# <u>Transition of A Scheduled Caste Village</u> <u>in Tamilnadu - A Case Study of a Sambavar Village</u>

V.C.V. Retnam

# <u>Transition of A Scheduled Caste Village</u> <u>In Tamilnadu - A Case Study of a Sambavar Village</u>

#### V.C.V. Retnam

# **Introduction**

Kadathucherry or Kadatty is a small village in Tamilnadu characterized by an agrarian economy. It is a mono-caste village of Scheduled Caste (SC) population with high literacy, an intensive survey of which was conducted by the census authorities in 1961. The changes that took place since the 1961 survey were capitulated in another resurvey conducted in January – February 1980 and the significant findings of this resurvey was published in 1984 (Nair et al 1984). It showed that literacy was almost universal in this village and that enrolment in the early school going age was nearly 100 per cent, although only a small percentage of those enrolled completed middle school or higher levels of education. It was also observed that there was no significant economic advancement in tandem with this high profile of literacy. In this village, predominantly of agriculturists and agricultural laborers, the proportion of cultivators registered a substantial decrease between the surveys. The number of agricultural labourers increased without an increase in the quantum of agricultural work or opportunities for subsidiary occupation. In consequence, outmigration has been on the increase. It was also noted that although incidence of landlessness was low, there was concentration of available land in the hands of a few and high incidence of tenancy. Duration of tenancy contract was short and rent rates high, and the only obligation of the tenant to the landlord was the payment of rent. Productivity of rice lands was high and the tenants were realizing some net income from lease cultivation. Over time the incidence of tenancy and the area under tenancy declined but the rent rate increased due to the increase in the intensity of competition in the lease market. Land transfers have been taking place to a large extent due to partition of households. Possessing some land, owned or leased in, contributed to the increase in their bargaining strength and consequently to rise in real wage rates (Nair et al. 1984). This paper looks at the socio-economic changes in Kadatty village over four decades since the benchmark survey of

1961. Apart from the physical and social infrastructural improvements, cultural changes, universal literacy, hundred per cent enrolment, gradual decline of drop outs, more and more students pursuing higher education and the resultant economic advancement or gainful employment that were observed in 1981 are the striking features of this village. Large proportion of people still eke out their living from agriculture, but there is an increase in the percentage of cultivators, a decline in the percentage of agricultural labourers and a significant upward movement of non-farm employment and the persistence of unemployment partly softened by out-migration in the context of restricted outside employment opportunities. The appearance of mortgage as the main source of land transfer is also visible in this agrarian economy today. Effective functioning of a caste Panchayat covering the day-to-day life of the villages particularly the irrigation water management and settling disputes was noted in 1961. This caste panchayat is still a presence in this village although with a flexibility to accommodate the modern day changes of adjudication and dispute settlement through the court system. The modern, democratically elected panchayat is also a reality in this mono caste village.

#### The People—One Ethnicity and Two Religions

The total population of Kadatty, in 1960, was 464 (225 males and 239 females) residing in 130 households; the percentages of males and females was 48.49 and 51.50 in 1960 but in the subsequent four decades it was very to close to 50 per cent. The number of households and the population remained constant in the two decades following 1960 but there was increase in both between the years 1980 to 2000 mainly due to immigrants to a settlement adjacent to Kadatty. Earlier some households from Kadatty had shifted their residence to the new settlement on the side of a nearby tank and they were joined by another 21 households which led to an increase in the number of households from 129 (1980) to 150 (2000). There is also a corresponding increase in the population from 453 to 610 during these two decades.

The 1961 survey noted that the Sambavars seemed to be the original settlers in the village and the Vannans migrated to Kadathucherry about two decades ago. Traditionally the Sambavars occupied one of the lowest-places in the social hierarchy and could claim superiority only over a few other sects of Parayans and other castes like Chakkiliyans and Puthirai Vannans, also considered low in the caste hierarchy. These populations were treated as untouchables and they met with several hardships in the caste-ridden society despite untouchability being made a criminal

offence by the Government of India. In consequence, many Sambavars had welcomed the opportunity of improving their socio economic conditions by converting to Christianity when the Christian Missionaries who came to India for evangelical preaching began providing free educational facilities, medical facilities and financial assistance to those who converted to Christianity. Many of the converts were also given employment in the educational and medical institutions run by the Missionaries.

Sambavars a sub-sect of Parayans (Scheduled Caste) claim to be superior to other sects of Parayans because of their legendry orgain. They are believed to be the descendants of a Brahmin priest by name Sala- Sambayars, who was cursed by Lord Siva for his failure to offer meat in worship. Thus out of this curse, the vegetarian Brahmin was reduced to a meat-eating Paraya (lower in a caste hierarchy that considers non-vegetarianism inferior and polluting). This legend places the Sambavars in a legendary superiority over other sects of Parayans. In reality however, they occupied the lowest place in the traditional Hindu caste hierarchy, superior only to a few other sects of Parayans and other low castes like Chakkilian and Puthirai Vannans. Due to this, they had to suffer social atrocities from the so-called higher castes for which the sambavars performed agricultural operations. It is only after the social reform measures enforced by the government that their social position improved somewhat. Prior to the initiative of the government, Christian Missionaries had tried to uplift them from their low social position by trying to improve their social and economic status mainly through free educational facilities. Attractive avenues of employment were also offered to them in educational and medical institutions run by the missionaries. Such philanthropic actions by the Christian missionaries led to large scale conversion of Sambavars to Christianity towards the latter half of the nineteenth century. The percentage of Christian population increased from 53 to 73 during the four decades following 1960 while there was a corresponding decline in the population of Hindus. Despite this, even today the Hindu Sambavars and the Christian Sambayars are one homogenous ethnic group except in the matter of religion and its ritual practices, despite the Christian Sambavars belonging to three different denominations of Christianity, namely the Salvation Army, London Mission Society and the Pentecostal Mission. The numerical strength of these denominations in the village is given in Table (II.I). While the population of the Salvation and Pentecost sects have not changed much in the last four decades, in the case of the followers of the London Mission Society, there is a definite increase from 15 per cent to 27 per cent (Table:II.1).

TABLE: I.1

**Ethnic Composition** 

S.no		Number of Households		Popu		Percer Total Po	tage of pulation
	Sub-Sect	1961	2000	1961	2000	1961	2000
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]
1 2	Salvation Army London Mission	46	60	166	214	35.78	34.42
3	Society Pentecostal	20	37	74	169	15.95	27.7
	Sects	2	5	9	18	1.94	2.95

The Salvation Army and the London Mission have separate churches and priests in the village. The Salvation Army Christians, the largest single religious group in the village is a minor denomination of the Protestant Sect, the main purpose of which it is to help the poor and the propagation of Christian faith. Like in an army, its active workers are given ranks like Colonel, Major, Captain and Soldier. Initially, as there existed the practice of the workers who sold all their property and joined the army being maintained by the common funds of the church, a significant number of the villagers joined this church even without conviction. A small dispensary started by this sect in 1895 has now grown into a full-fledged hospital with specialized medical departments.

The London Mission, the second numerically important sect of Christians, has customs and manners very similar to the Salvation Army. The Pentecostal Christians are numerically very small in the village, but they stand out due to the differences in their customs and beliefs. The aim of this mission is to preach gospel and convert people to Christianity. They do not have churches but they assemble for prayers in a common place known as "Faith Home". The basis of their beliefs is the Holy-Ghost, the third person of the Holy Trinity of Christians. They preach austere and simple living, shun ornamentation and jewellery and believe in faith cure and not medicine or doctors. The followers of this faith do not indulge in feasting or festivities even at the time of Christmas or Easter.

Though the villagers belong to three different denominations of Christianity and Hinduism they have a unifying bond -- caste. They form one ethnic group of sambavars caste because in their day-to-day life the various religious faiths make up little difference. In their ritual structure, caste traits, and the essential customs differ only in some minor details as can be seen in an examination of their major life cycle rituals like surrounding marriage, child birth, puberty, funerals, etc.

#### Wedding:

The bride's parents along with relatives go to the boy's residence with flowers, sugar, fruits etc. and sometimes with a saree or jewels for the bride. The terms of marriage are formally made known and the father of the boy and the girl exchange betel leaves or Thamboolam symbolizing the betrothal. During this betrothal function, the *parisapanam* or bride's price, traditionally Rs.3, but now a minimum of Rs. 25,000/-, is paid by the groom's party. Gift-giving to the bride and feasting follows.

The Hindu Sambavars adopted the ritual patterns of high caste Hindus; the marriage takes place in the bride's residence. They do not consult the astrologer; the suitability of the match is decided by economic and social factors. Consanguineous marriages with paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter is preferred. Earlier, after the alliance was decided, the auspicious date for marriage was fixed by the caste priest, Valluvan; in their absence, now elderly persons from the same caste perform this.

Wedding takes place at the bride's residence. On the pervious day of the wedding the groom's party goes to the bride's village and are welcomed by the bride's family, and the groom is garlanded by the bride's brother. On the wedding day the bride and the groom, after taking bath, dress in the wedding finery. The practice of groom's party visiting the bride's residence on the pervious day changed; now it takes place on the wedding day imitating Brahmins. Valluvan prepares the sacred fire and performs certain rituals in the fire. An elderly person performs the functions as a priest in the absence of Valluvan. Hindu marriage rituals are officiated by the elderly persons and the Christian Marriages are taking place in the church, with the pastor officiating. In the pandal nine kinds of grains "Navathaniam" are put in a pit and milk poured over it; turmeric stained strings are tied on the wrists of the bride and groom. A lump of cow-dung, symbolizing Lord Krishna, is prepared and the Thali, consecrated, breaking a coconut and burning Camphor. The marriage is proclaimed and the "Thali" is passed around for elders to bless it. The groom places the blessed Thali on the bride's neck and the groom's sister tightens the knot. The bride's father then joins the hands of the bride and the groom. To symbolize the union, the priest ties the end of the bride's sari to the groom's dhoti. After this, the friends and relatives could give gifts to the couple. Wedding ceremony ends with the couple going round the sacred fire three times with joined hands and the bride's brother taking them to the house with a lighted lamp. A wedding feast follows.

Christian Marriages are announced in church by the priest three weeks prior to the wedding, on three consecutive Sundays to elicit objections to the marriage if any; this announcement is called "Bann reading" and the marriage takes place in the church officiated by the priest. Like Hindus, on the wedding day the bride and grooms are given ceremonial baths and dressed well. Bride following the groom, they are taken in a procession to the church where the wedding ceremonies commence with a mass prayer. After getting the formal consent from the bride and groom, the pastor blesses the Thali and hands it over to the boy and the boy ties it round the girl's neck then they sign in the marriage register, attested by witnesses. After the church ceremonies, the couples with linked hands are taken to the house in procession. Following this, gift giving to the couple and the wedding feast takes place.

While the wedding ceremonies of the Salvation Army and London Mission Christians are similar, that of the Pentecostal Christians is different and much simpler. The Pentecostal bride does not wear jewels or Thali. There is Bann reading in Pentecostal faith too but marriage takes place in the "faith home" of the bride's village and begins with mass prayer. The bride and groom are required to dress in a spotless white dress for the wedding ceremony; the bride is also expected to wear a choli with long sleeves to cover up her wrists. After getting the formal consent from the boy and the girl, the priest solemnizes the marriage and administers an oath to the newly weds that they would live according to the customs of their faith. Rituals like exchange of garlands or tying of thali are absent; instead the Holy Bible is exchanged. The priest declares the groom and bride as husband and wife and they sign in the marriage register.

Before 1960 child marriages were common among the Sambavars. Subsequently, marriage age for the boys was accepted as between 20 and 25 and for the girls between 18 and 21. Divorce is permitted among both the Hindus and Christian Sambavars, except for the Pentecost Christians The caste Panchayat affects the divorce by ensuring that the Thali and Parisapanam are returned to the husband by the wife. Pulling out a thread from the saree of the wife marks the dissolution of the marital relationship. Widow remarriage is accepted except among the Pentecost, but usually such remarriages take place only when the widows are young and without children. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was polygamy common among Hindu Sambavars and a second wife was a wage earning asset to the agricultural laborers.

#### Birth of a child:

The pollution associated with child birth is terminated by a bath given to the mother and the baby on the sixteenth day of the child birth. Earthenware used earlier is thrown out and new ones bought. Since metal utensils are used now the earlier practice of throwing away the used utensils are not in vogue and the cups and plates are shared by the other members of the family. In the case of the first child there is an informal feast to relatives after the naming ceremony. Pollution period is observed by both Hindu and Christians. A child is named among the Christians during the baptism ceremony 41<sup>th</sup> days after birth in the church. As a mark of washing the sins the priest sprinkles a few drops of water on the baby, blesses the child and calls it by the selected name. Close relatives make some presentation to the child. The baptism ceremony of the Pentecostal is informal and simple and performed in their faith home by immersing the child 3 times in a water tub. In Salvation Army the child is placed at the foot of the denomination flag and all those assembled in church pray; there is no sprinkling of water.

## **Ear-boring Ceremony**:

The ears of the child are bored at the age of 3 or 4 years on an auspicious day; a small feast is also arranged for the close relatives. New clothes and ear-studs are presented by the maternal uncle of the child. At present, ear boring is performed only for the female child. Very poor people celebrate the same in a simple way by distributing sweets to the invitees.

#### Puberty:

Another ceremonious occasion is the attainment of puberty by a girl. The girl is kept separately and given special food during the pollution period of 16 days. To terminate the pollution, on the 16<sup>th</sup> day, she is given a bath by her sister-in law and dressed in new clothes presented to her by her maternal uncle. It is exclusively a women's ceremony. Those who cannot afford a feast to the relatives, distribute eatables. The same custom is followed by the London Mission and Salvation Army Christians; Pentecostal Christians do not celebrate this ceremony.

#### Funeral rites:

The Hindu Sambavars cremate their dead and the Christians bury their dead. The dead body is washed and turmeric and flowers put on the corpse, and the body kept on a pyre is taken to the cremation ground. Before lifting the pyre the daughters of the deceased go round the corpse and drop a few grains of rice in the mouth of the dead body; this ceremony is called; "Vaikku Arisi

Poduthal". This ritual is repeated in the cremation ground by the sons of deceased and then the body is kept on the funeral pyre and lit by the son of the deceased.

The pollution period is sixteen days. On the third day relatives collect the mortal remains from the grave and throw it into the sea or river. The final purification ceremony Karumathiram is done on the 16 <sup>th</sup> day after the death. A purificatory bath is taken by the mourners. The used earthen vessels are thrown out and new sets of cooking vessels are bought. The relatives of the deceased visit the grave and offer edibles to the soul of the deceased, followed by an informal feast in the house.

Christian funerals differ only in that after completion of the Hindu rituals including the "Vaikku Arisi Poduthal" at home, the body is carried to the church and special prayers are offered for the soul. After this, the body is taken to the burial ground. There too, all the rituals of the Hindus are performed before the body is buried. Later, on the sixteenth day after the burial, the Karumathiram ritual is also performed. There is no conflict as Hindus can attend to the church ceremonies and the Christians are welcome at the Hindu rituals. Permissibility of inter-religious marriages has created a situation where Hindus and Christians can be found in a single family. Hindu boys have married Christian girls and vice versa; in most cases, however, the Hindu partners have embraced Christianity. Among the different sections of the Christians also there is no objection to one sect marrying into another; however there are objections to inter marriages between sambavars and the caste like Chakkilian, and Vannan, considered lower in the caste hierarchy.

The rituals of the Christian Sambavas and the Hindu Sambavas do not create any major conflicts as Hindus can attend church and the Christians are not excluded from Hindu ceremonies. The consanguineous marriages also create situations in which Hindu and Christian Sambavas are found in the same family although in an inter-religious marriage, a Hindu spouse married to a Christian usually converts to Christianity as a church wedding would require that. Nevertheless, as the core elements of Hindu wedding ceremonies are still performed, there is not much tension. However, we cannot overlook the fact that as the policy of protective discrimination that gives entitlements to the scheduled caste Sambavas does not get extended to the Christian-converted Sambavas, certain identity conflicts within the ethnic group are occasionally visible.

#### **Christian Hindu Difference**

# **Households According To Religions**

Of the total households 130, in 1960, Christians constitute 68 and Hindus 62; there is not much change in the number of households in 1980 but between the years 1980 and 2000, there is a significant increase from 129 to 151 and the population also increased from 463 to 610. While there was an increase in the percentage of households of Christians from 52 to 68 during the period 1960 to 2000, for Hindus it declined from 47 per cent to 31 per cent.

Table A1.1

SI.No.	Religions	1960	1980	2000
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
1	Christians			
	(1). Households	68	76	103
	(2).Members	249	271	451
2	Hindus			
	(1). Households	62	53	48
	(2).Members	215	182	159
	Total			
	(1). Households	130	129	151
	(2).Members	463	453	610

#### **Size of the Household**

In 1980, 34 per cent of the Christian households had two or less than two members; It declined to 21 per cent in 2000; the corresponding figures for Hindus are 39 and 18 per cent; it does not show much difference between these two religion groups. In the size of the household 3 to 4, the change is more or less the same for these groups between the years 1980 and 2000 (Christians 39 to 35 per cent and Hindus 37 to 33 per cent). Similarly for the size group 5 to 6, there is an increase in both the groups, Christians and Hindus; it went up for Christians from 14 to 34 per cent during the period 1980 to 2000 and for Hindus 16 to 37 per cent. In general size of the household (5 to 6) increased among Christians and Hindus.

Table A1 .2

SI.No.	Particulars	Years	Christians	Hindus
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
1	1 2	1980	(34.21)	(39.62)
		2000	(21.36)	(18.75)
2	3 4	1980	(39.47)	(37.73)
		2000	(35.92)	(33.33)
3	5 6	1980	(14.47)	(16.98)
		2000	(34.95)	(37.5)
4	7 8	1980	(10.52)	(3.77)
		2000	(5.83)	(10.42)
5	8 & above	1980	(1.31)	(1.88)
		2000	(1.94)	(-)
	Total	1980	(100)	(100)
		2000	(100)	(100)

#### Sex And Age

In the age group less than 15, it is interesting to note that in the total population (29 per cent)females were more than males (23 per cent) in 1980; same in the case with the two religions groups. There is a striking change in the year 2000; there are more males than females in aggregate and in the two groups. Males are more than females, (64 per cent and 62 per cent) among, Christians in the year 1980; same is the case with Hindus (more males 63 per cent than females 54 per cent). Between the years 1980 – 2000 males declined in percentage from 64 to 59 per cent but females increased from 62 to 67 per cent among Christians; there is an increase in the percentage of both the sexes among Hindus though females increased more than males; the former experienced 2 per cent increase and that later 2 per cent. In the age group 60 and above there is not much difference between males and females among both the religious groups in the year 1980 but there is a significant variation between males and females (12 per cent males and 7 per cent females) among Christians and among Hindus the difference is 8 per cent (males) and 12 per cent (females). In the old age group there are more males among Christians and more females among Hindus. In brief, in the lower age group males increased and females declined in percentage in both the groups; in the middle age, increase is observed among females in the two groups but males declined in percentage among Christians and in the old age females declined in percentage among Christians and males among Hindus.

Table A1.3

		Christians			3	Hindus			Total		
SI.			Total			Total			Total		
No	Ages	Year	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]
1	0 < 15	1980	(25.83)	(24.26)	(27.41)	(28.02)	(23.08)	(32.97)	(26.71)	(23.79)	(29.65)
		2000	(26.98)	(28.5)	(25.49)	(26.7)	(27)	(26.42)	(26.89)	(28)	(25.81)
2	15 < 60	1980	(63.46)	(64.71)	(62.22)	(59.34)	(63.74)	(54.95)	(61.81)	(64.32)	(59.29)
		2000	(63.11)	(59)	(67.16)	(63.11)	(65)	(61.32)	(63.11)	(61)	(65.16)
3	60 & above	1980	(10.7)	(11.03)	(10.37)	(12.64)	(13.19)	(12.09)	(11.48)	(11.89)	(11.6)
		2000	(9.9)	(12.5)	(7.35)	(10.19)	(8)	(12.26)	(10)	(11)	(9.03)
	Total	1980	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
		2000	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

### **Progress Of Literacy And Education**

At the literate level in 1980, between the two religious groups there is no significant difference but at the literate and primary level a higher percentage is observed in Hindus than in Christians; there is a striking difference in percentage at the middle school and secondary level, Christians 22 per cent and Hindus 8 per cent; in other words Hindus do better at the lower level of education and Christians at the middle and secondary level. In the year 2000 the picture one gets is different; more percentage of persons are at literate level among Hindus 14 per cent compared to Christians 10 per cent; just the opposite at the literate and the primary level, Christians are more (30 per cent) than Hindus 21 per cent; at the middle and secondary level Hindus (60 per cent) do better than Christians (52 per cent); at the above secondary level of education Christians are more (7 per cent) compared to Hindus (1 per cent). In short at all levels of education the variations between Christians and Hindus is not uniform during the period 1980 to 2000.

Table A1.4

SI.No.	Particulars	Years	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
1	Literate	1980	(10.33)	(10.44)	(10.38)
		2000	(10.48)	(14.5)	(11.8)
2	Literate and	1980	(66.05)	(79.67)	(71.52)
	Primary Level	2000	(30)	(21)	(27.05)
3	Middle and	1980	(22.14)	(8.24)	(16.55)
	Secondary Level	2000	(52.2)	(60)	(54.75)
4	Above Secondary	1980	(1.48)	(1.65)	(1.55)
		2000	(7.32)	(1.47)	(6.39)
		1980	(100)	(100)	(100)
	Total	2000	(100)	(100)	(100)

# **Out Migration**

Of the 82 migrants, 75 persons are Christians and 7 Hindus; male Christian migrants are 41 and females 34; corresponding figures fir Hindus are 4 and 3. It is clear that most of the migrants are Christians.

Table A1.5

SI.No.	Present Residence	Total	Persons	M	ale	Fen	nale
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]
		С	Н	С	Н	С	Н
1	Nagercoil	1	-	1	-	-	-
2	Madras	4	-	3	-	1	-
3	Anantha Padma						
	Nathapuram	-	4	-	2	-	2
4	Palayamkottai	3	-	1	-	2	-
5	Madras	1	-	-	-	1	-
6	Elanthayadi	3	-	1	-	2	-
7	Bombay	5	-	1	-	4	-
8	Coimbatore	5	-	2	-	3	-
9	Erachakulam	2	-	1	-	1	-
10	Bihar	4	-	2	-	2	-
11	Azhagappapuram	-	1	-	1	-	-
12	Madras	4	-	3	-	1	-
13	Usaravilai	2	-	1	-	1	-
14	Madras	1	-	1	-	-	-
15	Vadakkankulam	3	-	1	-	2	-
16	Madras	4	-	2	-	2	-
17	Madras	5	-	3	-	2	-
18	Bombay	5	-	4	-	1	-
19	Bombay	5	-	3	-	2	-
20	Azhagappapuram	2	-	1	-	1	-
21	Nagercoil	4	-	2	-	2	-
22	Nagercoil	3	-	2	-	1	-
23	Kuwait	1	-	1	-	-	-
24	Thiruvananthapuram	4	-	2	-	2	-
25	Bombay	2	-	1	-	1	-
26	Madras	-	2	-	1	-	1
27	Bombay	2	-	2	-	-	-
	Total	75	7	41	4	34	3

C – Christian

H - Hindu

# **Land Transfer**

Partition of parental property was the main source of land gain in 1980 for Christians (65 acres) and for Hindus (35 acres); gaining land through purchase occupies the second place and mortgage was a less significant way of getting land for both groups. But in the year 2000, land gained by both the groups mainly through mortgage (Christians 19 acres and Hindus 24 acres).

Hindus gained more land through mortgage probably due to a greater dependence of Hindus on land for cultivation; it is not the case with Christians because more of them are out migrants who are not interested on land in the native village. Land lost by both the groups mainly through mortgage though Christians lost more lands (11 acres) than Hindus (24 acres). It appears that out-migrant Christians mortgage their lands in the first stage due to their declining interest on land and subsequently dispose of the lands when the land price becomes attractive.

Table A1.6

	Distribution of					La	nd Gai	ned						Land	Lost		
	Distribution of Ownership		Pa	rtition			Sales		M	lortgag	je		Sales		١	/lortgag	je
	Holding		C	Ι	Т	С	Н	Т	С	Ι	Т	С	Н	Т	С	Ι	Т
SI.No	(Acre: Cent)	Year															
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]	[15]	[16]	[17]	[18]
1	No Land	1980	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
		2000	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	3	5	-	1	1	-	-	-
2	0 - 0.10	1980	33	29	62	10	10	20	-	2	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
		2000	5	2	7	7	4	11	13	17	30	2	1	3	-	-	-
3	0.11 - 0.25	1980	9	1	10	4	2	6	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
		2000	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	1	2	-	2
4	0.26 - 0.50	1980	3	2	5	4	2	6	1	1	2	2	1	3	2	-	2
		2000	2	-	2	3	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	4	-	4
5	0.51 - 1.00	1980	2	1	3	2	-	2	1	1	2	4	-	4	1	1	2
		2000	2	-	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	-	-	-	2	1	3
6	1.01 -2.00	1980	11	-	11	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
		2000	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4
7	2.01 -5.00	1980	5	2	7	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
		2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
8	5.01-7.0 &	1980	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Above	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	1980	65	35	10 0	24	14	38	3	4	7	8	2	10	6	2	8
	i Olai	2000	11	2	13	11	8	19	ა 19	24	43	5	3	8	11	2	13
		2000	11		10		O	ıσ	ıσ	24	40	Ü	J	O			13

# Work outside the village:

The difference between Christians and Hindus in the matter of work outside the village is not significant, though the number of workers working outside the village declined over a period of time in both the groups.

Table A1.7

Sl.No.	Particulars	Year	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
1	Male	1980	24.66	22.86	47.53
		2000	32.60	30.44	63.04
2	Female	1980	29.14	23.31	52.46
		2000	17.39	19.56	39.95
	Total	1980	53.81	48.18	100
		2000	50	50	100

#### **Occupational Distribution Of Workers**

Among Christians in 1980 persons with cultivation as the main occupation were 42 per cent and it declined to 24 per cent in 2000; in the case of Hindus cultivators increased from 17 per cent in 1980 to 26 per cent in 2000. The percentage of Christian Agricultural laborers was 47 in 1980 and it marginally declined to 45 per cent but there was a marked decrease of the same in the case of Hindu Agricultural laborers from 78 per cent (1980) to 52 per cent (2000). Salaried employed persons increased in both the religious groups, for Christians from 9 (1980) to 25 per cent (2000) and for Hindus 3 per cent (1980) to 19 per cent (2000). When we disaggregate the figures as males and females in both the religious groups we get the same changes in the occupational pattern.

Table A 1.8

SI.No	Categories of Occupation	Years	С	Н	С	Н	С	Н
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
1	Cultivation	1980	(42.85)	(17.79)	(40.65)	(17.85)	(5.23)	(17.74)
		2000	(24.25)	(26.59)	(24.58)	(23.52)	(2.86)	(30.23)
2	Agricultural	1980	(47.42)	(78.83)	(47.25)	(72.57)	(47.63)	(79.03)
	Labour	2000	(45.54)	(52.12)	(35.96)	(50.98)	(57.95)	(53.48)
3	Salaried	1980	(9.72)	(3.38)	(12.08)	(3.57)	(7.14)	(3.22)
	Employment	2000	(25.75)	(19.16)	(35.96)	(23.52)	(12.5)	(13.9)
4	Business &	1890	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
	Trade	2000	(0.99)	(1.06)	(1.75)	(-)	(-)	(2.32)
5	Other Self	1980	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
	Employment	2000	(3.46)	(1.06)	(1.75)	(1.98)	(5.68)	(-)
	Total	1980	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
		2000	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

C – Christian

H - Hindu

# **Non-Farm Employment**

In 1980, out of the total persons involved in non-farm employment, 16 of them were Christians and 4 Hindus; the corresponding figures for 2000 is 57 (78 per cent) Christians, 16(21 per cent) Hindus and the total number is 73. In other words during the past two decades the percentage of persons depending on non-farm employment increased in both the groups without much difference.

Table A1.9

Non-farm Employment (1980)

SI.No	Particulars	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
1	Teacher	2	-	2
2	Government Employee	4	2	6
3	Tailor	1	-	1
4	Driver	1	-	1
5	Shop	3	1	4
6	Rtd.Pensioner	1	1	2
7	Railway Department	1	-	1
8	Ex. Service Man	1	-	1
9	Company Work	1	-	1
10	Others	1	-	1
	Total	16	4	20

Table A1.9

Non-farm Employment (2000)

SI.No	Particulars	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
1	Welding	3	3	6
2	Mechanic	2	-	2
3	Company Work	3	3	6
4	Shop	6	4	10
5	Forest Department	-	1	1
6	Railway Department	1	-	1
7	Hospital	1	-	1
8	Telephone Office	1	-	1
9	Teacher	2	1	3
10	Bank	1	-	1
11	Village Office Clerk	1	-	1
12	Mason	4	1	5
13	Tailor	6	-	6
14	Nurse	5	1	6
15	Rtd(a)Government Hospital Peon			
	(b)Ex. Military	1	-	1
	©T.B.Hospital Clerk	1	-	1
	(d)Army Sepoy	1	-	1
	(e)Statistical Inspector	1	-	1
	(f)Bill Collector	-	1	1
16	Driver	8	1	9
17	Missionary	2	-	2
18	Engineer	1	-	1
19	Vegetable Sales	1	-	1
20	Painting	1	-	1
21	Boring	1	-	1
22	Screen Printing	1	-	1
23	Total	57	16	73

# Developing Infrastructure—Village Opening to the Outside World

Though the village is situated very close to the district headquarters (5 Km) and there were many rural development programs by the Centre and the state, it took many years for Kadatty to attain desired changes in terms of physical and social infrastructure like tar road, protected drinking water and other basis amenities. But in literacy and education, the village had an early start thanks to the efforts of the Christian Missionaries. The very high literacy rate and higher levels of education noted in the different surveys resulted from this. Before we probe further into the various dimensions of educational advancement it is appropriate to give a picture of the improvement in infrastructure like school, library, road etc. which opened up the village to the outside influences in

a hitherto unprecedented way and facilitated the rapid progress of education in the village, apart from promoting the sense of well-being of the people.

**School:** By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an elementary school was started by Christian Missionaries, but after a few decades the school was shifted to a nearby village Kulatuvilai, probably for want of strength. While Kulatuvilai was in a more accessible location could attract students from a few other small villages in the neighborhood, Kadatty which is isolated in the midst of paddy fields lost out. Subsequently government started a primary school in Kadatty in the building owned by the Church of South India. Later, when the villagers donated land, a school building was constructed there. However, the poor infrastructure and teaching persuaded some parents to send their children for education outside the village. Up to standard V, out of 43 children, 24 studied in the Kadatty School while the remaining 19 children go to a school in Parakkai. In Kadatty School, for all the five batches from standards 1 to v, there are only one or two teachers. If in 1961, Kadatty students from above v<sup>th</sup> standard studied in three different schools located in the nearby villages; now they avail the option of eight different schools. Appreciation of good quality education, availability of concession rates for bus transport, better teaching etc. attract the students to schools outside Kadatty. (Table: I.1)

TABLE: I.1

CHILDREN STUDYIND IN DIFFERENT SCHOOLS

S.NO	CLASS	Kadatty	Parakkai	Cheety	KottarD.V.D.	Edalakudy Govt.	Puthalam Govt.	Nagercoil Scott	Thengamputhoor	Total
		village	School	StreetSchool	School	Higher Secondary	Higher Secondary	Higher Secondary	Kannan Matriculation	
		School	(3 Km)	(3 Km)	(6 Km)	SchoolElankadai(4 Km)	School(4 Km)	School(6 Km)	School (3Km)	
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]
1	I to V	24	19	-	-	-	-	-	6	49
2	VI to VIII	-	19	8	-	1	-	1	-	29
3	IX to X	-	2	9	4	4	1	2	-	22
4	XI to XII	-	1	-	1	7	-	-	-	9
	Total	24	41	17	5	12	1	3	6	109

- A. (1). Polytechnic Students-2.
  - (2). Engineering Student-1.
- B. Students staying in the hostel-13.

<u>Library</u>: As early as 1963 with the help of the then state minister Mr. Kakkan, a library was established in the village. Not everyone subscribed to a newspaper despite the high literacy rate, but they listened to news read out by one person, sometimes borrowing the newspaper from one who

subscribed to it. Recently, most of the villagers, irrespective of sex and age come to library and read newspapers due to the interest created by the rising level of education. The local Youth club has made arrangements to get one newspaper daily; it comes along with the bus to the village. The library has now become an entertainment center as well as now a T.V. has also been installed there, attracting many. In the initial years after the construction of the library, it was used for playing cards, but now there is increased awareness among the people about the importance of reading and they do not misuse the library. They have also devised a way to continue subscribing to newspapers: the read newspapers are safely stored in an almirah and sold when sufficiently accumulated and the money thus obtained is loaned out for interest, the accumulated amount being used to buy newspapers again.

**Electricity**: Due to the initiative taken by the members of the Panchayat ward, the kadatty village was electrified in 1953 and street lights installed. In 1961, most houses used seed oil or kerosene for burning lamps and there was electric connection only in one house, whereas now, there is electricity in most of the houses and only 10 houses are without electricity. With the introduction of the television, people who did not opt for electricity connection in their houses began to use it to watch T.V. Now electricity is used for lighting, operating power-driven machines like mixi and grinder in the kitchen and for lifting underground water for drinking and irrigating lands in 9 households. However, their long felt need of a street light remains unfulfilled; the road that connects Kadatty to the nearby Parakkai village, stretching to 1 kilometer distance is still unlit. This road which winds around a tank through paddy fields feels unsafe for women and children and restricts their mobility at night.

**Drinking Water.** In 1961 there were two drinking water wells, one for the Christians and the other for the Hindus. It was expected that the people from each group would take water for drinking from the well meant for them and for washing they used the tank and the canal water. Recently in 1994, due to the efforts taken jointly by the people (by providing space), the Panchayat and the local Member of Parliament, an overhead water tank was constructed near the well belonging to the Hindus. People are still unsatisfied with the quality of the water. Envious of the potable pipe water available in the nearby town they desire for clean pipe water.

#### Road and Transport:

In the place of a mud rood in 1961, there is a tar road now in Kadatty. If in 1961, bullock carts were used to transport grains, coconut and other goods, now tempo vans, one's own or hired, are

available to transport things between places. While in 1961, there was no bus service to Kadatty and one had to walk up to Parakkai to get a bus, now, a government transport bus comes to Kadatty and three private buses come to a place in between Parakkai and Kadatty. There is bus link between Kadatty and other villages.

Health: In the early decades after independence people in Kadatty mainly used indigenous medicines for curing diseases. In the 60's most of the child births were at home with the assistance of local birth attendants It is only from the 80's that they started using more allopathic medicines and yet, the use of indigenous medicines have nearly disappeared and now most of the child births (90%) take place in the hospital. The 1960 survey recorded that 58 deliveries were under the care of trained nurses while 233 were assisted by untrained local birth attendants. At present there are only two birth attendants in this village. For emergencies, some people still seek their help but the preference of the villagers today is clearly hospital child births. From Parakkai a health worker visits this village and gives medicines for minor ailments. Before 1980, the Catherine Booth Hospital in Nagercoil, started by one of the denominations of Christianity, the Salvation Army, also attracted the Sambayars to allopathic medicine and to Christianity by providing free medical care to the Christian converts. The different types of health care assistance provided by the Christian Missionaries did not continue much longer than the Missionaries' departure from India and the subsequent takeover of hospital administration by the local converted Christians. With this, the Sambayars began using other private hospitals close by. They also consult private doctors. In 1960, their health care facilities were limited. There was a Public Health Centre and a homoeopathic hospital in the nearby village of Thengamputoor, and a doctor from Rajakkamangalam who used to visit the village once a week. Besides, there was a retired compounder who had good medical practice in Parakkai village. One could surmise that the greater use of indigenous medicines in the 60s was not merely a matter of peoples' preference, but in fact, affordable allopathic health care facilities were limited. People now go to private hospitals for most illnesses whereas earlier, for minor ailments they went to private hospitals and for major ones, they went to government hospitals. The village people are comparatively more concerned about health and sanitation. When in 1961, there was no house with toilet and drainage, and adjacent to most houses, one could see cattle sheds and manure pits breeding mosquitoes, and children relieving themselves on the wayside, now ten houses have toilets, there are no manure pits near houses, and no wayside defecation observed in 2000. But even today, there are houses without toilets and open defecation is

inevitable. Infrastructure is definitely better comparatively, but there is much to be desired. Kadatty people's desire to have at least a part time hospital in the village and a vehicle to transport sick people to good hospitals for emergency medical care are still far from reality.

<u>Post office</u>: About 20 years back a post-box was installed in the village due to the efforts of a villager who was an employee of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. The post-box was not used because the villagers received letters directly from the friendly Post Man who collected letters for mailing directly from the villagers. The closest post office is in the nearby big village of Thenkamputhoor about 3 kilometers away from Kadatty and the closest telegraph office is located in the nearby village of Puthalam. In 1999, 7 households received telephone connection, but other villagers also had use of these private telephones at a payment of Rs. 2 per call, to the owner of the telephone. Although telephone calls meant for those without a telephone are not promptly communicated to them by the owners of the telephones, emergency messages are passed on without fail. The village people wish to have a public Telephone Booth or even a private commercial phone booth to meet their communication needs.

Housing: Next to food people assign priority to housing; their changing aspirations about housing get reflected in the roof, walls, floor and number of rooms of the houses. Number of one-room houses declined from 20 per cent to 14 between 1961 and 2000 and there has been a marginal increase in two-room houses; there is not much change in the percentage of three-room houses and the houses with four rooms increased from 13 to 16 per cent. Regarding roof, 8 per cent of the houses have concrete roof, tiled roofs increased from 57 to 74 per cent and there is a slight decline in the percentage of thatched roof from 20 to 18 per cent. Striking downward changes take place in the type of walls, earlier 55 per cent of the houses had clay walls and now it is only 18 per cent; the walls made out of bricks increased from 45 to 81 per cent. In other words, the percentage of clay walled houses declined and the brick walled houses increased significantly. Regarding floor, the percentage of mud-floor houses declined from 82 to 30 percent and cemented flooring increased from 2 to 70 per cent. While 14 per cent of the houses have only one room and 30 per cent still have mud floors, housing conditions in Kadatty show marked improvement (Table: I.2).

TABLE: I.2
HOUSING: (PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS)

S.NO	D PARTICULARS	1961	2000
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Α	Roof:		
1	Concrete	-	(8)12
2	Tilted	(57.03)	(74)111
3	Straw	(21.09)	-
4	Thatched Roof	(20.31)	(18)27
5	Wood	(1.56)	-
В	Walls:		
1	Clay	(55.46)	(18)27
2	Bricks	(44.53)	(81.33)122
3	Others	-	(0.66)1
С	Floor:		
1	Mud	(82.03)	(30)45
2	Cement	(2.34)	(70)105
3	Stone	(9.37)	-
4	Stone and Sand	(2.34)	-
5	Limjesing	(3.9)	-
D	Rooms:		
1	One-Room	(19.53)	(14)21
2	Two-Room	(42.96)	(45.33)68
3	Three-Room	(25.78)	(24)36
4	Four-Rooms and above	(13.28)	(16.66)25

NB: Figures within brackets indicate percentage

#### *Television (T.V)*:

T.V. was in introduced to Kadatty in 1990 and cable T.V in 2000. At the time of data collection, the cable T.V was managed by the Panchayat Ward Member. Installation charges for cable T.V is Rs.300 and there is a monthly payment of Rs.100 for the three available channels (Sun, Pothihai, and Jeya). Of the 30 households owning television, seven have colour T.V and the remaining 23, black and white T.V. People usually watch television after 3.30 P.M; they prefer to watch films, drama, serial, songs and other entertainers. Nevertheless, people are more informed now compared to a pre-television era; daily news telecasts attract even those who have very low level of education and those who do not watch other programs. However, there is a simultaneous spread of consumerism as they are getting unprecedented exposure to different types of consumer goods, like new items of furniture, dress, jewellery and the like. Advertisements in T.V have been instrumental in the creation of new wants in the Kadatty people. Students also while away their time in front of television as elders watch as most households have few rooms. New items of T.V related expenditure like T.V installation changes, monthly payment for cable T.V, repair expenses and

electricity charges certainly impinges on the household budget, but a sense of being connected to the outer realities takes away the remoteness of this village, otherwise lost amidst paddy fields once upon a time not far off for memory to recall.

The infrastructural developments that opened the village to greater outside influences also brought in effects unintended. Growth in the number of professional moneylenders, formal financial institutions like Bank, Post office, Life Insurance Corporation of India etc. contributed to the gradual disappearance of traditional credit organizations like chits. There were different types of chits known as Cash chits, Paddy chits, Rice chits etc. that encouraged saving habit in the villagers, despite occasional conflicts regarding the payment of either installments to the chit or the amount due from the chit.

Expenses on consumer goods have gone up as greater exposure to such items has created newer wants. Fifty three percentage increase in the number of houses with cot and almirah from 2 to 41 per cent, benches 67 per cent, tables 53 per cent and battery light from 5 to 68 per cent. Hurricane lantern was common earlier (44 per cent); it disappeared now. Percentage of houses with radio increased from 3 to 73 per cent and eleven per cent of the households have bicycle now, it was less than one per cent earlier. Now all houses have chairs and fan is found in 24 per cent of the houses, wet grinder and mixi in 17 per cent of the houses and 32 per cent of the houses have television. (Table: I.3)

TABLE: 1.3

CONSUMER GOODS:(PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS)

S.NO	PARTICULARS	1961	2000
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Cot	(0.78)	(53.33)80
2	Almirah	(1.56)	(41.33)62
3	Bench	(0.78)	(67.33)101
4	Table	(0.78)	(53.33)80
5	Battery Light	(5.46)	(68.66)103
6	Hurricane Lantern	(44.53)	-
7	Radio	(3.12)	(73.33) 110
8	Petromax Light	(0.78)	(2) 3
9	Kerosene stove	-	(12) 18
10	Bicycle	(0.78)	(11.33) 17
11	Others		
	1.Grinder and Mixi		(17.33) 26
	2.Fan		(24.00) 36
	3. T.V.		(32.00) 48
	4.Vehicle		(6.00) 9
	5.Emergency Light		(4.00) 6
	6.Soft Bed		(8.66) 13
	7.Chairs		(100.00) 150

NB: Figures within brackets indicate percentage

#### **Education and Employment**

The percentage of workers in the village declined from 71 per cent in 1980 to 43 percent in 2000. At the same time, the percentage of students increased from 21 per cent to 36 per cent during this period. The number of workers in the age group 6 to 14, were insignificant in both the years 1980 and 2000 indicating that child labour was not widely prevalent. In the age group 15 to 19, percentage of workers increased from 3.5 per cent in 1980 to 11.1 per cent in 2000. However, in both 1980 and 2000, 67% of the workers were from the age group 20 and above. In the age group 15 to 19 there was a substantial increase in students from 5 per cent to 74 per cent during this period.; there was also a noticeable increase in the category "others" -- from 3.7 per cent in 1980 to 19.2 per cent in 2000 (Table: III.1).

TABLE: III.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN VARIOUS AGE GROUPS ACCORDING TO ACTIVITY STATUS

			1980				2000	)	
S.NO (1)	ACTIVITY (2)	6-1 <i>4</i> (3)	15-19 (4)	20 and above (5)	Total (6)	6-14 (7)	15-19 (8)	20 and above (9)	Total (10)
1	Workers	0.5	3.5	67.4	71.4	-	3.93	42.98	46.88
2	Students	14.5	5.4	1.4	21.3	17.54	7.70	2.13	27.39
3	Others	3.5	-	3.7	7.2	8.68	0.65	16.39	25.73
	Total	18.5	8.9	72.5	100	26.22	12.28	61.50	100

In 1980, of the educated people, 61 per cent were in the literate and primary level and 31 per cent in the middle and secondary level. The corresponding figures for 2000 were 31 per cent and 60 per cent; it implies during the last two decades there is considerable increase in the middle and higher secondary educated persons. If most of the children stopped their education at the primary level in 1980, now they go up to the middle and secondary level; at the above secondary level also there is an increase from 3 per cent to 7 per cent in 2000. The increase is more remarkable in the case of females than males at the middle and secondary level; for males the increase was from 37 per cent to 60 per cent whereas for females, it was from 32 to 62 per cent. However, above the secondary level, the increase is more in flavor of males than females. (Table: III.2)

TABLE: III.2
PROGRESS OF LITERACY AND EDUCATION OF POPULATION, SIX YEARS OF AGE AND ABOVE

			1980		2000			
S.NO	Educational Level	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	
1	Illiterate	0.24	0.5	-	3.4	1.7	5	
2	Literate and Primary							
	Level	61.7	57.3	66	31.3	31.8	30.7	
3	Middle and Secondary							
	Level	31	37.4	32.5	60.7	59.1	62.3	
4	Above Secondary	3.1	4.9	1.4	4.5	7.1	1.8	
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	

While 62 per cent of the population has attained primary level education in 1980 and most of the persons in the older age group did not posses schooling beyond that level and the proportion with middle and secondary school education were very small, in 2000 only about 36 per cent of them had only primary level education, where as 25 per cent of population were with middle level education, 34 per cent secondary level, and 5 per cent above secondary level. In the 14-20 age group, the number of years of schooling including secondary and higher levels that was 19 per cent earlier, increased to 30 per cent in 2000. In 1980, majority of the population with primary level education joined the local labour force and they sought employment in agriculture and allied activities; now since a considerable section of the population has schooling at the middle, higher secondary and above higher secondary, they seek employment in the non-farm sector. (Table:III. 3)

TABLE: III.3
PROPORTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND AGE GROUPS

					1980					2000		
S.NC	Age Group	Relevant	Primary	Middle	Secondary		Total	Primary	Middle	Secondary		Total
		Stages of				Secondary					Secondary	
		Education										
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]
1		Primary and Middle	11.9	2.4	-	-	14.4	11.33	4.46	0.18	-	15.98
2	14-20	Secondary	4.1	4.3	5	0.7	14.1	1.7	4.46	11.7	0.37	18.23
3	21-44	-	20.8	10.5	7.7	2.4	41.4	7.43	9.85	17.47	3.34	38.1
4	45-59	-	12.9	2.2	1	-	16	7.99	5.2	2.78	0.74	16.72
5	60 and above	-	12.2	1.2	0.7	-	14	7.62	0.92	1.85	0.55	10.96
	Total		61.9	20.6	14.4	3.1	100	36.08	24.9	34.01	5.01	100

There is a striking change in the number of workers who entered the labour force during the period 1980-2000. While in 1980, 70 per cent of the workers made their entry between the ages 14 and 16, only 6 per cent of the workers did so in 2000; 81 per cent of the labourers started working

around the age 25 and above. While earlier most of them had only primary education and began working as agricultural labourers, now most of them have middle, secondary and above secondary levels of education and the proportion of agricultural labourers was only 37 per cent and those dependent on non-farm employment (Salaried and other employment) were around 20 per cent. Even in 1980 persons who joined the labour force at slightly old age had relatively better educational levels and few of them got non-farm employment (Salaried or self employment) but very few persons joined the labour force at the age 25 and above, in sharp contrast to the year 2000. In 1980 though they assigned priority for education, economic compulsions forced them to become workers at an early age; the tendency then was to share the available opportunities in agriculture or to migrate to other places; now more persons are in favour of getting higher levels of education and seeking non-farm employment leaving agriculture (Table:III. 4)

TABLE:III. 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO PRESENT LEVEL OF AGE, LEVEL OF EDUCATION

AND OCCUPATION AT TIME OF ENTRY INTO LABOUR FORCE

AGE AT ENTRY INTO LABOUR FORCE

				198	30				2000		
S.NO	Present level	14-16	17-19	20-24	25and above	Total	14-16	17-19	20-24	25 and above	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]
1	14-20	7.5	1	-	-	8.5	3.84	4.89	0.69	-	9.44
2	21-44	32.5	14.8	4.6	1	52.8	12.23	9.09	25.17	10.48	56.99
3	45-59	15.4	3.9	1	-	21.6	6.64	1.39	9.79	5.24	23.07
4	60 and above	14.8	2	0.3	-	17.1	4.19	1.04	2.79	2.44	10.48
	Total	70.2	21.6	5.9	2.3	100	26.92	16.43	38.46	18.18	100
	Level of education										
1	Primary	57.7	6.6	-	1.3	65.6	3.84	1.39	0.69	28.32	34.26
2	Middle	11.1	8.9	0.7	-	20.7	1.39	1.39	2.44	25.17	30.41
3	Secondary	0.7	5.6	4.6	1	11.8	0.34	3.14	3.49	18.88	25.87
4	Above Secondary	0.7	0.7	0.7	-	2	-	-	2.09	7.34	9.44
	Total	70.2	21.6	5.9	2.3	100	5.59	5.94	8.74	79.72	100
	Present Occupation										
1	Cultivation	6.9	3.9	1.3	0.3	12.4	1.74	-	1.39	24.47	27.62
2	Agriculture labor	59.4	15.1	2.3	0.7	77.5	3.14	3.14	1.39	36.71	44.75
3	Salaried										
	Employment	-	1.3	2	1	4.3	0.34	0.34	2.44	12.23	15.38
4	Other Employment	3.9	1.3	0.3	0.3	5.8	0.34	2.44	2.09	7.34	12.23
	Total	70.2	21.6	5.9	2.3	100	5.59	5.94	7.69	80.79	100

Agriculture is the main source of employment; people work either as cultivators, (owner – operated or tenant cultivated) or as agricultural labourers; since the opportunity to become cultivators is not available to all, a large proportion of people depend on agriculture for wage-employment. The percentage of cultivators increased from 12 in 1980 to 26 in 2000; the increase

was more in the case of female cultivators compared to males. The proportion of agricultural labourers declined from 77 per cent to 46 per cent in the same period; the decrease was more among males than females. Thus the last two decades witnessed an increase in the number of cultivators and decrease in agricultural labourers. Simultaneously there was an increase in the percentage of non-farm employment from 10 per cent to 27 per cent. Acquiring higher levels of education, secondary and post secondary helped the workers to get more non-farm employment as opportunities for farm employment were declining. (Table: III. 5)

TABLE: III. 5
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN VARIOUS CATEGORIES

			1980			2000	
S.NO	Occupation	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
[1] 1	[2] Cultivation	[3] 12.4	[4] 12.4	[5] 12.5	[6] 26.22	[7] 24.05	[8] 28.9
2	Agricultural Labour	77.5	69.9	64.9	46.5	39.24	55.46
3	Salaried Employment	4.3	7.8	0.7	12.23	15.82	7.81
	Business and trade	5.3	9.8	2	1.74	3.16	-
5	Other self- Employment	-	-	-	13.3	13.3	13.3
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Of the 20 non-farm workers in 1980, eleven workers had secondary education and eight workers had education above the secondary level. In 2000, there was a significant increase in the number of non-farm workers; as the education level of workers increases the number of non-farm workers is also found to increase; thus 15 of them have middle level education and 35 workers have secondary education. However, at the above secondary level of education, there are not as many workers as there are workers with secondary level education (Table: 6). The details of non-farm employment are given in Appendix A.

Area under cultivation, crops cultivated and the technology in use are the main determinants in the quantum of employment of agricultural labourers. In Kadatty, the area under paddy cultivation has been undergoing a rapid change due to the shift in the cropping pattern. Paddy lands are getting converted into coconut groves, mainly by the absentee landlords whose main occupation is non-farm. Labourer absorption in coconut garden is much lower than in paddy crop. In addition to the reduction in employment opportunities in agriculture due to shift in cropping pattern, changes in

technology has further reduced the available employment opportunities. Using tractor for ploughing and threshing machine for harvesting has reduced the work of labourers, particularly that of males. Prior to mechanization, labourers with bullocks got a considerable number of employment days as ploughmen. According to the 1961 report during the cultivation season agricultural labourers got 15 to 20 days of employment; in 1980, a rough estimate of the average number of days of employment indicated 51 days of employment for male labourers and 41 days for female labourers; the corresponding figures for the year 2000 are 25 days for male labourers and 45 days for female labourers. Compared to 1980 the number of days of employment for female labourers remains more or less the same but for males, there is a sharp decline in employment from 51 days in 1980 to 25 days in 2000. A number of labourers, particularly the educated adults, are moving to non-farm employment. (Table: III.6)

TABLE:III. 6

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT

		1980	2000
S.No	Level of Education	No of Workers	No of Workers
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
1	Primary	-	8
2	Middle	1	15
3	Secondary	11	35
4	Above Secondary	8	15
	Total	20	73

Pressure of labour force on the village labour market is relieved to some extent by outmigration. Families migrated to other places either permanently or temporarily or commuted daily for work outside the village. The population of this village remains stable partly due to out migration and partly due to the decline in the number of children. For the year 2000, we have information about 22 migrant households; five of them migrated to Madras, 5 to Bombay, 2 to Nagercoil, the district headquarters, 4 to other districts and 6 to other places within the district and five individuals employed in other places also migrated. The reasons for migration varied from employment, either of oneself or one's child, a son or daughter, to family disputes. (Table:III. 7)

TABLE:III. 7
OUTMIGRATION

S.No		Total	Males	Females	
	Place	Persons			Reasons (2000)
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
1	Nagercoil	1	1	-	Shifted the House to Nagercoil.
2	Madras	4	3	1	Employment at Madras.
3	Ananthapadma				Conflicting relation between father and son.
	Natha puram	4	2	2	
4	Palayankottai	4	2	2	Employment in Forest Department.
5	Madras	1	-	1	To live in daughter's House Madras.
6	Elanthayadi	3	1	2	House became unsuitable to live.
7	Bombay	5	1	4	Employment (Driver in Bombay)
8	Coimbatore	5	2	3	Employment in coimbatore.
9	Erachakulam	2	1	1	Rtd. Military Man: Shifted the house to Erachakulam.
10	Bih ar	4	2	2	Religious Work- Bihar.
11	Azhappapuram	1	1	-	House became unsuitable to live.
12	Madras	4	3	1	Employment in Railway Department Madras.
13	Usaravilai	2	1	1	Religious Work- Usaravilai.
14	Madras	1	1	-	Employment in Madras.
15	Vadakkankulam	3	1	2	Living with son in Vadakkankulam.
16	Madras	4	2	2	Employment in Madras.
17	Madras	5	3	2	Employment in Madras.
18	Bombay	5	4	1	Employment in Bombay.
19	Bombay	5	3	2	Employment (Driver in Bombay).
20	Azhappapuram	2	1	1	Local dispute.
21	Nagercoil	4	2	2	Rtd.Government Servant in Nagercoil.
22	Kuwait	1	1	-	Staff- Nurse (abroad) Kuwait.
23	Trivandrum	4	2	2	Employment in Trivandrum.
24	Nagercoil	3	2	1	Engineer, Nagercoil.
26	Madras	2	1	1	Employment in Madras.
27	Bombay	2	2	-	Employment in Bombay.

Among the 305 workers in 1980 agriculture was the main occupation for 38 persons, agricultural labour for 236 persons, salaried employment for 13, and self employment for 18; the corresponding figures for 2000 are 286 (Total Workers), 73 (Agriculture), 133 (Agriculture Labour), 35 (Salaried Employment), and 38 Other Self-Employment. While in 1980 agriculture was a subsidiary work for 32 workers and agriculture labour for 10, agriculture as a subsidiary occupation declined from 32 to 2 workers, agricultural labour increased from 10 to 43 persons during the period 1980 to 2000 (Table:III. 8)

TABLE:III. 8

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN THEIR MAIN AND SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

				1980						2000			
		Total Workers		AgricultureL abour	Salaried	Other self Employ	Subsidiary Occupation	Total Workers	Agriculture	Agriculture Labour	Salaried Employ		Subsidiary Occupation
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]
1	Agriculture	38	-	8	-	-	7	80	-	40	-	2	42
2	Agriculture	236	27	-	-	4	31	133	-	-	-	5	5
	Labour												
	Salaried												
	Employment	13	4	-	-	2	6	35	-	-	-	-	-
4	Other Self												
	Employment	18	1	3	-	-	4	38	2	3	-	3	8
	Total	305	32	11	-	5	48	286	2	43	-	10	55

In 1980 most of the workers (77 per cent) were agricultural labourers with primary education, and then came cultivators with primary level of education; non-farm workers were around 4 per cent and their level of education was secondary. In 2000 the percentage of agricultural labourers went down to 47 percent (from 77 per cent in 1980); 29 per cent of them have middle and secondary level of education. The percentage of cultivators in 2000 increased to 26 per cent (from 12 per cent in 1980). Non-Farm workers with secondary and above secondary education increased to 12 per cent in 2000. Within the two decades the percentage of agricultural labourers declined sharply and that of the cultivators increased significantly; their educational level also underwent changes; earlier most of the agricultural labourers had only primary education, now a good number of them have middle and secondary education; similar changes in the education level are noticeable in the case of cultivators. There is a considerable increase in the percentage of non-farm workers with secondary and above secondary education. (Table: III. 9)

TABLE:III. 9
PROPORTION OF TOTAL WORKERS DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND OCCUPATION

			•	1980			2000					
S.NO	Educational level	Cultivator	Agriculture	Salaried	Others	Total	Cultivator	Agriculture	Salaried	Others	Total	
	Occupation		Labour	Employ				Labour	Employ			
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	
1	Primary	7.2	53.1	0.7	4.6	65.6	12.5	17.42	0.75	1.89	32.57	
2	Middle	2	7.7	0.3	0.7	20.7	8.33	17.42	0.37	4.54	30.68	
3	Secondary	3	6.2	2.3	0.3	11.8	4.92	11.36	6.43	7.57	30.3	
4	Above Secondary	0.3	0.3	1	0.3	2	0.37	0.37	4.54	1.13	6.45	
	Total	12.5	77.4	4.3	5.9	100	26.13	46.59	12.12	15.15	100	

#### **Land Holding Pattern**

The proportion of landless households was very low, 10 per cent in 1980 and 7per cent in 2000, but a large percentage of households had less than 10 cents of land both in 1980 and in 2000. In 1980, 60 per cent of the land was held by top 10 households owning 2 acres; now there is only one household which owns more than 2 acres, which constitutes 10 per cent of the land. Earlier, 77 per cent of lands were with 8 households owning above 1 acre; now these households own only 52 per cent of the land. Thus land concentration has been decreasing.

The incidence of tenancy is very high in both the periods. 22 per cent of cent of the land has been leased out in both 1960 and 2000. The leased in land which was 24 acres earlier is 35 now; the former comes about 45 per cent of the owned area and latter 125 per cent of the owned area. (Table:IV.1)

TABLE:IV.1

OWNERSHIP AND DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

				1980			2000					
S.NO	Size Class Of	Number of	Area	Area	Area	Area	Number of	Area	Area	Area	Area	
	Ownership (acre - cent)	Households (acre.cent)	Owned (A.C)	Leased in(A.C)	Leased out(A.C)	Operated (A.C)	Households (A.C)	Owned (A.C)	Leased in(A.C)	Leased out(A.C)	Operated (A.C)	
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	
1	Landless	15	-	0.85	-	0.85	11	-	1.96	-	1.96	
2	0.00 - 0.10	80	1.85	14.81	0.5	16.15	110	2.79	27.52	-	30.31	
3	0.11 - 0.25	9	1.62	4.88	-	6.5	6	1.08	1.75	0.36	2.47	
4	0.26 - 0.50	9	3	0.47	-	3.47	7	2.54	2	0.7	3.84	
5	0.51 - 100	9	6.44	-	0.75	5.69	9	6.96	2	0.5	8.46	
6	1.01 - 2.00	8	12.19	1.59	1.18	12.9	7	12.27	0.5	5	7.77	
7	2.01 - 5.00	10	32.12	1.85	10.08	23.89	1	3.01	-	-	3.01	
8	5 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Total	140	57.21	24.45	12.51	69.15	151	28.65	35.73	6.56	57.82	

A.C = Acre Cent

TABLE: IV.2

#### OWNERSHIP AND DISTRIBUTION OF LAND (PERCENTAGE)

		1980					2000				
S.NO	Size Class Of Ownership (acre cent)	Number of Households	Area Owned	Area Leased in	Area Leased Out	Area Operated	Number of Households	Area Owned	Area Leased in	Area Leased Out	Area Operated
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]
1	Landless	10.71	-	3.47	-	1.2	7.28	-	5.48	-	3.38
2	0.00 - 0.10	57.14	3.23	60.59	3.99	23.35	72.84	9.73	77.02	-	52.42
3	0.11 - 0.25	6.42	2.83	19.95	-	9.39	3.97	3.76	4.89	5.48	4.27
4	0.26 - 0.50	6.42	5.24	1.92	-	5.01	4.63	8.86	5.59	10.69	6.64
5	0.51 - 100	6.42	11.25	-	5.99	8.22	5.96	24.29	5.59	7.62	14.63
6	1.01 - 2.00	5.71	21.3	6.5	9.43	18.65	4.63	42.82	1.39	76.21	13.43
7	2.01 - 5.00	7.14	56.14	7.56	80.59	34.18	0.66	10.5	-	-	5.2
8	5 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Livestock:** Number of bullocks and buffalos increased from 75 in 1961 to 111 in 1980, but declined to 26 in 2000. Before 1961, during the pre-green revolution period when farmers followed the traditional methods and technology, as farming was done mainly to meet the subsistence needs of the farmers and there was exchange labour (animal and man labour), they could carry on cultivation with less number of working animals. Around 1980, during the green revolution period when farmers started using bio-chemical technology without using tractor and the production was mainly for the market over and above the subsistence needs, and there was need for more working animals, the number of working animals increased from 75 to 111. In the subsequent period, from 1980 to 2000, when tractor was introduced and used extensively, resulting in displacement of the working animals, their numbers decreased from 111 to 26. An opposite trend is observed in the case of milch animals; the number of these animals went down from 29 in 1961 to 7 in 1980, probably due to the greater importance attached to the working animals and the available fodder being used mainly to feed them. Between the years 1980 and 2000, the number of milch animals increased from 7 to 16, perhaps due to the falling in number of working animals and the consequent availability of more fodder for the milch animals. However, now only two households are selling milk and they could meet the milk needs of only a few buyers; so the remaining buyers are getting milk from sellers coming to Kadatty in the morning and evening; the quantity sold by outside sellers is also not large.

(Table: IV.3)

TABLE:IV.3

SI.No	Year	Milch Ca	attle	Bullock+Buf	falows	Goat/Sheep+Pig		Duck /Geese+Fowl	
		No of	Total	No of	Total	No of	Total	No of	Total
		Households	No	Households	No	Households	No	Households	No
		Owning		Owning		Owning		Owning	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1	1961	24	29	35	75	11	25	49	225
2	1980	6	7	58	111	21	34	76	1069
3	2000	9	16	14	26	11	19	62	352

There are also other implications to the declining number of cattle. In the 1980s, people applied more cattle-dung or manure to paddy lands due to its abundant supply, consequent upon the larger number of cattle they maintained. To transport the manure from the house or cattle-shed to the paddy lands they had bullock-carts. Mostly transportation was done during the summer when the working animals and farmers remained out of work. Therefore, it was economical. But once the number of animals decreased in number due to tractorisation, the quantity of manure available also

reduced and this led to increased use of chemical fertilizers. Farmers perceive that the productivity of land declined up to 25 per cent due to the reduction in the application of organic manure and the increased use of chemical fertilizers during the last two decades. If the trend continues very soon the law of diminishing returns will start operating with its adverse effect on the growth of output. There is very little possibility of reversing the trend by increasing the use of manure due to its high price and the very high hiring charges for tempos to transport manure.

Most of the persons who took loans to rear birds like duck fowls did not repay the loans. So they had more birds in 1980 and in the following years the number declined because no one was willing to give further loans due to the non-repayment of earlier loans; the income they received from the rearing of birds used for other purposes. The availability of loans led to sudden increase in the number of birds in 1980 and the non-availability of loans (consequent on the default in the repayment of loans) led to sharp decline in the number of birds in 2000.

The important means by which the pressure of labour force in the village labour market is getting relieved to a large extent has been out-migration. Of the main categories of out-migrants, life time migrants, temporary migrants residing in the place of employment and daily commuters who work in places outside the village, the last category consists of labourers working in the nearby village in agriculture. Male labourers do almost all the work related to preparing the land for cultivation even now, but while they had 39 days of work in 1980, there were 46 days in 2000. Transplanting work, done only by women also increased from 57 days in 1980 to 70 days in 2000. So also is weeding, done only by women. While there was weeding for 125 days in 1980, it increased to 138 days in 2000. (Table: IV.4)

Most of the works (83 percent) outside the village are in the months from September to December. It is during these months that the harvesting and post harvesting works of the first crop, and the preparatory, sowing and transplanting works of the second crop take place in Kadatty and the mighbouring villages. The remaining 17 percent of work is stretched out over the other months of the year. Labourers from Kadatty go outside the village for work once Kadatty's labour demands are met and they are out of work in their village.

TABLE: IV.4

WORK OUT SIDE THE VILLAGE

S.NO PATICULARS		MALES		FEMALES		PERSONS		
		1980	2000	1980	2000	1980	2000	
[1]	[1] [2]		[3]		[4]		[5]	
1	Preparatory Works							
	(Spade)	39	46	-	2	39	48	
2	Transplanting							
	(Sowings)	57	70	-	-	57	70	
3	Weeding	9	17	116	121	125	138	
4	Others	2	9	1	5	3	14	
	Total	107	142	117	128	224	270	

About 50 per cent of the land leased in by the tenants of Kadatty is from the cultivators of the neighbouring village. Most of the land thus leased out belongs to the larger holders and the lessees are small holders. In 1980, the average size of holding of the lessors in Kadatty was 2.65 acres, and 4.25 acres in the case of the lessors from neighboring villages. The corresponding figures for 2000 were 1.39 and 1.04 acres. Lessors in general did not own large areas of land. In 1980, there were 28 tenants who together leased in 24.45 acres of land, which went up in 2000 to 35.75 acres of land leased in by 40 tenants. These tenants were mainly agricultural labourers. In 1980, out of the 28 tenants 26 were agricultural labourers and in 2000, out of the 40 tenants 13 were agriculture labourers.

Both in 1980 and 2000, the lessors were upper caste Pillai and Chettiar and the Backward Caste Nadar landholders from the neighbouring village. In 1980, there were also Brahmins lessors. In 1980, out of the 14 lessor households in Kadatty, only two were full time cultivator households. Five were employed in the service sector. Significant changes were observed in the year 2000. Out of the 24 lessors, only four were involved in cultivation and of the remaining 20, 10 were employed in the service sector and 10 in other sectors. The primary reason for leasing out land appears to be as a profit-making venture by the non-agricultural households. Inability to cultivate or manage agricultural operations due to small family size, distance to the lands, other occupational engagements etc. have been given as the reason for leasing out land. While loss incurred in cultivating the leased in land was not a reason for leasing out land in1980, loss emerges as the most important reason for leasing out land in 2000; two households from kadatty and eight from neighbouring villages leased out land mainly due to loss. (Table: IV.5)

TABLE: IV.5

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LESSOR HOUSEHOLDS

		19	980	2	000
S.No	Characteristics	Lessors from Kadatty	Lessor from the Neighbouring Village	Lessors from Kadatty	Lessor from the Neighbouring Village
[1] 1	[2] Total Number of Lessors	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
	caste	8	11	24	16
	a) Upper caste	-	7	7	5
	b) Backward caste	-	4	8	7
	c) Harijans	8	-	9	4
2	Occupation of Head Of the Households				
	a) Cultivation	2	3	4	8
	b) Service Sector	5	6	10	5
	c) Others	1	2	10	3
3	Average Size of Ownership Holding	2.65	4.25	1.39	1.04
4	Reasons For Le	asing out land			
	a) Non- Agriculture				
	Occupation	5	6	10	2
	b) Inability	3	2	8	3
	c) Distance and				
	Other occupation	-	3	4	3
1	d) Loss	-	-	2	8

In the 1980, the average annual rent per acre was 840 Kgs and it came down to 500 Kgs in 2000. Of late, it is observed that the quantity of paddy the tenants agree to pay contractually is often not delivered at the time of harvest. Except a few whose yield is high, most other tenants default the contractual payment by 150 to 200 Kgs paddy. The landlord is not in a bargaining position when rent is thus reduced. Given the rising cost and the unpredictable yield of the High Yielding Variety (HYV) paddy due to the attack of diseases and the unfavorable weather conditions, farmers are very vulnerable. The increased use of HYV seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides and the heavy drop in the use of manure or animal dung due to the drastic reduction in the live stock population, all have contributed to the unpredictability of yield. The rent agreed upon is a confidential matter between the landlord and the tenant; the former does not to want to make it public because if the reduced rent is known to others, when he changes the tenant, he can demand only a reduced amount as rent. The tenants have an upper hand in the bargain as the demand for land in the lease market is not as intense as it was earlier. There is an emerging trend of even waiving the deposit once

demanded by the lessors from the lessees. Entry in to the lease market was earlier restricted due to this practice of demanding deposits as most of the tenants who were agricultural labourers had limited means to pay the deposits. In 1980, 30 per cent of the tenants had to borrow from friends and relatives and 15 per cent raised money from other sources to pay the deposit. In 2000, the situation changed considerably in favor of the tenants; 19 per cent of them did not pay any deposit, whereas 7 per cent paid deposit by raising resources from other sources. In the new tenancy contracts, deposit is not be insisted upon. The duration and terms and conditions of contract varied Widely. Out of 19 tenants in 1980, 11 leased in land for 5 years and in 2000, out of the 38 tenants, the lease period was 5 years for 33 tenants and for others, it varied from 5 to 11 years. The practice of oral contracting has continued without change and lessors have not imposed any additional conditions or obligations. The extent of area treated by chemical fertilizer was very low in 1980 but now all the cultivators use chemical fertilizers. (Table: IV.6)

TABLE: IV.6

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF LAND LEASE

SI.NO	Features of Tenancy Contract	1980	2000
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
1	Number of tenants Interviewed	19	40
2	Average Annual Rent Per Acre (in Kgs)	840	500
3	Deposit paid by the tenant per acre (in Kgs)	820	240
4	Source of finance for paying the deposit (per cent)		
	a) Own savings	55	14
	b) Friends and Relatives	30	-
	c) Other Sources	15	7
	d) Deposit not paid	-	19
5	Duration of Lease (Number of Tenants)		
	a) 5 years	11	33
	b) 5-11 years	8	5
6	Nature of Contracts (Number of Tenants)		
	a) Written	3	-
	b) Oral	16	40
7	Conditions and Obligations (Number of Tenants)		
_	a) Free or low paid farm work		
	Yes	-	_
	No	19	40
	b) Free or low paid non-farm work		
	Yes	5	_
	No	14	40
	-		

Rough estimate of the income share of the tenants is made on the basis of data collected by means of oral enquiry with its limitation of recall lapse for the reference period of six months. However it gives some idea about the extent to which the lease market is beneficial to tenants. For

the years 1980 and 2000 the data on output and inputs valued at farm harvest prices were collected for the first crop season. While the rent portion of the gross income declined drastically from 60 per cent to 30 per cent during the last two decades the cost of cultivation including the family labour went up from 28 per cent to 58 per cent and there is not much change in the net income of the tenant, 12 per cent in 1980 and 10 per cent in 2000. (Table: IV.7)

TABLE:IV.7

ESTIMATED INCOME PER ACRE OF LEASED IN LAND

SI.No	Particulars	,	1980	2000		
		Rs	Percentage	Rs	Percentage	
1	Estimated gross income per acre	1246	100	9522	100	
2	Rent paid to the lessor	746	59.9	2927	30.68	
3	Cost of cultivation per acre	348	27.9	5599	58.79	
4	Net income per acre to the tenant	152	12.2	997	10.45	

In 1980, due to the favorable bullock labour market, tenant households hired out a higher number of male labour days compared to the agricultural labour households. Bullock labour which fetched Rs. 13 per day when hired out in 1980, increased to 210 in 2000. In the place of Rs.7 that a ploughman got as wage rate once, there is a ten-time increase: now a ploughman's wage rate is Rs.70. While the wage rate for bullock labour with ploughman was Rs. 20 per day earlier, it is now Rs. 280. However, the number of days of employment obtained through ploughing which was around 50 to 60 days earlier has become insignificant now due to tractorisation. Earlier, maintenance of bullocks was profitable as they got more days of employment; this situation has changed now.

In 1980, the tenants were interested in maintaining bullocks because they brought in more days of employment; using of tractor for ploughing was not very widespread then and all the available ploughing jobs were shared between the tenants; they got 50 to 60 days of employment in a crop season. In a situation where getting employment was the main problem, tenants found it profitable to maintain bullocks and gain more days of employment. As per a rough estimate made in 1980 compared to agricultural labourers tenants got more days of employment mainly by working as ploughmen Gradual spread of mechanization in ploughing has resulted in less employment for bullock labour and ploughmen. Due to the non-profitability of maintaining bullocks, tenants are not interested in keeping bullocks. Of the 29 tenants in 1980, as many as 26 had bullocks, but now, out

of 40 tenants only 9 have them. This minimum number is maintained because bullocks are in use for leveling the paddy fields before sowing and transplanting and to keep water level even. Leveling, however, constitutes an insignificant part of the total ploughing operations. Hence only a few bullocks are maintained. This has had negative impact on the manuring of paddy fields, with more chemical fertilizers in use now. Higher input cost coupled with the long-term decline in soil fertility results.

There is a sharp decline in the proportion of landless households 52 (1961), 11(1980) and 11(2000). The number of tenants went down from 48 in 1961 to 22 in 1980 and increased to 40 in 2000; the extent of area under tenancy was 29 acres in 1980 and it increased to 35 acres in 2000. The rent per acre of land leased in ranged between 600 to 825 kg paddy in 1961 and 720 kg to 960 kg in 1980 kg 400 to 500 kg in 2000. The average rent rate was 840 in 1980 and it declined to 500 kg in 2000.

Partition of land through parental property was a major source of land gain in 1980, together with own purchase by the large holders with more than 2 acres of land. Of the 74 acres gained through transfer, 73 per cent was through partition while mortgage was the major source of land gain in 2000. Of the 41 acres gained through transfer in 2000, 35 acres were mortgage by small holders owning below 10 cents. Sales constituted an important source of losing land in 1980; of the 15 acres lost, 12 acres were through sales. In 2000, mortgage appears to be the main source of losing land; of the 14 acres lost, 8 acres of land passed off through mortgage. (Table: IV.8)

TABLE: IV.8

LAND TRANSFER IN KADATTY (1980-2000) ACCORDING TO DISTRIBUTION OF OWNERSHIP HOLDING

			1980						2000												
S.No	Size distribution of		L	and	Gaine	d		La	ınd	Lc	oss		ļ	Lar	nd Gaine	t			Lan	d los	3S
	Ownership Holding	Par	tition	Pur	chase	Мо	rtgage	Sales		Мс	rtgage	Pa	artition	Pu	rchase	Мо	rtgage	Sa	lles	Mor	tgage
	( /	а		а		а		a	b	а		а		а	b	а		а	b	а	b
[1]	[2]		[3]		[4]		[5]	[6]			[7]		[8]		[9]		[10]		[11]		[12]
1	No Land		-		-	1	0.10	-			-		-	1	1.00	5	3.78	1	0.05		-
2	0-10	64	8.26	17	0.31	2	0.65	7 5.8	8	1	0.50	7	0.13	11	0.35	30	24.85	3	4.50		-
3	0.11-0.25	9	1.37	2	0.25		-	-		2	0.35	1	0.14	1	0.25	2	1.75	1	0.53	2	0.36
4	0.26-0.50	8	2.66	5	0.89	1	2.02	-			-	2	0.11	4	1.16	2	2.00	2	1.60	4	1.46
5	0.51-1.00	8	7. 73	5	2.16	1	0.50	4 3.7	'5	2	1.09	2	0.73	2	1.70	4	2.17		-	3	2.65
6	1.01-2.00	8	10 .89	3	0.94	1	0.23	1 0.6	6	1	0.71	1	1.50		-		-		-	4	3.60
7	2.01-5.00	10	25.43	6	13.03	1	1.00	2 1.0	)6	3	1.28		-		-		-	1	0.02		-
8	5.01-7.00 and above		-		-		-	-			-		-		-		-		-		-
	Total	109	53.42	38	17.58	7	1.81	15 12.2	1	9	3.98	13	3 2.61	19	4.46	43	34.55	8	6.70	13	8.07

### **Indebtedness**

Percentage of households in debt declined from 85 in 1961 to 25 in 1980 and increased to 47 in 2000. Average debt per indebted household increased from Rs.539 in 1961 to Rs. 1704 in 1981 and went up further to Rs. 9464 in 2000. In terms of paddy, the indebtedness has increased steadily from 357 Kg in 1960 to 609 Kg in 1980 and to 7886 Kg in 2000.

There have been significant changes in the source of debt; 97 per cent of the households in 1961 reported their source of debt as private, like friends, relatives and moneylenders and the rest to the institutional sources. But in 1980, 60 percent of the households reported institutional agencies as sources of debt, but this declined to 34 per cent in 2000. In the 1961 survey, the large cultivators in the village were also moneylenders, but in the 1980 survey, they were not found involved in this activity. It was thought that the growth of the institutional agencies resulted in the disappearance of the cultivator-moneylenders. The co-operative credit society from the nearby village Parakkai has been functioning for the last three decades extending credit to the borrowers of Kadatty; in 1980, out of 38 borrowers 16 received loans from co-operative credit society and one from a commercial bank in 1980; the corresponding figure for 2000 were 3 and 11, indicating that while the role of the

co-operative society in extending credit contracted, that of the commercial bank expanded. Among the non-formal sources of credit, moneylenders emerge as important; 47 per cent of the borrowers got credit from this sources and the debt per household was Rs. 4879. The average amount received by a few borrowers as loan from the institutional agencies were large compared to the non-formal sources, particularly the moneylenders who are lending relatively smaller amounts to a large number of borrowers. (Table: IV.9)

Table: IV.9

Credit

			1980					2000					
S.NO	SOURCES	NO	%	Amount	%	Average	NO	%	Amount	%	Average		
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]		
1	Moneylenders	-	-	-	-	-	33	47	161000	24.3	4879		
2	Relatives	9	23.7	6650	10.56	738	16	23	209500	31.62	13094		
3	Friends	1	2.63	300	0.47	300	7	10	63000	9.5	9000		
4	Co-op-Bank	16	42.1	18300	29.07	1143	3	4	65000	9.81	21667		
5	Commercial Bank	1	2.63	1000	1.58	1000	11	16	164000	24.75	14909		
6	Others	11	28.9	36700	58.32	3336	-	-	-	-	-		
	Total	38	100	62950	100	6517	70	100	662500	100	63549		

The number of families borrowing money for agricultural purposes increased from 10 per cent to 15 per cent and borrowing for consumption purposes declined from 57 per cent to 45 per cent. There was a 25 per cent increase in the number of households borrowing to repay loan indicating that these people are in a 'debt trap'.(Table:IV.10)

TABLE:IV.10

INDEBEDNESS BY CAUSE:(PERCENTAGE)

			,		
S.NO	CAUSES	NUMBER OF FA	AMILIES INDEBT		
(1)	(2)	(3)			
		1961	2000		
1	Agriculture	9.83	14.75		
2	House	4.91	3.27		
3	Marriage	16.39	1.63		
4	Consumption				
	Expenditure	57.37	45.08		
5	Medicine	4.91	5.73		
6	To Repay Loan	-	24.58		
7	Others	6.55	4.91		
	Total	100	100		

The levels of education, exposure to the outside world, information about the wage rates prevailing in the neighboring state of Kerala etc. have increased the money and real wage rate.

Though unemployment has been on the increase due to technological changes in the agricultural operations like ploughing, harvesting, threshing etc. the wage rate has also been increasing partly due to the higher bargaining power. The real wage rate has increased sharply from 0.83 kg for males in 1960 to 3.9 kg in 2000; the corresponding figures for females are 0.34 kg and 2.3 kg (Table: IV.11)

TABLE: IV.11

WAGE RATE (Rs)

S.NO	PARTICULARS	1960		1	980	2000	
		MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
[1]	[2] Daily Money	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]
'	Wage Rate (Rs)	1.25	0.5	6	4	70	42
2	Real Wage Rate (Paddy)	0.83kg	0.34kg	1.79kg	1.08kg	3.9kg	2.3kg

#### Local Self-Government—Traditional and Modern in Co-existence

Kadatty village has been governed by a village council, which regulated different aspects of the life of the villagers. It stood the test of time due to its remarkable flexibility to meet the needs and desires of the changing situations. Despite various constraints, the council functions well in the matter of inter-religious peaceful co-existence (in a region where inter religious conflicts are quite common in the recent years), employer- employee relations in the agrarian economy, tenant-landlord relations, etc. The various attempts made by the government in the last five decades to strengthen the modern forms of the local government Panchayat particularly the decentralization process taking place in the 90's did not adversely affect the functioning of the traditional caste panchayat which included both Hindu and Christian Sambavas.

The council did undergo changes over the years; in 1960 (1960 census) there were 9 members of the council representing different groups, 3 Hindus, 3 Salvation Army and 3 London Mission (Salvation Army and London Mission are the different denominations of Christianity) and the villagers of Kadatty constituted the members of the General Body. In 2000, the council functions with five members, President, Secretary, Treasure and two members. Factors like age, experience, education, extent of landholding, family background, acceptable behaviour, tolerance, impartiality and honesty govern the selection of the president. The present president is a law graduate, retired from government service, possesses most of the qualities stated above. All the members are males; they are elected on the basis of their social status, economic position, popularity, etc. Names of

members are proposed and seconded only after evolving consensus. The tenure of office is not fixed. New members are elected only if there is a death of a member or a member resigns or is unable to function due to some reason.

The village council regulates the community life. It tries to resolve individual and group disputes, detects anti-social acts such as theft, cheating, dishonesty etc. and punishes the offender by humiliating in public, inflicting physical beating, imposing fines etc. These traditional measures were strictly enforced once, but now they are only partly surviving in a modified form. The council's revenue mainly comes from auctioning the paddy fields after the first harvest to duck-rearers. Whenever more funds are needed it is raised from the villagers.

The general body meeting or the meeting of all the villagers is held once in a year mostly during the harvest time; if necessary the council convenes one or two more meetings. Usually the meeting is held in the space around the main temple; the sanctity of the place adds to the legitimacy of the council's pronouncements of justice in adjudications. Two major functions of the village council are the appointment of the water-regulating man and the crop protector, two crucial functionaries in the agrarian village life.

### 'Madai Thirappukarar' (Water-Regulating Man)

The paddy lands in Kadatty are irrigated by the canal-fed tank. Opening and closing of the sluice of the tank supplying water to the fields requires an able bodied person because the sluice is located 20 feet deep in water. For the first crop, the sluice is opened in the month of May and closed in November. Again the sluice has to be opened and closed at the appropriate times for the second crop and its harvest, and again closes it during the rains.

The sluice supplying water to the kadatty ayacut is called Avarankattu sluice; it is one among the six sluices of the Parakkai Tank. The Parakkai Tank gets water form the small dam called Savari located in Pazhayar River, which receives water from Pachiparai reservoir in addition to the rainwater. From the Savari Dam water is taken through a canal to Parakkai tank. The water from Savari Dam can be released to the canal by arresting the flow of water to other directions with the help of a shutter and by checking the leakages of water. These works are done jointly by water-regulating men appointed to the different sluices of the Parakkai tank. Kadatty ayacut or Avarankattu sluice water- regulating person is one among them. About 15 to 20 persons are employed paying wage Rs.100 to Rs.125 per day to clear the canal along with the Water-regulating men. The village council pays a share the wages of these workers. It is the responsibility of the water-regulating men to clear the canal with the help of these paid workers.

Apart from bringing water from the Savari Dam to the tank, the water-regulating person has to keep an eye on the weather as he has to close the sluice whenever there is rain, so that the low-lying paddy fields do not get flooded and destroy the standing crop. Similarly when the farmers need water he has to open the sluice. The nature of the work does not attract many people. Besides, only strong and skilled persons can perform the duties required of a water-regulating man. Each farmer coming under the Kadatty ayacut has to contribute per acre a fixed quantity of paddy (8 handful of paddy with straw, locally called 'Ari') towards the payment of the water regulator. Cumulatively, these contributions of the farmers add up to around 450 Kilograms of paddy for the first crop and 350 for the second crop; the contribution is more for the first crop due to the better yield in the first crop in comparison to the second. The water-regulator, at the time of the harvest, has to go from field to field and collect his remuneration.

### 'Puravoo Kavalar' (Crop-protector)

Crop-protector is appointed by the village council to protect the crops from the animals. His period of service is not specified; as long as he does his duty to the satisfaction of the farmers of kadatty he can keep his job. Since Kadatty village is in the midst of the paddy fields, the cattle owners have to be very careful to keep their cattle within their own spaces, especially during nights. If they are careless and the cattle wander, the nearby paddy crops would be destroyed. Similarly, after the ploughing work is over, if the animals are left free unattended by the farmers during daytime, they will cause heavy loss to the adjacent farmers. The crop-protector is expected to work from 6 AM till evening, with a noon-break in between. Usually, the crop protector is on the move amidst the paddy fields keeping an eye out for the animals that destroy the crops. When he comes across such cases, he has to report the same to the members of the council. The council members enquire about it and arrange for suitable compensation to the affected farmer. The council used to be very quick in taking decisions on complaints of crop destruction by animals and for speedy enforcement of such decisions. This was an incentive to the 'Puravoo Kavalar' as it helped to prevent the occurrence of such events in future. No cattle owner wants to get punished for the trespassing of their cattle into the standing crops in others' fields. Now the council is not as efficient as it was earlier in taking decision or action as the council members try to avoid earning the displeasure of the offender. This apathy of the council makes the crop- protector also less vigilant in checking destruction to the crops by animals.

One of the important reasons cited for the increasing menace of cattle is the shortage of grazing space for the animals in the recent past. Earlier the area lying on the southern side of the village served as a good grazing land. This common land, flooded with water during rainy season becomes suitable for grazing cattle once the water drains. Over the years the landowners adjacent to the common land encroached it, and the farmers are now without pasture land for their cattle. In the absence of an open space near the village for the cattle to move around and graze, the cattle move to the fields close to the village. Although the number of cattle has declined, the available animals trespass into the paddy fields creating loss to the farmers and discomfort to the crop-protector. In the absence of the village council's strict adherence to punishing the offender, the crop-protector is now more interested in collecting the remuneration from the farmers than protecting the crops. The quantum of paddy received for his work is the same that the water-regulator gets i.e., 450 Kg paddy for the first crop and 350 Kg for the second crop.

### Cases or Complaints to Council

In 1961, of the seven sample cases reported to the village council, three related to thefts (1 paddy and 2 coconuts), one, a family dispute, and 3, divorce cases. The cases reported in the year 2000 also relate to theft, cheating, crop destruction by animals etc. However, it is found that since the panchayat council does not have a locus stands in the present-day institutional setting wherein supra village powers have legitimacy over the village council. If one were to examine the procedural outcomes of the complaints filed with the village council in the year 2000, it can be observed that the decision of the village council is flouted by the condemned at least in some cases. For example, in one theft case, a Kadatty farmer (A) was alleged by a farmer from a neighboring village (B) who had lands adjacent to that of A that A had stolen his plough. B gave a complaint to this effect to the Kadatty village council. A denied the allegation and consequently, he was beaten up by B. Subsequently, an allegedly destroyed B's ploughing instruments. The village council conducted an enquiry and condemned the actions of A and asked him to give a new plough to B. A refused to accept the village council's decision. Instead, he filed a police case on the advice of his friends, that B called him by his caste name. Constitutionally, it is a serious offence to insult a scheduled caste person by calling his caste name. The case now drags on in the police station.

In another case of cheating, a tractor owner living in a village adjacent to Kadatty engaged a Kadatty villager to work as his agent to obtain orders from farmers to plough with tractor. The agent's commission was fixed as Rs.40 per order for an acre of land to plough. The agent had to

maintain accounts regarding the income received for hiring out the tractor and the expenditure incurred to buy diesel and for any repair. The owner of the tractor and the agent had a disagreement about the amount that the agent had to pay to the owner. The owner claimed Rs.1 lakh while the agent refused. The friends of the owner negotiated and asked the agent to pay Rs.35000/-. The agent was not agreeable. Consequently, the owner approached the village council to intervene. After enquiry, the council also asked the agent to pay Rs.35000/- to the tractor owner. The agent was not inclined to obey the council. He took the matter to the police. However, after investigating the case, the police also asked the agent to pay Rs.35000/- in three installments. The fact remains that in this case too, the council's decision was flayed and the persons got away with disobedience to the council. Nevertheless, there are also cases where compliance to the council's verdict still takes place

In the case of a field of crops being destroyed by another's cattle, a warning was given to the cattle owner B by the landowner A, but B could not check repetition of the crop destruction. When the standing paddy crop was destroyed again, A gave a complaint to the council. After hearing the case, the council asked B to give A, a certain quantity of chemical fertilizer, Urea 2 Kg and DAP 2 Kg. A accepted the decision of the village council.

The caste panchayat of Kadatty lost much of its authority with the different legislations constituting elected panchayats and vesting them with legitimacy and powers that could over rule the decisions of caste panchayats. The Travancore-Cochin Panchayat Act 1950 constituted the first major legislature after independence and the first Panchayat election was held in 1953. This legislature continued up to 31 March 1962. Due to the merger of K.K.District with Tamilnadu, the Tamilnadu Panchayat 1958 was extended to his district from 1962. Till 1969, the members of the wards were elected directly by the people and these members elected the presidents of the panchayats; in 1969 the presidents of panchayats were elected directly. In February 1986 elections were held on political basis and political parties were allowed to field their candidates. On the basis of income, panchayats were classified as Town and Village panchayats; further classification of town panchayats into first grade, second grade and selection grade were also made. Town Panchayats provide the basics amenities and implement central and state government development programmes. As per the new Decentralisation Act, the first election was held in 1996, but bureaucracy has control over the Panchayats and not the people; elected members can only recommend and not execute decisions. Kadatty, the village under investigation, comes under the jurisdiction of Tengamputhoor, Panchayat and the Panchayat office is located in Tengamputhoor. The Panchayat area in 1961 was divided into 9 wards; each ward elected one member and Kadatty

came under the second ward. In the place of 9 ward members in 1961, in 2000 there were 16 members, including 6 females. In the age group below 40, there are 8 members, 40 to 60 age, 5 members; others are in the age group above 60. Majority of them have education above 12th standard; 6 of them, graduates. As many as 11 members are independents. In terms of party affiliations, 2 were DMKs, 1ADMK and 2 communists.

In 1961, the Panchayat raised revenue from house tax, license fee, vehicle tax etc. and also had a matching grant from the panchayat union. Now in addition to these sources, the Panchayat gets funds to implement central and state government programmes, and M.L.A, M.P. funds for ward development projects. In 1961, Kadatty was neglected in this modern institutional set up of elected local self-governments as there was no representative from Kadatty village in the Panchayat of which kadatty was a small part and it received no priority in development planning. By the year 2000, Kadatty had become a ward and it got a ward member in the panchayat to represent its interests. This panchayat member, a graduate in sociology, aged 40 can articulate the needs of the village in the panchayat but in the political configuration in the panchayat, he happens to be a minority whose demands can get easily overlooked. Nevertheless, as the Panchayat at present follows a policy of assigning priority to the most backward ward on the basis of consensus among its members and allocate the remaining funds equally among all the wards, the villagers have no major complaints. The Central and State Government programmes are implemented as per the guidelines stipulated by them; in the allocation of M.L.A. and M.P. funds too, as the MLA and MP specify the ward and the project to which they allocate their funds to the Panchayat, they cannot blame the functioning of the panchayat. Compared to the 1961 situation, there have been slow changes in the 90's, which witnessed certain desirable changes in the half- hearted attempts made by Tamilnadu towards more decentralization. This has positive implications for the development of Kadatty village, a scheduled caste village with remarkable advancement in education even as far back as the 60s.

### **Summary and Conclusions**

Important changes that took place in the Kadatty scheduled caste village are highlighted and attempts are made for offering tentative explanations for the same.

1.Literacy is universal and enrolment in the early school gong age is nearly 100 per cent. While before 80's most of the children stopped their education at the primary level and only a few

- completed higher levels of education, in 2000 many of them continued their education and completed higher levels schooling; improvements also noticed in the percentage of students pursuing education at the above higher secondary level.
- 2.In 2000 education helped more persons towards economic advancement compared to the year 1980; earlier very few them used education to get gainful employment and now many educated persons do so.
- 3.A large proportion of labour force depends on agriculture; percentage of cultivators increased from 12 per cent (1980) to 26 per cent (2000) due to the increase in the number of tenants. Percentage of agricultural labourers went down from 77 to 46; the significant decline in agricultural labourers is explained partly by increase in non-farm employment (17 per cent); increase in the latter is due to more young persons completing higher levels of education, secondary and above secondary.
- 4. Though more young educated persons have access to non-farm employment opportunities, unemployment problem still persists; it is partly solved by out migration, which in addition to controlling the growth of population in the village reduces the pressure on available employment; indications are that even outside employment opportunities are restricted.
- 5.Regarding the changes in the landholding pattern, there is a decline in the percentage of landlessness from 11 per cent to 7 per cent; compared to 1980 land concentration is less or declining in 2000. Area owned by the villagers also declined sharply from 57 acres to 28 acres and the incidence of tenancy is on the increase.
- 6. The practice of paying deposits by the tenants for leasing in land is gradually disappearing; the new tenants do not pay deposits. Earlier nearly half of the tenants had long duration tenancy contract but now most of them have short duration contracts. There is drastic reduction in the average amount of annual rent per acre; earlier as well as now, there is no obligation of tenants towards lessor other than the payment of rent.
- 7.Of the different sources of land gain (partition, purchase and mortgage) partition was more significant than mortgage earlier but now mortgage emerges as the most significant one; similarly among the different ways of losing land (sales and mortgage) sale was prominent in 1980, mortgage in 2000; in short, mortgage assumes importance now both in land gain and land loss.
- 8. The traditional local government or caste Panchayat is still working in this agrarian economy, covering different aspects of life of the villagers, particularly in water management and settling disputes;

however, it is not as effective and strict as it was earlier. Modern Panchayat system exists only in name; its impact is negligible or minimal

### **Notes and Reference**

**1.**Kadatty in the Thenganputhoor pahuthi of Agasteeswaram Taluk in Kanyakumari District was with very high literacy. If is due to the predominance of the scheduled caste that Kadathucherry was selected for the socio- economic survey in 1961. Administratively, Kanyakumari District has been divided into 4 taluks. A taluk was sub-divided into several Pahuthis, a pahuthi being a group villages composed of Karas. Karas was the smallest administrative territorial unit and it comprised of group of settlements. There were 16 pahuthis in Agastheeswaram Taluk extending over 107 square miles.

**Beteille, Andre** (1966) <u>Caste, Class and Power. Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village, Oxford:</u> Oxford University Press.

**Epstein T.S.** (1962) <u>Economic Development and Social Change in South India,</u> Manchester: Manchester University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1975) <u>South India, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow Mysore Villages Revisited.</u>
Macmillan.

\_\_\_\_\_\_, **Thimmegowda T., Suryanarayana A.P.,** (1998) <u>Village Voices. Forty years of Rural Transformation in South India</u>. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

**Gough, Kathleen.** (1989). <u>Rural Change in Southeast India.1950's to 1980's</u>. Delhi:Oxford University Press.

**Gupta, Indrani, Arup Mitra.** (January, 12-18, 2002) "Rural Migrants and Labour Segmentation, Micro-Level Evidence from Delhi Slums" Economic and Political Weekly. Vol: xxxvii (2).

**Hoben, Allan, Thomas A.Timberg,** (April, 20-27, 1996) Micro and Macro Data in Village India A Note". Economic and Political Weekly. Vol: xxxi (No: 16 and 17).

**Kamat A .R.** (August 1, 1981) Education and Social Change amongst the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes". <u>Economic and Political Weekly</u>, Vol. xvi (31).

Mann R.S. (1979) <u>Social Structure</u>, <u>Social Change and Further Trends</u>. (Indian Village Perspective), Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

**Nair, Narayanan K., Sivandan P., Retnam V.C.V.** (June, 16-23, 1984) "Education, Employment and Landholding Pattern in a Tamil Village". <u>Economic and Political Weekly</u>, Vol. xix (Nos. 24 and 25. P. 948-955.

Nambiar P.K. (1966) Census of India 1961, Vol: ix, Madras Part vi, Village Survey Monographs, 16, Kadathucherry, Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras.

**Pandian M.S.S.** (1990) <u>The Political Economy of Agrarian Change Nanchilnadu. 1880-1939.</u> New Delhi. Newbury Park. London: Sage Publications.

Rogaly Ben, Jhuma Biswas, Daniel Coppard, Abdul Rafique, Kumar Rana, Amrita Sengupta. (December 814, 2001) "Seasonal Migration, Social Change and Migrants 'Rights. Lessons from West Bengal". Economic and Political Weekly. Vol: xxxvi (49).

**Sharma Mohan Lal** (1984) <u>Dynamics of Rural Power Structure – A study of Rajasthan.</u> Jaipur: Alokh Publishers.

## Appendix: A

# Non-Farm Employment

1960(Total: 15)	1980(Total: 20)	2000(Total: 73)
	Government Employ: 6 Tailor: 1 Driver: 1 Shop: 4 Rtd.Pensioner: 2 Railway Department: 1 Ex-Service Man: 1	<ul> <li>Welding: 6</li> <li>Mechanic: 2</li> <li>Company Work: 6</li> <li>Shop: 10</li> <li>Forest Department:1</li> <li>Railway Department: 1</li> <li>Hospital-1</li> <li>Telephone office-1</li> <li>Teacher-3</li> <li>Bank-1</li> <li>Village dfice clerk-1</li> <li>Mason-5</li> <li>Tailor-6</li> <li>Nurse-6</li> <li>Rtd (a) Government Hospital-1</li> <li>(b) Ex.Military-1</li> <li>(c) T.B.Hospital clark-1</li> <li>(d) Army Sepoy-1</li> <li>(e) Clark-1</li> <li>(f) Statistical Inspecter-1</li> <li>(g) Bill Collector-1</li> <li>Driver-9</li> <li>Missionary Work-2</li> <li>Engineer-1</li> <li>Vegetables Sales-1</li> <li>Painting-1</li> <li>Boring-1</li> <li>Screen Printing-1</li> </ul>

## **Employment**

Appendix-B1

**MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLDS (YEAR: 1961)** 

S.NO	PARTICULARS	0-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	100 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Cultivators	9	22	11	4	1
2	Farm Workers	20	38	6	-	2
3	Non- Farm Workers	3	6	3	3	-
		32	66	20	7	3
	Total	(25.00)	(51.56)	(15.62)	(5.46)	(2.34)

N.B:

Figures with in bracket indicate percentage.

## Appendix-B2

**MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLDS (YEAR: 1980)** 

S.NO	PARTICULARS	0-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	100 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Cultivators	4	15	12	6	-
2	Farm Workers	6	26	47	4	-
3	Non- Farm Workers	-	2	1	1	3
		10	43	60	11	3
	Total	(7.87)	(33.85)	(47.24)	(8.66)	(2.36)

**N.B:** Dependents 2 (1961), 2 (1980).

## Appendix-B3

## MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLDS (YEAR: 2000)

S.NO	PARTICULARS	100 - 250	251 -500	501 -750	751-1000	1001-2000	2000 and 3000
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Cultivators	-	-	-	11	10	-
2	Farm Workers	10	40	18	3	1	-
3	Non - Farm Workers	-	12	1	9	16	15
		10	52	19	23	27	15
	Total	(6.84)	(35.61)	(13.01)	(15.73)	(18.49)	(10.27)

Households earning Rs. Above 3000.

- (1) Computer Work Rs. 10,000.
- (2) Electrical Rs.4000.
- (3) Staff Nurse (Kuwait) Rs.20, 000.
- (4) Asst.Professor Rs.6000.

### Appendix - C

## Case of an Agricultural Labourer Household

Mr.Anban, aged 34, studied up to eighth standard and his wife Malar aged 28, completed twelfth class, married 14 years ago, three children below the age 12, constitute an agricultural labour household which derives more than fifty per cent of income from wage labour. They did not have enough money to go to private hospital. (Normally people prefer private to government hospital) for the first delivery and so they went to government hospital, Kottar. Mortgaging the jewels, they borrowed money to meet the minimum delivery expenses. After two years, they had the second child; for want of money they could not go to hospital and so the delivery took place in the house with the help of the native birth attendant. To meet the most essential expenses related to delivery they borrowed Rs.1000 from the professional mobile moneylender repaying the same in weekly installment of Rs.125, covering 10 weeks. When the whole amount is repaid, the amount of interest for Rs.1000 would be Rs.250 for 70 days or 10 weeks. Getting the loan whenever the people need without waiting, repaying the interest and principal in small amount on easy installments, not strict in getting the money back from the borrowers on the due date, encourage the people to prefer mobile moneylenders even though the rate of interest is very high.

To construct a house they bought 2 cents of land by selling their Jewels. The accumulated debt incurred to meet other expenses was repaid through the wage income of husband and wife. Their monthly income is just enough to meet their minimum needs; any unusual expense would make them further indebted, making it extremely difficult to repay the additional loan. One day, one of their daughters went to the nearby house to watch T.V; the owners of T.V.pushed her out of the house without allowing her to watch it. The unpleasant action of the neighbours hurt the feelings of the father and mother and so they immediately bought a T.V paying Rs.8000 withdrawing their savings of Rs.3000 from the Post Office, mortgaging the wedding chain for Rs.3000 and borrowed Rs.2000 from the moneylender. The borrowed amount of Rs.2000 from moneylender was repaid in 25 weekly installments.

The third child was delivered with the help of a local birth attendant at home, spending Rs. 1000 borrowed from the moneylender. After the delivery the mother became very weak and so she had to be taken to the hospital where she was given 12 bottles of blood and other medicines; the medical expense went up to Rs.7000 it was met by withdrawing a crop chit (or six month chit) for

Rs.10, 000 (less a deduction of Rs.3000 for getting the chit amount at a premature date) and the amount received was Rs.7000. In the meantime they saved some money through harvesting paddy chit (chit matures in every harvesting period) for 10 Kottas of paddy; in the year 1999, she got it by selling this 10 Kottas of paddy; they purchased three household durables, almirah, grinder and a cot.

In the year 2000, they leased in 40 cents of paddy land. They borrowed Rs.1000 and Rs. 500 from two moneylenders to buy dress and books for the children. They further received Rs: 1000 from the crop chit. Wife of Mr. Anban suffered from stomach pain and she underwent an operation in the stomach. To meet the hospital expense they borrowed Rs.7000 from moneylender. To give a gift to a close relative of Mr. Anban, they borrowed Rs.1000 from self- help group; this amount has to be repaid in weekly installment of Rs.100 plus Rs. 20 as interest. To raise the first crop in the leased in land they borrowed Rs.1000 from moneylender. Apart from these small loans Rs.5000 remain as outstanding debt in as commercial bank

## . Additional Tables

TABLE V.I

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE

S.No	Ages	19	20	000			
	-	Total Persons	Males	Females	Total Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	0-4	10.34	11.45	9.28	8.36	9	7.74
2	5-9	9.69	9.29	10.12	6.88	7	6.77
3	10-14	12.71	12.77	12.65	11.63	12	11.29
4	15-19	7.11	9.25	5.06	12.78	15	10.64
5	20-24	7.75	7.04	8.43	10	7.66	12.25
6	25-29	6.89	7.92	5.9	6.88	8	5.8
7	30-34	4.74	3.08	6.32	4.59	4.33	4.83
8	35-44	13.79	12.77	14.76	14.75	13.33	16.12
9	45-59	15.94	15.41	16.45	14.09	12.66	15.48
10	60 and above	10.99	11.01	10.97	10	11	9.03
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix A1
Table A1.1
Households According To Religions

SI.No.	Religions	1960	1980	2000
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
1	Christians			
		68	76	103
	(1). Households	(52.30)	(58.91)	(68.21)
		249	271	451
	(2).Members	(53.66)	(59.82)	(73.93)
2	Hindus			
		62	53	48
	(1). Households	(47.69)	(41.08)	(31.78)
		215	182	159
	(2).Members	(46.33)	(40.17)	(26.06)
	Total			
		130	129	151
	(1). Households	(100)	(100)	(100)
		463	453	610
	(2).Members	(100)	(100)	(100)

Table A1 .2
Size Of The Household

SI.No.	Particulars	Years	Christians	Hindus
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
			26	21
1	1 2	1980	(34.21)	(39.62)
			22	9
		2000	(21.36)	(18.75)
			30	20
2	3 4	1980	(39.47)	(37.73)
			37	16
		2000	(35.92)	(33.33)
			11	9
3	5 6	1980	(14.47)	(16.98)
			36	18
		2000	(34.95)	(37.5)
			8	2
4	7 8	1980	(10.52)	(3.77)
			6	5
		2000	(5.83)	(10.42)
			1	1
5	8 & above	1980	(1.31)	(1.88)
			2	-
		2000	(1.94)	(-)
			76	53
	Total	1980	(100)	(100)
			103	48
		2000	(100)	(100)

Table A1.3
Sex And Age

			Christians			Hindus			Total		
SI.			Total			Total			Total		
No	Ages	Year	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]
			70	33	37	51	21	30	121	54	67
1	0 < 15	1980	(25.83)	(24.26)	(27.41)	(28.02)	(23.08)	(32.97)	(26.71)	(23.79)	(29.65)
			109	57	52	55	27	28	164	84	80
		2000	(26.98)	(28.5)	(25.49)	(26.7)	(27)	(26.42)	(26.89)	(28)	(25.81)
			172	88	84	108	58	50	280	146	134
2	15 < 60	1980	(63.46)	(64.71)	(62.22)	(59.34)	(63.74)	(54.95)	(61.81)	(64.32)	(59.29)
			255	118	137	130	65	65	385	183	202
		2000	(63.11)	(59.00)	(67.16)	(63.11)	(65.00)	(61.32)	(63.11)	(61.00)	(65.16)
			29	15	14	23	12	11	52	27	25
3	60	1980	(10.7)	(11.03)	(10.37)	(12.64)	(13.19)	(12.09)	(11.48)	(11.89)	(11.06)
	&		40	25	15	21	8	13	61	33	28
	above	2000	(9.9)	(12.5)	(7.35)	(10.19)	(8.00)	(12.26)	(10.00)	(11.00)	(9.03)
			271	136	135	182	91	91	453	227	226
	Total	1980	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
			404	200	204	206	100	106	610	300	310
		2000	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Table A1.4

Progress Of Literacy And Education Of Population
Six Years Of Age And Above

SI.No.	Particulars	Years	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
			28	19	47
1	Literate	1980	(10.33)	(10.44)	(10.38)
			43	29	72
		2000	(10.48)	(14.5)	(11.8)
			179	145	324
2	Literate and	1980	(66.05)	(79.67)	(71.52)
			123	42	165
	Primary Level	2000	(30)	(21)	(27.05)
			60	15	75
3	Middle and	1980	(22.14)	(8.24)	(16.55)
			214	120	334
	Secondary Level	2000	(52.2)	(60)	(54.75)
			4	3	7
4	Above	1980	(1.48)	(1.65)	(1.55)
			30	9	39
	Secondary	2000	(7.32)	(4.5)	(6.39)
			271	182	453
	Total	1980	(100)	(100)	(100)
			410	200	610
		2000	(100)	(100)	(100)

Table A1.5

Out Migration

SI.No.	Present Residence	Total	Persons	Ma	ale	Fen	nale
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]
		С	Н	С	Н	С	Н
1	Nagercoil	1	-	1	-	-	-
2	Madras	4	-	3	-	1	-
3	Anantha Padma						
	Nathapuram	-	4	-	2	-	2
4	Palayamkottai	3	-	1	-	2	-
5	Madras	1	-	-	-	1	-
6	Elanthayadi	3	-	1	-	2	-
7	Bombay	5	-	1	-	4	-
8	Coimbatore	5	-	2	-	3	-
9	Erachakulam	2	-	1	-	1	-
10	Bihar	4	-	2	-	2	-
11	Azhagappapuram	-	1	-	1	-	-
12	Madras	4	-	3	-	1	-
13	Usaravilai	2	-	1	-	1	-
14	Madras	1	-	1	-	-	-
15	Vadakkankulam	3	-	1	-	2	-
16	Madras	4	-	2	-	2	-
17	Madras	5	-	3	-	2	-
18	Bombay	5	-	4	-	1	-
19	Bombay	5	-	3	-	2	-
20	Azhagappapuram	2	-	1	-	1	-
21	Nagercoil	4	-	2	-	2	-
22	Nagercoil	3	-	2	-	1	-
23	Kuwait	1	-	1	-	-	-
24	Thiruvananthapuram	4	-	2	-	2	-
25	Bombay	2	-	1	-	1	-
26	Madras	-	2	-	1	-	1
27	Bombay	2	-	2	-	-	-
	Total	75	7	41	4	34	3

Table A1.6

Land Transfer In Kadatty According To Distribution Of Ownership Holding (1980 - 2000)

0.11						Land (	Gained							Land Lost		
O.H (c.c)			Partition	1	ŀ	ourchase	Sales		Mort	age		Sal	es		Morage	
	Year	С	Н	Т	С	Н	Т	С	Н	Т	С	Н	Т	С	Н	Т
[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]	[15]	[16]	[17]	[18]
No		-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
and	1980	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	-	14.29	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0000	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	3	5	-	1	1	-	-	-
0 -	2000	33	- 29	62	9.09 10	10	5.26 20	10.53	12.5 2	11.63 2	-	33.33 1	12.5	-	-	_
).10	1980	50.77	82.86	62	41.67	71.43	52.63	_	50	28.57	_	50	10	] -	-	
7.10	1900	50.77	2	7	7	4	11	13	17	30	2	1	3		-	
	2000	45.45	100	53.85	63.63	50	57.89	68.42	70.83	69.77	40	33.33	37.5	_	_	_
.11-	2000	9	1	10	4	2	6	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
1.25	1980	13.85	2.86	10	16.66	14.29	15.79	-	-	-	12.5	-	10	16.69	50	25
		1	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	1	2	-	2
	2000	9.09	-	7.69	9.09	-	5.26	5.26	4.17	4.65	20	-	12.5	18.18	-	15.38
26 -	4000	3	2	5	4	2	6	1	1	2	2	1	3	2	-	2
).50	1980	4.62	5.71	5	16.66	14.29	15.79	33	25	28.57	25	50	30	33.33	-	2.5
	2000	2 18.18	-	2 15.38	1 9.09	3 37.5	4 21.05	1 5.26	1	2 4.65	1 20	1 33.33	2 25	4 36.36	-	4
51 -	2000	2	1	3	2	37.5	21.05	1	4.17 1	2	4	33.33	4	1	1	30.77 2
.00	1980	3.08	2.86	3	8.33	_	5.26	33	25	28.57	50	_	40	16.67	50	25
.00		2	-	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	-	_	-	2	1	3
	2000	18.18	-	15.38	9.09	12.5	10.53	10.53	8.32	9.30	-	-	-	18.18	50	23.08
01 -		11	-	11	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
2.00	1980	16.92	-	11 1	8.33	-	5.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.67 3	-	12.5 4
		1	-	7.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.27	1	30.77
	2000	9.09	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		50	
01 -	400-	5	2	7	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
5.00	1980	7.69	5.71	7	8.33	-	5.26	-	-	-	12.5	-	10	16.67	-	12.5
	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 20	-	1 12.5	-	-	-
	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	12.5	-	-	-
.01-		2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
0 &	1980	3.08	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ove	2000			-			-	-	-	<u> </u>	-	-		-		-
2421	4000	65	35	100	24	14	38	3	4	7	8	2	10	6	2	8
otal	1980	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	2000	11 100	2 100	13 100	11 100	8 100	19 100	19 100	24 100	43 100	5 100	3 100	8 100	11 100	2 100	13 100
	2000	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

D.O.H. (ac.c) – Distribution of Ownership Holding (Acre:Cent).

Table A1.7
Work Outside the Village

Sl.No.	Particulars	Year	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]
1	Male	1980	24.66	22.86	47.53
		2000	32.60	30.44	63.04
2	Female	1980	29.14	23.31	52.46
		2000	17.39	19.56	39.95
	Total	1980	53.81	48.18	100
		2000	50	50	100

Table A 1.8

Occupational Distribution Of Workers In Various Categories

SI.No	Categories of	Years	С	Н	С	Н	С	Н
	Occupation							
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]
			75	21	37	10	38	11
1	Cultivation	1980	(42.85)	(17.79	40.65	17.85	45.23	17.74
			49	25	28	12	21	13
		2000	(24.25)	(26.59)	24.58	23.52	23.86	30.23
			83	93	43	44	40	49
2	Agricultural	1980	(47.42)	(78.83)	47.25	72.57	47.63	79.03
			92	49	41	26	51	23
	Labor	2000	(45.54)	(52.12)	35.96	50.98	57.95	53.48
			17	4	11	2	6	2
3	Salaried	1980	(9.72)	(3.38)	12.08	3.57	7.14	3.22
			52	18	41	12	11	6
	Employment	2000	(25.75)	(19.16)	35.96	23.52	12.5	13.9
			-	-	-	-	-	-
4		1980	(-)	(-)	-	-	-	-
	Business &		2	1	2	-	-	1
	Trade	2000	(0.99)	(1.06)	1.75	-	-	2.32
			-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Other Self	1980	(-)	(-)	-	-	-	-
			7	1	2	1	5	-
	Employment	2000	3.46	(1.06)	1.75	1.98	5.68	-
			175	118	91	56	84	62
	Total	1980	100	(100)	100	100	100	100
			202	94	114	51	88	43
		2000	100	(100)	100	100	100	100

Table A1.9

Non-farm Employment (1980)

SI.No	Particulars	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
		2	-	2
	Teacher	(12.5)	(-)	(10.00)
		4	2	6
2	Government Employee	(25.00)	(50.00)	(30.00)
		1	-	1
3	Tailor	(6.25)	(-)	(5.00)
		1	-	1
4	Driver	(6.25)	(-)	(5.00)
		3	1	4
5	Shop	(18.75)	(25.00)	(20.00)
		1	1	2
6	Rtd.Pensioner	(6.25)	(25.00)	(10.00)
		1	-	1
7	Railway Department	(6.25)	(-)	(5.00)
_		1	-	1
8	Ex. Service Man	(6.25)	(-)	(5.00)
		1	-	1
9	Company Work	(6.25)	(-)	(5.00)
		1	-	1
10	Others	(6.25)	(-)	(5.00)
		16	4	20
	Total	(100)	(100)	(100)

Table A1.9 Non-farm Employment (2000)

SI.No	Particulars	Christians	Hindus	Total
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
1	Welding	3	3	6
		(5.26)	(18.75)	(8.21)
2	Mechanic	2 (3.51)	-	2 (2.73)
3	Company Work	(3.31)	3	6
		(5.26)	(18.75)	(8.21)
4	Shop	6	4	10
_	Forest Department	(10.53)	(25.00)	(13.69)
5	Forest Department	(-)	(6.25)	1 (1)
6	Railway Department	1	-	1
_		(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
7	Hospital	1 (1.75)	- ()	1 (1.36)
8	Telephone Office	1	(-) -	(1.30)
	, elspinens emiss	(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
9	Teacher	2	1	3
10	Donk	(3.51)	(6.25)	(4.10)
10	Bank	1 (1.75)	<u>-</u> (-)	1 (1.36)
11	Village Office Clerk	1	-	1
	_	(1.75)	-	(1.36)
12	Mason	4	1 (0.05)	5
13	Tailor	(7.02) 6	(6.25)	(6.84) 6
'0	railor	(10.53)	-	(8.21)
14	Nurse	5	1	6
		(8.77)	(6.25)	(8.21)
15	Rtd(a)Government Hospital(Peon)	1	_	1
	riospitai(i con)	(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
	(b)Ex. Military	1	-	1
	et 5.11 % 1.01 1	(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
	©T.B.Hospital Clerk	1 (1.75)	- (-)	1 (1.36)
	(d)Army Sepoy	1	-	1
		(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
	(e)Statistical Inspector	1	-	1 (4.00)
	(f)Bill Collector	(1.75)	(-) 1	(1.36) 1
	(1)Bill Collector	(-)	(6.25)	(1.36)
16	Driver	8	1	9
17		(14.04)	(6.25)	(12.32)
17	Missionary	2 (3.51)	- (-)	2 (2.73)
18	Engineer	1	-	1
		(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
19	Vegetable Sales	(1.75)	- ()	1 (1.26)
20	Painting	(1.75) 1	(-) -	(1.36) 1
		(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
21	Boring	1	-	1
22	Soroon Brinting	(1.75)	(-)	(1.36)
22	Screen Printing	1 (1.75)	- (-)	1 (1.36)
23	Total	57	16	73
		(100)	(100)	(100)