

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND STRUCTURAL DYNAMICS
AMONG
HANDLOOM WEAVERS
IN
ANDHRA PRADESH

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
In
Anthropology

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CERTIFICATE


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This is to Certify That I, P.H. MAHAMMAD, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled "Entrepreneurship and Structural Dynamics among Handloom Weavers in Andhra Pradesh" for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of the University of Hyderabad.


I declare to the best of my Knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of research degree in any other University.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Structural reforms which were introduced by the government in the early 90s made the Indian economy more market-oriented. This Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) involved a number of measures to be undertaken to change the direction of the economy in commensuration with the globalisation policy. These changes were expected to increase economic growth and promote the growth of the private sector. The programme was framed to cover changes mainly in government policies, which affected industry, trade, public enterprise, finance, etc. The government planned to mould Indian industries to cope with international competitiveness. In this regard, it was expected to bring administrative changes, which make it easier for the new firms to enter the industrial sector and for the existing industries to expand, modernise or diversify their operations. In this entire process, entrepreneurship plays a very significant role.

1

Entrepreneurship is very closely related to the culture and social structure of a people. The concept of entrepreneurship has been identified as the most important factor in the process of economic development. Since the time it was introduced by

Richard Cantillon, an Irishman who lived in France in the early 18th century, the concept has been mostly used in economics (Silberman, 1956). It was realised that entrepreneurial efficiency, which was equated with innovation, sometimes, sponsors changes in techniques of production leading to the development of the area/region.

An entrepreneur is the kingpin in the growth process. He is a catalyst and propeller of change. Whatever might be the supply and potentiality of other factors, nothing happens until such factors of production are galvanised into action by enterprise. "Gap-filling" and "input completing" capacities are the unique characteristics of entrepreneurs. They are men of vision, drive and talent, who seek out opportunities and promptly seize them for exploitation. By their restless endeavours, they contribute immensely for the rise of the material well being of any nation.

Swamy observed that, "If Columbus discovered America, Tenzing Norvey climbed Mount Everest and Neil Armstrong landed on Moon, the driving force behind their accomplishments may be traced to an incessant urge to achieve the will to conquer and a penchant desire to excel others which are manifestations of what is conceptually known as entrepreneurship. History is fully replete with the spectacular rise or ignominious fall of societies of nations because of the abundance or the lack of the spirit of enterprise among the populace. It is the supply of people with entrepreneurial thrust that makes a nation to march ahead or lag

behind in the process of development. It is this spirit of enterprise that transformed man from a simple nomad to cattle-rearer, settled agriculturist, a trader, an industrialist and what not. The vision of social scientists who are bogged down for decades and decades together in search of answers for economic development appears to have narrowed down on entrepreneurship which is considered to be a vital component for the process *of* growth of any nation" (1988:vii).

The Practitioners in each of the social sciences tend to define the problem so that the principal determinants of entrepreneurial performance fall within their discipline (Kilby 1971: 4). Many a scholar defined entrepreneurship in terms of an activity than as an attribute. Mc Clelland defined that, "an entrepreneur is simply some one *who exercises control over production* that is not just for personal consumption" (1961:114). In some other studies (Kilby 1971) a list of entrepreneurial roles are included in the definition, such as: 1) perception of market opportunities, 2) gaining command over scarce resources, 3) purchasing inputs, 4) marketing of the product and responding to competition, 5) Management of human relations within the firm, 6) management of customer and supplier relations, 7) finance mobilisation, 8) upgrading processes and product quality, and 9) introduction of new production techniques and product

Therefore, the term entrepreneurship used in the present study refers to the performance of the above roles by a weaver

entrepreneur with his/her capacity of risk taking and the ability of adaptation to the changing situations (such as innovations in the occupation). Thus, our study regards entrepreneurs as those who have the ability and attempt to achieve something in the profession against all odds. A successful entrepreneur is one who makes use of different resources at his command - cultural, social, professional and technical - and moves up in the entrepreneurial ladder.

Kilby described the defining of entrepreneur as "Hunting the Heffalump". According to him, " The Heffalump is a rather large and important animal. It has been hunted by many individuals using various ingenious trapping devices, but no one so far has succeeded in capturing him. All who claim to have caught sight of him report that he is enormous, but they disagree on his particularities. Not having explored his current habitat with sufficient care, some hunters have used as bait their own favorite dishes and have then tried to persuade people that what they caught was a Heffalump. However, few are convinced, and the search goes on"(Kilby 1971:1).

An important question for any theory of entrepreneurship is to identify the channels by which entrepreneurial personalities or groups are directed into business pursuits. Economic theory under Schumpeter (1934), Cochran (1971) and others considered entrepreneurship as a significant factor in the operation of economy. The importance given to the entrepreneur as a causal

variable in the process is strongly conditioned by the particular scholar's field to use it so flexibly and centrally in economic literature.

The psychologists identified certain non-materialistic and inner psychic concerns as the prime movers for risk bearing and innovation. However, they did not deny that the extreme economic inducements or impediments would significantly effect entrepreneurial activity.

Contrary to economists and psychologists, the sociologists argued in favour of societal values and status hierarchy as the prime movers of entrepreneurial supply in a society. According to them, the economic incentives are a part of a larger social system, which in its entirety will determine the extent of entrepreneurial *activity*.

Sociological studies on entrepreneurial supply trace their theoretical constructs from Weberian-Parsonian tradition and Durkheim and the Levi-Strauss tradition. The key elements in the system of Weberian-Parsonian tradition are cultural values, role expectations and social sanctions. Sociologists of this ilk (e.g., Cochran 1962) consider entrepreneurs not as being deviant or supernormal individuals, but rather as representing society's model personality. According to them the individual's performance as a businessman will be influenced by three factors:

1. His own attitude towards his occupation,
2. The role expectations held by the sanctioning groups, and
3. The operational requirements of the job.

But the society's values are the most important determinants, highlighted by the first two factors.

The other sociological group on entrepreneurship, that is related to Durkhiem and Levi-Straussian group, agreed with the above group on certain points but disagreed with them on certain other points. While sharing on the position that the personality factors have hardly anything to do with entrepreneurial performance, they also have denied the role of societal values that show impact on entrepreneurship. For example, Young's (1971) theory of change is based on society's incorporation of reactive subgroups, which was concerned with inter-group relations.

The behaviourist perspective in sociological literature on entrepreneurship reduces values and personality types to behavioural patterns. According to them, behavioural patterns are determined by reinforcing and aversive stimuli present in the societal context. Hence entrepreneurial behaviour is a function of *the* surrounding social structure, both past and present, and can be readily influenced by manipulable economic and social incentives. Theories of Kunkel (1971) Holland and Skinner (1961) and Homans (1961) reflect these viewpoints.

In this background, when viewed in a broader spectrum, the concern for entrepreneurship becomes all the more important. Particularly, its importance has been highly felt since the government in early 90s introduced the structural reforms. The government planned to mould Indian industry to cope with international competitiveness. In this regard, it was expected to bring administrative changes, which will pave the way for new firms to enter the industrial sector and for existing industries to expand, modernise, or diversify their operations.

The involvement of social scientists, other than economists, has been minimal in the development enterprise. There are a number of reasons for this. By and large, policy makers and planners, who are predominantly quantitative oriented economists, rarely consider goals not directly related to economic development. Also, social commitment to economic growth is often considered unimportant. In this regard, there is a greater need for entrepreneurial planning for development in the country, more so to better the conditions of small entrepreneurs like weavers. In this context, an anthropological understanding of entrepreneurship will be very rewarding.

But any attempt for a planned modernisation must take cognisance of the linkages of the traditional pattern of behaviour in the socio-cultural system. The kind of approaches adopted by planners and policy makers were top-down and uniform in their approach with a scant regard to social, cultural, ecological and

economic diversities. Except for the lone voice of anthropologists, there was hardly any attempt for micro-level planning for enhancing distributive justice and growth. Now it is widely acknowledged that the anthropological approaches are more suitable for development planning and people's participation. This is equally true in the case of entrepreneurial development wherein the anthropologists show concern for the variation in human nature. Also, in a country like India, there are inevitable ambiguities in interpretation of terms or categories with overlapping boundaries. In these circumstances, as Bardhan observed, an ethnographer can cross check data from one context to another as he resides in the field area. Staying in the field becomes an asset in measuring change. Hence, "A micro cosmic study is more flexible in reshaping its investigative strategy midstream and probing an unanticipated or new phenomenon in depth" (Bardhan 1989: 5).

In this background, social anthropologists, as well as sociologists, in their studies on entrepreneurship in an industry or a factory, have to focus on community life and the more familiar social institutions involved. Arensberg (1942) felt that such studies on the relationship between community and industry helps to trace the effects of a particular innovation or a particular invention upon established folkways or upon the older communities. Also, he views that the form of the community and its established behaviour in many cases exert as strong an influence on organisation in

industry as does the newer technical innovations upon social structure. He argues that, "A particular shift in industrial technique becomes a specific change in organisation among the persons of a specific community, to be related at once to further, subsequent changes in other non-industrial patterns of organisation among the same men in their lives outside of work in the same community. Once such a parallelism between industrial and community organisation can be set up and dealt with, specific consequences can be traced from event to event and from behavior to behavior among the same population, and the direction of the influence - whether from community to industry or from industry to community - can be followed explicitly" (1942:3). Further Arensberg calls for evolving a sociological approach to study these aspects in industrial organisations.

The term entrepreneur has only slowly come into the anthropologists' vocabulary. Raymond Firth (1967) observed that early anthropologists made little use of the concept and he suggested that the anthropologists should study entrepreneurs more widely, in primitive, peasant and industrial societies, and even in relation to the complex problems of modern business administration.

II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Several theories have been postulated on entrepreneurship in different disciplines of social sciences. Some of these theories on entrepreneurship have drawn psychological assumptions, whereas some others have depended on sociological factors in bringing out the reasons for entrepreneurship. Schumpeter (1934) terms entrepreneurs as economic leaders, who are individually motivated by an atavistic will power, who occur randomly in any ethnically homogeneous population. McClelland's (1966 and 1971) theory, as set forth in the *Achieving Society*, can be seen as a development of Weber's Protestant ethic in which an intermediating psychological motive (the need for achievement) is introduced. Hagen (1971) in a paper on the theory of social change agrees with the ideas presented in the *Achieving Society*. Hagen's theory views economic development as a process of technological change, which is brought about by the technological creativity of individuals in the society. Thus, Hagen sees the entrepreneur as a creative problem solver interested in things in the practical and technological realm and driven by a duty to achieve. Young (1971) adopts an explanation of personality characteristics, which mediates between structural factors and consequent economic growth as causal factors for entrepreneurship.

In spite of a wide recognition of the importance of social and cultural factors by economists, Cochran (1971) attempted a

comprehensive general model. In this model he concentrated on how the variables that seem most essential affects entrepreneurial decisions. A certain level of education, social status and types of cultural conditioning represents the model personality. A channel through which diverse social forces translate their effects into economic action, a point where social factors can be observed and estimated for relative intensities, carries the modal entrepreneur. He emphasises that the executive plays a social role partly shaped by the modal type of personality, which comes from the social conditioning of his generation. He further states that, "While the unusual characters will always depart from the norms, in general invention and innovation will tend to be along lines congenial to the type of conditioning" (Cochran 1971:97). According to him, anthropologists interested in change support this premise by saying that new items in the culture must be not only physically but also psychologically available. What is important to note is that where a cultural setting provides a congenial atmosphere, individuals or groups conceptualise and use a new idea or item to become entrepreneurs.

Mishra and Sohal (1985) have identified the level of motivation as an entrepreneurial attribute among the milk producers in rural Gujarat. They call for improving the motivational levels among farmers. Thakur (1988) highlighted entrepreneurial strategy towards labour in sustaining the textile industry in India. Singh's (1985) micro-structural analysis of the

carpet-weaving entrepreneurs in Uttar Pradesh was aimed at understanding the impact of entrepreneurial development on social change.

At a time when the tendency to discard entrepreneurship as a significant factor was popular, Schumpeter put the entrepreneur at the center of the process of economic development. He states that "The entrepreneurial kind of leadership, as distinguished from other kinds of economic leadership such as we should expect to find in a primitive tribe or a communist society, is of course colored by the conditions peculiar to it. It has none of that glamour which characterizes other kinds of leadership. It consists in fulfilling a very special task, which only in rare cases appeals to the imagination of the public. For its success, keenness, and vigor are not more essential than a certain narrowness which seizes the immediate chance and *nothing else*" (1971: 66).

As the shortage of factors of production lead to underdevelopment in a region, so does an acute shortage of entrepreneurship, as one of the limiting factors, in economic development. Bena (1958) considers the entrepreneur, who organises the community's resources, as most important. In his study of medium-scale enterprises in Madras State (presently, Tamil Nadu) in South India, he analysed the patterns of entrepreneurship in South India. He observed that the entry into the engineering industry is quite democratic and open to all. This

is contrary to the prevalent notion that entrepreneurs in a particular industry will come from a similar economic and social background.

Hagen (1971) argues that traditional society sometimes sponsors a creative personality with reinforced values and innovative attitude. Such personalities emerge into a group of individuals, creative, and alienated from traditional values, driven by a growing burning drive to prove themselves. They seek an area to do this to gain power and thus against the existing values in that traditional society and thus turn innovative. He points out that, "The drive for security, self-reassurance, and power will surely lead many innovational individuals to technological innovation, though frequently within social forms differing from those of the West" (1971:137).

It has been postulated that entrepreneurial activities will emerge more or less spontaneously when economic conditions are favourable. However, the importance of cultural factors in entrepreneurship is ignored for long. Such a revised understanding of modern entrepreneurship is long overdue. Since entrepreneurship is embedded in culture, such dynamics must be incorporated into the studies on entrepreneurship. Berger's (1991) is one such attempt to fill this lacuna. She attempted to identify major cultural factors behind the rise of a distinctly modern term, entrepreneurship, in the societies other than the West. In this regard, she tried to set forth the contours of a cultural theory of entrepreneurship broad enough to integrate a variety of

approaches, and to explore the relationship between culture and entrepreneurship in these societies. Lavoie (1991) also argued on similar lines with regard to the creative processes of discovery and interpretation that are integral to entrepreneurship. He states that, "entrepreneurship necessarily takes place within culture, it is utterly shaped by culture, and it fundamentally consists in interpreting and influencing culture" (1991: 36).

The beliefs and values the migrants bring with them will have a bearing on the processes of organising their economic activities. Redding (1991) addresses the above issues in his study on culture and entrepreneurial behaviour among the overseas Chinese living in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Indonesia. He attempts to reconstruct their belief systems and values and relates those patterns to the existing managerial behaviour in the Chinese family business. He concludes that, 'The movement toward modernity has not been accompanied in these cases by a noticeable rise in individualism. These societies are fundamentally paternalistic, and operate to secure trust and co-operation by bonds of obligation rather than by legal contractual relations. A universal model of development is thus apparently not tenable. The entrepreneurial organizations are, as elsewhere, embedded in their societal contexts and can not be comprehended without reference to those contexts" (1991:152).

Baviskar (1980) argued that the culture and tradition of a group influences its members to acquire the attributes of innovators

and entrepreneurs. These attributes among the migrant Mali caste families in Kopargoan area in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra kept them continuously mobile in search of irrigated land. This urge among the Mali forced them to migrate to new areas wherever irrigated land was available. According to him "The Malis had [therefore] the necessary experience and skills to cultivate irrigated land, an experience of marketing, better financial resources to undertake the cultivation of cash crops such as sugarcane, and pressure on land in their own area obliged them to look for new opportunities elsewhere. Moreover, they had a fairly long established tradition of migrating to new areas in search of irrigated land. In their culture and tradition the Malis displayed the attributes of *innovators* and *entrepreneur*" (1980: 22).

Presence of some social groups featured by certain stereotypes, traditions, occupational directions, attitudes and social position sponsor or streamline industrial development in various parts of the country. Such groups evolve identity and get recognised as "commercial community", which brings them an advantageous position in their venture. Marwaris, who performed crucial role in the development of industrial and commercial economy of India, are one such group. Timberg (1978), who analysed the entrepreneurial performance among Marwaris, assigns certain industrial factors, apart from commercial practices and the possession of a commercially oriented "resource group/" for entrepreneurial success.

Landa (1991) highlights the middleman- entrepreneur role among 'Ethnically Homogeneous Middleman Groups', such as the Jews in Medieval Europe, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Indians in East and Central Africa, the Lebanese in West Africa etc. According to her, the cultural norms of behaviour embedded in an ethnic group having an efficient social structure will facilitate mutual aid and cooperation among its members. She states that such contacts with mutual cooperation become a differential group advantage over other ethnic groups to create appropriate middleman-entrepreneur roles for themselves. She terms such contacts as ethnic-specific asset which function as cultural bearing units to maintain middleman entrepreneur roles.

Godsell (1991) examined the community-supported entrepreneurship among the South African groups (Indians, Afrikaans and Urban Blacks) as against the individualistic entrepreneurs of the West. She finds that the African Indians, among the South African groups, command a deep-rooted entrepreneurial culture of long standing, while the other two groups have had considerably greater difficulty in responding to entrepreneurial challenge. She demonstrated how factors of culture shape the response to economic challenges. Gupta (1991) in his study on the entrepreneurs from Bengal and Eastern India identifies two sets of forces. One set is represented on the plane of entrepreneurial autonomy by qualities of individualism, social conditioning, and the propensity to exploit structural

opportunities. The second set of forces is made up of structural determinants such as religion, culture, and socio-political conditions. Gupta points out that, "In spite of waves of historical influences and unfettered interaction with other major religions, entrepreneurs from Eastern India remain acutely conscious of their culture. Some are increasingly impassioned about their regional identity" (1991:135).

Singer (1956 and 1966), Srinivas (1958) and Goheen (1958) revealed the capacity of Hinduism to adapt to changing conditions. The above scholars have refuted the presumptions that the traditional elements in Indian society come in the way of modernisation and development. The modernisation process in a society and culture should be seen in its totality. Some (Rodan (1966); Whartan (1966); Wellisz, (1966); and Gerschenkron (1966)) argued that economic performance is closely Linked to a broad range of human life. Economic achievement is directly tied to the spirit of modernising industry, agriculture technology and entrepreneurship of a people, and the nature and policies of the government

What mattered most in the origins of entrepreneurship among the Meiji, Japan, was the new ideology and new system of values that each man had to absorb. These entrepreneurs had to be men of new era. Though capital was supplied, it was the necessary change in ideology or values facilitated by certain key factors that marked the features of entrepreneurial history during the Meiji

regime in Japan. The dissatisfaction at home led these men to leave home and become economically uprooted. Thus, they were compelled to get accustomed to a learning process, which became a vehicle for the new ideas and an aid in grasping the complexities of the enterprise system. The conducive bureaucratic atmosphere stemmed from their sharing of a common task with the entrepreneurs made them to mould themselves as entrepreneurs (Hirschmeier, 1971). However, Yamamura (1971) argues that such viewpoints are hardly supportable when a closer examination is made of the behaviour, decisions, and motivations of the leading Meiji entrepreneurs. Therefore, he calls for including the more globally acceptable profit incentive as a principal determinant of entrepreneurial behaviour of the early Meiji years.

Mayor (1961) provides a basis for understanding the role of the Indians in Fiji, where he studied the role of associations. He shows that the economic, religious and political activities of these associations as well as the degree to which a man participates in these activities when the primordial factors - such as neighbourhoods, kinsmen, or people with same occupation, religion, caste or cultural background - are in common. But there is a factor underlying all these is entrepreneurship, which prompts one to exploit the above factors.

Traditional norms and institutional patterns of Indian society are not considered to be conducive for introducing modern technology that influences occupational structure and

entrepreneurship, thus affecting changes in socio-economic status of the people. On the contrary, Seth (1979) points out that the flexible nature of Indian traditions furthers this change. He argues that, in fact, entrepreneurs perceive it easier to move from the moral agricultural nexus to modern industrial work.

Nandy (1973) observed a differential entrepreneurial success in two communities having modern and traditional outlook, respectively. He observed that the entrepreneurial exposures - through primordial ties, aspects of personal modernity, extent of participation in high culture of societies and other motives as listed in other entrepreneurial studies - in an enterprising community contribute substantially to entrepreneurship.

The entrepreneurial skills are highly streamlined in the homogenous groups and ethnic links have led some individuals to shift from family management to professional management (Papanek, 1971; Timberg, 1978; and Nafziger, 1978). According to Harris (1971), entrepreneurial success in migrant minority groups is linked to geographic, occupational and social mobility. Kasdon analyses the patterns of entrepreneurship among the Basque rural community and points out how social structure, which includes family structure, migration, etc., moulds a person entrepreneurially. Commenting on the social bases of entrepreneurship, Kasdon observed that, "Socialization influences adult behaviour, but how one is socialized is limited and influenced by the institutional arrangements of his society.

Institutional factors may cause peoples socialized by the same practices to have quite different personalities" (1971: 237).

Moving away from the functionalist idea of bounded groups (factories or neighbourhoods), which always looked at the systems of relations as something working towards a kind of balance, and from the over-simplifications of the transactional theory, Holmstrom (1976) attempted to develop anthropology of factory workers in India from a more dialectical account of industrial workers' situation. Keeping in view the changed values and social relations in the factory, he interpreted that the tradition of choice and equality is becoming central, because it is more relevant to the situation and aspirations of new classes or kinds of people. Further, he observed that, "a hierarchical, organic tradition, which was dominant, is becoming marginal instead" (1976: 136). Thus, in the present changed scenario, entrepreneurial opportunities cut across the traditional boundaries. However, in enterprises where the traditional callings have a bearing, the castes with those traditional callings will have an advantage over the others. In this context, the observation of Ramu and Sivaprasad (1981) is quite apt. They point out that, in case of migrations of people to urban centres, in the absence of any skills, the traditional caste occupations act as portable kits.

Entrepreneurship conjoins several other key variables that link the socio-cultural milieu with the degree of economic development. In his detailed survey on Indian entrepreneurship,

Nafziger (1971) observed that despite the impediments to mobility due to the caste system, there are certain dynamic elements in Indian social structure that allow for the rate of entrepreneurial participation. Similarly, he considers the Indian joint family as a unit of entrepreneurship, as it supplies the necessary managerial and financial resources for business operations. Also when the joint family as a unit of several members provide the entrepreneur with networks, this can determine the access to credit and opportunities for mobility in entrepreneurial endeavours. Further, as a part of the approaches to future studies on Indian entrepreneurship he considers the need for studies on analysis of markets for entrepreneurs and other productive resources.

Umamohan and Rao in their study stated that, "Entrepreneurial skill does not spring, as many think, from the pedestal of education, occupational background, or caste; nor does it depend on age or previous experience to attain success in an industrial activity. Technical skill and knowledge may help an individualist to shine at his helm; but, at Grass-root level, it is not a must. People with little or no experience also shown their mettle in running their industries with good results" (1987:13-14).

Altaf (1983) touched upon the aspect of human factor in industrialisation in entrepreneurial studies. He examined the origins and occupations of the entrepreneurs and found that aspects such as power, prestige, self-confidence and informal contacts play a significant role in entrepreneurial development

Murthy's (1988 and 1989) study of entrepreneurship in two small towns, Gudiwada and Anakapalle in Andhra Pradesh, was aimed at identifying the socio-economic origins of the entrepreneurs emerging in small towns and the forces that led to create an entrepreneur. He also examined the occupational and geographic mobility of the entrepreneurs through generations. He concluded that, "the hold of caste structure on occupation in India is getting loosened throwing the doors of entrepreneurial opportunities wide open to people who are willing to take risks irrespective of their caste origins" (1989: 215).

Bose (1975:194-95) highlights how the locational advantages are utilised for the expansion of traditional industry in Katwa village of West Bengal. He stated that a village being situated on riverside with a port, roads radiated into the surrounding industrial town motivated the weavers to strengthen their occupational benefits. They could establish links to the markets suitable for buying yarn and also for disposing of their products to wholesalers. He remarked that such an accommodation of occupational status to the changed situation was possible only with entrepreneurial skills.

Ethnic migrant populations are, mostly, said to be successful entrepreneurs. Contrary to this view, Khanka (1990) has observed that the participation of outsiders in entrepreneurship is always smaller. He states the locational disadvantages play a key role in keeping the new comers low in entrepreneurial success.

Entrepreneurship depends not only on the socio-cultural setting but even depends on the way the community is organised into cooperative effort to achieve a greater participation in the enterprise. This can be seen in the study made by Chang (1971), who has highlighted the technological and institutional changes centering on the development of the local fishing industry in a Japanese Island community. According to him, the technological change involved wide acceptance of innovative elements, which have direct bearing upon modernisation of fishing techniques for local fishermen and fishing operations of the community, as a whole. He concluded that the socio-economic consciousness of modernisation, besides playing a key role in reshaping the local fishing operations and the economy, have led to a greater involvement of the local population in all spheres of socio-economic affairs. Effective readjustment to local social conditions and the fishing industry was accomplished by the cooperative. Further, he stated that, "While imposing changes on the local scene, the fishing co-operative has adjusted to changing economic conditions with less difficulty than have individual kin groups, even though the basic fishing operation clings to the traditional mode of the household unit" (1971:168).

A number of aspiring entrepreneurs, who have learnt their entrepreneurial skills in small-scale industries, have risen to the level of corporate managers. The small-scale entrepreneurs are susceptible to forces promoting a commercial orientation rather

than production orientation. Van Der Veen (1976) felt that this is due to the fact that their enterprises are generally material intensive and that the opportunity costs of searching for inexpensive material inputs are low. He called for an appropriate policy formulation by the Indian government to meet the situation.

Padmini Swaminathan (1994) presented data on private industry in Tamil Nadu in order to reflect the ability and capability of entrepreneurship in the performance of private sector after the introduction of economic reforms in the country. Kanitkar's study (1994) is based on quantitative data, which discusses the emergence of successful entrepreneurs and owners of micro-enterprises in rural India. He examined the socio-economic profile of the entrepreneurs and their motivation for shifting from agriculture-based occupation to non-farm activities. He observed that the informal apprenticeship arrangement became useful and valuable in this case, irrespective of their traditional backgrounds.

Effective management systems and other economic factors are generally highlighted in several studies on entrepreneurship. But the influence of external factors like environment cannot be ignored in entrepreneurial success. Tandon (1975) focussed his study in this direction. According to him, the business executive should study the nature and character of control over the enterprise exercised by the environment. He emphasised that an entrepreneur should try to adjust to the conditions prevailing and

thus influencing the environment in order to make it congenial and favourable for developing an enterprise.

Rating the performance of a firm on the basis of its low price and high quality of production is not sufficient but the competitive spirit of it can be rated keeping in view the incentives and innovations adopted by the management. Sen (1996) calls these factors as entrepreneurship. He customarily distinguishes between different production processes of a firm, viz., i) basic research, ii) applied research, iii) development and iv) diffusion. He entrusted greater importance to the last point, which, according to him, is the spread of innovations throughout the industry.

The agricultural innovation becomes uniquely specific to each farm and hence it stays with each entrepreneur farmer because it is a specialised and individual attribute of each farm, which cannot be brought in the market. Also, while industrial entrepreneurship can be transferred from one firm to another without much loss of entrepreneurial talents, agricultural entrepreneurship is not transferable, as it is farm - specific, location-specific and product-specific. At the outset, Kalirajan and Shand (1994) proposed a method for measuring the entrepreneurial abilities of farmers differentiating these from their managerial abilities.

Herdero (1979) gives an entirely different understanding about the agricultural entrepreneurs. He considers that, an

agricultural entrepreneur is the one who brakes with outdated and insufficient farming technology and adopts a better and more productive one. He concluded that the agriculture entrepreneurs are the farmers who introduce better agricultural technology, and also institutional changes, effecting changes in socio-economic structure of the village. He favours realisation of co-operative philosophy to streamline the entrepreneurial activity among all the farmers in a village.

Entrepreneurship is just an innovation or capacity to adapt to the situations. The work of Swamy (1988) is purported to assess the thrust of entrepreneurial farmers in coastal Andhra Pradesh, who have settled down in the command areas of major irrigation projects in the State. In this empirically tested study, he brought into light the socio-economic factors in post-independent India, which ushered a new era in irrigation development and the consequent migration of enterprising farmers to the command areas of such irrigation projects. He remarks that the entrepreneurial act is indispensable for the growth and development of any society, irrespective of whether the field of activity pertains to industry or agriculture or something else, **for** the transformation of traditional forms into a modern one becomes impracticable without entrepreneurial ability.

Entrepreneurial spirit guides an individual towards success despite many difficulties. Nabi's (1988: 156) study on individual entrepreneurs in agriculture machinery industry highlighted the

above aspects. He stated that these entrepreneurs could succeed despite their lack of any effective access to the economic institutions in the larger society and even without any encouragement from the government institutions. Nandapurkar (1982) felt that the entrepreneurial behaviour, and thus entrepreneurial development, among the small farmers could be achieved by means of educational programmes.

Attwood (1993) discussed about commercial peasantry and the enterprising peasantry, the two classes among the peasants. He explains about how peasants built a new political economy to suit their own interests. He observed that the existing qualities such as sophisticated economic and political skills, risk abilities and survival strategies make them enter into the commercial economy. In other words, they consciously evolve skills and strategies to cope with risk, to broaden and diversify their economic base, to take advantage of new opportunities.

Entrepreneurship is an undisputed factor in economic development, even though its trends vary from free economy to that of a regulated economy. But at a time when almost all countries are following the line of open market economy they started hastening the process of economic development through industrialisation. In this regard Mishra (1990) studied the efforts of the government to develop entrepreneurship in underdeveloped region - Bihar. He remarked about various monetary and non-monetary incentives like the development of infrastructure,

assistance in marketing and procuring raw materials, providing finance or granting subsidies on investment in its venture to create an atmosphere conducive for the entrepreneurs.

Many scholars also have agreed upon the need for urgent research on entrepreneurial development. Thus, while Akhouri and Bhattacharjee (1979) have presented a strategy for selecting the entrepreneurs, i.e., beneficiaries in government-sponsored schemes, on the basis of available experiences outlining the characteristics of entrepreneurs. This type of contention mainly reflects the view that the main objective *of* entrepreneurship is to contribute to the development of the society by developing the persons who perform entrepreneurial roles. The selection of persons for performing entrepreneurial roles depend on how the given society (in which the entrepreneur has to operate) is perceived for social development.

Staley and Morse (1971) called for an action programme for developing entrepreneurship. The factors of this programme included good environment setting, good government, an expanding economy, human resources development, natural resources development, basic utilities and services, laws, regulations, and procedures for small-scale entrepreneurship. Chakravarthy (1987) has discussed the present status and emerging priorities in entrepreneurship development programme. He highlighted the wide variety of self-employment programmes for different target groups, involvement of organisations in conducting

the development programmes; efforts of the Department of Science and Technology and Government of India, etc., as the main features of entrepreneurship development programme in India.

Mathai (1979) hypothesises that the reassuring circumstances and developing individual capabilities of reducing perceived risks are important to emphasise in a study of success of rural entrepreneurs. The circumstances, according to Mm, include studying technical training, counselling, financial aspects, and also the preparedness of a group within which mutually reinforcing individuals exist. This means that a study of preparing the entrepreneur to manage the social relations should take into consideration the social structure.

Richard P. Taub and Doris L Taub (1989) have highlighted certain key elements that characterise successful entrepreneurs in many ways. They stated that the entrepreneurship differed in three states - Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Punjab - despite the level of developed technology and degree of modernity or traditionalism in orientation.

The socio-economic development of a country cannot be fully realised so long as its women are confined to a subordinate position and their talents are unexplored. Azad (1988) felt the necessity to develop the latent skills of entrepreneurship in women, especially rural women. Rani (1986) in her study on potential women entrepreneurs reiterates that entrepreneurs are made and

not born. She emphasised that entrepreneurship can be planned and developed by providing appropriate environment. Further, she observed that right type of training also decides a person in knowing details regarding incentives, lending institutions, product technology, demand, preparation of project, profits, etc.

Azad (1988) defines that an entrepreneur is a person who has all enterprising quality with use of opportunities and an uncanny vision, commercial acumen and above all, a person who is willing to take risks because of the adventurous spirit within. He applied these qualities to women entrepreneurs also and states that the entrepreneurship among the women could be developed through proper training and also should keep in view the family resistance and social constraints for establishing themselves as independent entrepreneurs.

III

The number of studies reviewed above has shown how the socio-economic, cultural and psychological factors tend to develop or retard entrepreneurial performance. Most of them being economic and managerial, they focussed on economic and managerial perspective in entrepreneurial success/ failure.

Some studies have highlighted the psychological reasons; that is, an intermediating psychological motive (the need for achievement) is introduced as a determining factor in

entrepreneurship. The studies that have emphasised sociological point of view have dwelled upon macro-structural aspects. Microcosmic studies with anthropological insights are scant} [except for the studies by Firth (1967), Barth (1960), Singer (1967) Geertz (1967a and 1967b) and Epstein (1964)] in the literature on entrepreneurship. By and large, most of the studies are based on the nature of industrial man in industrial-urban societies, neglecting the small-scale/cottage based enterprises.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Adding to the above reasons, taking note *of* the research gaps, the present study investigates into the dynamics of entrepreneurship among the village based weaving communities from an anthropological perspective. Studies on entrepreneurship are mainly in the areas of peasant and large-scale industrial societies. Studies on the traditional artisan castes and then-entrepreneurial potential were scanty. Hence, our study makes an attempt to understand the dynamics of entrepreneurship among the handloom weavers of Gudekal village, who were affiliated to the Yemmiganur Weaver's Co-operative Society (YWCS), in Andhra Pradesh. In this village, weaving is a cottage industry undertaken by both the traditional and non-traditional weaver caste/community members.

NEED FOR A STUDY AMONG HANDLOOM WEAVERS:

An entrepreneur takes advantage of the primordial attachments and in turn acts as a catalyst in organising the local

resources. In other words, an entrepreneur streamlines his ideas into the group to which he belongs, gets the cooperation of his fellow members and makes the entrepreneurship an integral part of the particular social structure, which, in turn, nurtures the entrepreneurial abilities in the society. Particularly, in a situation like handloom weaving a small scale entrepreneur has to take on himself/herself, the roles of both the technician and the manager. Hence, to understand the dynamics of entrepreneurship among the handloom weavers, an in-depth analysis of entrepreneurial performance from an anthropological perspective is imminent. Further, identification and examination of the role of social institutions - family, kinship, marriage etc., - could help in providing an insight into the influence of structure upon entrepreneurship in a particular society.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE:

Our study considers that in case of community-based enterprises, traditional factors play a significant role in entrepreneurial development. In order to survive in the market the traditional enterprises adapt to the changing circumstances. Thus they become continuously innovative in the process of adapting to new challenges. In other words, tradition, in small/cottage based enterprises, strengthens and adds to the entrepreneurial dynamics.

In our study entrepreneurs are regarded as those who have the ability and try to achieve something in the profession against all odds. A successful entrepreneur is one who makes use of different

resources - professional, technical, social and cultural - and moves up in the entrepreneurial hierarchy/ladder. In the present study Master Weavers, Independent Weavers and Middlemen Weavers are considered as entrepreneurs. Hired Weavers are not treated as entrepreneurs.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

1. The first objective of the study was to understand the structure and organisation of YWCS, it focuses on social and cultural bases in the formation and sustenance of YWCS. The study attempts to understand the entrepreneurial dynamics of YWCS in the process of its growth to the present level.
2. The Study attempts to analyse the profiles of weaving castes/communities in Gudekal. The study also attempts to highlight the differential performance of weavers from diverse backgrounds.
3. The present study also explores the role of primordial factors in promoting entrepreneurial qualities among the traditional weaver castes. In this regard, the study focuses on how a successful entrepreneur would make use of different resources - cultural, social, professional and technical - to move up in entrepreneurial ladder.
4. The study emphasises on how the traditional background of weavers promotes entrepreneurship performance among them. It attempts to understand the weavers' life from the

standpoint of socialisation practices, family pattern, marriage, rituals, etc., and their role in the promotion of entrepreneurship.

METHODOLOGY:

The study concentrated only on handloom weaving communities in the study village. To facilitate the study and to obtain data with a scientific rigour, qualitative anthropological techniques or methods of fieldwork were employed.

The data for the present study were collected with the help of participant observation, informal in-depth interviews using detailed check lists, key informant interviews, case studies and census schedules. Data pertaining to the process of weaving, agriculture and other activities, rituals - including life cycle rituals, calendrical festivals, fairs, folklore, disputes, transactions, etc., were collected through the use *of* participant observation and informal discussions. Participation in Caste meetings (see Plate 1.1) and YWCS board meetings, helped in collecting details regarding weaving and the factors that are responsible for the sustenance of the enterprise in the region.

Census of Weavers:

Census schedules were used as an entry point in rapport establishment with weaver families. Rapport established at this stage became useful to gather basic data pertaining to demographic, economic and social aspects, which served as a

background for the entire study. This was collected through a house-to-house census of weaver families covering socio-economic aspects, such as caste, religion, literacy, educational background, etc.

Interviews:

The socio-economic data, and also data relating to entrepreneurial aspects among weavers, were collected through in-depth interviews using a detailed checklist. Data on caste organisations, YWCS activities were collected through informal interviews with the weaver members and YWCS officials. Matters relating to weavers' cultural and ethical conceptions, which are considered to be crucial for the study, were also gathered through informal interviews.

Establishing Rapport:

The major objective of the stay in the study village, during fieldwork, was to establish and solidify rapport with the villagers. Rapport building in the beginning was planned through informal talks. The lifestyle, social categories in the village, problems related to their economy, health, etc., were discussed in the informal talks with them. These informal talks included group discussions with people gathered at tea shops, YWCS and *grama Chavadi*, etc.

As the fieldwork began in the month of January, most of the people in the village, other than weavers, were found free from agricultural works and they could be easily approached in the

above centres and also at the places where they were playing cards. The Chariot festival celebrated in the name of Sri Neelakanteswara Swamy in Yemmiganur, which took place in the month of January that year helped in building a better rapport with the weavers. All communities/castes in the village celebrate this month long occasion during which they invite friends and relatives for dinner, etc. This occasion is more important especially for the traditional weavers. This occasion helped the researcher to identify with many weavers in the village.

Since the study area was approached through higher level officials of Directorate of Handlooms and Textiles, the researcher received warm hospitality. Initially, YWCS officials provided accommodation in Yemmiganur town. As they were not aware of the anthropological kind of work, they expected the researcher to live in their guest house at Yemmiganur, since it is only 3 kilometres away from the study village, Gudekal. As the basic purpose of participant observation is to obtain data through direct contact by participating among the people, help was sought from YWCS to find accommodation in the study village. As observed by Florence Kluckhohn, " In terms of specific situations in which the distortion that results from the investigators being an outside agent is reduced to the minimum" (1940: 2) because of the stay in the village.

However, it was realised that staying in the guest house for a few days helped in establishing closer ties with the neighbours -

such as designers, accountants, auditors related to YWCS - who were living adjacent to the guest house. Discussions and hours long informal talks with them during nights made the researcher to understand the status of YWCS, which also happen to be one of the objectives of the present study. Paying utmost attention to what they said, helped in winning their goodwill. As they were closely associated with the governing body of the YWCS - Administrator, Chairman, Secretary, etc., - they carried the same impression about the researcher to them. This helped in obtaining official records regarding year-wise members and balance sheet showing the financial details and other matters related to YWCS.

Key Informant Interviews:

Key informants were identified from among different types of weavers across different weaver castes/communities. Key informants were identified after developing sufficient rapport with the respondents. The key informant interviews provided quite useful information, which was later cross-checked with the other weaver informants.

Case study Method:

Van Velsen (1967) prefers to call this method as 'situational analysis'. According to him by this method the ethnographer not only presents the reader with abstractions and inferences from his field material but also provides him some of the material itself. This puts the reader in a better position to evaluate the ethnographer's analysis not only on the basis of **the** internal

consistency of the argument but also by comparing the ethnographic data with the inferences drawn from them. While discussing the use of Extended Case Method, Max Gluckman (1967: 10) states that the most fruitful use of cases consists in taking a series of specific incidents affecting the same persons or groups through a long period of time, and showing how these incidents are related to the development and change of social relations among these persons and groups, acting within the framework of their social system and culture.

In this background, case studies of Master Weavers in silk, influential persons in weaving profession, Independent Weavers, Hired Weavers, Weavers Working under Master Weavers, Middlemen Weavers, destitute women, etc., were collected. They provided an insight into the role of kin, caste and other primordial factors in entrepreneurship in the study village.

Besides the above, secondary data from the following sources were also collected:

Data from Secondary Sources:

- Census records of the village, census data covering ethnographic details of the village was obtained from MDO.
- Data on land ownership was obtained from the Village Administrative Officer (VAO). Also data relating to the size of cultivation units, ownership of livestock, bullock carts, and agricultural machinery was also obtained. Much of the data in this

regard was obtained from the village records available with the VAO and Village Development Officer (VDO).

- Data from the proceedings of caste meetings, souvenirs and booklets published on caste mythology of traditional weaving communities were collected.
- The YWCS reports and annual reports showing the status of YWCS, extent of its membership, balance sheets, by-laws, etc., were also collected from YWCS.

Finally the data from different sources were verified from a cross section of weavers and other resource persons in the village, for authenticity.

TABLE 1.1: Tools used for primary data collection

Source of Data	Name of the Category		
In-depth Interviews	Members of YWCS	Master Weavers	
		Independent Weavers	
	Board Members of	Weavers	Middlemen
	Administrative Staff of YWCS	Working Under Master Weaver	Weavers
	Workers and Union members of YWCS		Hired silk weavers
		Cotton Weavers	Hired cotton weavers
			Non-hired cotton weavers
	Others	Processing workers	
Others			
Key Informants Interview			
Case studies			
Caste meetings			
Board meetings of YWCS			
Others			

THE STUDY AREA:

The study area, Yemmiganur, has been a centre for the variety and quality of cotton products, and it has carved a place for itself in the Indian handloom industry. A well-established and popular cooperative society, the Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (YWCS) has brought this handloom industry in Kurnool district into limelight. The members of the YWCS are among the best organised in the handloom industry and they also enjoy the benefits of ideal cooperative society in terms of working capital, marketing, technical guidance and other welfare measures. The society has been very popular and exemplary through decades for its good standards. Its popularity is basically due to the well-knit social solidarity of the weavers in the area.

There are six branches of YWCS in and around Yemmiganur. They are Kosigi, Gudekal, Yemmiganur, Nandavaram, Nagaladinne and Gonegandla. Amongst these, Gudekal is the most prominent village having large number of weavers from diverse communities involved in weaving. Also, it is one of the oldest branches of YWCS.

A few castes in this area are deeply attached to the weaving occupation. The weavers who are confined to this occupation can be categorised into a) traditional and b) non-traditional. Kinship plays a very significant role in this occupation. As a result of this industry, the weavers in this area have established a wide range of social networks based on filial and affinal relationships. This

attachment and the industry's expansion converted the area into "one of the quickly developed and mostly industrialized taluks in the district" (Gazetteer, 1974).

Selection of the Village:

The study village, Gudekal, is situated in the Yemmiganur Mandal of Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh. It is three kilometres away from the South of Yemmiganur, the Mandal headquarters. Also, it is 25 kilometres away from Mantralavam, a popular Hindu pilgrimage centre. The area of the village is 1530.92 square kilometres. This village was selected on the basis of following factors:

1. It has a sizeable number of weaver families, traditional and non-traditional. This provided us a good opportunity to understand the social relationships among and between the traditional and non-traditional weaving castes. In other words, it would be interesting to know how this occupation binds various sections of the village together, both socially and culturally.
2. The village has a YWCS branch, which is one among the six other branches.
3. The village was one to respond quickly to silk weaving after the crisis in cotton yarn supply that arose in the early 80s in YWCS.

Before undertaking a full-fledged fieldwork, a pilot survey was conducted in the area to select a village for the purpose of our study. Once the selection procedure to finalise the study village was completed, the full-length fieldwork was undertaken for one year during 1996-97. As a first step, a household survey of the weaving communities in Gudekal was conducted to construct socio-economic profile of these categories. This helped in getting the size of the weavers among the traditional and non-traditional categories.

Based on the household schedules of weavers, weavers from both traditional and non-traditional castes/communities were grouped under two categories. They are 1) Cotton Weavers, and 2) Silk Weavers. Cotton weavers were further categorised into two types - i) owners working on YWCS looms, and ii) weavers working on hired looms. Silk weavers were divided into three categories based on the nature of their work and ownership of looms. They are 1) Master Weavers, 2) Independent Weavers, and 3) Weavers Working under Master Weavers. There are two types among Weavers Working under Master Weavers - a) Middlemen Weavers and b) Non-middlemen Weavers. The above categorisation has helped in identifying persons for in-depth interviewing, case studies, key informant interviews, etc (Table 1.1).

Chapter Scheme:

The present study is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter, Introduction, includes a review of the available studies

conducted both in India and abroad on entrepreneurship. The chapter provides certain conceptual clarifications regarding entrepreneurship. In general, this chapter attempts to develop a perspective on entrepreneurship among handloom weavers. Apart from this, objectives, selection of study area, methodology adopted for the study is also discussed in this chapter.

The second chapter deals with the profile *of* the study area/village. General features regarding climate, flora and fauna, economic organisation, social organisation of the village, and other ethnographic aspects are discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter analyses cooperatives in general, and the structure and organisation of Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (YWCS) in particular. The structure of weaving industry in the study area and the situation *of* weavers before the formation of YWCS, etc., are discussed in detail in this chapter. It also traces the developments that led to the formation of YWCS. This chapter also analyses the role of caste and kinship in the emergence and growth of YWCS. As a response to modernisation, it attempts to analyse, how the YWCS has evolved from a remote labour intensive to capital intensive kind of cooperative. This chapter highlights the entrepreneurial dynamics of YWCS and its leadership.

The fourth chapter deals with the structure of weaving castes/communities. This chapter analyses the links between the process of weaving and social structure. As a part of this exercise,

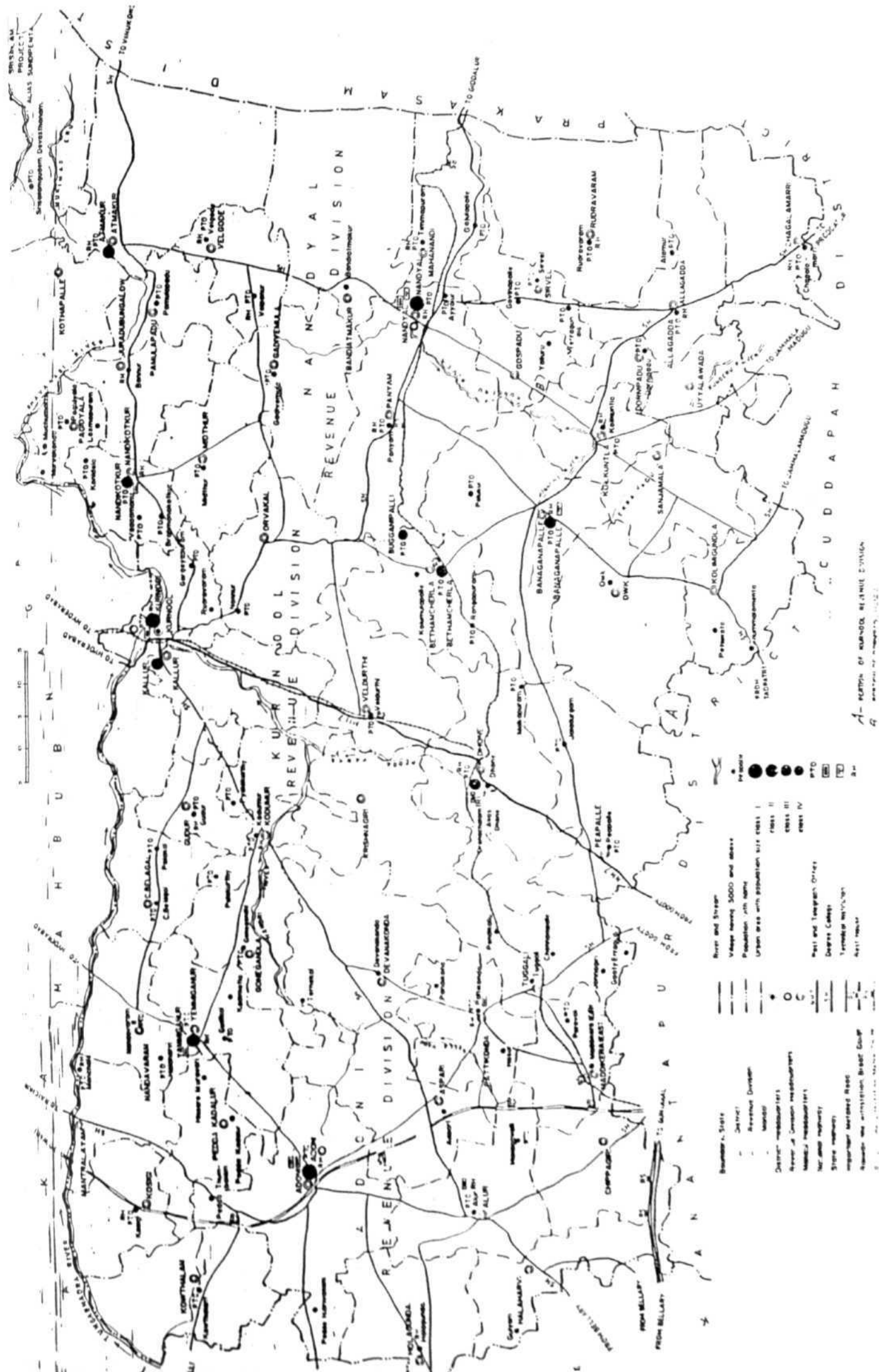
the social background of the weaving communities and different categories among Cotton and Silk Weavers is analysed in this chapter. To get a better understanding of entrepreneurship, the process of weaving in relation to social and cultural factors of the communities involved is discussed in this chapter.

An attempt is made to observe the influence of social and cultural bases on entrepreneurship among weaving communities in the fifth chapter. This throws light on the role of primordial factors in entrepreneurial performance. Besides, it would also highlight the role of primordiality in switching over to silk weaving from cotton weaving in the village. It tries to show how marital alliances and kinship networks have helped entrepreneurship in certain traditional weaving castes, who, in turn, diffused it to the other weaver castes/communities in introducing new products (e.g. silk weaving) in the village. Particularly, how the emergence of master weaving has helped in developing a commercial networking system between entrepreneurs and suppliers of raw material on one hand and between entrepreneurs and consumers on the other is discussed in this chapter.

Our concern in the sixth chapter is to analyse the culture of weaving. The role of tradition, customs and values and their impact on the differentiation among different weaving castes/communities in weaving enterprise is the focus in this chapter. This chapter also provides a discussion on the role of life-

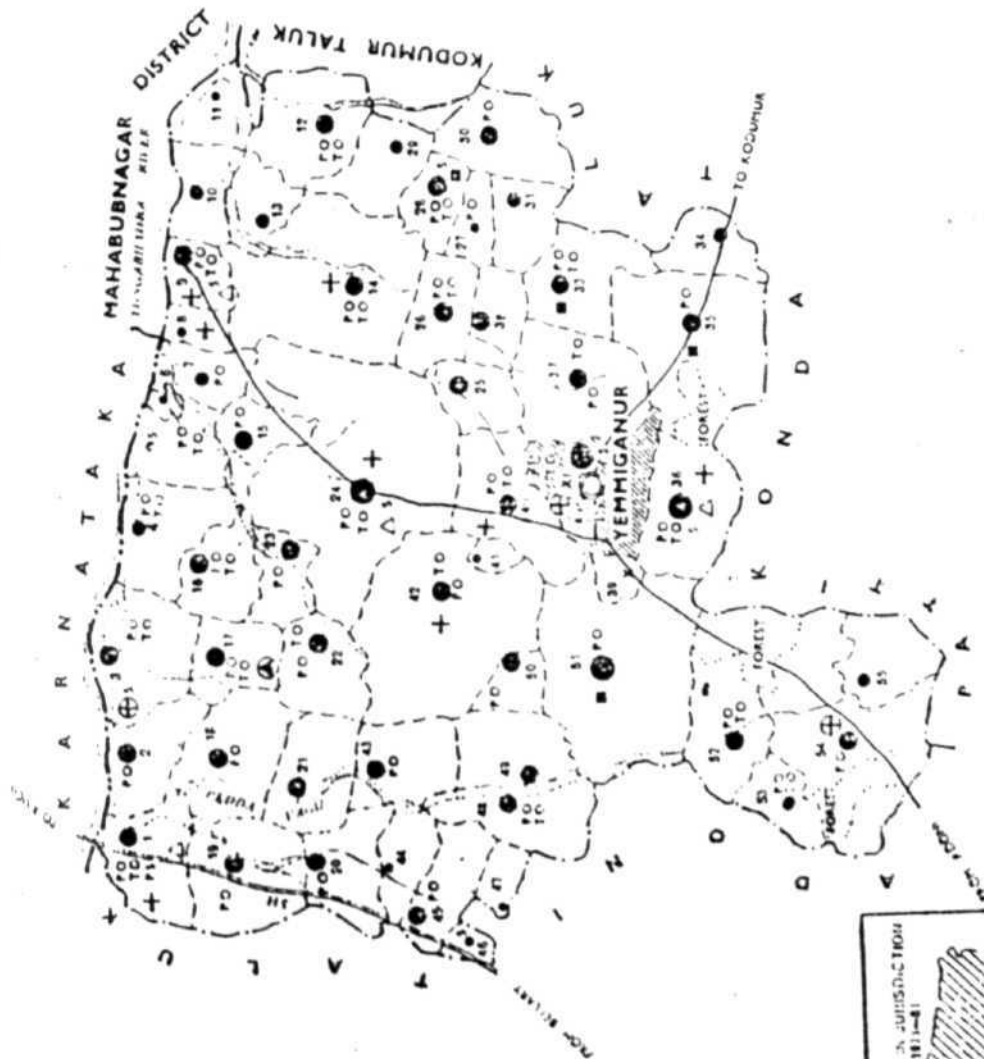
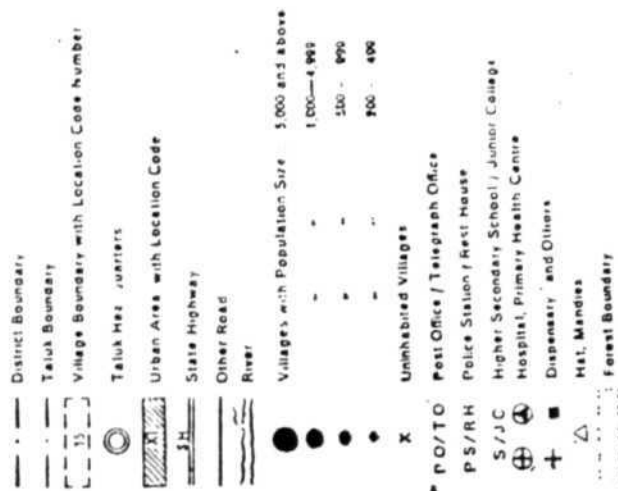
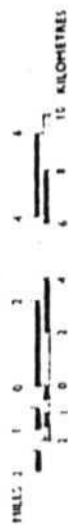
cycle rituals, socialisation, family, folklore, religious performances, etc., in maintaining weaving traditions and in promoting entrepreneurship among different castes/communities.

A summary of the findings and conclusions are presented in the last chapter. Apart from summarising the findings, this chapter points out to the contribution of our study to the anthropological literature on entrepreneurship, in general, and handloom weaving communities, in particular. The concluding chapter has policy implications for occupations based cooperatives, in general, and weavers cooperatives in particular. This chapter also points out the kind of further research that is needed in the field of entrepreneurship in anthropology.



1- PARTIAL OF NUMBER OF ANNUAL DIVIDEND

YEMMIGANUR MANDAL KURNOOL DISTRICT



Source: L. C. No. 38 is hereby published in Yemmiganur Taluk.

CHANGE IN JURISDICTION
1811-81



Heavy lines: Yemmiganur Taluk
from A.S. Taluk in 1977

MAP 2: YEMMIGANUR MANDAL

CHAPTER II

THE VILLAGE

Gudekal is a revenue village in Yemmiganur Mandal of Kurnool district. It is situated at a three-kilometre distance from Yemmiganur, Mandal headquarters and a principal town in the Mandal. Besides, it is 25 kilometres away from Mantralayam, a famous Hindu pilgrim centre. According to the revenue and census records (1991), the area of the village is 1530.92 square kilometres. Agricultural fields on the East, West and South and hill slopes on the North surround it. The irrigation canal drawing water from the Tungabhadra River, which flows from South towards North, flowing from Karnataka State is located on the east to the village. Two main *kuchha* roads and several small internally laid by-lanes connect the village.

One comes across two main temples before reaching the YWCS branch office on the road from Yemmiganur into the village. These are the Markandeya and the Neelakanteswara Swamy temples venerated mainly by Padmasale and Kurini households, respectively. The Anjaneya Swamy temple, situated in the centre of the village, is located on the opposite side of YWCS office. There is one *Durgah* constructed near the high school in the name of a Muslim saint Alleepeeran. An understanding of the general features of Kurnool district will provide a useful background about

the village. The description would provide us historical, geographical, demographic, economic and other aspects of the district.

I

GENERAL FEATURES OF KURNOOL DISTRICT:

The district headquarters are at Kurnool, which lies on the National highway No.7 of Hyderabad-Bangalore road. This place was a halting place for the people from Oddera community (stone-cutter community), who carted stones for the construction of a temple in a near-by place called Alampur, presently in Mahabubnagar district, in 11th century AD. They used the site, on which the present town Kurnool stands, as a halting place before crossing the river Tungabhadra.

The District Census Handbook (1981) states that they greased their cartwheels with oil locally supplied by some of the oil mongers and hence the place was termed as "*Kdndenavolu*". This is subsequently termed as Kurnool, the town of *Kandena* or grease, situated between 14° 54', and 16° 18' of the Northern Latitude and 76° 58' and 79 ° 34' of the East Longitude. On the north, the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers bound it. On the east Prakasam, Guntur and Nellore districts; on the South Cuddapah and Anantapur districts; and on the West Bellary district of Karnataka State bound the Kurnool district.

NALLAMALAIS (BLACK HILLS):

The width of the Nallamalais, from the West to the East, is 40 kilometres. They are spread in about 113 kilometre area in the district. The average height of the Nallamalais range is 606 meters above the sea level. These hills are clustered around dome shaped mountain towards the north and assume the form of a plateau. This dome shaped mountain in the north is called Iswarakuppam and the Mantikonda with 909 meters height above sea level is the highest point in the Nallamalais. Durgappa Konda (907 meters), Dorabailukonda (846 meters), Gundlakonda (851 meters) and Katalakonda (863 meters) are the other prominent ranges of Nallamalais.

ERRAMALAIS (Red Hills):

The Erramalai range, which begins in the neighbouring Cuddapah district, runs northwards and terminates about 13 kilometres from Kurnool. They are a series of low, cliff-scraped and plateau-topped hills. The eastern extensions of this range are referred to as Panyam, Bethamcherla and Uppaiapadu hills. The maximum height of its peak is 606 meters and its width vanes from few kilometres at Kurnool to about 40 kilometres in the South.

RIVER SYSTEMS:

The important rivers flowing in the district are the Tungabhadra and its tributaries - Hundri, Krishna, and Kuderu. Tungabhadra, which rises in the Western Ghats, forms the boundary in north, between Kurnool district and the Doab, and

separates Telangana region from the district. It flows in easterly direction and joins Krishna River along with Hundri, at Kudali Sangam, near Kurnool. Hundri River, which is a tributary of the Tungabhadra, rises in Maddikera Mandal and joins the Tungabhadra River at Kurnool, after receiving a stream from Erramalais at Laddagiri. Krishna River, which originates in Mahabaleshwar, Maharashtra State, passes through Mahaboobnagar district in Andhra Pradesh and enters Kurnool at Kudali Sangam. It forms the northern boundary of the district. Kundera is another river, which flows through the district. It is also known as kumudvati. The Madduieru (Maddi kera) and the jurreru on the West and the Galeru and the Vakkileru on the east are its tributaries. Some of the other important streams flowing in the forest areas of the district are Sagileru, Rallavagu, Munimaduguleru, Bandrapavaju, Pangidivagu, Sudumvagu, Paleru, Gandaluru and Bhavamasi.

CLIMATE:

The year is roughly divided into three periods each having its characteristic weather 1) rainy season: a) South-west monsoon period and b) retreating south-west monsoon period or the north-east monsoon period; 2) winter season; and 3) summer season.

The south-west monsoon breaks in the month of June. Sky remains cloudy during this period and a steady westerly wind blows over the area. Rainfall is heavy during the month October. Rains that occur during October are due to retreat monsoon and the

north-east monsoon. The wind velocity diminishes during this season and one witnesses a shift in the blow of wind towards east. Temperature is comparatively low during this period. The north-east monsoon extends up to November and brings little showers during this month.

Rainy season ends, generally, in early November and winter season begins. The temperature will be low and even daytime also the weather will be cold during November and January. A dense fog prevails all over the area during the months of November and December.

Summer season sets in late February, weather gets warmed in March and increases in intensity by the end of May month. The coldest part of a normal day during summer is about 6 a.m., a little before sunrise, and the warmest part is between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. The temperature increases rapidly after sunrise and starts decreasing after 4.30 p.m. April is the warmest month in the year and temperatures continue to be high in May also, if the expected thundershowers do not occur. The maximum temperature exceeds even 42° C.

RAINFALL:

The average annual rainfall in the study area is 586.6mm as against 1100.2mm of total rainfall across south-west and north-east monsoons; and winter and summer seasons as shown in the Table 2.1. Highest rainfall this area receives will be during south-west

monsoon, followed by north-east monsoon. Only nominal rains occur during winter and summer seasons. The following table shows average rainfall recorded in different monsoons in a year.

TABLE 2.1: Rainfall 1995-96 (in Million Meters)

Seasons	Southwest Monsoon				Northeast Monsoon			Winter		Summer			Total
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	
Rainfall	184.8	31.6	241.8	257.8	296.2	3.2	4.8	15.2	-	-	0.8	64.0	1100.2

Average annual rainfall 586.6 mm

Source: *Mandala Gananka Darshim* 1996-97.

NATURAL CALAMITIES:

The flood in the Tungabhadra River, which is on the upper level to the village, affects them badly. This area was badly affected in 1916 as both the Hundri and Tungabhadra Rivers were in spate. The bridge over Hundri was washed away and a portion of Kurnool town was badly affected. Floods of 1992 and 19% severely damaged many looms and destroyed the raw materials as well as finished products in the YWCS godown, causing severe loss to the weavers. Apart from floods, famines of 1876-78 and 1937-38 also affected the people badly.

FLORA and FAUNA:

The forest composition of the district stands in direct relation to the climate and edaphic conditions and the biotic influence on various locations. The Eastern portions of the district bears better vegetation, while the Western half, especially the north-western portion, including the study area Yemmiganur, presents a desolate appearance.

Wild animals are found in plenty in Naliamalai and Erramalai hills. The forest of the north-eastern part of Nallamalai, covering an area of about 47,000 hectares, has been brought under the Rajiv Gandhi Wild Life Sanctuary.

SOILS:

The soils in the district are of black day, black loamy and red loamy. The north-western part's soil is black cotton variety and is traversed by the river Hundri, where as the south-eastern parts are predominated by poor red soils.

GLIMPSE OF HISTORY OF KURNOOL DISTRICT:

Mauryas, Satavahanas, Pallavas, Nalas, Chalukyas, Cholas, Rastrakutas and other dynasties ruled the district during the ancient period of Indian history. The territory comprising the district appears to have been donated by a Satavahana king in dowry to a Pallava king. Several undated Jain inscriptions at places like Chippagiri, Peddatumbalam, Chinna Tumbalam and Jonnagiri

refer to the existence of a flourishing Jain community at these places in the district.

Rule of certain dynasties during the medieval period of Indian history is attested by several sources. Yadavas, Kakatiyas, Kondaveeti Roddies, Rayas, and other dynasties have ruled and brought certain striking features in social economic and political organisation *of* people in the district. While people continued in Jainism, *mathas*, which served as dwellings of Saivaite monks attached to temples, appeared in several places in the district, which refers to Saivism as the most dominant faith in the area during that period.

After Kakatiyas, the district was under the rule of Muhammad-bin-Tugluq, who divided the Deccan into five provinces and placed them under governors. Due to the misrule of Tughluq it came under Reddi, Raya and Bahmani rulers. Adavani (present Adoni), 20 kilometres away from Yemmiganur, served as the capital and principal town during Harihara I, the Vijayanagara king from Raya dynasty.

Few local chiefs under the hegemony of Vijayanagara rulers ruled different parts of Kurnool district. They are Velugodu chiefs, Avuku chiefs, Nandyal chiefs, Kandenavolu chiefs, and others. These chiefs are referred after the places they ruled. An epigraph belonging to the medieval period, found at Nandavaram, shows that the goddess Choudeswari was the most worshipped in this

district during Vijayanagara rule. Also construction of eastern gopura to Chamundeswari temple at Nandavaram by a Sthanapathi Sirivappa belonging to Vijayanagar kingdom, refers to predominance of weavers (Togata, a weaving community, are staunch devotees of Chamundeswari).

During Bahmani rule, Adoni was a strategic place for Vijayanagara kingdom. There were many attempts by the Bahmani rulers to capture Adoni Fort. Important forts in the districts were under governors of Vijayanagara kings.

Initially, a portion of the district was under the possession of Qutub Shahis of Golkonda. However, the entire parts of the present district were brought under one rule by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. He annexed both Golkonda and Bijapur kingdoms. As a consequence of later developments, the rights to collect Chauth and "Sardeshmukhi" taxes went to Maratha rulers.

The district later passed into the hands of Asaf Jahis (The Nizams). Their nominees called Nawabs ruled Kurnool. Later, some places in Kurnool district became centres of power struggle between Marathas, Nizams and Kamatak Nawabs. Though the district went under Tipu Sultan, the Karnataka Nawab, for a short duration, Nizam recaptured it with the support of the British. Nizam entered into a new treaty called 'treaty of offensive defensive alliance' with the British. According to the treaty, the British supported him in war with Tipu resulting in the annexation

of large territory of Tipu. Nizam however ceded the area accessed through this war to the British in return for a subsidiary force. Thus, Kurnool became one *of* the districts (beside Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah) ceded to British by the Nizam and hence called one of the four ceded districts.

THE PALEGAR SYSTEM:

Palegars were those chiefs who took possession of certain areas under their control. They existed in all four ceded districts and had claimed the rights to collect taxes. While there were 80 Palegars in the whole-ceded territory, Kurnool district had 22. The British government had to appoint Principal Collector with four sub-Collectors to deal with the Palegars, who were opposing the British administration.

KURNOOL DISTRICT DURING FREEDOM STRUGGLE:

Kurnool district figures prominently for the contribution it made to the Independence movement in India. People from the district reacted to all the programmes undertaken by the leaders as part of the Independence movement. Non-cooperation movement, Movement against Simon Commission, Civil Disobedience movement, Quit India movement, etc., had received wide support from the people of the district. A spinning home was established at Nagalapuram and also Charkas (spinning wheels) were supplied free of cost to the poor at Adoni. There was an overwhelming response from the people to Gandhi's visit to many towns of the

district in 1929, to raise funds for the *Khaddar* (handloom) Movement.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES:

The former 13 taluks in the district were reorganised into 54 Mandal Praja Parishads in 1985. Thus Mandal Praja Parishads became the unit of administration in the district, except Srisailem dam area due to its statutory status. According to the 1991 census, there are 928 villages in the district. All the 54 Mandals are organised into three revenue divisions. They are Nandyal, Kurnool and Adoni divisions. The study area is located in Adoni revenue division.

IMPORTANT CROPS:

Cropping pattern in the district depends upon the region and availability of irrigation facilities. Following the Rabi and Kharif seasons, different crops are cultivated in the whole district. Paddy, groundnut, cotton, sugarcane, chillies are the important crops cultivated on canal irrigation, mostly in the south-western part. Onions, sunflower is cultivated on bore-well irrigation in this part. Maize is cultivated in all parts, both on irrigated and un-irrigated lands. Jowar, Bajra and Tobacco, which are dry land crops, are cultivated in all parts of the district. While Jowar is cultivated in Kharif season, Bajra and Tobacco are cultivated during rabi season. Redgram, Greengram, Bengalgram and Horsegram are the main crops among the pulses cultivated in the

district. Cholan, cumbu, korra and castor, which had traditionally been cultivated in the district, have lost their importance now due to extensive commercialisation of agriculture. Many farmers, for domestic as well as marketing purposes, cultivate vegetables like tomato, ladies finger, potato, carrot, brinjal, pumpkins and some leafy vegetables.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN THE DISTRICT:

Handloom industry is an important cottage industry of the district. The centres particularly noted for this industry are well known for the production of saris, blankets and other handloom clothes. The varieties called *Poruva* and *Susi* produced in these centres had attracted good market in the State before the mill made cloth became popular among the people. Earlier, Adoni and Kurnool were popular centres for carpet weaving also. "*Kumbli*" (woollen blanket made of Sheep wool) was extensively woven in the district. Hand spinning, which was done extensively in the district earlier, has declined now.

Weaving in Yemmiganur is being carried on under a popular cooperative society, the Yemmiganur Weaver's Cooperative Society (YWCS), which was started in 1938. The society produces cloth for shirting and coating, dhotis, towels, napkins, bed-sheets, saris, salwar doth (upper garment) and pavada (skirt) doth. YWCS is popular for the mosquito-net doth production.

AMENITIES:

Cotton Research Stations, Project Development and Demonstration Farm, the Agricultural School (both at Yemmiganur), Cattle-cum-Dairy Farm at Banavasi near Yemmiganur and other centres for fisheries, poultry and livestock development are the basic amenities available for agricultural dependent population of the district.

TRANSPORT:

Bus is the main means of transportation as the railways poorly connect the district. A new bridge was built across Hundri and opened for traffic in 1920. Adoni can be considered as the main railway station in the district. Another railway line between Guntur and Guntakal connects Nandyal. The metre gauge line between Hyderabad and Bangalore, which passes through Kurnool, was converted into broad gauge in 1997. The Railways, which pass through the middle of the district from the west to east, link the district with the other parts of the State and the country.

DRINKING WATER:

Almost every village in the district is provided with drinking water facility. Drinking water is supplied from Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers, and also through bore-wells, through a protected water supply scheme. A few villages are supplied with water from village ponds by ground level filtration points.

EDUCATION:

Primary level school facility is available in almost all villages in the district. Besides the formal education facility, people are motivated to become literate under non-formal education programmes. The State Government during early 90s undertook the Akshara Kurnool Programme as a part of neo-literate movement. It has brought a qualitative change in people's understanding about the development programmes in the state. All former taluk headquarters (which are replaced by the Mandal Parishad headquarters) have Junior Intermediate (+2) and Degree colleges. There is a government sponsored Industrial Training Institute (ITI) at Dhone and Polytechnic College at Nandyal, besides private technical educational institutions at Adoni, Nandyal and Kurnool. The state government runs social welfare, tribal welfare and residential educational institutions at few places in the district to improve education facilities to the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe, Backward Classes and other poor students. Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalay, sponsored by the Central government, is located at Yemmiganur.

ELECTRICITY:

Electricity was introduced in Kurnool town in 1930. The district is completely electrified. At Srisailam, a well-known pilgrim centre, there is a hydroelectric power project

IRRIGATION:

Canals are the major source of irrigation for agriculture land in the district. The Kurnool-Cuddapah canal, the Lower Level Canal (LLC) and Higher Level Canals (HLC) of the Tungabhadra project and Gajula dinne project are the main sources of canal irrigation. Tanks and wells are the other sources of irrigation. Total extent of land under irrigation is about 1,64,064 hectares (according to 1991 census), 64% of land is irrigated under canals, 25% and 11% of land is cultivated under wells and tanks respectively.

POPULATION:

According to 1991 census, the total population of Kurnool district is 29,73,024 comprising 15,22,618 males and 14,50,406 females. The population in the district has increased by 5,65,725 persons compared to the previous census. Thus the district has recorded a decennial growth rate of 23.5% against the State average of 24.2%.

SEX RATIO:

Kurnool district is one of the 20 districts in Andhra Pradesh where sex ratio is not favourable to women. The district has registered a decline in sex ratio from 962 in 1981 to 953 in 1991. High Mortality rate among female children is largely due to lack of proper attention and child care by the parents. It is the main cause for the low female sex rate.

RELIGION AND CASTE:

Hindus constitute majority in the district population, followed by Muslims and Christians. Among the Hindus we find predominantly land-owning castes like Reddy, Kamma, Balija and Lingayat Gouda. The upper castes like Brahmin and Vaishya are numerically small. The artisan and service castes also form a substantial proportion in the total population in the district. The later groups can be categorised as occupational castes and Schedule Castes (SCs). The district population also has a significant proportion of Schedule Tribe (ST) population.

The main communities among the SCs are Mala, Madiga and Byagara. According to 1991 census, the percentage of SC population to the total population in the district is 17.43% and this is higher than the State's average of 15.93%. The dominant ST groups are Sugali/Lambada, Yerukula and Chenchu. Their proportion to the total population in the district, as per 1991 census, is 1.9%, which is lesser than the State's average ST population of 6.3%.

Muslims, who come numerically next to Hindus in this district belong mostly to the Sunni sect. The important groups among them are Sheikh, Syed, Mughal, Pathian, Lubbi, Mahdavi, Arab, Kasai and Dudekula. Most of them are not confined to any particular profession. Sheikhs are the predominant group among the Muslims. Muslim community members living in study area are

largely either converts or migrants during successive Muslim rulers.

The Kurnool district Gazetteer (1974) states that almost all the Christians are converts from the Hindu fold. According to the Gazetteer, "Even though Christians does not recognise any caste system, the influence of the castes to which they belonged before conversion from Hinduism does operate in their general social life, and particularly in the matter of matrimonial alliances. Converts from the same caste tend to group together in such endogamous practices" (1974: 63-64).

II

THE STUDY VILLAGE:

The name Gudekal was supposed to have been derived from the words "Gouda" and Kallu (Toddy). It is believed that the Goudas from this place were popular for supplying toddy to the dominions under Adoni Nawab and also to the local people on different occasions. Thus it was known as Goudakallu (Gouda's toddy) which in course of time became Gudekal.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN:

The village settlement has a circular shape. A road leading from Yemmiganur is separated into two at the entrance of the village. One leads into the village and forms as a main road between the central part and main part of village on North.

Another road becomes an extension of the Yemmiganur road that links Yemmiganur with Pattikonda road. This road forms a main road between the outer part and central part of village. Thus this road forms into a necklace shape. Madiga (SQ) have constructed their *pucca* houses on the hillock. Boya *geri* is situated on the north-west of the outer part of the village, while the households from Mala and Byagara community are located on the south-west of this outer part.

There are four by-lanes that link the circular road to the main road, which connect the village to Kurnool-Bellary main road at about 25 kilometres. The Padmasale, besides few Togata and Kurini houses, predominantly occupies these by-lanes. Most of the Kurini households are located in outer part, which forms eastern part of the village. Adjoining this Kurini *geri*, there is a Chakali *geri* (Washer-men Street). Behind these, there is Uppara *geri*, where Uppara caste families live, and Mangali *geri* (Barber Street).

Muslim houses are situated on the main road that leads to YWCS. Besides, they are scattered in the village and are found in many streets. This shows that they do not live in any exclusive street as majority of them had migrated from other places. Are-Katike and Katike Muslim live in an exclusive street behind the YWCS branch. Families belonging to Komati caste (trading community) reside near YWCS.

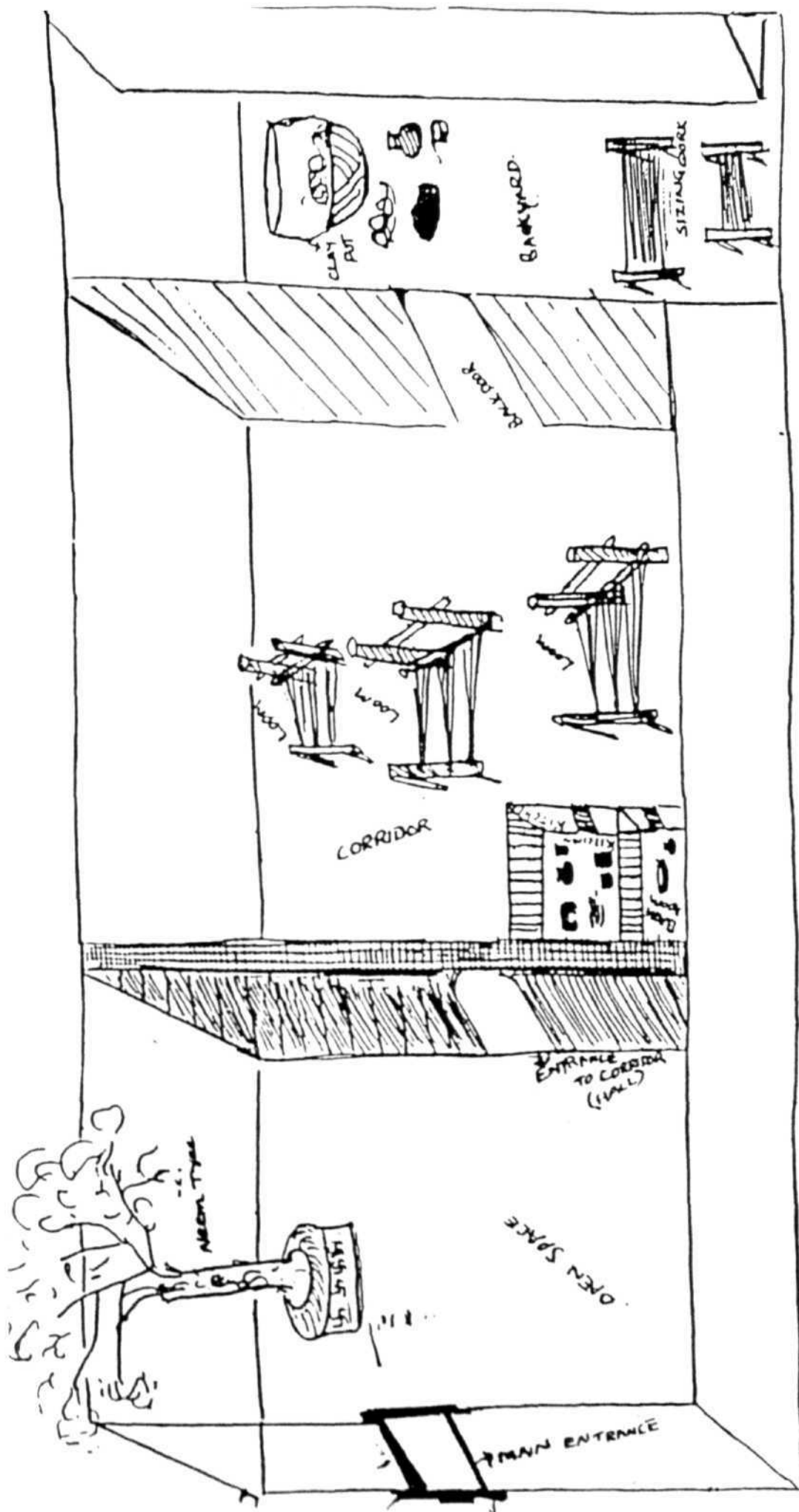
Settlement pattern shows a clear-cut distinction among the castes/ communities in the village. Gouda are housed at center of the village. Most of the Weaver families are concentrated in four streets. There is a sprinkle of weaver families in other streets also. Boya live in a separate street called *Boya Geri*. The Byagara and Madiga live in separate streets. Most of them live in huts on the hill tract of the village. Muslim families are located mostly on the village main street, particularly in the center of the village. Vaishya, trading caste, families are also located on the main street of the village.

TYPE OF HOUSE:

There are 1,375 houses in the village. The walls of most of the houses are made of stone and mud. The roof is mostly mud plastered over bamboo mats. Thatched houses are seen only in the street where Madiga caste members live. There are a few RCC buildings owned by a couple of weavers' families and Gouda (agricultural) caste families. The structure of a house differs from caste to caste. Since the focus of this study is on weavers a description of a typical weavers' house is provided here under.

WEAVER'S HOUSE:

A weaver's house design is different from that of a non-weaver family. As one enters into a weaver' house, there is a long corridor like hall, where the looms are placed. Fifteen feet of space is normally required for the length of a loom. In some houses, it is adjusted in a smaller space also. In each house, depending on the



PICTURE 2.1: WEAVER'S HOUSE

size of family, number of looms varies from one to seven (Plate 2.1). Kitchen and bathroom are located on either side of this long corridor like hall. Some houses have a separate room for the household deity. The *charka*, which is used for winding the thread, is found in a corner of the hall. Every house has some open space either in the front or in the backyard. Invariably there is a neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*), locally called *Vepa*, in the open place and it provides them shade while they do the sizing work (Picture 2.1).

FARMER'S HOUSE:

A farmer's house differs from that of a weaver's in design. There is some space for cattle / livestock immediately after the entrance, which is called *gaata*. Adjacent to that there will be a raised platform and inside the kitchen room and bathroom. Some houses have open space on the backside of the house used for storing hay, which is used as fodder for cattle.

Houses of farmers are of two types. A small farmer dwelling is single storied, generally built with mud and of lower height. They are usually single roomed houses. While the large farmers' houses have well paved corridors and verandas with wooden pillars. The doors are elaborately carved or painted.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE VILLAGE:

In 1991, the total population of the village was 8,725. The following table (22) shows the total population of the village according to categories of weavers and non-weavers. Weavers in

the village form about 14.4%. In contrast to non-weavers, the proportion of women *vis-a-vis* men is lower.

TABLE 2.2: Weavers and Non-Weavers by Gender

Sex	Category		Total
	Weavers	Non-weavers	
Male	648 (14.9)	3707 (85.1)	4355 (100.0) (49.9)
Female	607 (13.9)	3763 (86.1)	4370 (100.0) (50.1)
Total	1255 (14.4)	7470 (85.6)	8725 (100.0) (100.0)

The village population is broadly discussed under two heads-weaving and non-weaving communities/castes. The non-weavers include the Gouda, Boya, Chakali (washer man), Mangali (barber), Mala, Byagara, Madiga, Christian, Muslim, Katike, Dudekula and others. Some members belonging to non-weavers also have taken to weaving as an occupation. The Weavers' category includes the traditional weaver castes. Traditional weavers are defined as those who are attached to the occupation by tradition over generations. They are Padmasale, Kurunisale, Togata, Sakulasale and Devangam.

LANGUAGE:

Telugu is generally spoken in the village. Since the village is located on the border (it was a part of erstwhile Mysore State), most of the people speak Kannada also. Though Muslims speak

Urdu at home, they also speak fluent Telugu. There are some who speak Marathi also.

LANDHOLDING:

There has been an increase in the smaller size holdings. Large landowners retain much of their holdings that they can cultivate with their livestock and servants, and the rest they lease out. It was observed that a large extent of land is under the control of non-cultivating registered holders. The numerically small Kannada-speaking Gouda caste families own large amount of land in the village.

Most of the cultivators are holding land below 1.25 acres. Those who possess land up to 2.5 acres form the next largest category. The maximum size of land under any individual is about 27 acres and only four members in the village are privileged in this regard.

LITERACY:

The literacy rate, as can be seen in the table given below, is very low in the village (17.9%). Illiteracy is more prevalent among females than males. Consequently, among the literate males (73.9%) predominate over females (26.1%).

TABLE 2.3: Literacy by Gender

Sex	Category		Total
	Literates	Illiterates	
Male	1157(26.6)	3198(73.4)	4355(100)
Female	408 (9.3)	3962 (90.7)	4370(100)
Total	1565(17.9)	7160(82.1)	8725 (100.0)

OCCUPATION:

More than half *of* the village population is workers (54%) and the rest are dependants. About half *of* the total workers are agricultural labourers (49.4%), and among them women (57.3) predominate over men (42.7). Household industry (26.7%), including manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs, is the predominating occupational category after agricultural labour. Most of those engaged in this category of occupations are weavers. Among the agriculturists, majority is small and marginal farmers. Those engaged in other occupations like teachers, petty business, etc., form a very small proportion of total workers (Table 2.4).

TABLE 2.4: Occupation by Gender

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture	614(73.6)	220 (26.4)	834 (100.0)
Agricultural Labour	991 (42.7)	1330 (57.3)	2321 (100.0)
Household Industry	639 (50.9)	616(49.1)	1255 (100.0)
Others	223 (77.0)	63 (23.0)	286 (100.0)
Total	2467 (52.5)	2229 (47.5)	46% (100.0)

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION:

Gudekal's economy is predominantly agriculture-based. As already noted agricultural fields on three sides and hill slopes on the other surround village. Generally, the soils in this village are suitable for agricultural operations, and they can be classified as red and black soils. However, the large extent of soil in the village is black. Agriculture in this village is largely rain fed. However, some lands get irrigation water from Tungabhadra canal.

Paddy occupies the most prominent place among the crops grown on irrigated canals. Groundnut is cultivated both on irrigated and un-irrigated lands. Sunflower is a new entrant among the commercial crops in the area. Though this area was popular for cotton crop, its cultivation now a day is very nominal. Fluctuations in cotton prices, and the amount and cost of labour required for harvesting it are the main reasons for the decrease in cotton cultivation.

LAND USE PATTERN IN STUDY VILLAGE:

The total land under the village jurisdiction is 1,531 hectares. Out of the total land only 56% is under use, of which only about 25% is cultivated under irrigation. The Table (2.5) shows that much of the land is under fallow and the remaining (26%) is under ferries, which is unsuitable for cultivation.

TABLE 2.5: Land Use Pattern in Study Village (in Hectares)

Area	Fallow and non-cultivable land	Land under non-agriculture	Cultivable fallow land	Padava lands	Total land under agriculture		
					Irrigated	Un-irrigated	Total
1531	399	159	8	103	214	648	862

Source: *Mandala Gananka Darshini*, 1996-97

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES:

The agriculture year begins roughly in April. The various agricultural operations were fixed in a sequence in relation to the *nakshatras* or lunar asterisms (like Ashwini, Bharani etc.) called "*Kaart*" locally. With the advent of irrigation, water is released according to the English calendar months and as a result, there is less emphasis on the *Kaartes*. However, still there are people who start agriculture operation according to the *Kaartes*.

Dam built on Tungabhadra river in Karnataka irrigates some lands in the study area. Lands are generally tilled immediately after the harvest of the crop, if moisture is present, or soon after the first showers. The loose soils consisting of red and black soils are ploughed in alternate years. The surface is merely harrowed with *Guntaka* when the land is not ploughed. This is done even if there is no moisture on the surface. Manuring of dry land is done only once in 2 or 3 years, with about 3 to 5 cartloads of cattle manure per acre. The bullock power maintained is only one pair for about 30 acres of black soil or 15 to 20 acres of red soil and therefore

sufficient quantity of cattle manure is not available for manuring all the holdings. Goat and sheep penning is practised.

The use of bone meal and artificial manures like ammonium sulphate, ammonium phosphate, sulphur phosphate, etc., are slowly increasing. Particularly, they use mainly chemical fertilisers for irrigated lands. The months of July to October are generally busiest months for sowing the crops.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF AGRICULTURISTS:

The average extent of farmers' holding, the rainfall, the prices, normal weather conditions, etc., constitute important factors in the economic condition of the agricultural population as a whole in the village. About 72% of the village population, including the agricultural labour, is dependent on agriculture, among them about 80% are small farmers (Table 2.4). The amount of capital that a marginal / small farmer possesses is generally very low and hence, they always look for some outside help. Under these circumstances, any major innovations in agriculture are difficult to be adopted by these sections. Given this situation, the local/regional political leaders make use of them for bettering their political fortunes. The factional politics of the dominant castes thus affect the lives of these people.

Ideally/ 24 inches of rainfall would be ample for agricultural operations in this area, provided the rainfall is seasonal. Even a five- percent short fall in rains is likely to affect the agricultural

operations in the locality, experience shows that too frequently the rainfall is not only deficient but also unseasoned. A large number of farmers have smallholdings and there is always a tendency for them, under such circumstances, to degenerate into the condition of agricultural labourers. From time to time there does occur a serious failure of crops, which make the people to feel the pinch.

MAJOR CROPS:

Paddy, groundnut and cotton are the main crops cultivated in the village. Utilising the irrigation sources, these crops, which require sufficient water, are cultivated in the large portion of land in Rabi season also. Bajra is the next major crop, which is cultivated in large extent of land. As it requires no irrigation it is cultivated on rains. Other crops like Jowar, Maize etc., are cultivated on rains (Table 2.6).

TABLE 2.6: MAIN CROPS (IN HECTARES)

Crop	Season		Cultivated Land		
	Kharif	Rabi	Irrigated	Un-irrigated	Total
Paddy	264	182	424	22	446
Jowar	4	-	-	4	4
Maize	-	-	-	-	-
Bajra	30	-	-	30	30
Groundnut	268	323	323	268	591
Chilli	6	-	6	-	6
Sugarcane	-	6	6	-	6
Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-
Cotton			86		
Total		511	845	324	1169

Source: Mandals Gananka Darshini, 1996-97.

SOURCES OF IRRIGATION FOR AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS:

The details regarding sources of irrigation in the village are shown in the following table (2.7). The total agricultural land in the village is irrigated through two major sources, i.e, canals and agricultural wells. It is evident that about 50% of total irrigated land is cultivated under canals and the rest is under agricultural wells. There are about 80 agriculture irrigation wells in the village. The Tungabhadra low level canal irrigated the major portion of land under the study village.

TABLE 2.7: Sources of Irrigation (In hectares)

Irrigation Source	Season		Total
	Kharif	Rabi	
Canals	187	258	445
Ponds	-	—	
Tube wells	182	249	431
Total	369	507	876

Source: *Mandala Gananka Darshini*, 1996-97.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS:

There has been a decline in the use of age-old implements for ploughing and tilling agriculture lands. Due to increase in cost of cattle, high demand for labour, etc., are the reasons for farmers to opt for mechanical implements in their cultivation.

LIVESTOCK:

This village has good number of livestock and poultry. The density of livestock and poultry is quite high. It is higher than the

district average of livestock and poultry, 78.8 and 29.5 respectively, per square mile. Cattle, goat, sheep, buffaloes, and donkeys are major livestock in the area. Several varieties of grasses, along with stocked paddy straw, Jowar and maize stalk, groundnut and horsegram haulms and *bhoosa* are used as fodder.

III

NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES:

TEXTILE:

Besides agriculture, weaving provides employment to many in the village. Among those who undertake weaving traditional weaver castes predominate over the others in this village. These traditional castes are Kurini, Padmasale, Togata, Devangam and Sakulasale, in the order of their numerical importance. Apart from the traditional castes, members from other community/castes, such as Muslim, Katike Muslim, Telega and Boya, also are involved in weaving enterprise. Among them Muslims predominate over Katike Muslim, Telega and Boya. The entire weaving enterprise both cotton and silk, in this village and also in the region, is only done through handlooms.

COTTON WEAVING:

Weavers working under the Yemmiganur Weavers Cooperative Society (YWCS) are engaged in producing the cotton clothes like towels, saris, lungis, bed-sheets, petticoat doth, handkerchiefs, etc. The yarn for these cloths is supplied by the

YWCS, which markets these items and pays the weaver on piece rate basis. Though the weavers do not find cotton weaving all that remunerative, some of them still continue with it because of the material benefits that they receive from YWCS.

Spinning of cotton into yarn or thread was widely practised by women in the village. But with the formation of YWCS, the responsibilities were thrust on YWCS to supply yarn to the weavers. However, the establishment of local spinning mills also avoided involving women in spinning activity. Introduction of silk weaving by Master Weavers resulted in the near disappearance of spinning, as the Master Weavers supply ready made silk yarn in spindles.

SILK WEAVING:

Silk weaving is a new entrant in the village. The present silk weavers in the village, in the past, were basically cotton weavers under YWCS. Attracted by higher levels of returns in silk weaving, some have dropped out from YWCS and started practising silk weaving. They primarily make silk saris in all colours, in alternative squares. The *Buta* saris are very popular and the introduction of Jaqad has recently brought a new dimension to their talent as the new designs could be arranged in a sari with the help of *Jaqad*. These are generally more richly embroidered than the cotton varieties and hence, sold at higher prices. The price ranges from Rs.500 to Rs.5000, which is much lesser than the price for the same variety sold in the market in other places. Besides

weaving, they are also involved in winding, sizing and other related activities.

SEASONS AND WEAVING ACTIVITY:

During rainy season the threads become stiff and elastic due to moisture. It becomes harder for the weaver to work on the loom during this season and he would not consider the June to September period as conducive to weaving activity. Also, during summer it will be problematic for a weaver to sit on the loom for a long time due to hot conditions, since the average temperature will be around 40° C. Hence, a local weaver considers the November to February period as the ideal time for weaving.

SMITHERY AND CARPENTRY:

Next to textile industry, some metallurgical artisans are important among non-agricultural workers. Five goldsmith (*Kamsali*) families are there in the village. Besides, there are five carpenter (*Vadrangi*) families among whom only one family continues the occupation in the village. He renders his services for money in place of payments in kind. Other four families are working in their own workshop in Yemmiganur.

POTTERY:

Kummari caste members practice pottery. There is a decline in this occupation due to problems of availability of raw material (clay) in the village as a result of expansion of agriculture. Further,

the decline in this occupation is also due to competition from metal and plastic ware.

CURING HIDES:

Hides of sheep or goat are collected when it is removed from the animal slaughtered for meat. Hide is salted thoroughly and immersed in limestone water and sold in specific trading centres established in Yemmiganur town. These hides undergo further processes before getting tanned. Few people from Are-Katike and Katike Muslim families *do* this work of collecting hides and skins in the village.

TRADE:

Trading in weaving products is the major contributor for trade in this village. The village is the chief exporter of both cotton and silk clothes. Cotton clothes are traded through YWCS to different places in India and abroad, while silk clothes are traded individually to Master Weavers/middlemen. As there are skilled weavers in the village, the cloth contractors and businessmen visit the village from various places, like Hyderabad, Kodumur, Gadwal, Kurnool, Bellary, etc., to buy silk saris and, in turn, sell them through their outlets.

Trade in agriculture products is not significant in this village. There are two middlemen who have opened shops to purchase grains from local farmers. These middlemen export them to cities in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. There are a few

provision shops, mainly run by Komati caste members (who are a traditional merchant caste), which sell the essential commodities to locals.

COOPERATIVE ACTIVITY IN THE VILLAGE:

Cooperative movement in this village dates back to pre-independence period and it was a response to the famine conditions during 1940s and 50s. Due to World War II and the consequent economic depression, which caused scarcity of essential commodities, a great deal of influence was exerted by the Kurini caste leaders on the weavers of Yemmiganur area to join the cooperative movement. This was mainly to prevent them from migrating to other places. This initiative of Kurini caste leaders played a significant role in the economy of the region. With the support given by the government, the leaders of YWCS encouraged formation of cooperative institutions like Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (with its branches in Yemmiganur area), Credit Cooperatives and Cooperative Stores in the region. Thus YWCS branch was opened in Gudekal in 1948. There is a Silk Weavers' Cooperative Society, Mallikarjuna Silk Weavers' Cooperative Society, registered in 1992 for the silk weavers in the village. The town bank at Yemmiganur issues short-term loans to Gudekal farmers for purchase of agricultural implements, fertilisers, in support of seasonal agricultural operations, etc.

The Yemmiganur Leather Workers' Cooperative Society was established at Yemmiganur in 1959. Its aim was to stop the

migration of Scheduled Caste families in the region to other places. The society has established four allied units like Village Model Tannery, Footwear Unit, Marketing Depot for raw materials, and Footwear Sales shops. The society was involved in the development of the village leather industry under the purview of Khadi and Village Industries Commission. People from Byagara and Madiga and Mala communities from several villages in Yemmiganur region formed the workforce in these units. Many Scheduled Caste families from Gudekal village were also employed in this Cooperative Society. However, in recent years some of these units were closed down due to lack of organisational and financial support, and leadership. Particularly, the Society started facing problems after the death of its founder leader Somappa.

The Milk Supply Cooperative Society was established at Yemmiganur in 1952 and its services were extended to Gudekal much later. This Cooperative benefited many milk producers, who were, by and large, small farmers and landless labourers. The basic purpose of the Society was to secure better price to milk producers. Also, people who do not sell milk to the society go to Yemmiganur town early in the morning to sell milk to hotels in the town. The establishment of number of hotels at Gudekal and on the outskirts of Yemmiganur, towards Gudekal, brought down the membership of the Milk Cooperative Society. Improved transportation facility (many unemployed/underemployed youth have chosen to run the auto-rickshaws taking loans from some financial institutions) also

resulted in the decline of membership. This helped them, further, to supply milk to Yemmiganur hotels. This is more fetching than supplying milk to the Milk Cooperative, which follows rules rigidly relating to the quality of milk and the time for delivery of milk.

CASTES AND TRADITIONAL CALLINGS:

Togata, Padmasale, Kurini, Devangam and Sakuiasale (the Chief weaver castes); Gouda (agricultural caste); Ediga (Toddy tapers); Besta (fishermen); Golla (Grazers and cowherds); Kuruba (shepherds); Kummari (potters); Vishwabrahmin/Kamsali (goldsmiths, coppersmiths and blacksmiths); Vadrangi (carpenters); Oddes (earth diggers and stonecutters); Giakali (washer-man); Mangali (barbers); Boya (village servants); and Uppara (labourers) are some of the caste groups associated with distinct professions or trades.

WEAVING COMMUNITIES:

Among the weavers there are two categories, 1) traditional weaving castes and 2) non-traditional weaving castes/communities. The former has traditional attachment to weaving occupation, while the later have adapted to weaving as a means of livelihood. Among the traditional weaver castes, Kurini predominate over Padmasale, Togata, Sakuiasale and Devangam. Ethnographic details of the traditional weaver castes/communities are provided in the fourth chapter. As can be seen in the table (2.8), a few families from Muslim, Katike Muslim, Telaga and Boya have taken to weaving enterprise.

TABLE 2.8: Households by Caste/Community

Weavers				Non-weavers	
Traditional *		Non-traditional		Caste/ Community	HHs
Caste	HHs	Community	HHs		
Kurini	158	Muslim	22	Muslim	58
Padmasale	46	Katike Muslim	4	Katike Muslim	36
Togata	8	Telaga	5	Are-Katike	10
Sakulasale	5	Bova	1	Telaga	7
Devangam	6	Total	32	Bova	379
Total	223			Gouda	40
				Mangali	27
				Chakali	25
				Dudekula	60
				Vadrangi	5
				Kamsali	5
				Uppara	21
				Golla	24
				Ediga	21
				Kamma	9
				Komati	9
				Madiga	210
				Mala	35
				Byagara	45
				Christian	8
				Others	25
				Total	1110
Total Number of House Holds				1365	

* Includes both engaged and not engaged in weaving.

NON-WEAVING COMMUNITIES:

GOUDA:

They are considered as Lingayats. The name Lingayat means "one with a *lingd*", the reference is made to the portable *linga* worn in silver or a metallic casket. It is usually suspended by a string in the neck, in the form of a pendant or it can be tied on the upper arm or on the head to the turban. They can be compared with the Kannada speaking Vokkaligas, as there is resemblance in

the social practices between them. Hayavadana Rao (1984) states that Gouda is a title of the head of the Kattemane, organisation of a group among them. According to him, several Kattemanes form a Nadu, at the head of which is Nadu Gouda. There is Desai Gouda or Bhumi Gouda over a collection of several Nadu Goudas. There are two Desai Gouda organisations, one over the Telugu sections and another over the Kannada section. The usual caste titles are Gouda for Kannada origin people and Reddi for Telugu origin people. They are found in most occupations, including toddy tapping. But their main occupation is agriculture. The Gouda families in the village own a large amount of land and they control political power also.

BOYA:

Gopala Krishnaiah Chetty (1886), who compiled the Manual of Kurnool district in the Presidency of Madras, described them as Kirata or Bedri. According to him they were mainly employed in tax collection in the villages, by the Zamindars. Boya in the village are cultivators, and agricultural labourers. Boya are numerically predominant in the village. They are listed under denotified tribes in some districts of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh.

CHAKALI OR WASHERMAN:

There are about ten families from Chakali caste, a traditional washer-man caste, in the village. In this village Chakali are engaged in their traditional occupation only. However, some

families from this community are involved in weaving occupation in the neighbouring villages of Yemmiganur.

ARE-KATIKE:

There are two sections among Katike. One follows Hindu tradition, while the other Muslim. Both these are believed to be descendants of two brothers. Members belonging to the younger brother's lineage call themselves Are-Katike, or Maratha butchers and follow Hindu manners (Thurston 1909). Their traditional occupation is butchering but most of them are now engaged in agricultural labour and petty business and few of them are involved in curing hides business. The Are-Katike are mostly prevalent in the Bellary district of which this study area was a part before the reorganisation of the States. Besides they are prevalent in almost all villages in the district in small number. The Are-Katike are butchers.

MANGALI

Mangali is a traditional barber caste and they still continue to practice their traditional occupation in the village. There are 27 families in the village. They play musical instruments (they are locally called *melagallu*) during festivals, village ceremonies, marriages and other auspicious occasions. Now, some of them have established hair-cutting saloons in the village.

MADIGA, MALA AND BYAGARA:

The Scheduled Caste population comprises of about 15 percent of the total population in the village. They are mainly from the Madiga caste. There are also a few Scheduled Caste families belonging to Mala and *Byagara* in the village. *Byagara* are regarded as a sub-caste of Mala in other areas of the State. Traditionally, *Byagara* are the agricultural labourers and are employed by the Hindu castes in digging grave for their deceased. Madiga traditionally involved in carcass cleaning, tanning, and manufacturing whips, chappals (slippers), etc. However, due to the initiative taken by one of the prominent leaders from the Kurini (weaver) caste, Machani Somappa, who mobilised both *Byagara* and Madiga and started a Leather Workers Cooperative, now both the communities live by tanning leather and making shoes. But due to poverty alleviation programmes introduced by the State and Central governments, there is an improvement in their living condition. Some of them now work in the spinning and oil mills as attenders and workers, while others have started petty business and run auto rikshaws, etc.

MUSLIMS:

There are about 80 Muslim households and most of them are *Sunnis*. They are involved in agriculture, agricultural labour, weaving and petty business. Majority of Muslim families in Gudekal was migrants from neighbouring places, which were parts of Adoni, which was ruled by a Muslim chief. Gudekal Muslims

follow the tenets of Sufism, which preached about the religious tolerance and universal brotherhood. The Sufi saints during their mission to teach their philosophy had their visits to Gudekal also in the past. The present descendent, of Sufi school of thought, visit the places near by Gudekal, such as Adoni, Guntakal etc. The disciples from Gudekal throng to these places to visit him for hearing his preaching.

KATIKE MUSLIM:

Most of them are involved in slaughtering animals and selling meat. Some of Them are engaged in curing and selling hides. They observe both Muslim and Hindu customs. Thurston (1909) states that there are three social classes among the Katike. The first group is called Gayi (cow) Khasayi, as they sell beef. Second group is Sultani, and the third one is Surasus. The second and third groups are claimed to be the descendants of two brothers.

According to Thurston, Tipu Sultan, the chieftain of Mysore State, felt that it was against Islamic principles to take mutton from the Hindu butchers, as they do not perform "Zubah" at the time of slaughtering the sheep. He ordered two Hindu brothers, whom he identified as the expert mutton suppliers, to the court. Customarily, the elder brother was summoned to the Sultan's court first and he was circumcised following the Sultan's orders and the man was converted to Islam. On hearing the news, the younger brother ran away to another place. Thus the descendants of the elder brother became Muslims and that of the later Hindus.

However, since the conversion was under duress, they did not adopt all Islamic practices till recently. Thurston states that, only recently, they started doing Namaz and adapting to other manners and customs of Muslims. They settled down in pursuit of occupations relating to agriculture and Government services of various kinds (Hayavadana Rao 1984).

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES:

Members are mainly from three religions: Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Among the Hindus, belief in god ranges from the concept of one God to anthropomorphic and even animistic notions. Weavers in Gudekal have their family deities and they worship them along with other deities, Sanskritic or parochial. For instance, Padmasale weavers venerate the Bhavana Rishi, son of Lord Brahma. Lord Rama and Lord Krishna, who are regarded as divine incarnations and are worshiped widely in the village. Their portraits are seen in every house in the village. Temples, dedicated to various other deities like Anjaneya Swamy, Maremma, Sunkalamma, Markandeya, Neelakanteswara, etc., are normal centres of religious congregation and worship. People throng en masse to the temples to offer prayers on important religious festivals and fairs. Besides, they gather at a temple or at the houses of prominent persons in a street to listen to the recitation of Ramayana or Mahabharata texts, the two great epics of Hinduism.

Most of the Hindus also visit Durgah of Allepeeran (a local Muslim saint) along with their Muslim counterparts. Muslims,

particularly, show their utmost faith by celebrating Urus (annual religious fair), on occasion of Alleepeeran's anniversary. Katike Muslims and Dudekula *do* not practise Islamic traditions properly. Some of them do visit Hindu temples and celebrate some of the Hindu festivals also. Katike Muslims and Dudekula enjoy a lower social status among Muslims. However, Ramzan, Muharram, Bakrid, Milad-un-Nabi, Shubeharat are the Muslim festivals celebrated by all sections of Muslims. Most of the Christians in Gudekal are converts from the Schedule Castes and most of them still celebrate some of the fairs and festivals belonging to their former religious faith.

INTER-CASTE RELATIONS:

There has been a remarkable change in the rigidity of the caste hierarchy due to various socio-economic and political changes. Increased proximity to the electronic media, regular visits to nearby town to watch movies and influence of local political leaders have facilitated congenial inter-caste relations in Gudekal. One can hardly feel caste distinctions in entering to public places such as YWCS, hotels, temples, etc.

When we look at the relations between weavers and non-weavers, some change in their relationship is noticeable as compared to the past. As narrated by some old weavers, there existed a dose and friendly relationship among different castes, including weavers, in the past. Before the starting of YWCS the non-weaving caste members used to visit the weavers' houses in

order to purchase or to place order for a cloth on different occasions or purposes. They used to exchange pleasantries and also gossip (*lokabhiramayana*), during their visits. But, when the Weavers Cooperative Society came into existence all these kinds of activities disappeared. The cooperative society began to dictate their personal life and occupation. It is directly involved in their activities starting from supplying of yarn to the members to till it is receives the finished cloth from them.

The YWCS markets the clothes through its outlets. Thus, the consumers no longer needed to go to the weavers for procuring cloth. This has snapped the traditional relationship between the weavers and the non-weaver consumers. Previously, the weavers were given importance in social and religious matters by the non-weaving castes. Now, they lost their functional importance in the village.

MATERIAL POSSESSION:

Most of the weaver families possess Television sets. They watch television to forget any fatigue while working on loom. Most of them possess cycles and motorised two wheelers, which they use for commuting to Yemmiganur town. Some agriculture families possess tractors and bullock-carts. Radio, clock, fan, etc., are very common in most of the households. A few families possess basic amenities like lavatory in their houses. Very few houses (Padmasale and Gouda) have bore-well in their houses. The

remaining has to fetch water either from hand pumps, located almost in every street, or from the protected water supply tank, which is constructed at the centre of the village.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION:

The Sarpanch of the Gram Panchayat belong to Gouda caste. The Gram Panchayat consists of 14 wards. The ward members are from Gouda, Boya, Kurini, Padmasale, Muslim and SC castes or communities. Gram Panchayat settles minor disputes relating to land, inter-caste marriages, etc. Compared to the other villages in the region, Gudekal shows an organic unity with relatively less factional politics.

COMMUNICATION AND OTHER FACILITIES:

The village is very well connected by road. The main road, which connects the village with Yemmiganur town, was laid during the famine of the early 1930s. The State Government under the supervision of Public Works Department (PWD) maintains them. The Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation (APSRTC) buses ply to Pattikonda via this village. Some private buses also pass through this village. There are quite a few auto-rickshaws operated by the unemployed youth between this village and Yemmiganur. The agricultural produce produced by the farmers is transported by tractors, tillers and bullock carts to the markets at the nearby towns like Yemmiganur and Adoni

The village has telephone facility. There is an upper primary school and a high school in this village. The village is completely electrified. There is a veterinary hospital and for medical purposes villagers visit Yemmiganur. It has a branch office of YWCS, a public distribution outlet to supply the necessary commodities to the villagers. There is medical facility in the village provided by a Registered Medical Practitioner (RMP) and for serious ailments they visit the government hospital in the nearby town.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF YWCS

The predominant intellectual tradition of anthropology deals with analysis of the processes and problems of change. Development anthropologists have analysed the development process in a society due to local/regional factors. It was pointed out that the new opportunities and resources create a process of development, which, in turn, brings about a change in the socio-economic structure of a particular people (Baviskar 1980).

In order to understand the process of development, there is a need to know about the structure and organisation of a particular society wherein the development takes place. In view of this, the present chapter deals with the structural and organisational dimensions of Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (YWCS). This would provide us the organic links of YWCS with the regional/local branches like the one in Gudekal. Further, it also deals with development and change that occurred in Yemmiganur area due to cooperative activity.

I

Cooperation among human beings is cultural and is governed by norms and conventions. It has become impossible to

understand the social and economic reality today without understanding cooperation. Emerging out of economic impulses, the cooperative movement is linked to the socio-economic life of modern society in all nations. Namjoshi (1977) observed that, in advanced societies, the idea of cooperation tends to become more specific and would be confined to specific activities. According to Nisbet (1968), cooperation is a collaborative behaviour directed towards some goal and in which common interests or hope of reward are involved. It may be voluntary or involuntary, direct or indirect, formal or informal. However, in any kind of cooperation, there is a combination of efforts toward a specific goal. In this, all the participants will have a stake, real or imagined. Cooperative movement has also its significant contribution in the economic upliftment of rural communities in India as can be seen in case of dairy cooperative movement in Gujarat (Shall 1992; Mascarenhas 1988), sugar cooperatives in Maharashtra (Baviskar 1980), weavers' cooperatives in Tamil Nadu (Arterburn 1982) as well as in Andhra Pradesh.

Cooperation in Human Actions:

The act of cooperation with one another has been evolved through various stages of the history of human kind. China provides the best example for the existence of cooperation in the antique period. The social customs of marriages and funerals in the villages of Asia took the cooperative idea further. When the tribesmen felt the need of a collaborative effort in irrigating their

arid zones, they got united into cooperative projects Bakken (1963) says that the craft and merchant guilds all over the world during medieval times represented a conscious movement towards formal organisation. According to him, the craft and trade guilds became social guilds once the society acquired a community feeling. These social groups became the antecedents of friendly societies, which, in turn, were followed by the charitable trusts, fraternal groups, and social organisations of the present day. The thoughts of Robert Owen, who succeeded in bringing a number of social reforms in the European society, led the European community towards the cooperative movement (Lambert, 1963).

The concept of cooperation found its roots in the writings of Hobbes, Darwin, Morgan, Green, Comte, Owen, Fourier, Durkhiem and others. Particularly Owen and Fourier, along with their followers, paved the way for formulating a series of cooperative principles. Refuting the ideas of liberal capitalism, Owen introduced paternalism, which provide the living and security conditions for workers as a way out for social problems. The concept of villages of cooperation, which he later proposed, was aimed at enabling and organising the poorest citizens. He called on these sections to devote themselves to various activities that would save them from despair. Lambert (1963: 42-43) focussed on the moral concerns of cooperative thinking.

King and Michael Derrison, who were the followers of Owen and Fourier respectively, realised the importance of the

principles of cooperation and added the principles of socialistic thought to the existing cooperative principles. Thus, these formed the basis of the Rochdalian Principles in 1844.

The cooperative movement thus initiated by Owen has turned into an effective economic movement. At present cooperative societies exist in various sectors like credit, banking, processing, production, housing, warehousing, transport, industry, etc. These cooperative societies are run on the basis of the principles laid down by the Rochadale Pioneer's Society in 1844. These principles are: 1) open membership, 2) one member one vote, 3) limited return on capital, 4) allocation of surplus in proportion to transactions by the members, 5) cash trading, and 6) stress on education, religious and political neutrality. The above principles were reviewed in 1966 by the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), the world-wide organisation of cooperatives.

"Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society", a tiny store, was established with 28 pounds as the share capital in a little street of Rochdale, Lancashire on October 24, 1844. During the first half of the 19th century there was too much of hunger in nearly every country of Europe. These years are spoken of today as the "Hungry Forties" (Saxena, 1974). Under these conditions, the society was started with twenty-eight persons, most of them being the Flannel Weavers. This had a world-wide repercussion on the Cooperative Movement. It was Charles Howrath, who suggested forming a cooperative store to overcome the famine problems. With a strong

charter of rules, the Rochdale Society conducted the business and progressed into a well-established cooperative society. Also the Society took interest in the establishment of the "Rochdale Cooperative Corn Mill" in 1850 and the "Rochdale Cooperative Manufacturing Society" in the same year. Thus the Rochdale Society became the trend-setter for establishing other cooperative institutions like, the "Rochdale Equitable Provident Sick and Burial Society", etc. The most important aspect of the Pioneers' Society was that it also worked as a wholesaler for other cooperative societies during 1850 and also it played a crucial role in setting up the Cooperative Wholesale Society in 1863. The cooperative movement in Yemmiganur, the present study area, has a lot of similarity with the above cooperative movement

Perspective of Cooperation in India:

According to Srivastava (1962) there were four forms of cooperation in the socio-economic activities of people in ancient and medieval India. These were *Kula*, *Grama*, *Sreni* and *Jati*. The first form of cooperative activity in India was supposed to be *Kula* and it functioned as a cooperative unit to promote the economic, social and political interests of a close knit group. In due course of time it was reduced to the status of a political unit, leaving social and economic functions to the joint family.

Achieving the social and economic progress of the village as a whole was the aim of cooperation at the grama (village) level. Gram Sabha¹ (Village Assembly) and the other mutual aid

associations were the agencies of cooperation at this level. The agricultural and craftsmen families formed the Mutual-Aid Associations for providing help to one another. These associations were aimed to create basic harmony, a sense of cooperative spirit and mutual understanding amongst different groups in the village (Srivastava 1962; Desai 1969; Mukherjee 1969; and Reddy 1991).

In the Post-Vedic period, the highly developed *Sreni* emerged as the association of merchants and craftsmen. It was one of the dominant form of associations which played a significant role in social, political and economic life of people during Ramayana and Mahabharata, as well as Buddhist and Jain periods (Srivastava, 1962).

Jati attained an effective cooperation in socio-economic and religious matters. Certain rules and established customs with regard to trade matters for procuring raw material, wages, prices and marketability of the product were formulated by the *Jati Sangha* (caste organisation), through its Panchayat. Fines and social sanctions were imposed on those who violated the rules. Thus, cooperation among its members in their social and religious activities was ensured. By establishing schools and providing educational facilities for Orphans and helpless, it catered to the needs of the poorer sections amongst them. *Jati* made donations for religious and charitable activities (Srivastava, 1962).

History of Cooperative Movement in India had its origins in the erstwhile Madras Presidency, which can be traced back to the year 1892. During this year the provincial Government appointed Sir Frederick Nicholson as Special Officer to look into the relevance of the methods of cooperation prevalent in Europe to the Madras Presidency region for overcoming evils of rural indebtedness. On the lines "Raiffeisen" Societies in Germany, he recommended for the formation of rural cooperatives in the Madras Presidency region (Gazetteer, 1967). The promulgation of Indian Cooperative Societies Act in 1904, which was replaced by the Act-II of 1912, was viewed as a landmark in the history of modern cooperative movement (Baviskar, 1980). As a result of this, central credit as well as production and distribution societies were established.

The provincial Madras State Government brought the legislation known as the Madras Cooperative Societies Act VI of 1932. This allowed for of shifting the subject of cooperation to the provincial list from the Central list. Further, a separate enactment known as the "Madras Cooperative Land Mortgage Banks Act" of 1934 was passed to regulate the working of the land mortgage banks in the province (Gazetteer, 1967).

A strong community bond exists in activities such as fishing, weaving and agriculture. For instance, this is clearly noticeable in case of the Rochdale Society, whose founders were Weavers. There is a need to study such organisations from an anthropological perspective for an in depth understanding, as there are hardly any

in-depth anthropological works in this area, with the exception of Arterburn's (1982) study on Kancheepuram Silk Weavers' Cooperative. According to Arterburn, weaving occupation is based on strong social ethics rooted in inter- and intra-familial, and inter-caste social relations. These relations if converted into a cooperative effort by adding cooperative principles to them, such ventures will have greater chances of success. Shanti George (1994) emphasises on sociological aspects and their implications for a cooperative society. She points out that most of the cooperatives rely on pre-existing social structures. In a comparative study on sugar cooperatives in India based on a sociological analysis Attwood and Baviskar (1987) emphasised on identifying crucial organisational factors in their success. They viewed that they depended not only on the technical factors, but also on stable alliances among the small, medium and large-scale cane growers.

It is important to note that it was Mahatma Gandhi's dream that each village would be self-reliant and that self-reliance would be based on a Panchayat, a school and a cooperative. During the initial years of Indian Independence, the situation with regard to cooperatives seemed to be very encouraging. They were seen as instruments of economic empowerment of rural India. Cooperative societies in India today are passing through a critical phase due to problems like undesired governmental interference, lack of sound cooperative leadership, magnified role of apex bodies in the cooperative sector, political tendencies, etc. Besides the existing

problems of the cooperative societies, the changed economic order under the new economic policy of the Government of India initiated in 1990s further complicated the problem. Given this, Shivamaggi (1996) feels that there is a need to redefine the cooperative sector in the wake of globalisation.

Chowdary Brahm Prakash Committee was appointed by the Planning Commission to draft a Model Cooperative Society Act in 1990. The Model Act minimised the government control and interference, simplified procedures for registration and dissolution of cooperatives. It minimised the role of the registrar to that of an enforcer of the law, and encouraged cooperatives to develop self-reliance and self-confidence.

The impact of liberalisation on industry reveals that the new economic policy appears to have accelerated the movement towards capital intensive technologies. Due to the new economic policy, there will be greater competition from private enterprises and the cooperative sector may not get favourable treatment from the government (Nadkarni 1993). It is in this context that the cooperative organisations started searching for more efficient and profitable methods of production. Cooperatives can play a significant role in encouraging entrepreneurship among small-scale producers in the present day context and accelerate economic development of the people concerned and the region. Anand Milk Union Limited (AMUL) and YWCS are the best examples which

have shown that cooperatives can withstand the onslaught of liberalisation and global competition.

There have been significant developments in cooperative legislation in different states of India. The Andhra Pradesh Mutually Aided Cooperative Societies Act (APMACS Act), 1995 is an important development in the cooperative movement². It acted as a catalyst for a chain of developments in which various states have undertaken efforts to introduce reforms in their cooperative laws on the lines of the Model Act of 1990. The APMACS Act was described as a milestone in the history of Indian Cooperative Movement.

Cooperatives have become centres of growth in their areas of operation. They bring about general social and economic development by providing educational, health, communication and other services for the community at large. This generates an ethos in which local people would acquire new skills and attitudes, which would bring about favourable changes in their lives. In this regard YWCS is a case in point.

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Yemmiganur is one of the fast growing towns in Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh, and is very popular for its weaving industry. It has been preponderantly weavers' area and it possesses the rich and prosperous heritage of handloom weaving in

the State. Yemmiganur, which was a unit of just a Panchayat board, rose to the level of a developed town and achieved the status of a Municipality. This was made possible by the Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society. The inception of cooperative society attracted weavers from the other areas.

Yemmiganur has been a centre for handloom weaving for centuries (YWCS working paper, 1983). Francis (1904) observed that the chief industry of Yemmiganur is the weaving of cotton, and mixed silk and cotton clothes for women. The weaving industry was revived by the efforts by Mr. F.W. Robertson, collector of the district from 1824 to 1838, while it was almost ceasing to exist. He took several measures and, as a result, many weavers from the Nizam's dominions migrated to Yemmiganur. After this, the Yemmiganur clothes became quite valued and were even exported to far off places like South Canara, in the present day Karnataka State.

Yemmiganur, along with Adoni, Kampli, Hampasagaram, Tambrahalli, Bachigondanahalli and Rayadurg, was one of the chief centres for weaving of mixed silk and cotton handkerchiefs in the erstwhile Mysore State. These kerchiefs were made in considerable quantities for the *Lingayats*, a *Shaivaite* sect, who used them to tie the *Lingams'* (Phallus, an image of Lord Shiva) round their necks or around upper arms (Francis, 1904:103).

Yemmiganur area was severely affected by famines during 1854, 1866, 1876-78, 1891-92, and during the later half of 1930s. In this regard the famine that occurred in the 1930s affected the people of Yemmiganur area badly. As a result, people started migrating to other regions. The colonial government opened a famine relief centre to provide relief to agricultural labourers in order to stop their migrations. This was planned on the lines of successful relief works undertaken in Bellary region during 1854 famine. But the relief centre, opened for agricultural labourers in Yemmiganur, was not useful to the handloom weavers, as their occupation is different³ from that of agricultural labourers. Thus, the new relief centres could not stop migration of weavers to other places. Earlier, this area experienced large-scale migrations during the great famine of 1876-78.

A famine weaving relief centre was opened in 1937 at Yemmiganur exclusively for the weavers in order to arrest their migrations to other places due to recurring famines. This separate weavers relief centre was planned based on the past experience. This measure of the government paid dividends. It not only arrested the migration of weavers but also attracted weavers from outside to Yemmiganur. Later with the improvement in the conditions, the famine weaving relief centre was closed down.

After the closure of the relief centre, weavers approached Machani Somappa, who was a member of the non-official advisory board, to continue the cooperative efforts of the weavers, as they

found the relief centre operated more on the principle of cooperation and was quite beneficial to them. Somappa was a popular leader of the dominant weaving community, Kurini, and was also a Master Weaver. Thus the Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (YWCS) was established in 1938, under the leadership of Somappa, who was an educated and dynamic person. His initiative to form YWCS benefited weavers at large, in this area.

The initial membership of YWCS was only 20. It started with 20 looms and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 170/-. The progress made by YWCS was astounding as its maximum membership reached to 3,590 in 1980-81 with a working capital of Rs.1,01,07,400 and annual production of about 1.6 crores. It is one of the largest cooperative societies in India today and is well known among textile cooperatives. At present the membership, according to official sources of YWCS, is reduced to 2,841 due to various reasons such as yarn crisis in the industry and some political reasons. However, the share capital, from both the sources of members and government, has gone up to Rs.2.7 crores as well as the production has increased to Rs.3.6 crores.

Master Weavers controlled the weaving industry before the formation of the YWCS in 1938. These Master Weavers had widespread kinship networks, spreading to the neighbouring Mysore (presently Karnataka State) State also. Added to this, their traditional skills and techniques brought in good demand for their products. Their social visits to their kinsmen helped them to assess

the marketability of their products. Thus, the 10, 20 and 30 count saris with *indigo* dyeing in dark blue and the kerchiefs produced by them were marketed to the plantation workers of coffee estate areas of the then Mysore State, which had demand for these products. Also the Master Weavers encouraged the production of chemical dyed clothes in red, yellow and green colours, which were in good demand in the areas like Hubli and Dharwad, of Mysore State.

Weavers' Cooperatives were earlier profit making organisations and were also successful. The situation has changed now and they are on the decline. The success partly could be attributed to indirect subsidies, marketing services, etc. The subsidies have been withdrawn gradually. Further, withdrawal of equity share of the Government, following the Act of 1995, is considered a blow to these units. The Cooperatives that were to make very flexible use of its work forces are not able to continue the same in present circumstances. Earlier, depending on the demand, they were recruiting non-member weavers and when the demand dropped they were eased out. This was observable clearly in case of YWCS.

YWCS was successful to the extent that it was able to market its products through its sales counters established in different important places in Andhra Pradesh and neighbouring Karnataka. It did benefit from Andhra Pradesh Cooperative Organisation (APCO), the Apex body of cooperative societies in Andhra Pradesh,

who used to purchase the finished products from the YWCS. APCO stopped procurement in 1991 due to problems of pricing of YWCS products. YWCS felt that by reducing prices APCO equated the YWCS production with that of the other cooperative bodies. YWCS could not compromise on the quality of production in order to cut the costs. Thus, because of a slump in the market, YWCS stocks got piled up in their godowns leading to resource crunch. This had further led to problems in supplying yarn to its members. As a result of the crisis, a few weaver members withdrew from YWCS and joined under Master Weavers in silk weaving, who entered into the fray, to exploit the situation to further their business interests. The weaver members from Gudekal, who withdrew from YWCS, found silk weaving profitable and later formed a silk weavers' cooperative society, the Mallikarajuna Silk Weaver's Cooperative Society, in Gudekal.

The setback the YWCS faced resulted in tardy growth and slump in its profits. However, in spite of the desertion of members it had turned around, as it did in the past, by adopting some management and technical reforms. In this context, it is important to understand the entrepreneurial dynamics of YWCS.

The YWCS has adopted changes according to the market situation. Introduction of such changes in the YWCS included the introduction of new varieties and technological changes. One can observe this over a period of time in terms of different phases, which can be grouped under the following four phases. During the

first phase its production was limited to the famous coarse variety of Indigo saris with *Alligarine* red stripes in 10 and 20 counts only. It started producing bandage cloth (*Gazu gudda*), and mosquito net cloth (*domtera batta*) for the army during the Second World War in the second phase. It introduced bed-sheets (*duppati*) and crepe shirring; and started exporting crepe shirting to the United States and bed-sheets to Oman, Singapore, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and other places during the third phase. After the yarn crisis and other problems in the organisation, there emerged the threat of Master Weavers in silk weaving. To counter their threat, it has started producing silk products as well. Thus, the entrepreneurial dynamics and response of YWCS to the ever-changing market helped it to not only to survive but also emerge as a stronger cooperative organisation.

The YWCS had developed a very generous policy of paying a basic wage to all members and non-members, besides the occasional bonus. In the wake of new policy measures, it is imminent that YWCS has to find new avenues for its development to sustain itself in the market. In fact, the factors, which contributed indirectly for its smooth functioning earlier, may not contribute towards its growth today. Hence, the thrust here is to understand the future of YWCS under the changed circumstances. The present discussion would help to focus on how the YWCS, which survived through successive crises periods by adapting to the changing situations) can meet the situation which will arise

after the enactment of the 1996 Act of Cooperatives in Andhra Pradesh. Before understanding this, it is imperative to know about the structure of weaving industry in Yemmiganur area.

Structure of Weaving Industry in the Area:

Kurnool is one of the few districts where cotton weaving is quite extensive and, besides Nalgonda, Mahboobnagar and Anantapur districts, silk weaving is also very popular in this district. Yemmiganur and Kodumur are the two well-known centres of weaving and dyeing in Kurnool district. The district has about 41 cooperatives and 4,625 weavers, both cotton and silk. Though the district has been preponderantly agricultural, there are some villages wherein some communities are entirely dependent on weaving occupation. The products associated with Kurnool are saris and coarse doth made of cotton.

The study area, Yemmiganur, possesses the rich and prosperous heritage of handloom weaving in the State. This area was considered to be the main centre for producing a variety of qualitative cotton blends. Francis (1904) mentioned that the weavers from Mala (SQ caste made the coarse white clothes in considerable quantities. Yarn produced at the yarn mills of Bellary (presently in Karnataka State) was mostly used in these products. The quality of the products was highly appreciated and some of them were exported to Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka), and some European and African countries. Also, these clothes had good demand in local villages and at the nearest weekly market⁴.

All the cotton thread traditionally used in this area is mill-made and bought ready-dyed. A general exception to this is that for indigo dyeing the thread was dyed locally. The colour called *maddi*, a handsome dark-red colour, is also occasionally dyed to the thread by the dyers in the nearby areas in the Nizam's principalities. They used *Madderu*, the bark of the root of *maddi* (*morinda citrifolia*) tree, to extract *maddi*. The same variety of thread was chiefly imported from Bombay and certain parts of Europe. Clothes produced in this area were easily identified elsewhere, for they were usually produced in seven regular and popular colours. The customers of YWCS prefer the products in the following order of preferences: white (un-dyed), grass green, scarlet, yellow, black, dark red and indigo blue. Indigo was the most popular colour among the cottons, and was the prevailing tint of dress of any crowd of women, working women in agriculture, labour, housewives, etc. (Francis 1904).

The most obvious and demanding clothe that was produced by the weavers in Yemmiganur area has been a variety of silk and handkerchiefs keeping in view of its social importance with the Lingayat community. As observed already, Lingayats use this cloth to cover the portable Linga worn in silver or a metallic casket, usually suspended by a string around the neck, in the form of a pendant or tied to upper arm. The chief centres of production of these clothes were Adoni, Yemmiganur, Raydurg and

neighbouring places like Kampli, Hampasagaram, Tamarahalli and Bachigondanahalli (presently in Karnataka State).

Formation of YWCS:

Formation of YWCS in 1938 has some history. Its formation was due to several socio-economic and environmental reasons. The area was severely affected by successive famines. The famine of 1833, called Guntur famine, had affected Tungabhadra region. There were severe famines during 1854, 1866, 1876-78, 1891-92 and during the later half of the 1930s. Writing about the famine of 1854, Francis states that "the relief-works consisted almost entirely of earth-work on new roads and they were chiefly controlled by military officers working under the "civil engineers". Some Rs.10,000/- were spent in cleaning out and deepening the fort ditch in Bellary. Piecework rates were nowhere tried. The wages given were at first 2 annas for men and 1.6 annas for women and children. But in July they were reduced to 1.3 annas and 8 pies respectively. The majority of the people on the works were farm-labourers, ordinary coolies and weavers" (1904:126).

The famine of the 1930s is considered to be the worst. Though some relief works were taken up in the Yemmiganur Firka of Adoni taluk, was not satisfactory. Hence, people began to migrate to other areas. The colonial government opened a famine relief centre for the agricultural labourers at Yemmiganur in 1936 to contain the migration of people. However, the relief centre was not useful for the handloom weavers. This was because the weavers'

work culture was different. In the relief camps, as stated earlier, the work included laying roads, repairing village canals, tanks, etc., to which the weavers were not accustomed. As a result, the government organised weavers' relief centre in 1937 to arrest the migration of weavers from Yemmiganur area. Many weavers were attracted to the relief centre and got accustomed to the relief camps. The government closed down the famine relief centre after the conditions have improved for weavers. Since the weavers found the relief centre beneficial to them, they approached Somappa, who was a member of the famine committee on the non-official advisory board, to convert it into a cooperative society. Thus, the Yemmiganur Weavers' Cooperative Society (YWCS) was established in 1938 under the leadership of Somappa.

Situation before the Formation of YWCS:

Weaving industry in Yemmiganur area before the formation of YWCS, i.e., before 1938, was totally controlled by Master Weavers. They had developed good demand for their products due to their widespread kinship networks coupled with their traditional skills and techniques. Particularly, their sense of professionalism developed with their gauging of marketability of cloth during their visits to Mysore State (presently Karnataka) to attend social functions. The kerchiefs and 20 and 30 count saris were popular among coffee plantation workers in Mysore State, as they were tough enough to withstand the coarse coffee plants. This had

encouraged the Master Weavers in Yemmiganur area to produce these saris dyed in dark blue.

Rise of YWCS:

Documenting on Yemmiganur, Francis noted that, "Its chief industry is the weaving of cotton (and mixed silk and cotton) clothes for women. It is said that at one time the industry had almost died out but that it was revived by the efforts of Mr. F.W. Robertson, Collector of the district from 1824 to 1838, who among other measures, brought over to it a number of weavers from the Nizam's dominions. The Yemmiganur clothes are now much esteemed and are exported even to South Canara" (1904:121).

TABLE 3.1: Branch-wise Membership of YWCS

Sl.No	Branch	Members*		Total
		Active	Sleeping	
1.	Yemmiganur	1240 (76.5)	380 (23.5)	1620 (100) (58.1)
2.	Gudekal	208 (58.4)	148 (41.6)	356 (100) (12.8)
3.	Nandavaram	125 (47.7)	137 (52.3)	262 (100) (09.4)
4.	Nagaladinne	84 (36.2)	148 (63.8)	232 (100) (08.3)
5.	Gonegandla	33 (27.7)	86 (72.3)	119 (100) (04.3)
6.	Gudur	38 (38.0)	62 (62.0)	100 (100) (03.6)
7.	Kosigi	24 (24.0)	76 (76.0)	100 (100) (03.6)
Total		1752 (62.8) (100)	1037 (37.2) (100)	2789 (100) (100)

Source: YWCS working paper 1995-96.

* Exclude 52 looms arranged in Model Weaving Centre

As noted earlier, YWCS started with only 20 founding members, 20 looms and a paid up share capital of Rs.170, the YWCS has made a steady progress. It reached to its maximum membership of 3,590 in 1980-81 with a working capital of Rs.1 crore. Also, it became one of the largest cooperative societies in India and a popular one in textiles. But the present membership has come down to 2,789 members of whom only 1,752 are active and this includes 1,050 cotton weavers and 150 weavers specialised in silk fabric handlooms on pit looms; and 330 active framed looms (out of 420). The weavers under YWCS in the district account for about 60% of the district's total weavers (4625).

The YWCS has its branches at Gudekal, Nandavaram, Nagaladinne, Kosigi, Gudur and Gonegandla, besides its main branch at Yemmiganur. The above table (Table 3.1) indicates that most of the members are active (62.8 %) and many of them come from Yemmiganur and Gudekal. Majority from the other branches became sleeping members, as most of them belong to non-traditional weaving castes/ communities. There is a greater need to strengthen YWCS and its branches by adopting some innovative measures as most of the sleeping members have joined Master Weavers in silk weaving.

Role of Caste and Kinship in Forming the YWCS:

Caste and kinship played a significant role in the formation of YWCS. There are various communities involved in weaving occupation in Yemmiganur. These communities can be categorised

into traditional weavers and non-traditional weavers, based on the nature of their attachment with the occupation. Kurini, Padmasale, Devangam, Togatasale *and* Sakulasale are the traditional weavers. In the second category Muslims, Katika Muslims, backward classes such as *Besta*, *Valmiki etc.*, and Schedule castes (Mala and Madiga) are included. Kurini (hereafter Kurini) is numerically the largest caste among the weavers in Yemmiganur. The Kurini is a large extended social group with strong bonds of kinship. They live in proximity and maintain close inter-personal relations with one another. All Kurini are closely related either through marriage or through blood. In this given social set up, the exchange of gifts, periodic visits, reciprocal support in personal emergencies, etc., further strengthen their relations with one another.

The other weaving castes like Padmasale, Togata, Sakulasale and Devangam also have played a significant role in the formation of YWCS. Interestingly, Ghurye, while commenting on the housing cooperatives observed that "only those cooperative housing societies have succeeded most which have restricted their membership to their caste fellows" (1969: 298). This also holds well in case of YWCS. The founders have well utilised this nexus to form and successfully run the YWCS. Various branches were established on the strength of the caste members. The case of Basappa, manager of Gudekal branch of YWCS, clearly brings out this factor. Basappa belonged to Banda dan, which is related to the founder's clan Machani by marriage. All his relatives and caste

men in the village helped his father to form the branch (YWCS) on the advice of the founder Somappa. Basappa's father said that he felt it is a moral compulsion to help his kinsmen by starting a YWCS branch in his village. That is how he mobilised his caste men to enrol their membership in this branch. He explained that, the cooperation existed not just between two families but among all members of the caste as a whole. Thus the branches of YWCS at Nagaladinne and Gudekal villages in 1947, at Nandavaram in 1951 and other three branches in 1960s have been established with the cooperation extended by the caste and kinsmen to the founders of YWCS in these villages.

We can see a substantial increase *of* membership, between 1943-44 and 1948-49, due to the establishment of the YWCS branches at Gudekal and Nagaladinne, where the traditional weaving communities were predominant. This also coincided with the demand for its products, which were supplied to the Indian army, during World War II. The post-war period and the dawn of Independence have created a decline in demand for the products of YWCS due to problems of marketing. This was reflected in the decline of membership during 1949-50. However, the membership increased during 1950-51 due to the establishment of a YWCS branch at Nandavaram in 1951. It is important to note that about 36% of the paid-up share capital of the breakaway Andhra Handloom Weavers' Cooperative Society Limited, was owned by

YWCS at the time of its split from the parent organisation, Madras Handloom Weavers' Cooperative Society in 1953.

TABLE 3.2: Trends in the Performance of YWCS Over Years*

Year	No. of Members	Production (Rs.)	Profits (Rs.)	Paid up Share Capital
1938-39	176	4,472	645	1,323
1942-43	1,090	1,44,462	54,737	8,582
1947-48	1,719	16,05,580	2,30,000	83,130
1948-49	1,741	14,71,953	1,27,108	91,458
1950-51	1,674	15,06,118	3,67,601	96,533
1960-61	2,208	18,45,017	54,417	1,34,379
1970-71	2,341	44,15,375	2,69,540	288,980
1975-76	2,854	85,31,309	10,34,708	4,24,823
1980-81	3,590	1,59,38,480	7,07,312	9,60,465
1993-94	3,091	2,89,57,000	1,59,000	27,00,000
1995-%	2,841	3,60,00,000	3,98,000	27,00,000

Source: YWCS Working Paper

* Data for the period between 1983-93 were not available.

In 1960s two branches in Gonegandla and Kosigi were opened. These two areas had less number of traditional weaving castes/communities, who are largely the constituent members of YWCS. Thus, during 1960s the increase in membership was slow. Increase in membership after 1970-71 was attributable to the benefits extended to its members, such as housing, free education to the children of members, production bonus, etc. The deteriorating health of the founder Chairman, Somappa, between 1976-78 had its impact on the fortunes of YWCS. During this period the profits of YWCS declined. In the year 1978 Somappa passed away leaving a leadership vacuum in YWCS. During mid 80s YWCS faced yarn crisis. Apart from the crisis in yarn as well as leadership, the problems of political interference also played a

significant role in the decline of membership between 1981 and 1996 (Table 3.2).

It is essential to note that, since its inception, persons related to a particular clan of Kurini caste, Machani, have been getting elected as chairman of the YWCS. Though people from other castes were elected to YWCS, at the decision making level Kurini people matter most even today. The weavers' colony, which was constructed by the YWCS, obviously shows the predominance of Kurini caste. Out of 150 houses sanctioned to the homeless and poor weavers in 1947, about 118 (81.4%) houses were sanctioned to the Kurini caste members. Among others Padmasale occupy 17 (11%) Togata 8 (5%) and the rest by the others. This shows the importance of Kurini caste in YWCS activities. Shivaiah, one of the surviving founder members of the YWCS, stated that, "we were rich enough to start some other business with the resources available with all Master Weavers at that time. But we wanted to do something for the community because most of the weavers, who were migrating to other regions due to famine, were Kurini. Again, among them, most of the people were closely related to ever⁷ one of us". Thus, it is clear that the caste/community attachment was a strong basis in forming the YWCS.

Social Composition of YWCS:

Majority of the weavers under the YWCS belonged to Kurini caste. They are also called locally *Nese*. Thurston (1909) observed that the name Kurini is derived from the words *Kuri*, meaning

sheep, and *vanni*, meaning wool, in Kannada language. Kurini were originally wool weavers and were engaged in cotton and silk weaving, besides practising agriculture. *Kunigiri*, *Jada* or *Jandra*, etc., terms are also used as synonyms for Kurini. The prefixes such as *Hire* or *Chikka* for Kurini in some places are found to be the two names of the two major sub divisions among the Kurnis. While the *Hire* sub division is vegetarian and follow a sanskritized way of life, the *Chikka* members eat meat, take alcohol and also dine with non-Kurini.

Padmasale are the second largest weaving community in the area. Mythologically, Padmasale trace their origin as warriors and as descendants of Lord Vishnu. Thurston (1909), quoting Andhra Padaparijatham, states that these people have been the result of a union between a kamsala man and a potter woman. He further observes that, according to the particular legend, the celestials that desired to secure clothing for themselves and their dependants, asked sage Markandeya to supply them clothes. Markandeya offered prayers to Lord Vishnu and sought his help in this regard. Lord Vishnu, who was pleased with his prayers, appeared and directed him to make a sacrificial offering (*Yagna*) to lord Indra, the king of Celestials. Accordingly, Markandeya performed the *Yagna* and from the fire was born the sage Bhavana, with a ball of thread in his hands, which he had manufactured under Lord Vishnu's guidance from the fibre of the lotus, which sprang from the Lord's navel. With this ball of thread Bhavana made clothes for the

celestials. Subsequently, he married the daughter of Sun God, Bhadravathi, and gave birth to a hundred and one sons, who later prepared clothes and supplied them to the celestials.

The Souvenir (1988), released by the Kurnool Zilla Padmasale Dwithiya Mahasabha, says that, Bhavana *Rishi* used the skeletal remains of the demon Makasura, whom he killed and gave relief to the celestials, as the implements for his loom to weave clothes for the celestials.

Togata Sale and the Sakula Sale are the other two weaving castes, who come next to the above mentioned communities in weaving occupation in Yemmiganur area. The Togalas regard themselves as a sub-caste of Devangam. The Sakula Sale, who is also called Patlakare, means specialists or experts in weaving the bordered saris, speak Marathi language. This caste can be compared with Patnuvaasan caste in Tamilnadu. Thurston (1909) cites a brief history of this caste, which was published in 1891 in support of their claims to Brahmana status. He explains how they got involved in various occupations and came to be known as Patnulkaran. He also slates that the term is derived from the Tamil words patnol meaning alik and karan means *means man*, which a silk weaver.

Devangam, who are famous in weaving saris in pure cotton with a silk border, is another traditional weaving community in this area. They worship the goddess Chamundeswari Devi.

Thurston (1909) narrates the origin of Devangam caste with the help of a legend, which depicts a story similar to Padmasale. He identifies Jadaru, Jada (great man), Dendra, Devara, Dora, Seniyan and Sidam as synonymous to Devangam. Hayavadana Rao (1926: 238) identifies two main linguistic divisions among them, Kannada and Telugu, who do not intermarry. According to him, the Kannada section is subdivided into 1) Sivachar Devangas, 2) Siryadavaru or those of Sira in Tumkur, 3) Hatagararu and 4) Hadinentu Maneyavaru (households belonging to 18 families), who appear to have seceded from the main group owing to certain heterodox practices.

The term Devangam is derived from two words *Deva* and *Angam*, which means limb or body of God. Devangam are also referred to as *Attakaras*, in the village. The local people describe that the term *Attakara* is derived from two Canarese (Kannada) terms, *Hasa* and *Kara*, which means stubborn and doer respectively. The name *Attakara* also is associated with black magic. They always gain an upper hand on the opponent in any magical dual and see to it that the opponent magician is defeated. Hence the name *Attakara*.

There are certain families from other communities/ castes who are engaged in weaving in YWCS. They are basically from a non-weaving traditional background and adapted to this occupation only due to economic considerations. The main castes/ communities among this category are Muslims, Katika

Muslims (Butchers), Besta (fisherman), Chakali (washer man) and Boya.

Among the traditional weaver castes, Padmasale is considered hierarchically superior to Kurini, Devanga, Togata sale and Sakula Sale castes, respectively. They are separate endogamous groups and have communal relations. The caste distinctions are reflected in their worshipping of different deities and also in marital exchanges.

III

YWCS' Adaptation to New Challenges:

The YWCS, which established its branches in many villages in the area, has established its sales depots (9) even in neighbouring Karnataka State, along with 40 sales depots in Andhra Pradesh. Each of its branches is specialised in different products keeping in view the demands of the consumers. This was the reason why YWCS became vibrant to changing market and consumer aptitude and could sustain itself in face of challenges. It facilitated exchange of different techniques used by different weavers of the area. The branches of YWCS encouraged local designs and these products were later handed over to the main branch. YWCS developed new designs, using all the local designs thus collected.

Any person who wishes to become a member of the YWCS has to pay some share capital, which entitles him to get a loom,

and, subsequently, he will be supplied with raw materials like yarn every month on the basis of work progress. The weaver, in turn, has to submit finished goods to the society for which he will receive remuneration. Thus weavers began to procure equipment and tools and selling the cloth produced jointly in an organised way. Once demand was established for its products, YWCS introduced new varieties keeping in view the market situation and changed the technology accordingly. One *Dory* section was established for winding and reeling purposes. A separate section was opened for helping the divorced and widowed women for sizing of the yarn. YWCS has introduced a dye house for making yarn in different colours. It reduced the burden of weavers from paying extra charges for dyeing the yarn. Introduction of bed-sheets, bandages clothe (Gazu cloth), and mosquito net doth necessitated introduction of improved technology.

YWCS has established the following infrastructure, as a part of modernisation during the successive years of its progress (Plate3.1):

- Modern Dye House
- Hank Mercerising Sections
- Preparatory Work, Printing and Design Sections
- Main Goods Godowns - 2
- Head Office Production Centre

Modern Dye House:

The YWCS has established its own dye house. The entire coloured yarn required by the YWCS members is dyed through this Dye House. This Dye House is housed in a separate building with necessary vats and bleaching tubs. An overhead tank with 10,000 gallons capacity of water was connected to the Dye House to provide continuous water supply through pipelines. This facility was in demand due to increased production, which required a corresponding increase in the dyed yarn. The Dye House was modified twice, after its establishment. Firstly, it was modernised keeping the need for greater output and to ensure uniformity in the shade of yarn. The Dye House was used to boil 1,400 KGs of yarn and to dye 900 KGs of yarn daily. This modern Dye House played a significant role in popularising the products of YWCS and became instrumental in bringing down the costs of dyeing.

Hank Mercerising Plant.

YWCS had introduced a Hank Mercerising Plant to its infrastructure. It is unique and first of its kind for a primary weavers' cooperative society in the country. This act of YWCS had helped in enhancing the saleability of its products and increasing exports to a considerable degree. This plant helped in getting a lustre and silk}- appearance to the YWCS products. Also, the durability was enhanced by 30% while the increase in cost was only 10%. Apart from this, YWCS imported a Mercerising Plant from Switzerland and acquired all allied machinery indigenously.

Preparatory Work, Printing and Designing Section:

Long warps, ranging from 100 to 500 yards, are required for special type of looms. The society takes up the preparatory works like drawing the yarn into warps, processing it, etc., before supplying it to members. A block, screen and roller-printing section and a designing section allied with YWCS functions effectively to bring in effective designs evolved, keeping in view the market trends.

Main Goods Godowns:

The YWCS had constructed two goods godowns for storing the raw material as well as the finished products (clothes). The godown used for storing the finished clothes, procured from the weaver members is very vast. Another godown is used for storing the raw material like yarn.

Head Office Production Centre:

The Head Office Production centre is located in YWCS main branch at Yemmiganur. This centre supervises and coordinates the production activities of all other sections working under YWCS, relating to administration, procurement of yarn, purchase of other raw materials, payment of wages to weaver members, marketing the products, etc.

Quality of Production:

There are certain specific factors adopted by YWCS to improve the quality of production. These factors are:

- a) Raw Materials: Supplying of best quality materials to its members was the main factor that contributed to the growth of YWCS. It continued to get yarn from Madurai, in spite of problems in procuring, till the spinning mills in Yemmiganur and surrounding areas started functioning. Even when yarn was available from the local spinning mills the YWCS management did not compromise on the quality of the yarn. It continued to procure yarn from Madurai, as its quality was better than that of the local mills.
- b) Task Table Register: The task table register is used to enter the details regarding quality of yarn. This was a measure undertaken to ensure maintenance of quality. The quality of yarn was worked out for each variety on the basis of count construction particulars of the cloth. It is counter-checked by working on a loom before it is registered in the task table.
- c) Reeds and Healds: The society started supplying yarn in the reeds only in proportion to the required specification. All weaver members used to get two to four reeds of different specification and were healding it free of cost. This had ensured the quality of cloth in the given specification and facilitated a quick changeover from one variety to another in keeping with market demand.
- d) Supervising Looms: The *Maistries* (supervisors) with a good weaving expertise were appointed to guide the weaver members to maintain the quality and to ensure that the doth is returned in a stipulated time. *Maistries* were 16 in number and they were controlled by a head *maistry*. Each *maistry* had to supervise 200

looms. Their responsibility was to inspect every loom at least once a week. They were entrusted the task of guiding the weaver members about the new varieties as and when they were introduced by YWCS. This measure of YWCS helped in avoiding any loss of yarn/cloth due to amateur weaving. Besides, they always attended the complaints from members regarding loom adjustments.

e) Appraisers: Appraisers with dynamism and technical ability were appointed as persons-in-charge. Their job was to check the cloth specifications while receiving it from the weaver. YWCS approves the cloth only after it passes through different stages of approval before the approver certified them (Plate 3.2). Fines would be imposed on the weaver for any defect and it varies depending on the nature of the defect. Cases of defects with manipulative motivations to cheat the society would be referred to a Special committee, which meets once in a month. Five members with long-standing experience and trusted dealings with YWCS constitute the Special Committee. They take up inspections and recommend suitable action. The punishments range from imposing fine (which may be some times equal to their wages) and, in extreme cases, suspension from YWCS membership for two weeks. However, if the defects are due to natural reasons they are ignored after nominal fines. The defective clothes would be sold through YWCS counters at cheaper rates.

Product Mix:

The YWCS, due to its concerted efforts, was able to sustain itself in weaving enterprise. It adopted the product diversification programme for solving the recurring problems of accumulated stocks. As a result, the weavers are gradually helped to switch over from the traditional varieties of plain woven saris and dhoties. Switching over to the improved looms like frame looms, Jaquad looms and pedal looms introduced by the society, majority of the members of YWCS have benefited. Pit looms, which are continued by those who did not like to change, also are modernised, in response to the market demands, with doby attaches, long length warp devices, etc. This allowed them to weave the same traditional varieties generally patronised by the rural segment of the consumers who still continue to buy YWCS products. This mixed loom culture of the society has enabled it to produce diverse range of products, catering to different segments of consumers. Thus the introduction of bed-sheets, pillow covers, drills, furnishers, honey combed towels, mosquito nets clothe, casements, dress materials, etc., were added to the list of YWCS' products later.

Other Features of YWCS:

Marketing:

The YWCS markets its products through its 56 sales depots established in important towns (except 6 depots, which are in other states) throughout the State. More than three fourths (77%) of the total sales' turnover comes from the retail sales only and the rest

(23%) accounts for wholesales to APCO and All India Handloom Fabrics Marketing Cooperative Society. The society, in the past, had followed a procedure of paying incentives (commission) to sales staff, if their sales exceeded the fixed sales target

Wages and Thrift Fund:

The society has provided continuous work to its members on reasonable wages until the 1980s when it underwent a crisis of yarn shortage. The wages were revised regularly keeping in view the market conditions and other changing circumstances. It followed a democratic process in revising the wages based on the recommendations of a special advisory committee comprising of 25 members, duly appointed for this purpose. Besides, Thrift Fund was created and a sum of 6 paise for every rupee they earned was deducted and credited to the Thrift Fund account. Thus it inculcated a habit of thrift among the members.

Amenities:

The YWCS has adopted several welfare measures for its members. It provided medical benefits, extended financial contribution to those who underwent family planning and provided free education up to intermediate level for the children of the members. There was a provision even to pay for funerals. The expenses for these welfare measures were drawn from the Common Good fund of the society.

Housing Facility:

The YWCS had also provided accommodation to its homeless and needy members. This was necessitated due to migration of large number of weaver families from the adjoining villages came and settled in Yemmiganur. It has got the distinction of being the first handloom cooperative to launch a housing scheme for weavers in the cooperative fold. The existing weavers' colony was constructed on the advice of J.R.Rayon., the then Joint Registrar of Cooperative Societies. Despite government restrictions (as the government had restricted housing colonies only for organised labour), the colony was constructed. The credit for this goes to Machani Somappa, who evolved a housing scheme financed by YWCS suitable for weavers' needs and the capacity of the members to repay. This colony is considered to be a best weaver colony in the country, even today.

YWCS was granted Rs.3.18 lakhs towards building a housing colony, along with five other cooperative societies in the erstwhile Madras State. This enabled the YWCS to implement the schemes designed to improve the housing conditions of weavers. On the advice of Sir J.C. Rayon, the then Joint Registrar of Cooperative Societies, who after visiting the weavers' houses in 1944 suggested a housing colony on the outskirts of the village. **The** weaving colony was established under two housing schemes. There are 150 houses in the colony, built for its members. Thus, the

establishment of the weavers' colony was the direct result of the cooperation.

Working Capital:

The funds for the society are mainly from the equity fund supplemented by government assistance per equity. The society has invested some part of its funds on buildings, in shares of other cooperative institutions and government securities. The remaining, created out of profits, is kept as reserve fund. This reserve fund is utilised for running the business of the cooperative.

Production:

In the initial years, when product diversification was started on improved looms, it was running 60 looms in Model Weaving Centre at the headquarters of YWCS. Later, this was closed down as its purpose was served. However, the total number of looms under YWCS has come down due to the introduction of silk weaving by Master Weavers. Also, there were instances of younger members of weaver families switching over to other professions like workers in spinning mills and other industries in the area. The effective loomage of the society was 2,841 and the annual production of the society had reached to Rs. 3.6 crores in the year 1995-96. The production per loom per day is around 5 meters. The production value per loom per month works out to Rs.625/-, of which Rs.375/- is the value of the yarn consumed. Thus, the average wage earning per loom per month is Rs.250/-. Members of the society are mainly two loom owners and the number of single

loom owners is negligible. Thus an average minimum monthly income per member family is Rs.500/-.

Management of YWCS:

The management of YWCS is vested in a Board of Directors consisting of nine members. Among them eight are working weaver members, including two women. The Board gets itself elected by the General Body once in three years. It meets regularly to discuss the problems of members. The directors are given allowances for attending meetings. The YWCS has also made provision for allowances to the members on special committee and wages committee also. There is a secretary deputed by the Government to run YWCS.

Cooperative Activity - Diversification into Other Sectors:

As noted in case of Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society, YWCS also had initiated cooperation to encourage entrepreneurship among the other sections of the society. Thus, the Yemmiganur leather workers cooperative society (for Harijans); the Yemmiganur cooperative house building society, Yemmiganur consumer cooperative stores, the Yemmiganur cooperative marketing society (for farmers) etc., were established.

1. Cooperative Town Bank In Yemmiganur:

The establishment of the Cooperative Town Bank in Yemmiganur was indirectly influenced by the YWCS. The *Multanis*, lending money at exorbitant rates of interest to the

weavers who were very much need of credit. If they did not return the money in time *Multanis* used to occupy the client's houses by force. Thus, in Chayano's words (1987; 263) "relative weakness of local capital" gave rise to a sense of cooperative in banking matters. The credit for this also goes to Sri Somappa for the idea of forming a Cooperative Town Bank, when the local people expressed their problems with *Multanis*. Thus, he established the cooperative town bank, to serve the financial needs of the local community in the year 1946, with a membership of only 10 and a paid-up share capital of Rs.3375/-. It has the distinction of "A" class bank continuously for a long period. The success of the Yemmiganur Cooperative town Bank lies in its low rate of interest, the inculcated habit of depositing, and Cooperation of the members in repaying the loans, interests, etc. The credit of bringing such cooperation among the members goes to Somappa, who by holding periodical meetings taught the members, the habit of depositing their surplus funds in bank and borrowing from it when in need.

2. Yemmiganur Cooperative Stores:

The Yemmiganur Cooperative Stores also owes its origin to the severe crisis of food grains during the Second World War. Thanks to the initiative taken by M. Somappa it was started in 1942. It was aimed at providing food grains, clothes and other controlled commodities for reasonable prices. Starting with 45 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs.2, 660/-, it made a steady progress and is still running successfully and earning reasonable profits.

3. The Cooperative Milk Supply Society:

This was established in Yemmiganur in 1952. Somappa with his innate common sense and initiative extended the cooperative activity to better the conditions of milk producers. Earlier, women from the rural areas used to bring milk to Yemmiganur to sell to hotels. But the hotel owners used to pay less prices and also the payments were usually delayed. Having realised the problem, Somappa came up with the idea of forming the Cooperative Society for milk suppliers.

4. Yemmiganur Leather Workers Cooperative Society:

This cottage Industrial Cooperative Society for the leather workers was established in 1952 under the Presidentship of Somappa. It was established in order to stop the migrations of Harijan families to other areas. Somappa felt that these political aspirations would be destabilised if the Harijan, who were his main supporters, migrated to other places. It was due to his initiative that the town became a renowned centre for manufacture of sandals after the society came into existence. The Society was engaged in the development of village leather industry under the purview of Khadi and Village Industries Commission. The Society was providing employment regularly to Harijan families. However, at present, the society is not functioning well due to financial problems, failure of management and other political reasons.

5. The Yemmiganur Cooperative House Building Society:

It was another venture of the cooperative movement in Yemmiganur led by Somappa to cope with the problem of rapid growth of Yemmiganur and to meet the corresponding problem of accommodation facilities for the increasing population, the society was established in 1955 in an about 55 acres of land.

Present Status of YWCS:

Due to several reasons, a sort of uncertainty prevailed in YWCS during late 80s. The problems of Unions with management and the shortage of yarn in the market and other political reasons are some of the reasons for the declining importance of the YWCS. Besides, the high prices of its products also added it owes. The higher prices of its products are due to a large contingency of establishment and the component of salaries. APCO, the Apex body of weavers of Andhra Pradesh, which was marketing the products regularly, besides it market through YWCS outlets, did not come forward this time to buy and market YWCS products. Thus a stock (worth of about Rs.70 lakhs) was accumulated in the godowns, resulting in major financial crisis in YWCS. Consequently, the management could not supply the yarn to the members for their month long work. Thus the disappointment and distrust started among the members during late the 1980s gave rise to the emergence of Unions from the members side also.

The emergence of Telugu Desam Party in the state in 1983 brought effective changes in YWCS. The YWCS was traditionally

under the control of M.G. Brothers (Machani Gangappa Brothers) who are in Congress Party. The Telugu Desam Party (Local MLA belongs to Telugu Desam Party) wanted to have a hold on YWCS. This political development had partly affected the YWCS.

The organisation has also grown in size and it led to dissension among the members. The Union leaders were demanding democratisation in functioning of YWCS. The members and unions have been complaining that the successive leaders after Somappa have been functioning more autocratically and the organisation is becoming, as a result, less democratic. The present leadership is failing to meet the needs and aspirations of members and the unions. This also is one of the major threats for the survival of YWCS as a Cooperative Society.

There is a growing challenge from silk weaving that has emerged under Master Weavers in this area. This has resulted in the dwindling of membership of YWCS. This dropout in the membership of society became another setback to the YWCS. The larger the size of the membership the better would be its contribution to run the Cooperative Society profitably and meet the costs of staff, infrastructure etc. But with the decline in the membership there may be a need to prune the scope of the activities of YWCS in order to make it a viable and a vibrant unit. Otherwise, YWCS should change its strategies of production in response to the needs of market and strengthen itself as it did earlier. In response to the challenge of silk Master Weavers, YWCS

has initiated the conversion of looms into silk looms in a phased manner with financial aid of Rs.70 lakhs from NABARD. Thus, the entrepreneurial dynamics of YWCS has kept the cooperative as a vibrant organisation.

END NOTES

1. Gram Sabha was an assembly of elders and heads of families representing the entire village. It functioned as an organisation through which the people of the village undertook various activities for their social and economic benefit. It looked after functions such as construction and maintenance of irrigation works, banking, health and sanitation, community development, charitable and religious activities, judicial functions, construction of roads and rest houses, maintenance of communications, up-keeping of pasture lands, etc.
- 2 As per the New Act, conducting elections and auditing the accounts have become the responsibility of the respective cooperative society. Affairs of the cooperative would be governed by their own bye-laws, subject to very limited restrictions in the Act. Staff patterns, staff remuneration, service conditions, etc., which had required prior approval of the Registrar of cooperatives, are now the responsibility of respective cooperative society. Also, the New Act states that, the cooperatives will be no longer need to take the Registrar's permission, which was the case earlier, to invest its funds for different purposes like buildings, housing for its members, etc.
- 3 Weavers work altogether in a different atmosphere. They are accustomed to sit and work in shade in closed doors. So they are habituated to avoid going under hot weather. Hence the weavers consider it difficult to work under sun
- 4 YWCS organises stalls on weekly shandy days at Yemmiganur on every Friday. YWCS also sells its products during the month-long *Kara panduga*, annual Neelakanteswara Swamy *Jatara* (fair), through its temporary outlets opened specifically for the people to buy their products, as its products are Popular in the region and also elsewhere in the State.

CHAPTER IV

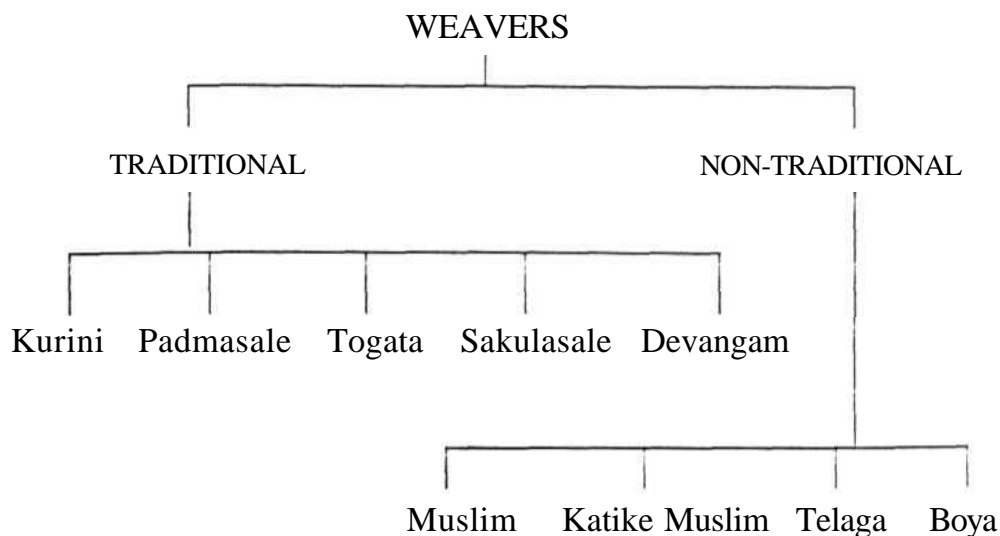
PRIMORDIALITY AND WEAVING ENTERPRISE

The previous chapters have dealt with the village background, the weavers' cooperatives and their organisation in Yemmiganur and the study village. In light of this, the present chapter makes an attempt to analyse the profile of the weaving communities and role of primordial factors like caste and kinship in promoting the entrepreneurial qualities among the weavers. Also, it attempts to understand the differential performance of weavers from diverse backgrounds.

I

Weavers in Gudekal, based on their attachment with the occupation, can be categorised into two: traditional and Non-traditional. The traditional castes are Kurini, Padmasale, Togata, Sakulasale and Devangam. While the communities like Muslim, Katika Muslim, Telaga and Boya are defined as the Non-traditional weaving castes/communities for the purpose of the present study (see Chart 4.1). The Non-traditional weaving communities are referred so because of the duration of their attachment with weaving as their occupation is quite short as compared to the traditional weavers. Unlike the weaving castes, they have taken to this as an alternative source of livelihood.

Chart 4.1: Categories of Weavers



There are 223 families of traditional weaving castes. Among them, majority is engaged in weaving (87.9%). Kurini (70.9%) dominate over the others among the traditional weaving castes in Gudekal. After Kurini, Padmasale (20.6%) is the second largest group, followed by Togata (3.6%), Sakulasale (2.2%) and Devangam (2.7%). Kurini (78.1%) occupies first place among the total weaving families engaged in weaving, followed by Padmasale (17.4%) Togata (2%), Sakulasale (1.5%) and Devangam (1%). Except for Devangam, most of the families from the other weaver castes were engaged in weaving occupation (Table 4.1.1).

Among the Non-traditional weaver castes/communities only a small proportion (6.1%) were engaged in weaving occupation. Muslims form a substantial proportion (68.8%) among

those who are engaged in weaving from this category. Katike Muslim (12.5%) Telaga (15.6%) and Boya (3.1%) follow them, respectively (Table 4.1.2). The ethnographic details of Non-traditional weavers are given in detail in the second chapter.

TABLE 4.1.1: Families Engaged in Weaving - Traditional

Caste	Category		Total
	Engaged	Not Engaged	
Kurini	153(78.1)	5 (18.5)	158(70.9)
Padmasale	34 (17.4)	12 (44.5)	46 (20.6)
Togata	4(20)	4 (14.8)	8 (3.6)
Sakulasale	3(1.5)	2(7.4)	5(2.2)
Devangam	2 (1.0)	4 (14.8)	6(2.7)
Total	196 (87.9)	27(12.1)	223(100)

TABLE 4.1.2: Families engaged in weaving - Non - traditional

Caste/Community	Category		Total
	Engaged	Not Engaged	
Muslim	22 (27.5)	58 (72.5)	80(100)
Katike Muslim	4(11.1)	36 (88.9)	40 (100)
Telaga	5 (41.7)	7(58.3)	12(100)
Boya	1 (0.3)	389 (99.7)	390 (100)
Total	32(6.1)	490 (93.9)	522 (100)

An ethnographic profile of the traditional weaving castes is given here in order to understand the linkages between kin, caste and other factors. The traditional weaving caste Kurini is numerically preponderant in the industry. They trace their origin from a legend in the *Neelakanta Purana*. *Rudra Vamsavali*, published by the Yemmiganur *Neelakanteswara Kurini Dalvaachara Sangham*, states that the celestials when perceived threat from *Tarakasura* (Demon) approached lord *Shiva* for help.

As *Tarakasura* was empowered after propitiating Lord *Shiva*, he became a destructive force with the support of his 66 *Raja daityas* (demons who were the followers of *Tarakasura*), and 66 crore *daityas*. Convinced by the pleas, lord *Shiva* decided to eliminate the 66 followers first, so that the task to kill *Tarakasura* would be easier. *Shiva* appeared in 66 forms of *Rudras* to kill them. The demons (*Rakshasas*) came to know about *Shiva's* plan to kill them and decided to give up their life in his hands as it would help them attain *Moksha* (ultimate realisation). But they requested the disguised *Shiva* to bless them in such a way that their names will be remembered for generations. Hence the 66 *Rudras* blessed them that they would bear these 66 names of demons as their *Gotra* names. Thus the 56 names of *Gotras* among the Kurini has a mythological background. These 66 *Rudras* were separated into three main sects - *Nirabhari*, *Vishesha* and *Saamanya* - who were later identified with the names, *Dwadasha Rudra* group, *Eka Trimshat Rudra* group and *Thrayovamshat Rudra* group with 12, 31 and 23 clans, respectively.

Gotra exogamy and caste endogamy is strictly observed. Marriage alliances between the *Gotras* are clearly defined. Thus marriage between *Parama Gotra* and *Horn Gotra* people is prohibited because they consider each other as agnates. Hence a *Parama Gotra* member can marry the members from any of the other 11 *Gotras* among the *Dwadasha Gotras*. Similarly, for example, the *Mullu Gotra* people in *Eka Thrimshad* group avoid

marriage with *Hittu Cotra* members as they trace brotherly kinship relationship between each other. Hence a *Mullu gotra* member can marry any other *gotra* member other than *Hlittu* as specified in the *Eka Thrimshad* category.

The Kurini in Gudekal worship *Neelakanteswara Swamy*. They give utmost importance to the rituals and festivals. Most important among their festivals is the *Kara Panduga* (Charriot festival) of *Neelakanteswara Swamy*, which is celebrated in the month of January. Besides this, they celebrate all-important festivals of Hindus. A most interesting ritual is observed among the Sultan *Banda*, a sub-sect of the *Banda gotra* among the Kurini. The ritual is observed on the day of *Narka Chathurthasi*, which proceeds one day before the auspicious *Deepavali Amavasya*. Members from the Sultan *Banda* gather at Daivam Dinne village and offer prayers to the local deity *Mallappa*. People belonging to this *Gotra* come from several places all over India. They claim that they were compelled to accept Islam during the period of a local Sultan (ruler). Those who failed to convert had to pay an exorbitant fine, which was difficult for them to pay, as they were very poor. As the village had only *Banda Gotra* people they all decided to disobey the Sultan's order. But, the Sultan ordered his army to convert them forcefully, fearing which most of the villagers fled to other places. But those who could not fled to other places fell pray to the Sultan's order. They were caught and converted into Islam with circumcision. The members of such families are

considered as the *Sultan Banda Gotra* who continued to practice Hindu religion after the Sultan's rule was over. They migrated to several places in course of time and are spread in different parts of India.

They all gather at Daivam Dinne village, their ancestral place, to commemorate their resistance and offer prayers to their household deity, Mallappa (Daivam Dinne *Mallappa*) during *Deepavali*. They come from different places like Ahmedabad, Raichur, Bellary, Rayadurg, Sindhanur, Bangalore, Anantapur, Sholapur, Kurnool, Adoni, Gadwal, etc. It is obligatory for the *Sultan Banda Gotra* people to attend the ritual that day or they must send one representative from their family. In case none is able to attend, they should send their *Mudupu*, also called *Patti*, (offerings made to god/goddess after a vow). However, those who have bereavement in their family in that particular year must customarily attend the ritual and offer *homam* (sacred fire) for the deceased person, as they believe that it will make the deceased soul to rest in peace. It is their belief that they will be harmed by the soul of the deceased if they fail to offer *Mudupu* in the *homam* (sacred fire). This particular ritual reinforces the kin relations among *Banda Gotra* members.

The priest of this deity is from *Sultan Banda Gotra* and the position is inherited from father to eldest son. While chanting hymns to the deity, he mentions all the *intiperlu* of *Banda Gotra* (Plate 4.1). All the devotees offer coconut, milk, honey and ghee to

the deity as part of their *pooja* (prayers). However, it is a custom to bring new clothes to offer in prayer for the deity (Plate 4.2). Also, new dresses to be worn by the family members are placed before the deity along with the ritual offerings. The things thus kept in *pooja* will be returned once the priest declares that the ritual is over on the succeeding morning.

During this ritual gathering they discuss about their profession, designs developed by them in their locality, the market situation, etc., (Plate 4.3). This facilitates them to learn or exchange from each other the niceties in their profession. This is also an occasion to learn about their children, their education, etc., and discuss about the matrimonial alliances.

Notable features of Kurini caste are hard work ethics and closely-knit kinship networks. When compared to the other traditional weaving communities, who are gradually abandoning their looms and joining as autorikshaw drivers and other such occupations, Kurini continue to follow their occupation. So, even in the changed context, values like sincerity, hard work, and dedication to work (the attitude of work is worship) still show their influence on Kurini caste weavers. Rewards and punishments are evaluated in the non-materialist way. An unmarried person who works hard will be praised by the others saying that he will get a good wife. As enunciated by a reputed Kurini weaver, Sivaramaiah, this implies that a person who works hard will be better off financially and can take care of his family and this is

enough justification for the others to give their daughter in marriage to him. The person who does not work is ridiculed as a good for nothing person. So, the Kurini considers hard work a virtue.

Padmasale are the second largest weaving caste in Gudekal, who have traditionally been involved in weaving occupation. They constitute about 16% of the total weavers' population in the village and 19% among the traditional weavers (Table 4.1.1). Though there are various views about the origin of Padmasale *and* their ancestors, most of them refer to *Markandevapurana* to track their origins. *Bhavana Rishi Mahatyamu* or *Padmasaali kula puranam* is considered as the authentic caste text. The All India Padmasale Mahasabha (convention) endorsed it in 1969 as an authentic document of their history. Narsaiah Panthulu (1980) refers Padmasale as the industrious/hardworking people (*Paarisraamika jeevulu*) (1980:13).

The Padmasale community has taken up a movement to propagate the importance of its history and image. All India Padmasale Mahasabha is organised once in two years, wherever Padmasale are concentrated, in several places in India. The first such meeting was held in 1921 at Pullampeta in Cuddapah district. Such meetings were conducted even in other States like Madhya Pradesh (Sindhewai) and Gujarat (Ahmedabad) in 1948 and 1971, respectively. The Padmasale even conduct youth conventions to awaken their fellow caste men. The first Padmasale youth

convention was conducted at Hyderabad in 1929 and the first women's convention was held in 1939. The main objectives of these conventions were to bring all the caste men together to foster closer bonds among them. Consequently, they also plan for the development of the community in social, cultural, economic, educational and political spheres.

Deepavali is an important occasion when they invite all their close relatives. On the night of *Amavasya* (no moon day), the day on which *Deepavali* is celebrated, they perform a ritual, wherein they offer sweets, fruits, clothes, etc., to goddess *Lakshmidēvi* (Goddess of wealth) (Hate 4.4). The head of the household, accompanied by a male member in the family, will call the *Asta Dikpalakas* (guardians of eight directions of the earth like fire, air, water, etc.), eight gods of nature, to give them peace and prosperity. During this occasion, they invite their friends, irrespective of caste and religion, to dine with them.

The *Xeelakanteswara Swamy Jatara*, venerated by all people in Yemmiganur, is the biggest festival for the Padmasale also. They take part in all proceedings and rituals on that occasion, though Kurini caste members consider Neelakanteswara as their household deity. In this month long celebrations, relatives/visitors from different places come to Yemmiganur to visit their Padmasale relatives.

The Togata weave chiefly coarse clothes worn generally by the poorer classes. They are apparently immigrants from the Cuddapah district. They are Vaishnavites in religion and have either Sri *Vaishnava* or *Satani* as their priests. They worship *Chaudeswari* as their caste goddess (Hayavadana Rao 1926: 240). There are eight Togata families in Gudekal. Besides Togata, there are five Sakulasale families in the village. Among either half or more than half of them are in the weaving profession (Table 4.1.1).

Devangam is also a traditional weaving caste and are famous in weaving saris in pure cotton with a silk border. They venerate goddess *Chamundeswari Devi*. Gudekal has six Devangam families and among them only two families are engaged in weaving occupation (Table 4.1.1).

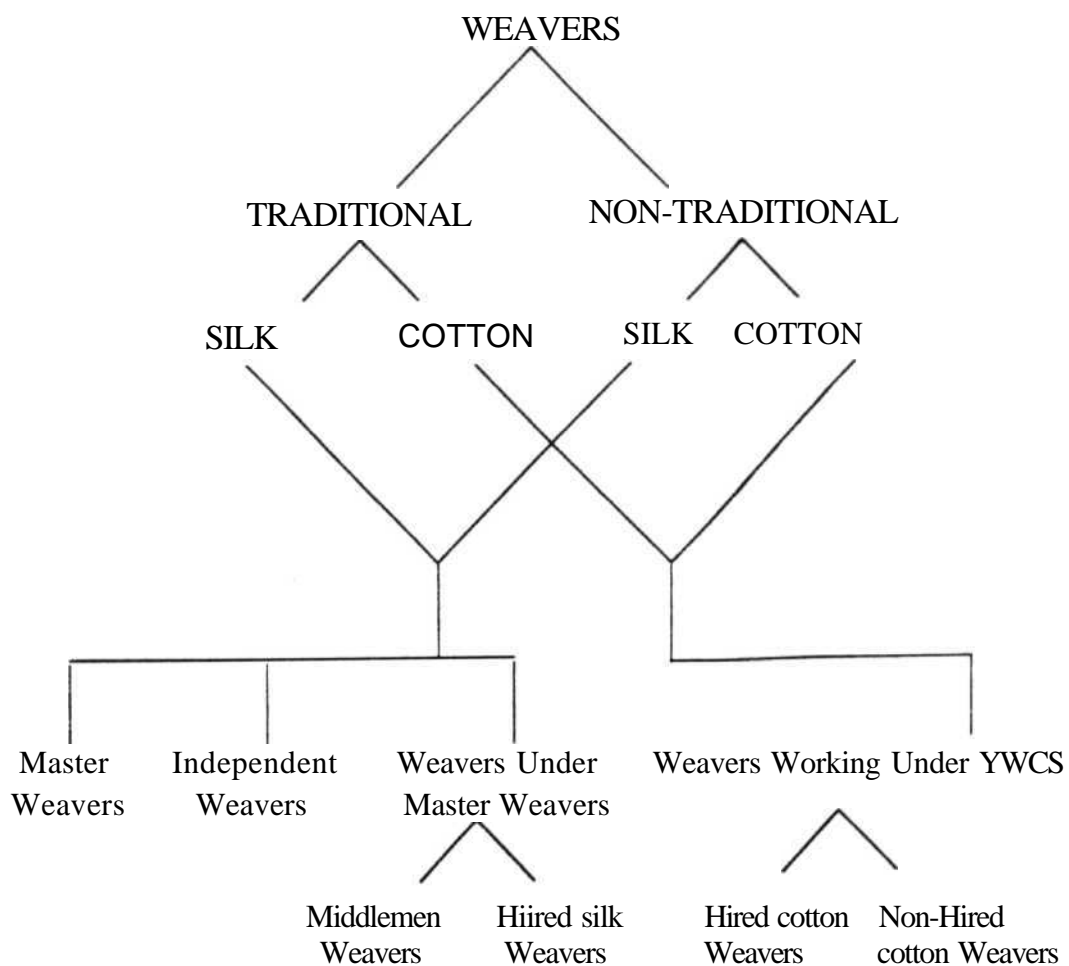
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The weavers are categorised into silk and cotton weavers. The silk weavers are classified into a) Master Weavers, b) Independent Weavers, and c) Weavers Working under Master Weavers. Weavers working under Master Weavers are again divided into two categories - The Middlemen Weavers and Hired silk weavers.

The status of these categories is used as a major means of locating them within the social structure of weavers. Thus the terms *Dhani*, *Shaukar*, *Dalari*, and *Jithagadu* are used to denote the

status of Master Weaver, Independent Weaver, the Middlemen Weaver and the Hired Weaver, respectively, in different contexts. The status of Master Weaver is considered high, followed by the Independent Weaver. Middlemen Weaver takes the next position and the Hired weaver occupy the lowest position in the status hierarchy.

Chart 4.2; Types of Weavers



In spite of attraction of silk weaving, some of the weavers are still continued in cotton weaving. All the cotton looms were basically provided by the YWCS. The cotton weavers can be divided into Hired cotton weavers and Non- hired weavers. Besides these, the weavers include Processing Workers, who are involved in raw processes like sizing, winding, reeling, etc., mostly for cotton weaving.

Weavers in silk are analysed under different types. They are Master Weavers, Independent Weavers and Weavers working under Master Weavers, who include the Middlemen Weavers and Hired silk weavers.

TABLE 4.2.0: Types of Weavers

Type of Weavers	Occupational Background		Total
	Traditional	Non-traditional	
Master Weavers (MWs)	72 (90.0) (7.8)	08(10.0) (6.7)	80(100) (7.7)
Independent Weavers	294 (94.8) (31.9)	16 (5.2) (13.3)	310(100) (29.8)
Working Under MWs	194(84.7) (21.1)	35(15.3) (29.2)	229 (100) (22.0)
Cotton Weavers	173 (86.9) (18.8)	26(13.1) (21.6)	199(100) (19.1)
Processing Workers	188(84.3) (20.4)	35(15.7) (29.2)	223(100) (21.4)
Total	921 (88.5) (100)	120 (11.5) (100)	1041 (100) (100)

Among the weavers in Gudekal, majority of them is traditional weavers (88.5%). As noted above, across different types of weavers those who deal with silk weaving are Master Weavers,

Independent Weavers and Weavers Working under Master Weavers. Majority of the Master Weavers (90%), Independent Weavers (94.8%) and Weavers Working under Master Weavers (84.7%) are from traditional weaving castes. This is also true in the case of Cotton Weavers (86.9%) and Processing Workers (84.3%). Most of the processing work is related to cotton weaving only. Thus, still a significant proportion of weavers is dependent on cotton weaving and allied activities (32.9%). The Non-traditional weavers are not significant (11.5%) among the total weavers. Most of them are working under Master Weavers in silk (29.2%), and as Processing Workers in cotton weaving (29.2%) and as Cotton Weavers (21.6%). There are few Master Weavers (10%) and Independent Weavers (5.2%) in silk weaving among the Non-traditional weavers (Table 4.2.0).

The performance of weavers is dependent on factors like caste, kinship and other factor. Hence there is a need to analyse different types of weavers from different caste/community backgrounds in order to assess the role of different factors in weaving enterprise, in particular, and entrepreneurship, in general.

A significant proportion of weavers (working) from the traditional weaving castes belongs to Kurini (77.5%). Kurini are the dominant weaving caste not only in Gudekal but also in the entire study area. Thus their dominance is clearly visible in all types of weavers, both silk and cotton. After Kurini comes Padmasale (17.2%), Togata (3.1%), Sakulasale (1.4%) and Devangam (0.8%), in

that order. It is clear from the table that Togata, Sakulasale and Devangam are not very significant among the traditional weaving castes. However, in spite of this, they have traditional advantages when compared to the Non-traditional weavers in profession (Table 4.2.1).

TABLE 4.2.1: Types of Weavers - Traditional

Type of Weavers	Caste					Total
	Kurini	Padmasale	Togata	Sakulasale	Devangam	
MWs	51 (70.8)	18 (25.0)	2 (18)	1 (1.4)	-	72(100)
Independent	254 (86.4)	28 (9.5)	8 (17)	3(1.0)	1 (0.4)	294 (100)
Working Under MWs	145 (74.7)	43 (22.2)	4(21)	2(1.0)		194 (100)
Cotton	122 (70.5)	37(21.4)	7(4.1)	3(1.7)	4 (23)	173(100)
Processing workers	142(75.5)	32 (17.0)	8 (4.3)	4(21)	2(1.1)	188(100)
Total	714 (77.5)	158 (17.2)	29(3.1)	13(1.4)	7(0.8)	921 (100)

TABLE 4.2.2: Types of Weavers - Non-traditional

Type of Weaver	caste/community				Total
	Muslim	Katike Muslim	Telaga	Boya	
MWs	5 (625)	1 (125)	2 (25.0)	-	8(100)
Independent	8 (50.0)	3(18.7)	5(31.3)	-	16(100)
Working Under MWs	25 (71.4)	2(5.7)	4(11.4)	4(11.4)	35 (100)
Cotton	17(65.4)	6 (23.1)	2(7.7)	1 (3.8)	26(100)
Processing Workers	31 (88.5)	1(29)	2(5.7)	1(29)	35(100)
Total	86 (71.7)	13(10.8)	15(125)	6 (5.0))	120 (100)

Muslims (71.7%) outnumber all the other Non-traditional weaving communities/castes and also different types of weavers among them. Among the others Telaga (12.5%) have marginally higher proportion of weavers than Katike Muslim (10.8%) does.

Boya (5.0%), when compared to others, are almost negligible in the profession (Table 4.2.2).

MASTER WEAVERS:

The Master Weavers, in silk weaving had re-emerged in the area, after the crisis in YWCS. There were only a few Master Weavers in the beginning. But, as weavers started learning the techniques involved in silk weaving, the master weaving attracted many weavers. Also, initially, the number of weavers working under Master Weavers was also large. Notwithstanding the wages under YWCS, they withdrew from YWCS and joined under Master Weavers. But the increased awareness of techniques, markets, returns, etc., motivated many weavers, who first acted as middlemen (leasing-out their YWCS loom and working under Master Weavers), to become Independent Weavers under silk weaving. At present, the clients who work under Master Weavers are Middlemen Weavers and the Hired silk weavers who are, basically, the members from Independent Weavers' families.

A sizeable number of weavers are found still working in cotton weaving. The looms on which they work belong to YWCS and the Middlemen own them officially. They lease the looms to the Hired Weavers and divert the yarn and other technical support provided by the YWCS to them.

Master Weavers were active before the formation of YWCS. They became a part of YWCS later. The Master Weavers turned

Directors of YWCS used their links for getting the yarn on short term credit for YWCS in the initial stages of its formation. By the time YWCS was completely established in the market it could get loans on its own credibility, when it required yarn on a large scale. That is how YWCS could achieve distinction in a very short span of time. However, the yarn crisis in 1980s has led to the re-emergence of Master Weavers in silk weaving. People are now attracted to it, as it is relatively lucrative. The Master Weavers are now well established and are running almost a parallel establishment to YWCS. These Master Weavers are engaged in silk weaving business. They supply silk yarn to weavers and the finished cloth, after collecting it from their client weavers, is supplied to the big contractors. The weavers are paid a fixed sum for each sari they weave, and this remuneration is higher than what they receive from the YWCS for the same amount of labour in producing a cotton sari.

Gudekal has a sizeable number of weavers and they required an alternative to YWCS in the same profession following the crisis in cotton yarn. Realising the potentiality of this village, the people from surrounding towns also have established themselves as Master Weavers in silk for the weavers of this village. As in case of pre-YWCS Master Weavers, kinship networks have enhanced the new Master Weavers' chances as better entrepreneurs in Gudekal.

Most of the Master Weavers belongs to the traditional weaving castes. The local weavers initially worked for the Master Weavers in silk from outside the village. Later, some of them became independent weavers. Given their traditional weaving background, the local weavers who became Independent Weavers now turned to master weaving in silk. Some of them have received loans from institutional credit organisations like the Co-operative Town Bank, State Bank of India, etc. They utilised their kinship connections in getting these loans. Apart from this, they have also received help from their kinsmen, who were already *well* settled in silk business, elsewhere.

Shifting to silk weaving has ensured the attachment of the weaving communities to weaving occupation. They are, either directly or indirectly, woven around weaving occupation. They have evolved an adaptive mechanism that helped them to either stick to weaving or continue in a somewhat related occupation. Chandranna, aged 45, belonged to the traditional weaving caste, Kurini, is educated up to middle school level. His father continues to work as a weaver under YWCS. He has been a member of YWCS for more than 30 years. However, Chandranna got slightly drifted from weaving occupation when he joined YWCS as a clerk. Though he had resources to invest in any other business he has started only Master Weaver's business in silk, because he felt that it is related to his occupation with which he is familiar.

There are 80 Master Weavers (72 from traditional weaving castes and 8 are from Non-traditional weaving communities) (Table 4.2.0). There are no women among Master Weavers in both the traditional and Non-traditional weavers' categories. The master weaving business requires supervision of looms, purchase of yarn from far-off cities, supply of yarn to the clients, etc., which is regarded as an exclusively masculine job. Hence, only male members are claimed to be suitable for master weaving business.

TABLE 4.3.1: Master Weavers -Traditional

Caste	Master Weavers		
	Males	Females	Total
Kurini	51 (70.8)	—	51 (70.8)
Padmasale	18 (25.0)	—	18 (25.0)
Togata	02 (2.8)	—	02 (2.8)
Sakulasale	01 (1.4)	—	01 (1.4)
Devangam		-	-
Total	72 (100)	—	72(100)

As observed earlier, majority of the Master Weavers (90%) is from the traditional weaving castes. Among them, Kurini (70.8%) and Padmasale (25%) have significant proportion of Master Weavers (Table 4.3.1). Kurini assert their preponderance due to their numerical dominance coupled with traditional attachment with weaving and the primordial advantages like widespread kinship networks. They have the advantage of adapting to any innovation; they entered into master weaving, thus maintaining their superiority over the others. They introduced their kinsmen and caste men to silk weaving and thus established a network of

silk weavers. This had helped them to attract the attention of traders, who come from cities to buy saris from the weavers. The Master Weavers realised the importance of Kurini caste men in weaving and included some *of* them as partners in their master weaving. Hence, their proportion is more among Master Weavers when compared to Padmasale and other traditional weaving castes. Though the other castes - Padmasale, Togata, Sakulasale and Devangam - have similar traditional attachment with the occupation, they failed to become Master Weavers in comparison to Kurinis due to lack of support from their caste men and kinsmen and primordial networks.

TABLE 4.3.2: Master Weavers -Non-traditional

Caste/Comm unity	Master Weavers		Total
	Males	Females	
Muslim	5 (62.5)	-	5 (615)
Katike Muslim	1 (125)	-	1(125)
Telaga	2(25.0)	-	2(25.0)
Boya		-	-
Total	8 (100)	-	8(100)

This is also true with regard to Non-traditional weaving families. They are basically lagging behind the traditional weavers in their performance as weavers and hence they were late in adapting to new changes in weaving which retarded them to establish as Master Weavers. Among the Non-traditional Master Weavers, Muslim (62.5%) forms larger proportion followed by Katika Muslim (12.5%) and Telaga 25% (Table 4.3.2).

It is essential to understand the ownership pattern of looms by the Master Weavers among both traditional as well as Non-traditional weavers. Out of 229 silk looms owned by 80 Master Weavers, most of them are owned by the traditional weavers. These looms were leased out to Middlemen and Non-middlemen Weavers. About half of the looms (129) are in the hands of 19 Master Weavers (those who own between 5 to 10 looms) from traditional weaving castes.

TABLE 4.4.1: Looms Owned by Master Weavers - Traditional

Looms	Ownership	Caste					Total
		Kurini	Padmasale	Togata	Sakulasale	Devangam	
1 - 2	Members	27	9	1	2		39
	No. of Looms	29	14	1	2		46
3 - 4	Members	9	5	1	1		16
	No. of Looms	27	15	3	3	-	48
5 - 6	Members	6	4	-	-		10
	No. of Looms	26	20	-	-		46
7-8	Members	6	-	-	-		6
	No. of Looms	49	-	-	-		49
9-10	Members	3	-	-	-		3
	No. of Looms	27	-	-	-	-	27
Total	Members	51	18	2	3	-	74
	No. of Looms	158	49	4	5		216

TABLE 4.4.2: Looms Owned by Master Weavers - Non-traditional

Looms	Ownership	Caste/Community				Total
		Muslim	Katike Muslim	Telaga	Boya	
1 - 2	Members	3	1	2	-	6
	No. of Looms	3	2	2	-	7
3 - 4	Members	2	-	-	-	2
	No. of Looms	6	-	-	-	6
Total	Members	5	1	2	-	8
	No. of Looms	9	2	2	-	13

When analysed in terms of number of looms owned by Master Weavers among the traditional weavers, majority of them (39) owned between 1 and 2 looms. However, a few Master Weavers owned most of the looms. Among different traditional castes, Kurini Master Weavers owned nearly two thirds of looms belonging to traditional weaving castes and it had significant number of Master Weavers who owned more than 3 looms. After Kurini, Padmasale Master Weavers (22.7%) owned more number of looms than the others. In fact the other traditional weaver castes are nearly insignificant in terms of ownership of looms (Table 4.4.1). Among the Non-traditional weavers, Muslim Master Weavers own more looms than any other Non-traditional weavers do. It is significant to note that the Non-traditional weavers owned only few looms (Table 4.4.2).

INDEPENDENT WEAVERS:

Independent weavers are another category among the silk weavers. They were basically cotton weavers under the YWCS. Coping with the crisis in YWCS, they initially had shifted to silk weaving under the Master Weavers. Once they acquired the knowledge of silk weaving, they became aware of sources of Yarn availability, marketing, etc., they started working independently rather than working under Master Weavers (Plate 4.5). Many factors have contributed in achieving the Independent weavers' status. These factors varied based on the traditional and Non-traditional background. Further, caste and kinship factors, within

traditional weaving castes, played a significant role. While working under Master Weavers, they possessed fewer saving, which was meagre for buying yarn and other requirements to establish themselves as Independent Weavers. Under these circumstances, their kin members, caste men, friends, etc., assisted them.

TABLE 4.5.0: Independent Weavers by Gender and Category

Category	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Traditional	150(51.0)	144 (49.0)	294 (100)
Non-traditional	7(43.7),	9 (56.3) i	16(100)
Total	157(50.6) :	153(49.4)	310(100)

Total Independent Weavers, including traditional and Non-traditional weavers, are 310. Among them the proportion of Independent Weavers from traditional weaving castes is large (95%) and the rest (5%) is from the Non-traditional weaving communities/castes. In general, the proportion of men (50.6%) is more when compared to women in this type of weavers. However, the difference between males as well as females is only marginal. It is interesting to note that among the Non-traditional weavers, women (56.3%) predominate over men (43.7%) in this type of weavers (Table 4.5.0). Though women independent weavers possess looms in their name generally, the loom maintenance, such as procurement of yarn, selling the silk saris, establishing contacts with clothe merchants, etc., was carried out by male members only.

TABLE 4.5.1: Independent Weavers by Gender - Traditional

Caste	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Kurini	133 (52.4)	121 (47.6)	254(100)
Padmasale	12(43.0)	16(57.0)	28(100)
Togata	3 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	8(100)
Sakulasale	1 (33.0)	2 (67.0)	3 (100)
Devangam	1 (100.0)		1 (100)
Total	150(51.0)	144 (49.0)	294 (100)

Kurini Independent Weavers form a substantial (86.4%) proportion over the other traditional weaver castes. Except among the Kurini, all the other traditional weaver castes have more women Independent Weavers than men (Table 4.5.1). In case of Non-traditional weaver castes/ communities, except among Telaga, women Independent Weavers outnumber men. Muslim Independent Weavers (50%) form half of the total Independent Weavers among the Non-traditional weaver communities/castes (Table 4.5.2).

TABLE 4.5.2: Independent Weavers by Gender - Non-traditional

Caste/Community	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Muslim	03 (37.5)	05 (62.5)	08(100)
Katike Muslim	1 (33.3)	2(66.7)	3 (100)
Telaga	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	5(100)
Boya	-	-	-
Total	7 (44.0)	9 (56.0)	16(100)

The above tables show the variation in performance among the traditional and Non-traditional weavers. Independent Weavers position is perceived as a step forward in entrepreneurial success.

It is observed that traditional attachment becomes an advantage for traditional castes over others to qualify for Independent Weavers category. Similarly, presence of large number of Kurini members among Independent Weavers suggest that among the traditional castes it is again certain primordial factors, such as kinship and caste networks, that help them to a large extent in promoting their caste members as Independent Weavers. Among the Non-traditional weavers, Muslims performance is relatively better than all the others because of better educational background and exposure, and their links with traditional weavers.

WEAVERS WORKING UNDER MASTER WEAVERS:

Weavers coming under this category were the basis for Master Weavers to enlarge their operational networks. The Master Weavers possessed diversified market oriented techniques in looming operations and they had introduced these diverse techniques in looming operations in a capital-intensive manner. They have hired Jaqad looms, a kind of modern technology in Gudekal, and encouraged the most profitable type of designs in silk. Thus the weavers who are already working under the YWCS involved in cotton cloth production were attracted to silk weaving under Master Weavers.

Weavers' preference to work with a particular Master Weaver is influenced by various factors such as kinship, caste, locality, etc. If some one is from the same kin group or caste, a Master Weaver offers them his looms on lease. If a Master Weaver

does not have any primordial links with the local weavers, the chances of his acceptance by the local weavers are quite less. Thus we find that primordial factors play a significant role in their establishment in weaving enterprise.

Participation in silk weaving under Master Weavers is the first step for the cotton weavers to switch over to silk weaving in Gudekal. Few YWCS members were introduced to silk weaving by a kinsman of a Kurini weaver from neighbouring Gadwal area, . Initially they considered it to be as rehabilitation from their dwindling fortunes as they encountered hardships due to the crisis in YWCS during 1980s. But, slowly they felt comfortable to continue working under Master Weavers in silk as they experienced it as more remunerative than working under YWCS in cotton weaving. Realising the potentiality of this village Master Weavers from neighbouring places got attracted towards Gudekal. Hence, the competition to attract weavers to work under them had increased and in order to do this, they provided them loans, better facilities and a higher rate for the silk products. Thus, more cotton weavers were encouraged to work under Master Weavers.

TABLE 4.6.0: Types of Weavers Working Under Master Weavers

Category	Middlemen	Non-middlemen	Total
Traditional	113 (58.2)	81 (41.8)	194 (100) (84.7)
Non-traditional	7 (20.0)	28 (80.0)	35(100) (15.3)
Total	120 (52.4)	109 (47.6)	229(100)

A substantial proportion of silk weavers is working under the Master Weavers (22%) (Table 4.20). Weavers Working under Master Weavers include Middlemen and Hired silk weavers. Middlemen Weavers (52.4%) are slightly in a higher proportion than the Non-middlemen Weavers (47.6%) are. It is important to note that while among the traditional weavers Middlemen Weavers (58.2%) are higher in proportion than the Hired silk weavers, a reverse trend is seen among the Non-traditional weavers. The proportion of Hired silk weavers (80%) among the Non-traditional weavers is quite large among them (Table 4.6.0).

MIDDLEMEN WEAVERS:

The Middlemen Weavers are those who lease-out their loom, which they have acquired through YWCS, to Hired Weavers. They lease it out to non-members of YWCS due to increased workload or due to their involvement in silk weaving under Master Weavers. Middlemen Weavers earn higher income while working under Master Weavers. While the amount of labour in both cotton and silk weaving are similar, the wages and returns are higher in silk weaving. They get half of the total returns from their cotton loom as part of leasing arrangement. Besides, they are entitled to enjoy the benefits like bonus, festival loans, etc., extended by YWCS to its members, as they still continue their membership with YWCS while working under Master Weavers. The loom is leased out without the YWCS knowledge and hence one is considered to be still on the rolls of YWCS. When the member does not supply the finished product to the society, and when the loom is kept idle, the member

will cease to receive the benefits from YWCS. Thus, Middlemen Weavers earn double income.

TABLE 4.6.1.0: Total Middlemen Weavers

Category	Gender		Total
	Males	Females	
Traditional	77(68.1)	36 (31.9)	113(100)
Non-traditional	5 (71.4)	2 (28.6)	7(100)
Total	82 (68.3)	38(31.7)	120(100)

Most of the Middlemen Weavers (94%) are traditional weavers. Among both the traditional and Non-traditional weavers males constitute more than two thirds of the Middlemen Weavers (Table 4.6.1.0).

Traditional:

Among the traditional weavers, Kurini (78.8%) occupy a pre-eminent position over other traditional weavers. However, among the other traditional weavers, Padmasale (18.6%) stand out clearly against Togata (1.8%) and Sakulasale (0.9%). Devangam do not have any representation among the Middlemen Weavers.

Among the Middlemen Weavers from traditional weavers, the proportion of males is very high compared to the females. Master Weavers prefer male weavers to female weavers because they have to produce a higher turnover of clothe in a shorter span of time. Since Master Weavers borrow part of their investment on interest and they wish to clear it early, there is a need for speeding up of production, which will provide higher returns. They regard

that women will not be able to cope with the pace of work, as they have to attend to the other household chores (Table 4.6.1.1).

Non-traditional:

The Middlemen Weavers are few among the Non-traditional weavers (5.8%) as compared to the traditional weavers. It is important to note that all the Middlemen Weavers among the Non-traditional weaver communities/castes belong to only Muslim. Among them a substantial proportion belongs to males (71.4%).

TABLE 4.6.1.1: Middlemen Weavers -Traditional

Caste	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Kurini	62 (69.7)	27 (30.3)	89(100)
Padmasale	12(57.1)	9 (41.9)	21 (100)
Togata	2 (100)		2(100)
Sakulasale	1 (100)	-	1 (100)
Devangam	-	-	-
Total	77(68.1)	36(31.9)	113(100)

HIRED SILK WEAVERS:

The Hired silk weavers working under Master Weavers present a different picture. These categories include the members from independent weavers' families. The family members of Independent Weavers work under a Master Weaver in order to earn an additional income to their household kitty, as the sole income of an Independent Weaver would be meagre to support the family. The Hired silk weavers are mostly widows, divorced women, orphans etc., who are allowed to work under the silk weavers. Hence, the female members are more in this category

(71.6%). About three fourths (74.3%) of the Hired silk weavers belong to traditional weaver castes (Table 4.6.20)

TABLE 4.6.2.0: Hire silk weavers

Category	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Traditional	24 (39.6)	57(70.4)	81 (100)
Non-traditional	7(25)	21(75)	28(100)
Total	31 (28.4)	78(71.6)	109(100)

Traditional

Kurini (69.1%) have a larger proportion of Hired silk weavers among the traditional weaver castes. Padmasale (27.2%) follow Kurini in terms of their representation in this category of weavers. The proportion of Hired silk weavers among Togata and Sakulasale are negligible, while Devangam have no representation in this category (Table 4.6.2.1).

TABLE 4.6.2.1: Hired silk weavers - Traditional

Caste	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Kurini	19 (33.9)	37 (66.1)	56(100)
Padmasale	4 (18.1)	18 (81.9)	22(100)
Togata	1(50)	1(50)	2 (100)
Sakulasale	-	1(100)	1(100)
Devangam	-	-	-
Total	24 (39.6)	57 (70.4)	81 (100)

Non-traditional:

Compared to their number in other categories, (such as Master Weavers, Independent Weavers, Weavers Working under Master Weavers) among silk weavers, Non-traditional weaving

communities are considerably high (25.7%) among the Hired silk weavers. This is due to the increased number of silk looms under Master Weavers, which is disproportionate to the number of weavers among traditional weavers' castes. Against the general preference given to kinsmen, caste men, and traditional weavers, respectively, the Master Weavers could only lease-out their looms to the members from Non-traditional weavers' families.

TABLE 4.6.2.2: Hired silk weavers - Non-traditional

Caste/Community	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Muslim	4(22.2)	14(77.8)	18(100)
Katike Muslim	1(50)	1 (50)	2(100)
Telaga	2(50)	2(50)	4 (100)
Boya	-	4(100)	4 (100)
Total	7 (25)	21 (75)	28(100)

Muslim weavers (64.3%) predominate over the other Non-traditional weavers. It is only among the Boya that all the Hired silk weavers are women. After the Boya, Muslim Hired silk weavers (77.8%) have a higher proportion of women engaged in the profession. In case of Telaga and Katike Muslim both the sexes were equally represented (Table 4.6.2.2).

COTTON WEAVERS:

Besides, the above weaver categories, there are 199 members working under cotton weaving, who own looms supplied by YWCS. Based on the continuation or non-continuation in cotton weaving the Cotton Weavers can be divided into Non-hired Weavers and Hired cotton weavers. Members who own a loom

with YWCS and still continue to work on them by themselves are considered as Non-hired cotton weavers. The others are Hired cotton weavers, who are hired by the Middlemen Weavers to work on their looms belonging to YWCS. As observed earlier, the Middlemen Weavers lease-out their looms to others, as they prefer to work under Master Weaver in silk. This facilitates them to earn more while they continue to receive benefits extended by YWCS to its members. The Hired cotton weavers category include members from traditional and Non-traditional weaving families, like destitute and divorced women, orphans, etc., who could not get a loom from Master Weavers of YWCS. They have been working on the looms that belonged to the YWCS and owned by Middlemen Weavers.

Among the Cotton Weavers, traditional weaver caste (86.9%) members overshadow the Non-traditional community/caste (13.1%) members, it is significant to note that while among the traditional weaver castes there are more Hired cotton weavers (65.3%), among the Non-traditional weaver communities/castes there are more Non-hired cotton weavers (73.1%) (Table 4.7.1.0). All 199 cotton looms are basically supplied by YWCS to its shareholders. Gudekal branch of YWCS possessed the second highest number of looms in the past, is now reduced to a meagre 199. The dwindling in membership of YWCS started during the yarn crisis, which has resulted in introducing silk weaving,

resulting in the reduction of cotton weavers. It shows the impact of silk weaving among the Gudekal weavers.

TABLE 4.7.0: Cotton Weavers

Category	Hired	Non-hired	Total
Traditional	113(65.3)	60(34.7)	173(100)
Non-traditional	7(26.9)	19(73.1)	26 (100)
Total	120(60.3)	79(39.7)	199(100)

HIRED COTTON WEAVERS.

Hired weavers are the leased-in weaver labourers who are employed by the cotton loom owners. Most of the people from this category are divorced women, widows, Orphans and children. The owners procure the yarn from the society on their name and supply it to the hired weavers. The income thus earned from YWCS, after returning the finished cloth, will be shared on the basis of 2 : 3 ratio between the owner and the hired worker, respectively.

As the weavers from this category are mostly from poor economic background, they were unable to earn more than just sufficient to meet their daily needs. They were not in a position to pay the share capital to get membership in YWCS and they can not attract the Master Weaver's attention due to their poor economic status. They also, in turn, can not get anybody to stand for them as a surety with the Master Weaver. Therefore, they have no other option but to work under Middlemen Weavers and, most of the times, they have to work in the owner's house only. Divorced

women, young widows and orphans are compelled to work as hired weavers (Plates 4.6 and 4.7). Thus, it is not surprising to observe most of the women as Hired Weavers among both traditional and Non-traditional weaver categories (Table 4.7.1.0). These destitute women stay with their parents or brothers and sometimes take the loom, if enough space is available, to their homes. This taking loom to the Hired Weavers' place will be allowed only when they are related to them. A Middlemen Weaver can guard himself from the YWCS officials, when they come for inspection, on the pretext that due to space constraints they had shifted the loom to their relative's house. Middlemen Weavers hire their relatives because of this trust they have in them.

TABLE 4.7.1.0: Hired Cotton Weavers

Category	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Traditional	41(36)	72(64)	113(100)
Non-traditional	2(29)	5(71)	7(100)
Total	43 (36)	77(64)	120 (100)

Traditional:

As observed earlier in other types of weavers, Kurini (78.8%) have a majority of Hired Weavers among the traditional weaver castes, followed by Padmasale (18.6%). It is pertinent to observe that Devangam have no Hired Weavers among them. This is in line with their general loomage status, both in cotton as well as silk. It is important to note that among both traditional and Non-traditional weavers, women are more in proportion than men are. This is so

because of the fact that most of the male weavers, who have eschewed their YWCS membership and become Independent Weavers under silk, send their family members as Hired Weavers (Table 4.7.1.1).

Chinnaiah, who belonged to Padmasale caste, lost his parents during his early childhood. Since then he was looked after by one of his relative and since his childhood he has been working as a Hired cotton weaver on the looms of his relative. Since last five years Padma, a 42 year old divorcee, has been working as a Hired cotton weaver. She says that since she hails from a weaving caste, weaving occupation provided her this livelihood, because in her childhood she had learned the pre-loom work.

TABLE 4.7.1.1: Hired Cotton Weavers - Traditional

Caste	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Kurini	34 (38)	55 (62)	89(100)
Padmasale	7 (33)	14(77)	21 (100)
Togata		2(100)	2 (100)
Sakulasale	-	1 (100)	1 (100)
Devangam			-
Total	41 (36)	72(64)	113 (100)

Non-traditional:

All the Hired Weavers among the Non-traditional weavers belong to Muslim and among them most of them are women (71.4%). These Hired cotton weavers work on the looms supplied by the Non-traditional Middlemen Weavers. Since not many Non-traditional weavers are in weaving position, it is not surprising to notice the total

absence of other Non-traditional communities/castes among Hired cotton weavers.

The Hired cotton weavers are leased-in by the Middlemen Weavers to operate their loom which belong to YWCS. In order to retain the benefits from YWCS, Middlemen Weavers expect their tenant weavers to hide the fact that the looms were hired to them. Otherwise, it would lead to the cancellation of their YWCS membership.

NON-HIRED COTTON WEAVERS:

In spite of attraction from silk weaving these weavers continue to work with YWCS looms, which they own. Generally, the persons who work on these looms are old men and women, as the adult members of the family were already involved in silk weaving. Since the old members would not be in a position to work elsewhere they prefer to work on these cotton looms with which they were well acquainted (Plate 4.8).

TABLE 4.8.Z0: Total Non-hired cotton weavers

Category	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Traditional	31 (51.7)	29 (48.3)	60(100)
Non-traditional	7 (36.8)	12 (63.2)	19(100)
Total	38 (48)	41 (52)	79 (100)

Traditional castes (75.9%) have three-fourths the Non-hired cotton weavers, while the rest belong to the Non-traditional weavers. Most of the Non-traditional weavers were women

(63.2%) and the converse is true in case of traditional weavers (Table 4.8.2.0).

Traditional:

Among the traditional weavers, Kurini have more men, than the others, (except Sakulasale who have no women members working in this category) working on their own YWCS looms as compared to women Padmasale and Togata have more women weavers than men. Devangam have not hired any of their YWCS looms to others, instead they work on them. Both men and women have an equal representation among the Non-hired Weavers (Table 4.8.2.1).

TABLE 4.8.2.1: Non- hired cotton weavers - Traditional

Caste	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Kurini	18 (54.5)	15(45.5)	33(100)
Padmasale	7 (44.0)	9 (56.0)	16 (100)
Togata	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	5(100)
Sakulasale	2 (100.0)	-	2(100)
Devangam	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	4 (100)
Total	31 (52.0)	29 (48.0)	60 (100)

Non-traditional:

Most of the Non-traditional weavers are women (63.2%) and a half of them belong to Muslim (52.6%). In case of Telaga and Boya, there are no male weavers among Non-hired cotton weavers (Table 4.8.2.2).

TABLE 4.8.2.2: Non- hired cotton weavers - Non-traditional

caste/community	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Muslim	4 (40)	6(60)	10(100)
Katike Muslim	3 (50)	3 (50)	6 (100)
Telaga		2(100)	2 (100)
Boya		1 (100)	1(100)
Total	7(36.8)	12 (63.2)	19 (100)

All types among the weavers, referred above, are skilled in weaving and also their work culture is different from other professions. There exists a hierarchy in the weaving occupation, both among cotton and silk and the weavers of all hue attempts to move up in their occupational hierarchy. For instance, a Cotton Weaver would attempt to become a Middlemen Weaver and work under a Master Weaver in silk. Later, he would try to become an Independent Weaver and in turn a Master Weaver in silk.

Factors involved in hiring weavers:

Master Weavers as well as the Middlemen Weavers take every care in leasing-out their looms. Generally, kinship factor plays an important role in leasing-out looms among the traditional weaver castes, especially Kurini. Mostly, the preference will be in the order of a dose kinsman, a caste man and, in their absence, other caste man from the traditional weaving castes. If the above options are not available, they then prefer a weaver from the same village from a Non-traditional weaving community.

They workout conditions of tenancy while leasing loom based on mutual consent. The general agreement is to share the amount equally. Weaving on such rented looms would be done mostly at the owner's house and in a few cases in the tenant weaver's house also, since the owner is required to show the loom at his house to YWCS officials as and when they come for supervising/checking their looms. In case of those who work on looms at tenant's house the owners convince the supervising teams stating that the loom is shifted due to lack of sufficient space in their house. The following cases of weavers who leased out their looms illustrate the role of kinship, caste and other primordial factors.

Kumarappa, who belong to Kurini caste leased out his loom to Siddappa, a Kurini, who is an orphan. Siddappa was Kumarappa's paternal grandfather's brother's son's son. Kumarappa after joining under a Master Weaver, he leased out his loom to his cousin, Siddappa. In case of Chennamma, a 72 years old Padmasale woman, who is member of the YWCS and possesses only one loom, she finds it difficult to weave due to old age. So she leased out her loom to a young girl, Rangamma, who resides in her neighbourhood. Rangamma is from the Kurini caste, whose father had divorced her mother. Chennamma says that she knows Rangamma for her hard work and hence asked her to work on the loom on lease basis in her house. She leased her loom to Rangamma, who is a Kurini, because she did not find any one from

her caste. Rangamma, though not a Padmasale, is from a traditional weaver caste and a neighbour to her and that is the reason why she stated that she leased her loom to Rangamma.

The factors mentioned above in leasing the looms varied from traditional weavers to Non-traditional weavers.

Traditional:

The order of preference in leasing out looms by both Master Weavers and Middlemen Weavers was to kinsmen, followed by caste men and a traditional caste weaver. In the absence of traditional caste men, the looms were leased out to weavers from non-traditional weaver castes/communities from the village (table 4.9.1).

TABLE 4.9.1: Factors in Hiring Weavers - Traditional

Factors	Type of Weaver		Total
	Master Weaver	Middlemen Weaver	
Kinship	118(55.1)	67 (59.3)	185 (56.6)
Same Caste	54 (25.2)	31 (27.4)	85 (26.0)
Traditional Caste	22 (10.3)	13 (11.5)	35 (10.7)
Non-traditional Caste	20 (9.4)	2(1.8)	22(6.7)
Total	214 (100)	113 (100)	327(100)

Non-traditional:

Among the non-traditional castes/communities a different trend is observed. Since the number of looms owned were small in number and weaving being an adopted occupation, the factors like kinship and caste have no role to play among the non-traditional

castes/communities. However, they leased out their looms to outsiders, preferably from similar non-traditional background, if possible from among their caste/community (Table 4.9.2).

TABLE 4.9.2: Factors in Hiring Weavers - Non-traditional

Factors	Type of Weaver		Total
	Master Weaver	Middlemen	
Kinship	-	-	-
Same Caste	-	-	-
Others *	8 (53.0)	8(36.0)	
Non-traditional Caste	7 (47.0)	7(100.0)	14 (64.0)
Total	15(100)	7(100)	22(100)

Looms hired to other villagers

III

As noted above, though the performance of traditional weaving castes was far better than the non-traditional weaver castes/communities; the differential variation within each of these two sections with regard to participation in weaving is dependent upon different set of factors, including socialisation. Among all the weavers, community participation is high among the Kurini weavers. This is due to factors like kin, caste and other primordial networks. Greater involvement of members/ families from Kurini caste in this occupation can point out to the hold of Kurini on the enterprise and production.

Family and Socialisation:

Socialisation plays a very significant role in promoting or maintaining occupational skills of a community like the weavers, potters, etc. It not only introduces novices into the profession and trains them as skilled artisans, but also trains them to lead the life in line with the community's cultural traditions. The socialisation differs according to gender and age. This is true with the occupational socialisation. A child -boy or girl - would be continuously observing their parents at work. They learn the lore from a tender age of 5 or 6, when they keep imitating their parents. This start as a play (role-play), and a few years later when they grow, they start participating in the enterprise (Plate 4.9). Thus, a boy/girl of below 12 years would be busy in raw work of weaving, such as winding, reeling, taking the finished cloth to YWCS, etc.

Different age group people likewise would be busy with the tasks assigned to them in tune with their age. They, however, continue to perform their other social roles. For example, a boy of seven to twelve year's age is not barred from playing with then-peer group members. Similarly, an adult of 20 to 30 years age will participate in the activity of that peer group. Also, a housewife who is responsible for running her home will not neglect weaving. In fact, she bears the brunt of both. These are done only in some stipulated time and it does not come in the way of performing their assigned role in their occupation.

A person's socialisation in occupation starts at an early age. He or she continues to be socialised throughout the life. A few members from Kurini caste in Gudekal stated that they are introduced to weaving at a very early age in their childhood. According to them, six or seven years is an ideal age for a Kurini boy or girl to be inducted into the occupation. They are encouraged and motivated to participate in their traditional occupation. They are assigned some unskilled tasks at this stage. These unskilled tasks include taking the finished cloth to the local YWCS branch, washing the new yarn, assisting in sizing work, etc. The other tasks like the winding *of* thread into bobbins with the help of Charka (spinning wheel), pounding the soaked yarn in a mortar with a pestle, and applying starch to the yarn, *Sarrulu Cheyadamu*. This needs a little technical skill, and also stamina, and hence it is assigned to a little grown up boys or girls around the age of 10 years.

The beginning of wefting stage depends on the accomplishment of the synchronisation of feet and hands by an individual. This is necessary because if the legs are short, the pushing of thread with the feet will not be possible and the same problem occurs while pulling the harness with the hands when hands are small. Only, grown up children are introduced to this work by their elders. Generally, boys at 14 years are entrusted this work when they are initiated into the profession. People between the age of 20 and 50 will be fully engaged in weaving work. These

categories of persons are usually involved in all the processes of weaving. This means that a weaver becomes a master in the process of weaving after attaining the age of 20 years.

Women participate in all the pre-loom, loom and post-loom activities, besides attending the regular household chores. However, there exists some distinction in the activities carried on by women, men and children. For instance, sizing is more or less exclusively a woman's activity, while winding and reeling is assigned to exclusively to girls, and wefting is done both by women and men. Men attend only to the wefting work and even in this activity they participate nominally in some households.

The family background, i.e., whether it is nuclear or joint, and the number of children a woman has, has a bearing on her work. A woman from a nuclear family will have to look after her children, household chores and also has to take care of most of weaving activity. A woman from a joint family will have others helping her in both family chores and weaving work. Men actually participate only in some aspects of weaving work. Thus, women are the main actors in weaving enterprise, while men supervise and procure necessary raw materials, involving marketing, etc.

Number of children in a family, are regarded as a positive contribution both to the family and profession. The reason being that a mother can delegate child care activity to the elder child who will take care of the children. Also, the grownup children share the

family burden by helping their parents in the occupation. This does not imply that a woman will not provide child care. In fact, children will always be around them; there is a *Vuyyala* (swing) for a child to sleep beside the loom.

Skill Attainment:

They improve their skills through a process of self-improvement attained through varied forms of discussions or participation in their work related places. YWCS office is an important place for this exchange. Almost every individual pays a visit to the YWCS office regularly. Generally, children go to YWCS to collect yarn or to submit the finished cloth. The piece rate is estimated on the basis of estimated wage rate per yard of the cloth woven, irrespective of type of cloth. This will be entered into the passbook and YWCS pays the money to the children, who bring the cloth to YWCS. Children will return the money to their elders. Many old and middle aged weavers choose YWCS as a platform to discuss the improvements in designs. This also helps them to relax for a while, as they feel fatigue to work on loom continuously. Thus, even times of relaxation are utilised for improving their occupational skills, efficiency, etc.

Information Sharing:

YWCS provides a platform to discuss about the weaving techniques and other occupation related matters, but it is also considered as a central place to discuss matters, such as matrimonial, political and other aspects, called *lokabiramayanam*.

The discussions held there attract the passers-by, which include women and children, who come there to receive yarn or submit the finished cloth. It attracts even the non-weaving community members, who feel it as convenient to meet their weaver caste friends here, since they do not wish to disturb them at their work places. In the past, all non-weaver community members used to visit the weaver houses to order the required cloth for them. But with the starting of cloth shops and YWCS run outlets in the towns, their need to visit the weavers' households has become almost minimal. Thus, YWCS becomes a meeting point for the weavers to meet fellow villagers.

Division of Labour:

As the weaving process is carried on a rudimentary form of technology (pit loom), it demands a systematic division of labour. The division of labour prevailing in Gudekal is of two types: i) sex and ii) age based division of labour. While women, besides her contribution in other pre-loom, loom and post-loom activities, exclusively do the sizing work; and men participate only in some aspects of weaving work. For example, men would not touch the sizing work, whereas the winding and reeling work is assigned to children. Each person in the family performs only the assigned task.

The role of kinship and primordality is an important dimension in the furtherance of entrepreneurship. It is also an important factor in case of migration of weavers and also in their

trade. The case of Somesappa is a case in point. Somesappa had migrated from the village Rallapeta. He was a weaver in his native village also. He got married to a girl from Gudekal and this facilitated him to migrate to this village with the necessary help and encouragement, which he had received from Ms parents-in-law. Siddanna says that the expansion of the whole industry in Gudekal is mainly due to the role played by kinship. According to him, kinship was the major factor, which attracted the migrants to this village when weaving was a paying occupation a few years ago. If the economic condition of a person from another village, who is married to a girl from Gudekal, is bad, his parents-in-law had encouraged him to move over to this village and assisted him in settling-down in the village as well as in the occupation. This person, in turn, has encouraged his brothers from his native village to migrate to Gudekal. There are even cases where these people in turn created a favourable atmosphere to their kinsmen to migrate to this village. They consider their prospects of settlement very positively, while migrating to other places. There are Middlemen Weavers or Master Weavers to provide them work and in this regard they received help from their kinsmen.

The case of migrant weaver Hanumanthappa illustrates this point more emphatically. Hanumanthappa initially worked under Middlemen Weavers, as a Hired cotton weaver for wages and later he became a member of YWCS. He feels now well settled in the profession. But during this whole period his kinsmen came to his

rescue. He says that his life would have been miserable had he not moved to this village. Hanumanthappa said that he invited later his brother Pedda Hanumappa, who came and settled down here well. Pedda Hanumappa feels that the work in his native village was highly labour intensive and less remunerative. There were no sizing and dory sections there, and for that purpose he had to frequently visit Gudekal village, Now he feels happy as he gets more wages. Besides, he is saved from the trouble of shuttling and uncertainty. Pedda Hanumappa says that due to the cooperation and moral support extended by his brother, he could migrate and settle in this village. In due course he wishes to become an independent weaver like his brother.

The problems that have cropped up in YWCS during the 80s were due to different other reasons, other than yarn crisis. Machani Somappa, the person instrumental in the formation, growth and sustenance of YWCS, died in 1978. The problems of YWCS began after his death, as there was no strong leadership. Political interference in the society's activities during 1980s and early nineties had increased, and the congenial atmosphere that was prevailing was disturbed. As a result, YWCS plunged into a whirlpool of losses and the society was not in a position to provide month-long work to its members by supplying them yarn and other facilities. This has affected the activities of its four branch offices, including Gudekal and had forced a couple of members to migrate to other areas in search of livelihood.

It is pertinent to note that kinship played a very significant role in weaving occupation in the study area. As was seen in the past, kinship was instrumental in providing succour to the weavers in Yemmiganur area both before and after YWCS. In this context it is important to note that even in case of American working class, Bodnar found the importance of kinship. He states that, "running through the fabric of American working-class life in the early decades of this century were intricately woven kinship associations. At every turn in the life course of common people in industrial society, relatives stood ready to assist. Whether one needed a place to reside, a contact through which to acquire a job, or financial and emotional support, a relative was invariably involved. More than an important source of aid, however, kinship also implied a sense of responsibility, an on-going commitment that was rewarding when fulfilled, but that could be burdensome if too demanding. Either way, the system-which was virtually an economy-was based primarily on a shared sense of responsibility and a degree of reciprocity between parents and children and between other members of the family as well" (1982:13).

Also, as noted by Mehta (1992) the social structure of the weavers as a whole is characterised by the technique of production, the combination of people, acts, instruments and objects, which are given in a particular sequential pattern. Thus, his observations about certain set of relationships existing among the Ansaris, a

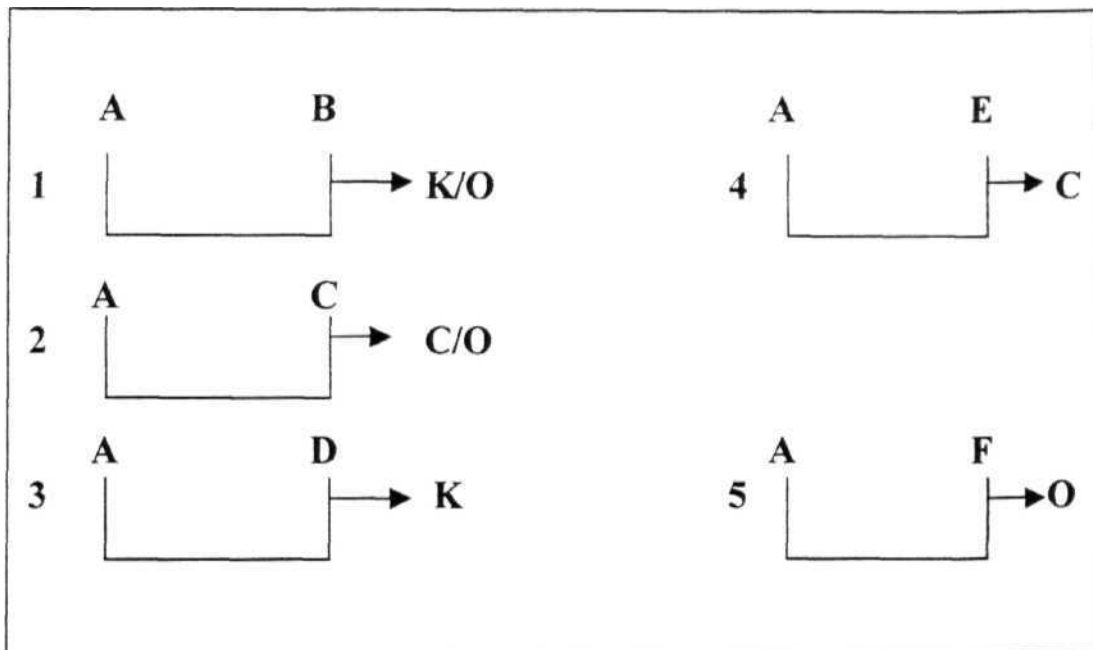
Muslim weaving community, in North India, holds good even among the weavers in Gudekal, the present study village.

As observed earlier, Kurini caste weavers have wider networks with a strong attitude of helping each other. They are spread in several other States like Tamilnadu, and Karnataka and have strong ties, which are sustained. New weaving techniques developed in these areas benefited the Kurini weavers in Yemmiganur also. Kurini are a close knit community with strong bonds of kinship. This helped them to further the potential of exploiting weaving occupation within the community. Thus, while the social fabric of that community is strengthened, the quality of life in that community has improved. Formation of YWCS and its growth is an excellent example in this regard. Studying Dharmavaram weavers, Muralikrishna observed that, "the spatial forms of development and underdevelopment are not only reflections of resources available in the region but more particularly town-country networks occurring at a regional level" (1995: 209).

The Kurini caste weavers help each other, discuss community-related matters during their gatherings in marriages and other life cycle rituals. They share occupation-related matters with other traditional weaving communities like Padmasale, Togatasale, Devangam and Sakulasale during such common occasions, where they all meet. These tendencies of social networks are also observed among the Padmasale community. Due to their

community organisation, they maintain close links with non-kin members in the community spread over in different **areas**. However, one distinct aspect to be noted is that the quality of relationship among the Kurinis and Padmasale are different. **The** former maintains close professional relationships along **with** kinship relationships, while the later have only professional relationships. That is why we notice a differential performance among Kurini weavers as compared to Padmasale. In fact, the **kin** and primordial ties have helped Kurini entrepreneurs better than Padmasale.

Chart 4.3: Nature of Relationship among Weavers



A,B,C,D,E and F= Weavers

K= kinship O = Occupation

The relationship of the weaver in the village thus depends upon his caste, kinship, and occupational background (traditional or Non-traditional). Thus, the dynamics of entrepreneurship hinge upon these social bases. The variation in the nature of relationship that a weaver entrepreneur maintains with the others can provide a clue to the performance of an entrepreneur. The above chart (4.3) depicts the nature of relationships of a weaver with other weavers from traditional and non-traditional backgrounds.

In the above chart, "A" is a weaver whose relationship with different others, weavers as well as non-weavers, provide the nature and intensity of relationships. These relationships are expressed in terms of 'K', which stands for kinship; 'C', which stands for caste; and 'O', which stands for occupation. The order of presentation indicates their intensity. In the diagram B, C and F are weavers in the profession, while D and E are members of kinship and caste group, respectively. The differential performance of weavers from different castes or communities can be explained based on the above chart.

In terms of performance, as mentioned earlier, Kurinis stand first, followed by Padmasale and other traditional weavers, and Non-traditional weavers from other communities. In case of Kurini, factors 1, 2, 3 and 4 operate strongly in their profession, which is why they are the successful entrepreneurs as compared to the others. Among the Padmasale and other traditional weavers the nature of relationships are more in terms of 2 and 4. The Non-

traditional weavers, unlike the traditional weavers, have only occupational based relationship (5). Since they lacked the other factors, their performance as entrepreneurs is weaker as compared to Kurini, Padmasale and other traditional weavers in that order.

The situation that had arisen during the yarn crisis during the 80s had a significant impact on the weaving enterprise in Gudekal also. As the saying goes, "crisis is the mother of all inventions", the local weavers adapted themselves to silk weaving. The silk weaving is more remunerative and it emerged under a few Master Weavers. This shift in nature of production helped them to overcome the crisis. This has simultaneously led to the decline in the YWCS membership. During this period a weaver family experienced a great deal of stress generated by both occupational and family demands. As the weaver family holds little or no property, they lack resources to balance the stress. This crisis, however, has only reinforced their temerity to withstand a crisis through some coping mechanisms. Their situation is similar to that of subsistence oriented peasant (Shanin 1987). This is clearly illustrated in the case of Ramanna, Kurini weaver, and aged 62. His case reflects the response of weavers to crisis situations. It points to the coping mechanisms of weavers in any eventuality. This sort of adaptability/coping is instilled through the process of socialisation. Prior to the yarn crisis in YWCS, Ramanna planned to get his only daughter married in a grand manner. He proposed to look for a wealthy and educated groom. He was hopeful of

arranging for such an alliance as he was prepared to offer an attractive dowry. But the yarn crisis had upset his work as well as plans. He had to postpone her marriage by a few years. Before the crisis, he led a better life without compromising on the quality of food, clothing and other needs to his family members. But as a result of the crisis he had to cut unnecessary expenditure like visiting pilgrimage places, places of relatives, watching movies, eating meat, etc. However, he felt optimistic that the good days would return along with his old style of life.

The introduction of silk weaving in recent years brought some change in the nature of work. The process involved in silk weaving is slightly different from traditional cotton weaving. The work of a silk weaver starts in the morning and continues till the late evening. Usually the elder or old male member of the family starts the work, as in case of cotton weaving, in the morning. However, a silk weaver's job is little easier as compared to a cotton weaver. His job does not involve pedalling with legs but only using *pirn* (a sharp edged wooden pin used to add strands while weaving) with hand. All weavers use the time of starting and retiring from work as points of reference in their activities. For example, *Maggam Ekke Yaala* (time when they sit on the loom) or *Maggam dige yaala* (time when they climb down from the loom) as points of reference to early morning or late evening, respectively.

Life of a weaver family is like that of a subsistent peasant, who bears the drudgery of work to make both ends meet. Ramakka's case study reveals the commitment and gratitude of Kurini to hard work ethics. Ramakka, who is a widow, works hard on the loom to feed her family. According to her, though the job of weaving demands the weaver to be very mechanical and makes them monotonous, they still do not think of changing the occupation to take up an alternative livelihood. For example, a pregnant woman will work on the loom until eighth month of her pregnancy. She again would return to the loom after two weeks, much before the stipulated forty days rest observed by women from other occupational groups in the village.

The Kurini in Gudekal continue in the occupation and they solely depend on this occupation, as it is a bread earner for them. YWCS is responsible for integration and for the development of different weaving castes/ communities and is also instrumental in the overall development of the area in general and Gudekal in particular. In this process, the role of kin, caste and other primordial ties have played a significant role in promoting weaving enterprise in Gudekal.

CHAPTER V

SOCIO - CULTURAL BASES OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Researchers preoccupied with the spectacular transformation of societies continued to debate about the causes of this "great transformation". They have agreed upon the role played by entrepreneurs in this social transformation, regardless of the particular material or cultural forces in this transformation. Hence, the analysts of different persuasions largely agree that the history of the raising capitalist industrial societies is to a large extent also the history of the modern entrepreneur. Entrepreneurs, who have emerged as a new social force out of a tangled web of demographic, legal, technological and material perspectives also adopt a most crucial dimension, i.e., socio-cultural dimension. The present chapter explores the social and cultural dimensions of entrepreneurship among handloom weavers.

Our study considers entrepreneurs as those who have the ability and try to achieve something in the profession against all odds. A successful entrepreneur is one who makes use of different resources - cultural, social, professional and technical - and moves up in the entrepreneurial ladder. In the present study, Master Weavers, Independent Weavers and Middlemen Weavers are considered as entrepreneurs. Hired silk weavers were not considered as entrepreneurs despite of the thing that they are being

the silk weavers. Because, they are basically the members from Independent Weavers' families, join under Master Weavers to supplement their family income. Cotton Weavers, both hired and Non-hired, also are not treated as entrepreneurs because they work as tenant weavers with Middlemen Weavers and their economic returns are very low and are not in a position to compete with the other weavers. Among the entrepreneurs, as observed in the previous chapter, entrepreneurial efficiency differs based on several factors, such as kinship, caste and networks, besides access to technical and professional knowledge.

Entrepreneurial dynamics of YWCS, as explained earlier, are propelled by the need to adapt to the demand of a changing economy, which can no longer be understood in terms of local needs alone. It is explained that the adaptability to the changing situations by YWCS was possible due to the entrepreneurs' readiness to accept new technology and management. In fact, the family, which is the basic unit of production of cloth, adopts the changes. Thus an understanding of this basic unit of production in Gudekal would provide us the bases of entrepreneurial dynamics, whether within YWCS or out of it.

I

Family plays an important role in the success of an entrepreneur among Gudekal weavers. In this regard, in a family there could be different types of weavers and if some of them are

enterprising it will have a catalytic affect on the others. A family may be regarded as entrepreneurial if either head or any other member of the family belongs to any one of the three categories in silk weaving then the particular family can be considered to be entrepreneurial. Thus, there could be a Master Weaver, an Independent Weaver or a Middlemen Weaver in a family, either one or some or all of them. They always make use of different resources - cultural, social, technical and professional - to further their entrepreneurial ability.

There are 178 families, which can be considered as entrepreneurial families. Out of these most of them belongs to traditional weaver castes (91.6%) and among them a significant proportion of them are Master Weavers (42.4%) and Independent Weavers (38.2%). Even among the non-traditional weavers this trend is very dear (Table 5.1.0).

TABLE 5.1.0: Type of Entrepreneur Families

Category	Type of Entrepreneur			Total
	Master Weaver	Independent Weaver	Middlemen Weaver	
Traditional	72 (42.4)	61 (38.2)	30 (19.4)	163 (100)
Non-traditional	8 (53.3)	5 (33.3)	2 (13.4)	15 (100)
Total	80 (44.9)	66(37.1)	32 (18.0)	178 (100)

Traditional:

More than three fourths of entrepreneur families among the traditional weaver castes belong to Kurini (82.2%) and in all the three types of weavers they outnumber all the other traditional

castes. As can be expected though a significant proportion of Master Weavers (38.1%) is there among the Kurini, there are more number of Independent Weavers (41.8%) and Middlemen Weavers (20.1%). The later two categories have moved into silk weaving after giving up cotton weaving and their mere size is an indication of increasing participation of more number of Kurini in silk weaving as they exhibit entrepreneurial abilities more than the others (Table 5.1.1).

TABLE 5.1.1: Type of Entrepreneur Families - Traditional

Caste	Type of Entrepreneur			Total
	Master Weaver	Independent Weaver	Middlemen Weaver	
Kurini	51 (38.1)	56(41.8)	27(20.1)	134 (100)
Padmasale	18 (90.0)	1 (5.0)	1 (5.0)	20(100)
Togata	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	4(100)
Sakulasale	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3) !	1 (33.3)	3 (100)
Devangam	-	2(100.0)		2(100)
Total	72 (44.2)	61 (37.4)	30(18.4)	163(100)

Non-traditional:

Among the non-traditional weavers, Muslim weavers (60%) predominate over the others. In case of others, Telaga have double the number of Master Weavers and Independent Weavers than Katike Muslim. It is important to note that there are no entrepreneurial weaving families among the Boya. In general, compared to others, Muslim weavers have a predominant presence among the Master Weavers (Table 5.1.2).

TABLE 5.1.2: Type of Entrepreneur Families-Non-traditional

Caste/ Community	Type of Entrepreneur			Total
	Master Weaver	Independent Weaver	Middlemen Weaver	
Muslim	5 (55.6)	2(222)	2(212)	9(100)
Katike Muslim	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	-	2 (100)
Telaga	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	-	4 (100)
Boya	-	-	-	-
Total	8 (53.3)	5 (33.3) !	2(13.4)	15(100)

Thus it is clear from the above that, caste/community background plays a significant role in entrepreneurial promotion. However, one should keep in mind the role of family and socialisation in promoting entrepreneurship. Though one observes breaking down of joint families in traditional Indian rural society, the same does not hold true in case of traditional handloom weavers in Gudekal. The work culture demands them to be together. They arrange all the looms under the same roof. There are families where members from three generations had been working under the same roof. The spouses of these members were from different places and as such were trained in different weaving designs and skills. Thus, they brought different designs and skills with them into the family. Thus there is an attitude to incorporate diverse designs and skills into the basic production unit. This also has led to diversification of techniques. Besides, they were always alert to the changing aspiration of society. The head of the household receives support from the family members in case he tries to introduce changes in the business.

Success of Srikanth in silk weaving reveals the role of family in entrepreneurial success. He has a joint family with members belonging to three generations. Many of them were working under YWCS. However, due to the crisis in YWCS, his family faced serious problems. Despite this, they continued their weaving enterprise. Srikanth claimed that if the yarn supply had been regular, his family would not have faced any problems. The size of the family contributes in planning the work and taking up the raw process itself without employing outside labour while shifting to silk weaving. He emphasised the importance of size of family in establishing silk looms. According to him, it becomes economical to buy raw material for four or five looms at a time than purchasing it for one loom. Thus, the entrepreneurial mind-set of the family while confining to tradition opened up to modern styles of production, thereby providing succour to the family in the fast changing economic scenario.

n

The kinship networks and marital alliances also provided a basis for interaction networks, which are constructed between the individual entrepreneurs and yarn suppliers. There were also enduring relationship between entrepreneurs and customers and between entrepreneurs and others on the local and distant places. As noted in the previous chapter, Kinship networks play a crucial role in nurturing entrepreneurial ability. The local entrepreneurs during their visits to attend the life cycle ceremonies and rituals at

their relatives' places observed the weaving techniques and designs existing there and such visits helped them to incorporate those techniques and designs into theirs. Also these social visits helped them finding markets for their products. The market established during 30s and 40s for 20 count saris woven in Gudekal were a result of these entrepreneurs' visits to Mysore region. The entrepreneurs from Gudekal sensed the marketability of this product during their social visits to the places of their kinsmen in Mysore made them to introduce this variety in their locality. This move by the local weavers had led to the institutionalisation of this variety by the YWCS when it was established in 1938.

A 60 year old Kurini weaver, Seenaiah, still remembers his parents discussing with a neighbour about the need for evolving 20 count saris on their loom. He praised the entrepreneurial ability of the concerned neighbour who gave them the idea to develop the 20-count variety. All weaver groups adopted the particular variety later, which earned them bread for a long period. Hence, Seenaiah called this as an entrepreneurial move, which, according to him, is nothing but a sense of application of mind to the context in one's society.

The emergence and sustenance of silk weaving, in the village, also had its moorings from the kinship alliances. Kinship networks helped in the introduction of silk weaving in the village following the shortage of yarn in 80s. Parsuram's economic condition compelled his father-in-law, who is an established Master

Weaver in Gadwal, to introduce Parsuram to silk weaving. Parsuram received financial assistance and partial technical know-how, regarding silk weaving, from his father-in-law in starting a silk loom. His continuous visits to his Parents-in-law at Gadwal exposed him to different techniques in silk weaving and silk weaving business. His close observation regarding the import of silk yarn and marketing the silk products made him to introduce master weaving in Gudekal. Thus he turned into a Master Weaver in a short period. Parsuram owns about 10 silk looms at present. He has leased out many of them to his kinsmen and caste men in the village, keeping only two looms for his family.

Thus introduction of a single individual to the silk weaving opened new avenues for the yarn suppliers, Master Weavers and big cloth merchants, on the one hand, and Independent Weavers and customers, on the other. Weavers in the village started observing the techniques involved in silk weaving and also sorted out their doubts with the Master Weaver who made frequent visits to the village to attract the local weavers to his business. Once such links are established, some of the local entrepreneurs planned for large-scale ventures. Also a group of three to four Independent Weaver entrepreneurs started collaborative work. One of them went to buy silk yarn at places like Vijayawada, Madurai, etc. This facilitated them to save on transportation charges and made their production economical. Meanwhile, they started attracting customers at home itself. Earlier they had to travel to other places

to hand-over produced saris to the Master Weaver. Thus, they could save time and utilised it for producing more saris. Customers from places like Hyderabad, Kurnool, etc., who came in contact with the local entrepreneurs provided them information about financial institutions and schemes that could finance their enterprise. They also provided them contacts for trade. Besides these, kinship networks were also instrumental in getting loans from banks. This is clearly illustrated in the following case of Kasaiah.

Kasaiah, a silk weaver, had his father-in-law working in a Cooperative Bank in Yemmiganur. He was a small silk weaver before he got the loan for a silk weaving purpose. He approached his father-in-law, a bank official, for loan to modernise his looms. Kasaiah got the loan and spent it on establishing Jaqad looms in the village. Now, he produces more saris with a variety of designs with the help of the Jaqad looms and is able to lead a comfortable life.

Thus kinship and primordial networks provided basis for entrepreneurial promotion. To these institutional, other networks only add up. Berger rightly observed that "ever}" human community is a web of shared meanings. If these meanings become institutionalised, a spontaneous process of culture building is engendered. Slowly and incrementally, networks of interaction become habituated, routinized, and institutionalised. The necessary skills are nurtured continuously. Interaction,

participation and community-building activities develop into taken-for-granted modes. Under congenial political conditions all these aspects lead, at one and the same time, to the formation of a distinctly modern culture as well as to the formation new modes of production. These modernized institutions, in turn, will affect the livelihood and the rate of a society's development, including the building of factories and a dynamic economy" (1991: 32).

There are certain sociological conditions under which individuals or groups break away from traditional way of doing things. One finds always certain variations in the degree of interest or motivation among the weaver entrepreneurs. The interest or motivation in the advancement and technological development of the production process varies from one category to another, i.e., the traditional weaving category and non-traditional weaving category on the one hand, and among its respective communities on the other. Similarly, one finds a variation in the improvement of scale of operations.

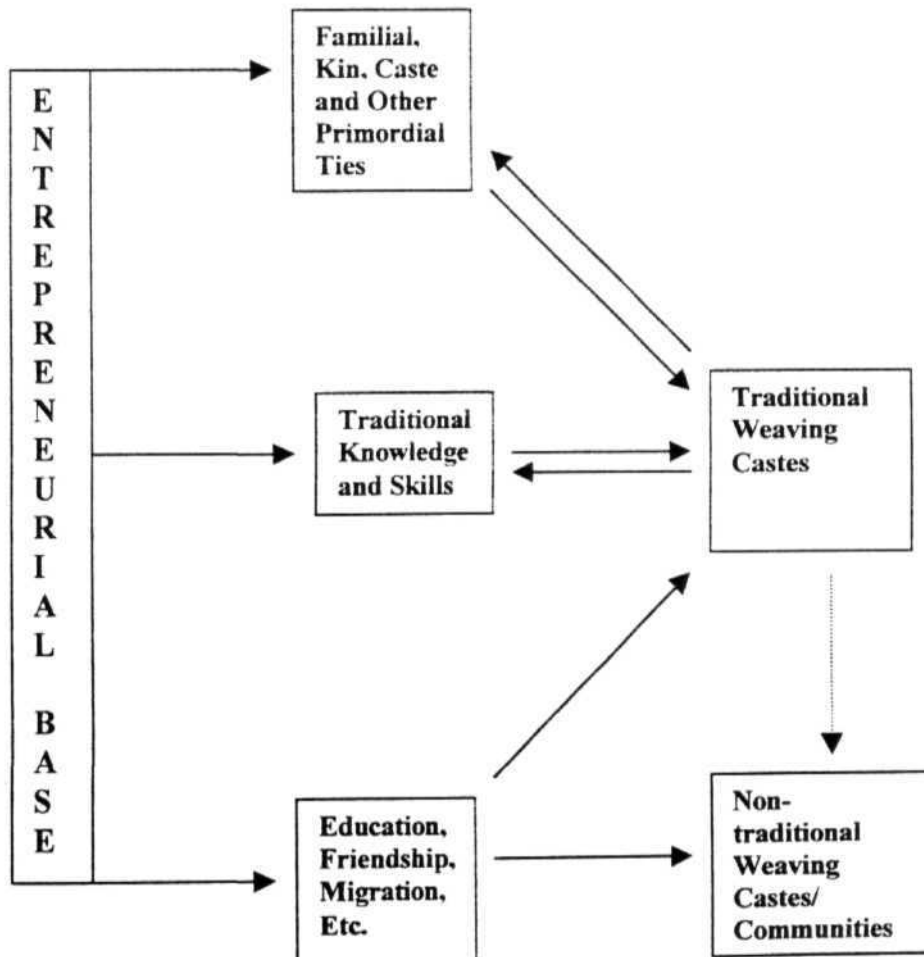
The dynamic individuals or groups, in the present case, are those who have shifted from cotton weaving to silk weaving. The variation one notices are among Master Weavers who have shown a higher degree of involvement in modernising traditional skills. It is observed that the members of traditional weaver communities, who have always shown inclination for innovation, own the highest number of silk looms. Ownership of silk loom in the village is regarded as a feature of entrepreneurial success and, thus,

the traditional weaving castes are considered to hold highest entrepreneurial status. There are hardly few among the non-traditional weaving families from non-weaving castes/communities, who owned silk looms and thus occupy a low entrepreneurial status. The reason for this disparity is that the traditional weaving castes have the advantage of factors such as family, kinship, caste, and other networks. In contrast, the non-traditional weaving communities only depend on factors such as qualities of individual and professional relations only. However, the Master Weavers among the traditional weaving communities, who are educated and have better exposure in the occupational networks, have utilised the individual qualities and professional skills, beside family, kinship, caste and other networks. Education always is an additional factor, which furthered entrepreneurial ability. Thus, the traditional weaving communities always acted as catalysts in changing the nature of the industry, thereby redefining the status of weaving occupation. Non-traditional weaving families have drawn these entrepreneurial abilities from these traditional weaver entrepreneurs (Chart 5.1).

Nagappa, a silk weaver from traditional weaving category, stated that his brother's contacts in silk weaving helped him to shift to silk weaving. He stated that he was facing financial hardship due to lack of work, as YWCS was not providing him sufficient yarn. His family was surviving on one meal a day. As he was lacking any knack to approach people to start silk weaving since he

happened to be an illiterate, he depended on his kinsmen for help. The case of Subbaiah is different from that of his brother Nagappa. Though he also suffered due to lack of full time work with YWCS, he could jump to silk weaving immediately, utilising his kinship and marital networks. He became a Master Weaver in a short time due to his dynamism, education and his ability to exploit opportunities.

CHART 5.1: SHOWING FLOW OF ENTREPRENEURIAL ABILITIES AMONG HANDLOOM WEAVERS



Majhar, a non-traditional Muslim Master Weaver in silk, stated that it took him quite a long time to establish in silk weaving and to take up Master Weaver business. According to him, though he was educated up to Intermediate and had a good reputation in the village, it took a long time for him to establish as a Master Weaver. This was due to lack of traditional advantage of networks, which the other Master Weavers from traditional weaving castes in the village enjoyed.

Thus entrepreneurial culture that emerged among the traditional weaving castes, prepared a good contingent of entrepreneurs in their specific caste groups, who, in turn, imparted it to some non-traditional weavers who have occupational contacts with the particular traditional weavers. Thus, there always existed knowledge and skill gap between traditional and non-traditional weavers due to the traditional advantages that the former enjoyed over the later (Chart 5.1).

III

The economic behaviour of the weaving communities in Gudekal village can be described under four aspects, viz., 1) the management of industry with respect to capital and labour, 2) management of industry with regard to purchasing and marketing the raw material like yarn, 3) pattern of investment and 4) economic cooperation.

Capital and labour:

An initial investment of about Rs.10, 000/- to 15,000/- per loom is required for starting one's own silk loom. One is required to buy silk yarn and set the loom suitable for silk weaving. Similarly, a Master Weaver will spend at least Rs.75, 000/- for starting 4 to 5 looms. The Master Weaver needs to spend some amount on initial expenditure to tour different places as part of survey to buy yarn. If the number of looms is more, the costs of raw materials, when purchased in bulk, will be lower and productions costs also will come down when compared to small-scale operations. There is hardly any investment involved in the establishment of a loom for cotton weaving under YWCS, as it would be supplied by YWCS to its members. Starting a silk loom without any investment requires winning the Master Weavers' confidence, who supplies the loom and yarn. However, one has to return the finished product to the Master Weaver only. Though the weaver gets low returns, he works under a Master Weaver till he attains the technical knowledge and financial soundness.

The condition of employment varies from cotton weaving to silk weaving. Though the work force, in both, is paid on the basis of unit of production, there is variation in the amount paid to a particular unit. A large number of families have at least one member working on the silk loom. A few families also are engaged on the basis of daily wages or in some cases even on annual basis. Employment on annual basis is a kind of tied labour. Under this

system an annual wage is fixed for a weaver who is also given a meal per day by his master. The members of this category are mostly destitute persons - orphans, widows, divorces and children from broken families.

Purchasing raw-materials and marketing the production:

Management of purchases, finance, marketing, sales, etc, varies according to the nature of the involvement of each entrepreneur. Weavers Working under Master Weavers get the raw material supplied by them, whereas Independent Weavers who have formed into groups prefer mass purchasing, i.e., they pool the amount and send one or two from the group to purchase raw-materials from cities like Madurai and Vijayawada. An overall requirement of raw material for the whole production would be bought from the above centres. Such visits to bring yarn help these entrepreneurs establish new contacts and maintain the existing relations with the suppliers of the raw materials. Because most of these entrepreneurs consider it important to personally meet their suppliers rather than placing the orders in writing or by telephone. Thus, they adopt it as a strategy to maintain personal contacts with the companies/ mills that supply raw materials so as to secure preferential treatment in terms of prompt deliveries and favourable terms of payments. Also, these contacts with the suppliers make the entrepreneurs to buy raw materials on credit.

The non-participation in actual production process observed in some families belonging to the traditional weaving communities

reflect their inability to use the social, cultural and other factors in business, besides their lack of commitment. Such members who are unable to withstand the problems in the industry drop out and take up other jobs such as rickshaw-pulling, auto-driving or migrating to other places.

Pattern of Investment:

Economic cooperation:

For establishing and running the weaving enterprise there is a need to have cooperation from family, caste and the acquaintances and all such social relationships have been playing an important role in the running of weaving enterprise in Gudekal. As observed earlier, Independent Weavers and Hired Weavers have benefited due to the assistance received from relatives, friends and others at the time of setting up of their business or in getting employment.

Relatives helped the entrepreneurs in the initial stages by providing loans and standing surety for loans. In cases where the individuals had no family assets, prosperous relations provided surety. Besides the assistance and advises from the kinsmen, the entrepreneurs have also been benefited by partnerships.

The weaving enterprise in Gudekal can be analysed in terms of factors of production and management. In case of Master Weavers one can notice a dear separation between factors of production and management. They hire labour and supervise. On

the other hand, the factors of production and management are concentrated in a head of the family in case of an Independent Weaver. These Independent Weavers carry on the **work** at home by themselves.

The transition of industry has been a regular feature of the weaving enterprise in the village. After the introduction of silk weaving, with better market prospects in Gudekal, the prospects of weaving industry have become livelier. The existing networks of the weavers with the small and large-scale Master Weavers in the area have enabled them to earn profits in silk weaving, as there has been a good demand for silk products. Thus, the weaving community in the village has got the opportunity to improve its economic condition by shifting over to the silk weaving.

Investment

Investment and reinvestment of capital continuously in a particular direction shows one's confidence of returns. In this regard, the proximity with the occupation, in which the investment is done, will bring one good return due to the awareness and attentiveness in the related activities. Thus, the traditional working background helps one to succeed in the related venture for they would be able to organise the factors of production and also administer them properly.

People from traditional weaving communities are sharp to **react** to the changing situations. Their propensity towards

entrepreneurship is characterised by their ability to manage the factors of production, risk bearing capacity, innovative spirit, achievement motivation, etc. They claim that they possess all these characteristics due to their long-standing attachment with the weaving occupation. The traditional weaving background becomes useful for one to judge the technicality of a worker if they want to employ a wage labourer. Similarly, the traditional weaving background helps to assess the quality of raw material (yarn, sizing etc.).

As the traditional weaving communities dominate the weaving industry, the entrepreneurs belonging to these communities are able to take more risk in establishing or running the enterprise. Because the traditional weavers have their network of kinsmen and caste men who assist them financially, in case they meet with losses in the business.

The case of a non-traditional weaver entrepreneur is different. He lacks any prior working and technical knowledge in the concerned occupation. Thus, he is more prone to losses in his enterprise. The recurrent losses demoralise and discourage him for any further investment in the occupation. Also, he has to find market for his products in the absence of any kinship networks, which is liable to become a big hurdle in his efforts to become a successful entrepreneur. This is reflected in the case of forty-five year old Anjaneyulu, a non-traditional weaver from Telaga caste, who tried to become a Master Weaver but failed to become one.

Anjaneyulu procured resources for establishing as Master Weaver in silk weaving. He leased out silk looms to fellow weavers in the village. But due to lack of awareness about the yarn requirement for each sari, he supplied more yarn than required. Thus he incurred losses. Later he ventured again. He sold out his small piece of agriculture land and reinvested the amount in silk weaving. But he realised that the cost of production was more than the returns and thus incurred losses again. He said that, basically, he lacked proper guidance from anyone in silk business. Neither he got kinsmen or caste men in weaving enterprise, who could provide him any assistance. Also, he found that his visits to other places to procure yarn and to market saris had cost him more than it would, as he did not have any kin/caste networks in these places to stay with them to avoid additional expenses, which the traditional caste weavers do.

It is observed that castes with traditional weaving background possess innovative spirit and ability to utilise new opportunities and improve the quality of production, as they do not start from scratch in the enterprise like the non-traditional weavers do. Their traditional background provides them social and economic security, which prepares them to innovate in their enterprises. The techniques they have learnt from their kinsmen, during their social visits, motivates them to introduce the same in their products and thus bringing new dimension to their products. The changes they introduced in their saris with new designs and

different colour combinations brought them close to the customers' tastes and needs, whereas the non-traditional weaving castes lack this advantage.

Unlike non-traditional weavers, the achievement motivation is sponsored by socialisation process among the traditional castes. Since the non-traditional weavers are mostly small entrepreneurs, they are less receptive to changes in the products and technology as they are sceptical about their returns. They strongly feel against risking any additional investment, as whatever they invest would be high for them to withstand, in case the change in designs, etc., failed to yield desired results. Thus, there is hostility towards frequent changes among the non-traditional weavers, which keeps them away from master weaving. On the contrary, the traditional weavers are quite accustomed to frequent changes and due to entrepreneurial advantages they possess, they are successful entrepreneurs both as Independent Weavers and Master Weavers. Besides, hard work ethics, devotion to work, honesty in business, quality control, etc., are the values that are present among the traditional weavers. These factors are responsible for entrepreneurship among them in the study village.

Somaiah and Gopal, a Master Weaver and an Independent Weaver, from Kurini caste, respectively, attribute their entrepreneurial success to the caste factors. They also view the importance of primordial base from the point of view of how the

lack of it hindered entrepreneurship among the other castes from the traditional weavers' category in the weaving industry in the village. They believed that lack of support of kin and caste for their counterparts lagging behind in weaving enterprise. While some traditional weavers (Siddaramaiah, Ambanna, and Basappa) from Padmasale caste stated that though they started their ventures along with some of their friends from the Kurini caste, they could not withstand the competition from the Kurini entrepreneurs. The reason was that though these entrepreneurs from both the castes had good experience in business, due to lack of networks Padmasale were not on an equal footing with Kurinis in weaving business. Kurini entrepreneurs have people from their caste in trade centres for silk weaving in Karnataka. Also, it would not be expensive for the Kurini weavers to visit such places to market their products as they can stay with their caste men. Devangam (Krishnaiah and Ankappa) and Togata caste (Jakkaiah and Chinnaiah) weavers also expressed similar opinions with regard to their slow progress in weaving business.

The non-traditional weavers feel that they have nothing to keep secret as everything is passed on to them by the traditional weaving castes in general and the Kurinis in particular. Moreover, markets for the products, which are smaller in quantity, of the non-traditional weavers are, by and large, local.

Some people from traditional castes, who have shifted from weaving occupation sometime back and do not have any attachment with the occupation at present, have taken up Master weaving business. They worked as mill workers and YWCS employees. They have learnt the techniques suitable for master weaving through observation, while working in the mills or YWCS. During their service, they had played the roles connected with the weaving activity, which comprised of procuring and selling the yarn, maintaining accounts, etc. They were acquainted with managerial tasks like supervising the work of their assistants, particularly the persons working with yarn mills/spinning mills. They had travelled to other places to collect the dues and to finalise the accounts with them. Thus they were acquainted with managerial and other financial aspects involved in weaving business. The contacts already developed with the client organisations were utilised in their business. In the wake of lockout or closing down of spinning mills in the area and the crisis in YWCS during early 80s pushed the workers to the brink. At this juncture silk industry has come to their rescue. Most of them have taken up to master weaving. However, there existed a difference between the entrepreneurs who had their family members still working on looms (traditional weavers) and the others who had no such background. The former had progressed much faster than the later.

Chandraiah, a Kurini, joined the local spinning mill at the time when there were good returns from cotton weaving under YWCS. He allowed his mother and wife to continue in weaving while he joined the mill as a worker. However, he continued to assist his family members, while working in the mill. The yarn crisis in YWCS and lockout in the mill crippled him and his family financially. However, they did not give up weaving but continued working on loom. At this juncture, he started thinking of an alternative work on similar lines of their enterprise. He found silk weaving, that was already present in his village, as a good alternative. So he started silk weaving. Firstly, he established contacts with influential people in the nearby place and convinced them successfully to get him a silk loom on lease. While his family members were working on this loom, he looked for the contacts that were to help him in establishing as Master Weaver later. His contacts and experience as a maistry (supervisor) in the spinning mill came to his rescue for establishing in silk weaving.

Mahender's case illustrates that the gap developed in his weaving occupation after he joined the spinning mill as a supervisor caused him delay in establishing himself as a good entrepreneur. He compared his venture with his colleague Chandraiah (referred above) in business. Mahender said that once he joined the mill his family members stopped weaving occupation. They cancelled their YWCS membership. Thus, the whole family lost touch, directly or indirectly, with weaving, except for his

technical knowledge regarding yarn as a spinning mill employee. His family faced hardship due to the closure of mill. He went round for a temporary job to feed his family members. By the time he was settled domestically, the silk weaving business had attracted him like many others in the village.

The condition of an entrepreneur from a non-traditional weaving caste/ community differs from the traditional weavers' category. A non-traditional weaver entrepreneur takes a much longer time to establish in silk weaving than the traditional weaver. Khaja, a Muslim entrepreneur, was employed with the spinning mill as an attender. When the spinning mill was closed, he refused to migrate to other areas due to his sentimental attachment to this village to which his forefathers belonged. He looked for a suitable source of livelihood here. Finally, he decided to settle down as a Master Weaver as he perceived good prospects for the same in the locality. But, the things were not smooth for him in this regard. He faced several hardships to become a Master Weaver, which was not the case generally with the others from traditional weaver castes.

CHAPTER VI

PROCESS OF WEAVING AND CULTURE OF WEAVERS

Though the social composition of weavers involved in weaving occupation in the village is varied, their beliefs associated with the occupation have a lot of similarity. The head of the family or the older member of the household customarily starts the work everyday by touching the main beam of the loom with the right hand as a mark of respect to the loom, which provides him/her the livelihood. Some light incense sticks (*Agarbathi*) as a mark of obeisance before starting their work that day. They start the weaving work generally early in the morning to convince the celestials about their commitment to weaving work as they feel that the celestials will be visiting the house early in the morning. Thus a traditional weaver tries to please the celestials and receive their appreciation in order to prosper in the profession.

Thus, Day for a weaver starts early in the morning around five. Women prepare food for the family and wake up the male members and children. The elder/older member of the family starts the loom after taking bath. He touches the beam with his right hand as a mark of respect, before he sits on the loom. The older women in the family attend the sizing work after she rises from bed. Children attend the reeling and winding work and they are pressurised to do it fast as the wefting work needs to be stopped

if sufficient reeled yarn is not ready. Though this process is more or less uniform among all the weaving families, women share more burden among Padmasale, Devangam, Togata and Sakulasale families. Women from these castes have to attend to all the duties of a housewife besides weaving.

Women are culturally prohibited to work on the loom during menstruation period. However, in some families if women do not participate in weaving work it becomes difficult to make both ends meet. In such families, a menstruating woman takes a purificatory bath and circumambulates around the loom three times, pleading with the celestials for exempting her from observing the taboo.

A pregnant woman would work on the loom until the eighth month of her pregnancy. She again would return to the loom after forth day of her deliver)-. However, this duration varies according to the need of her involvement in the production. The expectant mother attends to all household work, besides weaving, in the family till the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy. Observing birth pollution and keeping the mother and child under the ritual pollution is found common among all traditional weaver castes. Since they are considered the possible sources of pollution, they are kept in a secluded place in the house (away from the loom). This period of pollution caused by childbirth ends on the seventh day.

In contrast, among Kurini, men equally share the burden of weaving along with women. Besides, unlike the other weavers,

they have a work ethic ingrained in their caste ideology. Kurini have wide network of relatives in Karnataka. They are influenced by the Lingayat/Veerashaiva sect. They do not observe any rules of pollution in work (The Lingayats/Veerashivas believe that since they wear the image of god on them *{Linga}*, they will not be affected by any kind of pollution. Also, they consider work as worship and no work is regarded as demeaning or polluting. Thus in work situation, gender, caste or creed distinctions do not exist

In this context, the example of Somappa, a Kurini caste leader illustrates this work ethic. He initially worked with a Muslim and became popular due to his hard work in a short time. He also encouraged Scheduled Castes to start a leather workers' cooperative. While Somappa set an example, similar attitudes are noticeable among the Gudekal Kurini. This can be seen clearly in case of Bheemappa and Yellappa, two Kurini weavers. Bheemappa and Yellappa work hard even at the age of 70 and above. Both have a large family, about 10 members, and possess three looms each. Since the number of family members are more in proportion to looms, they themselves take-up weaving without hiring labour from outside. They believe that from the childhood they are habituated to do hard work and feel that only hard work will feed them.

I

It is essential to discuss about the process involved in weaving, before one attempts to understand the cultural aspects among weavers. The process of weaving involves four successive stages. They are Sizing, Reeling, Warping and Wefting. A brief discussion of these stages involved in weaving provides some insight into the social division of labour in weaving process.

SIZING:

Sizing work precedes all the processes of weaving. Sizing is necessary- after getting the yarn from YWCS. This process is called, *Sarrulu Cheyadamu*. This is done in the open space of the house premises either in the front or backyard. The eldest woman of the family usually carries on this work, as this work involves less hard work.

The thread is allowed to soak, initially, in cold starch water (extracted after boiling rice or by mixing maida powder, starch, in boiled water), called *Ganji* locally. Sometimes it is soaked in plain water also. Later, it will be kept in a clay pot or in a tub for some time. This is usually situated in a corner of the courtyard of the weaver's house. This will be later pounded in a mortar with a pestle. Children, especially girls, are engaged for this pounding work. Girls do this work by imitating pounding rice with rhythmic body movements. After pounding, the yarn is again soaked in *Ganji* in a pot or tub. The sized yarn, after removing from the pot

or the tub, will be allowed to dry. They tie it to two electric poles in the street, for drying it. At this stage, they take greater care and handle the yarn carefully and will be cautious to see that the yarn does not get enmeshed.

The dried yarn is shifted into the house after sunset. Those who are weaving the white cloth as specified by the YWCS, start weaving after this. In case they have to weave a coloured cloth, YWCS will supply the coloured yarn after sizing.

Some members from the traditional weaving castes, especially from Padmasale, are engaged for sizing work on wages. Mostly, widows and divorced women are engaged in this work. There are separate sizing sections of YWCS in Yemmiganur where the widows, divorced and other women were employed. In Gudekal, there are three such facilities available and are run by private parties on payment. If some weavers use this facility, they would pay a stipulated fee as rental charge/wage. Bhagyamma, a 55 years old Padmasale lost her husband recently. Her husband was working in a local spinning mill. She started working on a full time basis in this job, after the death of her husband. She preferred to take up sizing work as she did not know weaving and neither could she go to work on the agricultural fields in the hot sun.

Thus the weaver's life is intertwined with different processes of weaving. The participation of the entire family, occasionally

employing wage or exchange labour, in this process of weaving helps in maintaining a dose knit bond among its members.

REELING:

Reeling demands a weaver to prepare the bobbin and spindles using the spinning wheel located beside the loom or in the open space under the neem tree. As this requires little skill or no skill, children are mostly employed for this work. They first reel the yarn into the bobbin, called *kandi* locally, which is attached to one end of the thread into the left hand. After keeping the bobbin on the wheel, the wheel is turned and the thread rolls around the small bobbin (See picture 6.1 for raw implements of a loom).

WARPING:

Warping is the next process. It also requires concentration as it involves arranging the threads into correct length, according to the length of the doth to be woven. However, there are two dory machines available in the village, owned by two weaver families, and most of the people make use of this facility. The weavers avoid taking up warping process and make use of the dory machines.

WEFTING:

Wefting begins after the completion of warping work. The YWCS supplies the yarn sufficient enough for 15 days at a time. This yarn would be sufficient to weave two saris or four lungis, etc. If the weaver wants additional yarn, they have to submit fifty percent of the finished clothe out of the given yarn. Thus the loom

is always in operation in the weaver's house and when the other family member is on wefting; the remaining members of the family would be involved in pre-loom activities.

As referred earlier, wefting generally starts in the morning at six and continues till late evening. Usually the elder or older male member in the household starts the work first by bowing before the loom and touching the *Done* as a mark respect to it, as it is their breadwinner. Weaving is conducted on a pit loom, a traditional loom. It is named pit loom because the entire loom is placed on a pit. It is called locally as *Cuntha Maggam* (in Telugu, *Guntha* means pit and *Maggam* means the loom). The weaver sits on one end of the pit with his two legs placed on two treadles. The horizontal log comes to the level of weaver's belly when he sits on the pit. One "M" shaped "harness" with a "V" shaped "harness pull" hangs in front of the weaver (picture 6.2). The procedure involves pushing down the treadles simultaneously. A person weaves the cloth piece by technically allowing the hands and legs to move simultaneously. While pushing down the left treadle, the harness should be pulled to the left down with the right hand. Similarly, simultaneous movement of harness should follow pushing down the right treadle with the right leg to the right down. This process allows the pirn, which carries thread with it, to move left and right accordingly. The pirn adds horizontal strands to the cloth. The weaver checks the cloth's strands by pressing the heald towards the cloth beam, which makes the threads to come closer to

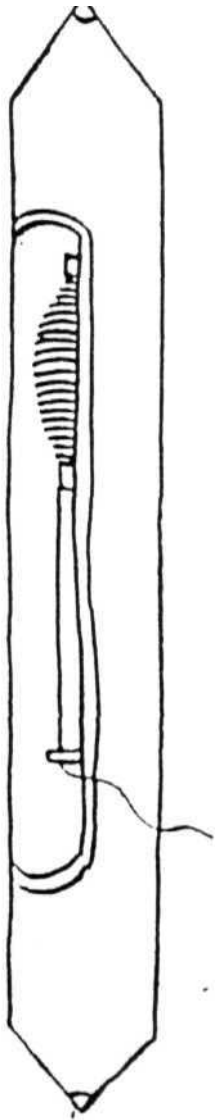
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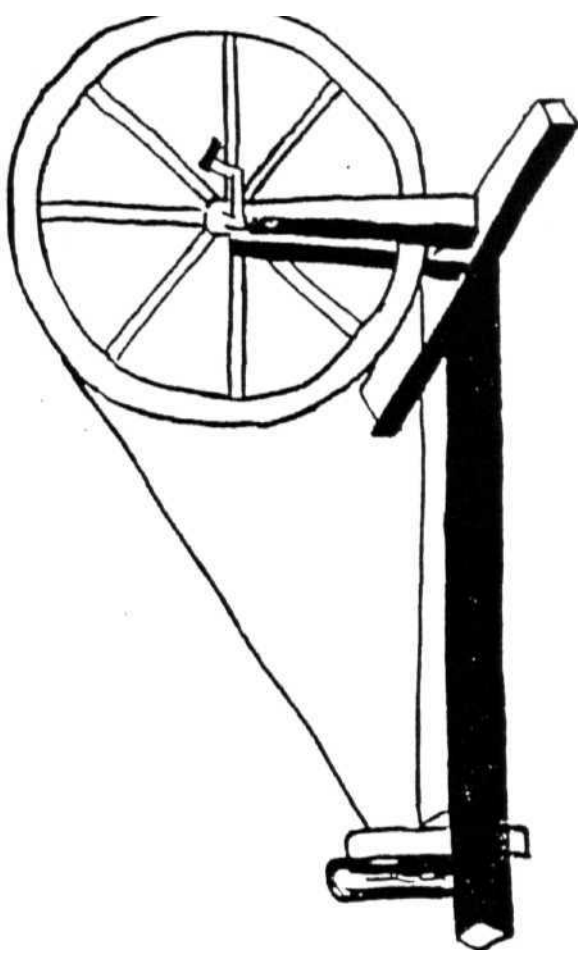
4. PIRN



1. BOBBIN

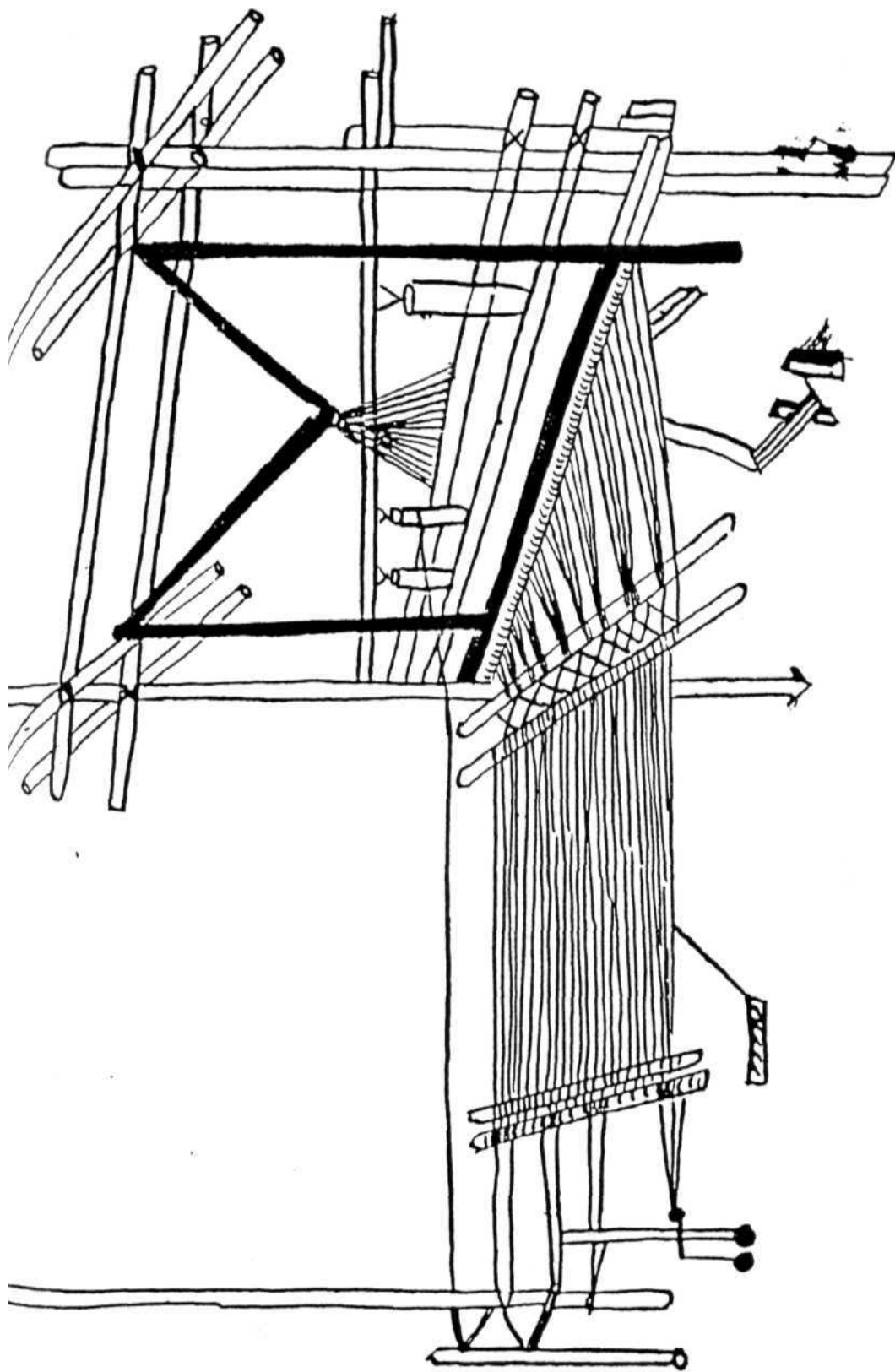


3. SHUTTLE



2. CHARKHA

PICTURE 6.1: IMPLEMENTS OF A LOOM



PICTURE 6.2: A LOOM

one another. After some part of cloth is woven the weaver uses *pala katte* (a sort of handle) to roll the cloth to the *Done*, the main beam (Picture 6.2).

There are few framed looms through which bed sheets and towels are produced. The Jaquad loom is the new technology adapted in the village. Jaquad looms help the weavers to produce more saris and new designs can be adopted by using Jaquad. Production as well as returns will be higher under Jaquad loom. This loom is a bit expensive but is quite efficient over the traditional loom. There are only three weavers who have switched over to Jaquad loom.

II

Tradition plays a very significant role in societies, which maintain a pattern of life and have a long-standing tie up with occupations. This is more so with artisan castes/communities. Such societies are bound by a pattern of culture, which include the process of socialisation. This process of socialisation influences the ideas, concepts and beliefs that guide the actions of the members of the particular societies, and, in turn, it becomes helpful in interpreting the form and meaning of their behaviour, attitude, etc. Also, the socialisation process becomes instrumental, to some extent, in generating behaviour of the individual/society. Rao (1990) observed among the Jalaris that they perceive the solidarity relations as emanating from an individual's birth and incorporation

into the family and household. These relations, he states, bind the individual and his family with "codes of conduct" as revealed in the passage of life.

Socialisation process among the weavers varies according to the background of the caste/community. An individual's pattern of behaviour is conditioned by his birth in a particular caste/community. As noted earlier, for instance, among the Kurini the values like sincerity, hard work, etc., are taught to the individual since childhood. Introduction of a woman member into the family after marriage makes her follow certain patterns of behaviour specific to her conjugal family to become a full-fledged member of that particular family. Thus an individual is brought into a complex network of culturally defined relationships amongst kinsmen and others with morally binding obligations. This cultural network forms the basic framework to guide one's behaviour and interpret one's experience.

The ritual of naming is the first among the life cycle rituals of an individual among the weavers. It marks the transition from a state of pollution of a new-born child to his incorporation into the social environment. The naming ceremony helps in establishing the kinship bonds between the child and the other kinsmen. Naming children after their ancestors' names is generally observed in all communities. Their strong contention in giving the ancestor names is that their belief in acquiring the ancestor's qualities of hard-work

and sincerity in weaving. Naming their child after their household deities is quite common among all weaver families.

A girl who attains puberty, referred to as "*Pedda Manishi Ainadf*", has to observe five days as pollution period and on the fifth day she would be given a purificatory head-bath and a ritual would be performed. Kin members from both mother's and father's side attend the function to mark the occasion. She receives gifts like clothes, gold, etc., from them. The ceremony would start with touching the loom by the girl. She would formally sit on the loom after visiting the temple in the morning. This is done to pay her respect to the loom, which provides livelihood to a weaver family, and also to seek blessings from celestials to give her a good husband. Women, who gather at the function held in the evening on the fifth day, sing songs, which appeal to celestials to give her a hard working weaver husband.

The short stories they tell each other, the lullabies they sing to make the child sleep and the riddles they exchange while weaving, generally, revolve round their occupation. Their short stories are filled with achievements of a weaver hero who was challenged to weave as many clothes as he can, to win the heart of his heartthrob. Similarly another story depicts about how a weaver recognised his heartthrob in a test conducted by the celestials when he enters *Swarga* (heaven) in search of her. It describes that Lord Brahma (the creator) had sent three angels to earth to test the commitment and hard work of a weaver in weaving. In his process

of work, the weaver did not recognise the presence of those angels before him. However, one of those angels was attracted to his commitment, hard work and sincerity and fell in love with him and decided to stay in *Bhooloka* (earthly world) and started living with the weaver. But she was forced to leave him, as the rules of *Swargaloka* (heavenly world) did not permit her to stay on with the weaver. However, the weaver enters *Swargaloka* in search of her. As a test of his love, the celestial asked him to recognise his lover from among seven women, who were look alike, standing in a row. First, he felt it difficult to do it. But finally he recognises her with the help of the sari she was wearing that was woven for her with special designs during her stay with him. Thus, the celestials allowed her to go with her weaver lover and live with him on earth. These stories are narrated to younger members and children to motivate them to continue weaving work with dedication so that they can lead a happy life.

Their occupational attachment linked to the day-to-day life is reflected in their telling riddles also. "You kick him with right leg, he runs left and if you kick him with left leg he will come to right side", is one such riddle. It refers to the shuttle, which adds strands to the cloth. When a weaver pushes the pedal down with right leg, it goes to left side and vice-versa.

Family plays an important role in establishing harmony and cordial relationships among the weaver families. The reciprocal obligations between the family and the individual is emphasised

and maintained through obligatory performance of rituals and economic responsibilities between the parents and children. In this regard, there is a preference for a male child among the traditional weaver castes. Preference for a male child is linked to the continuity of weaving tradition and progeny. The oldest son in the family is considered very important. He assists the family in getting the yarn and raw work involved in weaving. A loom is acquired for him once he attains adulthood. Inheritance of the loom owned by the older member of the family, who is retired or deceased, to the eldest son or to his eldest son's son is widely practised. This practice is to keep the tradition of weaving on the loom that was used by their elders. Usually, the loom would be transferred to the wife of a deceased person first, in case she was depending on her husband's loom, and, only later after her death, to her son.

Siddaramappa (32), a traditional weaving caste member, pointed out that the loom on which he had been weaving was three generations old. His grandfather had owned it from YWCS, which his father had inherited it on the principle of primogeniture. He repaired and modified the loom recently for making it suitable to silk weaving.

Family among the weavers can be considered not only as a domestic unit, but also forms a production unit. As a domestic unit, it consists of all the family members, including children and dependants. The production unit consists of members engaged at

different stages of production with rules of division of labour. The weaver's family as a production unit is seen in terms of involvement and contribution of the family members to the production process. All the members of the family contribute to the family kit

The family also functions as socio-cultural and recreation group. Members from other families' join the weavers in weaving, some times. They share their views on production, technology and also about outside world. They also share jokes on each other, sing songs, tell short stories and riddles pregnant with meaning reflecting on their occupation. For instance, a woman sings song¹ questioning her sister-in-law regarding what she brought with her from her natal family. The lady replies that like the winter brings cold, summer brings hot sun, she brought with her weaving techniques and designs, thus bringing prosperity to the family.

Marriage between a male and his elder sister's daughter is a common practice among the Kurini. There is always a wide age gap between the spouses. Early death of spouses among them leads to widowhood at an early age. The caste elders state that due to early widowhood (due to high rate of mortality) some women might indulge in indiscriminate sex habits. In order to prevent them from indulging in such practices, some social sanctions were imposed. If a Kurini widow has an illicit relation with a non-Kurini member then she gets excommunicated. If a widow has an illicit relationship with the same caste man, offspring born to such union

are called *beriki* Kurini and are regarded as of lower status. Thus, a Kurini caste member would not marry *beriki* Kurini and only a *beriki* Kurini can marry another *beriki* Kurini. The caste elders say that such a practice is to discourage the Kurini caste women from practising illegal sexual contacts, it is pertinent to note that most of the hired cotton weavers were found to be from *beriki* Kurini category, who were either orphans or destitute persons. This has a profound bearing on their socialisation.

The rule of *gotra* exogamy regulates marriage rules among the Kurini and other traditional weaving communities. The marriage ceremony takes place according to Hindu traditions among all traditional weaving communities.

The most preferred marriage among all the weaving families, both traditional and non-traditional, is cross-cousin marriage. Marriage between a person and his elder sister's daughter is common among Kurini families. The reason is that the elder daughter of a family gets married at an early age and her natal family expresses its gratitude, by marrying her daughter to one of her younger brothers, for her contribution from childhood to the family. Ramamurthy got his son married to his eldest daughter's daughter. He stated that all the other children were small when his eldest daughter was 12 years old. She worked hard to bring up the other children. Thus he felt it was his duty to bring her daughter into the family as a mark of reciprocation. Such a marriage practice

is restricted among Muslim and Katike Muslim families as they consider it a taboo according to their custom.

III

The caste titles of the respective traditional weaving castes signifies a correlation between a particular weaving caste and the production of specific variety of cloth. For example, Padmasale are considered to be attached with coarse clothes; Patnulkare or Sakulasale are specialised in silk weaving; and the Togata mainly specialised in weaving the coarsest kind of cotton cloth catering to the needs of lower classes. However, these specialisations are not discernible at present. YWCS had brought the entire local traditions of different weaver castes into its fold and unified all of them.

There exists a hierarchy among the traditional weaver castes. The Padmasale practices *Upanayana* ceremony and dons the sacred thread and claim to be superior in the social hierarchy among all the weaving castes. They conduct rituals (*pooja*) in the presence of a Brahmin priest and thus claim that they are closer to the status of a Brahmin. Whereas the other castes do not claim the higher status but conduct rituals under the supervision of a priest from their own respective castes. However, Kurini consider themselves next to the Padmasale in social hierarchy. Though some of them don the sacred thread it is only to imitate the other Sanskritised castes. Another distinction between Padmasale and other weaver castes is

that the Padmasale are Vaishnavites as they wear horizontal marks on their forehead and also venerate the sanskritik (great tradition) deities. Whereas Togata, Devanga and Sakulasale, venerate the local deities like Poleramma, Yellamma, Sunkulamma, Maremma, besides venerating their respective caste deities.

A nominal ritual is generally followed in initiating a weaver boy, formally, into the occupation. The boy of 14 years age or depending upon the accomplishment of the synchronisation of feet and hands of an individual to start wefting. This is necessary because, if the legs are short, the pushing of thread with the feet will not be possible and the same problem occurs while pulling the harness with the hands, when hands are small. The boy visits the temple early in the morning on the day on which he is introduced to wefting. He would offer a coconut to the god. The boy's caste background would influence his visit to a particular temple, which belong to their respective caste deity. Kinsmen from the mother side of the boy would be invited that day and feast would be offered to a few related close families in the village.

The life cycle rituals play equally significant role among the Muslim weavers also. Children below the age group of 6 to 7 years are not involved in weaving. The child is initially taught about the raw processes like winding, reeling and sizing. The formal initiation of a boy among them is pursued through a ritual ceremony. The initiation ceremony generally takes place on any Friday. House is cleaned for that day. The Muslim boy is initiated to loom with

fateha ritual conducted by a *Mullah*. Thus they seek blessings of the *Mullah* to the boy who assumes loom-hood. The household serves feast to few people on this occasion.

The *Kara panduga* (festival) at Yemmiganur has a lot of significance for the weaving castes. It is celebrated in the name of Neelakanteswara Swamy, venerated mainly by the Kurini. Somappa, who was a Kurini caste man, became leader of all weavers due to his contribution to the occupation. He motivated the weavers to participate in a common occasion like this.

This festival generally falls in the month of January, which marks the harvesting season also. Hence, the agricultural families also equally participate in the festival. The members of YWCS receive loans and bonus on this occasion. The weavers who are working under Master Weavers also get such benefits from their patrons on this occasion. As the fair is conducted for about one month, the weavers occasionally work on looms during this period as they actively participate in the celebrations. They buy new clothes for all family members and invite their kinsmen and friends from different places to attend the festival. The kinsmen who visit them during this occasion discuss about the new weaving designs and marketability of particular varieties of clothes (Plate 6.1).

They give equal importance to other festivals like Dussera, Deepavali and Ram Navami. On Naraka Chathurthi, which falls a day before Dussera, they perform *pooja* to the loom. Generally, the

elder member of the household performs the *pooja*, in which all the family members, including children, participate. They apply vermilion to the loom and light incense sticks and places them on the main frame of the loom. As part of the prayer, they break a coconut before the loom. The looms are kept idle for a day after the festival.

Some people initiate their children to weaving on *Vijayadasami* day during Dussera. Since Dussera is considered to be an auspicious day, they prefer to start new looms on this day with the belief that their venture would be successful and would bring them prosperity. Many Hindu weavers invite their fellow Muslim weavers for food on Dussera. Even some of the Muslim weavers prepare sweets in their houses to share them with fellow weavers' during this occasion. This is also the occasion when Middlemen Weavers and Hired Weavers enter into contracts with Master Weavers in silk. Even Cotton Weavers hire out their looms on this day to Hired Weavers.

Deepavali is also an important festival that is celebrated in grandeur, by the weavers from all traditional and non-traditional weaver castes, except Muslim and Katike Muslim families. This is an occasion when relatives of weavers from different places visit Gudekal. During this period they exchange information relating to their profession and other familial concerns. Different communities celebrate them differently. For instance, Kurinis from Sultan Banda *Gotra* gather on the day of Deepavali Amavasya at Daivam Dinne

village, located 15 kilometres away from Gudekal. It is customary that even' household from this particular *Gotra* should be represented on the gathering. If someone is not able to attend, they should send offerings in kind and cash through their neighbours. Thus, people who had migrated to different parts of country like Ahmedabad, Bhopal, Bombay, Sholapur, Mysore, Raichur, Kurnool, etc., attend the ritual. Much of their discussion during this gathering would be related to their occupation. They discuss the weaving techniques, trends and designs of their products.

Muslim weavers venerate Hazrat Alleepeeran, a famous spiritual leader in this area. A Dargah (tomb) was constructed in his name. They visit the Dargah on every Thursday to seek his blessings. Urs, an annual fair, would be held in his name even' year and both Muslims and Hindus participate in this function. The families engaged in weaving would request the *Mullah* (the priest) to conduct special prayer for benevolence in weaving.

The weavers of Gudekal show little interest in the political activities or local conflicts, as they will be on the loom most of the time. It is only in the night that they would be free, and only during that time they would be able to meet the others. But by the time they retire from the work at the end of the day, they will be tired and usually go to bed early. Given this, there are little possibilities for them to participate in non-weaving activities. So the weavers in the village do not have any major disputes or factions amongst themselves. However, when compared to the

past according to the weavers, the social relations of the traditional weavers with the other non-weaving castes is somewhat strained. In the past, as narrated by some of the old weavers, there existed a close and friendly relationship among different castes, including weavers in the village. Before starting of the YWCS the non-weaving caste members used to visit the weavers' houses in order to purchase or to order a cloth for different occasions or purposes. During their visits they used to exchange pleasantries and also gossip (called lokabiramayanam).

The YWCS began to play a crucial role in the weaving occupation. Starting from the supplying of yarn to the weavers to the receiving of finished clothes from them, the YWCS is directly involved in their activities. YWCS markets the cloth to the consumers through its outlets in different parts of the state. Now the consumers no longer need to go to the weavers for procuring the cloth, which they can now get in a cloth shop. This has snapped the traditional relationship between the weavers and the non-weavers.

Previously, the weavers were respected by the non-weaving castes, which is no longer the case. They lost their functional importance in the village social system and in a way the organic unity is disrupted. Of course, the development of electronic media brings them closer to what is happening outside their world. They are also supplemented by the knowledge brought by their fellow weavers who, as a consequent of emergence of silk weaving visit

the urban centres. Some of the Independent and Master Weavers visit the centres like Madurai, Vijayawada, Secunderabad, etc, for silk yarn. They would explain their family and fellow weavers about the happenings in other places. Silk business started attracting the customers from other places like Gadwal, Bellary, Raichur, etc., thus drawing weavers into a wider world other than their own.

Generally, most of the people know the technicalities like tying the warp, adjusting the size, etc. If one faces a problem in warp fitting, loom repair, etc., the neighbours or friends will help them. Sridhar, who was seen preparing a *Ladi Kommu*, (a cock like implement), which is a key instrument in the loom, for his Mend whose loom has lost it, since his friend lacked knowledge in this regard he volunteered to help him. People from the other weaving communities also attended such works voluntarily. Suleman, a Muslim weaver from a non-traditional weaving community, felt happy to help the fellow weavers when they face any technical problems in weaving. He felt that one does not lose anything by sparing some time to help fellow weavers, when one possesses the knowledge and skill. A person, who helps, irrespective of their background, receives good appreciation. During visits to houses, they may enquire about their family and discuss occupational matters.

END NOTES

¹ *Vadina Vadina oh Singari Vadina
Vaana Kaalam testhundi Vaana
Endaa Kaalam testhundi Enda
Man Neevu Yemi Techavu Maa Intiki?*

The sister-in-law replies:

*Oh Aada Bidda! Oh Aada Bidda!
Vudikithe Kundalo Neelu Olukuthundi
Vaana Kaalam lona Vaane vasthundi
ChaliKaalam vasthe chalipilavakane vasthundi
Laxmi Devi vachinadante Siri vasthunatle kadaa
Ee Saali Bidda vachina chotiki Saali kalale venta techindani
Nee Illu Singarame Chesindani*

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The concept of entrepreneurship has been identified as the most important factor in the process of economic development. The entrepreneur is regarded as the kingpin in the growth process and acts as a catalyst and propeller of change. Thus, entrepreneur plays a significant role in a nation's socio-economic progress and there are several socio-cultural and economic factors that play a significant role in influencing and promoting entrepreneurship. Our study analysed the role of above factors in promoting entrepreneurship among the handloom weaving castes/communities of Gudekal, in the previous chapters.

I

The main focus of the study was that certain traditional socio-cultural advantages such as family, kinship, caste, socialisation and other primordial factors play significant role in entrepreneurial performance among the traditional cottage based entrepreneurs. In the competitive world of today, the traditional enterprises have to adapt to the changing circumstances. They need to be highly entrepreneurial in order to survive and compete in the market. In this process of adaptation, the traditional advantages strengthen and also add to the entrepreneurial

dynamics among the small/cottage-based entrepreneurs. Further, ideas of an entrepreneur get streamlined into the group to which he/she belongs. He/she gets his/her fellow members cooperation and makes the entrepreneurship an integral part of the particular social structure, which in turn nurtures the entrepreneurial abilities in the society. This is clear in case of YWCS leadership¹ in the inception and later development stages of YWCS.

Studies on entrepreneurship emphasised that entrepreneur's emerging as a new social force in entrepreneurship history were a consequence of a tangled web of demographic, legal, technological and material perspectives. However, the studies, by and large, ignored that the entrepreneurs also adopt socio-cultural dimension, a most crucial dimension.

Available literature on entrepreneurship from different social science disciplines, behavioural sciences and management studies was reviewed in the first chapter in order to gain an insight into the concept of entrepreneurship. This review had helped to attain a conceptual clarity and to frame our theoretical perspective. The theoretical perspective adopted in this study views that the tradition and entrepreneurship are not contradictory to one another. Instead, tradition plays a significant role in the promotion of entrepreneurship among the tradition based small/cottage entrepreneurs as they enjoy certain advantages over the others.

Some have argued that the traditional institutional and normative patterns of the Indian society are not conducive to promote modern technology. In fact, the caste system was considered to be a stumbling block for the economic progress as it was rigid and did not permit economic growth. Thus, removal of caste inequities was considered as an important step for the economic growth and modernisation of the Indian economy and promotion of entrepreneurship. The above views are based on an erroneous perception coloured by western outlook². In fact studies have established that the traditional factors have helped in promoting and adapting to economic changes (Seth, 1979; Baviskar, 1980; and Hadimani, 1985). Our study confirms the above and demonstrates how the traditional factors have their impact on the differential performance of entrepreneurs from both traditional and non-traditional weaver castes/ communities. Further it also reaffirms the theoretical position held in the thesis that the traditional factors act to invigorate the entrepreneurial abilities and strengths of the entrepreneurs. In fact, they are the additional resources to an entrepreneur.

Our study regards entrepreneurs as the persons who have the ability and against all odds attempt to achieve something in the profession. A successful entrepreneur manoeuvres different resources at his command and moves up in the entrepreneurial ladder. In this regard, kin, caste and other networks play a significant role in the entrepreneurial success, be it at the individual

or at the caste/community or at the organisational levels. As argued rightly by Baviskar (1980), culture and tradition of a group influences its members to acquire the attributes of innovators and entrepreneurs and thus, they become more successful in an enterprise where they have these advantages over the others. Seth (1979) points out that the flexible nature of Indian tradition in fact permits the entrepreneurs to move from the traditional to modern economic structures in a smooth way.

It is important to note that entrepreneurship depends not only on the socio-cultural and economic settings but also depends on the way a community is organised into a cooperative effort to attain higher levels of participation in the enterprise and promotion of entrepreneurship. Our study clearly establishes this in case of YWCS. The structure and organisation of YWCS provided the organic links of YWCS with the regional/local branches like the one in Gudekal. It had catapulted the entrepreneurial abilities of weavers and also other occupational based entrepreneurs through a cooperative effort. In fact, it only reiterates the Rochdalian experience in Europe during the 19th Century.

The study village Gudekal provided the ideal situation to analyse the role of both the traditional caste, kin and other primordial factors and modern market forces in the promotion of entrepreneurship. Gudekal is located in the Yemmiganur area of Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh, which has a rich tradition of weaving. This village also responded quickly in a crisis situation

and switched over to silk weaving from the traditional cotton weaving. The study village has different weaver castes/communities, such as Kurini, Padmasale, Togata, Sakulasale and Devangam from the traditional category of weavers; and Muslim, Katike Muslim, Telaga and Boya from the non-traditional category of weavers. Among these, Kurini are the dominant weaver caste. They are dominant not only in the study village but also in the Yemmiganur area. Their dominance can be seen in the YWCS organisation, in the weaving enterprise and also in the political participation in the region.

Crisis always brings out the best out of the entrepreneurs. The study village has a diverse socio-economic and cultural background as it has a number of weavers, agricultural, artisan and service castes. It is observed in the study that there is a culture of entrepreneurship in the study village among the weavers. The weavers of this village responded to the famine conditions during 1940s by forging an alliance with the weavers in the region and formed into weavers' cooperative society, thereby exercising a restraint in their migration to other places. In fact, the cooperative movement was a major entrepreneurial move on the part of the members of the weavers' community to the changing situations. Crisis brought out the entrepreneurial leadership of the weavers, which resulted in the formation of YWCS, a giant among the handloom cotton weavers' cooperatives.

The entrepreneurial dynamics of the weavers of the study village were also demonstrated in the recent past as the weavers of Gudekal responded to another crisis situation that has arisen due to crisis in cotton yarn supply in the State. They have switched over to silk weaving under Master Weavers, initially, and quite a few became Independent Weavers in silk. The silk weavers of this village have formed into a cooperative in 1992, thus reiterating the cooperative outlook, which stood by them during crisis periods. The process of the formation of silk weavers cooperative has a resemblance to the formation of YWCS in 1938. In both the cases the role of Master Weavers was quite significant. The Master Weavers, who controlled the weaving industry, with their widespread kinship and other professional networks provided the entrepreneurial leadership in the formation of weavers' cooperatives.

Introduction of silk weaving and the emergence of Master Weavers in silk were studied in the wake of crisis in YWCS. It was affected by the state level yarn crisis, which resulted in incapacity to provide full time work to the members. A sort of uncertainty prevailed among the members about the future of YWCS. Besides shortage of yarn in the market, trade union problems and political reasons and high prices of its products also added to its woes. The higher prices were the result of large establishment and salaries.

II

An organisation with a long history of entrepreneurial dynamics always would attempt to wriggle out of crisis situations by adapting to changing situations. This is found to be true in the case of YWCS. Time and again YWCS responded to the challenges by adapting to the market situations. The mixed loom culture of YWCS as a strategy enabled it to produce diverse range of products to meet the requirements of different consumers. YWCS overcame the recent yarn crisis situation and the challenge posed by silk weaving by modernising its administration and switching over to silk weaving, thereby demonstrating its capability to survive in the competitive world due to its entrepreneurial qualities.

The formation of YWCS amply demonstrated the role of caste and kinship in entrepreneurship and in the formation of cooperatives. Kinship and caste were found to be the seedbeds of entrepreneurship among the traditional weavers in the study village and the region. With meagre resources, the entrepreneurs among the traditional weavers in the study village used their kinship and caste potential and flourished in the profession over the others who lacked them. This clearly endorses the theoretical position held in this study.

The skills of entrepreneurship nurtured by the small-scale cottage based enterprises, as observed in studies on entrepreneurship, have become springboards for the entrepreneurs

to rise to the levels of corporate managers. In case of YWCS, we notice the emergence of Machani Somappa's family as corporate managers (popularly known as Machani Gangappa Brothers, MG Brothers) in automobile, transport, oil mills, spinning mills, etc. They owe their entrepreneurial success to the YWCS, which incidentally was founded by them in collaboration with other Master Weavers in 1938. They crafted their kinship and caste linkages into effective weavers' cooperative, which became a launching pad for their emergence as corporate leaders in the region and the State.

An entrepreneurial culture and atmosphere flowers in situations where there exists an organisation to reassure reduction in perceived risks to the entrepreneurs. The organisation prepares the entrepreneur to manage the enterprise through the management of social relations and trains him/her in different aspects of entrepreneurship. It becomes a springboard for entrepreneurial development. This holds good in case of YWCS that turned many weavers into entrepreneurs. In this process, the role of kin, caste, and other primordial factors is quite significant. The concentration of entrepreneurs in certain traditional weaver castes can be attributed to the advantage of kin, caste and other primordial links that they enjoy over the others. Thus, Kurini entrepreneurs enjoyed a definitive edge over the others in weaving enterprise, be it cotton or silk. This only reiterates our theoretical position.

The entrepreneurial culture sponsored by Kurini benefited the YWCS to become a successful enterprise. The success of YWCS was attributed to the efforts of Somappa, a Kurini, who played a crucial role in roping all the Master Weavers (then among cotton weavers) into YWCS as its Directors. He used the traditional advantages to make YWCS pass through the successive crisis situations. Kin, caste and other networks that existed among its members helped the organisation to grow into one of the most popular cooperatives in India.

The entrepreneurial leadership becomes a crucial factor for an organisation to become successful entrepreneurially. During 1840s there was food crisis in Europe and this period was popularly known as 'Hungry Forties'. The Rochdalian Society founders turned this crisis period into an opportunity. A similar development in case of YWCS indicates that an entrepreneur converts a crisis situation into a situation of opportunity and in the process an entrepreneur utilises available resources, including the traditional advantages. The Weavers relief centre established by the Government, in Yemmiganur, to arrest the migration of weavers to other places during the famine of 1930s was transformed into a cooperative venture by the entrepreneurial leadership. It grew into a huge organisation and provided employment to large sections of the society and contributed for local/regional development. Also, it fostered cooperative and

distributive ethics not only among the weavers but also in other sectors.

It was focused that the weavers, particularly Kurini members, from Yemmiganur area had brought market for their products. During their visits to their kinsmen to attend life *cycle* rituals and other social functions, they had observed the marketability for 20 count saris in the then Mysore State region. The weavers have sensed that the coffee plantation workers preferred the 20 count saris due to its coarseness suitable to work in coffee estates. Thus, kinship, caste and other primordial factors had helped them in nurturing their entrepreneurial abilities.

III

The study discerned that differential performance of weavers depended on their social background. The cultural factors such as family, socialisation and marriage were responsible for inculcating the ethics relating to hard work, sincerity, etc. The factors like kinship, caste background and other primordial factors helped some weaver castes to perform better entrepreneurially than the others. These aspects were discussed in the fourth chapter in detail, thus, emphasising the theoretical position held in the thesis.

Generally viewed, the traditional factors helped the traditional weaver castes that had been practising weaving for

generations. It is interesting to note that among the traditional weaver castes it was Kurini who showed better performance in the weaving enterprise. Their increased level of participation and the kinds of attachment to the profession revealed their performance in the enterprise. The main reason was that the Kurini had the advantage of widespread kinship network in the weaving enterprise. They are basically a large extended and closely-knit kinship group and have kinship relations in several places. Due to strong kinship bonds and caste attachments the meagre resources were shared among the inner circles of relatives only.

Mobility in any occupational hierarchy takes place within the framework of a status hierarchy in a given social structure. The weavers in the study village show a status differentiation and a hierarchy. Thus the terms *Dhani*, *Shaukar*, *Dalari* and *Jithagadu* used to refer the Master Weaver, Independent Weaver, Middlemen Weaver and Hired weaver, respectively, were considered as denoting their status. Status of Master Weaver is considered high followed by the Independent Weavers. Middlemen Weaver takes the next position and the Hired weaver, both silk as well as cotton hired weavers, occupy the lowest position in the status hierarchy. The mobility of a weaver entrepreneur is measured in terms of mobility in the status hierarchy.

Besides the above, kinship and caste were the most crucial factors responsible for entrepreneurial performance highlighted in the study. It was observed that the stronger the kinship base of an

entrepreneur the more successful he or she would be entrepreneurially. The dynamics of entrepreneurship hinge upon these bases. Also, the variation in the nature of relationship that a weaver entrepreneur maintains with the others can provide a clue to the performance of an entrepreneur. Weavers from Gudekal were like the subsistence peasants and it was difficult for them to become on their own Independent Weavers and Master Weavers. Support extended by kinsmen and caste men of the Gudekal weavers helped them to invest and establish in weaving enterprise.

The above findings are broadly in conformity with the theoretical perspective held in this study. This becomes clear from the pattern of entrepreneurship among the traditional and non-traditional weaving communities. The traditional weavers, especially Kurini, owned the highest number of silk looms, which is regarded as a feature of entrepreneurial success, than the non-traditional weavers. Thus, the traditional weaving castes were considered to hold highest entrepreneurial status. In fact, very few from non-traditional weaver castes/ communities possess silk looms, hence, they occupy a low entrepreneurial status.

The traditional weaving castes had an advantage of certain primordial factors and socialisation, besides the advantages like exposure, education, etc. In contrast, the non-traditional weavers only depend on factors like qualities of individual, education **and** professional relations. The traditional weaving communities always acted as catalysts in changing the nature of weaving

industry, thereby defining the status of weaving occupation. On the contrary, the non-traditional weaving families have drawn their entrepreneurial abilities from the entrepreneurs from traditional weaving castes.

The social and cultural bases of entrepreneurship play a significant role in the promotion of entrepreneurship. It was observed in our study that the social and cultural bases are strong among Gudekal weavers and that is the reason why the traditional weaver entrepreneurs of Gudekal proved to be largely successful. The family is an important unit of production and the role of family in the promotion of weaving enterprise is quite important. In case of traditional handloom weavers in Gudekal the work culture demands the family members to be together. Family played an important role in the success of entrepreneurs among the Gudekal weavers, who always made use of different resources - cultural, social, professional and technical - to further their entrepreneurial ability. In fact, it is the family, which is the basic unit of production of cloth, which adopts the changes.

Women and children play an important role in cottage based enterprises, as also in agriculture, and the study village is no exception. In fact, women are the routes through which flow different designs, techniques of weaving, etc., into the weavers' families. This adds up to the cross fertilisation of weaving techniques and promotion of entrepreneurship. Socialisation is an important process through which both the boys **and** girls of

traditional weaving castes are introduced to the niceties of weaving. This education process involves telling stories and riddles, and singing lullabies to make child sleep, which generally revolve round their occupation. Thus, the traditional weaver castes firm up their position in the weaving enterprise. This only strengthens our theoretical proposition.

In light of the above, any attempt for a planned modernisation must take cognisance of the linkage of traditional pattern of behaviour in the particular socio-cultural system. But these aspects are hardly addressed to by the planners and policy makers in development planning. The approach in development planning has been top-down with a tendency towards adoption of a uniform approach, with scant regard to cultural, social, ecological and economic diversities. Hence, micro-level planning, a lone voice of anthropologists for a long-time has gained momentum. The anthropological approaches were acknowledged as more suitable for development planning. This holds good even in case of entrepreneurial development. In this regard there is a need to carry out further research among caste based cooperatives, which promote entrepreneurship among the occupational based castes/cottage-based industrial enterprises. Further, there is also a need to undertake anthropological studies on entrepreneurship taking note of cultural and sociological factors. These studies have not only academic implications but also have implications for policy planning.

END NOTES

- ¹ Somappa played a pivotal role in promoting entrepreneurship in a cooperative movement through YWCS. He tried to inculcate the entrepreneurial culture among the other communities also.
- ² This in way suggests that caste inequities need to be maintained. In fact, removal of caste and other inequalities should be the priority for the development of an equitable society and opportunity structure. However, existence of inequalities and economic modernisation or development are not contradictory to one another.

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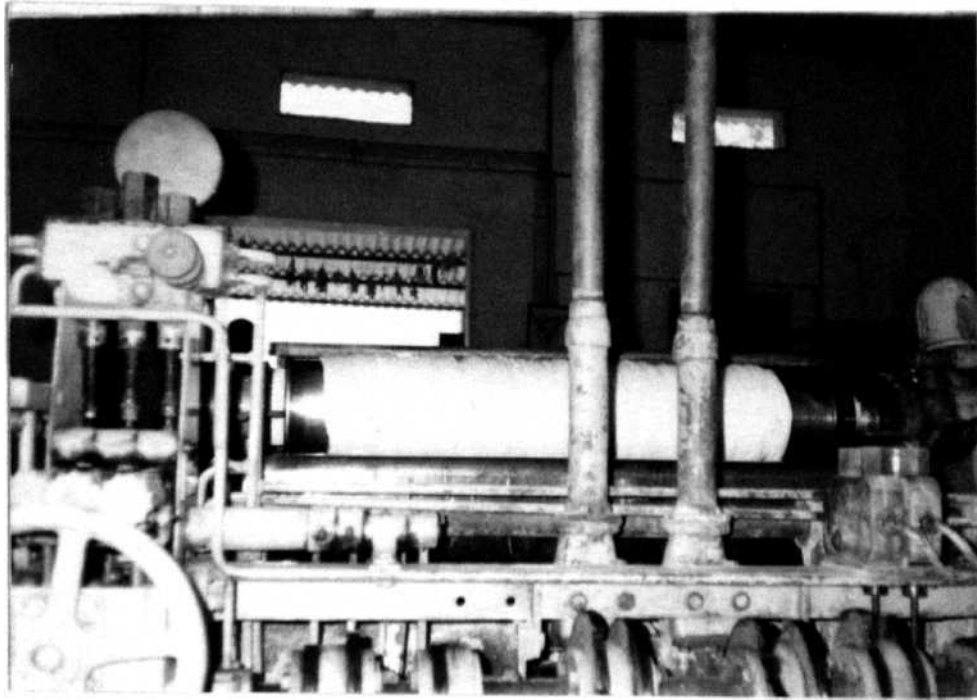
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1.1 A CASTE MEETING OF THE KURINI



21 MORE THAN ONE LOOM UNDER SAME ROOF



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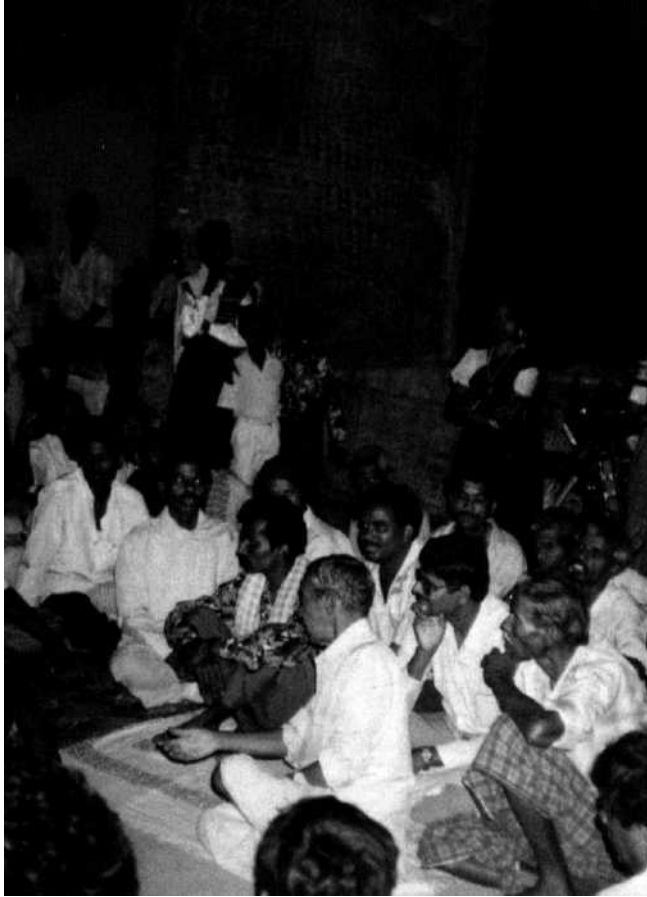
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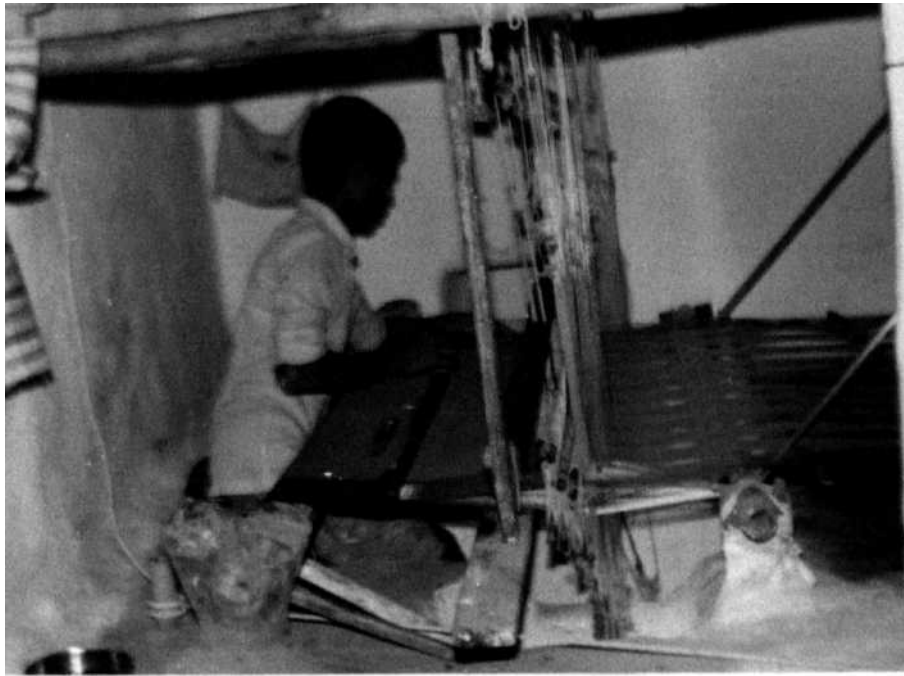




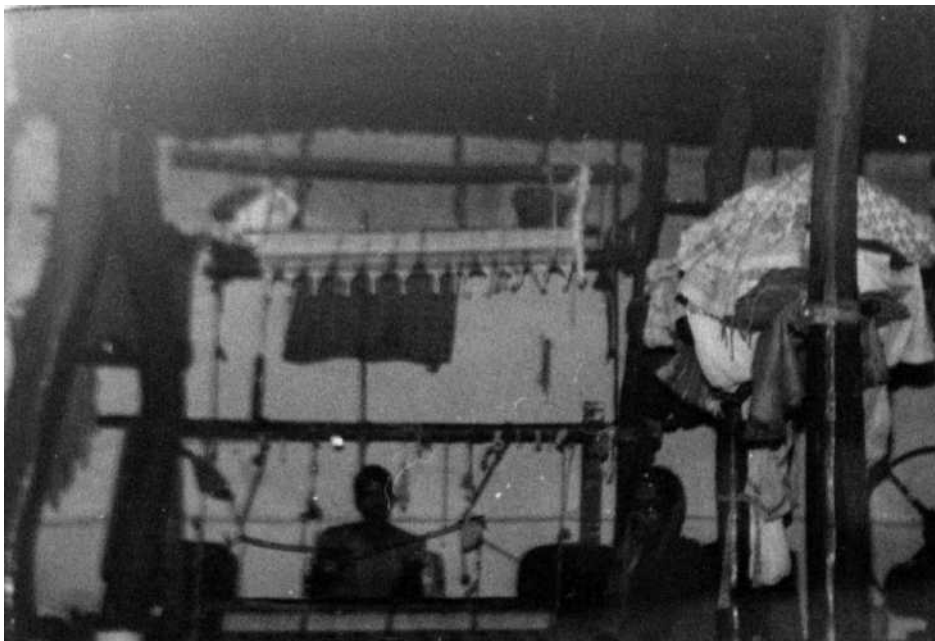
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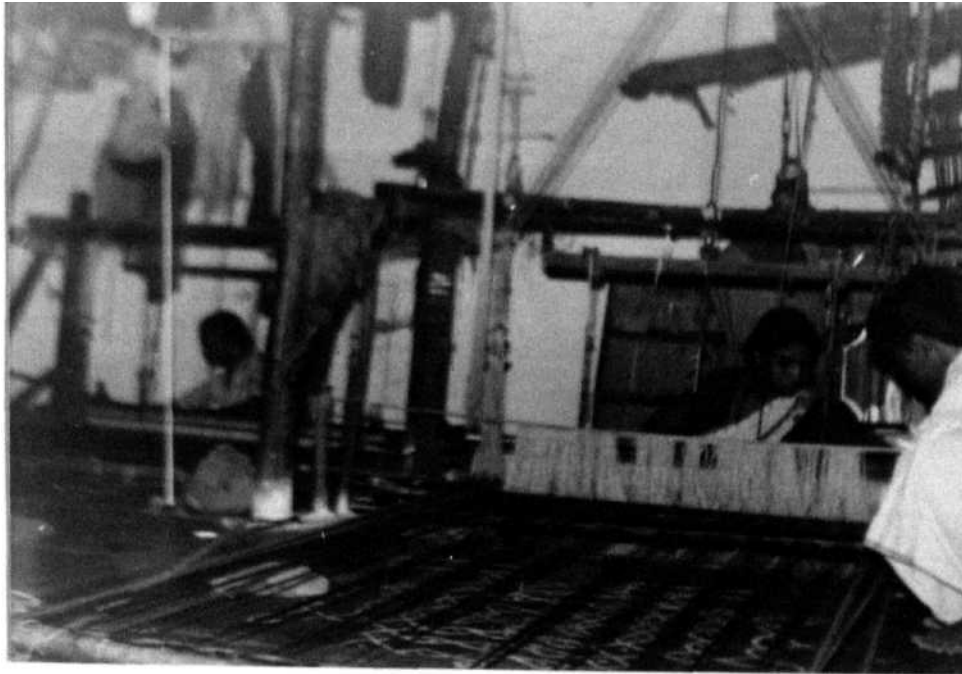




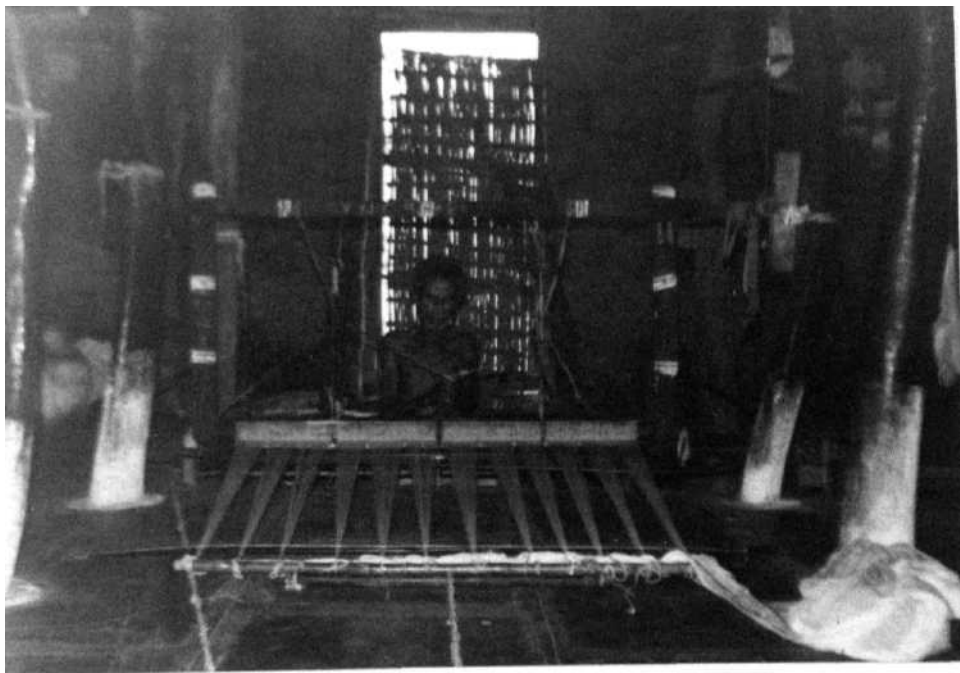
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CHILDREN ATTENDING TO PRE-LOOM WORK



WEAVER'S FAMILY WITH KINSMEN ON A SOCIAL OCCASION

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