the behavior of members in the community. Moreover, there is very rare case of correspondence between the interest of individuals and that of the community or caste. In this respect caste no longer exists as a unity of voting bank, at least at the village level. Within a caste also several factions exist against each other. In situations of conflict among kinsmen or caste members, individuals often join hands with non-kins, or other castes as a whole to deal with their opponents.

For instance, the Yadav caste as a whole has been split into several factions following the conflicts between individuals or between families. Rukaya, the headmaster of the village primary school, has been at enmity with R. Reddy who was the **sarpanch**. Also, Rukaya has troubles with his younger brother and his son Gopal, because of inheritance of property. Before the 1995 **sarpanch** election, Gopal resigned the presidentship of Yadav caste **Sangam** (Association), and he puts himself as a candidate for the **sarpanch**. In the meantime, Narayana took the presidentship of caste, and his brother **Gundhi** stood as a candidate for the **sarpanch** election, too. Narayana was living with two of his brothers, Gundhi and Satiya, under same house but kept separate households for each other. **Satiya's** wife and **Gundhi's** wife quarreled frequently with each other over trifles of chores. Therefore, Satiya who was a friend of R. Reddy was unhappy with his two brothers. In the **sarpanch** election, Rukaya supported Gundhi against his brother's son, while Gopal who was '**Sneha Club**' member was supported by R. Reddy. Similarly, Satiya supported Gopal against his younger brother Gundhi. However in the Cooperative Society election, both Gopal and Gundhi supported R. Reddy, but Rukaya supported a rival candidate of R. Reddy.

It means that the conflicts between individuals play an important role to make factions within a community. Moreover, it is not a caste or family to decide the voting, but the individual's **choice**. And this phenomenon more clearly appears in the **Harijan** communities which constitute separate wards. Two wards from which seven contestants competed with each other for the **member** post of the Panchayat, are located in the SC communities. This situation creates difficulty for bargaining socio-political

benefits on the *sarpanch* election, though the wards contain a lot of voters. Since there is no single caste that constitutes more than a quarter of the population, the alliance between rival leaders or groups aligned and realigned during the election period. Due to the reservation for the *sarpanchship* to the BC, relatively minor, not well-known people could dare to contest without fear of losing or facing psychological difficulty.

The total eleven candidates contested for the *sarpanch* of *gram panchayat*, in old Kandi four: Gopal (Yadav), Gundhi (Yadav), Shankar (Goud), and V. Phandari (Vaddla); in new Kandi six: Veni (female, **Mangalli**), Gandaiah (Padamasalle), K. Pandari (**Padmasalle**), **Sadanandham (Muduraju)**, Anjaya (**Muduraju**) and Yadulla (Muslim); and in **Chimnapur** one, Krishna (Goud). Among them, K. Pandari, Shankar and Krishna were the front runners. K. Pandari is a member of previous Panchayat and enjoys a leadership in the **Padmasalle** caste. Also he has an experience of election, and he is a TOP leader in the village as well. But he has no core-group of political team, though he has a high reputation among the villagers, as a generous **person**. B. Reddy who is also a TDP local leader and belongs to the Kudhati Reddy (cf. 3.5.1) supported him, with his Kudhati Reddy families.

Shankar is the son of a Goud **Sangam** President, and a member of '**Shivaji Youth Club**' as well as '**Adarsha Youth Club**', though he lives in old Kandi. The '**Adarsha Youth Club**', the Gouds and the Dores, and, indirectly, the BJP supported him. Among the political leaders, R. Reddy, M. Reddy, and other high caste and class in new Kandi gave their support to Shankar. While, Krishna was, supported by N. Reddy and his political team, '**Hanuman Youth Club**', as well as the Chimnapur people.

The members of '**Adarsha Youth Club**' canvassed for Shankar throughout new Kandi and old Kandi, while '**Hanuman Youth Club**' did for Krishna. Shankar approached the Harijans in old Kandi (Ward III), and new Kandi (Ward IV and v), as well as the **Lambadis** (Ward XIV). The fact that eleven candidates (who come from six different castes and the Muslim) struggled to get votes from their own castes; each two candidates belonged to same caste, that is the Yadav, the Padmasalle, the Goud and the Muduraju, gave the importance to the votes of the Harijans and **Lambadis** who had no candidate from among them.

Under this context, Shankar approached the leaders of **Harijan**; Dasrat (old Kandi). **Kesaram** (new Kandi) and Malaya (new Kandi). And he asked their support in defeating Krishna canvassing on the issue that, "**If** Krishna is elected as *sarpanch* of Kandi *gram panchayat*, we should go to Chimnapur whenever we have

problems, as we are people living in such a large village as Kandi, how can we go to **Chimnapur**? If he is elected, it is a kind of humiliation for us". Thus, he canvassed. And with the help of his father and Goud **Sangam**, toddy bottles were distributed free of cost to the drinkers generally they belonged to lower castes. And he approached the rival faction or other castes of Chimnapur. Dasrat (Ward III) helped Shankar, through friendship with R. Reddy, while Malaya (in Ward V) supported him by heart because once he and his grandson Krishtaya got the help of local BJP leader through '**Adarsha Youth Club**' (cf. 6.3.1).

However, within ward IV, the voters were roughly bifurcated, young generation supported for Shankar, while old generation and **Kesaram** did for the TDP leader, K. **Pandari**. However **Lambadis** little backed Shankar. For Lambadis, it is a game nothing to lose. So whoever offered more benefits, they voted for him. Moreover, Lambadis are living in three different locations (**tandas**), outside village.

Krishna approached the people of Kandi, through the help of N. Reddy and '**Hanuman Youth Club**'. But he had little support both from old Kandi and new Kandi. In Chimnapur, he was backed by majority of the people, and also he got a lot of votes from the Lambadis. However, K. Pandari conducted a door-to-door campaign in **the** village. In addition, he approached the *Harijan* leaders, Kesaram (Ward IV) who was also a leader of TDP, and Babu (Ward V), and obtained their **support**. Babu did not want to support Malaya's candidate, but he also would not back Krishna. Other candidates got little support from other communities, except from their own castes or communities.

The 1995 Panchayat election, heavily policed, was held at Kandi High School. Polling began at 8 AM. In early time of polling, several minor persons cast their votes instead of the absentees of their families.

Table - 46 shows the voting by ward. Of all, 2864 eligible voters, 2796 votes (97.6 per cent) were polled. Shankar won the 884 votes (31.6 per cent of the votes polled); Krishna received 559 votes (20 per cent); K. Pandari 517 (18.5 per cent). Muslim candidate Yadulla got almost all the total 378 Muslim votes.

TABLE - 46  
THE 1995 ELECTION FOR SARPANCH OF THE **KANDI** GRAM PANCHAYAT:  
VOTING BY WARDS

Name of candidates	Old <b>Kandi</b>				Hards								Chin- napur	Lan- badi	Nev Kandi	Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV		
1. Gopal	3	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	22	
2. Veni	2	1	1	3	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	63	78	
3. <b>Gandaiah</b>	0	2	0	12	2	2	1	5	1	0	3	1	1	0	30	
4. K.Pandari	12	6	3	53	35	92	65	32	69	46	16	7	43	38	517	
5. Gundhi	22	8	36	11	3	1	0	8	2	1	9	1	0	7	109	
6. <b>Shenkar</b>	71	76	100	95	113	60	59	39	70	71	36	7	9	78	884	
7. <b>Sadanandam</b>	0	1	0	7	5	7	6	9	11	15	15	2	9	15	102	
8. Anjaya	2	0	18	4	6	2	12	2	1	3	0	0	1	1	52	
9. Krishna	39	6	0	7	4	5	13	0	2	2	130	202	119	30	559	
10. V. Pandari	11	0	27	1	1	4	3	10	2	2	2	0	1	1	65	
11. Yadulla	41	53	12	21	19	7	26	77	30	68	9	0	4	11	378	
Total	203	159	204	214	190	182	185	183	188	208	221	220	191	248	2796	

\*Total number of eligible voters: 2864 (M:1473 / F: 1391)

The villagers of the Kandi gram panchayat were represented by **Shankar** as sarpanch, he got votes from every ward, with majority of votes, except from the Muslim dominated area (Ward VIII), the **Chimnapurs** and the **Lambadis**.

However, N. **Reddy's** control over the voters of Kandi village, especially in old Kandi, was decreased under the direct election system and the system of vote counting by ward. Direct elections of panchayat members and sarpanch as well as the reservation policy, had apparently brought about a critical change in the village politics. The high level leaders could not easily influence the selection of sarpanch under the new system of direct election. And also, they themselves could not contest or sponsor a proper person, due to the reservation policy. In addition, it was thought that single leader could not control vote banks to some extent that they had in the past.

Instead, the leaders concentrated on the campaign for the election, to the public, individual by individual, not through patronage, and pressure directed quietly at a few people. Therefore, the core group or political team played an important role during the election campaign. Now, as they use cars and electric apparatuses for canvassing, the role of active and well organised election campaigners take a great part of gaining a victory in the election. Moreover, mainly due to the existence of several factions within a caste, the castes or communities no longer play

a role as a vote bank in the village level, that they had in the past. Instead, the voluntary associations take or replace a role of caste **sangam** which previously did in the election.

Moreover, the leaders or would-be leaders seriously consider their public reputation more influential than their patronage or the relationship with the local leader. Generosity is an individual attribute that establishes and maintains relationships and is highly valued to the politicians and all sorts of leaders. For instance, the acts of public charity or donations are common and widely evident for the reputation of a leader. For example, R. Reddy explains the reason of his reputation as a generous person thus: "whenever there is any problem, I help them with my own expenditure if they are poor. And I donate **chanda** (charity) at almost every case, with higher amount than others. I never reject to pay any public charity funds". The reputation of a leader is thus defined by his social responsibilities. A good leader looks **after** his **followers**. So it is not surprising that a group and its members are epitomized by the leader and their popularity depends on the leader's character and style.

But a leader is required to subordinate his private interests to those of public good. That is, in public life, a person should subordinate his self-interest to the collective interests of those groups which he is intimately involved. For instance, R. Reddy lived in an old house that was constructed by his father, during the period of his **sarpanchship**, though he had enough property to construct a new building. After the **sarpanchship**, however, he constructed a new two storey building nearby his ancestral house, besides he started real estate business with a newly purchased car. It means that R. Reddy as a successful leader well mediate both public life and private interest. A reputation is the public sense of one's responsibility for one's identity and actions. A reputation for good character and ability is highly required for the political leaders. Thus, a key expression of a leader's individuality largely is his personal reputation, not his caste, family reputation, status within society, age, education, size of family, and others.

Before the Panchayat elections, the Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituencies (MPTC) election was held in 1995. In the 1995 election, Dasrat was elected as a president of MPTC, with the help of R. Reddy. The MPTC election was reserved for the SC. There were seven contestants. Of them Babu, Ballaiah, and Dasrat were front runners. They came from different communities. Babu was a leader of his community, but a person who belonged to his rival faction contested against him. It was his weak point. Another leader, Ballaiah who was an active member of TDP, had

three contestants from his own community. Dasrat also had another candidates from his own community. Under this situation, nobody could get enough votes from their own communities to be elected as a **president**. The help and support **from** other leaders and castes were absolutely necessary. Under this circumstance, Dasrat approached R. Reddy who was the Sarpanch, and asked for his help. He and R. Reddy were high school classmates. R. Reddy openly supported him. At last, Dasrat was elected as the **President** of **MPTC**.

This shows that due to the reservation policy, the people of certain category were frequently divided into several factions for the election. And, they had to rely upon the hands of other castes or their leaders. None of the castes could wield an absolute power, or become dominant, under the direct election system in such a multi-caste village. Also, no leader would enjoy his political power without alliance with other leaders or without the support of the people. The personal reputation of individual leader, rather than his caste, family, age, education, wealth, and etc., is a key measurement to the voters, on the field of village politics.

After the Panchayat election, there was Cooperative Society (Primary Agricultural Cooperative Credit Society Ltd.) election in July, 1995. This organisation several covers seven villages including **Kandi**. Four candidates contested **for** the post of president of the Cooperative Society. They were - Rao, and R. Reddy from Kandi village and two more - Indira Karan and Cherial - from other villages, Rao is the father of Madhu who was a member of Panchayat and belonged to '**Adarsha Youth Club**'. Rao was once the priest of **Deshmukh's** temple, and just before the election he retired from government job in Hyderabad. R. Reddy was also facing the end of his term of **sarpanchship**.

'Sneha Youth **Club**' worked for R. Reddy in the election. After the election the club received some amount of contribution from R. Reddy. While Rao got the support from N. Reddy and '**Hanuman Youth Club**'. Though N. Reddy had little relationship with Rao, he supported Rao because of his rival relation with R. Reddy. However, the '**Adarsha Youth Club**' supported Cherial. Finally Cherial was elected as President.

The office of Cooperative Society is located at Kandi. As an organization of agriculturists, the society's memberships are also limited to the landowners instead of being distributed among whole cultivators. Therefore, the villagers did not hail the election as they used to do during the *panchayat* elections.

In all elections, the youth clubs play an important role by supporting or opposing one leader or the other. While, the faction leaders frequently align and realign the relationship with certain leaders. As there is no permanent or stationary vote bank, every individual leader should develop a new network on the one hand, and maintain the previous relationship carefully, on the other. Political leaders are justified by their actions and acquire the reputation on the significance of what they have done. A reputation is an assessment of responsibility for one's past behavior. Those who wish to become a political leader are required to maintain peaceful interaction among the people. Trust embodied within relationships has a major source of reliability. This situation forces the leader to become a '**contextualized individual**' (see, Mines 1996:21). The individuality of a leader is expressed differently in different social contexts, in compliance with his family, caste, neighborhood, political parties, as well as, his friendships or individual networks with **others**.



## Notes to Chapter - VI

- 1) **Dumont** (1965a) defines '**individual**' as indivisibility, singularity, or irreplaceability of particular human being, whereas to **Marriott & Inden** (1977), a person is a '**dividual**' rather than an individual. Because, according to Indian ways of thinking and explaining, each person is a composite of transferable substance.
- 2) According to **Blau**, (1977:77-8) heterogeneity refers to the distribution of people among different groups. The degree of heterogeneity is determined by the number of groups into which the population is divided and the distribution of persons among them.
- 3) In the village, there are a few groups, or **quasi-groups**, other than youth club or chit funds, which are associated on the basis of economic interests of the participants. For instance, there is Fishers' Association which is called and registered as '**Bestha Sangam**' (cf. 3.3.2). While another group or **quasi-group** in the village is a '**gathering**' rather than association, in terms of its **features**. A group of religious devotees, i.e. Ayyappa devotees, assemble together regardless of their caste differences, but temporarily, during the period of the practice of asceticism. Strictly speaking, it is not an association, but during certain period they share food and sleeping place, and perform ritual practices together. However, there is no structured organisation among them, moreover, after the ascetic period, they scatter till next auspicious season.
- 4) Ganesha or Vinayaka is the eldest son of Shiva and Parvati. This **elephant-headed** God is most popular of the Hindu Gods. The blessings of Ganesha is believed to remove any obstacle and to make clear path to success. The Ganesha festival starts according to the Hindu calendar in the month of Bhadra (**August-September**) and it lasts for 11 days.
- 5) The Chit Fund Act, 1982 defines that: '**chit**' means a transaction whether called chit, chit fund, chitty, kury or by any other name or under which a person enters into an agreement with a specified number of persons that every one of them shall subscribe a certain sum of money (or a certain quantity of grain instead) by way of periodical installments over a definite period and that each such subscriber shall, in his turn, as determined by lot or by auction or by tender or in such other manner as may be specified in the chit

agreement, be entitled to the prize amount" (Act No. 40 of 1982, **Chap.I**, 2,b, **Pattabhiraman** 1995).

- 6) According to Chit Funds Act, 1982, "No chit shall be commenced or conducted without obtaining the previous sanction of the State Government within whose jurisdiction the chit is to be commenced or conducted. . . (see, **Pattabhiraman** 1995) . The registered chit funds are popular in urban or **semi-urban** area of Hyderabad. Such chit funds companies with fairly large staffs and employees have been successful because they provide an available source of loanable **funds**. This registered chit fund business is similar with **Munjins** of Korea, in 1950s (see, **Campbell** & Ann 1962).
- 7) A long cycle, large amount, interest charge, or competitive bidding are treated as the endogeneous characteristics of commercially oriented rotating credit associations. However, the characteristics of large amount and long cycles are found either in the solidarity purpose chit funds or in charity chit funds. According to **Velez-I**, the presence of specialist who receives a gratuity, fee, interest or profit from the operation of the association, is the central, internal condition to designate an association as commercial (see, **Velez-I** 1982:113-114).
- 8) In a village nearby Hyderabad where Anderson (1966) surveyed, the first chit fund was established in **1950**, and another at a village called Nampalli, near Bangalore, which was studied by **Beals** (see, Siegel & **Beals** 1960), the first chit fund was organized in 1956. While, the business chit fund company was founded, in 1951, for the first time (see, Anderson 1966:331).
- 9) Faction refers to groups or sections of a society in relation of opposition to one another, interested in promoting their own objects rather than those of the society as a whole and often turbulent in their operation (see, Firsch 1957). In other words, factions are '**loosely** ordered groups', and '**they** tend to become activated on specific occasions and not a regularly recurring feature" (Boissevain 1964:1275). And "**a** faction is a coalition of individuals personally recruited by an individual. [...] The central focus of a faction is the leader who has recruited it "(Boissevain 1985:289).
- 10) Regarding to this, Kakar explains, from the psycho-social viewpoint, that "... for an Indian, superior and subordinate relationships have the character of eternal variety and

moral imperative" (1978:117). Furthermore, he comments that in the **Indians'** view, the ideal superior is one who acts generously, so his subordinate will anticipate his wishes or accept them without questioning. This principle of a hierarchical ordering of social dependencies, according to **Kakar**, is based on the extended family stretches throughout the social fields in Indian life.

- 11) After this survey, the Government of Andhra Pradesh declared to divide and classify the SCs on the basis of the population and occupation into four groups, i.e. **A,B,C** and D. These groups are represented by **Relly** (A) , **Madiga** (B) , Mala (C) , and Adi-Andhra (D) ; and allotted 1%, 7%, **6%**, and 1% respectively (see, G.O. Ms. No. 68, dated 6-6-1997 **Govt.** of Andhra Pradesh). Subsequently, however, the **Andhra** Pradesh High Court suspended the operation of G.O. So, it is not settled order, untill now.
- 12) The distinction between the terms '**group**' and '**network**' is primarily one of boundaries, while a group is 'a bounded **unit**', a network, on the contrary, ramifies in every direction and stretches out **indefinitely**. Furthermore, the boundaries of a group are same for the insider as well as outsider. On the contrary, the character of a network vary from one individual to another, it is originally ego centered (see, Bott 1971; **Beteille** & Srinivas 1992; Mayer **1966**, 1971) .

## **CHAPTER - VII**

### ***SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION***

This study is focussed primary on the maintenance system of social identity and the pursuit of the personal interests in terms of caste, family and voluntary associations in the village circumstance. These social institutions are not totally separate from or independent of each other, but their inter-and intra-relationships are intermingled with, and interdependent to each other in daily life of the people. The findings of the present study are summarized in the order of the main chapters (cf. Chapters **II-VI**) and/or the primary '**units**' of study (that is, caste, family, and etc.) delineated so far as below:

## **7.1 Village**

Chapter one covers introduction, so the actual delineation of the present study starts with **chapter-II**, that is, the village. The village as a unit of social organization represents a distinct entity, where castes, communities, and families inhabit. The people in the village are integrated, cooperate or compete with each other through various socio-economic, and ritual interaction in spite of diverse castes, religions, languages, **and/or** personal or group interests. That is, the village functions as a unit of social entity, and offers a sense of belonging to the members of the village. However, the village forms part of a complex society and can thus be no longer stand as self-contained and integrated system in its own right, **socio-economically** as well as politically.

The present study confirms the fact that the village does not only exist as a socio-political organization but has also remained as a unit of ritual activities and social interactions. The village has existed historically, ritually, and socio-economically as a unit of organization (cf. Chapter-II).

## **7.2 Caste**

Caste is the main source of social identity, which can be obtained only by the birth. Caste system is composed of a set of castes (or sub-castes), and the core of caste system is status heterogeneity between **castes**. It is said that the characters of caste system are endogamy, **commensality**, and hereditarily specialized occupation (cf. 3.6).

Caste endogamy and commensality, which are connected with the concept of purity/pollution, have been the main mechanism of caste boundary maintenance. But the present study has shown that, nowadays, commensality itself is much deteriorated, even though not totally banished, because of education, modernization and changing ways of life (**cf.** 3.4) .

Nowadays, interdining restrictions are an individual's code for conduct rather than being castewise. From the ideological point of view, each caste or individual seems to accept '**equality**', however in practice, one group or individual '**differentiates**' from others who do not belong to the same caste or category (or groups). Even though people claim, "caste system does not exist any more" or "all caste (or people) are same (or equal)", so "we can eat with any one", etc., such claims are limited only upon public places. That is, an individual can eat with lower castes at public places, but he maintains or keeps an orthodox style at his own house (cf. 3.4.2).

Moreover, in daily life of the villagers, there is a little opportunity to share food between members of different castes as well as between those of same castes, except during public feasts or marriage functions. However, in some ritual contexts, the rule of **commensality** is used as a symbol of social and ritual status, whether explicitly or not (cf. 3.4.3). But because of increasing economic **differentiation** within the village, the commensal restrictions have been relaxed at individual level, especially among high- and middle-castes or classes. And public education has helped to relax or ignore the restriction of commensality more and more (cf. 3.4.4).

Compared to commensality, caste endogamy itself has, more or less, not changed substantially, or it has remained restricted, even though the norm of marriage rule is transforming from preference family alliance to **class-bound** marriage among the riches, to some extent. Nowadays, the present study shows that, there is a growing tendency of defining. Caste or sub-caste boundary on the ground of '**natural**' difference, not by ritual separation. That is why the importance of castewise code of conduct is gradually diminishing. As a result, the unit of endogamy shifting toward, generally, wider category than before (cf. 3.5.1).

Despite many changes, caste endogamy is, and has been, the key factor for keeping and signifying caste identity as a marker of group identity. That is, caste endogamy is still being practised as a rule or norm, but it is now being justified by the concept of 'difference' of the way of life and '**blood**' of each caste, not by the criterion of hierarchy which is based on the concept of purity/pollution, as a principle of whole caste system. But, the alternation, in the normative base of caste, from '**purity**' as an index of hierarchical rank to '**difference**' as a marker of separation, is a matter of degree rather than kind. This shift away from the whole toward the person, or family, is conceived on the model of the person. It means one's primary

identity situates within the person or family rather than in the whole system. This phenomenon in Dumont's (1970a:222) term, is '**substantialization**' which gets elaborated in Barnett (1975) and Fuller (1996) .

That is, the rule of **commensality** is no more the castewide code of conduct, rather it becomes the code for conduct based on **individual's choice**. The endogamy remains as a mechanism of maintaining the caste identity, however, the caste no longer can sanction or excommunicate the union of inter-caste marriage, whether legally or socially (cf. 3.5.2). The caste only controls the caste affiliation of the possible offspring of such union, by boycotting to accept as a proper marital partner (**cf.** 3.5.3) .

Nowadays, therefore, it becomes the family, not the caste, to decide whether to accept or reject such **inter-caste** union (**cf.** 3.5). In other words, even though the caste as a whole has not lost totally the traditional mechanism of boundary of maintenance, such as the rule of commensality and endogamy, the center of authority to maintain or produce the social identity, shift to the **family** as a **unit**.

### 7.3 **Watnadari** and **pethubai** relations

One of the unique characters of caste system is that each caste has its own hereditarily acquired occupation, and through the occupation, each caste is connected with other castes and/or the village as a whole. Under these relationships, each caste has enjoyed the exclusive right of its own specialized occupation. For keeping its own interest, each caste has developed limited membership through restricted marriage and succession rule. But if there is no economic benefit from the monopolization of hereditary occupation, or occupational relationships, any caste can and did change their job or stop the relationship, after some quarrel or compromise (cf. 3.3.3). Moreover, nowadays the traditional occupation of each caste is nothing but a nomenclature of its respective caste or for identifying the members of that caste.

Following Wiser (1936) who conceptualized '**jajmani system**', a number of scholars who have studied occupational interrelations in other parts of India, inappropriately termed all of the hereditary relationships of service exchange, as *jajmani* relation, whether it is between different castes or between the families or individuals of certain castes and the village as a whole.

The present study confirms the existence of the '**baluta**' or '**watandari**' system studied by Raju (1980), Fuller (1989), Fukaza-

wa (1972, 1984), Karve & Damle (1963), and others; that is the relationships between the specific individual or family as the village office or village '**servant**' on the one hand, and the village as a whole on the other (cf. 2.9.121 and 2.9.2). In other words, the present study shows that the so called **jajmani** system as an empirical category is not an all Indian system, as Fuller (1989), Good (1982), Mayer (1993), Simon (1983), and Lerche (1993) insist (cf. 2.9.2).

And the present study does not confirm Gould (1958), Karanth (1987), Kolenda (1983), and etc. that dichotomize the **jajman** (or '**master**') as higher caste and the service caste as lower and poor. Considering the situation in the village their assumption is wrong because the **jajmans** who receive the service from the specialists, are not always land owning and are little connected whether they should belong to a high caste (or **twice-born** caste) or low. For instance, the exchange of goods and services exists there, between lower caste '**farmer**' who cultivates land (but need not always be landowner), or tenants (including, **Harijan**), on the one hand, and the specialists who are virtually the people of higher rank than the farmers in terms of ritual context, on the other (cf. 3.3.3). But in case of the **Harijan** farmers, or tenants, their ritual service is, generally, not offered by the high service castes. In other words, the criteria of patron is not the rank of their caste, but the cultivation of land. And also a member of the service caste who has and cultivates land by himself or by the help of others, receives, as a patron, the service of other craft or service castes (cf. 3.3.33).

Moreover, contrary to what Wiser (1936) has described, the service exchange system is by no means exclusive to Hindus only, because Muslim farmers also participate in it in the village, who are served by the Hindu specialist castes (cf. 3.3.31). And it is noteworthy, that in the village the Brahman **purohit**, like other '**village servants**', has the right to serve the whole village households according to the traditional heritage of his family. Most importantly, the Brahman **purohit** does not involve in any ritual services in relation to the agricultural cycle, whether performed in the field or in the house of the farmer. And, in the village, the Brahman **purohit** has not been linked to the endurable relationship with any specific family or caste, that is, there does not exist the so called '**purohit-jajman**' relationship (cf. 3.3.11 and 3.3.3).

Broadly speaking, two types of patron-client service relationships have existed in the village. One is the farmer - service caste relationship, and the other, the relationship between



the village as a whole and the specific family or individuals, the so called '**village** servants' . The former is called **pethubai**, the latter **watandari** relations in the village as in other Telangana area (cf. 3.3.31 and 2.9.21).

#### 7.4 Family and marriage

Another significant aspect of village life that the present study has confirmed is that, the family is emerging as a main social institution, compared to the decreasing caste as a unit of social activity. The pursuit of high status or the maintenance of high socio-economic status through modern education system, industrialization, and capital economic system, etc. has been one of the main interests of the common people. Due to these changing situations, inter-caste as well as intra-caste socio-economic differences have been remarkable features of the village life.

The social network is gradually crossing the caste boundary. And the individual's positions in a society, that is, his economic standing, social status, and his own and other's esteem, **etc.**, are all, generally, dependent upon his occupation (cf. 4.4).

The present study has revealed that nowadays, the influence of caste on the particular occupation is much diminished, if not lost, except among some of the craft or service castes. But, in contrast to the caste, the family plays more and more a crucial role in the reproduction of socio-economic inequality through social structure associated with new educational and occupational system. In other words, caste hardly plays an active part of maintaining and reproducing the social status, but the family functions as a social institution for reproduction and maintenance of socio-economic interests. Through the **family**, not the caste, cultural and social capital is transmitted from parent generation to children (cf. 4.5).

However, the family does not always exist as a static, unchangeable unit. In accordance with environment, life time and property relations, the family always fluctuates in terms of its size and/or form. In the village, the economic opportunity seems to be the main cause for separation or maintenance of the family unit. But there are some tendencies between caste and family structure even though it is difficult to predict their cause or effects such as high caste joint family, low caste nuclear family, etc. (**cf.** 4.3).

Although the marriage transaction between wife-givers and **wife-takers** is regarded as a social rather than economic one, it serves to cement or symbolise the alliance, to match families of

equal or similar socio-economic status. Instead of the norm of preference kin marriage, the private interests of the motivational family play the key role to select spouse or both sides of wife-givers and **wife-takers**. With the economic differences, the occupational change and the rising educational attainment have been suggested as the main reasons for introducing change in marriage pattern (cf. 4.9.5).

Nowadays, the custom of dowry has introduced a new asymmetrical status between affinal groups. To maintain or represent family status, certain kinds of families, especially upwardly mobile groups, spend a lot of money on dowry or for marital function itself. Due to the educational and economic differentiation within castes, a new kind of division is created between '**marriageable**' and '**unmarriageable**' kin. This new trend or attitude is focused mainly on the personal interest of individual families. Though the norm of preference marriage is not changed, in practice the amount of dowry decides the marriage, either with close kin or with '**outsider**' (cf. 4.9.5) .

In respect of the rules of marriage, the people of the village are expected to marry their cross cousins, like in other South Dravidian area, but only matrilateral ones, i.e. a man shall marry his **MBD**, but not his **FZD** (or **eZD**) . This rule of matrilateral cross cousin marriage which is called **menarikam** in the village, reflects the ideal of **kanyadana** which is strictly asymmetrical in orientation. That is, the preference of matrilateral cross cousin marriage reflects the principle of hypergamy, rather than **isogamy** (cf. 4.8 and 4.9) .

The kinship terminology also, to some extent, reflects this distinction between matrilateral and patrilateral sides of cross cousin, in the ego's own generation and first ascending and descending generation. This distinction is somewhat peculiar in this region (cf. 4.7). However, the rules of marriage and kinship terminology or classification offer only an ideal picture of marriage and kinship. In practice, the behavior of the individual members does not correspond **exactly**, either to the normative rule of marriage or to the **classification** of kin terminology. Individual marriages, therefore, vary relying on the demographic, economic, educational, or other variables. But marriages are closely bound up with the caste endogamy (cf. 4.9.4).

## 7.5 The Muslim

Here, the Muslim as a religious community is treated separately from their co-resident Hindus. In certain aspects, the social **stratification**, the structure of family and marriage

behaviour of the Muslims are not radically different from those of the Hindus.

However, the Muslims maintain or define their own social identities, mainly, by **emphasizing** a distinction between Hindu hierarchy and Muslim egalitarianism, in terms of religious discourse. But it does not mean that the Muslim community is homogeneous within the community, as generally recognized by the people, the social **stratification** does exist there, although Muslim status groups do not fit into Hindu caste model perfectly (cf. 5.3) .

In the social frames there are, an elaborate social stratifications and hierarchies among them against the norm of equality in Islam. Muslims are broadly divided into two categories, i.e. *Ashrafs* and **non-Ashrafs** (or *Ajlafs*). The former have a higher status which is derived from their foreign ancestry. The *Ashrafs* are further divided into four groups, Syeds, Sheiks, **Mughals** and **Phathans**, in that order of rank. In the village, among them the *Mughals* do not exist. The non-Ashrafs are **sup-**posed to include converts from the Hindus. Like *Ashrafs*, the *non-Ashrafs* too are divided and distinguished among themselves, and ranks are recognized according to the criteria of original caste status or their traditional occupation, customs, and practices. Although the non-Ashrafs exhibit a duality in their status among themselves (in the village, Pedda Katika, Chinna Katika and Fakir) , they are always inferior to the *Ashrafs*. In other words, birth (or origin and descent) and time of conversion are the main principle of status honour in the Muslim society (cf. 5.3.2) .

The Muslims maintain their own social identity which is distinguished from that of the Hindus, by the emphasis on Islamic identity and the linguistic differences (*Urdu*) , and by the distinguishable variation in dress, ornamentation, names, food habits, ceremonial practices and others. However, in several aspects, Muslims do not differ **significantly** from the Hindus; especially in relation to such norms as the preference of joint family living, family structure, the practice of dowry and preferential cross cousin marriage, and etc. They have developed these on practical custom (cf. 5.4) .

In practice, the Muslim marriages have great resemblance to those of their **co-resident** Hindus, while kin terminology and the rules of marriage are remarkably different compared to those of the Hindu neighbours. The Muslim kin terminology and classification of kins are similar to the Hindu kinship terminology of the North India, but the kin terms are used in their colloquial Urdu

tongue. The rules of marriage which are conceptualized and expressed as a normal and respectable marriage represent no specific or preferred category of the people for marital alliance, apart from the observation of Islamic proscriptions on incest and exogamy.

That is, the present study does not confirm with Hussain Khan's (1994) insistence that the structure of kin terminology is built upon the line of the Indian Dravidian kinship system. In the village, the Muslim kinship terminology shows that there are no separate terms for the cross and parallel relatives of all levels, except in the kin terminology of the Fakir. Moreover, there is no rule to prohibit marriage with parallel relatives, nor is there the predominant idea of bilateral **cross-cousin** marriage (cf. 5.6.1 and 5.6.2). However, in practice, there are certain kinds of preferential marriages (i.e. cross cousin, especially **matrilateral** cross cousin), and social hierarchy between two marital families at the time of marriage. Moreover, there are certain **endogamous** units within the Muslim community (cf. 5.6).

While, in the domains of rituals and festivals, the Muslims seek to assert their distinct identity, the observance of **Moharram** and the beliefs of *Dargah* represent a kind of cultural syncretism between the Islam and the Hinduism. The eventual attainment of community solidarity is accompanied by the festive and integrative aspect of the **Moharram** (cf. 5.4.2).

## 7.6 Voluntary associations

In order to take or keep political and economic interests, some ambitious people, especially young generation, organize or use a number of social networks, such as Youth Club, Chit Fund which are based mainly upon friendship, neighbourhood, education, job networks or socio-economic status, etc. Almost all of these kinds of networks or associations, which link each individual cross caste boundaries (cf. 6.3).

But these kinds of voluntary associations have been neglected, especially in village level, compared to the caste system and the family. The individual social networks, except those of kin or family, are treated not peculiar phenomena of Indian society. Generally, it is said that the joint family, the caste system, and the village community have been treated as a the basic feature of the Indian society. Regarding to this trend, Appadurai (1986) correctly indicates that caste or hierarchy in India has been developed as '**theoretical metonyms**' or '**gate-keeping concepts**' (cf. 6.2). On this background, the present

study touches upon and highlights some features of these often ignored domains of social life, that is, chit funds and the youth clubs (cf. Chapter VI).

Also, the individual as an '**empirical agent**' is relatively neglected and displaced onto a substantialized caste as '**collective identity**'. The introduction of universal franchise, besides the new political, economic and social changes, opened up the political process for all equally. Moreover, the spread of commercial enterprise brought people together on the basis of individually achieved qualities rather than on the ascribed straits, more and more. As a result, the domains of politico-economic relationship within village, to a great extent rely upon the individual network as well as caste and family (cf. 6.4).

Under these situation, some persons who are politically ambitious, recognize the need for informal or formal social network not only within their caste members but among others. Social network, especially which is based on friendship, plays a role of the linkage existing between different institutional spheres and different system of groups and categories. The bond of these friendship network, as well as caste membership, is used for organizing voluntary associations or political action groups, such as Youth Club. Through these kinds of association, one can achieve '**self-esteem**', socio-political interests, and etc. As a result, some ambitious persons get a political position or jump into political area, such as panchayat election, by the help of specific youth club as political action group (cf. 6.4.3).

Another way to consider occupational **diversification** and caste change is to focus on chit fund associations which are generally called '**rotating credit association**' in the anthropological and economic studies. The chit fund association in which the membership crosses the caste boundaries, involve greater scope of the individual choice and flexibility. Even though the goal of chit fund association is primarily monetary, the relationship of association between the organizer and **member(s)** is, by and large, established upon friendship network, class-bounded, or neighbourhood which goes generally across caste boundary (cf. 6.3.22).

If the main purpose of political voluntary association (i.e. youth club) is to seek socio-political interests, the goal of chit fund association is, by and large, commercial than social. **But**, to some extent, these two types of interests are overlapping, and are not totally exclusive to each other. **That** is, the chit fund association is used for political purpose or is at-

**tached** to political organization for uniting the membership, but not vice versa (cf. 6.3.213).

## **7.7 Concluding remark: identity and interest**

In the circumstances of hierarchical caste society, the individuals as '**social** actor<sup>1</sup>, generally, comply with the norms or rules (e.g. endogamy) which are the standards for including a person into or excluding from a group or a social position. That is, individuals conform to norm or rule in order to obtain validation for particular or important identities from certain others. However, on the other hand, the individual orients himself to the situation and makes decisions so as to maximize his personal goals or interests (e.g. the separation of family unit and/or marriage with '**outsider**' due to socio-economic opportunity or benefits) . In other words, the individual as an 'empirical agent' evaluates and selects among alternative choices in the context of everyday life, basically for his/her self-interests.

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<b>C.A.</b>	-	Current Anthropology
<b>C.I.S.</b>	-	Contributions to Indian Sociology
<b>E.P.W.</b>	-	Economic and Political Weekly
<b>I.E.S.S.</b>	-	International Encyclopedia of Social Science
<b>M.P.P.</b>	-	Media Promoters & Publishers
<b>O.U.P.</b>	-	Oxford University Press



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## ***APPENDICES***

# Appendix - 1

## Table - 1 : Records of Castewise landholders in Kandi

1) BRAHMAN				4) REDDY			
S.No.	Met	Dry	Total	S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
01	0.400	0.000	0.400	01	4.175	0.000	4.175
02	0.625	3.000	3.625	02	1.300	0.000	1.300
03	2.225	0.000	2.225	03	0.000	8.900	8.900
04	0.000	8.975	8.975	04	1.600	0.000	1.600
05	8.050	142.150	150.200	05	1.050	1.650	2.700
06	2.475	3.000	5.475	06	0.000	0.075	0.075
07	7.950	47.375	55.325	07	1.375	3.300	4.675
08	0.000	35.000	35.000	08	1.775	2.250	4.025
09	3.000	0.0750	3.075	09	0.775	1.500	2.275
10	3.000	0.100	3.100	10	1.750	1.375	3.125
11	2.050	0.0750	2.125	11	4.375	4.750	9.125
12	3.175	42.200	45.375	12	2.700	3.300	6.000
13	0.625	2.000	2.625	13	1.300	4.450	5.750
14	0.500	0.000	0.500	14	0.000	2.350	2.350
15	0.700	1.775	2.475	15	0.000	3.250	3.250
16	0.000	5.075	5.075	16	0.625	1.375	2.000
17	1.250	0.000	1.250	17	4.075	17.050	21.125
18	2.650	0.475	3.125	18	5.150	7.275	12.425
19	0.000	5.875	5.875	19	2.325	6.925	9.250
Total	38.67500	297.15000	335.82500	20	3.200	3.350	6.550
Aveg.	2.03553	15.63947	17.67500	21	0.000	1.925	1.925
2) THAKUR				22	0.675	1.400	2.075
S.No.	Met	Dry	Total	23	1.350	4.500	5.850
1	0.100	78.000	78.100	24	3.350	10.175	13.525
2	1.500	0.000	1.500	25	0.600	9.750	10.350
3	0.825	5.40	6.225	26	0.000	2.800	2.800
4	0.300	0.900	1.200	27	1.625	4.450	6.075
5	2.225	2.575	4.800	28	5.775	0.000	5.775
6	0.900	2.450	3.350	29	0.000	1.000	1.000
7	0.900	4.700	5.600	30	1.050	1.925	2.975
8	0.775	1.550	2.325	31	0.000	5.975	5.975
9	0.350	1.325	1.675	32	1.175	0.000	1.175
10	2.000	2.575	4.575	33	0.000	0.850	0.850
11	2.250	7.550	9.800	34	0.000	4.175	4.175
12	0.625	3.700	4.325	35	0.000	7.000	7.000
Total	12.750	110.72500	123.47500	36	0.750	1.500	2.250
Aveg.	1.06250	9.22708	10.28958	37	0.625	1.375	2.000
3) KOMATI				38	2.800	1.350	4.150
S.No.	Met	Dry	Total	39	2.000	7.200	9.200
1	0.950	0.000	0.950	40	1.800	1.350	3.150
2	0.000	0.500	0.500	41	0.550	0.000	0.550
3	0.000	50.000	50.000	42	1.300	0.000	1.300
4	0.675	0.000	0.675	43	0.000	4.200	4.200
5	0.000	0.125	0.125	44	5.550	0.500	6.050
6	2.250	4.300	6.550	45	1.225	0.000	1.225
7	0.000	2.600	2.600	46	0.625	9.275	9.900
8	0.000	0.100	0.100	47	1.025	2.550	3.575
9	0.000	0.125	0.125	48	0.475	5.050	5.525
10	0.000	2.150	2.150	49	0.000	0.600	0.600
11	0.000	3.300	3.300	50	0.225	2.525	2.750
12	0.575	0.000	0.575	51	0.500	0.000	0.500
13	0.000	0.125	0.125	52	0.000	15.250	15.250
Total	4.45000	63.32500	67.77500	53	0.000	1.400	1.400
Aveg.	0.34231	4.87115	5.21346	54	1.325	0.000	1.325
				55	0.000	13.800	13.800
				56	0.000	4.000	4.000

57	0.000	1.500	1.500
58	0.750	5.475	6.225
59	0.750	2.500	3.250
60	5.375	8.600	13.975
61	0.675	6.275	6.950
62	0.000	2.000	2.000
63	0.000	1.500	1.500
64	2.525	4.525	7.050
65	0.000	3.000	3.000
66	1.350	4.500	5.850
67	1.450	11.100	12.550
68	0.000	1.275	1.275
69	0.850	0.000	0.850
70	1.075	1.650	2.725
71	0.600	4.750	5.350
72	1.350	0.000	1.350
73	0.000	5.625	5.625
74	0.000	0.025	0.025
75	2.800	0.000	2.800
76	0.775	1.500	2.275
77	0.000	3.250	3.250
78	0.250	2.550	2.800
79	0.375	3.000	3.375
80	0.350	3.000	3.350
81	2.225	10.900	13.125
Total	97.450	289.475	386.92500
Aveg.	1.20309	3.57377	4.77685

#### 5-1) LINGAYAT (BALIJA)

S.No.	Net	Dry	Total
01	0.000	0.200	0.200
02	0.350	0.350	0.700
03	0.475	3.100	3.575
04	2.325	0.650	2.975
05	1.325	3.000	4.325
06	0.000	12.450	12.450
07	1.250	0.000	1.250
08	0.250	0.750	1.000
09	0.000	1.275	1.275
10	0.000	0.200	0.200
11	1.100	0.650	1.750
12	0.375	0.350	0.725
13	0.000	1.925	1.925
14	0.325	2.050	2.375
15	0.000	0.100	0.100
16	0.000	2.000	2.000
17	0.300	2.100	2.400
18	0.000	1.475	1.475
19	0.000	0.225	0.225
20	0.350	0.350	0.700
21	0.425	2.675	3.100
22	0.325	2.250	2.575
23	0.000	0.750	0.750
24	0.875	0.400	1.275
25	0.775	0.000	0.775
26	0.000	0.200	0.200
Total	10.82500	39.47500	50.30000
Aveg.	0.46135	1.51827	1.93462

#### 5-2) LINGAYAT (JANGAM)

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
1	1.1250	6.1250	7.2500
2	1.4750	8.3250	9.8000
Total	2.60000	14.45000	17.05000
Aveg.	1.30000	7.22500	8.52500

#### 6) PADMASALLR

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
01	0.000	0.100	0.100
02	0.675	1.100	1.775
03	0.000	1.625	1.625
04	0.000	1.450	1.450
05	0.000	5.025	5.025
06	0.000	2.000	2.000
07	0.000	4.000	4.000
08	0.000	2.700	2.700
09	0.000	2.500	2.500
10	0.000	0.500	0.500
11	0.650	1.100	1.750
12	0.000	1.750	1.750
13	0.000	6.625	6.625
14	0.000	0.950	0.950
15	0.000	1.000	1.000
16	0.775	0.950	1.725
17	0.675	5.600	6.275
18	0.000	2.200	2.200
19	0.000	0.250	0.250
20	0.000	4.850	4.850
21	0.000	1.250	1.250
22	0.000	0.750	0.750
23	0.000	1.250	1.250
24	0.800	3.325	4.125
25	0.000	1.000	1.000
26	0.000	1.375	1.375
27	1.450	0.000	1.450
28	0.575	2.000	2.575
29	0.000	0.500	0.500
30	0.400	0.000	0.400
31	0.000	0.250	0.250
32	0.325	0.000	0.325
33	0.000	5.000	5.000
34	0.550	2.500	3.050
Total	6.87500	65.47500	72.35000
Aveg.	0.20221	1.92574	2.12794

## 7) YADAV

S. No.	Met	Dry	Total				
01	0.150	0.925	1.075	57	0.450	4.450	4.900
02	0.175	0.900	1.075	58	1.375	1.500	2.875
03	0.575	4.800	5.375	59	1.000	7.950	8.950
04	1.450	5.225	6.675	60	0.000	0.275	0.275
05	0.000	4.500	4.500	61	0.300	5.350	5.650
06	0.000	1.950	1.950	62	0.550	0.000	0.550
07	0.000	0.850	0.850	63	0.475	0.500	0.975
08	0.000	2.550	2.550	64	1.175	0.000	1.175
09	0.000	0.450	0.450	65	0.200	1.225	1.425
10	0.000	2.575	2.575	66	0.375	0.000	0.375
11	0.000	1.250	1.250	67	0.100	2.775	2.875
12	0.000	1.000	1.000	68	0.075	0.000	0.075
13	0.000	1.000	1.000	69	0.000	6.675	6.675
14	0.150	2.325	2.475	70	0.000	0.225	0.225
15	0.225	1.400	1.625	71	0.000	0.875	0.875
16	0.900	0.925	1.825	72	0.000	0.550	0.550
17	0.500	0.850	1.350	73	0.000	0.400	0.400
18	0.600	5.650	6.250	74	0.100	0.700	0.800
19	0.100	5.725	5.825	75	0.350	0.000	0.350
20	0.000	1.500	1.500	76	0.000	0.275	0.275
21	0.000	1.000	1.000	77	0.875	0.000	0.875
22	0.325	4.350	4.675	78	0.875	0.000	0.875
23	1.050	0.000	1.050	79	0.325	1.425	1.750
24	0.475	1.400	1.875	80	0.525	2.775	3.300
25	0.000	0.500	0.500	81	0.200	1.150	1.350
26	0.200	1.150	1.350	82	0.000	6.875	6.875
27	0.150	1.000	1.150	83	0.000	0.575	0.575
28	0.550	2.700	3.250	84	0.875	0.925	1.800
29	12.600	1.150	13.750	85	3.025	6.375	9.400
30	1.000	2.675	3.675	86	0.625	2.525	3.150
31	0.600	3.575	4.175	87	0.250	0.000	0.250
32	2.850	0.500	3.350	88	0.525	4.425	4.950
33	0.375	0.875	1.250	89	0.250	0.000	0.250
34	0.000	1.625	1.625	90	0.000	3.375	3.375
35	0.000	0.650	0.650	91	0.000	0.875	0.875
36	1.075	0.000	1.075	92	0.000	0.275	0.275
37	0.900	0.000	0.900	93	0.000	2.000	2.000
38	1.175	0.000	1.175	94	0.000	0.575	0.575
39	0.000	3.550	3.550	95	0.000	0.275	0.275
40	0.475	0.300	0.775	96	0.000	0.825	0.825
41	0.425	5.350	5.775	97	0.000	1.000	1.000
42	1.000	4.950	5.950	98	0.000	0.775	0.775
43	0.000	0.875	0.875	99	0.200	1.175	1.375
44	0.000	2.575	2.575	100	0.000	0.800	0.800
45	0.000	0.825	0.825	101	0.500	7.925	8.425
46	0.175	0.000	0.175	102	0.500	2.500	3.000
47	0.000	0.325	0.325				
48	0.775	7.900	8.675	Total	51.100	196.500	247.600
49	1.400	0.000	1.400	Aveg.	0.501	1.926	2.428
50	1.575	1.250	2.825				
51	0.650	2.700	3.350				
52	0.300	5.700	6.000				
53	0.100	5.100	5.200				
54	0.000	1.500	1.500				
55	0.000	0.600	0.600				
56	0.000	0.350	0.350				

## 8) MUDORAJU

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
01	1.150	1.950	3.100
02	0.000	1.000	1.000
03	0.000	3.000	3.000
04	0.000	1.500	1.500
05	0.000	1.000	1.000
06	0.000	0.500	0.500
07	0.000	2.600	2.600
08	1.325	2.625	3.950
09	1.950	12.000	13.950
10	1.225	2.150	3.375
11	0.300	3.875	4.175
12	0.450	2.650	3.100
13	0.250	2.275	2.525
14	0.000	3.500	3.500
15	0.000	2.975	2.975
16	0.000	0.750	0.750
17	0.000	0.500	0.500
18	0.000	0.800	0.800
19	0.000	0.500	0.500
20	0.075	3.500	3.575
21	0.225	1.250	1.475
22	2.925	1.050	3.975
23	0.000	2.325	2.325
24	0.000	0.900	0.900
25	0.000	3.000	3.000
26	0.000	1.000	1.000
27	0.400	1.650	2.050
28	0.425	1.650	2.075
29	0.825	0.000	0.825
30	0.000	0.500	0.500
31	0.000	0.500	0.500
32	0.000	0.500	0.500
33	0.275	2.400	2.675
34	0.250	0.000	0.250
35	0.775	1.000	1.775
36	0.425	1.675	2.100
37	0.000	0.500	0.500
38	0.000	0.500	0.500
39	0.000	0.625	0.625
40	0.000	1.350	1.350
41	0.000	0.500	0.500
42	0.175	5.000	5.175
43	0.275	3.100	3.375
44	0.450	1.650	2.100
45	0.000	0.500	0.500
46	0.000	1.250	1.250
47	0.200	1.250	1.450
48	0.350	5.775	6.125
49	1.350	1.575	2.925
50	1.775	5.300	6.075
51	0.000	3.500	3.500
52	0.000	4.775	4.775
53	0.000	3.450	3.450
54	0.000	0.750	0.750
55	0.075	0.000	0.075

56	0.000	0.950	0.950
57	0.000	0.550	0.550
58	0.025	0.575	0.600
59	0.000	0.500	0.500
60	0.000	0.750	0.750
61	0.000	0.770	0.700
62	0.000	1.000	1.000
63	0.000	0.950	0.950
64	0.225	1.250	1.475
65	1.650	0.000	1.650
66	0.100	0.725	0.825
67	0.275	1.775	2.050
68	0.000	0.900	0.900
69	0.000	1.250	1.250
70	0.000	0.875	0.875
71	0.000	0.750	0.750
72	0.000	0.625	0.625
73	0.000	1.250	1.250
74	0.000	0.950	0.950
75	0.450	1.650	2.100
76	1.075	0.875	1.950
77	0.000	1.000	1.000
78	0.000	1.000	1.000
79	1.075	2.800	3.875
80	0.175	7.075	7.250
81	0.200	1.250	1.450
82	0.000	0.750	0.750
83	0.100	1.250	1.350
84	0.000	0.500	0.500
85	0.000	1.900	1.900
86	0.650	0.000	0.650
87	0.000	0.800	0.800
88	0.425	0.000	0.425
89	0.000	2.000	2.000
90	0.075	0.700	0.775
91	0.000	1.150	1.150
92	0.000	0.550	0.550
93	0.000	0.625	0.625
94	0.000	0.950	0.950
95	0.300	0.000	0.300
96	0.300	0.000	0.300
97	0.000	1.750	1.750
98	0.000	0.875	0.875

Total	24.00000	156.1750	180.17500
Aveg.	0.24490	1.59362	1.83852



## 9) GOUD

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
01	0.125	0.000	0.125
02	0.550	3.000	3.550
03	0.550	8.000	8.550
04	0.000	0.700	0.700
05	0.000	0.625	0.625
06	0.000	0.750	0.750
07	0.000	0.425	0.425
08	0.375	2.050	2.425
09	1.525	0.400	1.925
10	0.000	1.750	1.750
11	0.000	4.000	4.000
12	0.125	0.000	0.125
13	0.000	0.500	0.500
14	0.000	3.500	3.500
15	0.000	0.625	0.625
16	0.000	0.750	0.750
17	0.000	1.000	1.000
18	0.225	0.000	0.225
19	0.125	0.000	0.125
20	0.000	3.000	3.000
21	0.550	0.125	0.675
22	0.400	1.350	1.750
23	0.425	0.000	0.425
24	0.525	0.000	0.525
25	0.500	2.000	2.500
26	0.350	2.000	2.350
27	0.000	7.350	7.350
28	0.000	2.000	2.000
29	0.300	8.000	8.300
30	0.250	0.000	0.250
31	0.000	0.500	0.500

## 10) SARA

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
1	0.000	7.0000	7.000000
2	2.900	6.7500	9.650000
3	1.300	6.1000	7.400000
4	0.250	0.9500	1.200000
5	0.250	1.0000	1.250000
6	0.250	1.8750	2.125000
7	0.250	1.0000	1.250000
8	0.000	2.0250	2.025000
Total	5.200	26.7000	31.900000
Aveg.	0.650	3.3375	3.987500

## 11) HERA

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
1	0.00000	3.00000	3.000000
2	1.10000	2.72500	3.825000
3	0.00000	0.50000	0.500000
4	0.00000	3.00000	3.000000
5	1.30000	1.30000	2.600000
6	0.00000	2.17500	2.175000
7	0.00000	2.75000	2.750000
8	0.00000	2.00000	2.000000
9	0.00000	2.00000	2.000000
Total	2.40000	19.45000	21.85000
Aveg.	0.26667	2.16111	2.42778

32	0.000	0.150	0.150
33	0.000	0.500	0.500
34	0.000	0.425	0.425
35	0.000	16.150	16.150
36	2.300	0.925	3.225
37	0.000	0.875	0.875
38	0.925	2.675	3.600
39	0.000	0.500	0.500
40	0.500	0.000	0.500
41	0.000	0.750	0.750
42	0.000	0.750	0.750
43	0.375	1.625	2.000
44	0.000	0.425	0.425
45	1.375	0.000	1.375
46	1.550	0.000	1.550
47	1.050	0.650	1.700
48	0.550	3.000	3.550
49	0.375	1.475	1.850
50	1.925	2.250	4.175
51	0.050	0.000	0.050
52	0.000	0.500	0.500
53	0.000	1.375	1.375
54	0.500	0.000	0.500
55	0.000	0.500	0.500
56	0.000	5.175	5.175
57	0.925	2.000	2.925
58	0.000	2.500	2.500
59	2.200	16.125	18.325
60	0.000	1.350	1.350
Total	21.5000	117.05000	138.55000
Aveg.	0.35833	1.95083	2.30917

## 12) MEDARI

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
1	0.000	1.625	1.625
2	0.250	0.300	0.550
3	1.975	3.050	5.025
4	0.000	4.000	4.000
5	0.000	3.775	3.775
6	0.775	1.000	1.775
7	1.000	5.875	6.875
8	0.250	0.275	0.525
9	0.000	0.625	0.625
Total	4.250	20.525	24.775
Aveg.	0.47222	2.28056	2.75278

## 13) SATANI : Nil

## 14) KUMMARI

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
1	1.000	0.000	1.000
2	0.000	0.300	0.300
3	0.500	0.000	0.500
4	0.850	1.125	1.975
5	0.000	0.250	0.250
6	0.000	1.325	1.325
7	0.000	0.750	0.750
8	0.000	1.000	1.000
9	1.025	1.500	2.525
10	0.000	3.275	3.275
11	0.000	1.350	1.350
12	0.000	1.325	1.325
Total	3.37500	12.20000	15.575
Aveg.	0.28125	1.01667	1.2979

## 15) AUSALLI

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
1	0.525	0.200	0.725
2	0.500	0.175	0.675
3	0.775	1.250	2.025
4	0.475	0.175	0.650
5	2.000	0.175	2.175
6	0.000	1.250	1.250
7	0.000	0.875	0.875
8	2.575	0.550	3.125
9	1.075	1.650	2.725
10	0.000	3.075	3.075
11	0.475	0.175	0.650
12	0.050	2.125	2.175
13	0.000	0.500	0.500
Total	8.45000	12.17500	20.6250
Aveg.	0.65000	0.93654	1.58654

## 16) KAMMARI

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
1	0.000	1.000	1.000
2	1.025	3.000	4.025
3	1.950	0.000	1.950
4	0.300	0.000	0.300
5	0.000	1.750	1.750
Total	3.275	5.750	9.025
Aveg.	0.655	1.150	1.805

## 17) VADDLA

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
1	0.0000	1.950	1.950
2	0.0000	1.125	1.125
3	0.0000	1.950	1.950
4	0.2500	0.000	0.250
Total	0.2500	5.025	5.2750
Aveg.	0.0625	1.25625	1.31875

## 18) WADERA

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
01	0.000	0.175	0.175
02	1.675	0.700	2.375
03	5.200	1.725	6.925
04	0.000	2.000	2.000
05	0.000	1.475	1.475
06	0.000	1.450	1.450
07	1.650	0.750	2.400
08	0.000	0.700	0.700
09	0.000	1.475	1.475
10	0.000	0.200	0.200
11	0.000	1.450	1.450
12	0.000	0.750	0.750
13	0.000	1.450	1.450
14	4.650	2.500	7.150
15	1.675	0.000	1.675
16	0.000	0.500	0.500
17	0.000	0.175	0.175
18	0.000	2.250	2.250
19	0.000	0.550	0.550
20	0.000	1.475	1.475
21	0.000	1.450	1.450
22	1.500	1.450	2.950
23	0.000	1.475	1.475
24	1.625	2.000	3.625
25	1.625	1.750	3.375
26	0.000	0.425	0.425
27	0.000	1.050	1.050
28	0.000	0.175	0.175
29	0.000	0.200	0.200
30	0.000	1.475	1.475
31	0.000	0.175	0.175
32	1.700	1.000	2.700
33	0.000	1.475	1.475
Total	21.300	35.850	57.150
Aveg.	0.4545	1.08636	1.73182

## 19) ARBKATIKA

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
1	0.375	0.000	0.375
2	0.750	0.000	0.750
3	0.375	0.000	0.375
Total	1.500	0.000	1.500
Aveg.	0.500	0.000	0.500

## 20) DASARI

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
1	0.000	3.000	3.000
Total	0.000	3.000	3.000
Aveg.	0.000	3.000	3.000

## 21) GANDLA

S.No.	Net	Dry	Total
01	0.000	10.000	10.000
02	0.000	2.375	2.375
03	0.000	3.000	3.000
04	0.000	3.000	3.000
05	0.000	3.000	3.000
06	0.000	0.500	0.500
07	0.750	6.225	6.975
Total	0.750	28.100	28.850
Aveg.	0.10714	4.01429	4.12143

## 22) CHAKALLI

S.No.	Net	Dry	Total
1	0.325	2.000	2.325
2	0.350	1.000	1.350
3	0.000	2.750	2.750
4	0.000	0.500	0.500
5	0.000	1.250	1.250
6	0.000	9.050	9.050
7	0.325	2.000	2.325
8	0.325	2.025	2.350
Total	1.325	20.575	21.900
Aveg.	0.16562	2.57187	2.7375

## 24) BUDIGAJANGAM

S.No.	Net	Dry	Total
1	0.075	0.000	0.075
2	0.000	3.000	3.000
3	0.000	2.950	2.950
Total	0.075	5.9500	6.0250
Aveg.	0.025	1.98333	2.00833

## 25) DORE

S.No.	Net	Dry	Total
1	0.000	1.000	1.000
2	0.000	17.375	17.375
3	0.000	3.000	3.000
4	0.375	0.000	0.375
5	0.000	0.750	0.750
6	3.475	0.000	3.475
7	0.375	0.000	0.375
8	3.175	0.000	3.175
9	0.000	2.000	2.000
10	0.000	1.125	1.125
11	0.000	5.925	5.925
12	0.000	3.700	3.700
13	0.000	2.000	2.000
14	0.800	0.000	0.800
15	0.775	2.000	2.775
16	0.725	0.000	0.725
17	0.375	0.000	0.375
Total	10.075	38.875	48.950
Aveg.	0.59265	2.28676	2.87941

## 23) MANGALLI

S.No.	Net	Dry	Total
01	0.375	1.500	1.875
02	0.550	- 0.000	0.550
03	0.000	1.350	1.350
04	0.000	1.000	1.000
05	0.800	1.325	2.125
06	0.500	1.600	2.100
07	0.000	1.175	1.175
08	0.075	0.000	0.075
09	0.525	2.100	2.625
10	0.000	0.800	0.800
11	0.250	0.000	0.250
12	0.000	1.350	1.350
13	0.200	2.250	2.450
14	0.800	1.000	1.800
15	0.000	0.500	0.500
16	0.200	3.850	4.050
17	0.475	0.100	0.575
18	0.525	1.200	1.725
19	0.000	1.200	1.200
Total	6.07500	22.30000	28.375
Aveg.	0.31974	1.17368	1.49342

## 26) MOCHI : Nil

## 27) MALA

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
01	0.000000	3.50000	3.50000
02	0.000000	1.00000	1.00000
03	0.125000	3.37500	3.50000
04	0.000000	4.12500	4.12500
05	0.000000	3.00000	3.00000
06	0.500000	0.00000	0.50000
07	0.000000	4.25000	4.25000
08	0.000000	1.00000	1.00000
09	0.000000	2.00000	2.00000
10	0.500000	2.62500	3.12500
11	0.425000	3.87500	4.30000
12	0.700000	3.87500	4.57500
13	0.000000	2.02500	2.02500
14	0.000000	1.75000	1.75000
15	0.000000	2.05000	2.05000
16	0.000000	1.00000	1.00000
17	0.000000	2.00000	2.00000
18	0.075000	3.65000	3.72500
19	0.850000	1.22500	2.07500
20	0.000000	4.02500	4.02500
21	0.000000	13.5500	13.55000
22	0.000000	2.37500	2.37500
23	1.000000	0.00000	1.00000
24	0.000000	3.00000	3.00000
25	0.000000	3.32500	3.32500
26	0.000000	2.20000	2.20000
27	0.075000	3.67500	3.75000
28	0.000000	1.00000	1.00000
29	0.000000	1.00000	1.00000
30	0.200000	1.52500	1.72500
31	0.475000	0.00000	0.47500
32	0.000000	0.32500	0.32500

33	0.450000	0.00000	0.45000
34	0.000000	2.35000	2.35000
35	0.875000	0.00000	0.87500
36	0.000000	1.00000	1.00000
37	0.125000	2.15000	2.27500
38	0.000000	4.00000	4.00000
39	0.000000	3.95000	3.95000
40	0.000000	3.00000	3.00000
41	0.000000	4.00000	4.00000
42	0.000000	3.50000	3.50000
43	0.150000	0.00000	0.15000
44	0.000000	0.32500	0.32500
45	0.275000	4.57500	4.85000
46	0.000000	3.00000	3.00000
47	0.000000	3.00000	3.00000
48	0.000000	4.75000	4.75000
49	0.025000	2.92500	2.95000
50	0.000000	0.97500	0.97500
51	0.000000	0.32500	0.32500
52	0.125000	2.20000	2.32500
53	0.125000	3.37500	3.50000
54	1.600000	11.12500	12.72500
55	2.425000	1.00000	3.42500
56	0.150000	3.47500	3.62500
57	0.000000	4.00000	4.00000
58	0.000000	0.35000	0.35000
59	0.000000	3.00000	3.00000
60	0.575000	4.27500	4.85000
61	0.000000	4.05000	4.05000
62	0.650000	0.00000	0.65000
Total	12.475000	163.00000	175.47500
Aveg.	0.20121	2.62903	2.83024

## 28) MADIGA

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
01	0.250	0.075	0.325
02	0.200	0.925	1.125
03	0.525	4.000	4.525
04	0.000	3.925	3.925
05	0.000	4.000	4.000
06	3.000	1.000	4.000
07	0.000	1.500	1.500
08	0.000	2.850	2.850
09	0.000	3.500	3.500
10	0.000	1.000	1.000
11	0.000	1.350	1.350
12	0.250	2.000	2.250
13	0.125	1.725	1.850
14	0.325	5.775	6.100
15	0.000	3.000	3.000
16	0.075	0.100	0.175
17	0.500	2.575	3.075
18	0.250	0.000	0.250
19	0.050	1.675	1.725
20	0.000	2.625	2.625
21	0.500	3.000	3.500
22	0.125	3.050	3.175
23	0.250	0.125	0.375
24	0.550	5.625	6.175

25	0.000	4.000	4.000
26	0.000	3.000	3.000
27	0.400	4.500	4.900
28	0.100	3.100	3.200
29	0.100	4.000	4.100
30	0.050	3.775	3.825
31	0.000	3.000	3.000
32	0.125	1.525	1.650
33	0.525	4.500	5.025
34	0.250	0.500	0.750
35	0.000	2.825	2.825
36	0.050	1.400	1.450
37	0.000	0.750	0.750
38	2.000	1.500	3.500
39	0.000	1.000	1.000
40	0.125	2.775	2.900
41	0.000	2.825	2.825
42	0.575	3.000	3.575
43	1.250	3.100	4.350
44	1.250	6.650	7.900
45	0.000	3.000	3.000
46	0.000	1.500	1.500
47	0.000	0.725	0.725
48	0.000	0.225	0.225

49	0.000	5.500	5.500	106	0.000	3.000	3.000
50	0.075	2.575	2.650	107	0.000	3.500	3.500
51	0.025	0.500	0.525	108	0.000	1.500	1.500
52	0.000	3.950	3.950	109	0.050	2.775	2.825
53	0.000	0.500	0.500	110	0.000	3.000	3.000
54	0.150	4.425	4.575	111	0.175	3.725	3.900
55	0.000	1.000	1.000	112	0.000	2.200	2.200
56	0.000	1.000	1.000	113	0.000	1.000	1.000
57	0.000	1.000	1.000	114	0.425	0.625	1.050
58	0.125	4.000	4.125	115	0.275	8.250	8.525
59	0.250	0.000	0.250	116	0.000	3.000	3.000
60	0.125	1.600	1.725	117	0.000	7.825	7.825
61	0.250	2.575	2.825	118	0.075	3.350	3.425
62	0.550	0.000	0.550	119	0.000	0.500	0.500
63	0.000	3.500	3.500	120	0.425	3.000	3.425
64	0.000	1.500	1.500	121	0.075	1.000	1.075
65	0.075	4.625	4.700	122	0.000	1.425	1.425
66	0.125	1.250	1.375	123	0.000	1.000	1.000
67	0.250	3.000	3.250	124	0.000	1.500	1.500
68	0.525	4.000	4.525	125	0.000	0.500	0.500
69	0.000	6.050	6.050	126	0.000	0.750	0.750
70	0.000	2.075	2.075	127	0.000	3.450	3.450
71	0.000	2.525	2.525	128	0.000	1.500	1.500
72	0.150	3.425	3.575	129	0.125	1.525	1.650
73	0.000	4.000	4.000	130	0.250	0.000	0.250
74	0.000	2.525	2.525	131	0.000	2.450	2.450
75	0.000	4.000	4.000	132	0.000	3.500	3.500
76	0.500	2.400	2.900	133	0.000	0.500	0.500
77	0.000	1.000	1.000	134	0.025	1.375	1.400
78	0.000	1.400	1.400	135	0.000	3.000	3.000
79	0.000	4.750	4.750	136	0.000	3.000	3.000
80	0.000	3.175	3.175	137	0.000	0.500	0.500
81	0.050	3.900	3.950	138	0.000	3.000	3.000
82	0.050	0.500	0.550	139	0.000	1.250	1.250
83	0.000	1.550	1.550	140	0.000	1.000	1.000
84	0.000	0.500	0.500	141	0.075	0.775	0.850
85	0.000	1.500	1.500	142	0.000	3.000	3.000
86	0.300	8.250	8.550	143	0.000	5.750	5.750
87	0.000	2.925	2.925	144	0.075	3.325	3.400
88	0.000	4.000	4.000	145	0.000	1.500	1.500
89	0.000	2.400	2.400	146	0.000	1.000	1.000
90	0.000	3.000	3.000	147	0.000	1.000	1.000
91	0.000	4.000	4.000	148	0.000	1.000	1.000
92	0.000	1.000	1.000	149	2.600	0.000	2.600
93	0.000	1.000	1.000	Total	23.300	364.600	387.900
94	0.000	1.000	1.000	Avg.	0.156	2.447	2.603
95	0.000	0.500	0.500				
96	0.000	4.000	4.000				
97	0.000	2.625	2.625				
98	0.000	3.000	3.000				
99	0.175	0.425	0.600				
100	0.175	5.000	5.175				
101	0.425	0.475	0.900				
102	0.275	3.500	3.775				
103	0.125	6.700	6.825				
104	0.125	0.950	1.075				
105	0.000	2.675	2.675				

# 29) BRUKALLA

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
1	0.000	3.000	3.000
2	0.000	1.000	1.000
3	0.000	5.000	5.000
4	0.000	1.500	1.500
5	0.000	0.650	0.650
6	0.000	0.650	0.650
7	0.000	3.875	3.875
8	0.000	3.750	3.750
9	0.000	3.625	3.625

10	0.000	1.325	1.325
11	0.000	3.000	3.000
12	0.000	3.000	3.000
13	0.000	1.000	1.000
14	0.000	2.650	2.650
15	0.000	1.300	1.300
16	0.000	3.000	3.000
17	0.000	0.500	0.500
Total	0.000	38.82500	38.8250
Aveg.	0.000	2.28382	2.28382

# 30) MUSLIM

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
01	0.150	0.000	0.150
02	0.000	1.500	1.500
03	0.550	0.000	0.550
04	0.000	0.500	0.500
05	0.125	7.500	7.625
06	1.250	0.000	1.250
07	0.450	1.425	1.875
08	0.450	1.400	1.850
09	0.150	2.700	2.850
10	0.650	0.000	0.650
11	0.000	20.000	20.000
12	0.000	30.000	30.000
13	1.950	5.000	6.950
14	0.000	4.000	4.000
15	0.000	5.000	5.000
16	0.725	0.000	0.725
17	0.675	0.000	0.675
18	0.275	0.000	0.275
19	0.000	0.500	0.500
20	0.000	0.500	0.500
21	0.450	0.500	0.950
22	0.650	0.000	0.650
23	0.000	0.500	0.500
24	2.300	0.000	2.300
25	0.000	2.000	2.000
26	0.900	2.375	3.275
27	0.150	0.000	0.150
28	0.325	0.000	0.325
29	1.300	10.750	12.050
30	1.125	2.075	3.200
31	0.000	0.625	0.625
32	0.375	0.000	0.375
33	0.000	0.500	0.500
34	0.000	0.500	0.500
35	0.000	0.500	0.500
36	0.000	0.075	0.075
37	0.000	0.550	0.550
38	0.000	0.375	0.375
39	0.000	0.125	0.125
40	0.000	0.750	0.750
41	0.000	0.125	0.125
42	0.000	0.625	0.625
43	0.000	0.875	0.875
44	0.000	1.400	1.400
45	0.000	1.400	1.400
46	0.000	1.575	1.575

47	0.000	1.125	1.125
48	0.000	0.500	0.500
49	0.000	1.825	1.825
50	0.000	1.100	1.100
51	1.575	0.000	1.575
52	0.000	0.500	0.500
53	0.000	0.625	0.625
54	0.000	0.250	0.250
55	0.375	5.100	5.475
56	0.000	5.000	5.000
57	0.000	0.500	0.500
58	0.000	0.450	0.450
59	0.300	0.000	0.300
60	1.400	0.000	1.400
61	0.125	0.000	0.125
62	0.150	0.000	0.150
63	0.000	0.625	0.625
64	0.000	0.700	0.700
65	0.000	1.125	1.125
66	0.000	0.625	0.625
67	1.275	2.000	3.275
68	0.000	2.800	2.800
69	0.000	0.550	0.550
70	0.675	6.525	7.200
71	0.975	3.650	4.625
72	0.275	0.000	0.275
73	0.000	7.100	7.100
74	0.000	0.500	0.500
75	0.000	0.250	0.250
76	0.000	2.250	2.250
77	0.000	0.500	0.500
78	0.450	0.600	1.050
79	0.000	0.150	0.150
80	4.750	3.650	8.400
81	2.475	2.925	5.400
82	1.000	0.000	1.000
83	0.750	0.000	0.750
84	0.000	1.750	1.750
85	2.000	1.750	3.750
86	0.000	1.000	1.000
87	0.000	2.650	2.650
88	0.000	9.550	9.550
89	0.000	0.500	0.500
90	0.000	0.500	0.500
91	0.000	2.150	2.150
92	0.000	0.500	0.500

93	0.000	0.500	0.500
94	0.000	0.500	0.500
95	0.000	4.775	4.775
96	0.000	0.500	0.500
97	0.000	0.500	0.500
98	0.000	0.875	0.875
99	0.000	0.625	0.625
100	0.000	0.875	0.875
101	0.000	1.000	1.000
102	0.000	1.250	1.250
103	0.000	5.000	5.000
104	0.425	0.600	1.025
105	0.000	0.525	0.525
106	0.000	0.600	0.600
107	0.000	0.050	0.050
108	0.000	0.500	0.500
109	0.000	1.400	1.400
110	0.000	0.500	0.500
111	1.250	0.650	1.900
112	1.925	4.000	5.925
113	0.000	3.125	3.125
114	0.000	2.750	2.750
115	0.450	2.000	2.450
116	0.100	6.850	6.950
117	0.000	3.875	3.875
118	0.875	2.000	2.875
119	2.250	7.050	9.300
120	0.000	3.125	3.125
121	0.825	3.600	4.425
122	0.000	2.550	2.550
123	0.000	0.650	0.650
124	0.000	1.575	1.575
125	0.075	1.100	1.175
126	0.000	0.500	0.500
127	0.000	0.500	0.500
128	0.000	2.750	2.750
129	0.000	0.650	0.650
130	0.000	0.500	0.500
131	0.500	2.500	3.000
132	0.000	4.300	4.300
133	0.200	1.650	1.850
134	0.550	0.000	0.550
135	0.550	0.000	0.550
136	1.125	2.225	3.350
137	0.000	0.100	0.100
138	0.000	1.000	1.000
139	0.000	7.200	7.200
140	0.150	0.000	0.150
141	0.000	0.500	0.500
142	0.400	0.000	0.400
143	0.000	0.500	0.500
144	0.000	0.625	0.625

145	0.000	3.000	3.000
146	0.000	0.900	0.900
147	0.000	2.000	2.000
148	0.150	0.000	0.150
149	0.000	0.650	0.650
150	0.000	3.500	3.500
151	0.000	0.500	0.500
152	0.000	0.500	0.500
153	1.000	2.800	3.800
154	0.150	0.200	0.350
155	0.000	2.875	2.875
156	0.000	0.575	0.575
157	0.000	1.200	1.200
158	0.000	5.000	5.000
159	0.000	0.500	0.500
160	0.000	5.000	5.000
161	0.000	0.375	0.375
162	0.000	2.575	2.575
163	23.025	0.975	24.000
164	1.125	0.000	1.125
165	0.000	0.500	0.500
166	0.550	0.000	0.550
167	0.000	0.500	0.500
168	0.000	2.500	2.500
169	0.000	0.500	0.500
170	0.000	0.700	0.700
171	0.000	0.700	0.700
172	0.000	0.700	0.700
173	0.000	0.650	0.650
174	0.000	2.100	2.100
175	0.000	2.625	2.625
176	0.275	0.525	0.800
177	0.250	0.525	0.775
178	0.275	0.525	0.800
179	0.000	0.025	0.025
180	0.275	1.850	2.125
181	0.000	1.400	1.400
182	0.000	2.600	2.600
183	0.000	4.000	4.000
184	0.000	0.525	0.525
185	0.650	0.000	0.650
186	0.075	0.000	0.075
187	0.000	0.675	0.675
188	0.000	1.125	1.125
189	0.450	0.050	0.500
190	0.000	4.000	4.000
191	0.000	0.875	0.875
192	0.000	0.500	0.500
193	0.150	0.000	0.150
194	1.175	0.000	1.175
195	0.000	3.850	3.850
Total	74.7500	340.7000	415.45000
Aveg.	0.38333	1.74718	2.13051

S.No.	Wet	Dry	Total
01	0.000	0.500	0.500
02	0.000	0.500	0.500
03	0.000	0.250	0.250
04	0.050	0.550	0.600
05	0.000	0.500	0.500
06	0.575	4.100	4.675
07	0.000	4.625	4.625
08	5.300	0.500	<b>5.800</b>
09	0.000	0.750	0.750
10	0.000	0.725	0.725
11	0.000	0.750	0.750
Total	5.925	13.750	19.675
Aveg.	0.539	1.250	<b>1.789</b>

S.No.	Net	Dry	Total
1	0.000000	0.750000	0.750000
2	0.000000	0.500000	0.500000
Total	0.000000	1.250000	1.250000
Aveg.	0.000000	0.625000	0.625000

S.No.	Met	Dry	Total
01	-	0.150	0.150
02	-	0.500	0.500
03	-	1.000	1.000
04	-	0.375	0.375
05	-	0.500	0.500
06	-	0.500	0.500
07	-	0.500	0.500
08	-	0.500	0.500
09	-	1.375	1.375
10	-	0.500	0.500
11	-	0.500	0.500
12	-	0.500	0.500
13	-	0.500	0.500
14	-	0.500	0.500
15	-	0.150	0.150
16	-	0.150	0.150
17	-	0.500	0.500
Total	-	8.700	8.700
Aveg.	-	0.512	0.512

\* Aveg. - Average



**Table - 2 : Landholdings by outsiders**

Name	No. of Landholders	Wet	Dry	Total
Sugarcane farm	1	-	4.1	4.1
A.S.A. Machine Tools	1	-	4.825	4.825
Garden	3	1.075	151.95	153.025
Sugarcane Factory	1	-	8.425	8.425
Food restaurant (dhaba)	2	-	135.775	135.775
Others	1	-	0.25	0.25
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1.075</b>	<b>305.325</b>	<b>306.4</b>

**Table - 3 : Landholdings of other villagers in Kandli**

Village Name (or city)	No. of Landholders	Wet	Dry	Total
<b>Chimnapur</b>	42	34.025	173.725	207.75
Kashipur	32	4.025	58.725	62.75
Hyderabad	29	20.375	99.5	119.875
<b>Lambadi Tanda</b>	63	9.05	112.90	121.95
<b>Rajampett</b>	2	-	2.1	2.1
Pottireddy <b>palle</b>	7	0.95	16.1	17.05
<b>Mosampett</b>	2	0.95	0.95	1.9
<b>Shankarpalli</b>	1	-	7.125	7.125
<b>Mamidpalle</b>	10	-	30.2	30.2
Angaripett	1	0.225	-	0.225
Sangareddy	10	8.2	48.15	56.35
<b>Golloguram</b>	2	3.15	-	3.15
BHEL	2	-	3.675	3.675
<b>Ramchandrapuram</b>	2	-	1.1	1.1
Balanagar	1	-	8.375	8.375
Other villagers	12	-	27.7	27.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>80.95</b>	<b>590.325</b>	<b>671.275</b>

## Appendix - 2

**Table - 1**  
**HIGH SCHOOL - PUPILS STRENGTH BY CLASS, IN 1995**

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	SC Total (B/G)	ST Total (B/G)	BC Total (B/G)	OC Total B/G)
VI	28	27	55	19 (9/10)	2 (1/1)	26 (14/12)	8 (4/4)
VII-A	27	17	44	14 (9/5)	-	26 (15/11)	4 (3/1)
VII-B	35	13	48	17 (14/3)	1 (1/0)	23 (15/8)	7 (5/2)
VIII	47	23	70	13 (13/0)	-	44 (27/17)	13 (7/6)
IX	77	26	103	27 (19/8)	1 (1/0)	66 (44/12)	19 (13/6)
X	40	22	62	14 (8/6)	-	40 (27/13)	8 (5/3)
Total	254	128	382	104 (72/32)	4 (3/1)	215 (142/73)	59 (37/22)
Percentage	66.5	33.5	100	100 (69/31)		100 (66/34)	100 (63/37)

Source: Field Survey

TABLE - 2  
PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOL FOR BOYS - PDPIL STRENGTH BY CLASS IN 1995

Class	Pupils (Total)	SC	ST	BC	OC
I	53	12	09	21	11
II	52	22	04	26	
III	50	19	-	25	06
IV	42	19	01	15	07
V	37	10	02	23	02
Total	234	82	16	110	26

TABLE - 3  
TBLUGD MEDIUM SCHOOL FOR GIRLS - PUPILS STRENGTH BY CLASS IN 1995

Class	Pupils (Total)	SC	ST	BC	OC
I	58	18	03	36	01
II	29	10	05	13	01
III	27	06	-	18	03
IV	31	14	01	15	01
V	29	05		21	03
Total	174	53	09	103	09

TABLE - 4  
URDU MEDIUM SCHOOL - PUPILS STRENGTH BY CLASS IN 1995

Class	Boys	Girls	Total	BC	OC
				Total (B/G)	Total (B/G)
I	17	29	46	28 (14/14)	18 (3/15)
II	03	12	15	14 (2/12)	01 (1/0)
III	07	09	16	08 (5/3)	08 (2/6)
IV	01	10	11	03 (0/3)	08 (1/7)
V	04	05	09	02 (2/0)	07 (2/5)
TOTAL	32	65	97	55 (23/32)	42 (9/33)

TABLE - 5  
TELUGU MEDIUM PRIVATE SCHOOL - PUPILS STRENGTH BY CLASS IN 1995

Class	Boys	Pupils	Total
		Girls	
LKG*	24	17	41
UKG**	16	14	30
I	29	16	45
II	33	14	47
III-A	10	11	21
III-B	12	09	21
V	24	19	43
V	27	10	37
VI	20	07	27
Total	195	117	312

•LKG - Lower Kinder Garten

\*\*UKG - Upper

TABLE - 6  
ENGLISH MEDIUM PRIVATE SCHOOL - PUPILS STRENGTH BY CLASS IN 1995

Class	Boys	Pupils	Total
		Girls	
LKG	21	08	29
DKG	15	05	20
I	16	09	25
II	08	03	11
III	12	05	17
IV	07	03	10
V	08	03	11
VI	03	02	05
VII	07	01	08
Total	97	39	136

Details of dowry items

Table - 1 Case of a **Padmasalle**

1. Gold - 35g (-3.5 **tulla**)
2. Utencils - (cost around Rs.4,000)
  - 1) Cooker
  - 2) Water pot
  - 3) Brass basket
  - 4) Small size water pot
  - 5) Cooking vessel - 4
  - 6) Water store pot
  - 7) Cabinet (**Almirah**)
  - 8) Mirror
  - 9) Small chair (peeta) for ritual purpose
  - 10) Small kitchen board and a stik for cooking
3. Bycycle
4. Wrist watch (for groom)
5. Sari - 2 (**Cost** around Rs.5,000)
6. Steel chair - 2
7. Dress for groom - **Rs.1,500** (paid by cash)
8. Cash as **Katnam** - **Rs.** 5,000

**\*Total** expenditure for a marriage scored around **Rs.70,000** including function, food, or other expenditure

**\*\*** At the time of engagement

One dress (Sari and other) and 10 tulla silver (for toe ring) received from the groom side.

Table - 2 Case of a **Mera**

<b>1.</b>	Plate	-	2
<b>2.</b>	Glass	-	2
<b>3.</b>	Cup	-	2
<b>4.</b>	Cooking vessel	- 5	(by size)
<b>5.</b>	<b>Water</b> pot (big)		
<b>6.</b>	Water pot (small)		
<b>7.</b>	Water store pot		
<b>8.</b>	Small dish	- 5	
<b>9.</b>	Stone plate and a <b>wodden</b> stik	for cooking	
<b>10.</b>	Wooden board	<b>for</b> cooking	
<b>11.</b>	Small chair (peeta)	for ritual purpose	
<b>12.</b>	Electric <b>fan</b>		
<b>13.</b>	<b>Kumkum</b> box		
<b>14.</b>	Mat		
<b>15.</b>	Bed and pillow	- 2	
<b>16.</b>	Blanket		
<b>17.</b>	Couch		
<b>18.</b>	Cabinet (or safety box)		
<b>19.</b>	Wrist watch	- 2	(for groom and bride)
<b>20.</b>	Chair	- 2	
<b>21.</b>	Cotton towel		
<b>22.</b>	Dresses	<b>for</b> groom	- 5
<b>23.</b>	Shoes for groom		
<b>24.</b>	Brass mug	- 2	
<b>25.</b>	Brass basket		
<b>26.</b>	Stone glinder		
<b>27.</b>	Cot		

Table - 3 Case of a **Komati**

1. Dresses for groom - cost around **Rs. 5,000**
2. Dresses for parents of the groom - cost around **Rs. 1, 000**
3. Water pot (steel) - 2
- 4.** A tap-attached water pot
5. Steel basket
6. Cooking bessel (steel) - 5
7. Steel plate - 2
8. Silver plate - 7 (different types)
9. Silver glass
- 10.** Silver cup
11. A double-bed
- 12.** Blanket
- 13.** Gold ornament - 1 tula
14. Gold ring for groom (1/2 tula)
15. Cash (**Rs. 16,000**)

\* Groom side also presented some gifts to the bride's side

- (1) 15 tula gold, and clothes (cost Rs. 22,000) to the bride
- (2) Rs. 5,000 cash for the bride's parents
- (3) 23 towels for the **bride's male** relatives
- (4) 23 blouses **handkerchiefs** for the bride's female relatives

**\*\*** Each of the parties spent around **Rs.10,000** as the expenditure of marriage function, excluding dowry or gift.

Table - 4 Case of a Muslim

1. Oil lamp
2. Cabinet (Almirah)
- 3. Refrigerator**
- 4. Scooter**
- 5. Double-bed**
6. Sewing machine
7. Motor **fan**
- 8. Sofa sets**
9. Mirror (big size)
- 10. Washing machine**
11. steel plates - 6
- 12. Rice store pot - 2**
- 13. Spoon - 2**
- 14. Soup-bowl**
15. Tea pot
16. Plastic plates - 6
- 17. Dinner table**
18. Chair - 4
19. Water pot (steel)
20. Water heater (steel)
21. Water store pot - 2
22. Cooking vessel - 5 (by size)
23. Steel iron
- 24. Small table for reading Koran**
25. Mat for **namaz**
26. Cup - 6
27. Glass - 6
28. Plastic bowl - 6
29. tread and needle
30. Wooden frame for jucing lemon
31. Cloths for groom - cost around **Rs. 20,000**
32. Gold - 8 **tulla** (for bride)
33. Silver items - 20 tulla (for bride)
34. Wrist watch (for groom)

#### Appendix - 4

##### Agreement of chit fund - A case

###### Terms and conditions:

- 1) B. **Mahender** S/o. Lingaiah belonging to Kandi village is running a chitti since October, 1993. The total no. of **the members** are 20 and each member has to pay **Rs.** 100.00 every month. Total amount **Rs.** 2000-00 when put together of all the **members'** contribution per month.
- 2) This chitti will be held on 8th of every month at 6.00 **pm.**
- 3) All the members have to pay their respective amount on or before of 8th every month. Otherwise fine will be imposed on them who fail to conform to this rule and his right to quote interest is not acceptable.
- 4) The whole amount of the 3rd month i.e. December 1993 is the commission of the agent.
- 5) When the commission becomes equal to the amount of one chitti then it will be given to the member as extra chitti **amount.**
- 6) Any member who takes the chitti amount money has to give a surety. He can take money on the 10th of that month.
- 7) **If** there remains some amount after taking the full chitti amount it will be given as small pieces, i.e. Rs. 300 or **Rs.** 200 etc. as a loan.
- 8) The interest is 4.00 Rs. for hundred for small pieces (TUKUDA)
- 9) Those who take the chitti amount will not be given **TUKUDAS.**
- 10) Members should come to the place where chitti is held. If they come late it's their responsibility.
- 11) The name of the **member/members** will be taken off the rolls if they fail to pay the amount properly with two months grace period.
- 12) Whoever takes the chitti amount has to produce a surety person. One person cannot provide surety for more than one person.



# **GLOSSARY**

## a

<b>ajlaf</b>	a convert Muslim, especially from a low caste of <b>Hindu</b> .
<b>anggadi</b>	weekly market (santa)
<b>annam</b>	<b>boild</b> (or cooked) rice
arrack	locally made liquor
<b>asami</b>	agriculturist who served by the craft or service castes
ashraf	a Muslim claiming descent from any of the four groups of foreign extration, viz. Syed, Sheikh, Mughal, and Pathan.
avatar	incarnation

## b

<b>bathai</b>	( <b>half-half</b> ) share tenantry system
batta	daily allowances (for the labourer)
<b>beedi</b>	locally made smoke
bhicham	alms
<b>billigu-duvu</b>	bride price
(wally)	
biriyani	mixed food, rice with spices, lemon, chicken or mutton, vegetables or etc.
<b>biyamgutta-</b>	<b>rice-rent</b> tenantry
bonallu	decorated pots with full of cooked yellow rice, which is offered to the Goddess

## c

chatri	-	parasol
chelkal	-	dry or red soil
chinna	-	little/younger
chira raike-		widow remarriage (literally means sari/blouse)
chit (fund)-		rotating credit association
chuttallu	-	marriageable relatives (or <b>affines</b> )
<b>chuttarikam-</b>		marriage with relative
<b>coolli</b>	-	daily labourer

## d

<b>dakshina</b>	-	gift to a guru
dappu	-	a kind of drum or drummer
dargah		shrine of Muslim Saint

<b>deshmukh</b>	(f.) a hereditary native officer exercising police and revenue authority over a certain number of villages entitled to certain fees and allowances.
<b>dhaba</b>	a restaurant
dhanyan (or <b>katinam</b> )	extra payment of grains
dharma	the proper way of life, duty as prescribed by the scared <b>scriptures</b> .
<b>didi</b>	torch light
<b>dipam</b>	light
<b>diwan</b>	(f.) the chief minister of a state (Hyderabad)
<b>diwani</b>	of or relating to the diwan
dora	king, chief or lord
<b>durapa</b>	distance relationship
<b>sambandam</b>	
dviya ( <b>dwija</b> )	twice-born caste

f - g

fateha an **offeirng** to God, the prophet or a Muslim saint

ghee	-	clarified butter
gotra	-	a Hindu clan tracing descent from a common ancestor
gram		lowest of the three-tier system of elective institution of rural government in India
panchayat		
<b>gulla</b>	-	basket
gutta	-	<b>rent-tenantry</b> system

## **h**

haj	pilgrimage to Mecca which every Muslim is supposed to make at least once in a life
<b>hamalli</b>	porter in market
Hanafi	a follower of the Hanafi school of Islamic jurisprudence which recognizes analogical deduction and consensus among jurists as important roots of Islamic jurisprudence
Hanbali	a follower of the Hanbali school of Islamic jurisprudence which rejects the consensus of learned Islamic opinion as an unlawful innovation and depends upon the actual wordings of the tradition as a source of Islamic jurisprudence
<b>Harijan</b>	ex-`untouchables'

**iddat** - the period of mourning observed by a widow  
(or *ihdad*) for her husband, four months and ten days  
**illerikam** - a situation when a **son-in-law** lives in his father-  
**in-laws'** house  
**illu** - house  
**imam** - leader  
**inam** - gift or grant of land  
**intiperu** - literally, 'house name' represents an **exogamous**  
clan

j

**jagir** (f.) a tenure in which the revenues of a specified  
territory were made over to a jagirdar, who would  
appropriate revenue and administer the district  
**jahez** dowry  
**jajman** patron  
**jajmani** system of exchange of goods and services among  
castes  
**jati** the effective **endogamous** unit in the caste system,  
caste  
**jatra** festival  
**jeetagallu** contract (or bonded) labourer  
**jeetam** salary  
**jilla** (or - district  
**zilla)**  
**jowar** sorghum  
**jumagi** the **post-marriage** ritual ceremony of the Muslim

k

**kacha/** boiled and baked food, with water and/or salt  
**kuccha**  
**kallu** toddy, fermented palm juice  
**kamin** artisan and menial; a member of a serving caste  
**kanyadana** gift of maiden  
**katnam** gifts  
**kazi** the Islamic judge  
**kharif** rainy season crops  
**kullam** caste  
**kumkum** a kind of red (vermilion) powder, regard auspi-  
cious for religious purpose  
**kusiki** commerical crops  
**panta**  
**kutumbum** household, family or extended family

<b>lingam</b>	-	an image of God Shiva
<b>lungi</b>	-	a piece of cloth of about 2-5 meters wrapped by males
<b>maatam</b>	-	mourning
<b>mahr</b>	-	the dower or settlement of money or property on the wife, without which a <b>marraige</b> is not legal
<b>mali patel-</b>		(f.) the hereditary headman of a village, who used to be in charge of collection of revenue from the pattadars
<b>Maliki</b>	-	a follower of the <b>Maliki</b> school of Islamic jurisprudence which regards traditions, either that of the Prophet or local customs, as having first claim to consideration after Koran as the root of Islamic jurisprudence.
<i>mangalsutra</i>	-	marraige necklace
<b>masjid</b>	-	Muslim hosue of prayer, mosque
<b>mazar</b>	-	tomb of Muslim saint
<b>menarikam</b>	-	marriage with <b>matrilateral</b> cross cousin
<b>Moharram</b>	-	the first month of Islam calender; the festival held to commemorate the martyrdom of Hassan and <b>Hussain</b> , sons of Ali
<b>mulla</b>	-	Muslim priest and teacher (or learned man), a Persian form of Arabic Maulawi

n		
<i>nallari-</i>		wet land or black soil
<i>egrari</i>		
<b>namaz</b>		prayer, the Islamic form of worhsip supposed to be performed five times daily
<i>nara taddu</i>		handmade rope
<i>nazar</i>		an offering to a prince
<i>nikah</i>		the Muslim marriage contract

## P

<b>pabitra</b>		pure person
<i>vyakti</i>		
<b>pabitram</b>		pure or respectable
<i>pacca</i>		food cooked with ghee or sugar
<i>pallollu</i>		<b>co-sharer</b> of ancestor's property
<i>pan</i>		betel leaves
<i>panchayat</i>		council of caste or village
<b>pannollu</b>		the crafts or service caste who works for a certain agriculturist
(or <i>pani-</i>		
<b>wallu)</b>		
<i>pantha</i>		soil

<i>pap</i>	<b>sin</b>
<b>patel</b>	(f.) hereditary headmen of a village
<b>pattadar</b> •	land owner
(or ryot)	
<b>patwari</b>	(f.) village land record-keeper
<b>pedda</b>	big or elder
<b>manchis</b>	
<b>pethubai</b> •	service-good exchange relationship
<i>phanthullu</i>	the teacher
<i>pir</i>	Muslim saint
<i>prasada</i>	food consecrated by being offered to the deity
<b>puja</b>	prayer or worship
<b>pujari</b>	(temple) priest
<i>purdah</i>	veiling of women
<b>purohit</b>	Hindu family priest

# r

<i>rabi</i>	crops which are cultivated from November to May
<b>raithu</b> -	tenant
<b>raja</b> -	king
<i>rakta</i> -	blood relationship
<b>sambandam</b>	
<i>Ramadan</i> -	the ninth month of the Islamic calender; the daily fast from dawn until sunset that is rigidly enjoined during the month
<b>ratham</b> -	temple chariot
<b>rusum</b> -	a share of revenue
<i>ryot</i> -	cultivator of soil
<b>ryotwari</b> -	a system of land tenure based on individual ownership of land

# s

<b>saivaitis</b>	followers of Shiva sect
<i>salwar/</i>	pantaloon and tunic
<b>kamiz</b>	
<i>samband-</i>	alliance or affinal relationship
<i>ham</i>	
<b>sangam</b>	association or committee
<b>santa</b> (or	weekly market
<i>sandi)</i>	
<i>sari</i>	long piece of cotton or silk worn round the body with one end draped over the head or over one shoulder
<i>sarpanch</i>	head of a village
<i>satwikas</i>	vegetarians

<i>seva</i>	service
<i>Shafi</i>	a follower of the Shafi school of Islamic jurisprudence which frowns upon the unlimited use of arbitrary opinion as a root of Islamic jurisprudence and insists that, before any valid deductions can be made, the underlying motive in the Koranic ' <b>premises</b> ' must be taken into account
<b><i>shankarajati</i></b>	mixed-caste
<i>Shariat</i>	the sacred law of Islam
<i>Shia</i>	a member of that Muslim sector which maintains Ali, first cousin of Mohammad and husband of his daughter Fatima, was the first legitimate successor of the Prophet, rejecting the three calips of their opponents, the Sunni, as usurpers
<b><i>sloka</i></b>	hymn
<i>sona</i>	gold
<b><i>suba</i></b>	(f.) a province; one of the largest subdivision of the Mughal empire
<b><i>subedar</i></b>	(f.) viceroy or privincial governor
<b><i>sunna</i></b>	percepts and practices of the Prophet
<b><i>sunnam</i></b>	white washing
<i>Sunni</i>	the name commonly given to orthodox Muslims, because in their rule of faith the sunna, or traditional teachings of the prophet, is added to the Koran

t

<i>talaq</i>	-	the verbal formula of divorce
<i>taluk or</i>	-	(f.) sub-division of a district
<i>teshil</i>		
<b><i>tamashis</i></b>	-	<b>non-vegetarians</b>
<b><i>tanda</i></b>	-	<b>Lambadi</b> tribe's residence
<i>teshildar</i>	-	(f.) official in-charge of a teshil; <b>administrative</b> head of a teshil
<i>thari pantha</i>	-	food crops
<i>toddy</i>	-	palm beer or juice

u-v

<b><i>utsavam</i></b>	-	ceremony, function
<i>vaishnava</i>	-	the followers of Vishnu sect
<i>varna</i>	-	<b>classification</b> of Hindu society which places all castes into four major categories, viz. Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudra
<i>vetti</i>	-	(f.) <b>unpaid</b> , forced labourer
<b><i>vittanam</i></b>	-	seed

**wally** - bride price  
**warakatnam-** dowry  
**watan** (f.) the hereditary holding of office, land as well as privileges  
**watandar** - (f.) the holder of watan  
**widakula** (or - divorce  
*parkikatti*)

y-z

**yajamani** landowner  
**zaju** painting vermilion colour  
*zamindar* hereditary landlord  
*zat* Urdu equivalent of **jati**  
*zilleru* marriage with a tree trunk  
*chettu*

\*(f.) means formally.