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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME IX

MADRAS

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS:

3. ARKASANAHALLI

P. K. NAMBIAR,
of the Indian Administrative Service
Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras

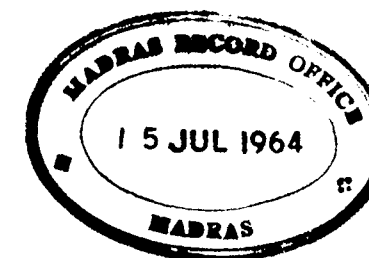
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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

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VILLAGE SURVEY REPORT ON ARKASANAHALLI

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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundation of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which, had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry-workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

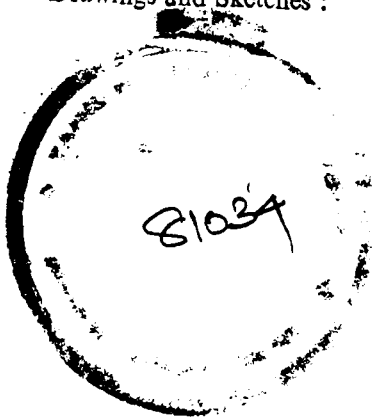
(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500–700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication, such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield; and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours

Maps : ... M. GANESH LAL, Research Assistant, Cartography Section.

Photographs : ... N. D. RAJAN, Research Assistant.

Drawings and Sketches : ... R. VARADARAJAN, Upper Division Clerk.



of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September, 1959, the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended, worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March, 1960, by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September, 1959, conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'fee', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions,' at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May, 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June, 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November, 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. In the latter half of 1961 again was organised within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting Surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B.K. Roy Burman has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering useful suggestions which were much welcomed by my colleagues. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961, when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve; to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to the 'most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an Appendix.

NEW DELHI

24th May, 1962

A. MITRA,

Registrar General, India

PREFACE

An interesting feature of the 1961 Census is the preparation of monographs on selected villages in the State. Sri A. Mitra, Registrar General, India, has in a general foreward given the reader a background of the survey, its scope and its aim. He has also indicated, in brief, the various stages in the expansion of the scheme which has culminated in the production of this volume. The number of villages in the State has been fixed at 40. It is proposed to publish them in a series of volumes and this is the third of the series.

As a first step, I should like to give the reader a general idea of this scheme as far as Madras is concerned. In a country of India's size, the approach made to a common problem is likely to differ from State to State in spite of comprehensive central direction. In August, 1959, it was proposed to continue the old Census tradition of conducting surveys, apart from the presentation of Census data in the reports. The suggestion was that it should be possible to study at least 35 villages in Madras State containing basic information about the layout of villages and various facilities and amenities available to the villagers such as educational, medical, postal as well as their social and cultural habits. The villagers so chosen should represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnical value. If information could be acquired with a certain amount of reality, data relating to the cultivated land and irrigated land income should also be collected. For the selection of villages, the Registrar General laid down three optimum conditions. At least 8 villages should be selected that each of them contained one dominating community with one predominant occupation—village of fishermen, village of barbers, village of weavers, village of toddy tappers. At least 7 villages should be selected, where Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are numerically predominant in the State. Each village should represent a particular tribe. The last group of the villages should be of the old and settled character far away from means of communication and should contain variegated occupations and ethnic composition. The village should also mainly depend on agriculture. Following this broad criteria for selection, he also laid down the main items of inquiry.

First thing to do was to select the villages for the survey. For this, I wrote to the Collectors enclosing a copy of the Registrar General's letter and requested them to suggest a list of suitable villages conforming to the categories indicated by him. I also found that the villages are generally bigger than those of North India and any attempt to limit the inquiry to the villages having a population of 500 to 700 as suggested by the Registrar General would at least defeat the very purpose of the survey and prevent me from selecting representative villages. I, therefore, decided to select villages of larger size for study. Simultaneously my task was to evolve a proper questionnaire on the basis of which the study of the conditions in various villages of the State could be properly made. For this purpose, one village was selected in Chingleput district, a typical village with one predominant occupation as a pilot project, more to test the questionnaire I had evolved. On the basis of the study conducted in Sunnambukulam, a draft questionnaire was prepared for the socio-economic survey of the villages selected in Madras State. By this time the reports from the Collectors relating to the villages of the three categories were received and from this report, 40 villages representing various considerations such as geographic and regional of the State were selected. Out of the 40 villages selected for the survey, 10 belonged to the first category, 12 villages under the second category and 18 villages to the third category. These villages were approved by the Registrar General, India.

The method of study was as follows:-

Research Assistants possessing post-graduate degree were selected. They were sent to the villages along with an assistant and they spent more than a month filling up the individual houselisting schedules containing questions on social, cultural and economic aspects and the village schedule for covering the general aspects. On their return, data containing household schedules and village schedules were tabulated and a set of tables was prepared. Based on these Tables, the Research Assistants drafted their preliminary reports. These reports were scrutinised first by Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations and then by me and a final report drafted. Invariably every village was visited by me and the Deputy Superintendent for collection of additional particulars or for obtaining a general background of the village.

Early in 1960, the Registrar General sent a draft questionnaire with a set of 55 tables for adoption while preparing a socio-economic survey of the village. This questionnaire form was studied and a modified questionnaire

was prepared and sent to Registrar General for remarks with a set of 22 tables. In May, 1960, a regional conference of Superintendents of Census Operations was convened at Trivandrum. At this conference, the socio-economic surveys of villages submitted by me and my colleague in Kerala were discussed and suggestions given by Registrar General for improvement. A set of 29 tables was then suggested by Registrar General for uniform adoption throughout the country.

I again modified the household schedule till then used and prepared new household and village schedules. At this stage, we received a letter from the Registrar General stating that in addition to the 29 tables already indicated, a further set of 55 tables was to be incorporated in the main body of the socio-economic survey. Again I had to modify the number of tables. I finalised 54 tables and this resulted in revision of household schedules and village schedules for the third time. However, before these changes would come into effect, the survey of 22 villages had been completed. The Registrar General was of the opinion that the additional tables need not be prepared for the surveys already conducted. However, an attempt has been made to include as many additional tables as possible for these 22 villages also. After completion of the survey and final drafting of the report, they will be published in 40 volumes, each containing one village. In addition to the narrative portion, the monographs will also contain photographs and sketches on various aspects of rural life which have been taken by the photographer and artists attached to my office. This is the history of the survey.

It is with some amount of diffidence that I present these reports to the reader. I have tried to give a readable presentation of the salient features of village life high-lighting those aspects which I consider significant.

In this work, I have been guided throughout by Sri A. Mitra. I have been helped considerably by the critical comments made by Dr. Roy Burman in every report sent by us. The Study Camp held in December, 1962, which was attended by my Deputies was a valuable one to the extent it gave us a proper idea of what should be attempted. But I do not think that we have wholly implemented what was indicated in the Study Camp. In conducting these surveys and preparing these reports, I have been assisted by my three Deputies, Sri P. Murari, Sri T. B. Bharathi and Sri J. R. Ramanathan and a body of Research Assistants. The exact role played by them will be indicated in each report.

MADRAS,
December 12, 1963

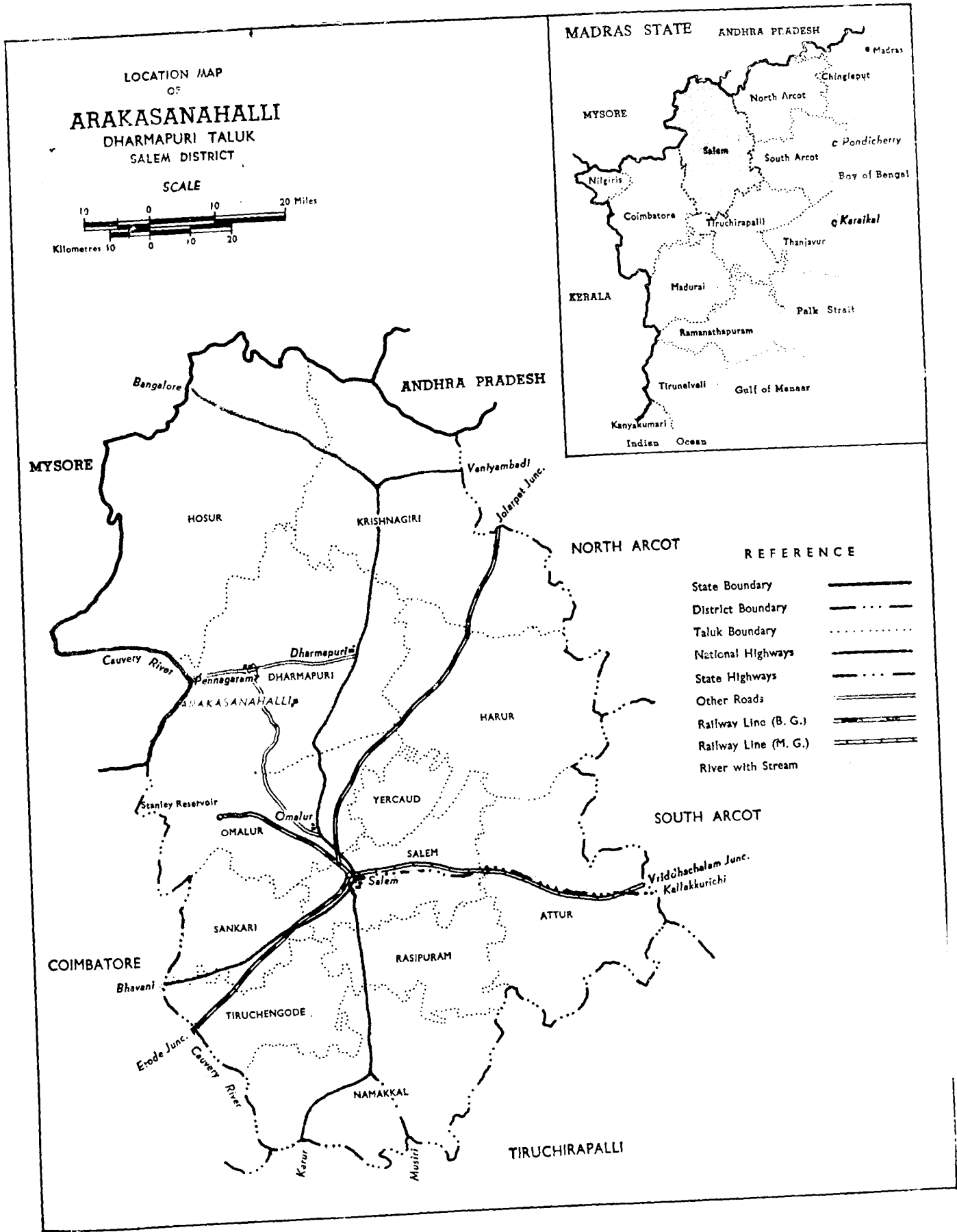
P. K. NAMBIAR,
Superintendent of Census Operations.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWARD by Shri A. Mitra	iii
PREFACE by Shri P. K. Nambiar	v
CHAPTER I—Introduction	1- 3
CHAPTER II—The people and their material culture	4-20
CHAPTER III—Population trends	21-27
CHAPTER IV—Economy of the village	28-55
CHAPTER V—Social and cultural life	56-76
CHAPTER VI—Conclusion	77
APPENDIX I—Copy of the household schedule	78-86
APPENDIX II—Copy of the village schedule	87-88
APPENDIX III—Glossary of local terms	89

LISTS OF MAPS, CHARTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

MAPS			PAGE
1. Location map of Arkasanahalli	Frontispiece	...	...
2. Village map	Facing page	...	3
3. Site plan of Bettaigoundanur	"	...	10
CHARTS			
1. Distribution of communities	"	...	11
2. Birth, Death and natural increase rate	"	...	22
3. Age pyramid	"	...	23
PHOTOGRAPHS			
1. A view of the village	"	...	1
2. The Nagavati river	"	...	2
3. The Okkaligas	"	...	4
4. The Vannan	"	...	5
5. The Vanniars	}	"	6
6. The Morasu Parayars		"	7
7. An isolated Vanniar house	"	...	8
8. The Gollas	"	...	9
9 & 10. The Morasu Parayars	"	...	26
11. Midday meals served in schools	}	"	27
12. Bath-room		"	42
13. The grain godown of an individual	}	"	43
14. Baling stand		"	44
15. Taking drinking water from the river	}	"	45
16. The livestock		"	...
17. The Vinayagar temple	}	"	...
18. Palm leaf mat-making		"	...
19. " "	"	"	...



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Selection of the village

It was our hope that for Socio-Economic Surveys, we will be selecting different types of villages which will highlight the peculiar characteristics of our village life. In the backward district of Salem, we have selected the village of Arkasanahalli. It is located in a drab patch of land not fertile but hot and parched; poverty-stricken and uninteresting people live in the village in clumsy dwellings, grouped in shapeless clusters, and built in the midst of unhygienic conditions. The village cannot be reached from any direction without walking. We however feel that there are many such uninteresting people living in isolated pockets in our State and it will be interesting to make a study of the people in such villages also.

Location of the village

2. The plateau land lying to the north of Salem town, in Salem district is in three terrains, the elevation stepping down from the north-west to south-east. The highest terrain, at an altitude of about 3,000 feet, consists of Hosur taluk and a part of Krishnagiri taluk. Then, there is a drop in elevation of about 700 feet as we come to Krishnagiri, Dharmapuri and Harur Taluks. There is a further stepping down of about 500 feet in elevation along the contour line extending from Hogenekkal to Manjavadi pass. The village Arkasanahalli lies at the foot of the second step in a hidden creek, about six miles west of Thoppur Ghats on the Madras-Calicut Trunk Road. The third lowest terrain in which Arkasanahalli is situated is strewn with hillocks and the cultivable lands are undulatory.

Brief description of the country

3. The vegetation in the hillocks is thin and parched. Among the stunted trees, a stray leopard or cunning jackal can hide with difficulty. The area gets an annual rainfall of about 30 inches, out of which about 20 inches fall during the North-East monsoon months of September to December. As the rainfall during these months is fairly intense, the jungle streams which drain this area get often swollen; communications in the terrain get dislocated. During these months, the hillocks and the surrounding cultivated lands look green; but after January, soon after harvest, the scenery changes quickly.

Life cycle in the village

4. The change in the scenery of the landscape of the creek synchronises with the change in the life of the villagers. After an active period of cultivation for about four months, commencing with the sowing operations in July and terminating with the harvesting in January, the villagers begin their long period of economic inactivity. In the first one or two months, the villagers have sufficient grains to eat and money to spend. They whitewash their houses and buy new clothes. They celebrate the Pongal festival. They celebrate the annual festival of Mariamman. They celebrate the marriage of their grown up boys and girls. Economic activity gives place to social activities. In this process of indulgence in social activities, they often overspend and the remaining months prove to be an anxious period, even for their daily existence. The summer then blazes. The trees shed their leaves. Pastures are difficult to be found for the cattle. Time moves slowly and wearily. The peasants daily look at the sky to see the formation of thick clouds. They talk mostly of how the threatened clouds failed to descend down. In June, with the fall of the first rains, the people forgetting their hunger for a while, go about mending their ploughs and sharpening their hoes. From July onwards they grow active again. The annual cycle of the peasants' life rolls on in the same groove, without dragging them to a higher level of living. Each cycle leaves them where they were. If at all there is any change, it is only in the addition of a new member in their family. The task of this monograph is to depict how this cycle rolls on, a smooth eventless journey into time.

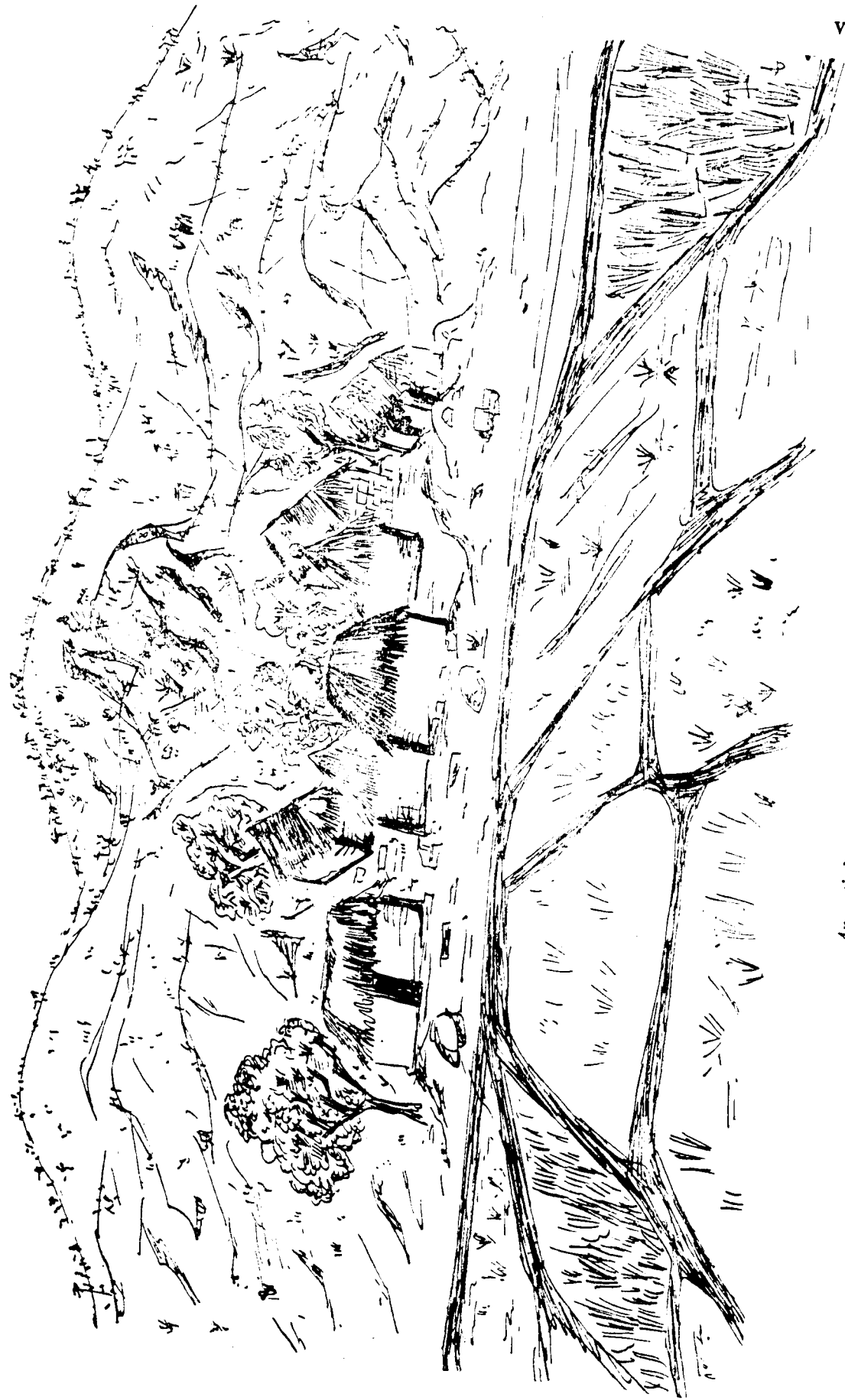
The people

5. The village is a fairly extensive one with an area of 8.9 square miles. As per the 1961 Census, the population of this village was 1,614. According to our survey, the population is 1,486 comprising of 740 males and 746 females. They live in 298 households. The economy of the village is mainly dependent upon agriculture, which is of a dry farming type. The three predominant cultivating communities are the Vanniars, the Okkaligas and the Gollas. Each has got a different cultural background. The Vanniars belong to the indigenous Tamil stock. The Gollas, the Telugu speaking shepherd class, migrated to these parts,

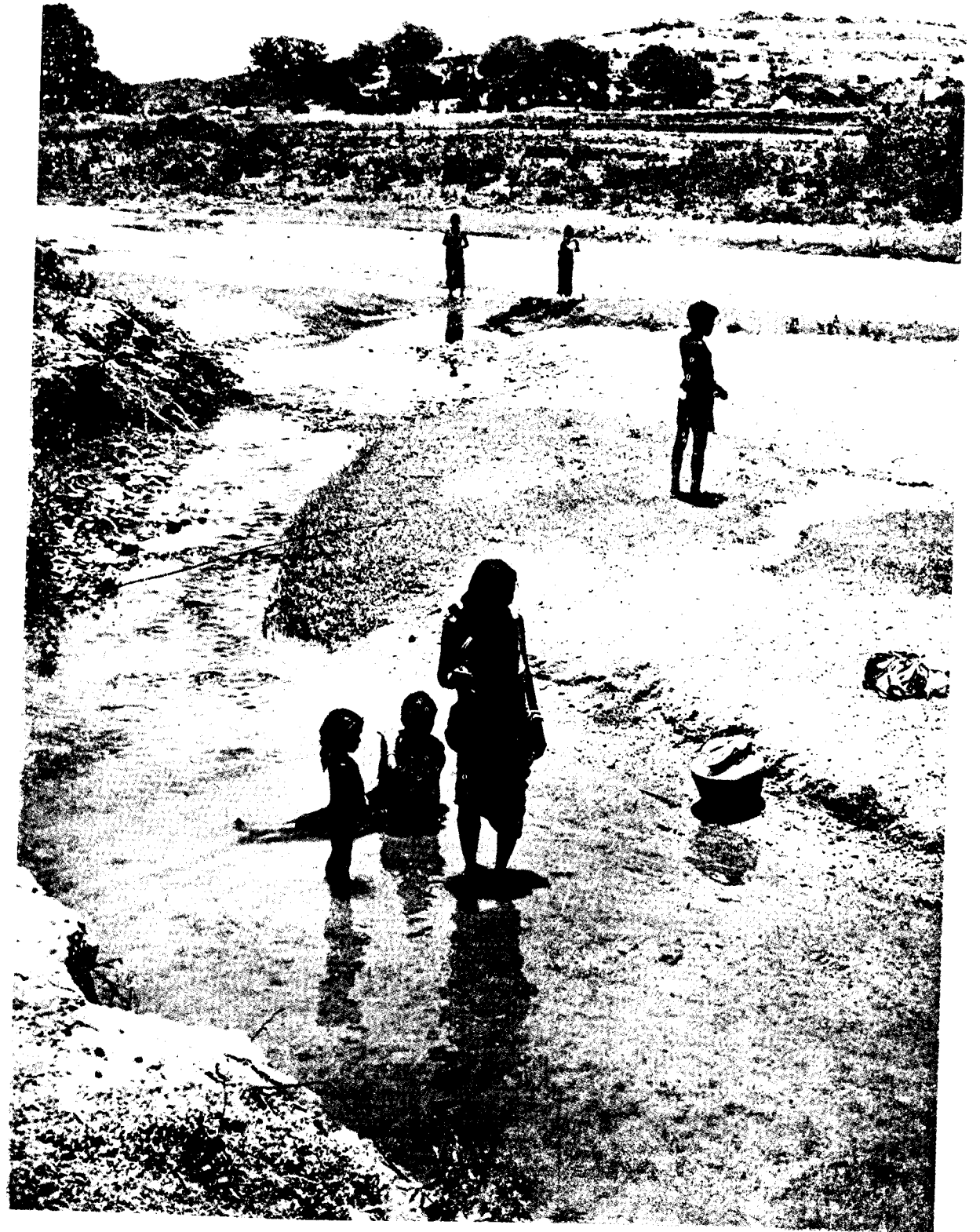


A view of the village. It is in a drab country, not fertile, but hot and parched.

VILLAGE SURVEY



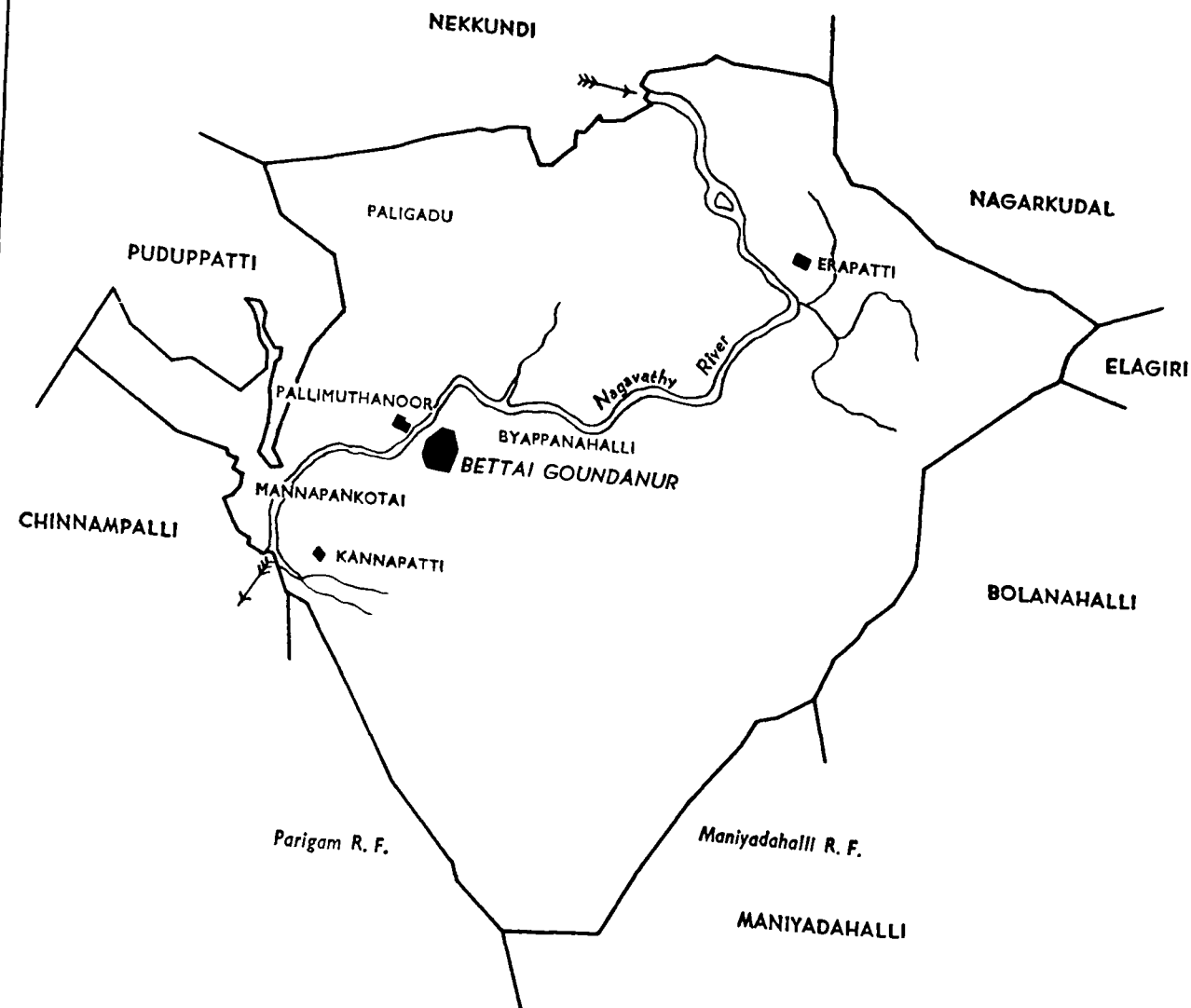
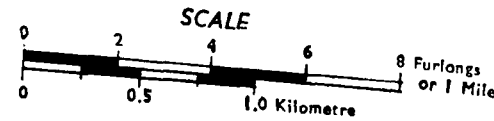
An artist's view of Mannappankottai hamlet



The Nagavati river flowing through the village. Though the benefit the people derive at present from out of the river is only fractional, without it, life in this creek would be much more miserable.

ARAKASANAHALLI VILLAGE

DHARMAPURI TALUK
SALEM DISTRICT



probably during the reign of Yadhava rulers in the thirteenth century. The Okkaligas, the Kanarese speaking pioneering agricultural class, might have come a little earlier from parts of Mysore when the Hoysalas held sway in the twelfth Century. It is recorded in history that Singhana, under whom the Yadhava empire attained its greatest extent, defeated the Hoysala King Someswara on the banks of Cauvery in 1239 A.D.

The earlier rivalry between the Okkaligas and the Gollas died in course of time. The least affected are the Vanniars. Though there is inward rivalry for supremacy between these three communities, they are prudent enough not to exhibit it openly.

Hamlets in the village

6. The present Arakanahalli revenue village was formed in 1902 Resurvey, by combining the following six independent villages:

- (1) Arakanahalli
- (2) Guruchinnanahalli
- (3) Kannapatti
- (4) Byappakavundanahalli
- (5) Erupuli; and
- (6) Satyamangalam.

Of these, Guruchinnanahalli exists as a hamlet with its new name Bettai goundanur. Erupuli and Satyamangalam have joined together to become the hamlet of Erapatti. Because of adverse living conditions, the people of old Arakanahalli moved to Bettai goundanur. The hamlet of Arakanahalli has thus disappeared. The old village of Kannapatti and Byappakavundanahalli now exist as hamlets under the names Kannampatti and Byappanahalli. Besides these, three more new hamlets have sprung up by names Pallimuthanur, Mannappankottai and Pallikadu, populated entirely by Vanniars. Even Erapatti is predominantly occupied by Vanniars. Kannampatti on the other hand is exclusively occupied by Parayars and Byappanahalli, exclusively by Chackiliyars. The remaining hamlet of Bettai goundanur situated centrally to all the other hamlets, is more cosmopolitan in its composition. The Vanniars, the Okkaligas, the Gollas and the village artisans coming from various other minor communities live in this hamlet. The village school, the post office, and the Panchayat Board Office are located there.

The village officers also live there. So Bettai goundanur functions as the central and chief hamlet for Arakanahalli village. But even in this hamlet the living areas of the predominant communities are separated from each other. So the inter-relationship between the several hamlets in this village is actually one of inter-relationship between the caste groups. The Okkaligas, who are economically dominant, lead one group and the Vanniars, who are numerically stronger, lead the rival group.

Village institutions

7. The location of the school, the post office, the Panchayat Board Office, etc., at Bettai goundanur is due to the large influence of Okkaligas. The location of these amenities at Bettai goundanur is to the advantage of the Okkaligas. They also enjoy the advantage of having a casteman of theirs as the Village Headman. A Village Headman, even in the present set up is a real power in the village, especially when it is backward. He can, if he wants, marshal the energies of the villagers and turn them to their good. He can, on the other hand, be a source of perpetual irritation to them, if he so chooses. So any villager, however affluent he may be, would think twice before he decides to ignore any direction of the Headman.

River Nagavathi

8. We have not so far referred to the potentiality of the powerful Nagavathi, a river which drains this valley. It joins the Thoppur river which in turn drains into the Cauvery river near Mettur Reservoir. Though the catchment area for the Nagavathi river is not extensive, it is in spate during rainy months. The villagers bathe and wash their clothes in it. It fills the wells in the village by percolation. The villagers hope that in due course its water will be diverted for irrigation by the construction of a dam. They have made several representations but no scheme has been formulated. As such, the chief economic activity of the village is cultivation of dry lands, the success of which depends on the timely arrival of rains. A few lands are irrigated by garden wells but their effect on the economy of the village is negligible. The people are not rich enough to sink more wells which will sustain agriculture in times of adversity. So naturally the people of the village have to wait for rains and look up to the sky in cultivation season, hoping the rain will come in time.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

Ethnic Composition

9. In the matter of ethnic composition, Arkasana-halli provides an interesting study. Vanniars represent the TAMILIAN stock of Pallava origin, Okkaligas, the Kanarese stock of Hoysala origin, Gollas the Andhra

stock of Yadhavas. Among the scheduled castes, the Morasu Parayars belong to Kanarese stock and the Chakkiliars to the Andhra stock. Table No. 1 below gives a break up of the households castewise. It may be seen that all the people in the village belong to Hinduism.

TABLE 1
AREA. HOUSES. POPULATION. HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY RELIGIONS,
COMMUNITIES. CASTE. SUB-CASTE

Area of the Village	Density	No. of Houses	No. of House-holds	Religion	Community	Sub-Caste, Sub-Sect	Total No. of House-holds	Total Persons	Males	Females
8.4 Sq. miles	167 per Sq. mile	147	147	Hindu	Vanniars	...	147	795	411	384
		57	57		Okkaligas	...	57	228	104	124
		44	44		Gollas	...	44	219	101	118
		6	6		Vannan	...	6	29	14	15
		3	3		Navithan	...	3	9	4	5
		2	2		Naidu	Valayalkarar	2	4	3	1
		2	2		Mudaliar	...	2	8	4	4
		1	1		Pillai	Sri Karuneegar.	1	5	2	3
		1	1		Asari	...	1	9	5	4
		27	27		Parayan	Morasu	27	123	62	61
		8	8		Chakkiliar	Kollan Kulam.	8	57	30	27
		298	298				298	1,486	740	746

Vanniars

10. The Vanniars are an important farming community found in Chingleput, South Arcot, North Arcot, Salem, Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur Districts. It is believed that they settled down in Salem District in the 8th Century. The Vanniars are known by the caste title of Naickers in Chingleput District, as Gounders in North Arcot, South Arcot and Salem Districts, as Reddis in Tiruttani Taluk, and as Pada-

yachis in Tiruchirapalli and Thanjavur Districts. The Madras Government have classified them as a most backward community. They are really backward, educationally and economically. Still they are influential in the areas where they are predominant. Their caste cohesiveness is their source of strength. They are frugal and do not spend much on marriages. There are many endogamous divisions among them, like Pandamutti Pallis, Kadukkan Pallis and Arsa Pallis. It is said that Pandamutti Pallis are a little superior to



The Okkaligas

the others. They are called as Pandamuttis because during marriages they pile up ceremonial mud-pots, one over the other to the height of the Pandal. In most parts they allow divorces, remarriages and widow marriages. Again in some areas they wear sacred thread and tie their dhoties in the fashion of Brahmins. But such imitations are not made by them in Arkasana-halli village. Their marriage and death ceremonies are similar to those observed by other Tamilian castes.

Okkaligas

11. The Okkaligas, or the Vokkaligas as they are otherwise called, belong to an agricultural class and have migrated into Tamilnad from Mysore seven centuries ago. The word 'Vokkalu' in Kanarese means agriculture. The Okkaligas say that they are the descendants and followers of Ballal Raja of Hoysala dynasty. The Hoysalas ruled parts of Kongunadu in the 12th and 13th Centuries. During this period, the Okkaligas migrated to Kongunadu in search of forest lands for agriculture. They are now found in parts of Salem, Coimbatore and Madurai districts. The Okkaligas in the Tamil country are divided into the following eight endogamous sects:—

- (1) Gangadi Okkaligas;
- (2) Gudi Okkaligas;
- (3) Keeraikara or Kempatti Okkaligas;
- (4) Kunju Okkaligas;
- (5) Kamati Okkaligas;
- (6) Gouri Okkaligas;
- (7) Bai Okkaligas; and
- (8) Sanu Okkaligas.

Of these, the first two sects only are found in large numbers. Whereas the Gudi Okkaligas are found in the rural parts of Coimbatore and Madurai districts, the Gangadi Okkaligas are found in about 18 villages in Dharmapuri Taluk of Salem district and in the towns of Satyamangalam and Coimbatore. The Okkaligas in Arkasanahalli village belong to this sub-sect of Gangadi Okkaligas and they are referred to by the people of other castes in this village as "Anchalkarans". It appears some of the early Okkaliga settlers in these parts were employed as "Anchalkarans" or postal runners. Whatever might be their earlier positions, they are now comparatively well off. Economically they are better off than the other two predominant communities of Gollas and Vanniars. They built up this economical superiority in the course of last five generations by dint of hard work, frugal habits and communal solidarity. They are good agriculturists, though in fairness it must be said that they cannot stand

comparison to the Vellala Gounders, whose toiling capacity is proverbial. The Okkaligas are a set of peace loving, quiet, tolerant, people not inclined to litigation. They speak a slang of Kanarese interspersed with a lot of Tamil words. Perhaps the Kanarese spoken by them cannot be understood by their castemen in Mysore with whom they have lost all contact due to time and distance. In the Kanarese spoken by the Okkaligas we do not find the sound 'Ha', so profusely found in the Kanarese of Mysore. The Okkaligas in this village pronounce "Halla" as "Alla", "Huli" as "Uli" and "Ohutharai" as "Otharai". The Okkaligas style themselves as Gowders or as Gounders and they are gradually and continuously adopting the customs and manners prevalent in Tamil country. Their social caste hierarchy, starting with Oor Gounder, as head of the village and ending with Pattakaran for the entire clan, is of late breaking down. The Gangadi Okkaligas are divided into several exogamous septs, for purposes of contracting marriage alliances. The names of some of the septs, or "Kulams", as they are locally called, found in Arkasanahalli, are the following:

Velli Kulam	— (Silver Sept)
Amai Kulam	— (Tortoise Sept)
Iluppan Kulam	— (Olive Sept)
Anai Kulam	— (Elephant Sept)
Pai Kulam	— (Mat Sept)
Veppam Kulam	— (Margosa Sept)

Each Kulam has got a separate Kula Deivam or clan deity. The people belonging to Vellikulam worship Seluvanarayan, the people of Amai Kulam worship Chikkamma and Doddamma and so on. The Kulams have also totemistic tendencies. The people belonging to Iluppa Kulam should not stand under an Iluppam tree. The people belonging to Veppam Kulam should not burn a margosa tree even as fuel. The people belonging to Amai Kulam should not kill a tortoise. There is some such restriction for each totem. But we are unable to catalogue all these, because even the very persons belonging to those Kulams are not quite conversant with them. Even grown up persons among the Okkaligas, do not remember the names of their Kulams. It looks as though the exogamy practised by them will die out in one or two more generations. By religion they are both Saivites and Vaishnavites. They celebrate most of the Hindu festivals like Ugadhi, Deepavali, Thai Pongal, Sivaratri etc.

Among the cycle of social functions celebrated by them, the naming ceremony of the newly born child comes first. On this day the mother and the child are removed to the house after a ceremonial bath. Then comes celebration of the attainment of puberty of girls.



The Vannan (Dhobi) with his beasts of burden.

The girl on attaining puberty is kept in a separate room for 7 or 9 days and taken back after ceremonial bath. The maternal uncle of the girl has to give presents to her. Then comes the marriage ceremony which is celebrated with pomp and lavishness in those families which can afford it. Of late the celebration is limited to one day. The elaborate rituals which have lost their meanings in the context of changed circumstances, are followed more for the sake of keeping up appearance than for their intrinsic worth, for none is prepared to defy the conservative elders and omit them. Perhaps without the observance of the rituals, the marriage will lose its charm and the couple may not recall it later as a solemn occasion worthy of remembrance, in the midst of the otherwise dull life of the villagers. These ceremonies seem to us to be a natural expression of the people's hopes and fears, of their past and present traditions.

The Okkaligas celebrate the marriages only in the bride's houses. Each party bears its own expenditure. But a nominal bride-price has to be given by the bridegroom's party to the father of the bride, as a token payment for the bride. Another peculiar custom among the Okkaligas is that the father of the bride does not send the usual presents and jewels to the girl immediately after the marriage. He sends them only after the daughter gives birth to a child so that the husband may

not appropriate them in case the girl died without an issue.

For adultery with anyone outside the caste, the punishment is ex-communication. For adultery with anyone within the caste, the Pattagaran may decree a divorce, if the husband of the accused woman insists on it. If, however, he is willing to take her back after some lesser punishment he is permitted to do so. The Okkaligas allow widow marriage and remarriage. But they are becoming rarer now-a-days.

In case of death, the friends and relatives are sent for. The dead body is carried to the burial ground in a "Ther" or "Padai". The corpse is usually buried unless the person had died of smallpox, leprosy, etc., in which case the body is cremated.

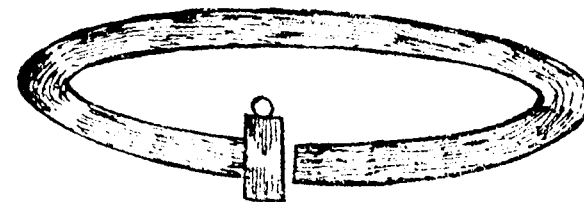
In appearance they are brown in colour and medium in size. The men wear dhoties and a towel as upper cloth. When they go out of the village, they wear half-shirts. The women wear sarees and loose jackets. The latter is dispensed with by older ladies. The ornaments worn by them are the usual Thodu for the ears, bangles for the wrists and chains, Karais and Gundumalais for the neck. The pattern of the gold jewels is set by the Goldsmith in the nearby town. We do not think that women are interested in having jewels in the true Karnataka style.



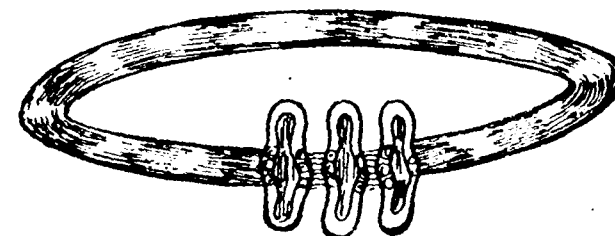
The Vamiars. They are prolific. Their strength is in their number.



"Karai" worn in the neck-Made of Gold



Leg bangle worn by Women



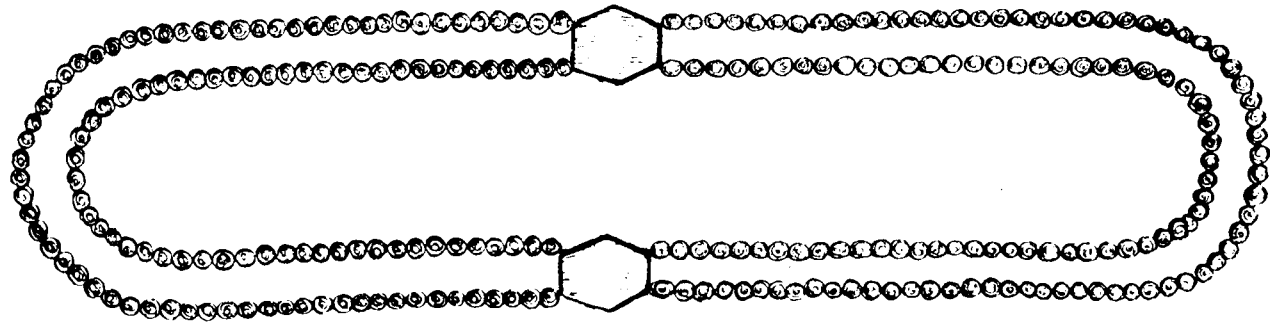
Wrist bangle worn by Boys



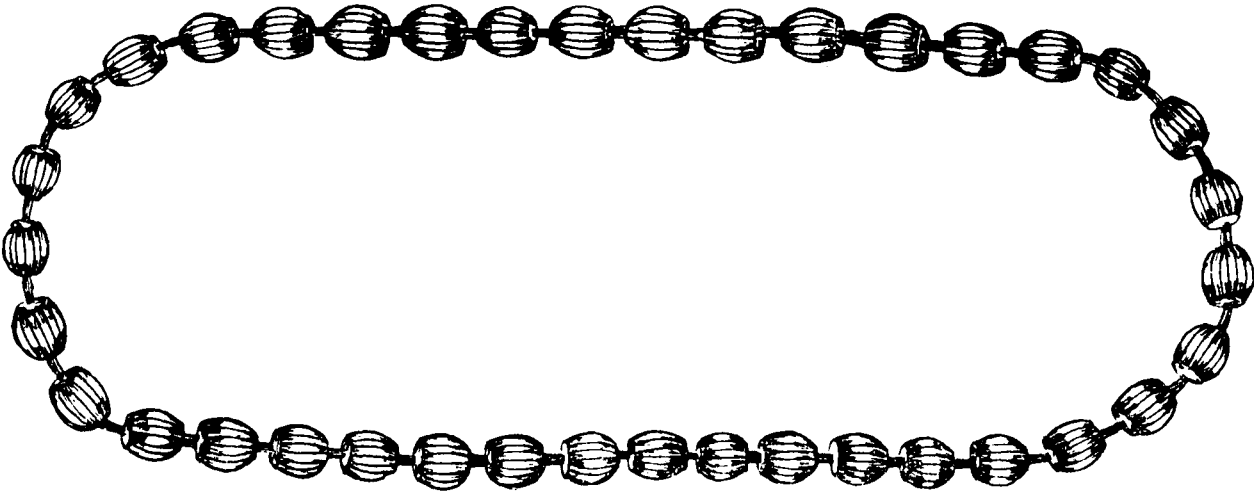
Morasu Parayars playing drums & pipes.



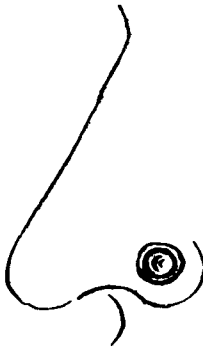
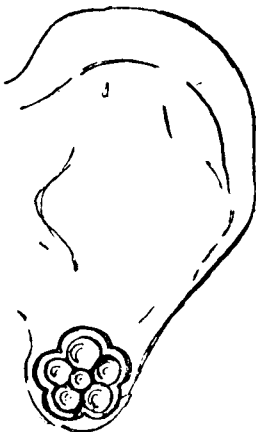
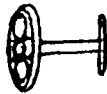
An isolated Vanniar house.



Neck Chain



Gundumalai worn in the neck



Some more Ornaments

The Gangadi Okkaligas in this village consider themselves superior to Golla Naickers. They will not eat in the house of Golla Naickers. With Vanniars, they pretend to be on equal status and call them as "Machans" or as "Mappilais", but inwardly, they feel a little superior to the Vanniars.

Gollas

12. The Gollas belong to the pastoral caste of Telugu origin. It appears they originally belonged to the kingdom of Yadhavas, who ruled parts of Andhra with their capital at Devagiri in the 12th and 13th Centuries. These Yadhavas were hostile to Hoysalas, who during that period were also equally powerful. History records that parts of Salem district were under the rule of the Hoysalas, but subsequently when Singhana the powerful king of Yadhavas ascended the throne, his Governor of the Southern Province, Vicana, not only drove Hoysalas but also carried his arms upto the banks of the river Cauvery in the year 1239 A.D. The Gollas who must have come along with the forces of the Yadhavas as warriors and as camp-followers of Vicana must have stayed in these parts and came to be called as Gollas. The Okkaligas who are the descendants of Hoysalas and the Gollas who are the descendants of the Yadhavas, in olden days must have lived on inimical terms. By now, they have begun tolerating each other. Even now, the Okkaligas call the Gollas a little contemptuously by the name of "Mondi" Gollas whereas the Gollas call the Okkaligas as Anjalkarans. Still, in village disputes, the Gollas generally tend to side with the Okkaligas, against the numerically superior Vanniars. The Gollas speak a corrupt form of Telugu and the people of this caste style themselves as Naickers in this village. They are mostly Vaishnavites but some have no objection to worship Siva also. They worship Vediappan, Ellamma, Ankamma, Padavettamman, etc. gods. In Madras State, the people of this caste are found mostly in the northern parts of Salem District and in the southern parts of North Arcot District. Though their traditional occupation is tending sheep and cattle, most of them have now taken to agriculture. They are tall and well built. They are very hard working and good agriculturists. For marriage alliances, the Gollas are divided into several exogamous septs like Jambu-Magarishi Kulam, Pookulam, etc. During our enquiry in the village, most of the Gollas were not aware as to what Kulam they belong. Even elders did not know. They widely practise polygamy. They allow divorces and widow marriages. Divorced women can remarry. They bury the dead. They observe pollution, during child birth, puberty of girls and menstruation. We find that in spite of their hard work and industriousness

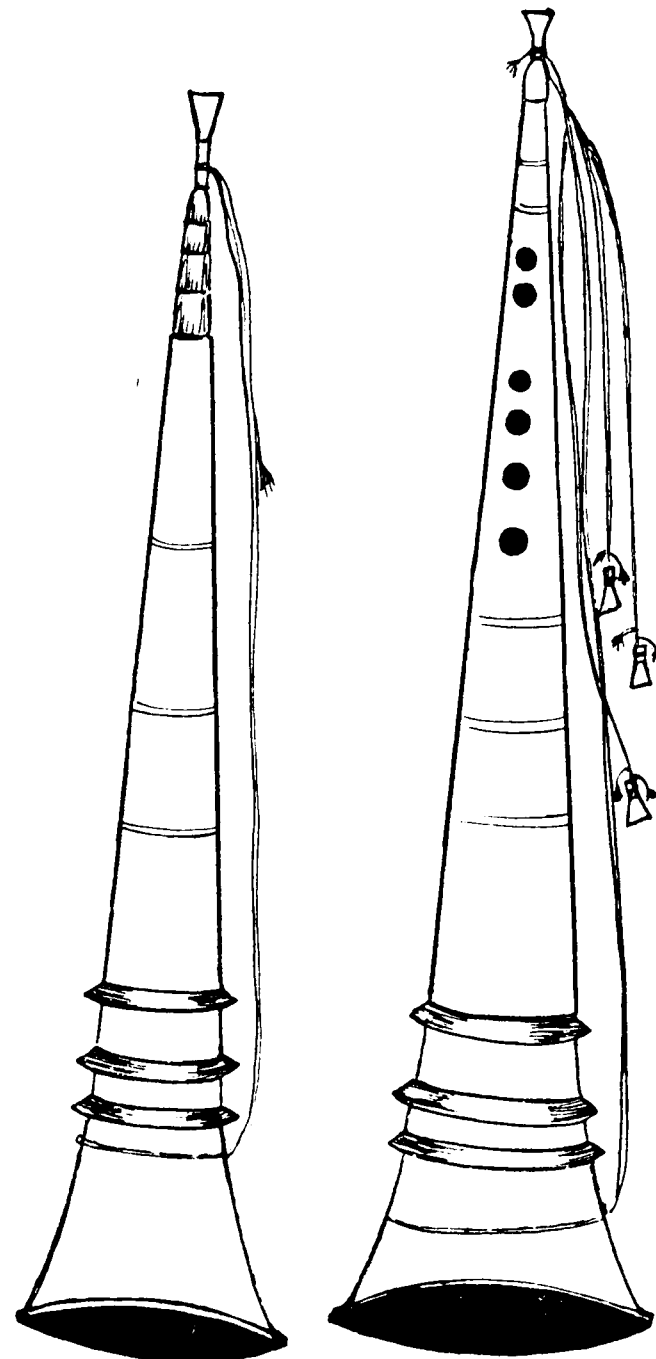
VILLAGE SURVEY

their economical condition is much worse than that of the Vanniars and the Okkaligas of the village.

Murasu Parayars

13. Murasu Parayars of this village live in the hamlet of Kannampatty. Among Parayars, there are

Musical Instruments of Morasu Parayars



Pipes



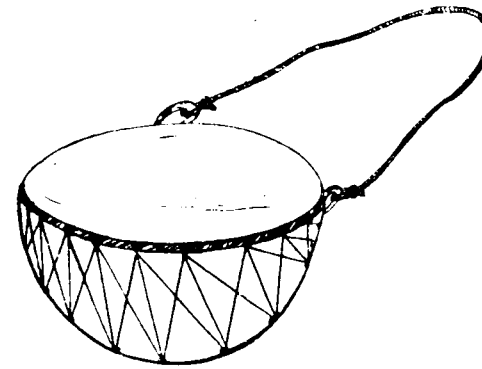
The Gollas



The Morasu Parayars.



atleast about 20 endogamous sub-sects and Murasu Parayars is one such sub-sect. The people of this sect speak Kanarese and we have to infer that they must have migrated at one time from parts of Mysore. Their relations are found mostly to the north of this village. They say that their original main occupation was weaving of coarse cloth and their subsidiary



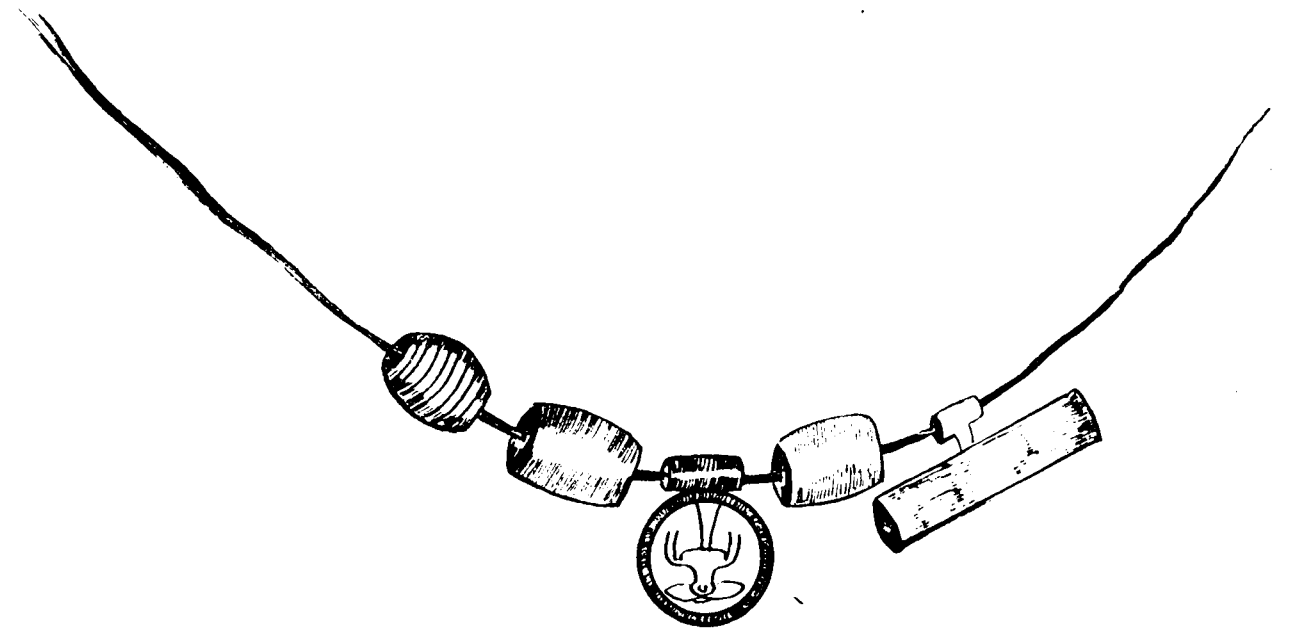
Drum

occupation, playing drums during marriages, festivals, etc. But at present, they have given up the occupation of weaving and are working as agricultural labourers; but they are retaining the secondary occupation of playing drums. They are tall in stature and black in colour. Their men wear dhoties and towels and their womenfolk, sarees and blouses. They allow widow marriages and divorces. Divorces are decreed by a

council of elders presided over by the village caste-headman called Ejaman. Divorces are allowed either for incompatibility or for adultery. The caste council, instead of decreeing divorces in cases of adultery, levies heavy fines on the erring male member. Recently one Samakal belonging to this caste was accused of adultery and her paramour was fined Rs. 300 out of which Rs. 250 went to the husband of Samakal. The rest of the fine went for the common expenses of the council. On receipt of this money, her husband took her back. The Murasu Parayas pay a bride-price of Rs. 25 for acquiring a bride and this had to be returned along with the marriage expenses in case of divorces prayed for by the wife. They generally bury the dead except in the case of persons, who die of smallpox, etc. They worship Chamundy, Chikkamma, Mariatha, Oblirayan, etc. Gods. Their overall caste headman is called Eluru Ejaman (head of seven villages).

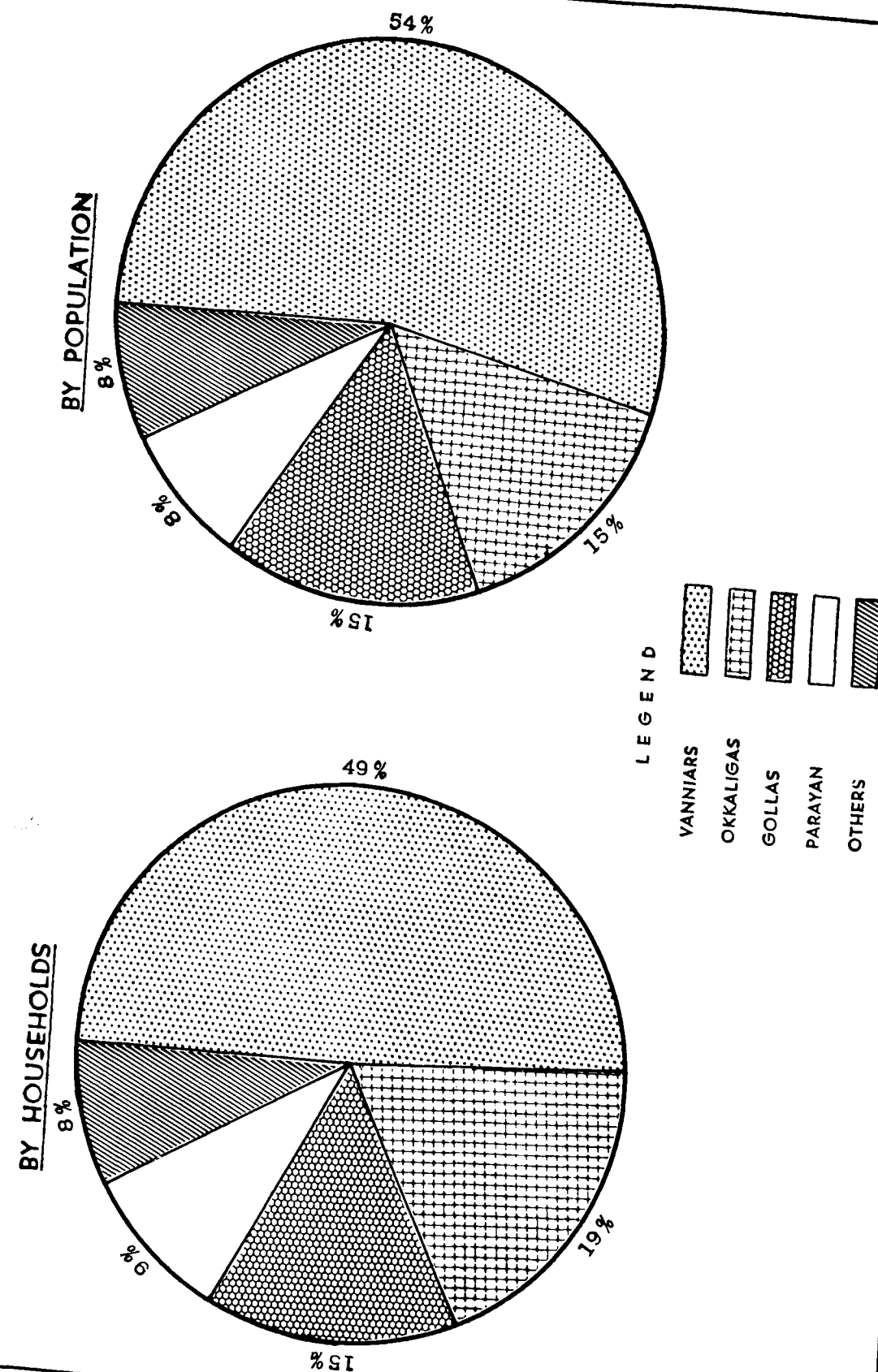
Chakkiliars

14. The Chakkiliars of this village belong to the sub-sect of Golla Chakkiliars. In Arkasanahalli village, they all live in the hamlet Baiyappanahalli. It is said that formerly there were 20 families of Chakkiliars in this hamlet, but 12 of them have left the place in search of work. Their traditional occupation is leather stitching. Their usefulness is felt wherever leather buckets are used for baling water from irrigation wells. When we visited Baiyappanahalli almost all the Chakkiliars in this village were very busy in sharing the carcass of a bullock. On such rare



Tali (Marriage badge) worn by Chakkiliars

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITIES



their occupation. The number of households in these village-artisan castes is numerically small and they play a minor role in village politics.

Then comes the solitary household of a Pillai, the two families of Mudaliars and two other families of Naidus. The head of the Pillai-household works as the village Karnam. This office is held by him in a temporary capacity. Though the power of the Village Karnam is a force to be reckoned with, its value is more on the negative side. So, no peasant ordinarily incurs the displeasure of the Karnam. There is a proverb in Tamil to the effect that "one may hit himself against a stone but not against a Karnam". In Arkasanahalli village, the present holder of the office is respected by people of all communities and is equally helpful to all. Then coming to the Mudaliar families, one is running a tea-shop and the other, a retail grocery shop. The tea-shop owner is having a moderate business as he caters to the craving of a changing fashion in the matter of food-habits. The retail shop-keeper also carries on as there is very little competition for him in the trade. Of the two Naidu families, the head of one household is a petty village official and the other is a small cultivating tenant. These families also do not play any useful or significant role in village politics.

The three principal communities only are interested in village politics. The Vanniars are numerically strong. The Okkaligas are economically stronger. Between these two, there is always a keen rivalry for supremacy. In this game of attaining the power, the Okkaligas have tactfully enlisted the support of the Gollas, who by themselves cannot play any effective role. The competition for supremacy was tested in the election of the President of the Panchayat. Both the principal communities set up candidates. In spite of canvassing and resort to local diplomacy, the Okkaligas failed to win. A Vannia was elected as President of the Panchayat. When caste considerations play an important role even in bigger elections like that of a M.L.A. or M.P., we cannot expect anything better in a petty Panchayat election in a backward village. If the villagers align themselves on caste considerations during elections, it is because they have not been educated enough to value the worth of the candidates on other higher considerations. Ever since the election, the people of the two principal castes on both sides want to consolidate their position and strengthen it. Whereas the Vanniars want to shift the location of the Panchayat Office from Bettaigoundanur to some other hamlet, the Okkaligas oppose it. In spite of this keen rivalry, it is however to be observed that the parties on both sides have not resorted to any untoward action. Outwardly they seem to be friendly. The Vanniars and

the Okkaligas call each other as "Machans" (Brothers-in-law) and as "Mappilais" (sons-in-law).

We have already seen what position the scheduled caste people occupy and what role they play in village politics. We shall see what social position they occupy in the village. Because the people of these two castes are considered as untouchables, they live separately. They normally do not mingle with the people of higher castes in social gatherings. Untouchability is still practised in this village. They cannot take water from the common well. Either they have a well of their own or stand by the side of a well for any other kind-hearted higher caste person to draw and pour water into their pots. In an Opinion Survey conducted in the village, we found that 11% of the Harijans were not aware of the existence of the Removal of Untouchability Act. Their economic position urges them to reconcile themselves to the demeaning status in the village life. Their uplift depends upon the spade work to be done in the matter of giving them education and making them feel independent in the matter of pursuing any occupation they like.

Household articles

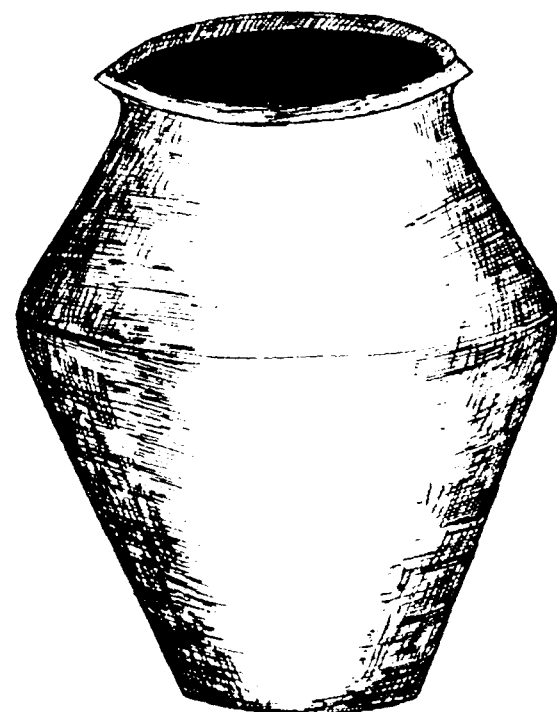
17. If any proof is required to show that the people of Arkasanahalli are basically poor and fundamentally backward in social structure, one has only to look into the Tables 2 and 3 which give the lists of luxury articles and furniture possessed by the people of the village.

When the problem before the villagers is mostly one of subsistence, they can never think of buying any consumer goods or luxury articles. Only people in affluent circumstances and a few of those who have seen urban life have acquired a few articles of furniture. Such affluent households could be found among Vanniars and Okkaligas.

The rest of the people own no such articles. A peep into a house will reveal the existence of some old aluminium and brass vessels, some pots, one or two wooden and iron ladders, a huge vessel made of either mud or bamboo thatti and fixed to the ground for storing grains, some mats made of "Korai" or date-palm leaflets, a few implements for doing agricultural labour and one or two wooden country cots woven with coir. In a few households which engage themselves in agriculture, we may probably find in a corner, a few bags of grains intended for seed purposes. Since the village is not electrified, each household may possess either a lantern or a kerosene wall-lamp. Since life in a village subsides usually after dusk and since the villagers are mostly tired by the time they take their evening meals,

they go to bed early. So they do not burn the lamp for more than one or two hours after dusk.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS



Anda for storing water



Kudam for carrying water



Deksha for cooking



"Thattam" Plate for eating

Housing

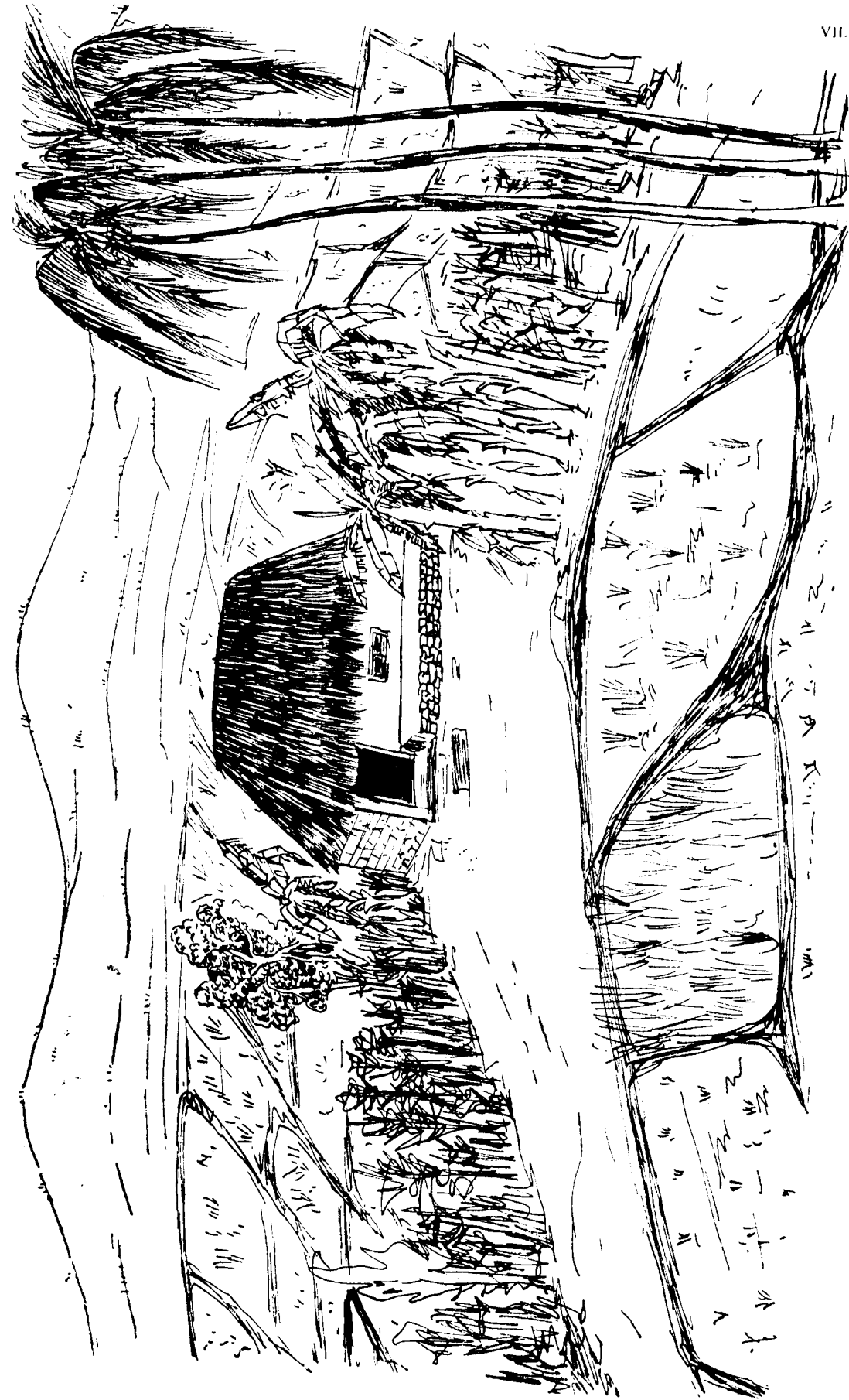
18. If the appearance of houses in a village is taken as an index of prosperity, then Arkasanahalli may have to be ranked as backward and poverty stricken. True, the villagers in most places in this State do not generally invest much on houses. But if the people are prosperous and well off, it will surely find its expression in the appearance of the houses. The walls would be, in that case, well-plastered and whitewashed. The flooring would be elevated and cemented. The roofing would preferably be tiled. In all, better materials would be used. In Arkasanahalli, we find that the conditions are quite different. We find from Table 4 that 85% of the houses have mud walls and 86% of the houses mud floors. Regarding roofing, 77% of the houses have thatched roofs; the rest are mostly country-tiled. If we look into the size of the houses we find that 83% of the houses are single-roomed with a verandah in front. Only 14% of the houses are two-roomed. The appearance of most houses would be far from pleasing. The mud walls would be gaping with plasters peeling off. The stalks of millet crops used for thatching would get dishevelled or blown off by the westerly winds, and many of the huts may be leaky.

TABLE 2
MATERIAL CULTURE FURNITURE AND CONSUMER GOODS ACQUIRED IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of Households which have acquired in last 5 years (Furniture)							No. of Households which have acquired in the last 5 years (Consumer Goods)				Remarks
	Local cot	Bench	Stool	Mirror	Chair	Table	Lamp	Wall Clock	Hurricane Lamp	Battery Torch	Bicycle	
Vanniars	4	1	...	4	...	...	1	...	2	1	1	
Okkaligas	1	1	...	2	1	1	...	1	3	2	...	
Gollas	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	
Navithan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Asari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	
Naidu	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Mudaliar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Vannan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Parayan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Chakkiliar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Pillai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	6	2	...	7	1	1	2	1	5	4	1	

TABLE 3
MATERIAL CULTURE - POSSESSION OF CONSUMER GOODS

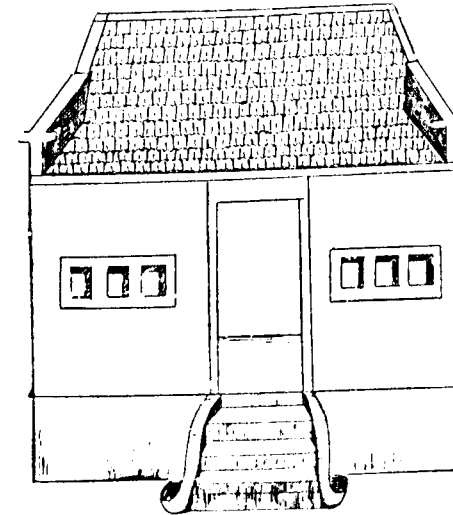
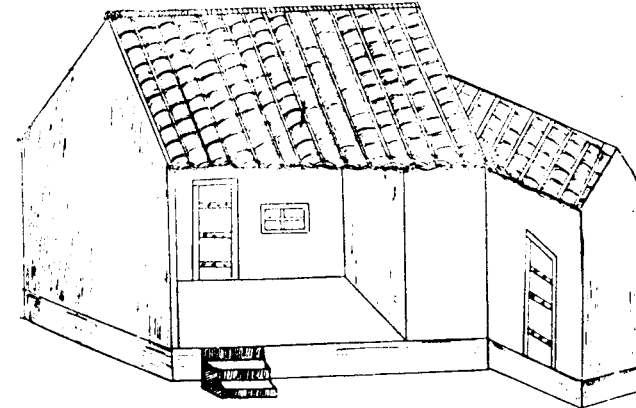
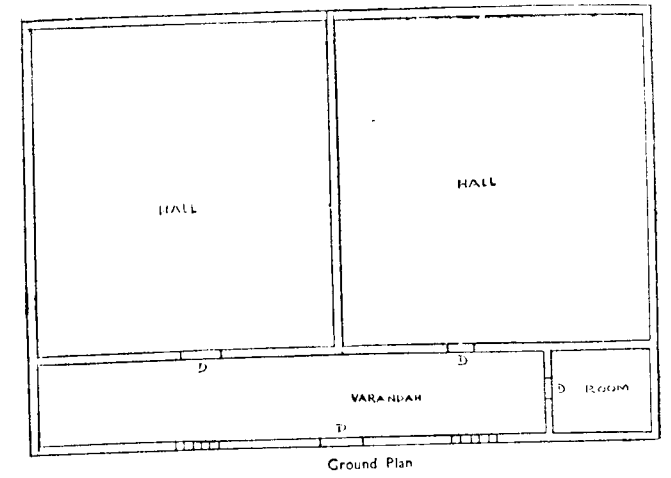
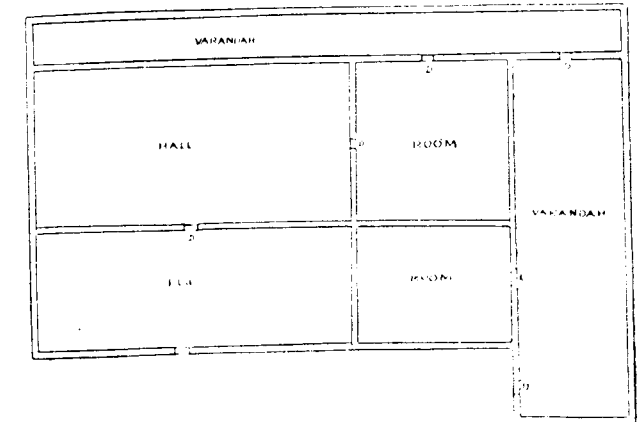
MATERIAL CULTURE - POSSESSION OF CONSUMER GOODS							
Number of Households possessing							
Caste/Tribe/ Community	Hurricane Lantern	Lamp	Battery torch light	Wall Clock	Bicycle	Radio Set	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Vanniar ...	77	73	4	1	1	...	...
Okkaligas ...	25	39	1	...	...	...	...
Gollas ...	7	35	...	...	...	...	...
Navithan ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan ...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...
Parayan ...	24	1	1	...	1	...	...
Chakkiliar ...	3	6	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
Total ...	143	164	7	1	2	...	...

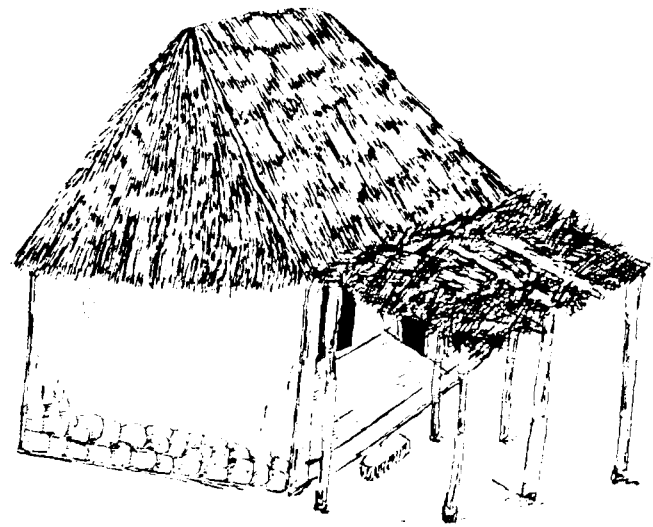


VILLAGE SURVEY

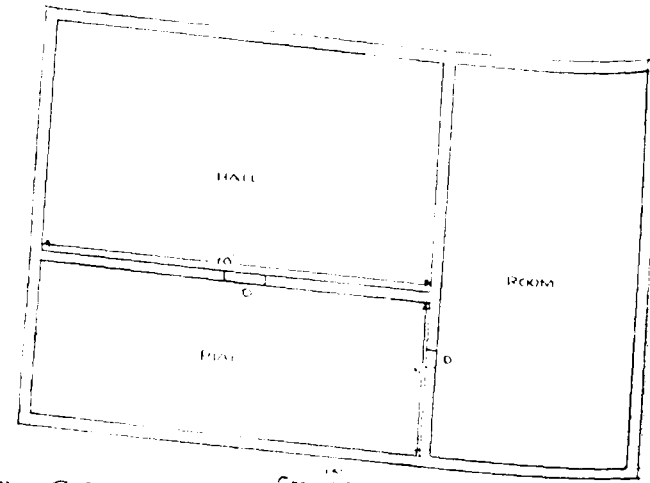
A Lonely Farm House

ARKASANAHALLI

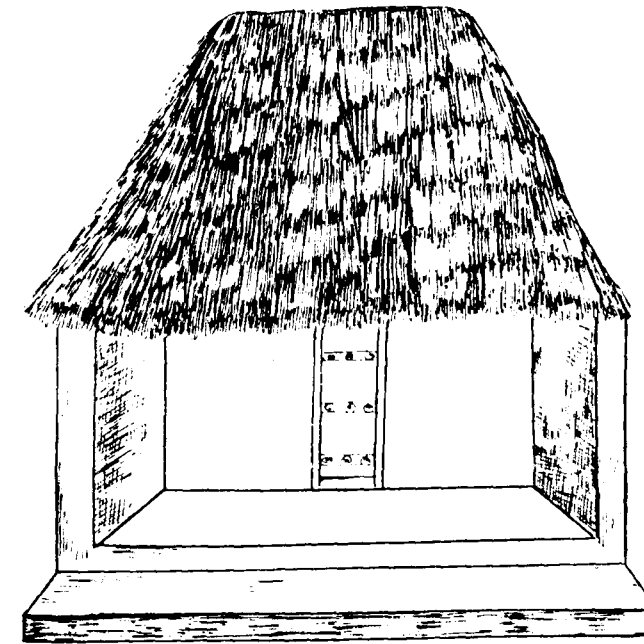
*Front view of a house owned by an Okkaliga**A Okkaliga House**Another Okkaliga's House*



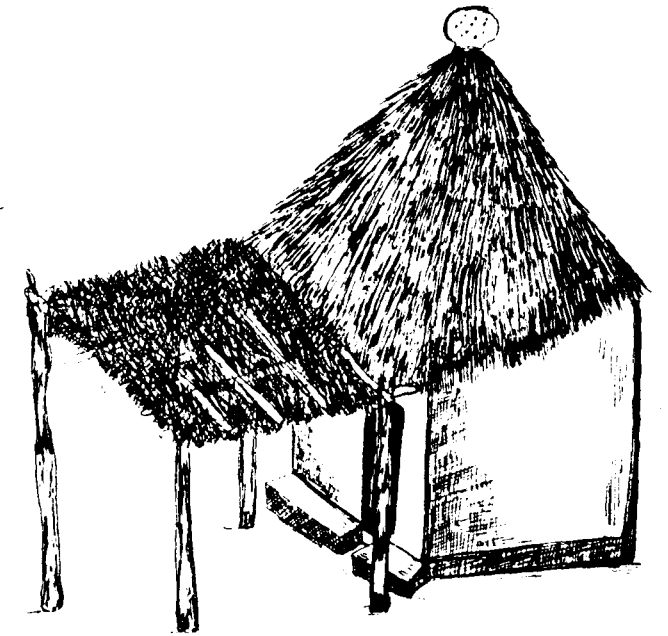
A House owned by a Golla



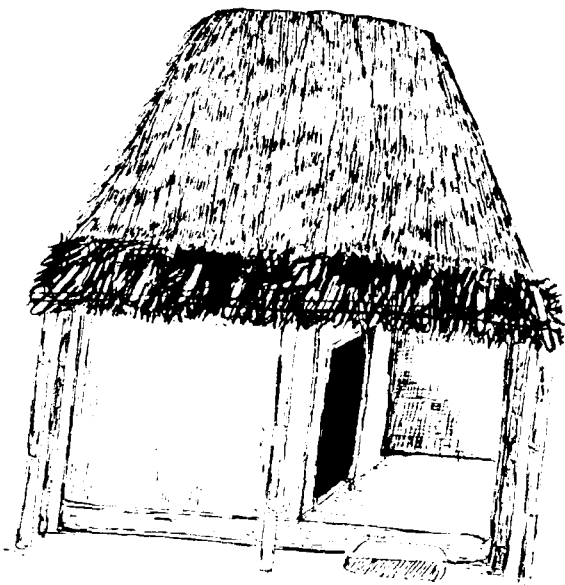
Ground Plan



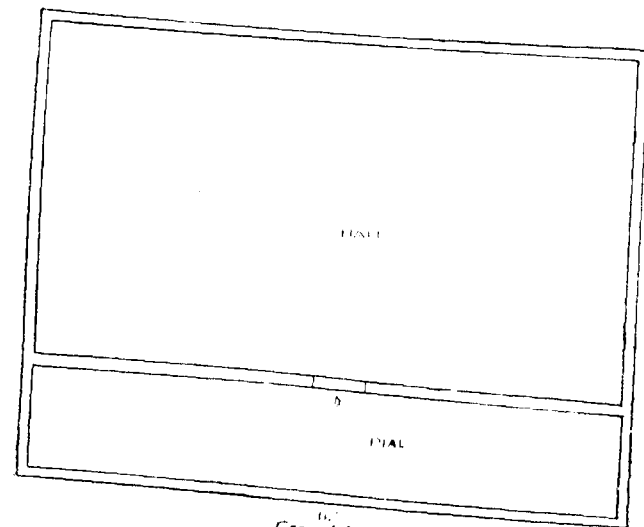
A third Golla House



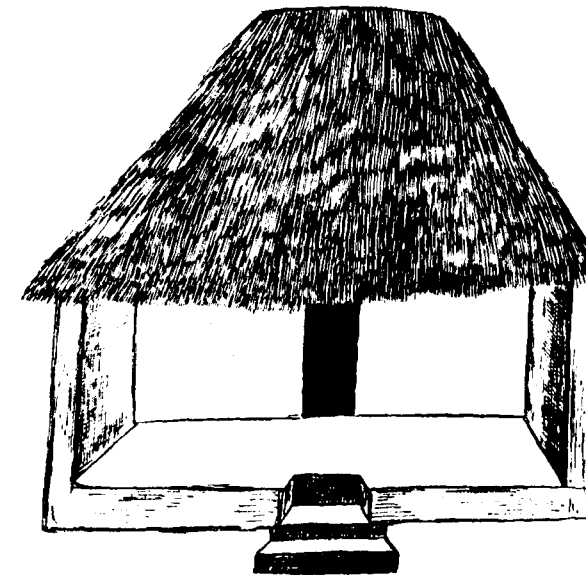
A Chakkiliar Hut



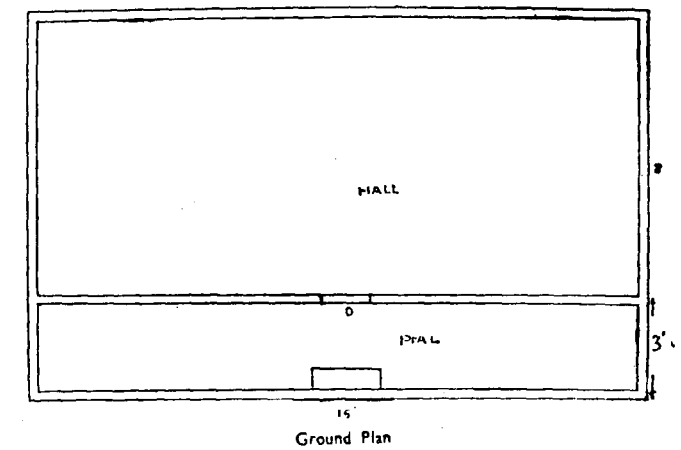
Another Golla House



Ground Plan



A Chakkiliar House



Ground Plan

The villagers of course do not very much mind about the appearance of their houses. They are generally contented if they could keep their seeds dry and find a place for themselves to huddle together when it rains heavily. But since rainy days are few in a year in these parts, since most of their daily activities are conducted

either in the fields or in the front yard of their houses, and since they would be sleeping in open places or in the verandahs on most days, they do not feel the necessity for bigger houses. From Table 5, we find that the housing conditions of Vanniars and Okkaligars are better than those of others.

TABLE 4
HOUSE TYPES

Caste or community occupying the houses	No. of houses occupied by each community	No. of houses with the roofs made of							No. of houses with built of				No. of houses with				
		Terraced houses	Country tiles	Mangalore tiles	Asbestos or Zinc sheet	Straw or grass	Coconut or Palmyra leaves	Country tiles and straw grass	Mud only	Bricks	Stones	Others (mud brick)	Huts without walls	Mud floor	Cement floor	Mud and Lime floor	Other types of floor
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Vanniars	147	...	36	1	...	107	...	3	122	18	4	3	...	123	4	3	17
Okkaligas	57	...	23	2	...	30	...	2	40	15	...	2	...	41	8	2	6
Monda Gollars	44	...	2	...	...	42	...	...	42	2	...	...	...	43	1	...	...
Vannan	6	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...
Navithan	3	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
Naidu	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Pillai	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Mudaliar	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Asari	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Parayan	27	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Chakkiliars	8	...	...	...	...	27	...	...	27	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total	298	...	62	3	...	228	...	5	253	36	4	5	...	257	13	5	23

TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS & BY NUMBER OF PERSONS OCCUPYING

Community	Total No. of Households	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of family members	Households with no regular room		Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four or more rooms	
				No. of Households	Total No. of family members	No. of Households	Total No. of family members	No. of Households	Total No. of family members	No. of Households	Total No. of family members	No. of Households	Total No. of family members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Vanniars	147	...	795	...	...	125	600	15	109	5	49	2	37
Okkaligas	57	...	228	...	...	35	120	20	101	2	7	...	...
Gollas	44	...	219	...	...	39	174	4	34	1	11	...	...
Vannan	6	...	29	...	...	6	29	...	...	...	...	...	...
Navithan	3	...	9	...	...	3	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu	2	...	4	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari	1	...	9	...	...	1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	2	...	8	...	...	1	2	1	6	...	...	...	...
Pillai	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	...
Parayan	27	...	123	...	...	27	123	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chakkiliars	8	...	57	...	...	8	57	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	298	...	1,486	...	...	247	1,127	41	255	8	67	2	37

The cost of constructing a new single roomed thatched house may not exceed Rs. 300. They use indigenous materials available locally. They also contribute their own labour for unskilled items. The house they construct may not even contain a window. At the most they may leave one or two holes in the walls for the light to peep in. They usually cook their food in the front verandah. So the smoke coming out of the oven may not present them with any problem.

When once the house is constructed they keep the inside clean by smearing the floor weekly with cow-dung. They renew the mud-plastering of the walls and white-wash them just prior to Thai Pongal (*i.e.* in January). So a visitor to the village immediately after 15th of January may see a better appearance of the houses than at any other part of the year.

We have already mentioned that some hamlets consist of houses of one community only. Where two or more communities live in a hamlet, as in Bettaikavundanur, their localities are usually separated by a lane. The houses are not constructed in any definite layout. They form shapeless clusters. The houses are situated close to each other. We are inclined to think that the village-sites are congested. It is partly because of this congestion that some families have moved out and are living in houses put up in the lands in which they are cultivating.

Food habits and food consumption

19. Most castes are bound concerning food by customs which are traditional and change in food-habits cannot be brought about abruptly, although they may be changing slowly and steadily. As the village is entirely a dry area and as very little rice is grown, most people in Arkasanahalli take millets as staple food. A few families however indulge in the luxury of taking one rice meal out of the usual three meals taken. A few more families who can afford the cost of rice, take rice only. We find from Table 6 that out of 298 households in this village, 259 households eat millet only, 32 households both rice and millets and 7 households rice only. The last mentioned 7 households, which depend upon rice only, are found distributed, 6 among Vanniars and one among the Okkaligas. The majority of the 23 households which take rice for one meal atleast is also found among Vanniars and Okkaligas. The economically backward, working class communities of Gollas, Chakkiliars, Parayars, Vannars, Barbers etc., take millet only. The reasons for the dependence of these communities upon millets are two-fold. Firstly, millets are cheaper; secondly, they withstand hunger longer. The preference on the other hand of some

households to take rice instead of millets is motivated because of the following reasons:

- (1) Rice can be cooked quicker than millets;
- (2) Rice combines more agreeably with any sauce or side dish; and
- (3) Millet meals are monotonous and generally insipid.

In Arkasanahalli village, the chief millets consumed are Chulam, Cumbu and Ragi. These are first cleaned, dehusked, broken and then cooked in a solid form called as 'Kazhi'. When this meal is hot, it is eaten in the solid form with a side dish made of pulses or with green leafy vegetables. When the meal has to be eaten cold, for example in the morning, it is consumed in a semi-solid form called as 'Koozh'. For drinking Koozh, one does not usually require any side dish, though he may try to whip up consumption and relieve the monotony by touching hot pickles or paste of chillies. Nutritional experts on analysing this food may have no hesitation in bemoaning the lack of protective foods in the items consumed by them. They are deficient in proteins. They practically take no fats. The intake of vitamins and mineral salts will practically amount to nothing. Yet the villagers are generally healthy and normally fit for any hard work.

We found that the level of consumption of cereals in these tracts was generally high. Rice-eaters consume about 20 ounces per diem. Mixed-diet eaters consume about 10 ounces of rice and 12 ounces of millets. Millet-eaters consume about 21 ounces. The nutritional experts recommend about 16 ounces only of cereals for a balanced diet for an adult. We find that the level of consumption is far higher than what is recommended. The consumption of cereals can come down only on the substitution of other nutritious food like mutton, vegetables, milk, etc. This again, can be brought about only by raising of the general standard of living.

Out of 298 households in the village, 272 households take three meals a day. The remaining 26 households coming mostly under well-to-do families, take two meals only. In these families, the members take coffee or tea in the mornings. Even in other families the addiction of elder male members to tea in the morning is becoming popular. That is the reason why three tea-shops function in this village.

All the households in this village have returned themselves as non-vegetarians. Vegetarianism goes mostly by communities and the communities found in this village are in entirety non-vegetarian ones. In the

TABLE 6
DIET AND FOOD HABITS OF COMMUNITIES

VILLAGE SURVEY

Caste/ Community	Total No. of House- holds	No. of Vegetarian House- holds	No. of Non-Vegetarian house- holds	Households taking				Frequency of Meals			Remarks
				Rice	Wheat	Grains other than rice or wheat	Roots including tapioca	One meal a day	Two meals a day	Three meals and more a day	
Vanniars	147	...	147	19	2	141	...	...	...	...	
Okkaligas	57	...	57	16	...	56	...	...	7	140	
Gollas	44	...	44	...	...	44	...	...	14	43	
Vannan	6	...	6	...	...	6	...	...	3	41	
Navithan	3	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	6	
Naidu	2	...	2	1	...	2	...	...	1	2	
Mudaliar	2	...	2	1	...	2	...	...	...	2	
Pillai	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	
Asari	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	
Parayan	27	...	27	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	
Chakkiliar	8	...	8	...	...	27	...	...	1	26	
				8	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total	298	...	298	39	2	291	...	...	26	273	

whole of Madras State vegetarianism is practised to the extent of only 7 per cent. In Salem district, its incidence is much lower because the predominant communities happen to be non-vegetarians. From the absence of vegetarianism in the village, it should not however be presumed that the people are regularly taking meat. Though they would like to eat meat oftener, economic conditions prevent them from taking meat even once a month. Parayars and Chakkiliars could hope to have non-vegetarian food only if any cattle dies in the village. If such a thing happens we could see them busy sharing the carcass. When we visited the village on 30-4-1962, we spotted some such

brisk activity in Byappanahalli hamlet. The Parayars and the Chakkiliars in the village have no hesitation in taking beef. The other communities in this village would not touch beef though they may take pork.

We have observed before that the level of consumption of cereals in this village is generally high. At the rate at which they are consuming, the village needs 192 bags of rice and 2,905 bags of millets annually to feed its people. The actual production in the village is 188 bags of rice and 3,400 bags of millets. So the village is more or less self-sufficient in rice and surplus in millets to the extent of about 500 bags annually.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION TRENDS

Population figures

20. The population of Arkasanahalli as at present and during some of the previous Census years is as follows :

Census year	Males	Females	Total	Households
1901	431	461	892	158
1951	637	675	1,312	276
1961	794	820	1,614	338
Socio-Economic Survey count of 1962.	740	746	1,486	298

The increase from 1901 to 1951 was not appreciable, while the increase from 1951 to 1961 was, on the highside. During this decade, it has recorded an increase of 23% as against 11.7% for the State. It is ascertained that some of the Vanniar families had come down to this village some 5 or 6 years back seeking employment in agricultural operations, from Mecheri in Omalur Taluk. Finding that the conditions in the village are no better, they had returned to their own place after the 1961 Census count. The seasonal conditions in the village during the past four or five years were not quite good. The dry crops failed. There was distress among the people dependent on agriculture. This has resulted in about 30 families belonging to the village temporarily moving away to Mettur in search of employment in some of the factories and project-works now under execution. This is the reason attributed by the village officers and by the local people for the drop in the population figures from the 1961 count to the Socio-Economic Survey count in 1962. The decrease in population from 1961 to 1962 can also be inferred from the drop in the number of households from 338 to 298.

Vital Statistics

21. The following are the birth and death statistics for the village during the decade:

Year	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
1951	40	32	8
1952	49	26	23
1953	41	23	18
1954	43	12	31
1955	48	21	27
1956	40	10	30
1957	42	14	28
1958	50	24	26
1959	32	12	20
1960	59	20	39

It is seen from the above statement that there is a natural increase of the total population by 250 during the decade. This works out to 17.1 per thousand per year. The natural increase found for the village should be considered as high when we find that the natural increase for the district is only 12.7 per thousand per year. The higher rate of natural increase noticed in the village might probably be because of the fall in the death-rate. The village was at one time considered as Malarial. Now due to the eradication of Malaria on account of the National Malarial Eradication Project the living conditions have improved quite a lot. Hence the fall in death-rate to 13.3 per year per thousand.

Density of population

22. The density of population per sq. mile works out to 167. This is considerably low when compared to the district figure of 542 per sq. mile. Apart from the primitive dry cultivation, there is nothing to attract people from outside. There is also no cottage industry or any other household industry worth mentioning to

keep the people engaged. That is the reason why the village is sparsely populated.

Sex-ratio

23. The sex-ratios noticed at various times are as follows :

1901 Census	...	1,069 females per thousand males.
1951	..	1,059 do.
1961	..	1,032 do.
Socio-Economic Survey	...	1,008 do.

There is a predominance of females over males. Although we find that this inequality is decreasing gradually in recent times, the abnormal sex-ratio in this village is not typical of the conditions in the rest of Salem district where the ratio is only 996. Even within Dharmapuri Taluk, the sex-ratio is only 982. The reason for this abnormal sex-ratio noticed in this village is probably because of the imbalances existing in the communities of Okkaligas and Gollas whose sex-ratios are 1192 and 1168 respectively in the village. The

VILLAGE SURVEY

appreciable imbalances in the sex-ratio among the Okkaligas and Gollas can only be attributed to something biological and we cannot explain it by any other reason.

Marital Status

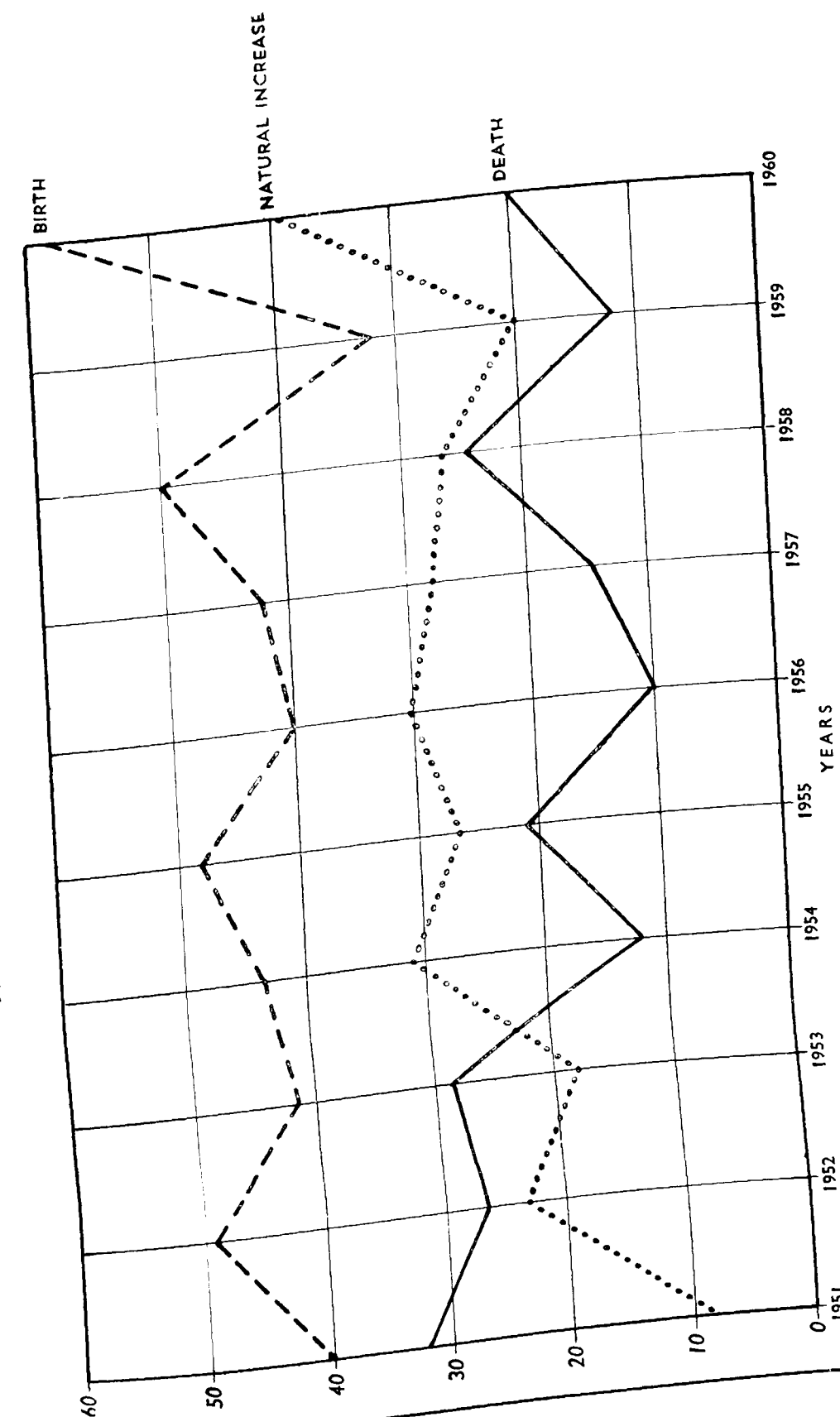
24. Table 7 below gives the marital status of the villagers in Arkasanahalli.

It can be seen from this table that about 48 per cent of the total population are not married, and 44 per cent married. The widows and widowers account for 7 per cent. Although widow marriage is allowed among all the predominant communities living in this village, persons, especially women, widowed after a certain age, do not generally get married again. That is the reason why we find 85 widows in the higher age groups. From this table, it can also be seen that the normal age of marriage for males is about 22 and that of females, about 17. Child marriage is not practised by any of the communities. Marriages take place only after the attainment of puberty in the case of girls. Among the married persons, we find that there are 314 males against 341 females. We tried to find out why there

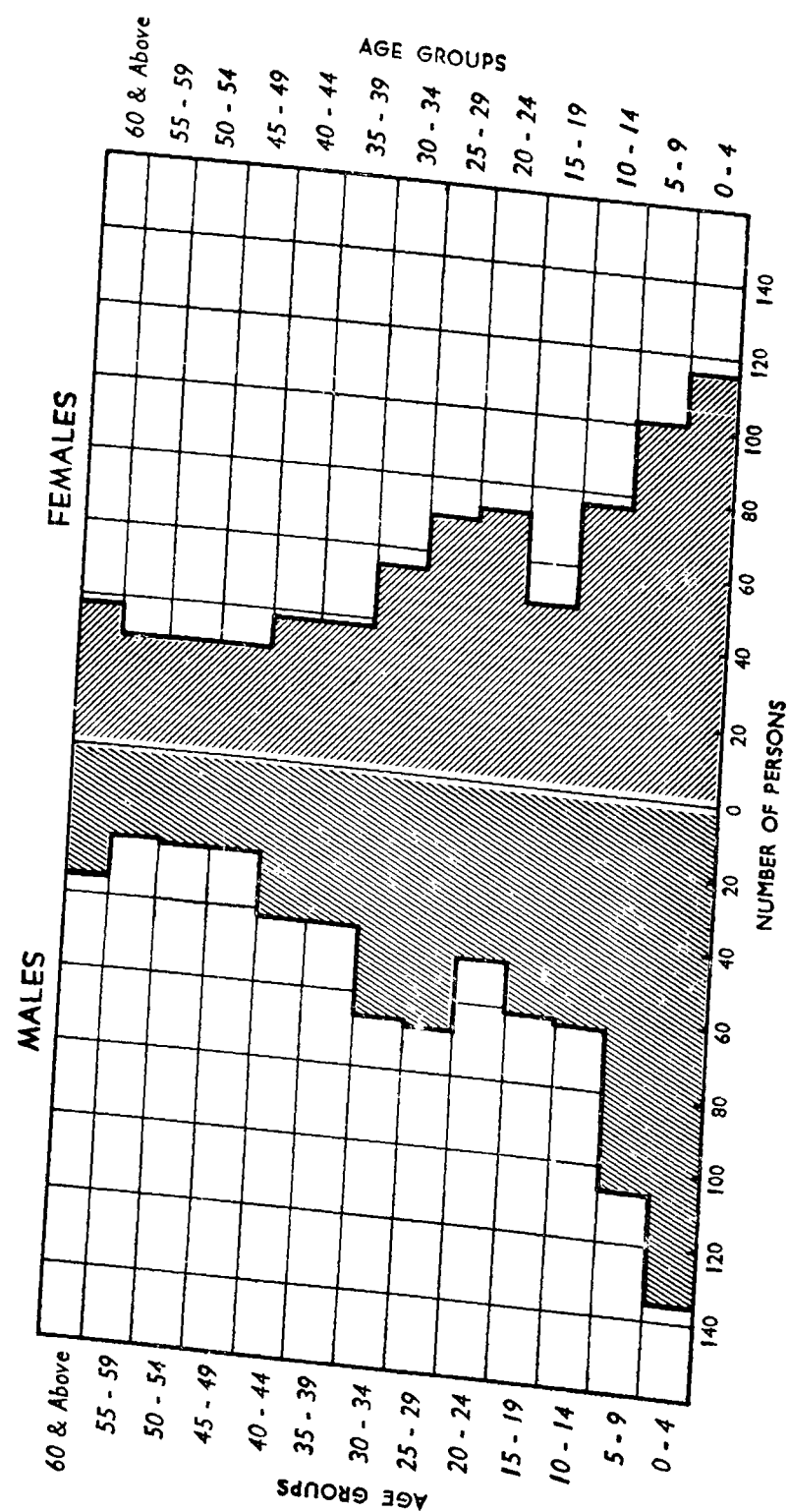
TABLE 7
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age Group	Total Population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
All ages	1,486	740	746	395	313	321	338	18	86	6	9
0-4	251	135	116	135	116	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	207	106	101	106	101	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	140	63	77	63	76	...	1	...	...	...	...
15-19	110	61	49	55	14	5	32	...	1	...	2
20-24	121	48	73	24	6	24	65	...	...	...	2
25-29	138	68	70	10	...	55	66	...	1	3	3
30-34	122	66	56	...	...	65	53	...	3	1	...
35-44	160	84	76	1	...	82	61	1	14	...	1
45-59	164	74	90	...	...	66	55	7	34	1	1
60 and over	73	35	38	1	...	24	5	10	33	1	...

BIRTH, DEATH & NATURAL INCREASE RATE FOR
ARAKASNAHALI VILLAGE



AGE PYRAMID



ARKASANAHALLI

are more married females than married males. We found that polygamy is widely practised in the communities of Gollas and Vanniars. We found that there are 7 Gollas and 7 Vanniars having two wives each, both living.

Distribution of population in age groups

25. The following table indicates the percentage distribution of the population by broad-age groups. The corresponding percentages of distribution for the district and for the State are also given for the purpose of comparison :-

Age-Group	Arkasanahalli percentage	Percentage for Salem District	Percentage for State
0-14	40.1	39.1	37.5
15-34	33.1	33.3	33.9
44-59	21.9	21.9	23.0
60 and above	4.9	5.7	5.6

From the above table, it may be seen that in this village, there is preponderance of children under 14 years when compared to the district and State figures. We also find that the elderly persons are lesser in proportion than what we find in the district and in the State. This would indicate lower expectation of life in this village than elsewhere, although the death-rate is falling.

Type and Size of Family

26. Normally a family consists of a married couple and their unmarried children. Such a type of family is called, for the purpose of this analysis, "Simple". A "Joint Family" on the other hand is defined as one containing two or more married couples with or without unmarried children. In between these two types, there are "Intermediate" families which are defined as consisting of a married couple, their unmarried children and one or more near relatives. All other types of families shall be classed as "Others". This last said type will usually consist of relatives, but will not include those in which atleast one married couple live. If we analyse the families in Arkasanahalli on the basis of the definitions stated above, we find from Table 8 that 49.7% of the families belong to the "Simple type", 18.5% to the "Joint type", 17.4% to the "Intermediate type" and the rest to the "Others".

TABLE 8

TYPES OF FAMILIES

Community	Total No. of Households	Types of Families living in the Households				Remarks
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others	
Vanniars ...	147	77	23	29	18	
Okkaligas ...	57	23	14	7	13	
Gollas ...	44	22	7	9	6	
Vannan ...	6	4	...	1	1	
Navithan...	3	3	...	...	...	
Mudaliar...	2	2	...	...	...	
Naidu ...	2	...	1	...	1	
Asari ...	1	...	...	1	...	
Pillai ...	1	1	...	...	...	
Parayan ...	27	14	5	4	4	
Chakkiliar...	8	2	2	4	...	
Total ...	298	148	52	55	43	

In order to pin-point the exact causes, it is necessary for us to study this aspect caste-wise. The following percentage-distribution in the various predominant communities of Arkasanahalli is revealing :-

Communities	Simple %	Intermediate %	Joint %	Others %
Vanniars	52.38	15.65	19.73	12.24
Okkaligas	40.35	24.57	12.28	22.80
Gollas	50.00	15.91	20.45	13.64
Parayars	51.86	18.52	14.81	14.81
Chakkiliars	25.00	25.00	50.00	Nil

It could be seen from the above that among Vanniars the most common type is the "Simple" family. Among Okkaligas "Simple" type of families is comparatively low and this is off-set by a higher distribution among

TABLE 9
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Caste or Community	No. of house-holds	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD														
		Single member			2-3 members			4-6 members			7-9 members			10 members and over		
		House-holds	M.	F.	House-holds	M.	F.	House-holds	M.	F.	House-holds	M.	F.	House-holds	M.	F.
Vanniar	147	3	1	2	34	42	44	67	170	154	34	143	120	9	55	64
Okkaligas	57	6	2	4	20	21	29	21	46	54	9	30	32	1	5	5
Gollas	44	2	...	2	12	12	17	19	42	52	8	34	28	3	13	19
Vannan	6	1	...	1	1	1	2	2	6	5	2	7	7	...	...	...
Navithan	3	...	...	...	2	2	3	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu	2	1	1	...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	2	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	4	...	...	...
Pillai	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Parayan	27	4	2	2	7	12	8	10	23	26	6	25	25	...	...	...
Chakkiliar	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12	11	3	13	11	1	5	5
Total	...	17	6	11	78	93	105	126	306	310	63	257	227	14	78	93

"Intermediate" and "Other" types. The distribution among Gollas and Parayars is normal, but among Chakkiliars 50% of the families are found in the "Joint" type. This larger incidence in the "Joint" type among Chakkiliars is said to be because of housing difficulties.

Table 9 gives the size of households, caste-wise. For the entire village, the percentage distribution size-wise would be as follows:—

Single member families	5.7%
Two to three member families	26%
Four to six member families	42%
Seven to nine member families	22%
Ten members and above	4.3%

The most common type of a household is the one having four to six members. Actually the average size of a household in Arkasanahalli works out to 4.9

members. The following statement gives the size break-up castewise:

Community	Single Member %	2-3 Member %	4-6 Member %	7-9 Member %	10 and others %
Vanniar	2.0	23.1	45.6	23.1	6.1
Okkaligas	10.5	35.1	36.9	15.8	1.7
Gollas	4.6	27.3	43.2	18.2	6.8
Parayars	14.8	25.9	38.7	22.2	...
Chakkiliars	...	...	50.0	37.5	12.5

It could be seen that the average size of an Okkaliga household is small consisting of 4 members, while it is large among Vanniar with 5.5 members.

ARKASANAHALLI

Literacy and Education

27. We hear so much of vast strides made in certain districts in Madras State in the field of literacy in the post-Independence period. We shall presently see how Arkasanahalli is faring in this direction. From Table 10, the figures of literacy in the village are seen to be as follows:—

	All persons	Males	Females
As per 1951 Census ...	2.4	4.2	.5
As per 1961 Census ...	7.6	12.2	3.1
As per our Socio-Economic Survey in 1962. ...	9.0	13.8	4.7

Whereas during the decade 1951-61, the level of literacy in the State has moved from 19.3% to 30.2% and that

in Salem district in which Arkasanahalli is situated from 11.4% to 18.4%, the level of literacy in Arkasanahalli has moved from 2.4% to 7.6%. This indicates a very sorry state of affairs. When compared to other districts, Salem is lagging behind. When compared to the other rural areas in Salem district, Arkasanahalli is lagging still further. The village is not keeping pace with the rest of the area. When is it going to catch up others, or is it going to catch up at all? This requires to be examined in detail.

Usually to improve the level of literacy in any area, the measures undertaken are—

- (1) to establish a school in each hamlet or atleast one within a reach of a mile from any residence; and
- (2) to raise the level of enrolment among the children of school-going age by offering inducements like midday meals, etc.

We have now therefore to examine whether these two conditions have been fulfilled.

TABLE 10
EDUCATION

Age Groups	Total Population			Illiterate	Literate without Educational Standard		Primary/Basic		Matric or Higher Secondary		Other Qualifications	
	Persons	Males	Females		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages ...	1,486	740	746	638	711	72	23	27	12	3	...	...
0-4 ...	251	135	116	135	116	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9 ...	207	106	101	67	80	35	20	4	1	...	...	...
10-14 ...	140	63	77	41	617	14	18	8	9	...	...	...
15-19 ...	110	61	49	58	47	1	1	2	1	...	...	...
20-24 ...	121	48	73	42	72	3	...	3	1	...	...	...
25-29 ...	138	68	70	61	70	3	...	1	...	...	...	...
30-34 ...	122	66	56	57	56	4	...	5	...	...	...	...
35-44 ...	160	84	76	77	76	6	...	1	...	...	...	...
45-59 ...	164	74	90	68	89	4	1	2	...	...	...	...
60 and over	73	35	38	32	38	2	...	1	...	...	...	...

The village has only two recently started schools located at Bettaigoundanur and Erapatti, although there are 9 hamlets in the village. These two schools are inadequate and they cannot be expected to cover the hamlets of Pallikadu and Mannappankottai which are away by more than a mile from any school.

Then as regards enrolment among the children of school-going age, we have the following figures :—

Total No. of children of school-going age (6 to 11)			No. enrolled			Percentage covered		
Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
247	127	120	104	67	37	42.1%	52.7%	30.8%

It can be seen from the above that in spite of the midday meal scheme, which however, we learn, is not so very regular, the coverage so far attained is 52.7% for boys and 30.8% for girls. A wide gap remains yet to be covered. Unless this gap is covered quickly, the level of literacy among the entire population of the village is not going to improve even by 1971.

The figures indicated above would show how bad is the position regarding female education. In 1951, practically no one in that sex ever received any education. Now 4.7% of the females are literates. Even in this, their attainment does not go beyond the junior basic. But what is encouraging is, that 30.8% of the girls of school-going age are now attending school.

The two schools in this village are run by the Panchayat Union. They are badly and inadequately housed in temporary buildings. The school at Erupatti is a single-teacher manned school.

Health and Sanitation

28. One comes to know of many aspects of the village life only after one actually stays in the village for some time. But as about sanitation, one comes to know of it, or rather, one is made aware of it, even as one approaches the village. Before we actually enter the village, we are made to pass through a zone full of odour. It is something strange that the villagers, who have a certain amount of personal cleanliness, are callous of environmental sanitation. They are somehow acclimatized to living in insanitary surroundings. The causes for such poor environmental sanitation in the village may be traced to the following :—

- (1) Improper housing;
- (2) Lack of drains;

- (3) Lack of proper type of latrines;
- (4) Inadequacy or complete absence of Panchayat sanitary staff; and
- (5) Lack of civic sense among the villagers.

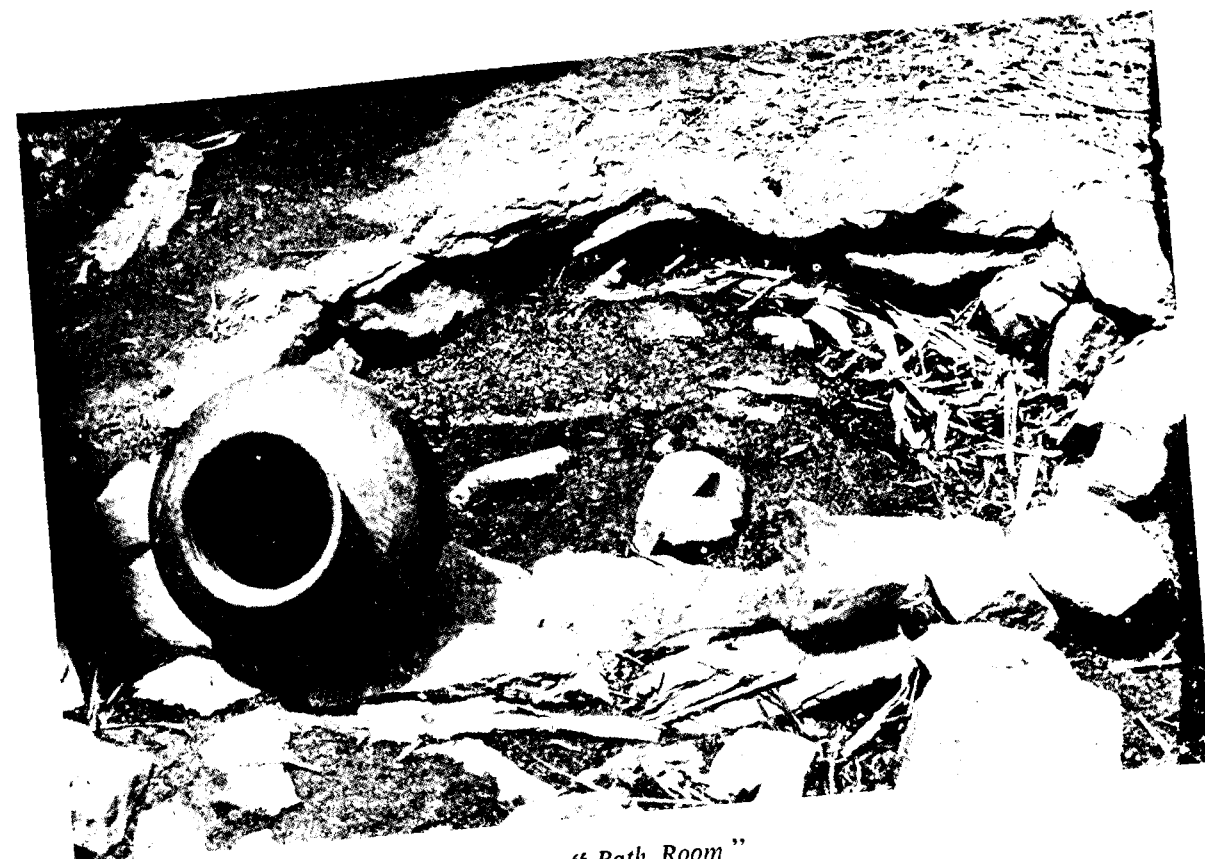
As the houses are not properly laid out, it happens that the backyards of some houses happen to be the front-yard of some other houses. There is not also sufficient open space around each house for purposes like keeping cattle, taking bath, washing clothes and utensils etc. The improper housing gives rise also to difficulty in construction of drains. The drainage water coming out from the houses are allowed to stand in cesspools in the middle of the lanes. The dirty water collected in the lanes get flushed only during the time of heavy rains. The children are allowed to ease in the streets and this would remain there until the pigs come there to eat them. The elderly people use the approach roads and the neighbouring fields for purposes of easing. The village has no latrine; nor can latrines be maintained properly by the Panchayat Board. Dry type latrines would not fit in with the conditions of the village. The resources of the Panchayat are also slender and it is not at present in a position to employ enough number of sweepers to clean the streets.

We find that four hamlets do not have any drinking water-supply wells at all. The people in those hamlets take water from irrigation wells belonging to private persons. But then, they are at the mercy of the owners of those wells. Actually two families in Pallikadu could not take water from the irrigation wells adjoining the hamlet because those two families are on inimical terms with the owner of the well.

As regards medical treatment, for small ailments, the people have their own native treatment. They go to the hospital at Pennagaram, only when the conditions are serious. They are quite aware of the value of modern medical treatment in hospitals. From Table 11 we find that 199 households in the village have attended public hospitals for treatment of ailments. As against smallpox, they are well protected by periodic vaccinations. From the death register, we found that infantile mortality was high during some of the years in this decade. There is no qualified midwife anywhere within a radius of ten miles. All the people have necessarily to engage a "Thai" or an experienced barber woman for attending maternity cases. We find that out of 652 child-births, 651 deliveries have taken place at home and only 1 child was born in a hospital. This solitary case happened to be that of the present headman who knows the conditions and facilities outside the village.



Midday meals served in the schools: This induces greater attendance.



"Bath Room"

ARKASANAHALLI

TABLE 11
MEDICAL CARE

MEDICAL CARE																		
Community	No. of Maternity Cases					Ordinary Medical Treatment					Medical Consultation			Vaccination				
	Confined in Hospital	Confined by bringing doctor Home	Confined by qualified Midwife at Home	Confined by Thai at Home	Confined without assistance at Home	Allopathic	Ayurvedic	Homeopathy	Combination of more than one system	Others	In Public Hospitals or in Dispensaries	In Private Hospitals or in Dispensaries	By calling in Physicians	Allopaths	Homeopaths	Others (Native)	Atleast once Within the past six months	
Vanniar	...	...	...	165	178	...	...	...	140	...	87	...	...	...	...	56	742	...
Okkaligas	...	1	...	60	36	...	...	...	51	...	45	...	...	...	...	10	228	...
Gollas	...	...	...	40	62	...	...	...	43	...	41	...	...	...	...	12	216	...
Parayan	...	...	...	43	4	...	...	...	28	...	3	...	...	...	...	25	119	...
Mudaliar	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
Asari	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	9	...
Vannan	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	6	...	...	...	...	3	28	...
Pillai	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
Naidu	...	...	...	4	3	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	4	...
Chakkiliar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	57	...
Navithan	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	9	...
	...	...	...	...	32	...	...	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	317	334	...	...	...	286	...	199	...	...	...	...	110	1,425	...



The grain godown of an individual.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMY OF THE VILLAGE

Occupation pattern

29. In most villages in India, agriculture is the mainstay of the people, and every 70 persons out of 100, directly or indirectly, depend for the livelihood on agriculture. Since Arkasanahalli is a village purposively

selected as one having a predominantly agricultural bias, we were expecting this percentage to go up. But we never expected that this will go so high as 96%. From Table 12 below, we find that 285 out of 295 households are connected with agriculture, either by personal cultivation or by working as agricultural labourers.

TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Community	Total	Cultivation only	Cultivation and Agricultural labour	Cultivation and Industry	Cultivation and Business	Cultivation and others	Cultivation, Agricultural labour and others	Cultivation, Industry & Agricultural labour	Cultivation, Agricultural labour, business	Agricultural labour	Agricultural labour & Industry	Industry only	Business only	Agricultural labour and others	Others	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Vanniars	...	147	95	6	16	...	...	2	1	20	7	...	...	...	...	...
Okkaligas	...	57	44	1	...	1	2	...	...	2	...	1	1	...	2	3 households consists of aged widows, who are supported by relations.
Gollas	...	44	31	2	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	2 households consists of aged widows, who are supported by relations.
Parayan	...	27	1	9	...	...	1	...	...	12	1	...	...	2	1	
Chakkiliar	...	8	2	2	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	
Vannan (Dhobi).	...	6	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	
Navithan (Barber)	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	
Mudaliar	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	
Naidu	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Pillai	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Asari	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	
Total	...	298	173	20	16	1	8	3	2	1	45	8	2	3	6	5

ARKASANAHALLI

From Table 13 below, we find that the primary occupation of 520 workers out of 723 workers in

the village is household cultivation.

TABLE 13
WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY SEX, BROAD-AGE GROUPS & INDUSTRY, BUSINESS & CULTIVATION BELONGING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Community	Age-Groups	Persons	Workers engaged in									
			Total Workers		Household Industry		Household Business		Household Cultivation		Others	
			Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Village as a whole	All ages	723	456	267	6	13	3	...	350	170	97	84
	0-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	59	29	30	...	2	...	...	42	22	16	7
	15-19	89	59	30	1	1	...	...	35	27	9	7
	20-24	84	48	36	3	2	1	...	55	21	13	14
	25-29	104	68	36	...	4	1	...	52	21	13	11
	30-34	102	66	36	...	...	...	...	70	23	13	16
	35-44	123	84	39	...	...	...	...	52	27	20	18
	45-59	117	72	45	1	...	...	...	21	7	7	5
	60 and over.	45	30	15	1	3	1	...	...	...	...	...

The figure 520 in cultivation does not include the agricultural labourers. There can be justification for this large dependency on agriculture, if there is some assurance of the success of the crop, as in wet lands dependent upon river channels. But in Arkasanahalli, there is no such guarantee. Success in cultivation is as undependable as the weather. There can be justification if atleast there is improvement in the practices and in the extents cultivated, resulting ultimately in increased *per capita* productivity. From what we observe in the village, and from what we see in the cultivation statistics of this village, this improvement is not happening. There is only improvement in the number of persons depending upon the land. This dangerous economy requires to be examined in detail.

If A is a cultivator, his sons B, C, D and E divide their father's land equally and continue to be cultivators. The love of the land and the love of the locality are forces so compelling as to prevent B, C, D or E to either choose an occupation different from cultivation, or to move to some other better place in search of better employment. There is therefore very little occupational mobility. As per Table 14, out of 210 households engaged in cultivation at present, only 2 are new comers to this category. As against this incoming, 22 households have gone out from "cultivation". But it is seen that the families which went out from "cultivation" are found mostly in the category "agricultural labourers". So practically very few households have moved out of "agriculture". The pressure on land continues to be heavy.

TABLE 14
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY—NATURE OF CHANGE FROM FATHER'S
GENERATION TO PRESENT GENERATION

Occupation	No. of persons in the occupation (Heads of household)	No. of persons whose fathers' occupation was										No. of persons who want their sons to be									
		Same occupation	Cultivation	Goldsmith	Agricultural labourer	Cooly	Weaver	Cobbler	Dhoby	Village Officer	Teacher	Petty shop	Same occupation	Any work	Cultivation	Government Job	Teacher	Cobbler	Not known	Cultivation & Government Job	
Cultivation	187	186	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	152	3	...	7	1	...	23	1		
Agricultural Labourer	59	44	13	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	22	...	15	...	...	...	22	...		
Lease cultivation	23	22	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	14	...	1	1	...	1	6	...		
Dhoby	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	3	...	...	...	...	...		
Village Officer	4	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...		
Teacher	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...		
Tea shop	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...		
Palm-leaf Mat Weaving	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...		
Barber	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...		
Business	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Tailor	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...		
Blacksmith	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
General Labourer	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...		
Postal Runner	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...		
Others (Non-workers)	5	...	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	...		
Total	298	264	22	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	194	5	22	13	1	1	61	1		

Again, as regards the methods adopted in the practice of agriculture there is practically no change in them. The same old implements, the same old degenerate seed-strains, the same old system of inadequate manuring, and the same old archaic devices, continue. There is very little conversion of "Manavari" or rainfed lands into garden lands. There is practically no shift from food-crops to commercial-crops. We would be advertising to all these points later in detail. It is suffice here

to state that there is very little change in the traditional practices.

So, what we find is that the dangerous economy resulting in too many people depending upon agriculture, is accentuated because of the following two reasons:—

- (1) Lack of occupational mobility; and
- (2) Lack of technical mobility.

ARKASANAHALLI

A change in the situation can be brought about only by a change in the attitude of the people. Whether that change would come soon enough to save the sinking community is rather difficult to expect. From Table No. 14, we see that 152 out of 186 heads of households engaged in cultivation and 22 other heads of households, want that their sons should take up of cultivation. The opinion is not in favour of any mobility away from agriculture. The reasons for lack of mobility lie deep in primitive human nature; they include attachment to a mode of living and to a particular plot of land. There is also the reluctance to abandon a system that has served the community for as far back as their memory extends and the unwillingness to embark on practices of which the Village Poojari and the village elders disapprove.

The economy is revolving round a vicious circle. For lack of resources, the people who are willing to adopt better practices, are unable to undertake any. Because they are not resorting to better practices, the *per capita* productivity is declining year by year, reducing thereby even the slender resources available for reinvestment. The vicious circle has to be broken somewhere. Better education may only make them aware of the problem; it may not materially aid in solving it. Borrowing from private money-lenders for the purpose of improving the land and the implements, may not also be advisable; the rate of interest charged is forbidding. The remedy therefore lies in aid by the Government. Since the aid by the Government is at present routed through the Panchayat Union, it calls for vigorous all out efforts by this agency.

The few households which are not engaged in agriculture are either engaged in petty trade or working as village servicemen, like blacksmiths, barbers, washermen, tailors, etc. or in salaried posts like village officers, school-teachers or postal-runner. It has to be noted that none of these other occupations is anything lucrative. The persons engaged in them are able to earn only that much necessary to eke out a hand-to-mouth existence. Most of the persons engaged in these wish that their sons at least are better employed in other lucrative occupations (vide Table 14).

Table 12 gives the occupational position community-wise. The three predominant communities of Vanniar, Okkaligas and Gollas are mostly engaged in agriculture. The scheduled-caste households of Parayans and Chakkiliars are mostly engaged as agricultural labourers, though one or two in each, do a little bit of cultivation also. The servicing castes of Vannan, Navithan and Asari are mostly engaged in their traditional occupations though occasionally during seasons, they go out as

agricultural labourers. The other caste households are engaged in other odd occupations, like petty-trade, teacher, village-officer, etc. The only cottage-industry that is pursued, mostly as a subsidiary occupation, is that of palm-leaf mat-making. Fourteen households, belonging entirely to Vanniar, are engaged in this cottage industry. As will be seen later, this cottage industry is neither a sustaining one, nor are the products manufactured in it very much in demand.

Working force

30. Till now we have been analysing the occupational pattern of the village, taking the household as a unit. The position may be slightly different if we study it taking a worker as unit. Table 15 gives the occupational position of workers sex-wise and age-group-wise. In this village, 298 households have contributed 723 persons to the working force of the village. This works out to 2.43 workers per household. This should be considered as below normal. The corresponding taluk figure is 2.60. When we analyse the labour force contribution, community-wise, we get the following figures:—

Community	Contribution of labour force per household in terms of persons		
	Males	Females	Total
Vanniar	1.65	0.96	2.61
Okkaligas	1.25	0.60	1.85
Gollas	1.43	0.86	2.29
Parayan	1.41	1.56	2.97
Chakkiliars	2.63	0.62	3.25
Vannan	1.33	0.83	2.16
Navithan	1.00	0.67	1.67
Asari	4.00	...	4.00
Mudaliar	1.00	...	1.00
Naidu	2.00	...	2.00
Pillai	1.00	...	1.00
Total	1.53	0.90	2.43

TABLE 15
WORKERS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS WITH SEX AND BROAD-AGE GROUPS

Age Groups	Total No. of Workers			Cultivation			Lease Cultivation			Agricultural Labourer			Palm-Mat Weaving			Tailoring			Blacksmithy			
	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	
All ages...	...	723	456	267	480	319	161	40	31	9	160	79	81	14	1	13	1	1	...	4	4	...
5-9 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14 ...	...	59	29	30	41	20	21	4	3	1	10	5	5	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19 ...	...	89	59	30	62	40	22	2	2	...	22	15	7	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...
20-24 ...	...	84	48	36	56	30	26	6	5	1	15	8	7	3	1	2	...	...	...	2	2	...
25-29 ...	...	104	68	36	71	53	18	5	2	3	22	8	14	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34 ...	...	102	66	36	68	47	21	5	5	...	21	10	11	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
35-44 ...	...	123	84	39	86	64	22	7	6	1	25	10	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
45-59 ...	...	117	72	45	72	47	25	7	5	2	36	19	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 and over	...	45	30	15	24	18	6	4	3	1	9	4	5	3	...	3	1	1	...	...	...	...

VILLAGE SURVEY

TABLE 15—*contd.*
WORKERS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS WITH SEX AND BROAD-AGE GROUPS—*contd.*

Age Groups	Village Official			Teacher			Tea Shop			Business			General Labourer			Postal Runner			Barber			Washerman		
	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.
All ages ...	4	4	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	3	3	...	10	8	2
5-9 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1
15-19 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
20-24 ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25-29 ...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	...
30-34 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...
35-44 ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	1	1	1
45-59 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
60 and over...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...

From the above, it may be seen that the per-household contribution to the labour force is the highest in Asari caste. But this does not indicate a normal feature, as this only represents a solitary Asari household consisting of four adult males. Leaving this out of consideration, the per-household contribution to the village labour force is very high among the Scheduled Castes of Parayans and Chakkiliars. Among Parayans, not only the adults work, but also boys. This per-household contribution to the labour force is fairly high among Vanniars, Gollas and Vannan. That would indicate an allround industriousness among all the members in those caste families. This amount of industriousness is not so well seen among the Okkaligas. This is because in well-to-do Okkaliga agricultural families, the females and the children do not generally work in the fields along with men. The following percentage figures will indicate the amount of participation of children between the years 5-14 in the working force of the village in the main communities:—

Community	Percentage of children in the working force
Vanniars	8.6
Okkaligas	5.7
Gollas	11.9
Parayars	7.5
Vannans	15.4
Others	Nil

It is also seen from Table 15 that avenues for employment of children in work are found mostly in cultivation. The other kinds of employments in this village do not give scope for childrens' participation in work.

Females' contribution to the labour force of the village is indicated below, community-wise:—

Caste	Percentage of female workers to total workers
Vanniars	36.8
Okkaligas	32.4
Gollas	37.6
Parayars	52.5
Chakkiliars	19.2
Others	25.0

The female participation in the working force is quite good among Parayars. It is fairly high among Gollas and Vanniars. Since we know that Golla men marry more than one wife, merely for the sake of getting an additional worker in the family, the female participation

VILLAGE SURVEY

in the working force of this community cannot but be high. This is very low among Chakkiliars and we can attribute it only to the unwillingness of their women to do work. In this caste, the low participation of women is more than compensated by larger participation of men in each family.

In Arkasanahalli village, as against a population of 1,486, there are 723 workers. The workers form 48.7% of the population. This should be considered as below normal when we see that in Dharmapuri Taluk in which this village is located, the corresponding percentage is 52.9. Even in respect of the 723 workers in the village, their occupations are seasonal. The agricultural season itself lasts only for 5 months in a year. Even during the season, they would not be employed on all the days. From what we gather, no worker in the village gets employed for more than 100 days in a year. The amount of wastage of idle man-power in the village must be colossal. What however surprises us is that in spite of this widespread under-employment there is very little occupational mobility.

Non-workers

31. The activities of the non-workers are given in the Table 16. The students form 10.2% of the non-workers. The housewives form 26.9% and the dependents 62.9% of the non-workers.

Occupational mobility

32. Table 17 gives the extent of occupational mobility in the village. It is seen from this table that only 11% of the households have changed their father's occupation; and even out of that 12 households have changed to lesser lucrative occupations because of adverse financial considerations. The change from cultivation, is not because they have found better employment. It is mostly because they were forced to alienate the lands for debts etc.

Utilisation of lands

33. The total extent of the village is 5,379.04 acres. This comprises of the following categories:

	Acres
Occupied dry	1,145.25
Assessed waste lands	1,688.32
Government unassessed barren	1,356.22
Poramboke lands set apart for communal use	1,166.45
Reserved forest	22.80
Total	5,379.04

ARKASANAHALLI

TABLE 16

NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD-AGE GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

Age Groups	Total Non-workers			Full-time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Others		General volume of persons unemployed		
	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
All ages	...	763	284	479	52	26	...	205	232	248	...	...	...	...
0- 4	...	251	135	116	...	...	...	...	135	116	...	...	...	...
5- 9	...	207	106	101	36	21	...	...	70	80	...	...	...	...
10-14	...	81	34	47	16	5	...	10	18	32	...	...	...	...
15-19	...	21	2	19	...	...	...	18	2	1	...	...	...	...
20-24	...	37	...	37	...	...	...	37	...	...	...	...	...	...
25-29	...	34	...	34	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	...	20	...	20	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...
35-44	...	37	...	37	...	...	...	37	...	...	...	...	...	...
45-59	...	47	2	45	...	...	...	43	2	2	...	...	...	...
60 and over...	...	28	5	23	...	...	...	6	5	17	...	...	...	...

It could be seen from the above that only 21.3% of the total extent of the village is held by private persons for agricultural use. Even including the 500 acres of Government waste-lands under encroachment by private persons, the total extent under agricultural use comes to 30.5%. The extent of land under agricultural use is comparatively very low. This is because of the fact that the village is strewn with a large number of hillocks which cannot be put to agricultural use.

The land available for agriculture can be divided into three categories: (1) net sown area, (2) current fallows and (3) cultural waste. In Arkasanahalli village about 67% of the agricultural lands come under net sown area. The rest is divided between current fallows and cultural waste; the exact division between these two categories could not be worked out from the

data available. As regards non-agricultural lands, the percentage distribution between the various categories as found in the village and as given for the district is furnished below:

	For the Village	For the District
Forests	0.5%	52%
Barren lands	16.0%	28%
Pasture lands	55.9%	10%
Lands set apart for communal purposes.	27.6%	30%

It could be seen from the above that very little forest area is available in the village; but then, the land

N. B.—In the case of 5 households, the head of the household are not doing any work due to old age.

available for pasture is very extensive. This would indicate that there is plenty of scope for maintaining larger number of cattle and for improving the livestock industry.

From the village cultivation accounts, we could gather that, on an average, about 1.635 acres only are raised with first crop and 267 acres with second crop. Out of the above sown area, about 500 acres are encroachments of Government waste lands. The net sown area per head of agricultural population in the village works out to 1.45 acres, the corresponding figure for Salem district is 0.68 acre and for the State 0.71 acre. As Arkasanahalli happens to be a dry tract, the village figure of net sown area per head of agricultural population is found to be higher than the corresponding district figure.

Intensity of Cultivation

34. The intensity of cultivation in any area is usually represented as an index by dividing gross sown area by net sown area and multiplying it by 100. The index of intensity of cultivation for this village works out to 116 as against 114 for Salem district and 121.33 for the State. The intensity of cultivation in the village almost corresponds to the district figure, but it is less than the State figure. As there is very little of irrigation, the intensity of cultivation is bound to be rather low.

Types of Cultivation

35. Out of 1,145.25 acres held by private persons an extent of 1,030 acres is under "manavari" cultivation i.e., they are cultivated with the aid of rain. An extent of 115 acres is under well-irrigation. In this village, there are 64 irrigation wells, out of which a few are Durovu wells i.e., wells standing on river banks. In the last five years an extent of 114.10 acres only was brought under irrigation and that too under wells numbering about 64. The extent under irrigation works out to 7% of the net sown area. This is comparatively low when we know that 20% of the net sown area in Salem district happens to get irrigated.

We shall now give details as to how cultivation is carried on in Manavari and Garden lands.

Manavari Cultivation

36. The bulk of the cultivable lands belong to this category. The crops in these lands depend entirely on the mercy of timely rains. For the success of the crop, the rains should not only be adequate, but should also be timely. By dint of experience, the ryots have evolved a calendar for the various operations connected with the raising of crops in these lands. If there are any

heavy showers during the summer months of April and May, they utilise the occasion to till the soil. They do three or four ploughings before they do the sowing, which is in the month of July. The crops that are sown in this month would be millets, like Cholan, Cumbu and Samai. As a mixed crop, they would also sow pulses. If on account of delayed rains sowing could not be done before the 15th of August, they would not attempt sowing millets. On a subsequent rain they would, instead, sow horsegram. They usually do one weeding which is about a month after the sowing. They harvest the millet crops in December. The pulses crop would stand for one more month. This would be harvested either in the end of January or early in February. Usually, they raise only one crop in the Manavari lands, but they sometimes raise a second crop which would mostly be gingelly, by sowing it in March and harvesting in June.

The methods that they adopt for doing agricultural operations are very archaic. They use only country wooden ploughs and do the harvesting with serrated sickles. In an article in the "Madras Information", for August 1962 about "Techniques and Tools in Agriculture", the Director of Agriculture has stated as follows:-

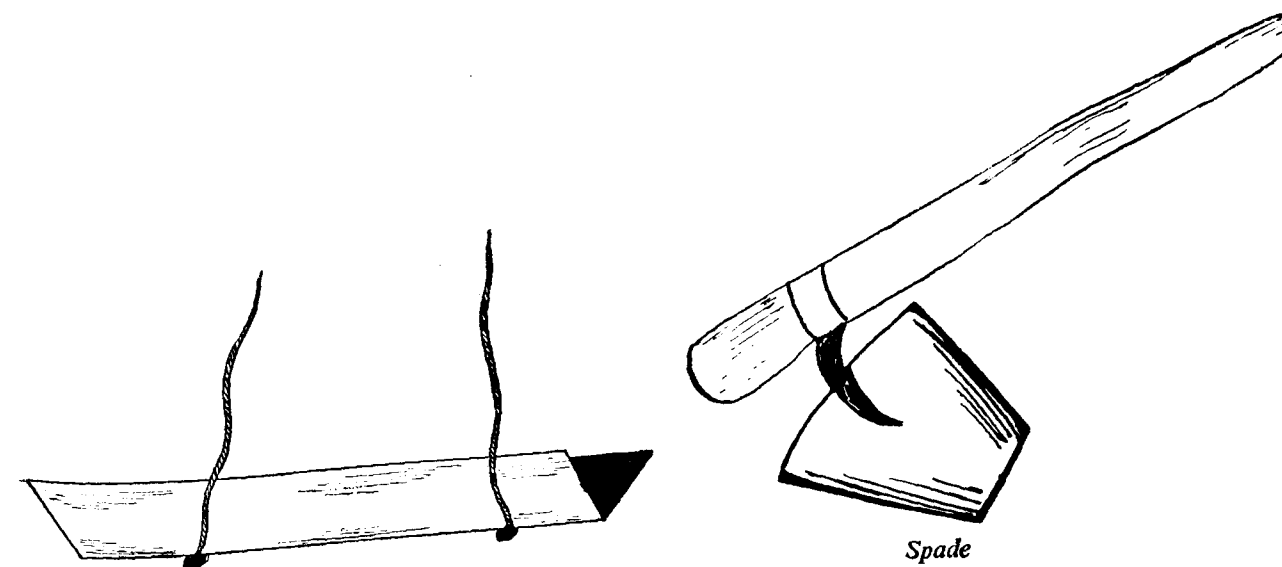
"Throughout the centuries farmers all over the world were using only the wooden plough. It is only in the turn of this century that iron ploughs which give a better tilth and a thorough inversion and therefore better crop, have been replacing the wooden plough. In advanced countries, power operated tractors have completely revolutionized the village. In this country, however, on account of the numerous fragmented farms, the wooden ploughs have not been eliminated though intensive propaganda had been going on for over 50 years".

What is said above is found to hold in entirety to Arkasanahalli village. The tools used in this village include ordinary wooden plough, hand-weeder (Kalaikothu), common hoe (mamooti), the crow-bar, the pickaxe, the billhook, etc. These implements are mostly manufactured locally and in certain cases purchased from the nearby shandy. There is, in this village, a carpenter-cum-blacksmith who manufactures wooden ploughs and other implements for the peasants. The timber for this purpose is usually cut from the nearby forest. A peculiarity of this village is that there are practically no carts for transport purposes. The total number of ploughs in this village is 245 while it was 223 in 1956.

As regards manure, the ryots do not put anything other than farmyard manure. The usual mode of manuring the lands is by penning the cattle on the lands



Plough



For Levelling

Spade

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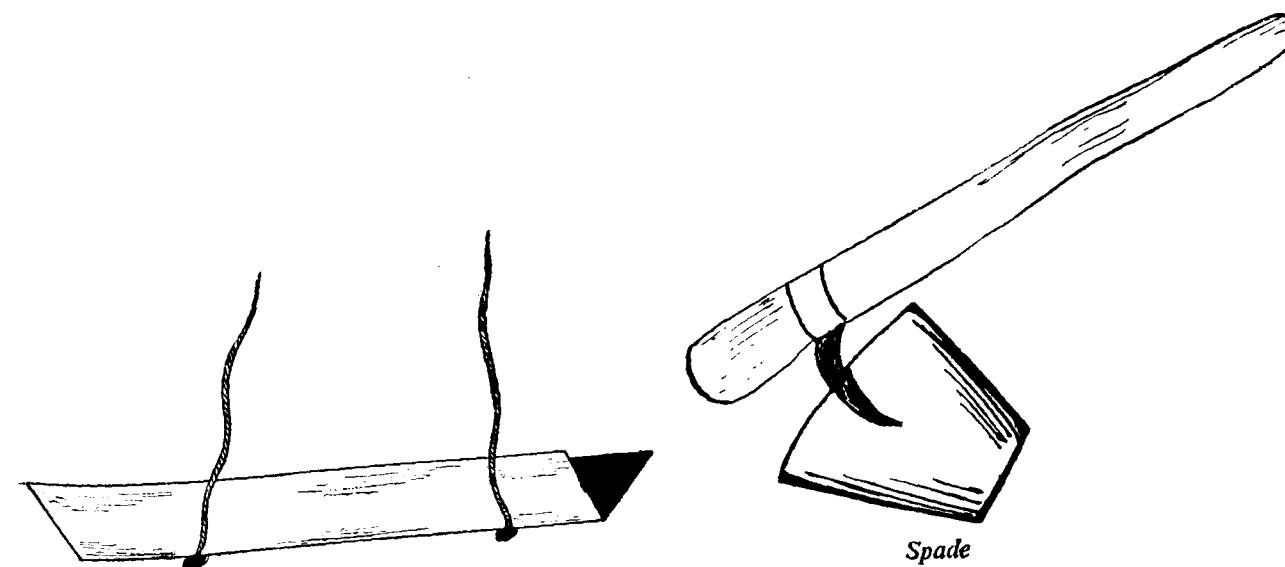
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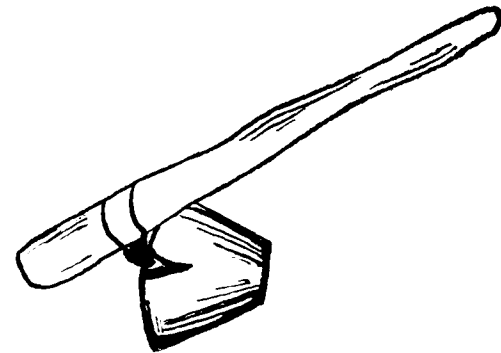


Plough

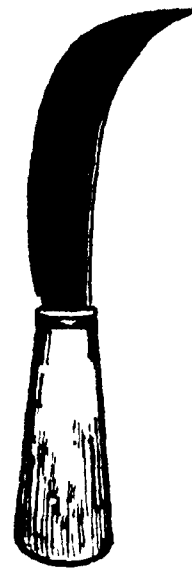


For Levelling

Spade



Weeding hoe



Billhook

and shifting the pen daily. We had occasion to observe that the manuring done by the ryots for the manavari lands is not quite adequate and this is reflected in the poor yield got from the tired soil.

We have tried to calculate roughly the cost of cultivation of the manavari lands. The cost would work out as follows for an acre:

(1) Cost of ploughing for four times :	Rs. 30.00
(2) Cost of manuring ...	Rs. 40.00
(3) Cost of weeding ...	Rs. 15.00
(4) Cost of harvesting ...	Rs. 20.00
	Rs. 105.00

As against this, the owner would get the following:—

Cost of three bags of millets	Rs. 90.00
Cost of half a bag of pulses	Rs. 25.00
Cost of millet stalks	Rs. 40.00
	Rs. 155.00

So they may be able to realise a net income of about Rs. 50 per acre. This is only if the rains are favourable. If the rains are unfavourable, the ryots may not realise even the cost of cultivation.

One notable feature in this village is that the ryots do not take to the cultivation of commercial crops, like groundnut which could come up very well in the red-loam sandy soil. If they raise groundnut, the ryots may

probably get a much larger income out of these lands. But then, they must be going in elsewhere for their food needs. They will have to first market the groundnut crop and then purchase grains for their needs. As the village is very much in the interior, they are diffident about getting favourable prices for groundnut. That may be the reason for not switching on from foodgrains to groundnut.

Garden Cultivation

37. Even in garden lands, the bias is towards food crops. The owners of well-irrigated lands raise mostly paddy. If there is sufficient water in the wells, they raise two crops of paddy. A few have however taken to the cultivation of tobacco. Last year an extent of 7.90 acres was cultivated with tobacco. The other cash crops raised and the extents cultivated in 1961 are the following:—

Chillies	7.90 acres
Cotton	12.54 "

There is scope for bringing out more area under cash crops.

The first crop paddy is transplanted in July and harvested in January. The second crop short-term paddy is transplanted in January and harvested in April. Since two crops are raised, the lands require a little more intensive manuring. A few of the ryots have now taken to giving doses of chemical manures also.

The cost of sinking a well in this village may come to about Rs. 3,000. Since hard soil is not found within

ten feet from the ground level, the edges of the well require heavy revetments. The water is usually found at depths of about 30 to 40 feet. There is plenty of scope for conversion of a large number of manavari lands into garden lands by sinking wells. But that is not taken up by the ryots for want of funds to invest. The lands, as valued by the Revenue Department, are not sufficient to be shown as security for getting adequate sums as Takkavi loans from the Government. This is the reason told when we asked the ryots as to why they could not sink more wells. From the records available, it is gathered that in the whole village, only 13 loans to the extent of Rs. 3,610 had so far been taken for the purpose of sinking wells.

Since electricity has not reached this village, baling of water from the wells is done by bullocks, through leather collapsible buckets. While drawing the bucketful of water, the pair of bullocks run down along an inclined slope. After the pot is emptied, the bullocks walk up backwards along the slope without turning.

While going up and down, the stout wooden pulley with an iron axle makes creaching noises which will be a familiar sound in the rural parts. The ball-bearing pulley introduced by the Agriculture Department may lessen the strain on the bullocks but even that change has not come over to this village. In other parts where baling is done by bullocks, it is usual to plant coconut trees to give shade to the bullock slopes. This may incidentally give the peasants additional income without diversion of any cultivable area for the planting of the coconuts. This wise dual purpose planting of coconut trees has not also been done in this village.

Land Distribution

38. It can straightaway be said that in Arkasanahalli village, there are no big landowners. In fact no one is affected by the Land Ceiling Legislation. All the owners of lands come below the level of 30 standard acres. Table 18 below shows the distribution of land among the various households.

TABLE 18
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH LANDS

Community	Total households	Own lands			Lands held from Government			Lease lands			Own land and Government lands			Households with no lands
		Acres 0-5	5-10	10 & over	Acres 0-5	5-10	10 & over	Acres 0-5	5-10	10 & over	Acres 0-5	5-10	10 & over	
Vanniars ...	147	50	38	12	7	5	2	2	2	...	...	2	...	27
Okkaligas ...	57	29	17	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	9
Gollas ...	44	21	7	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	11
Vannan ...	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Navithan ...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Mudaliar ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Naidu ...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Parayan ...	27	7	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
Chakkiliar ...	8	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2
Total ...	298	113	65	17	10	6	3	4	2	...	2	2	...	74

Of the 290 households in this village, 224 of them are engaged in cultivation. Of these, 19 who do not own any lands of their own, cultivate poramboke and assessed waste lands belonging to the Government and 4 other households who own small bits of their own lands, do cultivation of poramboke lands also. Six of the households who do not own any land of their own have taken leases from other landowners and cultivate them. The number of tenants in this village is very very small and so the village presents no problem about tenancy. Of the 199 households owning lands, 115 own less than 5 acres; 67 of them own lands between 5 to 10 acres. Only 17 households own more than 10 acres. It could therefore be seen that the bulk of the land-owners (57.8%) own uneconomical holdings, if we may take an uneconomical holding as one with less than 5 acres. The remaining 42.2% of the owners only hold economical holdings. Even in this, the number of persons dependent upon the land in each household may be more than two. The process of fragmentation has been going on for generations together. This has resulted in splitting up of holdings to an uneconomical level. Unfortunately for Madras State, there is neither any legislation for preventing fragmentation below a certain level, nor is there any legislation in offing to consolidate the fragmented holdings, as in Punjab or Uttar Pradesh.

We see that 1,145 acres are owned by 199 holdings. The average size of a holding comes to 5.75 acres. This when compared to the All-India level of 7.2 acres is low but when compared to the Madras State level of 4.9 acres, is slightly above.

Though it is generally not desirable to do dissection of the ownership castewise, yet to understand the domination of certain communities in village politics, it becomes necessary to see how land ownership is divided castewise. The following is the distribution of land ownership:

Vanniars	...	...	102	households
Okkaligas	...	...	48	"
Gollas	...	...	32	"
Parayars	...	...	8	"
Chakkiliars	...	...	4	"
Others	...	...	5	"

199

It could be seen that the land ownership is predominantly held by Vanniars and next to them, the Okkaligas. The Gollas also own a not too insignificant portion. The 'others' are practically either agricultural labourers or those pursuing some other occupation not dependent upon agriculture.

Livestock'

39. Long time before, the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India observed: "In most parts of the world, cattle are valued for food and for milk. In India their primary purpose is draught for the plough and for milk. Without the ox, no cultivation would be possible; without the ox, no produce could be transported". The above observation made in 1928 holds good even to this day at least so far as Arkasanahalli is concerned. The conditions in rural parts have not materially changed. Ploughing, baling of water and transport of men and materials continue to be done by the bullocks. The work load set apart for the bullocks continues to be the heavy. The only difference we could observe is that present day animals in many tracts remain neglected. For want of attention and select breeding, they have become more and more decrepit. The bullocks we see in Arkasanahalli village do not belong to any specified breed. They are the degenerated cross-breeds of many species. Neither their size nor their draught capacity is anything of an asset to the agriculturist who maintains them. Although normally 15 to 25% of the cost of cultivation is contributed by cattle labour, in Arkasanahalli village, we estimate it to be much lower. From the figures of Cattle Census furnished elsewhere in this Chapter, we could see that the number of bullocks in this village is appreciably low. The number of draught animals per 100 acres of cultivated land in this village works out to 4.7 as against 7.8 for the district. This is because of the inability of many cultivators to maintain bullocks which are not very helpful to them. For ploughing purposes, the villagers in this area do not hesitate to use the cows. In fact, during the ploughing season, almost all the cows whether milking or dry are utilised for this purpose. When that is the fate of the cows, it could be imagined as to what would be their milking capacity. A few well-to-do ryots, who are engaged in garden cultivation, maintain bullocks for baling water from the wells.

The reason for the deterioration in quality of cattle in this area cannot be because of lack of fodder. The stalks of millet crops and the pastures available in communal poramboke lands and in the adjoining unreserved forest lands should be enough to feed them. The real reason for their deterioration should therefore be on account of the failure to do select breeding.



Traditional way of baling from an irrigation well is an insurance against draught.



Drinking water facility from river Nagavathi. The drinking water wells sunk with Govt. grant are not so much in use.

ARKASANAHALI

The following are the figures of cattle as per the Cattle Censuses of 1956 and 1961:-

	1956	1961
Bulls and Bullocks	62	70
Cows	519	658
Bulls and Heifers under 4 years	196	253
Buffaloes—		
He	...	8
She	40	35
Buffaloes under 4 years	27	9
Sheep	326	1,476
Goats	1,060	590
Horses and Ponies	9	7
Donkeys	6	10
Poultry	418	Not available.

The above Census figures would reveal a low number of bulls and bullocks. Out of 658 cows shown in 1961, it was found during the Socio-Economic Survey, that only

a very small number is used for milking purposes. The others are used for ploughing etc. purposes. We also see that people of late are rearing more of sheep than of goat. Whereas the number of goats has decreased from 1,060 in 1956 to 590 in 1961, the number of sheep has increased from 326 in 1956 to 1,476 in 1961. This preference for sheep rearing is probably on account of the restrictions imposed by the Forest Department. The increase in the number of sheep is a welcome change. Money derived by way of sale of these mutton-giving animals would be a substantial supplementary income to the ryots who would otherwise be mainly dependent upon the dry crop that can be raised in the lands. There is plenty of scope for raising sheep in these areas and this will also keep the agriculturists occupied during the lean months.

The cattle wealth are mostly owned by the three predominant cultivating castes of Okkaligas, Vanniars and Gollas. A few goats are owned by Chakkiliars and Parayars. The distribution of the cattle castewise is given in Table 19.

TABLE 19
LIVESTOCK STATISTICS

Community	Milk/Cattle		Draught/ Bullock		Goat/Sheep		Cows		Duck/Geese		Fowl		Buffaloes		
	No. of House- holds owning	Total No.	No. of House- holds owning	Total No.	No. of House- holds owning	Total No.	No. of House- holds owning	Total No.	No. of House- holds owning	Total No.	No. of House- holds owning	Total No.	No. of House- holds owning	Total No.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	
Vanniars	...	2	4	21	44	37	766	101	320	1	30	52	233	6	14
Okkaligas	...	1	2	9	23	13	196	37	120	...	...	26	91	1	3
Gollas	...	...	...	7	14	5	77	25	69	...	...	12	34	1	2
Navithan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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Asari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Parayan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	26	...	...	4	10	...	...
Chakkiliar	...	...	...	...	...	1	8	4	10	...	...	2	9	...	...
Total	...	3	6	38	83	57	1,052	178	547	1	30	96	377	8	19



The live stock. They are the degenerated cross breeds of many species. Neither their size nor their draught capacity is anything of an asset to the agriculturists.



The Vinayagar Temple. The prosperity of the temple goes with the people.

Village Industries

40. In a dry tract in which the people are mostly dependent upon uncertain yield of dry crops from the manavari lands, the development of some cottage industry becomes all the more necessary. If in any year, the crops fail, the people should have something else to fall back upon, as otherwise distress conditions would set in. To insure against such a contingency, the people ordinarily take to a subsidiary occupation in some cottage industry, which would occupy them and give something to stave off difficult days. Even if the yield is not bad, the cultivation period in the manavari lands would keep them busy only for five months in a year. For the rest of the period, they may have to be mostly idle. During these lean months, they take to these cottage industries. A peculiar feature about these small cottage industries is that their whole-time pursuit would not be economic enough for a family to subsist upon, but if this is pursued as a side occupation and taken up only during leisure hours, the income that is derived in it, to some extent, is very helpful. In Arkasanahalli village, the only cottage industry that is pursued by a very few and that too in a particular community viz. Vanniars is the date-palm mat weaving. From Table 15, it is seen that only 14 persons are engaged in this. The others do not indulge in any such cottage industry. From Table 12, it could be seen that 83.6% of the households are solely depending on agriculture and 4.4% of the households on non-agricultural occupations. The remaining 12% of the households engaged in agriculture, have got a side occupation or industry. So in case of adverse seasonal conditions 83.6% of the households have no safety valve. They have nothing else to subsist upon. Distress conditions would set in very quickly. This is rather a dangerous economy which could be set right by inducing those people to have a side occupation. For this the present side occupation of mat weaving with date-palm leaflets is also not adequate enough.

Palm-leaf mat weaving

41. The mats prepared out of the date-palm leaflets are useful mostly as packing material, especially for tamarind, tobacco, etc. The mats prepared in this village are not used for any purpose within the village. They will have to be taken to the nearest shandy and marketed. The merchants from Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri etc. places come and buy these for sale to tamarind merchants. The mats are prepared from the small leaflets cut from the leaves of date-palms which are found to grow wild in the adjoining poramboke and forest lands. The people engaged in this industry have

only to go about and collect the leaves without payment of any cost. The leaves cut are first dried in the sun for two or three days. The leaflets are then cut and soaked in water to make them easily pliable. These leaflets are woven to make long strips, six feet long and three inches wide. After making 18 such strips, these are combined sideways by stitching to make ultimately a big mat, 6 feet long by 4½ feet wide. For making these mats a certain amount of skill is required, but it is not very difficult for one to learn within a short period. This industry involves no investment and nothing is paid towards raw materials. It is learnt that one can earn about 25 nPs. a day. Since the income got out of this cottage industry is not commensurate with the amount of labour and time spent on it, the other communities have not taken up to this occupation. Further even if others take to this, the demand for the mats will go down and the people engaged in it may not get even this small remuneration.

Apart from mat weaving, the only other village industry that is pursued by two Asari families is the blacksmithy. In a village which uses primitive implements for agriculture, the village carpenter-cum-blacksmith plays an useful role. He sharpens the old implements and even supplies new ones. He does not usually get wages in cash. He is paid once in a year in kind by the agriculturists during the harvest season. The Asari family, however, is not mainly dependent upon this occupation alone for their entire living. The members go out for wages in agricultural operations also.

Trade and Commerce

42. The people of Arkasanahalli grow their own food. Deficiencies in their grain needs are mostly met by internal adjustments. In normal years, no one practically buys his requirement of grains from a trader. That happens only when the crops had failed and grains difficult to procure locally. In that case the villagers go to the nearest shandy (weekly market). The individual surpluses of the producers are also brought to the shandy and sold. The shandy happens to be a convenient place for the villagers to meet once in a week, to sell away their surplus produces and to buy their other necessities like spices, condiments, oil, salt, kerosene, clothes, etc. Since surplus produces grown in the area are brought here, the shandy very well serves as an assembling centre for those commodities grown in that locality. Traders engaged in the transactions of those commodities come there and buy up these produces. If anything is got sold in the shandy by the villagers they have the satisfaction that they have sold it to the maximum advantageous price prevailing then. The



Palm leaf mat-making. The mat-making consists in weaving narrow elongated strips and then . . .

meeting of shandys at suitable centres on days staggered throughout the week, is an arrangement traditionally followed and well suited to the simple ways of the rural folk. As they prefer selling and buying in the shandys, there is very little scope for any trade within the village. From Table 20 we see that there are only three petty shops selling odd small things like Bidi, pan, matches etc. and two tea shops, which come under the category of "business" in this village. Out of the two tea shops, one is run by a Mudaliar and the other by an Okkaliga.

The business done in these shops cannot be called as brisk, because as yet, the habit of tea-drinking is still in the initial stages in this village. Even this amount of business in these tea-shops would not be there if credit is not forthcoming. But in spite of this, the running of these shops does not involve any appreciable capital expenditure. Two of the petty shops are run as a part-time subsidiary occupation. So, no one of these petty businessmen has involved himself in any debts borrowed for the specific purpose of running the business.

TABLE 20
EXTENT AND NATURE OF BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

Community			Nature of Business	Source of Finance	Households	Average Profit		Remarks
Mudaliar	...	...	Tea Shop	Private Party	1	Rs. 30 per mensem		Primary
Okkaliga	...	...	Do.	Do.	1	„ 30 „		Do.
Mudaliar	...	...	Petty Shop	Do.	1	„ 20 „		Do.
Okkaliga	...	...	Do.	Do.	1	„ 10 „		Subsidiary
Vanniar	...	...	Do.	Do.	1	„ 5 „		Do.

Income, Expenditure pattern

43. With practically no other occupation other than agriculture, and with nothing commendable in agriculture itself as practised in this village, we should not be disappointed if Table No. 21 shows that 152 households out of 298 in this village come under the income group of Rs. 0—25 and another 120 households under income group of Rs. 26—50. Poverty cannot touch any further lower level. The condition of the remaining households is not also anything bright. Only four households come under the group Rs. 101 and over; 22 households are in the intermediary groups of Rs. 51—75 and Rs. 76—101. Out of the four families in the top class, one comes under the occupation of teacher, another under the village-officer and two others under cultivation. In the other two next immediate lower income groups, the bulk of the households comes under cultivation. It is also

seen that the cultivating households coming under the income groups of Rs. 51—75 and above own garden lands irrigated by wells. We have already seen that the net income out of one acre of Manavari land may be about Rs. 50 only. So, for a household to qualify itself to come in the income group of Rs. 51—75, it must own atleast 12 acres. From Table 18, we see that only 17 households own more than 10 acres in the village. The remaining households owning less than 10 acres mostly come under lower income groups. From Table 21, we also see that apart from the teachers and the village officers, all households pursuing an occupation other than cultivation, come only in the lower income groups. As these are only tertiary occupations, the prosperity in these necessarily depends upon the prosperity of the cultivators. When cultivation itself is at sub-standard level, any prosperity in the other tertiary occupations is out of question.



... knitting them together to make a mat.

From this table, it could be seen that food forms the only major item of expenditure in all the income groups in this village. The proportion of the expenditure on food in the various income groups is given below:

Income Group.	Percentage of the expenditure on food to the total expenditure.
Rs. 0—25	82.6
26—50	85.3
51—75	82.2
76—100	81.4
101 and above	79.4

Although almost all the households in the village spend considerable portion of their income on food, the food that they take is far from satisfactory, either quantitatively or qualitatively. With the high cost of prevailing prices of foodstuffs, the households in the lower income groups resort to buying the maximum quantity out of the money available. So they spend very little on protective items of food like meat, eggs, vegetables, milk, etc. They spend mostly on buying cereals. Even in cereals, since rice is costlier, they go in entirely for millets. From Table 22, we find that what is spent on cereals forms the bulk of their food expenditure, as detailed below:—

Income Group.	Percentage of the expenditure on cereals to the total food expenditure.
Rs. 0—25	78.8
„ 26—50	79.6
„ 51—75	74.6
„ 76—100	71.2
„ 101 and above	73.4

Even with the bulk of the expenditure going in for the purchase of cereals, it cannot be said that all the households are in a position to buy enough cereals, at say 20 ounces a day. At the price of Rs. 30 a bag of millet, the cost of the quantity required for an adult male works out to Rs. 8 per month. In a family of 3 consumption units, the cost of millets alone would amount up to

Rs. 24 a month. So it is evident that the households in the income groups of Rs. 0—25 and Rs. 26—50 must be in various levels of starvation. If the people of the two scheduled castes resort to eating the flesh of the dead bullocks, it arises out of their anxiety to subsist in the face of this hunger.

As between the people in various walks of life in the village, there is not much divergence in their expenditure patterns. The marginal balances after meeting the cost of food are so trivial as to allow no wide variations in the manner of spending it. Perhaps the teachers and the village officers may be spending a little more on dress. They may be spending a fractional amount on travelling and on certain consumer goods. But they too are curbed by severe limitations.

When we see that almost all the households are struggling hard to buy their dire necessities, one may wonder how they incur expenditure on marriages, death ceremonies, etc. It is here the role of money-lenders comes in. Borrowing of loans is an easy affair. What is difficult, however, is the repayment. But the realization of this future difficulty is not usually felt, when there is something eventful likely to take place in the family of the borrower.

Rural Indebtedness and Credit Facilities

44. It is somewhere mentioned that the Indian peasant is born in debts, brought up in debts and is allowed to die in debts. This apparently seems to have been said to bring out picturesquely the woeful condition in which he is always oppressed by the heaviness of debts. Immediately on the mention of the word debt, some are likely to imagine that there is something fundamentally wrong with the person who borrows. He is looked upon with suspicion, though not without sympathy. As a result of this public attitude, the person who is in need has to negotiate loans with a certain amount of secretiveness. For the sake of privacy, he prefers to borrow from private money-lenders although it involves payment of higher interest, than publicly from a Cooperative Society or the Government. Why should an odium be attached to borrowing? After all, in the present complex financial set up, borrowing is part of any occupation, either it be agriculture, trade or industry. To suppose that anyone should always have ready-money of his own before he undertakes any occupation is not only impossible, but also bad in economics. When he has surplus money, he can plough it back into the occupation he is engaged. If however, he is not ready for it, or if the climate is not suitable for expansion, he must invest the surplus money with a bank, which can cater to the persons in need.

When after a time, he himself is in need, he can borrow either from his earlier deposit or in the absence of it, from the deposit of anyone else. That is the fundamental principle of finance, and that is what should be encouraged.

This line of thinking and borrowing when in need is admittedly conducive, provided there are limitations. These limitations vary according to the purpose for which the loans are borrowed. Generally in rural parts loans are obtained for the following purposes:—

- (1) Improvement of land;
- (2) Purchase of land;
- (3) To meet cultivation expenses;
- (4) For stocking commodities in business during seasons;
- (5) Repair of houses;
- (6) Purchase of new houses;
- (7) Family maintenance;
- (8) To meet unusual items of expenditure in the family like marriages, death ceremonies, etc.;
- (9) Medical expenses towards longstanding illness;
- (10) To make payment of interest charges on previous debts; and
- (11) Litigation expenses.

In the list above, items 1 to 4 may be termed as productive and the rest unproductive. Even in respect of unproductive items, items 5 to 7 may be classed as unavoidable and items 8 and 9 as avoidable. We have now to examine as to what are the limitations upto which borrowings can be undertaken. In other words we have to draw a line which would indicate “thus far and no further”. If any villager crosses this line, he is courting the risk of being eaten away by wolves. It is easy to imagine in what shape these wolves are. A few villagers after wandering beyond the danger line may be able to retrieve back without being accosted by wolves. But that involves a certain amount of risk and he must have had pluck and luck.

In the case of borrowings for productive items 1 and 2, whose benefits are long-lasting, with utmost able management and proper utilisation, one can ordinarily hope to get an annual return of 10 to 15% only in agricultural and business undertakings. For the sake of convenience we will take it as 12%. From out of this return, he has not only to pay interest charges but also about 1/20th of the principal amount, presuming thereby that he repays the entire long-term loan in twenty years. That means, the interest at which he has borrowed should not be more than 7%. An agriculturist cannot hope to get any loan at this rate of interest

A—7

from private money-lenders. He has necessarily to look to the Cooperative Society or the Government for undertaking any such capital outlay. So from the above, it could be seen that if any villager had borrowed money at a rate higher than 7%, where the return is not more than 12% he has crossed the danger line. Conversely, since credit cannot be had at a rate less than 6% even from Cooperative and Government sources, no undertaking is worthwhile if it could not fetch a return of more than 11%. In Arkasanahalli we find from Table 23 the villagers borrowed money to the extent of Rs. 28,000, under items 1 and 2. The break up for this amount, source-wise, is as follows:—

From friends and neighbours.	Rs. 16,100
From Government.	„ 2,800
From money-lenders	„ 6,000
From Cooperative Societies.	„ Nil

We find that the amount borrowed from the Government is small and that from Cooperative Societies nil. The bulk of the loans comes from friends and relatives. Although they may be friends and relatives, the rate of interest on those loans is decidedly not less than 12%. In the case of loans from money-lenders, it is admittedly more than 24%. So, we could see that except in the case of investment of Rs. 2,800 borrowed from Government, the other investments are not on wise grounds. The remuneration derived out of the investments borrowed at 12% and 24% would not be equal even for the payment of interest charges. So far as these cases are concerned, it is not difficult for us to predict that the households involved under such debts, with heavy interest rates, are not likely to clear themselves off from the burden of the loans.

As regards the loans on items 3 and 4, the safe level of borrowing may be at 12% because, the remuneration out of the investment is not likely to be more than that. The amounts borrowed on these short-term items are as follows:—

From friends and relatives.	Rs. 8,700
From Government source.	Rs. 2,850
From money-lenders.	Rs. 4,050
From Cooperative Societies.	Rs. Nil

Total ... Rs. 15,600

TABLE 23

INDEBTEDNESS BY SOURCE OF CREDIT

Source of Debts	Purpose of Debts								Total
	Purchase of land	Improvements to lands	Household cultivation	Household business	House construction, repairs to buildings	Family maintenance expenditure	Marriage and death expenses	Sickness	
Friends and Neighbours	9,850	6,250	8,400	300	200	48,110	8,900	...	82,010
Government Institutions	...	2,800	2,850	...	...	...	...	...	5,650
Village Money-lenders	7,400	2,000	4,000	50	550	7,190	10,650	2,000	33,840
Total	17,250	11,050	15,250	350	750	55,300	19,550	2,000	1,21,500

Even here, what is borrowed from private money-lenders does not fall within the safety line.

As regards other loans, the criterion cannot be on considerations of percentage of return. They are mostly

on considerations of immediate necessity. So in such cases, the limitations should be based on the ability of the borrower to repay the loans. Since the ability of a borrower to repay depends on his income, we may study this aspect with reference to Table No. 24.

TABLE 24

INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUP

Income Group Rs.	Total No. of Households	No. of Households indebted	Percentage of Col. 2 to Col. 3	Amount	Average indebtedness per Household
				Rs.	
25 and below	152	100	65.79	42,000	420.00
26 to 50	120	96	80.00	47,100	490.63
51 to 75	13	12	92.46	24,100	2,008.33
76 to 100	9	7	77.77	5,300	757.14
101 and above	4	2	50.00	3,000	1,500.00
Total	298	217	...	1,21,500	...

From this table, it is seen that the extent of indebtedness per household in the various income groups is as follows:-

Income Group.	Average indebtedness per household.
Rs.	Rs.
0—25	276
26—50	393
51—75	1,854
76—100	589
101 and over	750
All income groups	406

The average indebtedness per household is by itself seen to be high. It is particularly high and far above the repaying capacity of the households in the income groups of Rs. 0—25 and Rs. 51—75. The high involvement in debts in the income group of Rs. 0—25 is traced to Gollas, Okkaligas and Chakkiliar households. The heavy indebtedness in the income group of Rs. 51—70 is traced to Vanniar, Okkaliga and Parayan households.

TABLE 25
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE

Community	Cause	No. of families	Amount	Proportion of debt due to causes to the total amount of debt
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
All communities together	(a) Purchase of lands	14	Rs. 17,250	14.20%
	(b) Improvement to lands	14	11,050	9.09%
	(c) Household cultivation expenses.	38	15,250	12.55%
	(d) Household business expenses	5	350	0.29%
	(e) House construction, repairs to building	4	750	0.62%
	(f) Family maintenance expenses...	173	55,300	45.51%
	(g) Marriage and (death) expenses.	39	19,550	16.09%
	(h) Sickness	1	2,000	1.65%
	Total	288	1,21,500	...
Vanniar	(a) Purchase of land	12	12,000	19.28%
	(b) Improvements to land	10	7,750	12.45%
	(c) Household cultivation	16	6,350	10.20%
	(d) Household business	1	50	0.08%
	(e) House construction, repairs to building	2	350	0.56%
	(f) Family maintenance expenses	9	28,140	45.22%
	(g) Marriage and (death) expenses...	10	7,600	12.21%
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	148	62,240	...
Okkaligas	(a) Purchase of land	1	5,000	13.81%
	(b) Improvements to land	4	3,300	9.12%
	(c) Household cultivation	14	6,100	16.86%
	(d) Household business	2	150	0.41%
	(e) House construction	1	250	0.69%
	(f) Family maintenance	32	12,500	34.53%
	(g) Marriage and (death) expenses...	10	6,900	19.06%
	(h) Sickness	1	2,000	5.52%
	Total	65	36,200	...

TABLE 25—*contd.*
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE

Community.	Cause.	No. of families.	Amount.	Proportion of debt due to causes to the total amount of debt.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Parayan	(a) Purchase of land	...	Rs. ...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	2	550	10.78 %
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction, repairs to building	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance expenses	12	3,450	67.65 %
	(g) Marriage and (death) expenses...	3	1,100	21.57 %
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	17	5,100	...
Gollas	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	5	2,100	21.43 %
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction, repairs to building	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance expenses	28	8,500	67.46 %
	(g) Marriage and (death) expenses...	4	1,400	11.11 %
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
Mudaliar	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	...	...	...
	(d) Household business	2	150	33.50 %
	(e) House construction	1	150	33.50 %
	(f) Family maintenance	1	100	25 %
	(g) Marriage and (death) expenses	...	...	...
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	4	400	...

TABLE 25—*contd.*
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE

Community.	Cause.	No. of families.	Amount.	Proportion of debt due to causes to the total amount of debt.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Chakkiliar	(a) Purchase of land	1	Rs. 250	9.43 %
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	...	...	...
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance	6	1,850	69.81 %
	(g) Marriage and (death) expenses	2	550	20.75 %
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	9	2,650	...
Asari	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	...	...	...
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance	...	...	...
	(g) Marriage expenses	1	1,000	100 %
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
Barber	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	...	...	...
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance	1	400	100 %
	(g) Marriage expenses	...	...	...
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	1	400	...

TABLE 25—*contd.*
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE

Community.	Cause.	No. of families.	Amount.	Proportion of debt due to causes to the total amount of debt.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			Rs.	
Pillai	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	...	...	...
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance	...	...	...
	(g) Marriage expenses	1	1,000	100%
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	1	1,000	...
Vannan	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	...	...	...
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance	4	360	100%
	(g) Marriage expenses	...	...	...
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	4	360	...
Naidu	(a) Purchase of land	...	...	...
	(b) Improvements to land	...	...	...
	(c) Household cultivation	1	150	100%
	(d) Household business	...	...	...
	(e) House construction	...	...	...
	(f) Family maintenance	...	...	...
	(g) Marriage expenses	...	...	...
	(h) Sickness	...	...	...
	Total	1	150	...

ARKASANAHALLI

From Table 25, we find that the chief cause of indebtedness in almost all the caste households is family maintenance. The percentage of debt due to this cause to the total debt in the various caste households is as follows:-

Caste.	Percentage of debt incurred for family maintenance to the total debt.
Vanniars	45.2
Okkaligas	34.5
Gollas	67.5
Parayans	67.7
Chakkiliars	69.8
Mudaliar	25.0
Vannan	100.0
Navithan	100.0
Others	Nil.

Such heavy indebtedness for the sake of family maintenance would indicate something basically wrong with the living conditions in the village. Only a few households among Vanniars and Okkaligas have incurred debts on justifiable grounds, viz., land improvement and cultivation. Even here, though the cause of indebtedness is justifiable, the source of credit as already seen, is bad. So, the overall position in regard to indebtedness is very unhappy for the following reasons:

- (1) The extent of indebtedness per household is high;
- (2) The debts incurred are far above the repaying capacity of the households;
- (3) The cause of indebtedness is mostly on unproductive items; and
- (4) The source of credit is bad and is not conducive to the liquidation of debts in the long-run.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Traditional Caste Panchayats

45. In the immediate past, the public conduct of the people in villages was guided and controlled by the Caste Panchayats. Each caste had its own Panchayat presided over by a council of elders belonging to that caste. The convener of the Panchayat for each village was called as Periathanakaran, Oor Gounden or as Ejamanan. Some castes had overall chiefs for the entire castemen in that region and he went by the name of Guru, Pattakaran or Nattan. The succession to these offices mostly went by heredity but there were instances when new persons were installed in those offices because of alleged departure by the previous incumbents from the rightful path. These Caste Panchayats were very powerful and delinquencies on the part of the castemen were severely dealt with. They imposed monetary fines as well as corporal punishments. The most powerful weapon in their hands was ex-communication. Where there were inter-caste disputes, the elders of all the castes concerned sat together and resolved their disputes. It cannot be said that these Panchayats functioned strictly on the model of Parliamentary democracy. There was hardly any scope for organized opposition in caste Panchayats which worked well and stood the test of time.

With the coming in of the statutory village panchayat and with the change in the times, the role of the Caste Panchayats has weakened in Arkasanahalli. They exist in name only without any sanction behind them. The Vanniars of the village have a head called Oor Gounden and he has an assistant called Oor Thotti. The Okkaligas have an Oor Gounden for each village and Pattakaran for a Nadu of 18 villages. The Parayars have a head called Ejamanan. The present holders of these posts have very little power and the system itself is fast disintegrating.

In the place of these traditional Caste Panchayats, the two new village institutions viz. the Village Panchayat and the Village Co-operative Society are expected to play useful roles in the community life of the villagers. In the decentralized democratic set up of the Panchayat Raj, these two institutions have a significant contribution to make for the welfare of the people. We will examine the extent of usefulness of these two Government sponsored institutions.

Village Panchayat

46. Much has been written on the role of Panchayats in the present set up of Panchayati Raj. The sponsors of this Raj believe that the Panchayat will play a vital part in the building up of the right relations between the individuals and his community through the introduction of self-management of problems of his community, a sense of participation in his society and the political education of the villager in the citizenship of his country. Here by community, we mean not a caste but the entire group of the villagers living together in the various hamlets. But actually the Panchayat members were elected on caste basis by the villagers. The division of membership was as follows:-

Vanniar	...	4
Okkaligas	...	3
Gollas	...	1
Parayan	...	1
Chakkiliar	...	1

Merit of individuals qualifying for membership never played any part in the selection. Then after the members were elected, a keen rivalry rose between the Vanniars and the Okkaligas for the office of the President of the Panchayat. Caste considerations played an important part in finally electing a Vannia as President. The bitterness arising out of this election, fought on caste consideration, has not died out, even when we visited the village for survey, long after the election.

But one good that resulted out of this evil, is that many villagers had come to know of the existence of the Panchayat. The village had a Panchayat for the last 30 years. It was in a dormant state. There was no taxation. Its revenue consisted of only a few hundred rupees got from Government as cess. The Panchayat was not in a position to do anything useful to the villagers. In the revised set up, with increased powers and its revenues widely enlarged, it is required to perform not only the municipal functions similar to those of a town municipality but also developmental functions, such as, promotion of agriculture and village industries. Arkasanahalli Panchayat has a budget of about Rs. 32,000. In the context of the increased tempo of the activities of the Panchayat, we surveyed as to how far the villagers are aware of the Panchayat and its activities. Table 26 may be looked into. We:

ARKASANAHALLI

TABLE 26
INFORMATION ABOUT MAIN FUNCTIONS OF PANCHAYATS

Community.	No. of households.	No. that could tell the period of existing of Panchayat correctly.	No. that could tell the period incorrectly.	Remarks including note on the functions of the Panchayats set up according to statute.			Remarks on the effect of the introduction of the Panchayat Act.	
				Civic duties.	Collection of taxes.	Civic duties and collection of taxes.	Civic duties, collection of taxes and village administration.	duction of the Panchayat Act.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Vanniar	...	2	62	4	3	10	...	...
Parayan	...	...	10	2	...	1	1	...
Chakkiliar	...	1	1	...	...	2	...	...
Gollas	...	19	10	...	...	27	...	...
Okkaligas	...	19	21	4	1	27	...	...
Vannan	...	2	3	...	...	3	...	...
Navithan	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...
Naidu	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
Asari	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...
Pillai	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Total	298	44	113	13	4	73	1	...

TABLE 27
OPINION ABOUT IMPROVEMENT THROUGH PANCHAYATS

Community.	No. of house-holds.	No. according to whom after establishment of statutory Panchayat there has been			No. according to whom after establishment of statutory Panchayat there has been			No. according to whom after establishment of statutory Panchayat there has been improvement or harm.
		Improvement (a) Construction of Roads.	Improvement (b) Digging wells.	Improvement (c) Health.	Harm (a)	Harm (b) Taxes.	Harm (c) and so on.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Vanniar	147	12	11	...	...	2	...	...
Gollas	44	27	27	...	...	...	...	...
Navithan	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Okkaligas	57	26	26	1	...	1	...	...
Asai	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Naidu	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	6	3	3	...	...	...	...	...
Parayan	27	2	1	...	...	...	...	1
Chakkiliar	8	1	1	...	...	...	...	1
Pillai	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total	298	75	71	1	...	3	...	3

VILLAGE SURVEY

ARKASANAHALLI

found that 53% of the persons interviewed in the village knew about the existence of the Panchayat. Out of this 157 persons, who knew about its existence, 74 persons were able to describe the main functions of the Panchayat correctly and another 17 persons have some knowledge of its functions. The remaining 66 persons did not know any of the functions of the Panchayat although they knew about its existence.

Table 27 gives the result of opinion survey about the improvements effected by the Panchayat. It is seen that 75 persons have stated that the Panchayat has improved the communication facilities. Arkasanahalli is quite an interior village. The present Panchayat has taken up three road works costing Rs. 16,500. When we visited the village, these road works were in progress. Then, as regards drinking water wells, 71 persons have stated that there is improvement in this direction. This is probably because of the Panchayat taking up the execution of the well work at Erappatti at a cost of Rs. 2,000. About improvement in sanitary conditions only one has expressed favourable opinion. We have already remarked that the sanitary conditions in the village are far from satisfactory and the people though mostly illiterate, have the keen sense to appreciate the true state of affairs.

The revenue and expenditure position of the Panchayat is as detailed below:-

EXPENDITURE		Estimated Cost. Rs.
Roads :		
Mannappankottai-Chinnampalli border	0-6 ...	3,000
Erappatti-Chinnampalli border	3-0 ...	12,000
Arkasanahalli-Pallimathanur	0-3 ...	1,500
Wells :		
Erappatti Well	...	2,000
Other items :		
Maintenance of Streets	...	1,000
Lighting	...	2,600
Midday meals	...	1,650
Maintenance of Radio	...	1,500
Agricultural grant	...	1,000
Other Miscellaneous items	...	5,000
Total	...	31,250
REVENUE		
Local Cess	...	1,407
Stamp duty	...	2,550
House tax	...	1,250
House tax matching grant	...	1,250
Minor Local revenues	...	1,425
Village Development grant	...	10,230
Village works grant	...	13,060
Total	...	31,172

Normally the income of Panchayats comes from internal as well as external sources. The internal sources constitute (1) local taxes and licence fees, (2) income from remunerative assets and activities and (3) people's contribution. The external sources constitute (1) the share in State taxes and (2) State grants by statute or on request. In Arkasanahalli, we find that out of the income of Rs. 31,172, the income from internal sources is only Rs. 2,675. There is also practically no possibility of getting any contribution from villagers. The income from internal sources is in any case not likely to exceed 10% of the total income. This is not a happy position. Unless the internal income is augmented, the Panchayat can do nothing substantial to the welfare of the people. Even as it is, from the expenditure position, the activities of the Panchayat are still encompassed mostly on its municipal functions, rather than on its developmental activities with emphasis on agriculture. The Panchayat therefore needs effective guidance from the officials of the Panchayat Union to which this is affiliated.

Co-operative Society

47. Though so much is relied upon from a Co-operative Society in the envisaged set up, Arkasanahalli has not been fortunate enough to get any Co-operative Society yet. Why a Society has not so far been formed although this village came into the Community Development Project in 1961 itself, is a matter for official probing. But we can state this much. Because of the absence of a Co-operative Credit Society, the source of cheap credit through this agency is completely denied to the people and they are forced to go to the professional money-lenders. If the level of indebtedness in the village is high, it can be said that it is partly because of non-availability of cheap credit in times of need. The usefulness of the Co-operative sector in an agricultural economy is immense. We have no doubt that the opening of this facility will change the conditions in the village considerably.

Developmental Activities

48. Pennagaram, the headquarters of the Block is about 18 miles from this village. Within the Block, this is still a remote village and for that reason, it seems to be suffering again. The Development Officers including the Grama Sevak are very rarely to be seen in the village. The benefits meant under the developmental scheme are therefore very slow to reach this village. Actually in the opinion survey conducted by us, only 11 out of 298 households know the existence of the Grama Sevak. (Table 28).

TABLE 30
AWARENESS OF CHANGES IN HINDU LAWS OF SUCCESSION AND ADOPTION

Community.	Number of persons interviewed.	Number aware that there have been changes in Hindu Adoption Act.	Number that could describe the changes in Hindu Adoption Act correctly.	Number aware that there have been changes in Hindu Succession Act.	Number that could describe the changes in Hindu Succession Act correctly.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Vanniar	147	...	...	...	...
Okkaligas	57	...	...	4	4
Gollas	44	...	...	...	...
Navithan	3	...	...	...	...
Vannan	6	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	2	...	...	...	...
Naidu	2	...	...	...	...
Asari	1	...	...	...	...
Pillai	1	1	1	1	1
Parayan	27	1	1	1	1
Chakkiliar	8	...	...	...	...
Total ...	298	2	2	6	6

TABLE 31
RANGE OF INFORMATION

Community.			Total number of households.	Number of households heads of which know the name of				Name of principal rivers of the district.
				District HQ.	Taluk HQ.	Panchayat Block HQ.	Police Station.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)		
Vanniars	...	...	147	57	52	44	57	48
Okkaligas	...	...	57	36	35	32	35	32
Gollas	...	...	44	27	26	26	26	25
Barber	...	...	3	1	1	1	1	1
Vannan	...	...	6	3	3	3	3	3
Mudaliar	...	...	2	1	1	1	1	1
Naidu	...	...	2	2	2	2	2	2
Asari	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pillai	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1
Parayan	...	...	27	9	7	6	9	7
Chakkiliar	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...			298	138	129	117	136	121

TABLE 32
AWARENESS OF UNTOUCHABILITY
OFFENCES ACT

Community.	Number of persons interviewed.	Number of persons aware of prohibition of untouchability under law.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Vanniar	147	4	...
Okkaligas	57	5	...
Gollas	44	...	...
Navithan	3	...	...
Vannan	6	...	...
Mudaliar	2	...	...
Naidu	2	2	...
Asari	1	...	...
Pillai	1	1	...
Parayan	27	3	...
Chakkiliar	8	...	...
Total ...	298	15	...

From Table 31, we find that 46% of the heads of the households only know about the District Headquarters, 43% know the taluk headquarters, 39% know the Block Development Office and 44% know the Police Station. We also see that 46% of them are familiar with the names of the principal rivers flowing in the district. We must think that this amount of geographical knowledge is by itself a great thing for the people of this village. But we find that this knowledge is confined mostly to the higher castes of Okkaligas, Vanniars and Gollas. As between the Parayars and Chakkiliars, we find that Parayars are better than the Chakkiliars, in the matter of social education. As regards awareness of Hindu Laws of Succession, we find from Table 30 that comparatively very few know about it at all. In rural parts, the new Hindu Law of Succession and Adoption are still not followed.

Properties left over by the dead are still divided only by the sons and no shares are given to the daughters. As regards untouchability laws, the awareness of the people to the ban on untouchability is limited to only 15 families out of 298 in the village (*Vide* Table 32). Out of the 35 households of Scheduled Castes only three Parayars are aware of them. There is neither the desire of the socially backward classes to get the benefit of the untouchability laws nor is there any benevolent desire on the part of the higher castes to treat these down-trodden men with any amount of equality. The improvement of literacy combined with social education of the elders may improve things but that change cannot be expected too quickly.

Family Planning

50. Sir Julian Huxley in an article entitled "The crowded world" has expressed that "If we fail to control the forces of our own reproduction, the human race will be sunk in a flood of struggling people and we, its present representatives will be conniving at its future disaster". The Government of India, in realization of this impending disaster, have taken increased measures aiming at Population Control. The Third Five-Year Plan has set apart a sizeable amount for propagation of Family Planning methods. The responsibility for the propagation of the methods has been placed upon the Community Development staff. Madras State is said to lead the other States in the matter of resorting to Family Planning methods. So in this context, it becomes necessary to study the awareness and attitude of the villagers towards the Family Planning methods. Our survey in Arkasanahalli reveals that the villagers are cent per cent unaware of the scheme itself. This is something worth pondering. If all the talk about Family Planning, is confined only to urban community, then the benefits expected out of this measure are not reaching the places where they are badly needed. The lop-sided propagation of Family Planning methods in certain sections only of the people may also have adverse effects in disturbing the composition of the people at a future date. This is not what the planners aimed at.

The ignorance of the villagers to family planning, necessitated some explaining by our Investigators because they were also charged with the task of conducting an "Attitude Survey". Our Investigators did a good job in collecting some useful materials in the matter of attitudes of the villagers to Family Planning methods. The villagers generally showed eagerness to know something about it, although later 14% of them expressed indifference to the specific question of resorting to limitation. Table 33 gives a cross-section of the views expressed caste-wise.

TABLE 33
FAMILY PLANNING
Abstract of Opinions expressed

Community.	Wanting more children.		Wanting no more children.		Indifferent.	
	Households.	Percentage	Households.	Percentage	Households.	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Vanniars	57	49.54	38	34.23	18	16.23
Okkaligas	20	52.63	13	34.21	5	13.16
Gollas	23	69.69	9	27.27	2	3.04
Vannan	3	60	2	40	...	...
Navithan	1	33.33	...	...	2	66.64
Naidu	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar	1	50	1	50	...	...
Asari	...	...	1	100	...	...
Pillai	...	...	1	100	...	...
Parayan	4	14.81	13	56.52	6	28.67
Chakkiliar	3	42.85	4	57.15	...	...
Total ...	112	49.00	82	36.00	33	14

From this, it is rather interesting to see that among the Scheduled Caste households, the opinion is more in favour of 'no more children' and among the higher agricultural castes, the opinion is more in favour of having children.

The attitude to limitation of children is based on multiple considerations. The chief of them may be the following:—

- (1) Income position;
- (2) Educational level of the parents ;
- (3) Ages of the father and mother;
- (4) Duration of marriage; and
- (5) Number of sons and daughters already born.

Table 35 shows the attitude of the heads of households in the different income groups of the various castes. For the entire village, the position resolves to this:—

Income group.	Percentage of households in that groups wanting more children.	Percentage of households in that groups wanting no more children.	Percentage of households in that groups indifferent to the issue.
Less than Rs. 25	56	30	14
Rs. 26—50	47	38	14
„ 51—75	20	70	10
„ 76—100	14	43	43
„ 101 and above.	50	50	...

TABLE 35

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE

Caste.	No. wanting more children, the age of the head of household (Male) being									No. wanting no more children, the age of the head of households (Male) being					
	Above 50	Per- cen- tage.	41—50	Per- cen- tage.	31—40.	Per- cen- tage.	21—30	Per- cen- tage.	20 or less.	Above 50.	Per- cen- tage.	41—50	Per- cen- tage.	31—40	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Vanniar	...	2	12.50	11	42.31	23	56.10	21	70.00	...	...	13	81.25	9	34.61
Okkaligas	...	1	11.11	2	25.00	11	76.57	6	85.71	...	...	7	77.78	5	62.50
Gollas	...	1	20.00	4	44.44	10	83.33	8	100.00	...	...	3	60.00	4	44.44
Parayan	...	...	...	...	...	4	66.67	...	...	...	...	7	87.50	4	66.67
Chakkiliar	...	...	...	1	50.00	2	100.00	...	...	...	...	3	100.00	1	50.00
Mudaliar	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...
Vannan	...	...	...	1	50.00	1	100.00	1	100.00	...	...	1	100.00	1	50.00
Navithan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...
Pillai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...
Naidu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	4	8.9	19	35.9	52	66.6	37	74.00	...	...	37	82.2	24	45.2	16

Leaving the indifferent households out of consideration, we see that as the income increases, the desire to have more children decreases. Probably the villagers in the lower income groups especially in cultivating families believe that the more the number of children they have, the more the number of working hands they would be having. The responsibility for giving proper education and finding suitable spouses when they grow up is less among the villagers in the lower income groups, especially in backward castes. The burden of rearing children and educating them is felt more by the higher income groups and hence the desire for less children in those groups.

Then as regards the educational levels of the parents, since most of the households in this village come under the category of illiterates, the bearing of education on attitudes has not been studied by us.

The ages of the parents are important considerations in the formation of the attitudes in this issue. Table 35 gives the attitude with reference to the age of the father and Table 36 with reference to the age of the mother. From these tables we find that generally in all communities, the desire to limit the number of children increases with the ages of the father and mother. From Table 37, we find that the desire for family limitation also increases with the duration of marriage.

TO AGE OF THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

No. wanting no more children, the age of the head of households (Male) being															Indifferent		Caste.
Per- cen- tage.	21—30.	Per- cen- tage.	20 or less.	Per- cen- tage	Above 50	Per- cen- tage.	41—50.	Per- cen- tage.	31—40.	Per- cen- tage.	21—30.	Per- cen- tage.	20 or less.	Per- cen- tage.			
(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)			
29.27	4	13.33	...	...	1	6.25	6	23.08	6	14.63	5	16.67	...	...	Vanniar		
7.14	...	...	...	...	1	11.11	1	12.50	2	14.29	1	14.29	...	...	Okkaligas		
16.67	...	...	...	...	1	20.00	1	11.11	...	...	...	...	...	...	Gollas		
16.67	...	...	1	100	1	12.50	2	33.33	1	16.67	2	100.00	...	...	Parayan		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Chakkiliar		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Mudaliar		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Vannan		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50.00	1	100.00	...	...	Navithan		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Asari		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Pillai		
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Naidu		
20.5	4	8	1	100	4	8.9	10	18.9	10	12.9	9	18.00	...	...	Total		

TABLE 36

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO AGE OF THE CHILD BEARING WOMAN.

Caste.	No. wanting more children, the age of the child bearing woman being													
	Above 40	Per-centage.	36—40	Per-centage.	31—35	Per-centage.	26—30	Per-centage.	21—25	Per-centage.	16—20	Per-centage.	Less than 16.	Per-centage.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Vanniar ...	7	25.00	4	50.00	6	37.50	17	58.43	17	70.83	6	85.71	...	...
Okkaligas ...	2	18.18	1	16.67	4	66.67	5	83.33	4	80.00	3	100.00	1	100.0
Gollas ...	1	12.50	4	80.00	3	60.00	5	83.33	8	100.00	2	100.00	...	...
Parayan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	66.67	1	50.00	1	33.33	...	...
Chakkiliar ...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...	2	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan ...	...	...	1	50.00	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	1	100.00	...	...
Navithan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	10	16.1	11	45.8	13	40.6	32	66.00	32	78.0	13	76.8	1	...

TABLE 36—contd.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING—WITH REFERENCE TO AGE OF THE CHILD BEARING WOMAN—contd.

Caste	No. wanting no more children, the age of the child bearing woman being													
	Above 40	Per-centage.	36—40	Per-centage.	31—35	Per-centage.	26—30	Per-centage.	21—35	Per-centage.	16—20	Per-centage.	Less than 16	Per-centage.
	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)
Vanniar ...	16	57.14	3	37.50	7	43.75	8	27.58	3	12.50	...	...	...	...
Okkaligas ...	8	72.73	4	66.67	1	16.67	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gollas ...	6	75.00	1	20.00	2	40.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Parayan ...	6	75.00	1	100.00	4	50.00	...	...	...	...	1	33.33	...	...
Chakkiliar ...	3	100.00	1	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	1	50.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan ...	1	100.00	1	50.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Navithan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	1	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	1	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	43	69.4	11	45.00	14	43.7	8	16.7	3	7.4	1	5.8	...	...

Indifferent.														
Caste	Above 40	Per-centage.	36—40	Per-centage.	31—35	Per-centage.	26—30	Per-centage.	21—25	Per-centage.	16—20	Per-centage.	Less than 16	Per-centage.
	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)	(43)
Vanniar ...	5	17.86	1	12.50	3	18.75	4	13.79	4	16.67	1	14.29	...	...
Okkaligas ...	1	9.09	1	16.67	1	16.67	1	16.67	1	80.00	...	...	...	...
Gollas ...	1	12.50	...	...	...	...	1	16.67	...	...	...	...	...	...
Parayan ...	2	25.00	...	...	1	20.00	1	33.33	1	50.00	1	33.33	...	...
Chakkiliar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Navithan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...	1	100.00	...	...
Asari ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	9	14.5	2	8.3	5	15.7	8	16.7	6	14.8	3	17.6	...	...

TABLE 37

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH

Community.	No. wanting more children, duration of marriage being										No. wanting no more children, duration of marriage being					
	Over 20 years.		16—20		11—15		6—10		5 or less.		Over 20 years.		16—20		11—15	
	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
Vanniar ...	14	31.11	5	35.91	11	55	17	73.92	10	90.91	24	53.33	6	42.86	5	25
Okkaligas ...	2	13.33	3	50	5	71.43	4	100	6	100	10	66.67	2	33.33	1	16.67
Gollas ...	4	30.78	5	71.43	4	100	7	100	3	100	7	53.84	2	28.57	...	...
Parayan ...	...	...	...	...	3	75	...	...	1	33.33	10	76.92	2	100	...	...
Chakkiliar ...	1	20	1	100	...	...	1	50	...	...	4	80	...	...	...	...
Vannan ...	1	33.33	1	100	...	...	1	100	...	...	2	66.67	...	...	...	...
Navithan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	...	...	...	...	1	100	...	...	...	...	1	100	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100	...	...	...	...
Total ...	22	22.6	15	48.3	24	66.6	30	76.9	21	84	60	61.9	12	38.9	6	16.7

REFERENCE TO DURATION OF MARRIAGE

No. wanting no more children duration of marriage being								Indifferent.						Community
6—10		5 or less.		Over 20 years.		16—20		11—15		6—10		5 or less.		
Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	Households.	Percentage.	
(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	
3	13.04	...	...	7	15.58	3	21.43	4	20	3	13.04	1	9.09	
...	...	...	...	3	20	1	14.28	1	14.29	...	...	...	...	Vanniar
...	...	...	...	2	15.38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Okkaligas
...	...	1	33.34	3	23.08	...	...	1	25	1	100	1	33.3	Gollas
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50	...	...	Parayan
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Chakkiliar
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Vannan
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100	1	5.0	Navithan
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Mudaliar
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Asari
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Pillai
3	7.7	1	4	15	15.5	4	12.3	6	16.7	6	15.4	3	12	Total

TABLE 38

INFORMATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO NUMBER OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD.

		Total.							Number wanting more children.							
Community.	No. aware of Family Planning Centre.	Have more than three children in the House- hold.	Have 2-3 children.	Have no Son.	Have no Daughter.	Have no children.	Have more than 3 children in the House- hold.	Percentage.	Have 2-3 children in the Household.	Percentage.	Have no Son.	Percentage.	Have no Daughter.	Percentage.	Have no children.	Percentage.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
Vanniars ...	...	28	31	15	27	12	15	53.57	16	51.62	10	66.67	8	29.63	8	66.67
Okkaligas ...	...	5	8	5	11	9	3	60.00	1	12.50	2	40.00	6	54.55	8	88.89
Gollas ...	...	11	5	4	7	7	7	63.64	4	80.00	3	75.00	5	71.43	4	57.14
Parayan ...	...	4	4	...	10	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	50.00	2	50.00
Chakkiliar ...	...	2	4	...	1	...	2	100.00	1	25.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Navithan ...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00
Vannan ...	...	2	2	1	...	...	1	50.00	1	50.00	1	100.00	...	...	...	...
Naidu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	...	53	56	26	57	35	29	54.72	23	41.07	16	61.59	21	36.84	23	65.71

TABLE 38—contd.

INFORMATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO NUMBER OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD—contd.

Community.	No. aware of Family Planning Centre.	Number wanting no more children.									
		Have more than 3 children.	Percentage.	Have 2-3 children.	Percentage.	Have no Son.	Percentage.	Have no Daughter.	Percentage.	Have no children.	Percentage.
		(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)
Vanniars ...	...	8	28.57	11	35.48	1	6.66	15	55.56	3	25.00
Okkaligas ...	...	1	20.00	5	62.50	3	60.00	4	36.36	...	...
Gollas ...	...	4	36.36	1	20.00	...	...	1	25.00	3	42.86
Parayan ...	...	2	50.00	2	50.00	...	...	7	70.00	2	40.00
Chakkiliar ...	...	...	...	3	75.00	...	...	1	100.00	...	...
Navithan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan ...	...	1	50.00	1	50.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...
Pillai ...	...	...	...	1	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100.00
Total ...	...	16	30.19	24	42.86	4	15.38	29	50.88	9	25.71

Community.	No. aware of Family Planning Centre.	Indifferent.									
		Have more than three children.	Percentage.	Have 2-3 children.	Percentage.	Have no Son.	Percentage.	Have no Daughter.	Percentage.	Have no Children.	Percentage.
		(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)
Vanniars ...	...	5	17.86	4	12.90	4	26.67	4	14.81	1	8.33
Okkaligas ...	...	1	20.00	2	25.00	...	...	1	9.09	1	11.11**
Gollas ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	25.00	1	14.29	...	...
Parayan ...	...	2	50.00	2	50.00	...	...	1	10.00	1	20.00
Chakkiliar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Navithan ...	...	...	...	1	100.00	1	100.00	...	...	...	...
Vannan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asari ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	...	8	15.09	9	16.07	6	23.08	7	12.28	3	8.58

** One household head is never married but he wants two boys and one girl.

Then as regards how far the number of sons and daughters already born, has a bearing on the attitude, table 38 may be looked into. Here we find that 55% of the heads of households who are already having more than 3 children, desire to have some more children and only 30% among such families do not want any more children. This reverse unhelpful attitude from the point of Family Planning is because of the incidence of larger-sized families in the lower income group and we already saw that these families in the lower income group prefer to have more children, in spite of having more than 3 children already. As regards families with two to three children, the desire to limit and the desire

to have more are equally balanced. Then, as expected, in families in which there is no son, the desire is more in favour of trying another chance to get a son. But that desire is not so well expressed, when it comes to a question of having a daughter in families which do not have a daughter. In the case of families with no children at all, the attitude is definitely against Family Planning methods. The overall position is somewhat encouraging. The opinion on the whole is definitely for Family Planning methods. With more social education, the opinion will swing decisively in favour of Family Planning methods. The percentage of indifferent families will also decrease considerably.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

51. We hope we have given a good idea of this village, completely inaccessible with no roads connecting the village to outside. The people live in huts in insanitary conditions. They are illiterate; the economy is dependent on a precarious agriculture which depends on an uncertain rain. There is no incentive for the people to improve themselves. No attempt has been made to extend any irrigation to the village. People are indebted. They do not have any Co-operative Credit Society. They are compelled for the major part of the year to remain unemployed because they do not have any other industry in the village. Still the villagers love the land and the locality. They are not inclined to migrate from such harsh conditions of existence. Their population is not on the increase.

This village has been included under Community Development Scheme in 1961. The Panchayat Raj which is expected to bring a lot of good to the comparatively poorer villages of the State has been introduced in 1962. It will therefore be interesting for a future research scholar to examine what changes this village has undergone as a result of the impact of Community Development and Panchayat Raj. We know that the village we have described now is in sharp contrast to the village we have described in the districts of Thanjavur or Tirunelveli. The village to a certain extent reflects the backward conditions prevalent in the northern part of Salem District, where the people depend on an uncertain cultivation for their livelihood.

79

CENSUS 1961

PART I

Name of village.

House number.

Serial number.

2. (a) Name of the head of the household.

(b) Sex

(c) Age

3. Statement (overleaf).

[illegible]

A. DURATION OF RESIDENCE.

4. (a) For how many generations, counting from head of the household backwards, has the household been residing in this village?
- (b) If the head of household has migrated to this village, together with the household, where was his ancestral home?
- (Specify taluk, district and State).

B. RELIGION.

5. (a) Religion:
- (b) Sect:
- (c) Tribe or Caste:
- (d) Sub-tribe or sub-caste:
6. (a) Is there a deity or object of worship or a sacred plant in the house? (Answer Yes/No).
- (b) If 'Yes', where is the deity or object of worship located in the house?
- (c) What is the name of the deity or object of worship or sacred plant and what is the form of worship?
- (d) Other than this, what is the principal deity of the household?
7. Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under Law? (Answer Yes/No.)

C. MARRIAGE.

8. (a) (1) Has any marriage in contravention of caste or tribal law taken place in this household? (Answer Yes/No).
- (2) If such a marriage has taken place, give details about the marriage.
- (b) With what castes or tribes other than the caste or tribe of the household is marriage.
- (1) Permissible.
- (2) Desirable.
- (c) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the son? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount—cash and kind.)
- (d) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount.)
- (e) Are you aware of the fact that the taking of dowry has been prohibited according to a recent piece of legislation?
9. Have you any objection to contract marriages for persons of your household with persons of same

social and economic status as yours but belonging to the following communities. [mark with a (✓) the names of the communities against which you have no objection] (communities to be listed in the village):—

D. INHERITANCE.

10. (a) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Adoption Act? (Answer Yes/No.)
- (b) If yes, what do you think are the salient features of recent changes? (List of salient features to be prepared.)
11. (a) Do you think that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Succession Act? (Answer Yes/No.)
- (b) If yes, what do you think are the salient features of such changes? (List of salient features to be prepared.)
12. (a) What relatives, including male members and widows and daughters, married and unmarried, inherit property on the death of a married male person belonging to the same caste as your household?
- (b) What is the share of each such member?
13. Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons?

E. PROPERTY.**Land.**

14. If the household possesses land fill up the following:—
- (a) (1) Own lands.
- (2) Land held direct from Government under tenure less substantial than ownership.
- (3) Land held from private persons or institutions.
- (4) Land given not to private persons or institutions.
- (5) Land held on lease.
- (6) Others.
- Total
- (b) Total area under cultivation :
- (c) Area comprising homestead :

ARKASANAHALI

- | (d) | Name of crop. | Quantity obtained last year. | Quantity consumed. | Quantity sold |
|--------|--|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| (i) | Paddy | | | |
| (ii) | Wheat | | | |
| (iii) | Cholam, Ragi, Cumbu | | | |
| (iv) | Pulses including gram | | | |
| (v) | Sugarcane | | | |
| (vi) | Barley | | | |
| (vii) | Vegetable | | | |
| (viii) | Jute | | | |
| (ix) | Chillies | | | |
| (x) | Tobacco | | | |
| (xi) | Oilseeds | | | |
| (xii) | Cotton | | | |
| (xiii) | Ginger | | | |
| (xiv) | Fodder or bamboo or cane | | | |
| (xv) | Fruits | | | |
| (xvi) | Other agricultural crops (Maize, Jowar, Bajra, etc.) | | | |
- (e) What is the organic manure used?
- (f) Do you use chemical fertilisers?
- (g) Do you use any new agricultural implement which has been taught to you for the first time in the last five years?
- (h) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation?
- (i) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting?
- (j) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour?
15. How much did your father own at the time of his death?
- (a) Land in acres.
- (b) Houses and other property.
16. (a) Do you own any cattle or poultry? Give numbers.
- (i) Milch cattle.
- (ii) Draught bullock.
- (iii) Cows, goats, sheep, pigs, duck/gheese and fowl, buffaloes.
- (b) How much milk or milk products do you sell?

17. Fishery :

- (a) Does the household own any tank?
- (b) If fish is reared, was any quantity sold last year? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention quantity.)

F. INDUSTRY.

18. Do you conduct any industry? If yes, is it traditional?
- (a) What are the products? Quantity produced and quantity sold last year.
- (b) Which of them do you sell to neighbours or in the market?
- (c) Have you taken up this industry for the first time in the course of the last five years?
- (d) Have you adopted any new tools or instruments for running this industry? If so, name the details of the tools and instruments.
19. Name the art or craft in which you have earned proficiency.
20. When and how did you learn the art or craft concerned?
- (a) Do you consider further training necessary (Answer Yes/No.)
- (b) If yes, describe the type of training you desire.
21. (a) What was your father's occupation?
- (b) If you have changed your father's occupation, why have you done so?
- (c) Were you forced for lack of choice into this occupation? (Answer Yes/No.)
22. (a) Have you yourself changed your occupation from another kind to this one? (Answer Yes/No.)
- (b) If yes, explain why you have changed your own occupation?
- (c) Are you content with the present occupation?
- (d) If not, what other work you are doing?
23. (a) Are you content with the present occupation? (Answer Yes/No.)
- (b) If 'No', what other work you are doing?
24. What kind of work would you like your son to do?
25. (a) If you are engaged in trade or business, mention the commodities dealt in.

- (b) How do you get your finance?
 (c) What is your approximate profit?

G. INDEBTEDNESS

26. If head of household is in debt :
 (a) Mention amount of debt outstanding.
 (b) Is the household in debt? If 'Yes', fill up the following:—

(a) Cause :—

1. Purchase of land.
2. House construction or repairs to existing building.
3. Marriages.
4. Funerals.
5. To give dowry.
6. To clear outstanding debts.
7. Sickness.
8. Confinement.
9. Family day-to-day expenses.
10. Household cultivation.
11. Industry run by household.
12. Business run by household.
13. Festivals.
14. Others.

(b) Source of debt :—

Amount. Rate of interest

1. Relatives.
2. Friends or neighbours.
3. Village money-lenders.
4. Profession money-lenders from outside.
5. Government institutions.
6. Co-operative Credit Societies.
7. Land Mortgage Banks.
8. Other co-operative societies.
9. Others (Specify).

H. EDUCATION.

27. (a) How much did you spend last year on the education of your children?
 (b) Does any member of the household regularly read a newspaper or listen to news broadcast?

I. COMMUNITY.

28. (a) Does the head of the household know head-quarter of district, taluk, panchayat union, council and block development office;

location of the Police station under the jurisdiction of which the village is?

- (b) Does the head of the household know the names of the principal rivers flowing through the district?

APPLICABLE TO ZAMIN VILLAGERS AND THOSE RECENTLY SETTLED.

29. (a) Do you think that abolition of zamindari and intermediary rights has resulted in any good to you? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (b) If yes, indicate how you have benefited.
 (c) If no, why have you not been benefited?

30. (a) Have you benefited from any scheme of land reclamation or land development or any other form of Land Reform? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (b) If yes, explain how have you benefited.

31. (a) Is there a co-operative society in your village? If yes, how many are there? If no, do you desire to have one?

- (b) If yes, are you a member? (Give the name of the society or societies.)
 (c) If No, why are you not a member?

32. (a) Is your village covered by the Community Development Project?

- (b) Do you know what are the functions of Gram Sevak? (Answer Yes/No.)
 (c) If yes, describe his functions.

33. (a) Have you benefited from the Block Development Office? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (b) If yes, how have you benefited?

34. (a) Is there a panchayat in your village? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (b) If yes, how long has the panchayat been in your village?

- (c) What are the main functions of the panchayat?

- (d) What are the main parties in your panchayat and which caste is leading the Panchayat?

- (e) Has there been any improvement in your village since the Panchayat was established? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (f) If yes, what have been the improvements?

- (g) Has there been any harm after its establishment? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (h) If yes, what were the evils?

ARKASANAHALLI

35. (a) Has any caste or tribe of your village got a separate Panchayat of its own? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (b) If yes, what are the main functions of this caste or tribal Panchayat?

- (c) Since the statutory Panchayats are functioning, do you think these caste or tribal Panchayats should still continue? If yes, why should they exist?

36. (a) Is there a family planning centre in your area? (Answer Yes/No.)

- (b) Do you know that man and wife can prevent conception of a child by deliberate means, if they wish to do so?

- (c) Does the head of the household wish that no more children were born to him? Or does he wish for more? Or is he indifferent?

J. DIET.

37. (a) How many times a day do the members of the household take their meals? Are they vegetarians or non-vegetarians?

- (b) What are the usual items of diet at each meal? (Specify whether rice, wheat, grams, roots, etc.)

- (c) What are the foods or drinks prohibited?

- (d) Does the household take sugar/tea or coffee?

K. UTENSILS.

38. (a) What utensils are used for preparing food and for storage of drinking water?

- (b) Of what materials are important utensils made?

- (1) Earthenware.
- (2) Aluminium.
- (3) Copper.
- (4) Brass.
- (5) Eversilver.
- (6) Silver.

L. FUEL.

39. What fuel is ordinarily used for cooking?

40. How do they procure it?

M. FURNITURE AND ORNAMENTS.

41. (a) Does the household possess a bedstead/chair/table/mirror/bench/local cot/wall shelf/almirah/stool? (Cross out those not found.)

- (b) Is the household using any new kind of furniture for the first time in the last five years?

- (c) If so, what are they?

- (d) Does the household use mosquito nets?

42. List all the ornaments used by (a) men and (b) women. Give the local names and mention whether gold or silver or brass or any other material is mainly used. Give drawings.

N. HOUSES.

43. Give details about the house materials.

Roof :—

- (1) Mud roof.
- (2) Country tiled.
- (3) Mangalore tiled.
- (4) Terraced (puca roof).
- (5) Zinc sheet.
- (6) Tin roof.
- (7) Asbestos roof.
- (8) Corrugated iron roof.
- (9) Wooden roof.
- (10) Straw or grass roof.
- (11) Leaf roof.
- (12) Others.

Wall :—

- (1) Mud wall.
- (2) Bamboo wattled wall.
- (3) Mud plastered bamboo wattled wall.
- (4) Wall of twigs and branches.
- (5) Wall of twigs and branches plastered with mud.
- (6) Reed wall.
- (7) Mud plastered reed wall.
- (8) Wooden wall.
- (9) Brick wall.
- (10) Straw or grass wall.
- (11) Leaf wall.
- (12) Stone wall.
- (13) Others.

Floor :—

- (1) Mud floor.
- (2) Cement floor.
- (3) Wooden floor.

- (4) Stone floor.
(5) Lime and mortar floor.

Number of slopes :—

- One.
Two.
Three.
Four.
Five.
Six or more.
Without slope.

44. (a) Give a plan of the house and compound showing the main places, the material of the roof, walls and doors.
(b) Total number of rooms in the house.
NOTE.—Give sketches and photographs wherever possible.

O. CONSUMER GOODS.

45. (1) (a) Does the household possess hurricane lantern/petromax or hazak/battery torchlight/kerosene stove/bicycle/gramophone/radio set ?
(Cross out those which do not apply.)
(b) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If yes, which are these articles ?
(c) Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap ?
(d) Are clothes sent to washerman ?

POSSESSIONS.

- (2) Does the household possess :—
(a) Car.
(b) Bullock cart.
(c) Jutka.
(d) Ponies.
46. (A) *Maternity cases* :—
(1) Cases hospitalized.
(2) Number of cases—
(a) Confined in hospital.
(b) Confined by bringing doctor home.
(c) Confined by qualified midwife at home.
(d) Confined by unqualified 'Dai' at home.
(e) Confined without assistance.

(B) Medical treatment.

What is the medical system followed ?

- (1) Allopathic.
(2) Ayurvedic.
(3) Homeopathic.
(4) Combination of more than one of these.
(5) Others.

(C) Medical consultation.

Where do you go for medical consultation ?

- (1) Public hospitals or dispensaries.
(2) Private hospitals or dispensaries.
(3) Private doctors :—
(a) Allopaths.
(b) Homeopaths.
(c) Others.

(D) Vaccination.

How many members of the family have been vaccinated ?

- (1) At least once.
(2) Within the past six months.

47. Income :—

Total family income per mensem from :—

- (a) Land.
(b) Industry.
(c) Business.
(d) Occupation.
(e) Others (specify source).

48. Average monthly expenditure :—

What is expenditure on :—

- (A) Food—
(1) *Cereals and pulses* :—
(a) Rice.
(b) Other grains.
(c) Dhall.
(d) Total.
(2) *Vegetables* :—
(a) Potatoes.
(b) Tapioca.
(c) Onions.
(d) Coconut.
(e) Others.
(f) Total.

(3) Non-vegetarian :—

- (a) Meat.
(b) Fish.
(c) Egg.
(d) Others.

(4) Milk.

(5) Ghee and oils :—

- (a) Ghee.
(b) Oils.
(c) Total.

(6) Condiments :—

- (a) Chillies.
(b) Tamarind.
(c) Others.
(d) Total.

(7) Sugar :—

- (a) Sugar.
(b) Jaggery.
(c) Total.

(8) Coffee and Tea :—

- (a) Coffee.
(b) Tea.
(c) Total.

(9) Liquor.

(10) Tobacco :—

- (a) Smoking.
(b) Chewing.
(c) Total.

(11) Other foods including refreshments.

Total under food :

- (b) *Education.*
(1) Fees.
(2) Books.
(3) Uniform.
(4) Others.
(c) *Clothing.*
(d) *Fuel.*
(e) *Marriage.*
(f) *Festivals.*
(g) *Miscellaneous.*
(1) Dhoby or soap.
(2) Barber.
(3) Travelling.

- (4) Medical fees and medicines.
(5) Religious observances.
(6) Amusements.
(7) Provident Fund and other compulsory savings.
(8) Payments of debts.
(9) Remittances to dependents residing elsewhere.

(h) *Others.*

Total.

49. (a) Has the Household secured during the last five years ?

- (1) Better irrigation facilities.
(2) Better types of cattle.
(3) Better seeds.
(4) Better implements.
(5) Better manure.
(6) More land for cultivation.
(7) Use of Pesticides.
(8) Improved methods of cultivation like Japanese method.
(9) Land improvement measures like land reclamation, soil conservation and consolidation.

(b) Have you received demonstration in improved agricultural practices ?

(c) Have you participated in activities of Community Project by contribution of land, labour, cash or material ?

50. Prosperity Index :—

- (1) Have you cleared any debt which existed prior to 10 years from the income of the household ?
(2) If yes, specify the amount so cleared.
(3) During the last ten years—
(a) Have you acquired any property ?
(b) Have you made any savings in cash or in the shape of ornaments, etc. ?
(c) Have you invested capital in any new undertaking or building ?
(d) Have you opened a voluntary account in any post office savings bank or any other bank ?
(e) Have you invested in NSC, or prize bonds or other forms of rural saving campaigns ?

- (f) Are you a member of any chit fund or other indigenous funds except where it is wholly from any debt incurred for the purpose and/or the proceeds of any sale of property ?

51. *Extra-curricular activities* :—

Has any member or members of this household—

- (a) Worked for social uplift.
- (b) Taken active part in politics.
- (c) Joined any co-operative society.
- (d) Joined any club, library, dramatic party or other cultural organisation in the village.

SOCIAL DISABILITIES.

52. (A) Do you have free access to :—

- (1) Shop, hotel or restaurant.

- (2) Temple or place of worship.
- (3) Any other place of public resort.

(B) Do the following render you their services :—

- (1) Brahmin priest.
- (2) Barber.
- (3) Washerman.
- (4) Any other village servant.

(C) Are you avoided by Caste Hindus in regard to :—

- (1) Touch.
- (2) Serving cooked food.
- (3) Serving water.

APPENDIX II

CENSUS 1961 MADRAS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

Village schedule.

1. Name of village :
2. District/Taluk :
3. Area :
4. No. of households :
5. Distance from nearest town :
6. Distance from nearest Railway Station :
7. Distance from main road :
8. Is it connected by bus ?
9. (a) Is there a Post Office/Telegraph Office in the village ?
(b) If not, which is the nearest Post/Telegraph Office and distance at which situated ?
10. Is the village covered by the Community Development Programme ?
11. Is there a Panchayat in the village ?
12. Total population of the village—1951 & 1961. (& 1941 & 1931, if available).
13. Is the village electrified ?
14. Give the number of births and deaths during the past 10 years :

I. HOUSING.

- (a) What are the common types of house ?
(Give a brief description about type of roof, wall, flooring etc.)
- (b) Are houses owned or rented ?
- (c) Are the house sites sufficient for the population ?
- (d) Do members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes live separately from the others or is there any progress towards their living together ?
- (e) What is the arrangement of houses in the village ?

II. LITERACY AND EDUCATION.

- (a) Is there any school in the village ?
(Specify whether it is Elementary, Higher Elementary, High School and also whether it is a night or day school.)
- (b) What is the Highest Class upto which education is imparted ?

- (c) Who runs the school ?
- (d) Specify the number of students and teachers in each :
- (e) Is there a reading room/library in the village ?
- (f) Election—Is it held regularly ?
- (g) Income of Panchayats :
- (h) Duties of Panchayats :

III. HEALTH AND SANITATION.

- (a) Common diseases of the village :
- (b) Is native or indigenous medicine practised ?
If so, by how many ?
- (c) Give your impression of cleanliness (Inside and outside the houses) :
- (d) Are there any latrines in the village ?
- (e) If there is no latrine, where do the villagers go to answer their calls of nature ?
- (f) What is the source of drinking water ?
- (g) What are the drainage facilities available in the village ? Is it adequate ?
- (h) Do villagers send their clothes to the washerman for cleaning ?
- (i) How often do they bathe and what do they use for body cleaning ?
- (j) Was the village affected by epidemics recently like Cholera, Malaria, Smallpox etc. ?
- (k) What measures were taken to control their outbreak ?
- (l) When did the last cases of epidemic occur ?
- (m) What diseases are commonly prevalent in this village ?
- (n) Which is the nearest hospital ?
- (o) Is there a Primary Health Centre in the village ?
- (p) Does it have a Maternity Ward ?
- (q) Where does delivery take place ? At home or in the hospital ?
- (r) Are there any midwives in the area ?

IV. SOCIAL LIFE.

- (a) Do the villagers mix freely with each other on all occasion ?

- (b) Is widow remarriage allowed ?
- (c) What is the system of inheritance among the villagers ?
- (d) What are the essential ceremonies that a man undergoes from birth to death ?
- (e) What are the essential ceremonies a woman undergoes from birth to death ?
- (f) How is the body disposed of after death ?
- (g) What is the expenditure incurred on these funeral rites ?

V. AGRICULTURE.

- (a) Total cultivable area :
- (b) Principal crops grown with their area for 10 years :
- (c) Have the villagers taken to improved methods of cultivation ?
- (d) What are the sources of irrigation prevalent in the village ?
- (e) Are there any disused tanks in the village ? Has any steps been taken to renovate them ?
- (f) Number of pumpsets and irrigation wells :
- (g) Do people hire out ploughs etc. ?
- (h) What are the usual hire charges ?
- (i) Is there mutual co-operation in agricultural practices ?
- (j) Are chemical fertilisers used ?
- (k) Is there any industrial establishment like flour mill, rice mill etc., in the village ?
- (l) Has there been any crop diseases and pests in the village during the last three years ?
- (m) State steps taken to solve the problem :

VI. MARRIAGE.

- (a) At what age are marriages contracted ?
- (b) Write a note on the marriage ceremonies ?
- (c) Is polyandry or polygamy practised ?
- (d) Is divorce granted ? If so, by whom and for what reasons ?

VII. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES.

- (a) Number of temples/mosques/churches in the village :
- (b) Do villagers ever join in common worship ?
- (c) What are the main fairs and festivals celebrated ?
- (d) How ancient is the festival ? Mention the local legend about the village and the fair or festival ?

- (e) Does this attract people from nearby villages ?
- (f) Mention the name of the deity :
- (g) What is the duration of the festival ?
- (h) Is any shandy conducted during the festival either in the village itself or in the outskirts ?
- (i) Are communal feasts or free kitchens organised during the festival ?

VIII. CO-OPERATION.

- (a) Is there a Co-operative Society ? What is the nature ? (credit, marketing etc.)
- (b) Total share capital :
- (c) Number of members :
- (d) Total dues outstanding as on date :
- (e) Is there scope for development of co-operative activities ?

IX. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES.

- (a) What are the recreational facilities available ?
- (b) Do all villagers participate in these activities ?
- (c) Is there any playground in the village ? Mention area of playground :
- (d) Is there any Club for sport or recreation ? What sports are played and what amenities are provided in the Club ?

X. LIVESTOCK.

- (a) Total number of livestock in the village as per 1956 Livestock Census :
- (b) Are there any improved breeds of cattle in the village ?
- (c) Average milk yield—buffalo/cow :
- (d) Which is the nearest Veterinary hospital ?
- (e) Is there a cattle pound in the village ?
- (f) Is animal transport used ?

XI. GENERAL.

- (a) Do villagers tattoo their bodies ?
- (b) Do villagers favour female education ?
- (c) Do the children get sufficient quantities of milk ?
- (d) Number of street lights (kerosene or electric lamps to be specified.)
- (e) Are there any craftsman in the village ?

XII. Is any legend attached to the origin of the village ?

XIII. Are there any ancient monuments or places of architectural value in the place ? If so, describe them.

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS USED

Anchalkarans	...	Postal runners.
Cholam	...	Jowar—millet.
Cumbu	...	Bajra—millet.
Ejaman	...	Head of community.
Eluru Ejaman	...	Overall headman.
Guru	...	Spiritual head of a community.
Idakkai Mandapam	...	Left handed pillared hall.
Karai	...	A kind of neck ornament.
Kalaikothu	...	Weeding hoe.
Korai	...	A kind of weed used for weaving mats.
Kazhi	...	Millet meal in solid form.
Koozh	...	Millet meal in liquid form.
Kula Deivam	...	Clan deity.
Machans	...	Brothers-in-law.
Mappillais	...	Sons-in-law.
Mondi	...	Lame man.
Manavari	...	Rainfed crop.
Mamooti	...	Spade.
Nadu	...	Territorial division of a region.
Nattan	...	Head of a Nadu.
Navithan	...	Barber caste.
Oor Gounder	...	Caste head of a village.
Oor Thotti	...	Peon of the headman.
Pandal	...	A temporary structure for shade.
Padai	...	Bier to carry corpse.
Pattakaran (or Pattagaran)	...	Head of a community.
Panchalas	...	Five artisan castes.
Periathanakaran	...	Caste Head of a village.
Poramboke	...	Village communal land.
Shandy	...	Weekly market.
Thai Pongal	...	Harvest festival coming in mid-January.
Thai	...	Country midwife.
Ther	...	A charriot.
Thodu	...	A stone studded ear ornament.
Thatti	...	A bamboo woven screen.
Valankai Mandapam	...	Right handed pillared hall.
Vannan	...	Washerman caste.
Zillah Court	...	District Court.

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR THE SURVEY

1. Ayyangarkulam *	...	... Chingleput District.
2. Sunnambukulam	...	... "
3. Lakkinayakkanpatti	...	... South Arcot District.
4. Thadagam	...	... "
5. Arkavadi	...	... "
6. Hasanamapettai	...	... North Arcot District.
7. Paravakkal	...	... "
8. Arkasanahalli **	...	... Salem District.
9. Kanakagiri	...	... "
10. Pappanaickenpatti	...	... "
11. Aladipatti	...	... "
12. Iswaramoorthipalayam	...	... "
13. Kumbalam	...	... "
14. Nellithurai	...	... Coimbatore.
15. Hallimoyar	...	... The Nilgiris District.
16. Kinnakorai	...	... "
17. Vilpatti	...	... Madurai District.
18. Sirumalai	...	... "
19. Periyur	...	... "
20. Thiruvavayanallur	...	... "
21. Thenbaranadu *	...	... Tiruchirappalli District.
22. Thiruvellarai	...	... "
23. Ariyur	...	... "
24. Kadambangudi	...	... Thanjavur District.
25. Vilangulam	...	... "
26. Kunnalur	...	... "
27. Kodiakkarai	...	... "
28. Golwarpatti	...	... Ramanathapuram District.
29. Visavanoor	...	... "
30. Athangarai	...	... "
31. Ravanasmudram	...	... Tirunelveli District.
32. Pudukulam	...	... "
33. Alwarkarkulam	...	... "
34. Kilakottai	...	... "
35. Odaimarichan	...	... "
36. Kuvalaikanni	...	... "
37. Koottumangalam	...	... Kanyakumari District.
38. Kadathucheri	...	... "
39. Kottuthalazhamkulam	...	... "
40. Kadukkara	...	... "

** The present volume (No. 3 of the series).

* Already printed

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