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CENSUS OF INDIA. 1961

VOLUME IX

MADRAS

PART VI
VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

7. RAVANASAMUDRAM

P. K. NAMBIAR
OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, MADRAS

1964

Price : Rs. 6-85 or 16 sh. or \$ 2.47



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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage

of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield; and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

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

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

New Delhi, }
24, 1962. }

A. MITRA,
Registrar General, India.

P R E F A C E

An interesting feature of the 1961 Census is the preparation of Monographs on selected villages in Madras State. Sri A. Mitra, I.C.S., Registrar General, India has in his foreword given the reader a background of the survey, its scope and its aim. This is the seventh of the series relating to Madras State. The manner in which the scheme has been implemented in this State has been explained in the preface to the earlier series.

This report relates to Ravanasamudram, a village located in Tambraparani basin of Tirunelveli district. It is a village of old and settled character in which Muslims and Hindus live as a happy family. Mat-weaving is the predominant household industry. With its diversity, a study of this village will be of interest to any Sociologist.

This survey has been supervised by Sri J. R. Ramanathan, my Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations. He has made a detailed and complete study of the village and has highlighted its salient features.

Madras,
May 6, 1964. }

P. K. NAMBIAR,
Superintendent of Census Operations.

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR THE SURVEY

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

* Already Published

** The present volume (No. 7 of the series)

VILLAGE SURVEY REPORT
ON
RAVANASAMUDRAM

<i>Field Study</i>	...	...	S. PERIANAYAGAM, M.A., <i>Research Assistant.</i>
<i>Photographs</i>	...	...	N. D. RAJAN, <i>Photographer.</i>
<i>Sketches</i>	...	...	A. RAMADOSS, <i>Artist.</i>
<i>Maps</i>	...	...	M. GANESH LAL, <i>Cartographer.</i>

Supervision & Report
J. R. RAMANATHAN, M.A., B.L.
Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations.

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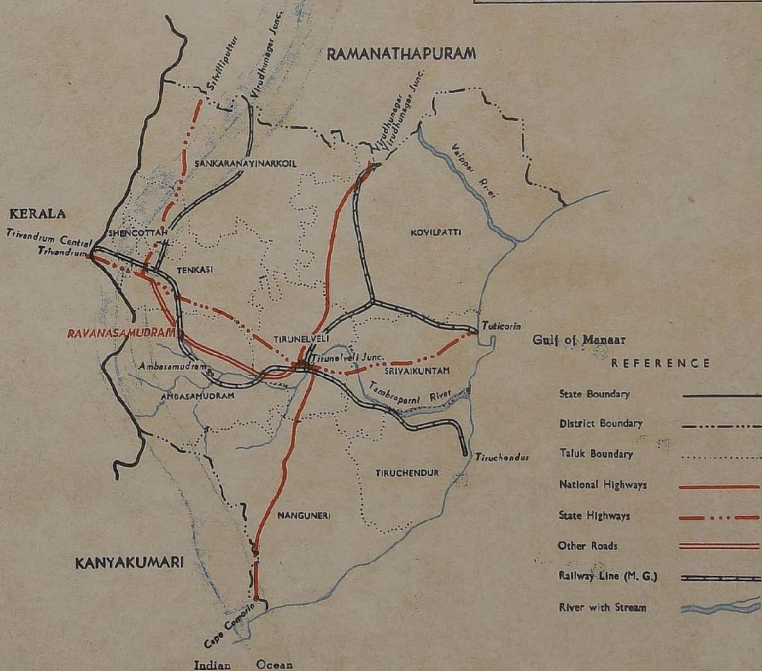
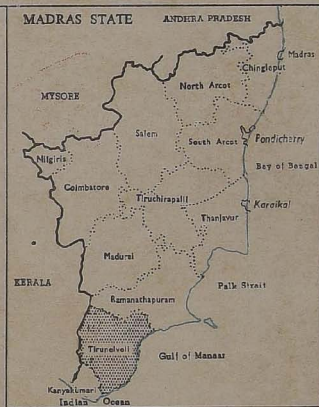
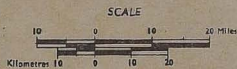
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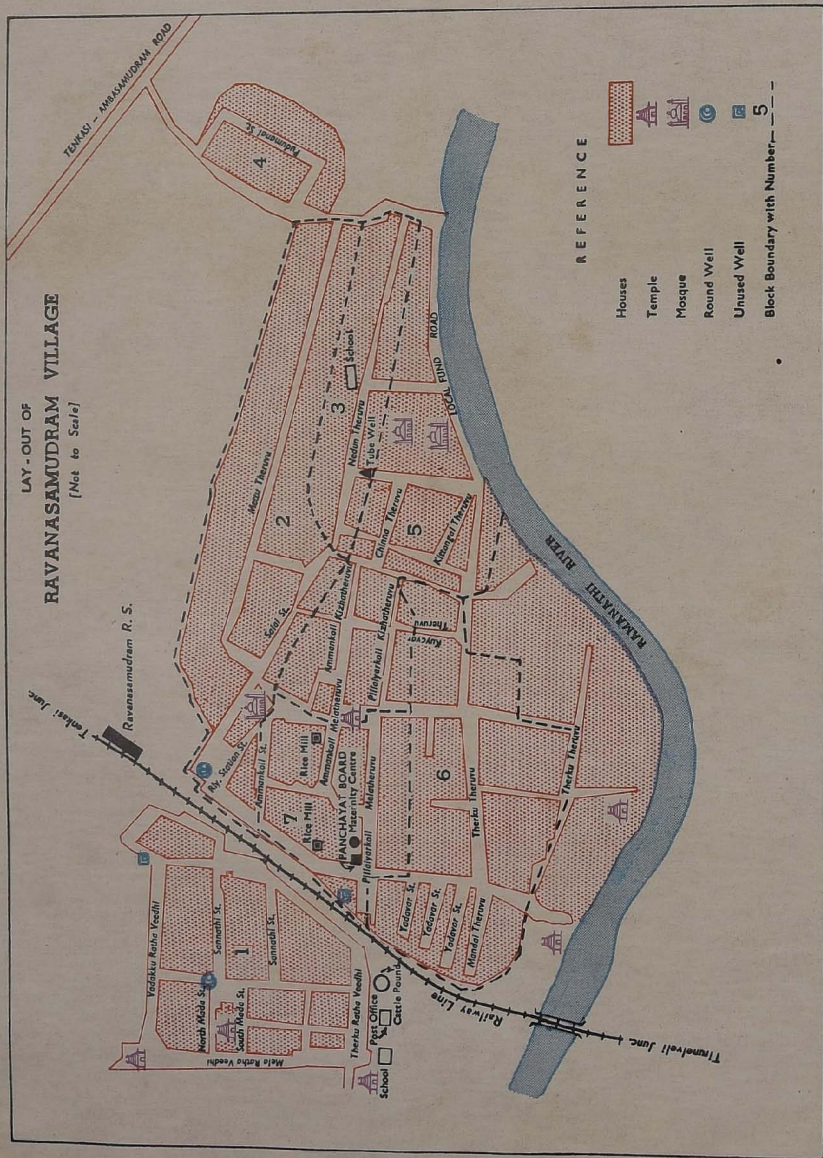
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LOCATION MAP
OF
RAVANASAMUDRAM
AMBASAMUDRAM TALUK
TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT



DAY-OUT OF

Not to Scale



CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

TAMBRAPARANI is the chief river of Tirunelveli district. From its source in the Western Ghats to its mouth in the Gulf of Manaar, it is seventy-five miles long.

Introduction

With its numerous tributaries, it comprises in its basin the taluks of Tenkasi, Ambasamudram, Tirunelveli, Srivaikuntam and Tiruchendur. This fertile basin extends from the mid-western point of the district to the sea on the eastern side. It varies in width from two to five miles. It is the most favoured part of the district and as Sri H. R. Pate, I. C. S., says in his District Gazetteer, "many large villages and towns, set in a sea of green fields and marked by tiled houses and temple towers, occur at intervals along the banks of the river and display the real riches of the district." In this fertile basin lies the village Ravanasmudram, the subject matter of this report. Ravanasmudram is situated amidst picturesque surroundings at the foot of the Western Ghats which form the western boundary of the district. The village lies on the left bank of the river Rama Nadhi, a tributary of the Tambraparani river, in the upper reaches of the Tambraparani basin. It is ten miles to the north-east of Ambasamudram town. It is a medium-sized village with a population of 2,479 persons. It is a multi-ethnic village where half of the population are Muslims and other half belong to sixteen different castes of Hindus. Brahmins, Pillais, Acharis, Muppanars, Yadhavas and Pandarams are some of the important communities of the village. Agriculture and household industries are the primary means of livelihood for the population of this village. Mat-weaving is the predominant household industry and nearly one-fourth of the village population derive their livelihood from this household industry.

2. Ravanasmudram forms part of Kadayam firka of Ambasamudram taluk. The village is bounded on the north by Kadayam, on the south by Alwarkurichi, on the east by Veerasamudram and Pottalpudur and on the west by Govindaperi beyond which runs the Western Ghats. The village is connected by an unmetalled road with the Ambasamudram-Tenkasi main road. The firka headquarters of the village lies about one and half miles to the north of the village and the taluk headquarters, Ambasamudram is at a distance of ten miles. From Tirunelveli, the district headquarters, the village is thirty-five miles away. Courtallam, Papanasam and Pottalpudur are the places of importance around the village. Courtallam is a well-known health resort of Tirunelveli district and lies at a distance of fifteen miles to the north-west of the village. Papanasam is a famous pilgrim centre and is nine miles away on the south-east. Both these places lie at the foot of the Western Ghats. Pottalpudur is a pilgrim centre for the Muslims and it is famous for its Mosque which draws a large number of devotees including Hindus from all parts of the district. It is just a mile away from the village on the eastern side.

3. The village is well served with modern means of transport and communications. It lies at a distance of four furlongs from the Ambasamudram-Tenkasi main road and a motorable road connects the village with the main road. Buses ply in Ambasamudram-Tenkasi route every half an hour. This village is also connected by railway. Ravanasmudram railway station lies in between Tenkasi and Ambasamudram on Tirunelveli-Shencottah line. Four trains from each direction pass through this village daily. Though the train services are fairly frequent, the common mode of

Transport and communications

transport for the people of this village is the bus. People going to their taluk headquarters or district headquarters prefer to travel by bus than by train. This is so because, buses ply more frequently and because the duration of travel by bus is much shorter. The trains not only take longer time to reach the destinations but there is certain amount of uncertainty regarding the time of arrival of the trains. The journey time from Ravanasamudram to Tirunelveli is two hours by bus as compared with three to three and half hours by train. Of course, people who travel long distances beyond Tirunelveli prefer trains to buses. The village has a Sub-Post Office and the nearest Telegraph Office is situated at Kadayam at a distance of one and half miles. Trunk call facilities are also available at Kadayam which the merchants of this village make good use of. This village is also electrified and street lights have been provided by the Panchayat Board.

4. The towering peaks of the Western Ghats clothed with ever-green forests at a distance of five miles to the west of the village and the perennial river Rama Nadhi which winds along the village border on the southern and western sides give

Physical features

an impressive background to the village. The river Rama Nadhi has its origin near Sivasailam in the Western Ghats and it ultimately joins the Varaha Nadhi, a tributary of Tambraparani river. Rama Nadhi is the main source of irrigation for this village. There is an anicut across Rama Nadhi about two miles to the North-West of the village. Vagaikulam channel which takes off from this anicut irrigates about ninety percent of the fields in this village; it also feeds the tanks in the village. Jambu Nadhi, a tributary of Rama Nadhi joins the latter near this village.

5. The landscape around the village is very picturesque and pleasing to the eye with long stretches of ever-green paddy fields and with clusters of palm trees dotting the landscape. Another prominent feature of the landscape around the village is the Mullimalai hill which lies at a distance of one and half miles to the south-west of the village. This village lies in the long stretch of red sandy loam soil along the foot of the Western Ghats. The soil in this village consists mostly of fertile red loam soil and partly of black loam soil.

6. Lying at the foot of the hills, this village enjoys a pleasant weather for the best part of the year. During the months, July to September, the village has a pleasant climate with the temperature ranging from 75° to 85°. November to January is the coolest part of the year. Even in the hottest months of April

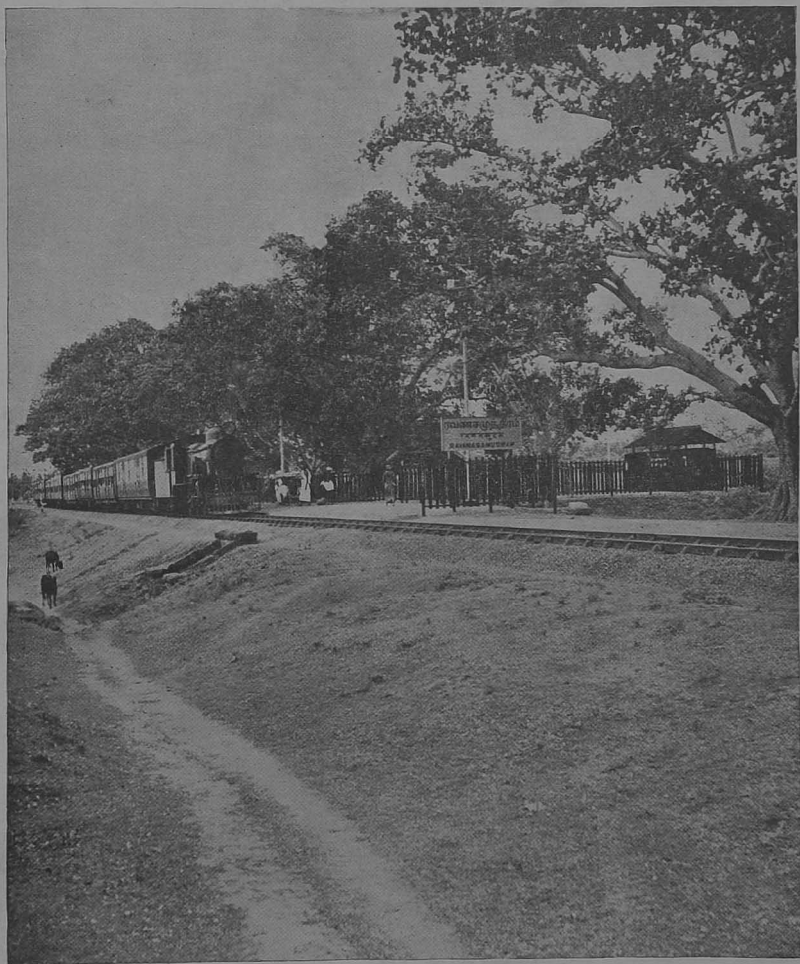
Climate and rainfall

and May, the temperature does not rise above 100°. After the hottest period of the year, namely, April and May, strong westerly and south-westerly winds set in early in June and this marks the beginning of the cultivation season known as *Kar* season. Lying immediately below the Ghats, the village receives a little rainfall from the South-west monsoon, though it derives the benefit of irrigation from the rivers which rise in the Ghats. With the monsoon rains on the hills and with the strong westerly winds blowing across, the atmosphere around the village becomes cooler and pleasant. By the end of October or early November, the north-east monsoon sets in and for about two months the mean temperature falls below 80°. The setting in of the north-east monsoon marks the commencement of the *Pishanam* cultivation season in the village. On an average, the village gets rainfall for about fifty to sixty days in a year and it has an annual rainfall of about 39", three-fourths of which are received during north-east monsoon from October to January. This village gets only occasional showers during the south-west monsoon from June to September.

7. The village site comprises of two blocks on either side of the railway line. Agraharam lies on the western side of the railway line and the Non-brahmin locality on the eastern side.

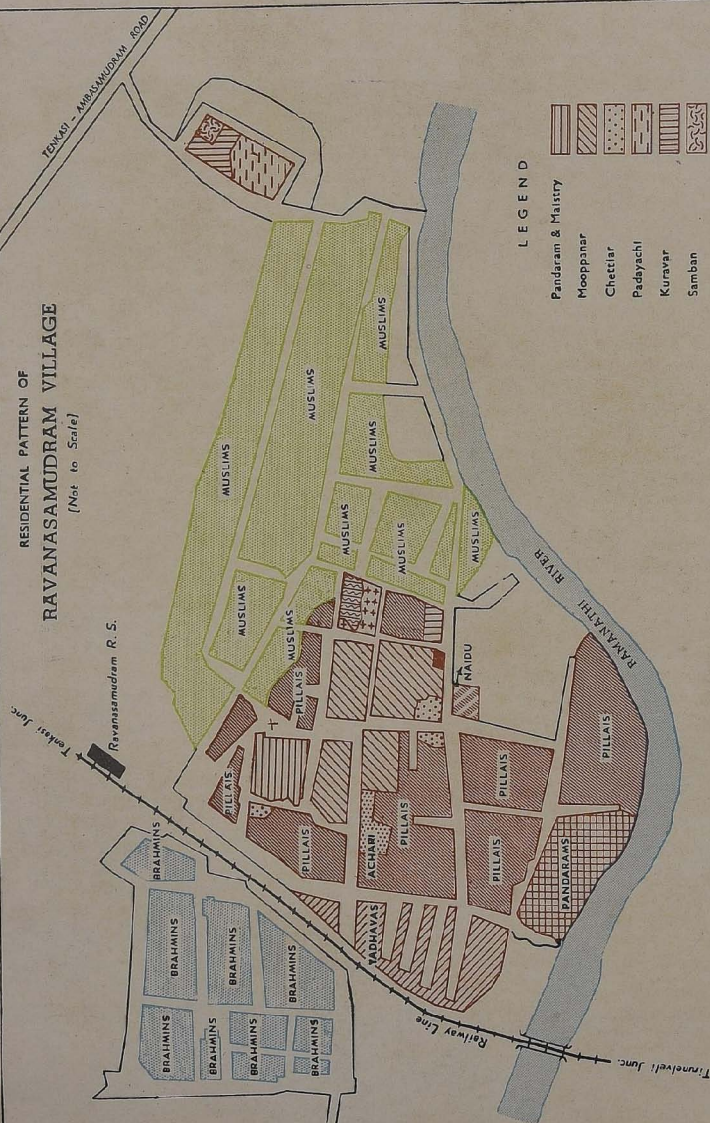
Lay out of the village

The river Rama Nadhi forms the southern boundary of the Non-brahmin locality. The unmetalled road connecting the village with the Tenkasi-Ambasamudram road enters the village on the north-eastern corner. The Meenakshi Amman temple referred to in the history of the village is situated in the centre of Agraharam. The Village Post Office and the cattle pound are also situated in Agraharam. The railway station lies to the north of the village. The three Mosques



The train steaming into the Ravanasamudram Railway Station — Perhaps, 'better late than never!'

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN OF RAVANASAMUDRAM VILLAGE (Not to Scale)



are situated amidst the Muslim locality on the north and north-eastern portions of the village. The Panchayat Board Office and the Maternity Centre are situated in the midst of the block occupied by the Pillais in the centre of the village.

8. The village has been divided into convenient blocks for purposes of Panchayat elections and the streets in the village are generally well-formed. The streets have also been named. They have been named either after a particular geographical land mark (for example, Amman Koil street, Pillaiyar Koil street) or after the castes predominant in those streets (for example, Yadhava street, Kusavar street) or by the directions (for example, Therku theru, Kila theru etc.) Perfect street formations are found in Aghraharam and in the blocks occupied by the Yadhavas and Pillais. As regards the other portions of the village, there are four main streets running from east to west and these are cut by another five main streets running from north to south, with a number of by-lanes and narrow streets cutting across and branching off from these main streets to provide access to the interior houses.

9. It is a common feature of a South Indian village that the dwellings of the people are segregated on the basis of castes. Rarely do we find the dwellings of the high caste people near the dwellings of the low castes. The Scheduled

Residential Pattern

Castes would usually live in a secluded corner of the village, segregated from the dwellings of the other communities.

Wherever the dwellings of more than one caste are clustered together, those castes would be of equal or at least of comparable social status. The residential pattern of Ravanasamudram too, is based on castes to some extent. The Brahmins live in a compact block in the north-western corner of the village, around the Meenakshi Amman temple. This portion of the village, known as Aghraharam, is a little removed from the dwellings of the other communities and the railway line runs in between. The Non-brahmin communities of the village live on the eastern side of the railway line. The Muslims are in occupation of the eastern half of the village. The Muslim locality also extends a little towards the north-east of the village. The Hindu Non-brahmins except the Scheduled Castes are living in between the Muslim locality on the east and the railway line on the west. Even here, the Pillais who come next to the Brahmins in the social order occupy a fairly compact block. The main streets adjoining the railway line are in the sole occupation of Pillais. The dwellings of the Yadhavas also are clustered together in a compact block of four streets, in between the block occupied by the Pillais on the east and the railway line on the west. The dwellings of the other communities of comparable status are clustered around the block occupied by the Pillais. The dwellings of Acharis and Chettiers are adjacent to the dwellings of Pillais. The Muppanars are occupying a compact block adjacent to the block occupied by the Pillais. The Pandarams and Meistries are living adjacent to the Pillais and Muppanars. The Barbers and Dobbies occupy a compact block in between the Muslim locality on the east and the Muppanars' quarters on the west. The Scheduled Castes of this village, namely, the Kuravans, Sambans and the Padayatchis (Fishermen) live in a compact block at the north-eastern extremity of the village beyond the Muslim locality. Thus, the residential pattern is determined to some extent, by the caste which determines the social status of a particular group. The role of caste in the social and cultural life of the village has been discussed in detail in Chapter V of this report.

10. This village was named after Ravanappa Naicken, a Poligar chieftain, who ruled over this place some two hundred years ago. Ravanappa Naicken was a descendant of the Naicker Dynasty which ruled over Madurai and the surrounding

Etymology of the name and History of the village

regions, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After the down-fall of the Naickers' regime at Madurai, several members of the Royal family and the army chieftains travelled further south with their followers and established small principalities in Tirunelveli and Ramnad districts. Tenkasi was one such principality and it was ruled by Parakrama Pandya Naicken. He was succeeded by his brother, whose name is not known. In the middle of the

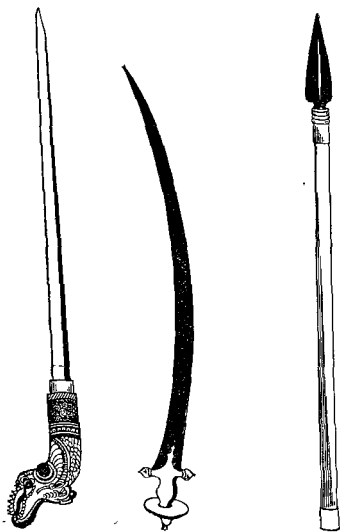
eighteenth century, the East India Company was fighting its way to establish its hegemony over the local chieftains by demanding tributes from them. Parakrama Pandya's brother joined the neighbouring Poligar chieftains in defying the authority of the East India Company. On his refusal to pay the tribute to the British, the principality of Tenkasi was invaded by the British and reduced to ruins. The two sons of the king fled in two directions, one towards Ambasamudram and the other towards Sankarankoil. Krishnappa Naicken, who fled towards Ambasamudram along with his followers, cleared a part of the jungle and established a small settlement on the banks of the Rama Nadhi river and this place was called Krishnapuram.

11. Krishnappa Naicken also built a strong fort in this village and raised up an army. In course of time, the British came to know of the settlement of Krishnappa Naicken in Krishnapuram and demanded tribute from him. The Governor of the East India Company sent two Ambassadors to negotiate with Krishnappa Naicken, who refused to pay any tribute to the British. Thereupon, the two Ambassadors sent by the British Governor, treacherously broke-open the dam across Rama Nadhi at a distance of two miles on the west of the village and the people of the village were soon the victims of furious floods. The whole village was submerged and several people who were taken unawares by the floods, perished in the floods. The king himself died a valiant death in his desperate attempts to save his subjects from the floods. It was on this day of the floods that a son was born to Krishnappa Naicken, just a few minutes before the benevolent king breathed his last. The queen and the new born baby were saved from the floods by Thirumalayappa Naicken, the faithful Minister of Krishnappa Naicken.

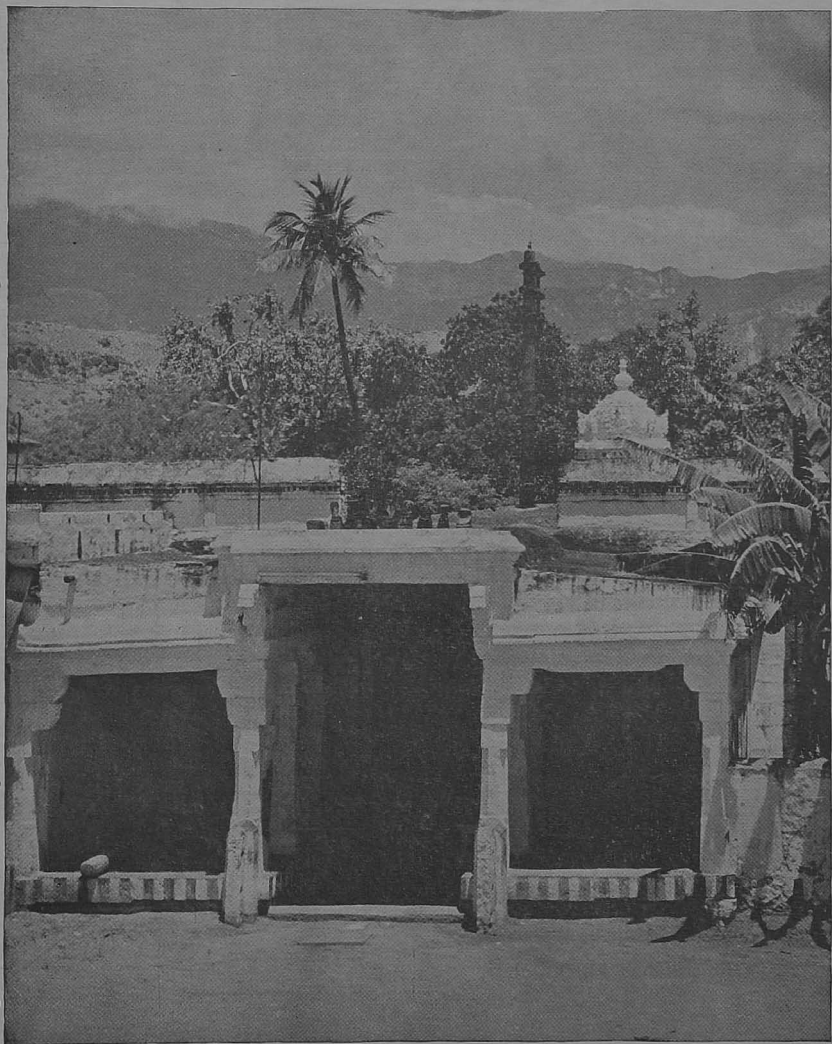
12. Krishnappa Naicken's son grew up into an accomplished prince under the guidance and protection of Thirumalayappa Naicken and the prince was named Ravanappa Naicken. In the course of time, the flood-ravaged village was completely rebuilt by Ravanappa Naicken who took over the reigns of the administration. Ravanappa Naicken also built the Meenakshi Amman temple. The village was then named after him as Ravanasamudram.

13. The subsequent history of this small settlement is rather obscure. Ravanappa Naicken seemed to have ruled over this place 202 years back. The *Sthalapuramam* of the Meenakshi Amman temple testifies to the fact that the temple was built by Ravanappa Naicken. According to this *Sthalapuramam*, the *Gopuram* of this temple was built in the year 935 of Kollam Era or *Kollam Andu*. The present year of Kollam Era is 1137. So, according to the Christian Era, the *Gopuram* of this temple was built in the year 1760 A.D., around which time Ravanappa Naicken should have ruled over this place. The *Sthalapuramam* further mentions that Kaduvetti Rangappa Naicken who succeeded Ravanappa Naicken, built the *Sabhapathi Mandapam* adjoining the temple.

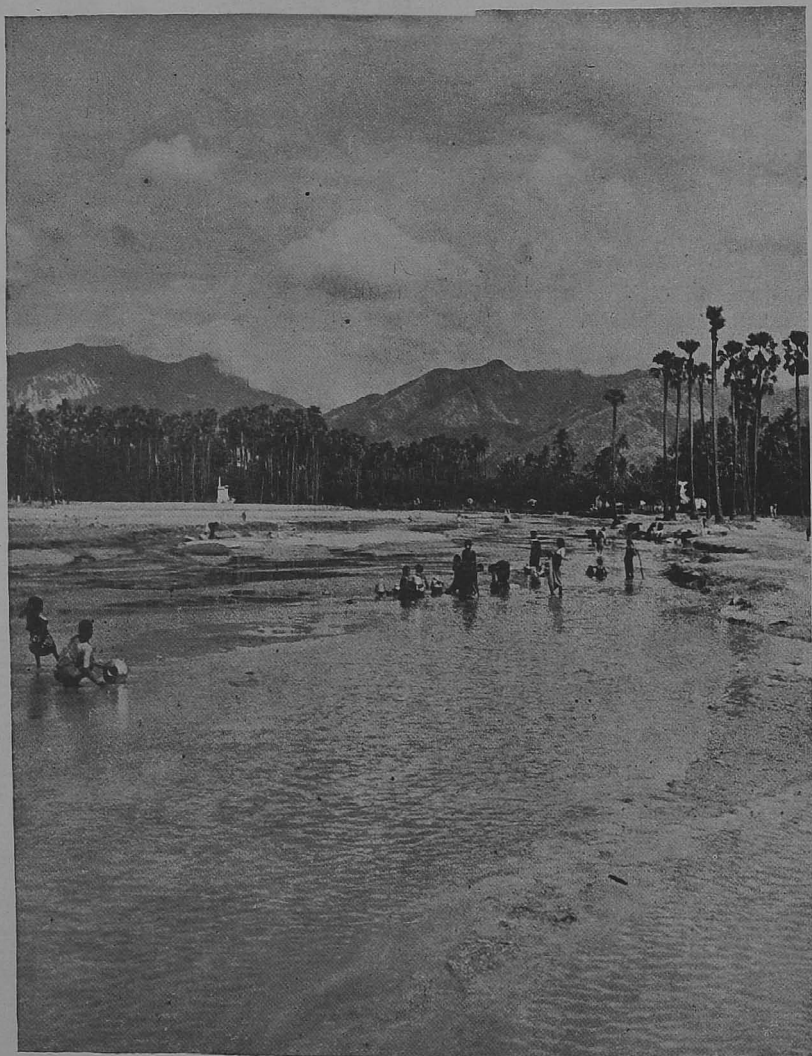
14. The descendants of this Naicker chieftain after whom the village is named, are still living in the village in a solitary household of Naickers or Naidus. The seventh descendant of Ravanappa Naicken, Sri Santhanakrishna Naicken is the head of the household. The fort built by Krishnappa Naicken and subsequently renovated by Ravanappa Naicken on the banks of Rama Nadhi is now in ruins. The Naicker family is now living in a big building which is a renovated portion of the old palace in a corner of the ruined fort. The Naicker household still preserves



The royal weapons preserved by the Naicker household.



The Meenakshi Amman temple in the village. Note the mist-covered peaks of the Western Ghats in the back-ground.

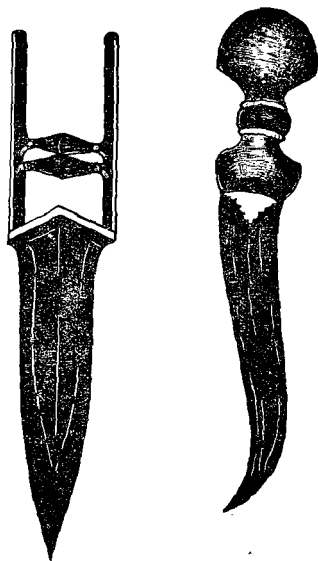


Women-folk bathing and taking water in the Rama Nadhi. Note the scenic beauty in the back-ground.

some of the weapons like swords and daggers which are said to have been used by Ravanappa Naicken and his descendants. They are also preserving some of the old artistic turban clothes used by their royal ancestors and some very old documents. The old documents in their possession refer to the grant of lands made by Ravanappa Naicken to some of his faithful subjects.

15. The royal lineage of this Naicker household is recognised by the other sections of the village population and they are treated with deference by the latter. Even the socially dominant groups, namely, Brahmins and Pillais treat them with some deference. The Naicker household is given special temple honours during the annual festival in Meenakshi Amman temple.

16. The historical facts referred to were mostly obtained from an article by Professor Rajamanikkanar in a Tamil Magazine *Ina Muzhakkam*. The extract of this article was made available to us by Sri Santhanakrishna Naicken, who also showed us the weapons and the documents preserved by them. Though the people of the village do not know most of the historical details stated above, some of the old villagers are aware that their village is the settlement renovated by the benevolent Ravanappa Naicken who ruled over their ancestors before the British. To this extent, the details stated above are supported by the oral tradition current in the village.



The daggers preserved by the Naicker household

17. As observed earlier, there are a large number of Muslims and sixteen communities of Hindus in this village. Not all of them are original inhabitants of this village. Though there

Settlement History

is no recorded account as to when the various sections of the village population settled in this village, there is a fairly unanimous oral tradition about the settlement history of the Brahmins and the Muslims. The Brahmins settled in this village when the Meenakshi Amman temple was built by Ravanappa Naicken. According to the oral tradition, there were a large number of Brahmins in the neighbouring village of Veerasamudram and when Ravanappa Naicken built the Meenakshi Amman temple, he brought a few households of Brahmins to settle down in this village and to perform the daily pujas in the temple. Prior to this, it is said, there were only one or two Brahmin households in this village. So, the portion of the village known as Agraharam which is now in the sole occupation of the Brahmins, has grown around the Meenakshi Amman temple when the temple was built.

18. Another oral tradition traces the settlement of Muslims to the days of the Nawab of Arcot. There is nothing to confirm the correctness of this oral tradition, except the fact that the Nawab of Arcot has endowed an extent of 35 cents of wet land to one of the Mosques in the village. Proximity of this village to Pottalpudur which is a well known pilgrim centre for the Muslims, can be one of the reasons for the settling of a large number of Muslims in this village. During the years 1942 to 1945 the numerical strength of the Muslims in this village increased considerably due to immigration. Owing to the unsettled conditions in the Far East, a large number of Muslim refugees from Burma came and settled down in this village. The other sections of the village population are said to be the original settlers of this village and their settlement dates back to the days of Krishnappa Naicken who fled from Tenkasi and founded this village.

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

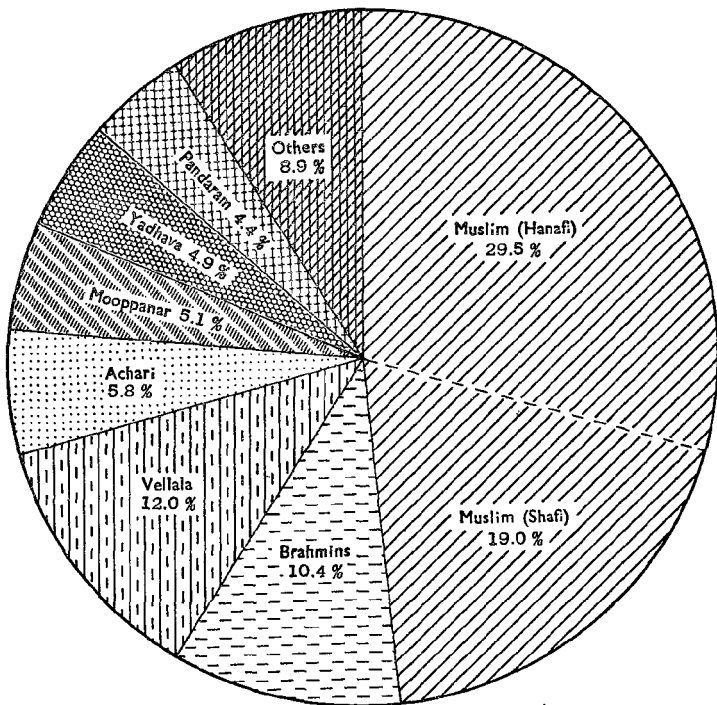
19. Ethnic diversity is one of the salient features of Ravanamudram. This village population comprises of Muslims and sixteen castes of Hindus. There is also a solitary Christian household. There are 278 households of Muslims with a total population of 1,181 persons comprising of 459 males and 722 females. The Muslims constitute 47.64% of the village population and the rest are Hindus excepting the solitary household of Christians. The Brahmins, Pillais, Acharis, Muppanars, Yadhavas and Pandarams are some of the important Hindu castes of this village and the other communities are numerically insignificant.

TABLE No. I
Ethnic Composition

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste/ Sub-sect	No. of house- holds	No. of Persons	No. of Males	No. of Females
MUSLIMS		Hanafi	169	726	295	431
		Shafi	109	455	164	291
HINDUS	Brahmin	Iyer	59	276	139	137
		Iyengar	1	3	2	1
	Vellala Pillai	Saiva Pillai	69	281	133	148
	Achari		33	121	55	66
	Muppanar	Ilai Vaniar	29	130	70	60
	Yadhava	Idaiyan	28	134	66	68
	Pandaram	Yogeeswarakula				
		Pandaram	25	119	63	56
	Meistry	Panankulam				
		Meistry	9	41	22	19
	Chettiar	Saiva Pillai				
		Chettiar	9	49	21	28
		Vania				
		Chettiar	7	19	9	10
	Padayatchi	Fisherman	4	24	12	12
	Naidu	Gowrava	1	13	6	7
	Ambattan		3	8	4	4
	Vannan		9	37	15	22
	Kusavan	Vezhar	3	17	8	9
	Kuravan (S. C.)*		4	16	8	8
	Samban (S. C.)		1	4	2	2
CHRISTIANS	Maruthuvan		1	6	2	4
Total			573	2,479	1,096	1,383

* S. C: Scheduled Castes.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION



The study of the ritual-structures and the material culture of all these communities would be of absorbing interest. For our study of the ritual structure and the material culture, the different communities of the village can be grouped into three broad ethnic groups, namely, the Brahmins, the Hindu Non-brahmins and the Muslims.

20. The Brahmins constitute 11.26% of the total population and 21.49% of the Hindu population of this village. Out of the sixty households of Brahmins, fifty-nine households belong to the Iyer sect and the other solitary household to the Iyengar sect. The Brahmins of this village form a distinct group and live in a separate portion of the village known as Agharam. Socially and educationally, the Brahmins are the most advanced section of the village population. Seventy percent of the males and fifty percent of the females are literates. In this community we find a number of people who are engaged in non-agricultural occupations and Government services. They constitute one of the dominant communities in the village by virtue of their educational and social advancement and better economic status. Socially they maintain aloofness from the other sections of the village population and yet live on terms of amity, often providing leadership in social and religious matters. In religious and cultural matters, the Brahmins set the pattern of rituals and observances to the other Hindu communities. Generally, Non-brahmin communities are inclined to imitate the rituals and religious customs of Brahmins.

21. Brahmins' religious life is ritual ridden to a greater extent than that of the other communities. Every stage of a Brahmin's life, from birth to death, is attended with rituals and religious observances. The birth of a child entails pollution for sixteen days, during which period, the mother and the child are prohibited from entering any temple or holy places. On the sixteenth day, the mother and the baby are given a ceremonial bath amidst chanting of mantras and vedic verses. The water is also blessed by a priest. The new baby is also named on that day. The maternal uncle, and the maternal grand-parents of the child present new clothes and golden ornaments to the child. The mother also gets a new saree for the occasion. The naming ceremony consists of the father placing the child on his lap and whispering the chosen name thrice into its tiny ears. A feast is given on this occasion. Generally, the naming ceremony of the first child is much more elaborate and marked with a lavish feast than the naming ceremonies for the subsequent children. In well-to-do families, the child is also ceremonially installed in a new cradle amidst joyous singing by the women-folk.

22. Next stage in the life circle of a Brahmin is the *Upanayanam*, when the boys are invested with sacred threads. On an auspicious day chosen by the astrologer, the ceremony begins with the offering of prayers to Lord Vigneswara. An idol of Lord Vigneswara is placed in the middle of the specially erected pandhal. The sacred fire is lit and the seed-pans containing nine kinds of grains referred to as *Navathanyam* are placed around the sacred fire. After the prayers, a yellow coloured thread known as *Prathisaram* is tied on the boy's right wrist amidst chanting of mantras by the purohitis who are invited for the occasion. The boy is then shaved by the village barber and is given a ceremonial bath. He is dressed in new clothes and is seated in front of the sacred fire. Dharba, a sacrificial grass, is wound round his body. The boy performs oblations in the sacred fire and repeats vedic verses. The Guru who is sitting by his side, sprinkles holy water over the boy thrice and recites vedic verses. Amidst the chanting of vedic verses and mantras, the youth is invested with the sacred thread. A cloth is thrown covering the boy and his Guru and, the latter recites *Gayatri* and other mantras, softly into the former's ears. This reciting of mantras into the boy's ears should be done so softly as not to be heard by others. Usually music is played at that time. Then, money and other gifts are given to the purohitis and other Brahmins. The feast is the last item of the function.

23. Upanayanam or 'leading the boy to his Guru or spiritual teacher' is essentially a ceremony of initiation. It is only after the boy has undergone Upanayanam, that he can take part in religious ceremonies as a full-fledged Brahmin. After going through Upanayanam, a Brahmin boy is supposed to perform *Sandhyavanthanam* or daily prayers. Upanayanam ceremony

is usually performed for the boys at the ages five to eight. But now, many people have it done on the day prior to the marriage, as a Brahmin must have undergone Upanayanam ceremony before he can get married. Upanayanam ceremony entails considerable expenditure, because it involves feeding all the relatives and giving gifts to the purohitis and the Brahmins who attend the function. Because of these economic considerations, some of the Brahmins celebrate Upanayanam as a part of the marriage ceremony. Celebration of the Upanayanam as part of the marriage ceremony does not involve any extra expenditure. There are also other practical difficulties like the boy being away from home for persecuting his studies or like the parents living in a place beyond their native place where it is inconvenient to perform Upanayanam. These necessitate the performance of Upanayanam as part of the marriage ceremony in some cases.

24. According to the shastras, the sacred thread must be spun out of the cotton plucked and spun into a thread by a pure Brahmin. But nowadays, this practice is not strictly followed, and the thread obtained from the market is used during the Upanayanam ceremony. The sacred thread consists of three strands. After marriage, the sacred thread of a Brahmin will consist of six strands, and if his father is not alive, of nine strands. Another shastric ritual which is observed only by the well-to-do Brahmins, is investing the boy with golden and silver threads on the occasion of Upanayanam. Three strands of thin golden thread and three strands of thin silver thread are also worn on the boy when he is invested with the sacred thread. After the ceremony, the golden threads and the silver threads which usually cost between Rs. 10 to 15 and Rs. 2 to 5 respectively, are presented to the purohitis who officiate at the ceremony. The sacred thread is usually hung from the left shoulder crossing the body around the right hip. Upanayanam is usually performed in the months of *Vaikasi* or *Masi* and the sacred thread is renewed every year on the day of *Avani Avittam*.

25. The shastric method of performing the Upanayanam has been modified by practical considerations in more than one way. Previously, Upanayanam was performed for the Brahmin boys at ages five to eight. But now, either because of the economic considerations or because of the practical difficulties mentioned above, the Upanayanam is performed as a part of the marriage ceremony on the day prior to the marriage. Another modification

**Deviations
from shastric method**

of the shastric method relates to the thread used for the Upanayanam. Previously, a pure Brahmin should himself pluck cotton from the plant and spin it into a sacred thread of three strands. It is now done only by a few orthodox families. According to the shastras, the Brahmin boy should also be invested with golden and silver threads on the occasion of Upanayanam. But now, this custom is confined only to the well-to-do people and the poorer among the Brahmins dispense with this custom. Upanayanam, as observed earlier, involves considerable expenditure and some of the poor Brahmins of this village go from house to house and ask for donations to defray their expenditure. There is a belief among the orthodox people including the Non-Brahmins, that contribution to Upanayanam expenditure is a pious act.

26. Attainment of puberty is a significant event in the life of a Brahmin girl and it is attended with rituals and religious ceremonies. The attainment of puberty entails pollution for a period of five days. During this period, the girl is kept secluded in a corner of the house and is not allowed to enter the other parts of the house like the puja room, kitchen etc. On the fifth day, certain purificatory ceremonies are performed to terminate the pollution. A purohit is invited home and he performs the purificatory ceremony known as *Punyahavachanam*. The water blessed by the purohit is sprinkled all over the house to end the pollution caused by the attainment of puberty by the girl. The girl is also purified of the pollution by a ceremonial bath with the water blessed by the purohit and she is dressed in new clothes presented for the occasion by her maternal uncle. Usually there is a small feast in the noon whereat close relatives are fed.

Attainment of puberty

In the evening, the women relatives of the girl are invited home for a ceremony in which the girl is seated amidst the women-folk who sing songs signifying the occasion. Eatables like *Puttu* and *Idly* are distributed to the relatives to mark the occasion.

27. Brahmin marriages are attended with more rituals than the marriages in other communities. The marriages are usually preceded by the *Nichayathartham* or the betrothal ceremony which consists of the exchange of *Thamboolum* between the parties to signify their agreement to enter into the alliance.

Marriage customs

On this occasion, it is also customary for the groom's party to present a saree to the bride. Before the matrimonial alliance is agreed upon and the *Nichayathartham* is fixed, the horoscopes of the bride and the bridegroom are consulted to see whether they agree. This consultation of horoscopes is almost universal among the Brahmins except in a few rare cases where some of the practical Brahmins dispense with this custom. In consanguineous marriages, the primary consideration is to maintain the kinship, and the suitability of horoscopes is only of secondary importance. In all other cases, it is only when the horoscopes of the bride and the bride-groom agree that the alliance is contemplated and very often, matrimonial proposals do not materialise because of the unsuitability of the horoscopes.

28. The marriages among the Brahmins usually take place at the brides' residences. Marriage ceremonies start with the mock-pilgrimage performed by the bridegroom. The bridegroom after offering prayers to his ancestors and his caste deities, sets out on a pilgrimage to Banares. He is dressed like a pilgrim and he carries with him an umbrella, a fan and a bundle contain-

Wedding ceremony

ing some rice. He goes out in a procession headed by the band. At the outskirts of the village, his future father-in-law meets him, formally dissuades him from going on the pilgrimage and requests him to come home and get wedded to his daughter. The bridegroom signifies his consent to the proposal and returns home abandoning the idea of pilgrimage. When the bridegroom arrives at the marriage pandhal, the bride is also brought out of the house and both of them are seated on a swing within the pandhal. The bride and the bridegroom are given milk, while the women-folk surrounding them sing songs signifying the occasion.

29. The bridal pair is then conducted to the dais and the marriage ceremonies commence with the chanting of vedic verses and mantras. The first of the rituals is the tying of *Prathisaram*. Yellow coloured threads are tied on the left wrist of the bride and on the right wrist of the bridegroom. The purohit proclaims the *Gotras* and names of the parties to the alliance for three generations and announces the marriage. The bride's father formally announces his intention to give his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom who also declares that he accepts her. This proposal by the bride's father and the acceptance by the groom are spoken in Sanskrit. Usually, it is the purohit who gives out the words for the proposal and the acceptance and the parties repeat the words given-out by the purohit. The bride's father places the hands of the bride over the out-stretched hands of the bridegroom and both he and the bride's mother pour water and milk over the united hands of the couple. This part of the ceremony is known as *Dharaivarthai* and this is followed by the important ceremony of tying the *Thali*.

30. At the auspicious moment, the bride sits on her father's lap and the bridegroom who is now on his feet, bends down and ties the *Thali* around the bride's neck amidst the chanting of vedic verses by the surrounding Brahmin priests. Before the *Thali* is tied, it is blessed by the purohit and a few other elderly people. The guests around the marriage dais bless the couple by throwing yellow coloured rice over them. This custom of tying the *Thali* with the bride sitting on her father's lap is peculiar to the Brahmins. After the *Thali* is tied, the couple are seated on the dais once again, and certain oblations are performed in the sacred fire in front of them. The last of the rituals is the ceremony called *Annimithithal* during which ceremony, the bridegroom takes the right foot of the bride and makes her touch the grinding stone three times. After this the bridal pair go round the sacred fire seven times. This marks

the end of the marriage ceremonies and it is followed by the marriage feast. This ceremony known as *Ammithithal* has some legendary significance. The grinding stone is supposed to represent *Ahalya*, the wife of the Sage Gautama. Ahalya was cursed to be a stone for her adulterous conduct, till she was restored to human form by the touch of Rama, the hero of *Ramayana*. This custom by which the bride touches the grinding stone, is believed to check unchaste desires, if any, of the bride.

31. There are some minor rituals performed in the afternoon in which only the women-folk and the close relatives take part. These are known as *Nalangu* and *Thirushti Kazhithal*. These rituals are designed to off-set the effects of the evil eyes which might have been cast on the bridal pair. In the evening, they have the last of the marriage ceremonies known as *Arunthathi Parthal*. The purohit takes the bridal pair out of the house and asks them to gaze at the polar star. The polar star represents the eternal soul of Arunthathi who was a model of chastity according to the Hindu legends. In some of the well-to-do families receptions are arranged in the evenings. Music concert and light refreshments to the invitees, are the main features of such receptions. The consummation of the marriage is celebrated on an auspicious day about a week or a fortnight after the marriage. A few of the Brahmins celebrate the consummation of the marriage on the day of the marriage itself. But in a majority of the cases, the consummation of the marriage known as *Santhi Muhurtham* is celebrated on an auspicious day subsequent to the marriage.

32. Generally, dowry is an essential element of the matrimonial alliance among the Brahmins. Marriages without dowry are rare. The dowry among the Brahmins of this village ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 depending upon the economic and social status of the parties to the alliance. The Anti-dowry Act has not put an end to this practice. At best, the Anti-dowry

Dowry

Act has had only a moderating influence, in as much as the dowry is not openly demanded. Usually the middlemen who are interested in bringing about the alliance sound the bridegroom's party on the amount of dowry they expect and compromise it with the amount that the bride's party is prepared to give and there is a tacit agreement between them about the amount of dowry. Apart from the dowry, the marriage is a costly affair for the bride's party in as much as the entire expenditure of the marriage celebrations are usually borne by the bride's party and the scale of celebrations should be such as to befit the social standing of the groom's party. The other factor which makes the marriage costly for the bride's party is the custom of *Seervaisai* or the customary gifts. The custom demands that the bride's party should present a number of household articles and family assets like household utensils, cots, beds etc. to the newly wedded couple. The quantum of this *Seervaisai* or the customary gifts differs according to the economic status of the parties. At one extreme, it may consist of the minimum of household utensils some of which must be made of silver, and at the other extreme, it may consist of cots, beds, few other items of furniture, radios etc., in addition to a good number of silver utensils like plates, tumblers and auspicious articles like lamps known as *Kuthu Vilakku*. This is one of the reasons for every Brahmin household of this village including the poorest, having a few items of silver utensils which always come with the bride. The *Seervaisai* or the customary gifts are given usually on the day of the *Santhi Muhurtham*.

33. Consanguineous marriages are not uncommon among the Brahmins. The preferred degrees of relationship for consanguineous marriages are the boy's paternal aunt's daughter and his maternal uncle's daughter. In this village, out of the nineteen marriages that have taken place recently, five were cases in which the boys married their maternal uncles' daughters and three persons have married their paternal aunts' daughters. There is only a solitary case of a boy getting married to his sister's daughter. In the other ten cases, the marriage alliances were outside the consanguineous degrees of relationship.

34. The Brahmin boys usually get married in the ages twenty to twenty-five and the girls are married when they are fifteen to twenty years old. About three or four decades back, child marriages were very common among the Brahmins and they have been discontinued after the enforcement of the Saradha Act which lays down the minimum age at marriage. Many of the married women who are now thirty-five and above, were married when they were aged five years, nine years, twelve years etc. There has not been any child marriage in the past two decades. Polygamy is not prevalent among the Brahmins of this village and polyandry is unknown. Widow re-marriage is also prohibited among the Brahmins and the social treatment meted out to the Brahmin widow is comparatively unfair. A Brahmin widow has to have her head shaved and can wear only the white or saffron coloured sarees. The treatment of the widows, nowadays, is much more lenient. When young girls or middle-aged women are widowed, the custom of shaving their heads is not insisted upon. The widowers unlike the widows, can get re-married. Widow re-marriage as well as divorce are proscribed among the Brahmins.

35. The Brahmins burn their dead, unlike many other communities of this village. Immediately after death, the body is washed and religious marks are made on the forehead of the corpse. Certain purificatory ceremonies are performed to propitiate for the sins committed by the deceased. The eldest son of the deceased who is the funeral-celebrant and his brothers are shaved. The widow of the deceased and the family relations go three times round the corpse before it is placed on the bier. On the way to the burning ghat, cooked rice is offered to the path to propitiate the evil spirits. At the burning ghat, the corpse is placed on the funeral pyre and ghee and rice is thrown over the corpse before the pyre is lit by the eldest son of the deceased. The eldest son carries a new pot filled with water and goes round the pyre three times before dropping it down and breaking the pot.

Funeral rites

36. After the cremation of the dead body, two symbolic stones are set up, one at the house and the other on the bank of a tank or a river near the burning ghat. These stones are supposed to represent the spirit of the deceased. Death in a Brahmin household entails pollution for ten days. During the pollution period, the eldest son has to perform oblations with water to these two stones and offer balls of cooked rice to the soul of the deceased. On the day after the cremation, the eldest son along with the relatives, goes to the burning ghat and collects the ashes and bones of the deceased. These mortal remains are thrown into the sea, if it is near by or into the river or a tank. On the last day of the pollution period, the widow of the deceased is dressed up well for the last time, and is taken to the tank where the symbolic stone is set up. After offering food to the spirit of the deceased by throwing it into the water, Thali of the widow is cut and thrown into the water. These ceremonies on the tenth day terminate the pollution and for three days afterwards a handful of Brahmins have to be fed daily by the bereaved family. This feeding of Brahmins for three days, constitutes a charitable act which is believed to hasten the soul of the deceased to eternal rest!

37. The Hindu Non-brahmins constitute forty-one percent of the village population and the numerically important of the Non-brahmin communities is the community of Pillais. The Pillais are also otherwise known as *Vellalas* and they profess the Saivite form of Hindu religion. The Pillais are found in large numbers in the southern districts of Madras State. They are strict vegetarians and they observe a number of sanskritized customs like the Brahmins. The Pillais place themselves above all the Non-brahmin communities in the social hierarchy and they concede superior social status only to the Brahmins. They would dine only with the Brahmins and would not accept food from the hands of the other communities. Abstention from meat, observance of Brahminical customs and the proscription on inter-dining with other Non-brahmin communities are some of the manifestations of the social superiority of Pillais.

Pillais

38. There are 69 households of Pillais in this village with a total membership of 281 persons. The Pillais constitute 11·33% of the total population and 21·65% of the Hindus of the village. The Pillais form the richest section of the village. A majority of them are land-owners and they live in well-built houses. By virtue of their numerical strength, their economic status and the social superiority over the other Non-brahmin communities, the Pillais constitute one of the influential sections of the village community.

39. The Pillais observe a number of customs like the Brahmins and they have a few customs peculiar to themselves. The ceremonies and rituals attendant on important occasions in the life cycle of a Pillai, is worth a detailed study despite the similarities with the Brahmin customs, since it will highlight the difference between the Brahmin customs and those of the Pillais who can be said to set the pattern for many of the Non-brahmin communities. Birth of a child in a Pillai household is attended with a number of rituals as in the case of Brahmins. The Pillais observe a custom known as *Seeni Koduthal*. A few hours after the birth of the child, an elderly gentleman drops a few drops of sugared water on the tongue of the child and this custom is called *Seeni Koduthal*. This custom is symbolic of the elders' blessings that the life of the child be as sweet as the first thing it tastes after the birth. This custom, however, is observed only by the Non-brahmins.

Ritual structure

40. Birth of a child entails pollution for sixteen days, during which period the mother and the baby are kept away from the holy places. Purificatory ceremonies are performed on the sixteenth day to terminate the pollution. The house is white-washed and the purificatory ceremony known as *Pumiahavachanam* is performed. The mother and the baby are given ceremonial baths with the water blessed by the priest. The naming ceremony also takes place on the sixteenth day for which the close relatives are invited. The mother and the baby are dressed in new clothes presented by the mother's parents for the occasion. The baby's father has the baby on his lap and calls the chosen name thrice into its tiny ears. The naming ceremony is followed by a feast for the relatives and other invitees. It is also the occasion when the close relatives like the baby's maternal grand-parents make presentations of golden ornaments like wristlets, anklets and chains to the baby. Here again, the sixteenth day ceremony is celebrated elaborately for the first child and naming ceremonies for the subsequent children tend to be informal except in the case of well-to-do people who can afford such festivities for every child. Like the Brahmins, some of the orthodox Pillais invite an astrologer and have the horoscope cast for the new born baby, during this naming ceremony.

41. Another ceremony of importance in the Pillai household is the ear-boring ceremony for the children. This is usually performed when the child is about one or two years old. It is also the occasion when the close relatives and invitees are fed and the relatives in turn give presents to the child. The custom demands that the ear ornament worn by the child after the ear-boring ceremony should be presented by the maternal uncle of the child. Previously, both boys and girls had their ears bored. But now, ear-boring is dispensed with for male children and it is done only for the female children. Here again, the ceremony would be more elaborate among the rich families as compared with the rather informal affair among the poorer people.

Ear-boring ceremony

42. Attainment of puberty by a girl entails pollution for seven days, during which period, the girl is kept secluded and is given nutritious food. This pollution is terminated by the purificatory ceremonies and the ceremonial bath given to the girl on the seventh day. After the ceremonial bath, the girl is dressed in new clothes presented to her for the occasion by her maternal uncle. She is seated on a dais and a small boy dressed as a bridegroom is seated next to her. A farce conversation treating the girl and the boy as bridal couple is enacted by the surrounding

Attainment of puberty

women-folk. Though this custom symbolises the fact that the girl is ready to be given in marriage, the immediate purpose of this ceremony is to have some fun. This is, of course, followed by a feast for the relatives and invitees, some of whom, make presentations to the girl for the occasion.

43. Among the Pillais, certain restrictions are imposed on the movements of the girls who have attained puberty. The attainment of puberty by girls usually means the end of their education and they are married usually within two to three years after the attainment of puberty. Among the Pillais, the girls who have attained puberty and who are not yet married, are confined to their houses and do not go out in the day time. If they go out at all to their friends' houses, it is only after the dusk. This restriction on the movements of the marriageable girls is not observed by the poorer families where all the members including the girls of marriageable age, have to earn by doing cooly work. In such cases, of course, the girls go out for work in the day time. This custom is now confined to the orthodox and well-to-do families.

44. The marriage ceremonies of the Pillais are quite elaborate and it is here, we find a number of similarities between the Brahmins and the Pillais. The marriages are usually preceded by the betrothal ceremony known as *Nichayathamboolam*. Before the alliance is settled and the betrothal is fixed, some of the orthodox Pillais, consult the horoscopes of the boy and the girl, to find out the agreeability of their birth-stars. Among this orthodox minority of Pillais who consult horoscopes, the astrological agreeability between the bride and the groom is a decisive factor. Some of the orthodox people who do not have the horoscopes to consult, observe a peculiar custom to find out whether the proposed alliance has the blessings of God. This peculiar custom which is prevalent among a few of the Pillais is known as *Pookkattuthal*. When a party makes a proposal to the other, the latter goes to the temple, performs pujas to the God or the Goddess and places a lot of white and red flowers on the idol's head. They wait to see which of the flowers, whether white or red, would fall down first from the idol's head. In temples dedicated to Lord Siva and Lord Vigneswara, a white flower falling first, is held to be auspicious and in temples dedicated to Goddesses, a red flower falling first, is considered to be a good omen. It is only after an auspicious omen has been observed during this Pookkattuthal ceremony, that the parties proceed further in negotiating the matrimonial alliance, and in some cases, a bad omen during this Pookkattuthal ceremony has put an end to the negotiations. According to a rough estimate about fifteen percent of the Pillais in this village have belief in this custom and their belief has been further strengthened by the fact that some of the marriages which were decided upon after observing this custom, have proved happy wedlocks.

45. The betrothal ceremony of the Pillais is more or less similar to that of the Brahmins and it consists of the exchange of *Thamboolam* and presentation of a saree to the bride. Among the Pillais, the wedding usually takes place at the groom's residence, except in a few cases where the higher economic status of the bride's party or practical convenience necessitate the celebration of the wedding at the bride's residence. On the day prior to the wedding, they have the ceremony called *Pen Azhathal*. The bride's party is accommodated in a relative's house in the village where the wedding is to be celebrated. On the evening prior to the wedding, the groom's party goes in a procession to the place where the bride's party is staying. The groom's mother and sister present a saree and some jewels to the bride who puts them on. Then the bride is taken in a procession to the place where the wedding is to be celebrated.

46. Next morning, the wedding commences with the ceremonial baths given to the bride and the bridegroom separately. After the ceremonial baths, the bride and the groom are dressed up in the *Muhurtham* dress. The bridegroom is first brought to the marriage pandhal and is seated on the dais. Then the maternal uncle of the bride brings the bride and gets her seated by the side of the groom. The Brahmin purohit, who presides over the ceremony,

proclaims the marriage and repeats the names of the parties to the alliance. Certain oblations are performed in the sacred fire by the purohit. The *Thali* is blessed by the purohit and the other elderly people before it is given to the groom. The groom ties the *Thali* around the bride's neck amidst chanting of mantras by the Brahmin purohit and amidst the raised crescendo of *Muhurtham* music. The guests surrounding the dais bless the couple by throwing the yellow coloured rice on them. Another important ceremony is known as *Dharaivarthal*. The outstretched hands of the bride are placed on the hands of the bridegroom and a coconut is placed on the united hands. The bride's father and mother pour milk over the coconut. This ceremony symbolises their giving away their daughter to the groom. Then the bridal pair go round the sacred fire thrice and this marks the end of the marriage ceremonies and it is followed by the marriage feast.

47. In the evening there are a few ceremonies in which only the close relatives take part. After the *Nalangu* ceremonies which are performed to off-set the effects of the evil eyes, the bridal pair are given a ceremonial oil bath. The bride's father makes a customary gift to the groom known as *Sural Panam*. This traditional gift of *Sural Panam* varies from Rs. 7 to Rs. 51 among the poorer families and from Rs. 101 to Rs. 501 among the richer people. It is noteworthy that the amount of this *Sural Panam* would always be an odd number. In some of the well-to-do families gold sovereigns are also presented along with this *Sural Panam*. The consummation of the marriage, usually takes place on the day of the wedding or on the next day.

48. Even though there are many cases where marriage alliances have come through because of the inducement of the dowry, the custom of dowry is not as universal among the Pillais as among the Brahmins. In the place of the dowry, the Pillais insist on a sizeable amount of *Sreethanam* or the customary gifts given to the bride by her parents. The quantum of the *Sreethanam*, of course, depends upon the economic status of the parties and it usually consists of utensils and other household articles.

Dowry

49. Consanguineous marriages are common among the Pillais. It is quite common for the Pillai boys to get married to their maternal uncles' daughters or paternal aunts' daughters. Polygamy is not prevalent among the Pillais of this village. Previously, before the enactment of the statutory measure against polygamy, a few of the richer people used to have a second wife. There has not been any such case in the recent past. Widow re-marriage is not allowed among the Pillais but the widower, as in other communities, can re-marry.

50. The ceremonies and rituals connected with the funeral in a Pillai household are similar to the Brahmin customs, in their essentials. The Pillais like the Brahmins, cremate their dead. The Brahmin custom of setting up two stones to represent the soul of the deceased and performing oblations during the pollution period is not observed by the Pillais. But in all other details, the funeral rites of the Pillais are similar to those of the Brahmins.

51. The next community of importance is the community of Acharis. There are thirty-three households of Acharis with a total population of 121 persons and they constitute 4.9% of the village population. The Acharis are strong saivites

Acharis

and they are vegetarians by birth. The Acharis wear the sacred thread and they observe quite a number of brahminical customs and manners. Acharis rank themselves next to the Brahmins in the social hierarchy and they do not inter-dine with any other community except the Brahmins. The Acharis claim to be the descendants of Viswakarma, the architect of Gods, and they also style themselves as *Viswakula Brahmins*. There are three occupational groups among the Acharis of this village, namely, the goldsmiths, carpenters and blacksmiths. Majority of the Acharis of this village are engaged in their traditional occupations of goldsmithy, carpentry and blacksmithy and some of them have agriculture as a secondary occupation.

52. The ritual structures of the Acharis are almost identical with the ritual structures of the Brahmins, except for small differences in matters of detail. Like the Brahmins, the Acharis wear the sacred thread which is invested at the time of the Upanayanam ceremony. Most of the Acharis of this village do not celebrate Upanayanam as a separate ceremony, but make it a part of the marriage ceremony. The Achari boys are invested with the sacred thread, on the day prior to their wedding. Acharis celebrate the wedding in the bride's residence. Their wedding ceremonies are identical to those of the Brahmins. The only significant difference is that the brahminical custom of the bride sitting on her father's lap when the Thali is tied, is not followed by the Acharis. The Acharis do not have the system of dowry, at least not in the form that is prevalent among the Brahmins. The Acharis have the custom of giving *Parisam Panam* or the bride's price, a traditional amount paid by the bridegroom to the bride's party. The amount of this *Parisam Panam* varies according to the economic status of the parties.

Ritual structure

53. The Acharis cremate their dead like the Brahmins and their funeral rites are similar to those of the latter. Even as regards the ceremonies and rituals which are attendant on other occasions in the life circle, the Acharis closely follow the brahminical customs and manners. Unlike the other Non-brahmin communities like Pillais, the Acharis have their own priests to officiate on ceremonial occasions like marriages and they do not employ any Brahmin purohiths. Goddess Kamakshi Amman is the caste deity for the Acharis and Lord Vigneswara is also a deity of special adoration.

54. The community of Muppanars is the other important Non-brahmin community of this village. The word *Muppan* or *Muppanar* literally means an elder and it is a title commonly adopted by four or five Non-brahmin castes like Ambalakarans, Senaikkudaiyans and Pallans. The Muppanars of this village belong to that class known as *Senaikulam*. They are also otherwise known as *Ilai Vanians* and *Senaikkudaiyans*. The word *Ilai Vanian* refers to their traditional occupation of betel vine cultivation and this name, it is said, was substituted in course of time, with the high sounding name, *Senaikkudaiyan* which means 'owner of an army'. These people are also locally known as *Kodikkal Pillaimars*. This name also refers to their traditional occupation of betel vine cultivation and selling of betel leaves. Out of the twenty-nine households of Muppanars of this village, seven households are engaged in their traditional occupation of betel vine cultivation, while the others have taken to other professions like *Kothanar's* work or construction work.

Muppanars

55. The Muppanars of this village are ranked below the Pandarams and the Yadhavas. Though the Muppanars would rank themselves above the Dhobies, Barbers and Kusavans, the latter would not accept food from the Muppanars. The Muppanars belong to the poorer section of the village population and a number of their women-folk are engaged in beedi-rolling and cooly work. In their customs and manners they mostly follow the pattern set by the Pillais, with minor variations.

56. The Yadhavas form one of the well-knit communities of the village and they constitute 5.4% of the village population. The Yadhavas of this village belong to a community known as *Ayarkulam* and they are also referred to as *Idaiyans*. They claim to belong to the same community as Lord Krishna who is their caste-deity. A majority of the Yadhavas of this village are engaged in their traditional occupation of cattle-rearing. These people are also known as *Nambis* and some of them have the title *Nambi* suffixed to their names. The Yadhavas too, follow the customs and manners of Pillais with minor deviations. The Yadhavas of this village are ranked along with the Pandarams, but below the Pillais, Acharis and Chettiars in the social order.

Yadhavas

57. The word *Pandaram* is often used as the name of an occupation to denote the Non-brahmin priests. But here, it is used to denote a caste. The Pandarams of this village belong to a sub-sect known as *Yogeeswarakula Pandarams*.

Pandarams

They are measurers of grains by tradition. The other traditional occupation of Pandarams is the temple services like supplying of flowers to the temples, singing of hymns during the prayers etc. The Pandarams are strong saivites and are vegetarians. They are said to have been originally a sub-caste of the Vellala community and they are even now known as *Sozhia Vellalars*. The Pandarams of this village are ranked along with the Yadhavas, but below the Pillais and Acharis, in the social order. While most of the Pandarams of this village are engaged in agriculture, some have taken to new occupations like *Kothanar's* work or construction work and weaving. In customs and manners, the Pandarams of this village follow the Pillais in all details and this fact incidentally lends support to the theory that the Pandarams were originally a sub-sect of Vellala Pillais.

58. There are two kinds of Chettiars in this village, namely, the Vania Chettiars and the Saiva Pillai Chettiars. They are of two different castes and there is nothing in common between them except the title 'Chettiar'. The Saiva Pillai Chettiars are a

Chettiars

sub-sect of the Pillais and they identify themselves with the Pillais of this village for all practical purposes. The customs and

manners of the Saiva Pillai Chettiars are also identical with those of the Pillais. It is said that a few members of the Pillai community originally took to commercial occupations and this group came to be known as *Saiva Pillai Chettiars* as the word Chettiar was associated with commercial or trading occupations. The Pillais do not observe any restrictions in their social inter-course like inter-dining with the Saiva Pillai Chettiars who are also ranked along with the Pillais in the social order. The Vania Chettiars, on the other hand, are ranked very much below the Saiva Pillai Chettiars and they are the oil mongers by tradition. The Saiva Pillai Chettiars like the Pillais are strict vegetarians. The traditional occupation of Saiva Pillai Chettiars is trading and cultivation whereas the Vania Chettiars are the traditional oil mongers. The Saiva Pillai Chettiars belong to the larger group of Vellalas whereas the Vania Chettiars are part of the group known as *Vanians*. Thus the two divisions of Chettiars of this village have nothing in common except their title 'Chettiar' and for all practical purposes, they are of two different castes. As a matter of fact, the Saiva Pillai Chettiars have more in common with the Pillais than with the Vania Chettiars. The Vania Chettiars wear the sacred thread and observe many of the Brahminical customs and manners. Nevertheless, they are ranked below the Saiva Pillai Chettiars in the social order and the latter would not inter-dine with the former.

59. Vania Chettiars of this village have given up their traditional occupation of oil-extraction and most of them are engaged in agriculture either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers. The economic status of Saiva Pillai Chettiars is comparatively better than that of the Vania Chettiars. The Pillais recognise the Saiva Pillai Chettiars as part of themselves, being aware of the fact that the title 'Chettiar' was adopted in the course of time to indicate the change in their traditional occupation and that the adoption of the title Chettiar did not make them a community different from those of the Pillais. The customs and manners of the Saiva Pillai Chettiars are identical with those of the Pillais whereas the customs and manners of the Vania Chettiars have many similarities.

60. The word *Meistry* is often used as the name of an occupation to denote the people engaged in construction work. But here, the word Meistry refers to a caste who belong to the class called *Panankulam*. Tailoring is their traditional occupation. According to late Sri L. Subramania Iyer, the word *Panan* is of Tamil origin and it means a tailor. All the households of Panankulam Meistries of this village, except a single-member household of a widow, are engaged in their traditional occupation of tailoring. In their customs and manners,

Meistries

they follow the broad pattern set by the other Non-brahmin communities. They are ranked below the Pillais, Acharis, and Chettiers in the social order.

61. There are three artisan communities in this village, namely, the *Kusavans* (potters), the *Pandithars* (barbers) and the *Vannans* (dhobies). There are three households of Kusavans, three households of Pandithars and nine households of Vannans. The Kusavans of this village are otherwise known as *Vezhars*. One peculiarity about the Kusavans is that they wear the sacred thread like the Brahmins and Acharis and rank themselves equal to Acharis and Pillais in the social order. As a mark of their social superiority, they will not interdine with any other Non-brahmin community. Though the Kusavans are engaged in their traditional occupation of pottery and supply their pots to all communities without discrimination, they rank themselves above the other Non-brahmin communities. The Kusavans claim that they were originally a sub-sect of the Vellala community, though there is no tradition or legend to support this claim. The ritual structure of the Kusavans is similar to that of the Pillais. All the households of the Pandithars or Barbers in this village, except a single member household, are engaged in their traditional occupation. The Barbers are ranked below the Kusavans but above the Vannans in the social order.

Artisan communities

62. The Vannans of this village belong to a superior sect who would not wash clothes for inferior communities like Pallans and Parayans. They are ranked above the Scheduled Castes of Kuravans and Sambans. The caste deity of the Vannans is Lord Veerabadhra; Karuppuswamy, a demon God, is also an object of special adoration. At the marriage of Vannans, the bride-groom's sister ties the *Thali* round the bride's neck. The bride-groom has to pay a traditional amount to the bride's party as a nominal price for the bride. Though widow re-marriage and divorce are recognised among the Vannans, they do not seem to be in vogue among the Vannans of this village. The Vannans bury their dead, as they find cremation to be more expensive. All the Vannans are engaged in their traditional occupation.

63. The next to be considered are the inferior communities of this village, namely, the Kuravans and the Padayatchis. There are four households each of Kuravans and Padayatchis.

Inferior communities

The Kuravans of this village are also known as *Veduvars* and their traditional occupation is basket-making. All the Kuravans of this village are engaged in basket-making and supplement their incomes by cooly work in agriculture. The Padayatchis found in this village are not to be confused with the Padayatchis who are found in large numbers in South and North Arcot districts. The Padayatchis of South and North Arcot districts are the Vanniars who are ranked quite high among the Non-brahmin communities in the social order. But the Padayatchis of this village belong to an inferior community and they are fishermen by tradition. The only thing common between them is the title Padayatchi and it is not known how the fishermen of this village came to adopt this title.

64. The last of the Non-brahmin communities to be considered are the minor communities of the village which are represented by solitary households. There is a solitary household of

Minor communities

Naidus, who are the descendants of the one time ruler of this village, Ravanappa Naicken. This Naidu family belongs to the community known as *Gowrava Naidus* whose mother tongue is Telugu. The Naidus are ranked along with the high caste Hindus like the Pillais and Acharis in the social order. The Naidus of this village are treated with deference by the other sections of the village population by virtue of the fact that they are the descendants of the one time ruler of the village. The other two communities which are represented by solitary households are the Maruthuvars and Sambans. The Maruthuvars of this village are converts to Christianity. They are recent migrants to this village. The Sambans are also temporary migrants to this village. The Kuravans and the Sambans are the Scheduled Castes of the village, who live in a segregated corner of the village, along with the Padayatchis.

65. The study of ritual structures of the Brahmins and the Non-brahmins reveals a number of similarities in the customs and manners of the two groups. Many Non-brahmin communities imitate the Brahmins in their customs and rituals. Such imitation is more marked in the case of high caste Non-brahmins. Lower castes generally follow the indigenous customs in preference to the Aryanised customs of the Brahmins and the high caste Non-brahmins.

66. The last of the three ethnic groups to be studied in this village are the Muslims. The Muslims form the largest single community in the village viz., 47·6% of the total population. The Muslims of this village speak Tamil and they belong to the class known as *Labbais*, a comprehensive term which refers to many of the Tamil-speaking Muslim sects in Madras State.

67. There are two sects among the Muslims of this village, namely, the Shafi sect and the Hanafi sect. The Shafis and the Hanafis are two of the four sects of Muslims which have their origin from the four *Imams* or the disciples of the Prophet. The Hanafis are otherwise known as *Rowthers*, a title which some of them suffix to their names. The Shafis are referred to as *Marakkayars*. Ethnically both these sects belong to the same group and there are very few differences between them. One of the significant differences between the Rowthers and the Marakkayars is in their modes of praying. The Hanafis or the Rowthers fold their hands across the abdomen while praying whereas the Shafis or the Marakkayars fold their hands across the left chest so as to cover the heart. This difference in the modes of prayer by these two sects has religious significance and it is explained by the preachings of the respective Imams who founded these two sects.

68. The Imam who founded the Shafi sect held that the human heart is the seat of all desires, both good and bad, and that the sins committed by the mortals originate from the bad desires of the heart. To lead a virtuous life, one should control the desires of the heart. So, the Shafi mode of praying with their hands folded across the left chest, symbolises their Imam's preaching that the heart is to be controlled. The Hanafi Imam, on the other hand, held that sexual desire is the source of all the sins committed by human beings; to lead a sinless life, one should control his sexual impulses. The Hanafi mode of praying with their hands folded across the abdomen so as to cover the genital organs, symbolises their Imam's preaching that sexual impulses should be controlled.

69. Another significant difference between these two sects relates to the right of women to divorce. Among the Shafis, both men and women had the right to divorce whereas among the Hanafis only men had the right to divorce. This difference is no longer existent after the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act of 1939 which has granted the right of divorce to all the Muslim women irrespective of the sects.

70. The customs and manners of these two sects are identical and there is no difference in their social and cultural life which will prevent the two sects to be classified as one cultural group. According to Mr. Thurston,* these two sects of Muslims would not inter-marry with each other. But the Muslims of this village have stated that members of these two sects inter-marry and there have been a good number of marriages between the members of these two sects. The truth of the matter seems to be that though originally these two sects did not inter-marry, in recent times inter-marriages have taken place between these two sects. It is also understood that a few modern-minded social workers wanted to bring about the fusion of the two sects by encouraging inter-marriages between them. In their day-to-day relationship the Shafis and Hanafis do not observe any restrictions and their social relationship is not in any way affected by their belonging to two different sects. Among the two sects, the Hanafis are numerically larger and economically better off than the Shafis.

* Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India."

71. A good number of the Muslims of this village are evacuees from Burma, who came and settled down in this village during the Second World War. Nearly 150 evacuees from Burma came and settled down in this village in the years 1942-45.

Evacuees

Previously, a number of wealthy Muslims from this village had commercial and trading establishments in Burma, Ceylon and

Malaya. Even poor people used to migrate to these countries where they would earn some amount as coolies in the plantations and then start some petty business. These people used to visit their families in the village once or twice a year. The most common occupations in which these migrants were engaged in Ceylon, Burma and Malaya were running of tea shops, mutton shops and grocery stores. After 1941, the number of migrants to these far-off countries had declined and most of the people who had already migrated, returned back as evacuees in the years 1942-45. Even now, about thirty people belonging to this village are said to be engaged in various commercial ventures in Rangoon.

72. When the possibilities of making a good fortune by migrating to these countries sharply declined in the post-war period, after the imposition of various restrictions by these countries, a number of Muslims of this village have migrated to the nearby towns and Project areas where they are engaged in retail trading. A number of Muslims of this village are running tea shops, grocery shops and fancy goods shops in the Project areas like Kundha, Neyveli, Hirakud, Vandi Periyar, Nagarjuna Sagar and Thungabhadra. Another ten Muslims of this village are doing business in their district headquarters town of Tirunelveli.

73. A large majority of the Muslims belong to the lower-middle and poor classes. Only about fifteen percent of the Muslims are economically well off and these constitute the rich section which comprises mostly of the land-owners and the leading businessmen of this village. An overwhelming majority of the poorer section are engaged in the mat-weaving industry which is the predominant handicraft of this village. About ninety-five percent of the people engaged in the mat-weaving industry are Muslims.

Economic status

74. Culturally, the Muslims stand in marked contrast to the Hindus. The Muslims also have rituals and observances which are attendant on important occasions in the life circle. Among the Muslims, birth of a child entails pollution for 40 days, during which period, the mother and the child are not allowed to enter holy places or to touch the Koran. From the twelfth day, the mother and the baby are given hot water baths. On the fortieth day, the mother and the child are given ceremonial baths and the mother repeats verses from the Koran while bathing. The house is white-washed to signify the termination of pollution and the close relatives are invited for a feast. It is also the occasion when the relatives and other invitees make presentations like wrist-lets and anklets to the child and clothes to the mother.

Ritual structure

75. Within this pollution period itself, the child is named. The naming ceremony is rather informal and it takes place on the sixth day after the birth of the child. The Moulvi or the priest takes the child on his lap and chants verses from Koran into the baby's tiny ears. Then a few drops of sugared water are put on the tongue of the baby with the blessing that its life may be as sweet. Then the Moulvi calls the chosen name thrice into child's ears. The scale of celebrations for this naming ceremony differs according to the economic status of the parties. Usually, the naming ceremony of the first child is celebrated on a grand scale and the relatives are fed on the sixth day and on the fortieth day. The celebrations for subsequent children are rather informal without any feast. In the place of the feast, sweets and *Thamboolam* are distributed to the invitees.

76. Another important ceremony in a Muslim household is the circumcision ceremony for the boys. This is usually performed for the boys when they are about five to ten years old. According to the Muslim Law, all the male members have to undergo this operation. The circumcision ceremony is attended with as much pomp and festivity as the marriage. Some of the

well-to-do people send out printed invitations for this circumcision ceremony and the functions are also well attended by the relatives and friends. In poorer families, this is celebrated on a moderate scale. Two or three days before the circumcision, the boy is rubbed with turmeric and bathed. On the auspicious day chosen for the circumcision, the boy is seated on a horse-back and is taken in a procession headed by the band. This custom of taking out the boy in procession is now confined only to a few rich families and most of the others have dispensed with it. In the evening the barber is called in and the boy is circumcised. To dull the pain the boy is given some local medicinal herbs. The barber who performs the circumcision is given a remuneration which might range from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 and he is also presented with rice, coconut, sweet-meats and clothes. The relatives and the other invitees are fed in a lavish feast to mark the occasion.

Circumcision ceremony

77. Muslim marriage is also preceded by the betrothal ceremony. On the day fixed for the betrothal, a party of elderly males go to the bride's house and present auspicious articles like sugar, coconuts and plantains along with a saree to the bride. The Moulvi presides over the occasion and the terms of the marriage like the dowry and the amount of *Mahar* to be given to the bride are negotiated and fixed. The invitees who attend the function are served with milk and sugar. Previously, the terms of the marriage so negotiated at the betrothal used to be reduced to writing, in a document locally known as *Kaikkuli Cheettu* and the parties to the alliance used to exchange this document. But now, this custom of exchanging *Kaikkuli Cheettu* has been given up. The betrothal or the *Rifkath* as it is called, usually takes place about one to three months prior to the wedding and in some cases it is also held a week before the wedding.

Marriage ceremonies

78. The Muslims generally marry their boys when they are between eighteen and twenty years old and their girls when they are between fourteen and eighteen. The Moulvi fixes the auspicious day for the wedding with reference to the names of the bride and the bridegroom. On the wedding day, the ceremonies start with the procession of the bridegroom to the bride's house. Marriage usually takes place in the bride's residence. On the evening of the appointed day, the bridegroom is taken on a horse-back or in a car, in an impressive procession headed by the band. The bridegroom is dressed in a large ceremonial coat and an embroidered silk turban. The procession usually winds round the streets where the Muslims live. The groom's relatives halt the procession for a minute, to give milk to the bridegroom. The procession ends at the bride's residence and before the groom alights from the car or the horse-back, the bride's brother gives him milk or sugared water which is symbolic of his wish that the groom's married life be as sweet. The groom is conducted to the marriage pandhal where he and the bride's father sit facing each other. The Moulvi who presides over the function registers the marriage. Before he registers the marriage, he formally questions the groom whether he will take the bride as his wife, to which the groom formally signifies his consent. All this time the bride is inside the house, out of the gaze of the male members and the invitees. The Moulvi's question is also conveyed to the bride by the bride's father or her uncle who also conveys back to the Moulvi the bride's consent. After this, the bride's father gives a cup of milk to the groom who sips it and gives it back to his father-in-law. The bride's father takes the milk to the bride who also sips the milk from the same cup. After this, the groom's mother and sister go in with the *Thali* and tie it around the bride's neck. This is followed by a sumptuous meal for the invitees.

79. The consummation of the marriage among the Muslims usually takes place on the same day and the nuptials is also attended with a few rituals. Before the bride and the groom see each other for the first time, they sit on two sides of a curtain. The groom has to see the reflection of the bride's face in a mirror before he can actually look at her. The groom also reads out passages from the Koran before he looks at the bride.

80. Mahar is an essential element of matrimonial alliance among the Muslims. According to the Muslim law, the groom's party has to pay to the bride a traditional amount known as *Maharpanam*. The law has fixed this *Maharpanam* at Rs. 82.50. This amount fixed by the Muslim Law is only the minimum and in actual practice, the quantum of Mahar is much more. In alliances between the poor families, the Mahar consists of the minimum amount fixed by the Law. But among the rich and the middle-class people, the traditional amount is included in the amount of Mahar negotiated and fixed. The Mahar in such cases, may be anything from Rs. 100 to Rs. 2,000 depending upon the economic status of the parties. There cannot be any marriage without this *Maharpanam* of which the minimum is Rs. 82.50. The Law has also laid down that if the wife were to divorce her husband, she has to return this *Maharpanam* to him.

Mahar

81. Consanguineous marriages are very common among the Muslims. Out of the 275 Muslim marriages, about which particulars were collected in the village, 173 marriages were within the consanguineous degrees of relationship. Another peculiarity about the Muslims is that the kinds and the number of relatives within the marriageable degree of relationship are much more than for the Hindus. Unlike the Hindus, the Muslim boys can marry their mothers' sisters' daughters or fathers' brothers' daughters. Out of the 173 consanguineous marriages, in seventy-four cases, the boys married their mothers' brothers' daughters and in fifty-nine cases the boys married their fathers' sisters' daughters. There were seventeen cases in which the boys married their mothers' sisters' daughters and twenty-three cases in which the boys married their fathers' brothers' daughters. Unlike the Hindu boys, the Muslim boys cannot marry their sisters' daughters.

Consanguineous marriages

82. Polygamy is recognised among the Muslims and is practised as well. According to the Muslim law, a man can have four wives at a time. But in actual practice, the majority of the people have only one wife and a few have two wives. People with four wives are very rare. There are only about five or six persons who have two wives and there is none who has more than two wives.

83. Divorce is also allowed by the Muslim Law. The common mode of divorce that is in vogue in this village is the method known as the *Triple declaration*. According to this, the party who seeks divorce has to pronounce the word *Thalak* thrice, which signifies his resolve to divorce his spouse. In addition to pronouncing the word *Thalak* thrice in the presence of three witnesses, the party has also to sign a declaration of divorce attested by the witnesses. This declaration of divorce is handed over to a group of elders who will effect the divorce and also see that the *dowry* is returned to the wife. The divorced wife can re-marry but only after a period of three months. This period of three months is insisted before re-marriage to ensure the paternity of the child, in case the woman is pregnant at the time of divorce. This period of three months is known as *Iddat* and the husband is bound to maintain his divorced wife during this period.

Divorce

84. Though the right to divorce has been granted by the Law, the Muslims of this village very rarely resort to divorce. Usually, petty misunderstandings and bickerings between the husbands and wives are settled by the elderly relatives who effect a reconciliation between the spouses. The community elders hold strong opinions on the custom of divorce and they endeavour to prevent divorces in all cases, except of course, where it cannot be helped. In cases where it is absolutely impossible for the husband and the wife to live together or cases where the women are accused of adultery, the elders do not stand in the way of the husbands exercising their right to divorce.

85. The weight of public opinion and other social factors have rendered divorce a rare occurrence among the Muslims of this village. The parents of the married girls usually see to it

that their sons-in-law do not exercise their right to divorce on flimsy grounds. In a particular case, the parent's anxiety for the well-being of their daughter took a violent shape and effectively prevented their daughter being divorced. An young-man who threatened to divorce his wife on a flimsy ground was beaten up by his father-in-law and brothers-in-law and he was made to live on terms of amity with his wife under threats of further physical violence!

86. Unlike in many other communities, the Muslim widows have the right to re-marry. There is only one restriction on the right of a Muslim widow to re-marry after the death of her husband. That is, she can re-marry only after a period of three months so as to ensure the paternity of the child, in case the woman is pregnant at the time of her husband's death. Though the

Widow re-marriage

Muslim Law has conferred the right to re-marry on the Muslim widows, widow re-marriage is a rare occurrence in actual practice. There has been only one case of widow re-marriage in this village in living memory. Generally, the widows do not re-marry unless they are young and have no children.

87. The Muslims invariably bury their dead. After death, the body is bathed, dressed in new clothes and is sprinkled with perfumes and sandal paste. Each of the family members takes a last look at the deceased before the body is laid on the bier. The bier is carried by four people, who while lifting the bier raise a cry in Urdu to mean, there is no God except Allah.

Funeral rites

On the way to the burial ground the bier is taken to the Mosque where prayers are offered. At the burial ground also prayers are offered before the corpse is lowered into the pit. After the body is laid in the pit, a wooden plank is placed over it to avoid the earth falling on the corpse directly. The pit is filled with the earth over this wooden plank. The party returns to the house of mourning where they offer parting prayers and depart. In cases where the death is anticipated, the priest or the Moulvi is sent for before the person breathes his last. The Moulvi repeats verses from the Koran, offers prayers and pours a few drops of honey or sugared water into the dying person's mouth.

88. On the third day after the death, the close relatives of the deceased meet at the house of the deceased. After prayers, a tray containing roses or jasmine flowers and green leaves and a cup containing sweet-smelling sandal paste are passed around the guests. Each of the guests takes a flower from the tray and dips it into the cup. This cup containing the sandal paste and the flowers are taken to the grave and are thrown on it. The death is followed by ten days of mourning. The relatives again assemble at the house of mourning on the tenth day and offer prayers for the well-being of the soul of the deceased. The relatives are fed on that day. The richer among the Muslims give alms on the tenth day and they also feed the relatives on the twentieth, thirtieth and fortieth days after the death.

89. The Muslims of this village belong to the wider sect of Muslims known as *Sunni* Muslims and as such, they are governed by the *Sunni* Laws of Inheritance. According to the *Sunni* Law, when a man dies intestate, one-eighth of his property goes to his widow. If there is more than one widow, the one-eighth of the property is equally shared between the widows. The

Laws of Inheritance

rest of the property is divided between the sons and the daughters in such a way that the sons get two shares each and the daughters get one share each. When a deceased has no children, his widow gets one-fourth of his property and the rest belongs to his parents. When a Muslim woman dies, her husband is entitled to one-fourth of her property and the rest of the property is divided between the sons and the daughters in such a way that the sons get two shares each and the daughters get one share each. When the deceased has no children, half of her property goes to her husband and the other half to her parents.

90. Culturally, the Muslims stand in marked contrast to the Hindus and the essentials of Muslim culture are different from those of the Hindus. But while studying the ritual structure of the Muslims of this village, we came across a number of similarities between them and the

Hindus in matters of detail. It is possible that Muslims of this village, by their long association with the Hindus, have imbibed a few elements of Hindu culture. The Muslims of this village have modified some of their customs under the influence of the Hindus. Previously, the Muslim weddings were held only in the nights between 11 P. M. and 3 A. M. The reason for this was that the Muslims calculate their months with reference to the phase of the moon and the auspicious days are fixed with reference to the phase and the movement of the moon. But now for the past four or five years, the Muslims celebrate their weddings in the day time and many of them fix it at the *Muhurtham* time or the auspicious hour of the day, like their Hindu brethren. The orthodox Muslims, however, still continue to celebrate weddings at nights. Previously, the bride's name would not be printed in the invitation cards for the Muslim weddings. But now, they print the bride's name also on the invitation cards. Besides modifying some of their customs, the Muslims observe some new customs which are not prescribed by the *Islamic Law*. The celebration of *Grahapravesam* or the house-warming ceremony by the Muslims is one such instance. Like the Hindus, the Muslims throw out a lavish feast for the invitees when they move into a newly constructed house and some rituals are also performed to propitiate the evil spirits on that occasion.

91. According to the Islamic Law, no ceremony or ritual is prescribed when a girl attains puberty. But among the Muslims of this village, the attainment of puberty by a girl is attended with more or less, the same ceremonies as in the case of Hindus. The Muslims also observe the pollution for seven days during which period the girl who has attained puberty, is kept secluded and nutritious food is given to her. On the seventh day, the girl is given a ceremonial bath by her brother's wife and dressed in a new saree presented to her for the occasion by her maternal uncle. She is seated in front of a lighted lamp and a small boy dressed like a groom is seated by her side. A farce conversation treating the boy and the girl as bridal couple is gone through. It is also the occasion when the relatives and the other invitees bring gifts to the girl and the invitees are treated to a feast.

92. Another important custom which the Muslims of this village are said to have imbibed from their Hindu brethren is the ceremony attendant on boring the ears of small children. Only the female children among the Muslims get their ears bored and this ear-boring ceremony is celebrated with a feast for the invitees. It is also the occasion when the invitees bring gifts to the girl. This ceremony is something peculiar to the Hindus, but many of the Muslims of this village also observe it.

93. One possible explanation for the above mentioned similarities in the customs of the Hindus and the Muslims is that the Muslims could have imbibed certain elements of Hindu culture by their long association with the Hindus. There is another school of thought which explains these similarities in a different way. According to this school of thought, the Tamil-speaking Muslims, like those found in this village, were originally Hindus who were forcibly converted to Islam in the early years of Mohammedan Rule in South India. The explanation of this school of thought cannot be better expressed than in the words of Sri H. R. Pate, I. C. S., who in his Gazetteer on Tirunelveli district says:

"From their (Tamil-speaking Muslims) speech, customs and dress, it is evident that most of them belong to the same race as the bulk of the Hindus of the district. Though scarcely any tradition survives as to the circumstances in which they adopted the present faith, it is reasonable enough to suppose that most of them were forcibly converted to Islam during the first period of Mohammedan domination in South India."

The Muslims of this village do not observe *Gosha* or the custom which requires the Muslim women to cover themselves from the public gaze. A few Muslim ladies of the well-to-do families cover themselves with blankets whenever they go out of their houses. But a large majority of the Muslim ladies in this village do not observe *Gosha*. The Muslim girls of marriageable age do not usually go out of their houses except at nights. As observed earlier, many of the Pillais too restrict the movements of marriageable girls in a similar fashion,

94. Having considered the ritual structures of the various communities in this village, we may now proceed to study the traits of their material culture like dwellings, dress, diet etc.

Material culture : Dwellings

The 573 households of this village live in 570 houses. So, only three houses are in the occupation of more than one household and all the other houses accommodate only one household each.

About thirty percent of the houses in this village are thatched huts and the rest of them are terraced or tiled constructions. On the whole there are 176 thatched huts in the village which are mostly found in the Muslim locality and in the portions occupied by the low Non-brahmin communities.

TABLE No. II

House Types

Community	No. of houses	No. of houses with the roofs made of					No. of houses with walls built of		No. of houses with		
		Terraced houses	Country tiles	Mangalore tiles	Asbestos or Zinc sheet	Coconut or Palmyra leaves	Mud only	Bricks	Mud floor	Cement floor	Brick floor
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Muslim-Hanafi	166	...	1	99	...	66	...	166	52	1	113
Muslim-Shafi	109	2	8	62	1	36	4	105	41	1	67
Brahmin	60	...	...	60	...	...	...	60	...	...	60
Pillai	69	6	12	40	...	11	3	66	22	3	44
Achari	33	1	6	18	...	8	1	32	13	...	20
Muppanar	29	1	3	11	...	14	2	27	14	...	15
Yadhava	28	...	4	13	1	10	...	28	15	...	13
Pandaram	25	...	3	17	...	5	2	23	6	...	19
Meistry	9	...	...	5	1	3	...	9	1	...	8
Vania Chettiar	7	...	...	1	...	6	...	7	5	...	2
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	9	...	1	2	...	6	...	9	7	1	1
Other Communities	26	1	3	11	...	11	6	20	13	1	12
Total	570	11	41	339	3	176	18	552	189	7	374

The following figures about the size of the houses would give us an idea about the extent of accommodation available in the houses. Fifty-eight percent of the houses are single-roomed houses. Almost all the thatched huts are single-roomed dwellings and only in a few cases the huts are partitioned into two rooms. Twenty-eight percent of the dwellings have two rooms each and another twelve percent have three rooms each. Only fifteen houses have more than three living rooms.

TABLE No. III

Households by number of rooms and by number of persons

Community	Total No. of households	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of family members	Households with no regular room		Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four or more rooms	
				No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of households	Total No. of family members
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Muslim-Hanafi	169	275	726	...	...	100	346	36	153	26	195	6	32
Muslim-Shafi	109	165	455	...	...	66	237	33	165	11	53	...	...
Brahmin	60	138	279	...	...	3	14	39	177	16	75	2	13
Pillai	69	113	281	...	...	43	142	14	71	8	46	4	22
Achari	33	43	121	...	...	24	75	8	40	1	6	...	...
Muppanar	29	40	130	...	...	21	91	5	24	3	15	...	...
Yadhava	28	35	134	...	...	21	78	7	56	...	...	...	...
Pandaram	25	32	119	...	...	20	71	4	36	...	...	1	12
Meistry	9	12	41	...	...	6	23	3	18	...	...	...	...
Vania													
Chettiar	7	8	19	...	...	6	17	1	2	...	...	...	...
Saiva Pillai													
Chettiar	9	16	49	...	...	5	22	3	18	...	...	1	9
Other													
Communities	26	44	125	...	...	15	62	9	44	1	6	1	13
Total	573	921	2,479	...	...	330	1,178	162	804	66	396	15	101

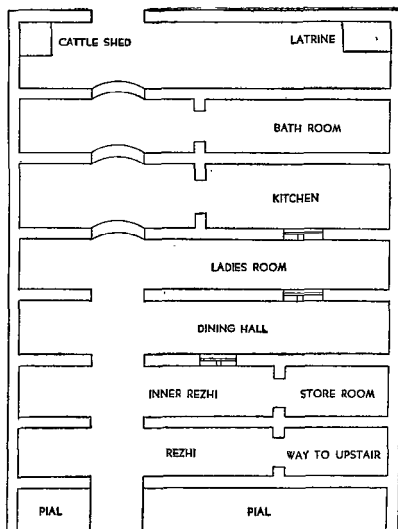
95. All the sixty houses in the Agraharam which is in the sole occupation of the Brahmins are tiled or terraced houses. The Brahmin houses in Agraharam conform, more or less, to an uniform type. The pial or the raised verandah faces

A typical Brahmin dwelling the street. This pial is very often fenced from the roof to the bottom with lattice work made out of wood or iron. The front door opens into a hall known as *Ulthinnai*. On one side of this *Ulthinnai* is a raised platform. The terraced houses which have stair-cases, usually have the stair-cases in this *Ulthinnai* opposite to the raised platform. Behind this *Ulthinnai* comes another hall which is called the *First Rezhi*. The store-room is usually found on one side of this *First Rezhi*. The *Rezhi* leads into another big hall which is usually the dining hall. In many houses, the dining halls contain stone-lined-sinks of square shape which are not covered by the roof. The stone-lined sink is about two to three feet deep and it is here that people wash their hands and feet before they take their meals. In some houses, an inner-*Rezhi* is also found. Beyond this dining hall is an exclusive living room for the ladies of the house. The kitchen is usually found at one corner with an exit to the dining hall.

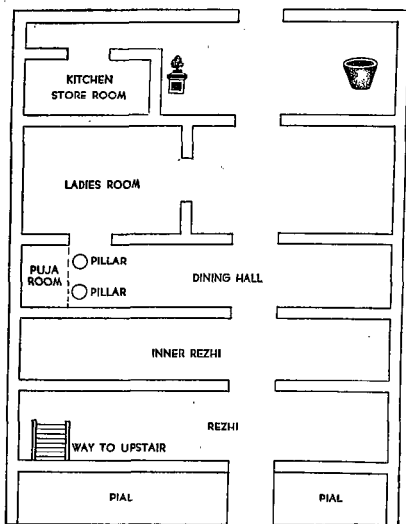
The bath room and the drinking water well are adjacent to the kitchen. Behind the bath room is the backyard which is an enclosed open space. Cattleshed is found on one side of this backyard and on the opposite side is the latrine. The exterior shape of the house is that of a linear rectangle, with the length at least about twice the width.

96. As regards the other portions of the village, the richer section of the population live in terraced or tiled buildings and the poorer people who constitute the majority, live in simple

Pillais' houses in simple tiled constructions or in thatched huts. Many of the Pillais live in well-built terraced or tiled constructions. The size of the Pillais' houses varies according to the economic status of the occupants, with double-storeyed pucca buildings with a number of rooms at one extreme, and simple tiled constructions with two or three living rooms at the other extreme.



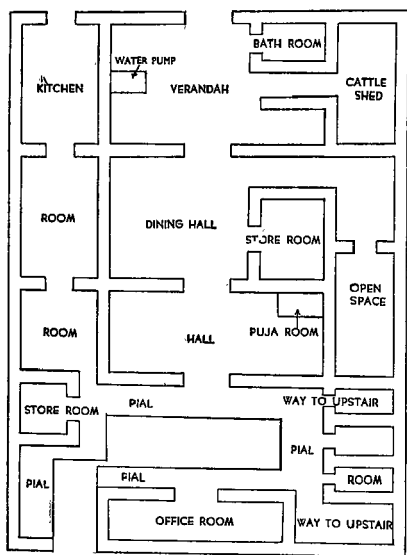
The ground plan of a Brahmin's house



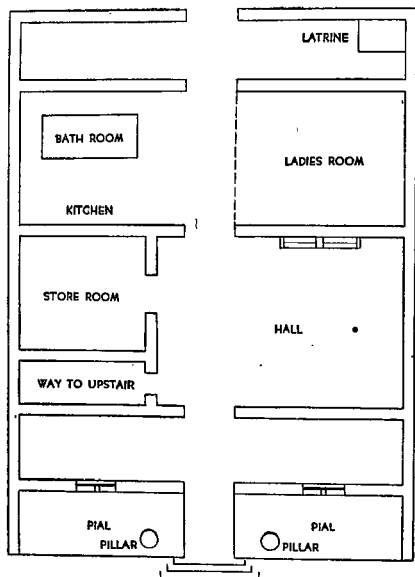
The ground plan of another Brahmin's house

Some of the Pillais' houses conform to the pattern of the Brahmins' houses. The front verandah with a raised platform, an open unterraced portion in the midst of the central hall of the house and a spacious backyard are some of the common features of the terraced and the big tiled houses of the Pillais. In almost all the big houses of the Pillais, there are separate puja rooms, bath rooms and kitchens in addition to a number of living rooms and spacious backyards.

97. The largest number of huts are to be found in the Muslim quarters. As many as 102 households among the Muslims live in thatched huts and these people constitute the poorest section among the Muslims. The middle-class members among the Muslims live in simple tiled constructions with one or two living rooms. The richest among the Muslims who constitute a minority, live in spacious and well-built houses, some of which are two-storeyed buildings.



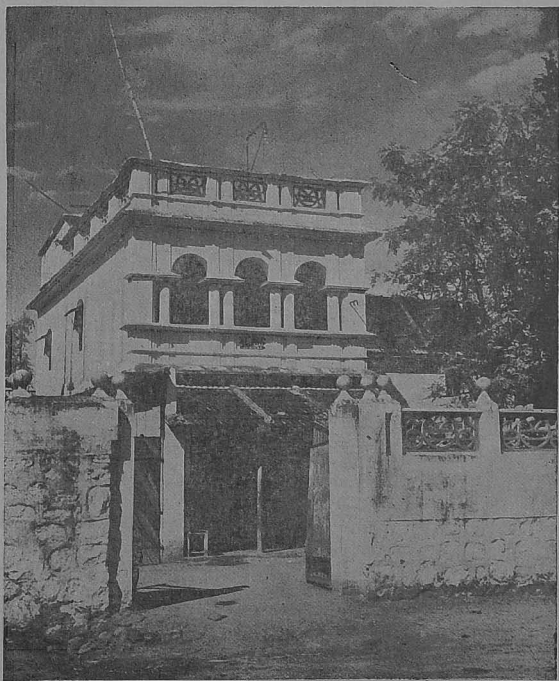
The ground plan of an opulent Pillai's house



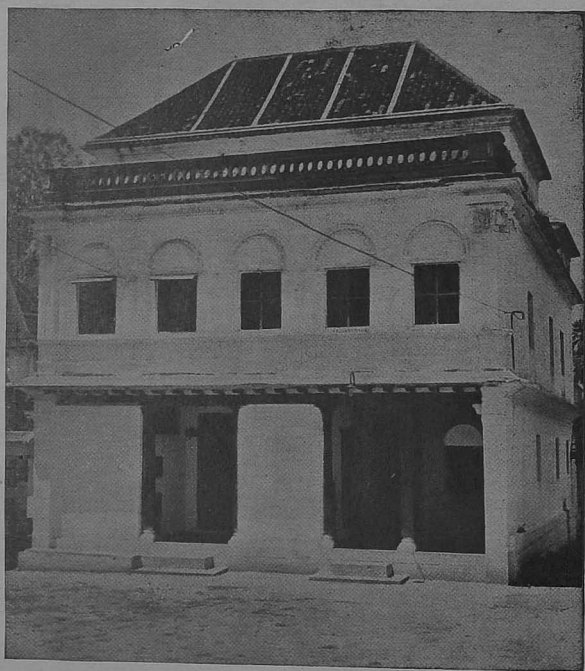
The ground plan of a rich Muslim's house

98. The dwellings in this village can be classified into three broad types and can be correlated to the economic status of the occupants as follows: The richer section of the village population live in well-built and spacious houses which are terraced or tiled constructions. The richer section includes almost all the Brahmins, a majority of the Pillais and a handful of the Muslims. The big houses have a number of living rooms and also have separate rooms set apart as store-rooms, ladies' living rooms, kitchen, bath-rooms etc. These houses also have spacious pials or covered verandahs in front, which serve as lounges for the visitors, and spacious backyards where the cattle-sheds and the latrines are situated. Most of these big houses have separate drinking water wells in them. These big houses are built on solid foundations of granite stones and the walls are constructed with burnt bricks and mortar. The roofing usually consists of Mangalore tiles. Many of these big houses are terraced constructions with open terraces above the ground floors. Strong timber rafters are used for the construction of the big houses and most of these houses are cement floored. A few of these big houses have compound walls surrounding them.

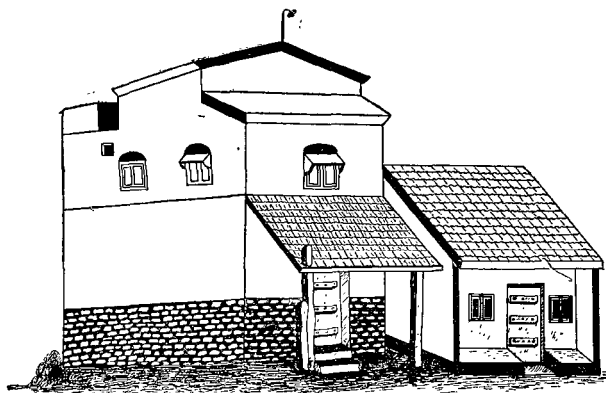
99. The second type of dwellings are the small and medium-sized tiled houses in which most of the middle-class families dwell. These simple tiled constructions also have covered verandahs in front. Most of these houses are either single roomed or double roomed. In these, a corner of the large living room is used as kitchen. The enclosed verandah in front is also used as living space where the people usually sleep in summer. Some of these simple tiled houses have compound walls very close to the houses and they have door-ways at the entrances. The comparatively well-to-do among the Yadhavas, Muppanars and the middle-class Muslims live in this type of simple tiled constructions. The poorer among the Pillais and the other communities like Acharis and Meistries also live in this type of single or double roomed tiled houses. The



The terraced house of a rich Muslim



A multi-storeyed house of an opulent Pillai



A new type of terraced house

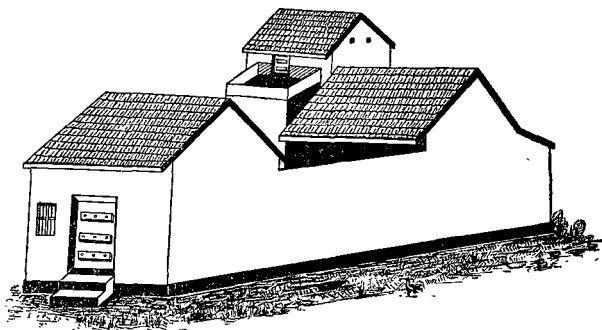
section of the population dwell. Most of these huts are single roomed and the corners of the large living rooms are used as kitchens. A good number of the huts have the raised platform known as *Thinnai* in front of them. These raised platforms are covered by the thatched roof and enclosed by walls on two sides, and they are also used as living space. The roofing of these huts is mostly made up of either palmyra leaves which are easily available in the neighbourhood or of plaited coconut leaves. The walls of these huts are built out of burnt bricks or out of unburnt bricks. These bricks are locally made. Bamboos and coconut or palmyra rafters are used in the construction of the roofs of these huts. The largest number of huts are found in the Muslim locality. The lower middle and the poor classes of Muslims mostly live in the thatched huts. Majority of the Yadhavas and Muppanars too own only thatched huts.

101. It would be of interest to mention here the rituals attendant on the construction of a house. The house construction has to be started on an auspicious day during an auspicious month. A small pit is dug in the site where the house is to be constructed. Nine types of grains known as *Navathanyam* are tied in a yellow coloured cloth and buried by the side of the founda-

tion-

Grahapravesam stone in the

pit. Prayers are offered to it by breaking the coconut, and lighting the camphor. After the house is completed, the family moves into the newly built house on an auspicious day. This moving into the newly built house is attended with the ceremony of *Grahapravesam* with a feast for the relatives and other invitees.



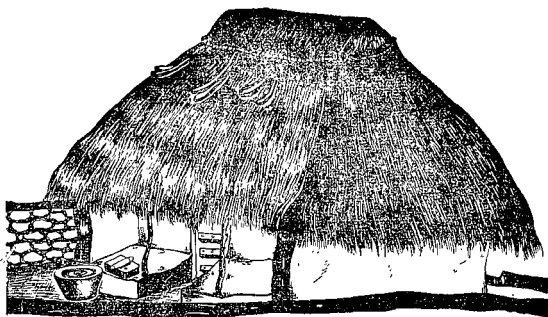
An old type of tiled house

second category of houses are also constructed on fairly strong foundations of granite stones and the walls are built with burnt bricks and mortar. The roofing mostly consists of Mangalore tiles and rafters made of cheap timber. The flooring is either made of cement or out of a soft mixture of sand, lime-stone and earth.

100. The third category of dwellings are the thatched huts in which the poorest

102. A noteworthy feature of the dwellings in this village is that there are a number of houses which have

sanitary and drainage facilities. As many as 102 houses in this village have latrines attached to them. A few of these latrines are flush-out type and the rest are dry type latrines enclosed with mud-walls. Most of the houses in the Agraharam and about 35 houses belonging to the Pillais and the Muslims have latrines attached to them. Regular scavenging service is provided by the Panchayat Board scavengers of the village. Almost all the big houses of the well-to-do people in the village have separate bath rooms attached to them. Most of the houses in Agraharam and the houses of the well-to-do Pillais and Muslims have separate cattle-sheds in the backyards where the milch cattle are kept. A good number of the houses in the village have compounds and about a dozen houses have gardens attached to them. Most of these house gardens are found in the Agraharam and the two retired officers in Agraharam have built up impressive gardens in their backyards. The houses in the Agraharam and in the Pillais' locality are generally clean as contrasted with the dirtiest portions of the village, namely, the area occupied by the hut dwellers engaged in mat-weaving.



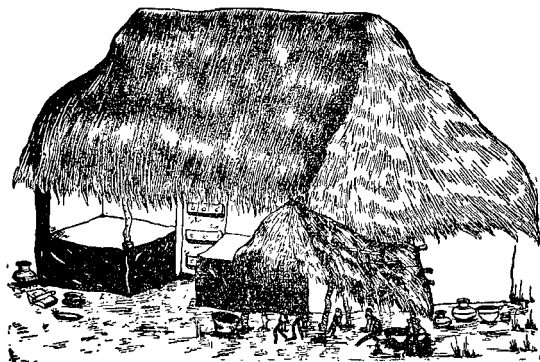
A Pandaram's hut

103. Possession of furniture is an index of prosperity and it is closely related to the economic status of the households. Another factor which can be correlated to the possession of furniture is the extent of urban contacts and the urban influence on the household. Agraharam is the best furnished part of the village where we came across four drawing rooms very tastefully furnished with the modern types of furniture like sofa sets and other show-pieces. The maximum

Furniture

number of well furnished houses in the village are found in Agraharam. About twenty houses in Agraharam are well furnished with cane chairs, wooden benches, cots and a few items of steel furniture. The other houses too have certain essential items of furniture like cots, chairs, benches and stools.

104. As regards the Non-brahmins and Muslims of this village, about twelve to fifteen houses of Pillais and about ten Muslim houses are well furnished. These houses belong to the rich land-lords among the Pillais and land-lords and leading



An Yadhava's hut



The row of retail shops and restaurants in the village



A street scene in Non-brahmin locality



A typical hut in the village



The interior of the kitchen of a middle-class family

merchants among the Muslims. Cane-chairs, wooden cots, benches, stools and a few items of steel furniture are some of the common items of furniture that we came across in these rich households. Some of these rich people also possess Godrej shelves made of steel. The middle-class people among the Pillais and the Muslims have some essential items of furniture like cots made of cane-fibre or coir-rope, one or two wooden stools, a chair, a table, or a bench. The Meistry households and the fairly well-to-do among the Acharis, Chettiars and Pandarams also have a few of the locally made items of furniture like stools, benches and cots made of wooden frames and coir-ropes. The poorer section of the village population consisting of the Muppanars, Yadhavas, and about seventy percent of the Muslims practically have no furniture and it is only in stray cases that we come across items like stools or benches. A good number of these poor people have the cheap cots made out of wooden frames and coir-ropes.

TABLE No. IV

Possession of furniture and consumer goods

Community	No. of households which possess furniture					No. of households which possess consumer goods		
	Bench	Table	Chair	Stool	Cot	Fan	Bicycle	Radio
Muslim-Hanafi	45	36	28	1	9	15	4	19
Muslim-Shafi	15	11	5	3	1	...	...	...
Brahmin	35	32	16	13	5	21	10	12
Pillai	20	21	19	12	7	3	1	7
Achari	4	3	1	2	1	...	...	1
Muppanar	3	2	4	1	2	...	1	1
Yadhava	1	1	2	2	...	...	1	1
Pandaram	7	...	3	...	2	...	...	...
Meistry	3	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
Vania Chettiar	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Other communities	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	1
Total	139	108	80	34	29	39	17	43

105. The type of household utensils used by the various sections of this village population differs according to the economic status of the households to some extent. All the

Brahmins in this village use brass or bronze vessels for cooking and storing water. The use of earthenware among the Brahmins is practically nil. Utensils made of stainless steel are very

popular among the Brahmins and all the households without exception, possess stainless steel utensils like eating-plates, tumblers and other essential utensils. Another noteworthy aspect about the household utensils of the Brahmins is the possession of silver utensils by a large number of households. As many as forty Brahmin households have silver utensils like tumblers, eating-plates, tea-sets etc. Even the other Brahmin households have at least a few silver utensils. One of the reasons which could be attributed to the possession of silver utensils by all the Brahmin households is that the silver utensils form an essential part of the *Seervarisai* or the customary gifts that are given to the newly married girl by her parents. The daughter-in-law to the house invariably brings with her the household utensils made of silver and stainless steel.



Household utensils (1).

106. Whereas the Brahmins invariably use only brass or bronze vessels for cooking, the other sections of the village population whether rich or poor, use only earthenware for cooking. The well-to-do among the Non-brahmins and the Muslims use utensils made of brass or stainless steel for all purposes except cooking. Some of the Pillais and a handful of the

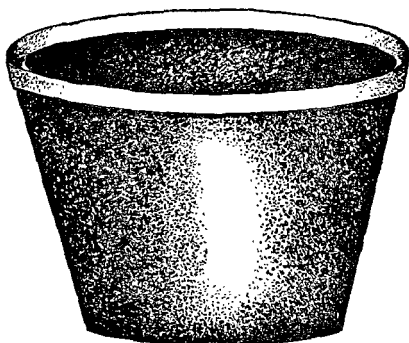


Household utensils (2).

Muslims also possess silver utensils like tea-sets, tumblers and eating-plates. Generally, the rich and the middle-class people use vessels made of brass, bronze or stainless steel. The poor section of the population consisting mostly of Muppanars, Yadhavas, Pandarams and a large number of Muslims use only earthenware for cooking and storing water. Cheap aluminium vessels are very popular among the poorer section. No doubt, all the poor households invariably possess one or two bronze or brass vessels, but the aluminium vessels are predominant in their kitchens. Stainless steel vessels or tumblers are very rare among this poorer section.

107. The richer section of the population possess big vessels for occasional use in addition to household utensils of everyday use. These are the large vessels called *Andas* which

are used on ceremonial occasions to cook food for a large number of people. Another noteworthy utensil that we came across in this village is a large vessel made out of granite stone, which is used for storing water. It has the shape of the big vessel known as *Anda*. It has a diameter of 2 to 2½ feet at the top and a depth of about 2 feet. Since this is a heavy vessel, it cannot be easily moved from place to place. It is fixed either in the bath room or in one corner of the dining hall where the people wash their hands and feet. This granite stone vessel which is locally referred to as *Kalthotti* is found in almost all the Brahmin houses and in the richer among the Pillais and Muslims. This vessel is carved out of granite stone by the stone-smiths in the neighbouring quarry in the Western Ghats. This *kalthotti* costs about Rs. 15 to Rs. 18 and is believed to be much more long-lasting than the bronze or brass vessels for storing water. Another advantage with this *kalthotti* is that its size and weight render it impossible to be stolen by any thief, which of course, is not the case with brass or bronze vessels.



The 'Kalthotti'— A tub made of stone.

108. In discussing the dressing patterns also, it would be useful to divide the population of the village into three groups, namely, the Brahmins, the Non-brahmins and the Muslims.

Dressing patterns

Here again, it is the Brahmins who form the best dressed section of the village population and who are clean in their dressing habits. The dress of a Brahmin male consists of the dhoti and

shirt. When the menfolk are at home, they generally do not wear shirts but are found only with dhoties, banians and towels. Some of the elderly people do not wear banians, but are bare-bodied almost all the time. The dress of the Brahmin male for a ceremonial occasion differs slightly from his everyday dress. On ceremonial occasions like marriages and festivals, he wears a long silk bordered dhoti in the traditional *Kutchu* type. The two ends of the dhoti are wound round the waist and between the two legs and are then tucked in at the back of the waist. The ladies wear blouses and sarees. The only significant difference about the dressing of the Brahmin ladies is that some of the orthodox ladies wear their sarees in the traditional *Kutchu* type, referred to above. On ceremonial occasions, the Brahmin ladies wear costly silk sarees, the *Conjeevaram pattu* sarees being the most popular.

109. The ordinary dress of a Muslim male consists of the lungi which is tied round the waist and a shirt or a banian. On ceremonial occasions, most of the Muslims wear long coats and caps. The richer among them, have embroidered coats and silk bordered caps for ceremonial occasions. The Muslim women also wear sarees and blouses. But their blouses are a little different from those worn by the Hindu women. The blouse worn by the Muslim woman has long sleeves stretching up to the wrist and its body is also longer to reach upto the waist. Some of the young women and adolescents wear only half-sleeved blouses like other women-folk.

110. As regards the Non-brahmins of this village, dhoti and shirt are the common items of dress. Among the rich, the men-folk use costly mill dhoties and wear shirts all the time. Among the poor, the men-folk are usually bare-bodied with only a dhoti around their waist. The latter wear shirts only when they go out and on ceremonial occasions. As regards the women-folk, all of them wear sarees and blouses. The rich and the middle-class people wear better and costlier varieties of sarees whereas the low income groups are content with the cheap

handloom sarees which cost about Rs.: 10 to Rs. 15 each. Some of the old women do not wear blouses, but cover themselves up with sarees. It is said that young women among the Yadhavas were not in the habit of wearing blouses previously, say about ten to fifteen years back. But now, possibly due to the urban influence and due to the progressive attitude of the younger generations, the Yadhava women unlike their predecessors, wear blouses without exception.

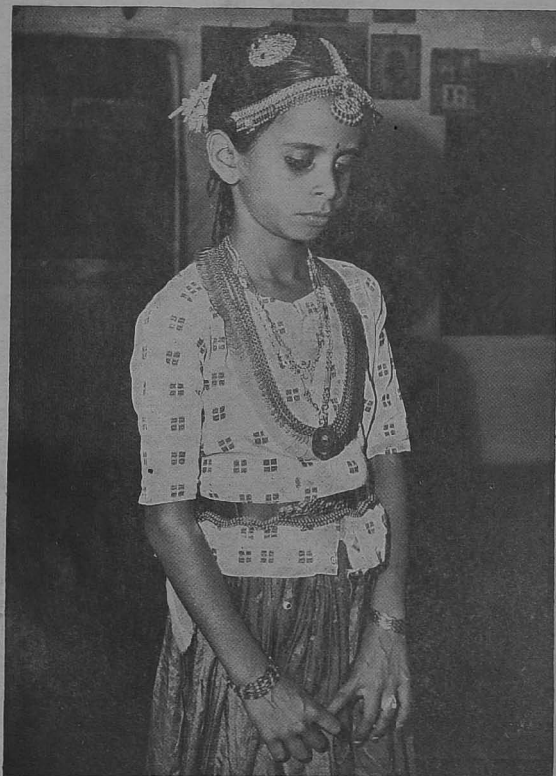
111. Desire to ornament herself with various shapes and forms of hoarded gold is the second nature of a woman, whatever be the ethnic or cultural group she may belong to. This desire, of course, is limited by the ability to pay for this costly metal. Wherever they can afford, the women-folk adorn themselves with golden ornaments. The women-folk of Ravanasamudram are no exception to this rule. Possession of golden ornaments by women-folk is much more closely related to their economic status than anything else. Nevertheless, there is one sacred ornament

Ornaments



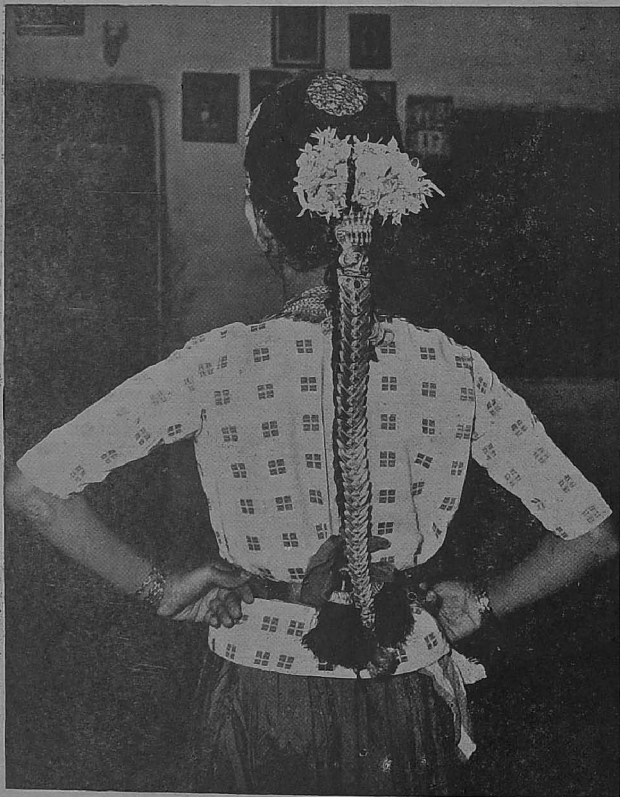
Different types of Thali used the Hindus

which all the women-folk, whether rich or poor, have it made of this costly metal. That is the *Thali*, which for every married woman is a sacred ornament, and with which they do not wish to be separated as long as the Divinity and Fate would allow them to have it. Accordingly, the *Thalis* of all the women in this village irrespective of the caste or community are made of gold. The shape and the size of the *Thali* are different for the various communities.



ORNAMENTATION-I

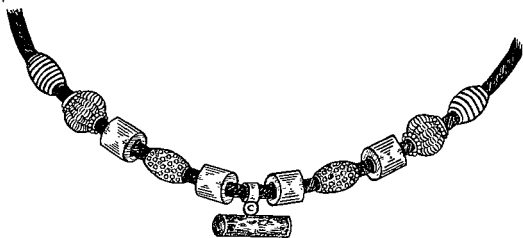
The neck ornament is known as *Kasumalai*, the waist belt as *Oddiyanam* and the head ornament as *Nethi Choodu*. These are ornaments worn usually by the brides and others during festive occasions like marriages and festivals.



ORNAMENTATION—II

Gold ornament worn on the plait is known as *Nagarai*.

112. Besides the Thali, some of the common types of ornaments which many of the women-folk of this village possess are the ear-studs and nose-screws made of gold and silver anklets. In the middle and high income groups, the number and variety of golden ornaments are much more. A majority of the Brahmin ladies wear golden bangles and at least a chain around their necks even on ordinary occasions. They have other ornaments like necklaces and chains with pendants for ceremonial occasions. The young girls and the adolescents wear the ear-ornament called *Dholakku* which flangs down the ear-stud.



The Thali of Muslims

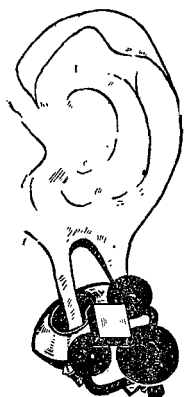
113. The richer among the Pillais and the Muslims also wear golden ear-studs, nose-screws, chains and bangles in addition to ornaments of occasional or ceremonial use. The Muslim ladies wear a number of rings on their ears in addition to the ear-studs. Among the middle class, the ornaments of every day use are a couple of ear-studs, nose-screws and a neck-chain, if



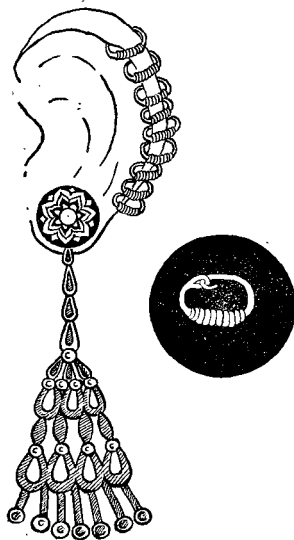
The 'Dholakks,'— The Ear ornaments of girls

they could afford. Only a few of them have bangles made of gold and others usually wear glass bangles. Among the poorer section most of the ladies possess at least a pair of ear-studs and a couple of nose-screws made of gold in addition to their Thali. A few households among the Yadhavas, Muppanars and the low communities like Kuravans and Padayatchis have no other golden ornaments except their Thali. But these people form a small minority of even the poorer section. Of late, some of the Yadhavas and Muppanars have taken to cheap imitation ornaments.

114. The following are some of the ornaments which we came across in the village and which deserve special mention. *Pambadam* is a cluster of studs and rings, quite big in shape, which hangs down the lobing ears of old-women among the Yadhavas and Muppanars. The ear ornament called *Valli* is something peculiar to the Muslims of this village. Another ornament which is peculiar to the Muslims is a chain known as *Poosanthramani* which consists of gold



The 'Pambadam'—the ear ornament of old women



The Ear ornaments of Muslim women

pebbles and beads alternatively strung in a chain. It is worn around the neck. Silver bracelets are specially popular among the old women. An old type of ornament which is popular among the Brahmins is known as *Padakkam*. It consists of a thin golden chain with a pendant set with precious stones. Another ornament which is worn on ceremonial occasions by the Pillai and the Brahmin ladies is the thin waist-belt made of gold and known as *Oddiyanam*. This is, an out-moded ornament and it is worn only by a few. Cheap chains made of beads are popular among the Yadhava women of this village. The black and the red coloured beads are strung alternatively in a chain and are worn around the necks by the Yadhava women who cannot afford any golden chains.

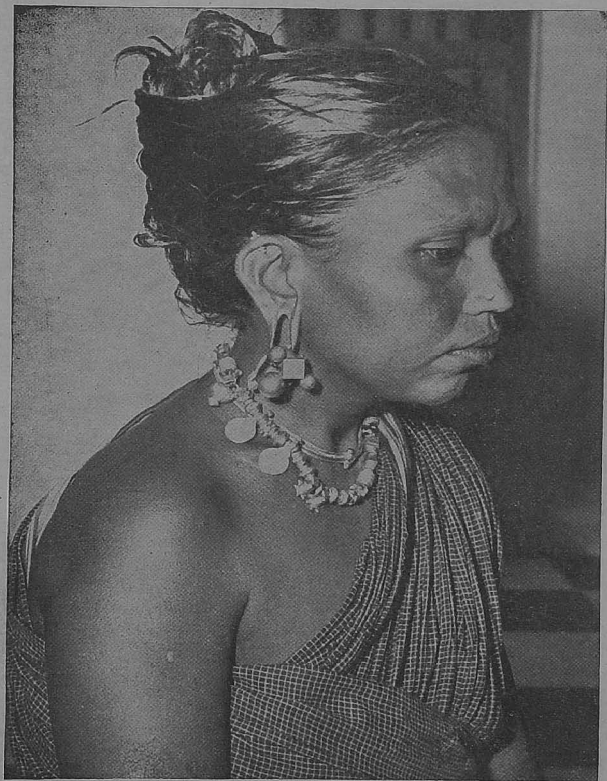
115. Diet is another important constituent of material culture. There are vegetarians and non-vegetarians in this village and they respectively constitute

Diet and food habits 42.6% and 57.4% of the total population.

There are vegetarians by birth as well as by choice, and similarly so among the non-vegetarians. Abstention from meat is a mark of social superiority among the Hindu communities and many of the high caste Hindus are vegetarians by birth. The communities which are vegetarians by birth are the Brahmins, Pillais, Acharis and the Saiva Pillai Chettiers. The Muslims, the Vania Chettiers, Naidus, Vannans and Barbers are the non-vegetarian



The Neck-chain made of beads



The hoarded gold



The *Pampadams* are the favourite ornaments of the old women.

communities. As regards the other important communities, namely, the Yadhavas and Muppanars, a majority of them have declared themselves to be vegetarians and a minority as non-vegetarians. Out of the twenty-eight households of Yadhavas, twenty-five households have returned as vegetarians and out of the twenty-nine households of Muppanars, twenty households have declared themselves to be vegetarians.

TABLE No. V
Diet and food habits

Community	Total No. of households	No. of vegetarian households	No. of non-vegetarian households	No. of households taking			Frequency of meals		
				Rice	Wheat	Grains other than rice or wheat	One meal a day	Two meals a day	Three meals & more a day
Muslim-Hanafi	169	...	169	169	4	1	...	20	149
Muslim- Shafi	109	...	109	109	1	1	...	12	97
Brahmin	60	60	...	60	2	...	...	55	5
Pillai	69	69	...	69	4	...	...	18	51
Achari	33	30	3	33	...	...	...	...	33
Muppanar	29	20	9	29	4	2	...	2	27
Yadhava	28	25	3	28	7	1	...	1	27
Pandaram	25	21	4	25	3	1	...	1	24
Meistry	9	9	...	9	1	...	...	1	8
Vania									
Chettiar	7	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	7
Saiva Pillai									
Chettiar	9	9	...	9	2	2	...	...	9
Other communities	26	1	25	26	6	...	...	6	20
Total	573	244	329	573	34	8	...	116	457

116. The Muslims form the bulk of the non-vegetarian population and the Brahmins, Pillais and the Acharis form the bulk of the vegetarians. The Muslims seem to consume meat more often than the other communities. The high and the middle income groups among the Muslims take meat at least twice a week and the poorer among them are content with meat once a week or once a fortnight. In this connection, it may be of interest to note that there are two meat-stalls in the village which have lucrative business.

117. The staple food of the vegetarians and the non-vegetarians is rice; all the more so, since this is a rice growing area. This village is situated in the most fertile part of the Tirunelveli district and two crops of paddy are grown every year. Wages for agricultural operations like harvesting are paid in kind. While the rich and the middle income groups eat only rice throughout the year, the poorer sections of the village have a mixed diet which consists mostly of rice and partly of ragi and cholam. There are thirty-four households in this village whose diet includes wheat also.

118. Regarding the frequency of the diet, 457 households take three meals a day and the rest live on two meals a day. The 116 households who are living on two meals a day, are by no means the poorer section of the population as this group includes fifty-five Brahmin house-

holds, eighteen Pillai households and thirty-two Muslim households. This group is not living on two meals a day, because they cannot afford a third meal. The truth of the matter is that the majority of the people belonging to this group take two square meals, one in the noon and the other at the night, and light refreshments or tiffin in the morning. The bigger group of people living on three meals a day, usually take cold rice in the morning for their breakfast and a hot meal at noon and another hot or cold meal at night.

119. A majority of the people consisting mostly of the low and the middle income groups, usually take cold rice in the morning for breakfast and a hot meal at noon. In most of the poorer households the remains of the noon meal is taken at night. In well-to-do Brahmin, Pillai and Muslim households, they have light refreshments for breakfast in the morning and hot meals at noon and at night. About twenty Brahmin households, however, have a slightly different dietary pattern. This small group of people have a cup of coffee in the early morning at about 7 O' clock and follow it up with a full meal between 10 and 11 A.M. They have light refreshments between 3 and 4 P.M. and a hot meal between 8 and 9 P.M. in the night. The retired officers of the village and a few of the people who go out to work at Kadayam and other places follow this pattern.

120. The Brahmins and the richer among Pillais and the Muslims have fairly balanced and nutritious food in the sense that they take a lot of vegetables and milk. The poorer section of the population cannot be said to be taking balanced diet, since consumption of vegetables is not a regular and frequent thing among them. Their diet mostly consists of rice, sambar and some pickles. The poorer among the Muslims, of course, balance their mal-nutrition to some extent, by frequent meat-eating.

121. The bulk of the drinking water is obtained from the wells in the village. There are three public wells and about 120 private wells which supply drinking water. One of the public wells maintained by the Panchayat Board is fitted with a hand-pump. Most of the Brahmin households and the well-to-do among the Pillais and Muslims have their own wells in their houses. A good number of the people who do not have wells of their own, draw water from the three public wells in the village. The perennial river Rama Nadhi also supplies drinking water for a considerable proportion of the village population. According to a tentative estimate by the President of the Panchayat Board, about 30 to 35 percent of the people take their drinking water from the Rama Nadhi river. These are mostly the Muslims and the Yadhavas who live close to the river. There is a proposal to provide protected water at a cost of Rs. 20,000. The protected water supply is proposed under the Local Development Works Scheme and the Panchayat has expressed its readiness to bear a portion of the expenditure. The proposal is at the moment, with the Revenue authorities of the district, to go through the procedural formalities.

Drinking water supply

122. About 85 to 90 percent of the people of this village take bath daily, possibly due to the availability of water near at hand, in the perennial river Rama Nadhi. Most of the Brahmins, Pillais and Acharis take bath every day and the working people of the village also dip themselves in the river every evening after the day's hard work. Eight bathing ghats or *Padi thurais* have been constructed on the bank of the river Rama Nadhi to enable the people, especially the women-folk to bathe. Three of these bathing ghats were constructed by the Panchayat Board and the rest were constructed by charitable persons. Most of the houses of the richer section have separate bath rooms in their houses where their women-folk take their bath. The women-folk of the poorer section and most of the men-folk bathe in the river. A good number of houses in this village have latrines attached to them and regular scavenging service is provided by the Panchayat Board scavengers. According to the Panchayat Board records, 102 houses have latrines attached to them. The majority of the people who do not have latrines attached to their houses, answer their calls of nature in the nearby fields.

Hygiene

123. The state of public cleanliness in the village is comparatively good except for a few portions of the village. The Panchayat has employed sweepers who sweep the streets frequently and keep them clean. The Panchayat has also provided dust-bins in which the sweepings and the dust could be thrown into. The Agraharam and the Pillai streets are the cleanest

Health and Sanitation

portions of the village. The portions occupied by the poorer Muslims and Muppanars, ninety percent of whom are hut-dwellers, are not quite clean. These hut-dwellers not only throw dust and sweepings into the streets but also occasionally take bath right in the street, in front of their houses. The water flows into the streets and there are no drainage facilities. Most of the mat-weavers dye their Korai grass and wash it in the streets where the water stagnates and provides a breeding-ground for the mosquitoes. The Yadhava streets are also comparatively dirty and insanitary. This is so, because of the cattle sheds adjacent to the Yadhava houses which are not kept clean. The houses of the low communities like Vannans and Kuravans are equally bad. But for these few dirty spots mentioned above, the state of cleanliness in the village as a whole, is comparatively good, mostly due to the services provided by the Panchayat Board.

124. Mosquitoes are in abundance in the dirty portions of the village because of the insanitary conditions prevailing there. The common diseases with which the people are rather frequently afflicted are small pox, diarrhoea, fever etc. Small pox seems to be a fairly regular occurrence in this village during the summer months. But deaths due to small pox are fortunately few. The incidence of small pox seems to be gradually on the decline in the recent years and this is attributed to the fact that the Panchayat Board insists on the vaccinators visiting the village once or twice in a year and advises the people of the village to get vaccinated. Even though people who still believe small pox to be a manifestation of Divine displeasure are not uncommon, yet the number of illiterate people getting vaccinated are on the increase every year.

125. Outbreak of cholera was a regular feature in this village till about five years back. There has not been any incidence of cholera for the past five years. This is attributed to the fact that till about five years back, a large number of this village population were taking their drinking water from the river Rama Nadhi and for the past five years, a majority of the population do not drink the river water, but have taken to the well-water. Even though a considerable proportion of the village population continue to drink the river water, there has not been any incidence of cholera in the last five years. There has not been any outbreak of plague in the living memory. The village also seems to be free from malaria for the past eight or nine years. There is only one case of leprosy in this village and there are no other cases of contagious or serious diseases.

126. Another noteworthy feature of the village is the availability of adequate modern medical facilities in the village. There are two qualified private practitioners in the village. One of them is a M.B.B.S., and the other is a L.M.P. Both these doctors had recently retired from Government Service and have settled down in this village. In addition to these two qualified private practitioners, there is another private practitioner who does not possess any academic qualification like the other two, and yet manages to make a living by his knowledge of medicine. This man is a retired compounder and he has impressed quite a good number of people about his medical knowledge and about his ability to cure minor ailments. Such of those poor people who cannot afford to pay higher consultation fees to the two qualified doctors, go to this retired compounder who is also a dispensing chemist.

Medical facilities

127. In addition to these Allopathic private practitioners, there are also two native doctors in this village who are said to be well versed in Ayurvedic system of medicine. Though an overwhelming majority of the people resort to Allopathic system of treatment and modern medicine, there are still a few people among the poorer section who go to the native doctors. Even these people go to the native doctors only when they are afflicted with particular types of

ailments which, they think, would respond better to Ayurvedic treatment. People with complaints of rheumatism, snake-bite, scorpion bite etc., go to the native doctors as they feel that these ailments are cured faster and better by the Ayurvedic medicine. These people who normally patronise the native doctors go to the Allopathic private practitioners when they suspect their ailments to be serious. The extent of practice which the native doctors in this village have, is indicated by the fact that both of them manage to earn a sum of Rs. 20 to 30 per month.

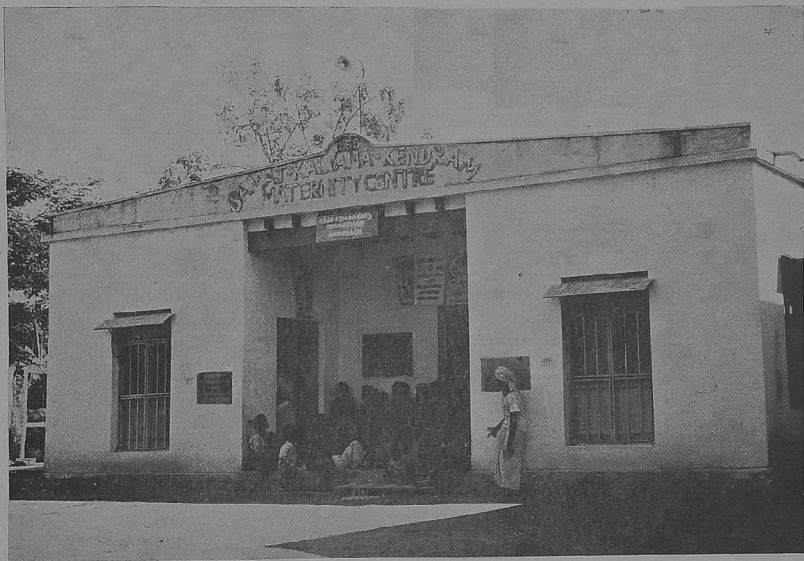
128. There is no public dispensary in the village with free medical facilities and there are only these private practitioners who have to be paid for consultation and for medicine. But free medical facilities are available at Kadayam, at a distance of two miles from this village. There is a Panchayat Union Hospital with fifteen beds and one doctor at Kadayam. Usually cases which require hospitalisation are taken to Kadayam hospital. Poor people who can walk up the distance of two miles go to the Kadayam for minor ailments also. Serious cases of illness are taken to the Government hospitals at Tenkasi and Ambasamudram. Both these places are equidistant from the village.

TABLE No. VI

Medical care

Community	No. of maternity cases					Ordinary medical treatment				
	Confined in hospital	Confined by bringing doctor home	Confined by qualified midwife at home	Confined by unqualified that at home	Confined without assistance at home	Allopathic	Ayurvedic	Homeopathic	Combination of more than one system	Other systems
Muslim-Hanafi	9	...	...	...	...	55	...	1	...	...
Muslim-Shafi	2	...	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	...	...	...	23	...	...	...	...
Pillai	5	...	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	...
Achari	6	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...
Muppanar	2	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...
Yadhava	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	...
Pandaram	2	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...
Meistry	1	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...
Vania Chettiar	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
Other communities	1	...	...	...	...	7	6	...	...	...
Total	29	...	...	...	...	177	6	1	...	...

129. Free maternity assistance is available in the village. There is a public Maternity-ward in the village housed in a good building. This maternity-ward was started in the year 1955 by a philanthropic society known as *Avvai Ashram* which has its headquarters at Sivasailam, about five miles away from this village. This maternity-ward started by the *Avvai Ashram* was subsequently taken over by the Central Social Welfare Board, which is now running it. This maternity-ward is equipped with three beds and has a maternity assistant to run the ward. As widely acknowledged



The Maternity Centre in the village



The services of the Maternity assistant are widely availed of by the villagers.

in the village, the maternity-ward has rendered useful service to this village. Pregnant ladies are admitted into the ward just when they begin to have the labour pains and they are kept in the ward three days after the delivery, during which time they are looked after by the maternity assistant. At a time, the maternity-ward can accommodate only three mothers as the bed strength of the ward is limited to three. The maternity assistant also visits the pregnant ladies in their homes and tenders advice on pre-natal and post-natal care. Most of the rich people have the maternity assistant brought home to assist the delivery. The maternity assistant also visits the neighbouring villages whenever there are demands for her services and she not only assists the delivery cases but also tenders advice on mother-craft and child-care.

130. A fairly large section of the village population avail themselves of the services of the maternity assistant. From the date of its establishment in the year 1955 to the date of my visit in April 1962, as many as 808 cases were treated in the maternity-ward. This number does not include the mothers who were assisted by the maternity assistant in their homes. This figure, however, includes the cases from neighbouring villages. Out of the 808 cases, who were admitted into the maternity-ward, only in five cases the children died after the delivery and three others were cases of still-births. The presence of this maternity-ward in the village is looked upon as a great boon by these people and they readily acknowledge the useful services rendered by the maternity assistant. It is said, that the infant mortality has considerably gone down in this village after the establishment of this maternity-ward.

131. The maternity-ward is financed by public donations and the annual grants from the Central Social Welfare Board and the local Panchayat Board. An *Undiyal* or a collection box is kept in the maternity-ward and usually all cases which are attended to at the maternity-ward make some donations in the form of droppings in the *Undiyal*, as a mark of their gratitude. The maternity-ward also occasionally gets grants from the 'Ravanasamudram Welfare Fund' at Delhi, which is described in adequate detail in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION

132. The population of this village according to the present survey is 2,479 persons, comprising of 1,096 males and 1,383 females. The population in the year 1951 was 2,344 persons, comprising of 1,011 males and 1,333 females. The present population represents an increase of 5.76% over the 1951 population. This is rather a low rate of increase over a decade and a scrutiny of the determinants of the population-growth would indicate the reasons for this low rate of increase. The determinants of population growth are the total births and deaths over the decade and migration during the decade. The total births and deaths over the decade for the village are as follows :

TABLE No. VII
Births and deaths during 1951-60

Sex	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
Males	373	211	162
Females	358	232	126
Total	731	443	288

Thus, in the last ten years there has been a net addition of 162 males and 126 females to the population of the village. This represents an increase of 12.29% over the 1951 Census figures. Whereas the excess of births over deaths works out to 288 persons, the actual addition to the population of the village in the last ten years is only 135 persons. The natural rate of increase works out to 12.29% whereas the actual rate of increase is only 5.76%. This gap between the natural rate of increase and the actual rate of increase is explained by the net outflow of migrants from this village.

133. In the last ten years, quite a lot of immigration and emigration have taken place in the village. About fifty people from Agraharam have migrated out of the village to places like Delhi, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta where the heads of the migrated households are employed in clerical and other jobs. The largest number of migrants are from the Muslim community of the village. A good number of Muslims from this village have migrated to various project areas like Thungabadhra, Hirakud, Periyar, Nagarjuna Sagar, Kundha and Neyveli, where they are engaged in commercial ventures like tea-shops, grocery-shops, fancy-goods shops etc. About ten Muslims of this village are doing business in the district headquarters town of Tirunelveli. Most of these people migrated to these parts during the last decade. These people visit their families in the village once or twice a year.

134. A few of the Muslims have also gone to Rangoon where they are doing business. As against these migrants who have gone out of the village, about twenty to twenty-five persons have migrated into the village and settled down here in the last ten years. This includes the three families of retired officers and a teacher. But the net result of these migratory flows have been that more people have migrated out of the village than those who have migrated into the village. The total number of migrants who have left the village in the last ten years, has been estimated between 170 to 180. As against this, about 30 to 35 people have migrated into the village in the last ten years. Thus the gap in the natural rate of increase and the actual rate of increase in population is explained by the net outflow of migrants.

135. Though the actual rate of increase in this village is very low due to migration, the natural rate of increase is in conformity with the rate of population growth of the taluk. The growth of population in Ambasamudram taluk in the decade 1951 to 1960 works out to 12.6 percent and this rate of increase is very close to the village rate of increase, namely, 12.29 percent. The district rate of increase is 9 percent. The decennial mean birth rate for the village works out to 31.6 persons per thousand and the death rate works out to 19.1 per thousand. Thus, the decennial mean survival rate for the village is 12.5 persons per thousand.

136. The population of the village according to the Census enumeration in February 1961, was 2,429 persons, consisting of 1,063 males and 1,366 females. But the population according to our survey conducted in May-June 1961 is 2,479.

Census 1961.

Thus, there is a difference of fifty persons between the population figures collected at two points of time. This difference is possibly due to the fact that some persons who were counted during our survey in May and June might not have been enumerated in the village during the Census enumeration. These people would have been enumerated outside the village. The eight college students of this village who were spending their summer vacation in the village were counted during our survey in May-June. But these people were not enumerated in the village during the February Census as they were enumerated in their college hostels, outside the village. The other persons who were counted during our survey, but were not enumerated in February Census could have gone out of the village on business during the enumeration period. It is also possible that some of the Muslim and Brahmin migrants referred to above, were visiting their families in the village during our survey.

137. The village extends over an area of two square miles and the density of population works out to 1,239 persons per square mile as compared to the district average density of 628 persons per square mile. Thus, the village is situated in the densely populated area of the district and it is also the fertile part of the district. In 1951, the density of the village was 1,172 persons per square mile and it has increased to 1,239 in the last ten years. The population of the village is distributed among 573 households and the average size of the household works out to about four members per household. Fifty-eight households or ten percent of the total households in the village are single-member households. A good number of these single-member households consist of widows. Another thirty one percent of the households are small households with two or three members each. The bulk of the households fall in the category of medium-sized households and only about sixteen percent of the households are large households with a membership of seven and above. There are twenty households among these large households with a membership of ten and above.

Density

VILLAGE SURVEY

TABLE No. VIII

Size of household

Number of households according to size

Community	Total No. of households	Single Member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10Members&over		
		House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females
Muslim-Hanafi	169	19	4	15	51	34	92	74	156	204	18	62	77	7	39	43
Muslim-Shafi	109	10	2	8	33	21	61	53	88	164	10	36	43	3	17	15
Brahmin	60	2	1	1	21	22	31	26	71	59	8	32	30	3	15	17
Pillai	69	9	...	9	24	26	30	23	58	54	12	44	49	1	5	6
Achari	33	5	...	5	12	12	15	14	38	36	2	5	10	...	...	...
Muppanar	29	2	...	2	8	10	11	12	32	25	7	28	22	...	...	...
Yadhava	28	3	1	2	7	11	8	12	27	33	4	13	17	2	14	8
Pandaram	25	3	2	1	7	10	7	11	29	24	1	5	3	3	17	21
Meistry	9	1	...	1	2	3	2	4	10	9	2	9	7	...	...	...
Vania Chettiar	7	1	...	1	4	7	4	2	2	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	9	1	...	1	2	2	2	2	4	7	4	15	18	...	...	...
Other communities	26	2	...	2	6	7	8	15	37	42	2	7	9	1	6	7
Total	573	58	10	48	177	165	271	248	552	662	70	256	285	20	113	117

TABLE No. IX

Types of families

Community	Total number of families	Types of families			
		Simple *	Intermediate †	Joint ‡	Others
Muslim-Hanafi	169	84	37	29	19
Muslim-Shafi	109	40	34	13	22
Brahmin	60	33	11	2	14
Pillai	69	37	9	8	15
Achari	33	17	6	1	9
Muppanar	29	16	4	2	7
Yadhava	28	15	4	3	6
Pandaram	25	15	3	3	4
Meistry	9	2	3	3	1
Vania Chettiar	7	4	1	...	2
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	9	4	1	2	2
Other communities.	26	11	5	7	3
Total	573	278	118	73	104

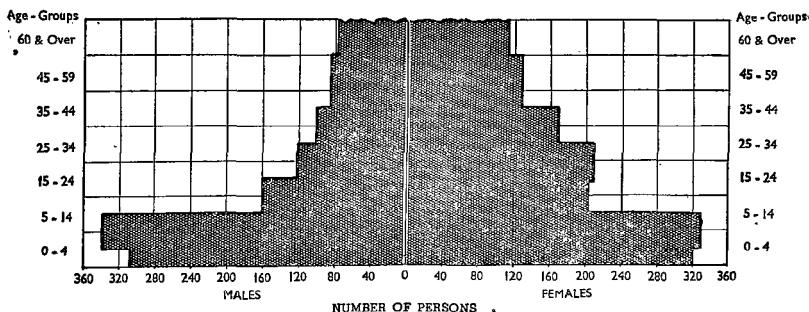
* Simple family: Consists of husband, wife and unmarried children.

† Intermediate family: Consists of husband, wife and unmarried brothers or sisters or one of the parents.

‡ Joint family: Consists of husband, wife and married sons or daughters or married brothers or sisters.

138. If the various age groups of this village population were represented in the form of a chart, it would be a pyramid with a broad base which tapers gradually to a narrow top. This indicates the concentration of a fairly large proportion of the population in the lower age groups. As much as 39.5% of the village population belong to the age group 0-14; people aged above 60 years constitute only 7.66% of the village population. The population in the working age group of 15-59 years constitute 52.8% of the total population, the remaining being either below 15 years of age or above 60 years. The concentration of a large

AGE PYRAMID



proportion of the population in the lower age groups and the slender proportion of the people above sixty years, indicate the high birth rate and the low expectancy of life. Of the 190 people aged above sixty years, 40.5% of them are males and 59.5% of them are females. This again, illustrates the fact that the expectancy of life for the females is higher than that for the males.

139. The village population comprises of 1,096 males and 1,383 females. This gives an abnormal sex ratio of 126 females per hundred males as compared with the district average of 105 females per hundred males. Analysing the sex ratios of the various age groups, we find that in the age group 0-14, there are 99.6% females per hundred males which is nearly a ratio of parity. It is only from the age fifteen onwards that the abnormality in favour of the females sets in. In the age group 15-59, we find 147 females per hundred males. There are only 395 married males as against 586 married females living in this village. This reflects the fact that a number of married men have temporarily migrated out of the village in order to earn their livelihoods. Thus, the abnormality of sex ratio in the age group 15-59 is accounted for by the fact that a number of male members have migrated out of the village, leaving female members of the households in the village. In the age group sixty and above, the sex ratio works out to 146 females per 100 males. This indicates the fact that there are large number of widows as compared to the widowers. There are 207 widows in the village as compared to 37 widowers. So, the abnormality in the sex ratio of the village is due to two causes. Firstly, a number of married men have temporarily migrated out of the village in pursuit of their occupations and these people have left their wives in the village itself; secondly, the widows are in excess of the widowers. This is because the expectancy of life for the females is longer than that for the males.

140. Nearly fifty percent of this village population are not married. Married people constitute 39.6% and the widowed people account for 9.8% of the total population. There are also nine divorcees, seven females and two males. It might be remembered that nearly forty percent of the village population are below fifteen years of age and this accounts for the fact that half of the village population are not married. Analysing the marital structure of the males and females separately, we find that sixty percent of the males are not married as against forty-two percent of the females who belong to that category. Females get married earlier than the males. Thirty-six percent of the men and forty-two percent of the women are married. 3.4% of the men and 15% of the women are widowed.

Marital structure

TABLE No. X

Age and marital status

Community	Age group (in years)	Total Population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Muslim-Hanafi	All ages	726	295	431	187	179	101	203	7	46	...	3
	0-4	100	48	52	48	52	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	105	53	52	53	52	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	95	46	49	46	48	...	1	...	...	...	...
	15-19	64	26	38	26	23	...	15	...	...	...	...
	20-24	38	13	25	10	...	3	24	...	...	...	1
	25-29	61	18	43	1	2	17	38	...	1	...	2
	30-34	41	7	34	1	...	5	33	1	1	...	...
	35-44	81	29	52	2	1	26	48	1	3	...	...
	45-59	92	37	55	...	1	34	32	3	22	...	...
Muslim-Shafi	60 & over	49	18	31	...	...	16	12	2	19	...	...
	All ages	455	164	291	120	122	37	112	6	55	1	2
	0-4	49	25	24	25	24	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	65	33	32	33	32	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	62	29	33	29	33	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	56	22	34	22	29	...	5	...	...	...	...
	20-24	24	6	18	6	2	...	15	...	...	...	1
	25-29	37	11	26	5	2	5	24	...	...	1	...
	30-34	21	3	18	...	...	3	13	...	4	...	1
	35-44	56	13	43	...	...	13	38	...	5	...	...
	45-59	49	11	38	...	...	9	15	2	23	...	...
	60 & over	36	11	25	...	...	7	2	4	23	...	...

Table No. X (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Brahmin	All ages	279	141	138	86	63	48	48	7	26	...	1
	0- 4	37	22	15	22	15	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	39	19	20	19	20	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	39	24	15	24	15	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	25	13	12	13	11	...	1	...	...	...	...
	20-24	12	6	6	6	2	...	3	...	...	...	1
	25-29	10	3	7	2	...	1	7	...	...	...	...
	30-34	15	5	10	...	...	5	8	...	2	...	...
	35-44	27	12	15	...	...	11	12	1	3	...	...
	45-59	42	21	21	...	...	21	13	...	8	...	...
	60 & over	33	16	17	...	...	10	4	6	13	...	...
Pillai	All ages	281	133	148	72	61	58	62	3	25	...	...
	0- 4	35	17	18	17	18	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	40	20	20	20	20	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	32	16	16	16	16	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	21	12	9	12	5	...	4	...	...	...	...
	20-24	21	6	15	4	2	2	13	...	...	...	...
	25-29	22	12	10	3	...	8	10	1	...	...	...
	30-34	19	9	10	...	...	9	9	...	1	...	...
	35-44	36	18	18	...	...	17	16	1	2	...	...
	45-59	38	18	20	...	...	18	9	...	11	...	...
	60 & over	17	5	12	...	...	4	1	1	11	...	...
Achari	All ages	121	55	66	28	29	25	25	2	12	...	...
	0- 4	16	6	10	6	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	14	7	7	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	18	8	10	8	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	4	1	3	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
	20-24	7	5	2	4	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
	25-29	7	3	4	2	...	1	4	...	...	...	...
	30-34	9	5	4	...	...	5	4	...	...	...	...
	35-44	18	7	11	...	...	7	10	...	1	...	...
	45-59	20	9	11	...	...	9	4	...	7	...	...
	60 & over	8	4	4	...	...	2	...	2	4	...	...

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. X (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Muppanar	All ages	130	70	60	44	24	24	24	2	12	...	...
	0- 4	14	5	9	5	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	20	12	8	12	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	15	10	5	10	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	11	8	3	8	2	...	1	...	...	...	...
	20-24	13	7	6	7	...	...	6	...	...	...	...
	25-29	7	4	3	1	...	3	3	...	...	...	...
	30-34	8	6	2	...	...	6	2	...	...	...	...
	35-44	10	2	8	...	...	2	5	...	3	...	...
	45-59	23	13	10	1	...	10	7	2	3	...	...
	60 & over	9	3	6	...	...	3	...	...	6	...	...
Yadhiava	All ages	134	66	68	38	31	24	28	3	8	1	1
	0- 4	17	8	9	8	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	21	12	9	12	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	15	7	8	7	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	10	5	5	5	4	...	1	...	...	...	...
	20-24	9	6	3	4	1	2	2	...	...	...	...
	25-29	10	4	6	2	...	1	5	...	...	1	1
	30-34	7	3	4	...	...	3	4	...	...	...	...
	35-44	11	5	6	...	...	5	5	...	1	...	...
	45-59	18	7	11	...	...	6	10	1	1	...	...
	60 & over	16	9	7	...	...	7	1	2	6	...	...
Pandaram	All ages	119	63	56	32	25	26	26	5	5	...	...
	0- 4	18	9	9	9	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	17	8	9	8	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	15	9	6	9	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	5	3	2	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
	20-24	7	4	3	2	...	1	3	1	...	...	...
	25-29	11	2	9	1	...	1	9	...	...	...	...
	30-34	9	6	3	...	...	6	3	...	...	...	...
	35-44	10	7	3	...	...	7	3	...	...	...	...
	45-59	20	11	9	...	...	9	7	2	2	...	...
	60 & over	7	4	3	...	...	2	...	2	3	...	...

Table No. X (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Meistry	All ages	41	22	19	11	5	10	11	1	3	...	...
	0- 4	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	3	2	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	5	4	1	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	3	1	2	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	25-29	5	3	2	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
	30-34	5	2	3	...	...	2	2	...	1	...	...
	35-44	4	2	2	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
	45-59	7	4	3	...	...	4	3	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...
Vania Chettiar	All ages	19	9	10	4	3	3	5	...	2	...	...
	0- 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	4	2	2	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	25-29	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	45-59	6	3	3	...	...	3	1	...	2	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	All ages	49	21	28	12	15	8	10	1	3	...	...
	0- 4	5	1	4	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	7	...	7	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	8	4	4	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	6	5	1	5	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	20-24	3	2	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25-29	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	35-44	7	3	4	...	...	3	4	...	...	...	...
	45-59	7	4	3	...	...	3	2	1	1	...	...
	60 & over	3	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...

Table No. X (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Other communities	All ages	125	57	68	28	26	29	32	...	10	...	...
	0-4	17	10	7	10	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	15	8	7	8	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	14	6	8	6	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	8	2	6	2	3	...	3	...	...	...	...
	20-24	10	3	7	1	1	2	6	...	...	...	...
	25-29	15	6	9	1	...	5	9	...	...	...	...
	30-34	7	5	2	...	...	5	1	...	1	...	...
	35-44	13	6	7	...	...	6	6	...	1	...	...
	45-59	17	6	11	...	...	6	6	...	5	...	...
	60 & over	9	5	4	...	...	5	1	...	3	...	...
Village Total	All ages	2,479	1,096	1,383	661	583	395	586	38	207	2	7
	0-4	313	153	160	153	160	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	348	175	173	175	173	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	319	163	156	163	155	...	1	...	...	...	...
	15-19	213	99	114	99	80	...	34	...	...	...	...
	20-24	151	61	90	49	9	11	78	1	...	...	3
	25-29	188	69	119	19	4	47	111	1	1	2	3
	30-34	143	51	92	1	...	49	81	1	10	...	1
	35-44	275	104	171	2	1	99	151	3	19	...	...
	45-59	339	144	195	...	1	132	109	12	85	...	...
	60 & over	190	77	113	...	...	57	21	20	92	...	...

141. Regarding the age of marriage, the girls are generally married in the ages fifteen to twenty-one and girls getting married beyond the age of twenty-one or twenty-two form a very small minority. In the age group, fifteen to nineteen, nearly thirty percent of the girls are married and in the age group 20 to 24 nearly eighty-seven percent of the girls are married. Previously, child marriage was in vogue among many communities including the Brahmins and the Pillais. But now, especially after the Sarada Act of 1936, girls are married only above the age of 15 or 16. In this village, we find only one girl in the age group 10-14 who is married. The boys generally get married in the ages 20 to 26. In the age group 20-24 about twenty percent of the boys are married and in the age group 25-29 nearly seventy percent of the boys are married. None of the married males is below twenty years of age.

142. Forty percent of the village population are literates. The level of literacy among males is considerably higher than among the females. About 56.5% of the males are literates as against 26.5% of the females who are literates. Nearly half of the literate population are 'literate without educational standards' who know just to read and write their mother tongue.

Another 44% of the literates have studied upto Primary level. People who have passed Matriculation and above constitute only five percent of the literate population.

143. Analysing the educational standards of literate males and females separately, we find that sixty-five percent of the literate females are 'literate without educational standards' and the rest have studied upto the Primary level. There are no female literates who have studied beyond the primary level except a solitary Matriculate. Among the male literates, forty-two percent of them are literates without educational standards; another fifty percent of them have studied upto Primary level and only the remaining eight percent of them have studied Matriculation and above. There are six Graduates and six people who have studied upto, Intermediate, in addition to the thirty-eight Matriculates in the village. In the age group 5-14, nearly thirty percent of them have been returned as illiterates. About two-hundred children in this age group or nearly one-third of the total children of school-going age do not attend the school. These are mostly from the poor and the socially backward communities of this village.

144. Against this overall picture of the literacy level of the village, it would be of interest to study the levels of literacy among the various communities. Brahmins form the most literate section of the village population. It is among them that many of the Matriculates and Graduates of the village are to be found. Sixty-seven percent of the Brahmins comprising of 77.3% of the males and 57.3% of the females are literates. The level of

Literacy levels of the communities

literacy among the Brahmin males and females is the highest while compared with the other numerically significant communities of the village. The Brahmins invariably send their children to the school and there is adequate encouragement for the education of boys as well as girls. Even here, the girls study upto Fourth or Fifth forms and then stop away. But the boys pursue their studies as long as their parents are willing to support them. The next best literate section of the population are the Pillais among whom 44.5% of the total persons have been returned as literates. Fifty-nine percent of the males and 31% of the females are literates among Pillais. Almost all the Pillais except the very poor send their boys to the school and some of the well-to-do people educate their sons with a spirit of rivalry with the Brahmins of the village. The education of Pillai girls invariably ends with the attainment of puberty by them. The Muslims rank third in total literacy; forty percent of the Muslim population comprising of 59.5% of the males and 27% of the females are literates. The proportion of male literates is almost equal among the Muslims and the Pillais, but the proportion of female literates is considerably lower. Among the other numerically significant communities, Pandarams and Acharis rank next to the Muslims. Among Pandarams, 36.1% of the total population comprising of 50.8% of the males and 19.6% of the females have been returned as literates and among Acharis the literate section constitutes 32.2% of the total population consisting of 50.9% of the males and 16.7% of the females. The level of literacy among Muppanars is considerably lower than the other four communities discussed above. In this community only 21.5% of total population consisting of 38.6% of the males and 1.7% of the females are literates. The level of female literacy is the lowest among the Muppanars. The Yadhavas occupy the lowest rank among the seven important communities. Only 17.9% of the total population consisting of 33.3% of the males and 2.9% of the females have been returned as literates. Among the smaller communities of the village, the level of literacy is higher among Saiva Pillai Chettiers with 38.7% closely followed by Meistries where 34% of the population are literates. Among the Vania Chettiers only 26.3% of the population are literates and all of them are males. Thus, the educationally advanced section of the village includes the Brahmins, Pillais and Muslims and all the others should be considered as educationally backward.

TABLE No. XI

Literacy

Community	Age group	Total population			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Junior Basic		Matric or Higher Secondary		Intermediate		Graduate		Diploma holder	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
Muslim-Hanafi	All ages	726	295	431	123	311	91	96	77	24	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
	0-4	100	48	52	48	52	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	105	53	52	15	16	36	34	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	95	46	49	5	13	28	31	13	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	64	26	38	5	21	5	10	16	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	38	13	25	5	17	...	3	8	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	61	18	43	3	42	7	...	5	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
	30-34	41	7	34	1	22	5	11	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	81	29	52	10	44	5	5	14	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	92	37	55	19	53	1	2	16	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	49	18	31	12	31	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muslim-Shafi	All ages	455	164	291	63	216	42	53	53	22	4	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
	0-4	49	25	24	25	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	65	33	32	8	11	24	20	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	62	29	33	2	12	7	13	20	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	56	22	34	1	14	3	12	15	8	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	24	6	18	1	14	...	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	37	11	26	4	22	2	3	2	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
	30-34	21	3	18	1	16	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	56	13	43	10	40	1	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	49	11	38	6	38	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	36	11	25	5	25	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	All ages	279	141	138	32	59	17	25	56	53	27	1	3	...	4	...	2	...
	0-4	37	22	15	22	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5-9	39	19	20	2	1	16	19	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	39	24	15	1	...	1	3	22	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	25	13	12	...	...	...	...	10	11	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	12	6	6	...	1	...	...	1	5	2	...	1	...	1	...	1	...
	25-29	10	3	7	...	3	...	...	...	4	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	15	5	10	...	2	...	2	2	6	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	27	12	15	2	8	...	...	5	7	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	42	21	21	1	13	...	1	10	7	9	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	60 & over	33	16	17	4	16	...	...	5	1	4	...	...	...	2	...	1	...

Table No. XI (contd.)

[illegible]

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XI (contd.)

[illegible]

Table No. XI (contd.)

[illegible]

Table No. XI (contd.)

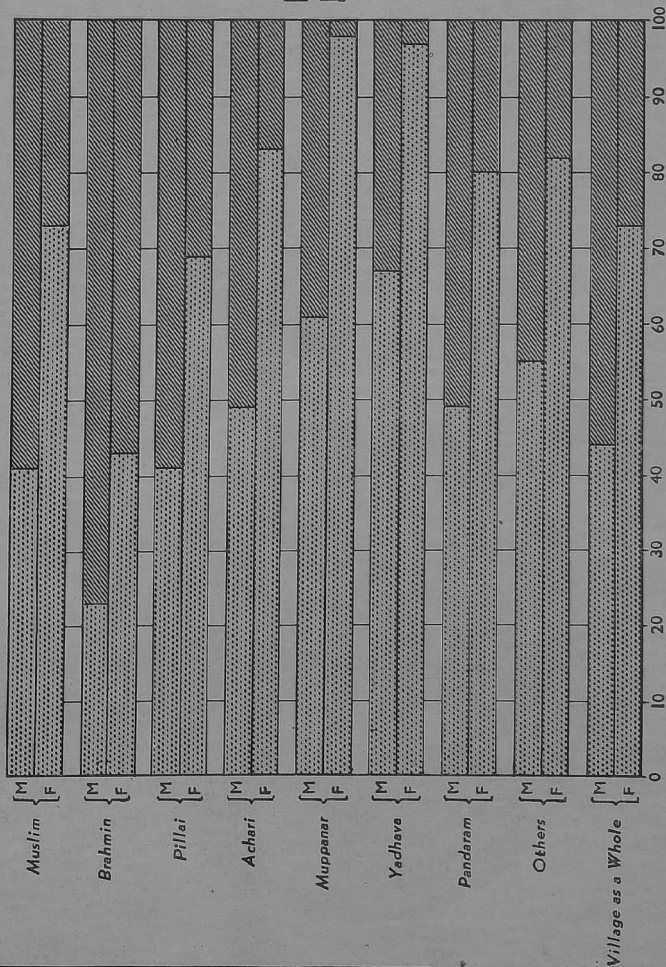
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
Village Total	All ages	2,479	1,096	1,383	477	1,016	261	239	306	127	38	1	6	...	6	...	2	...
	0- 4	313	153	160	153	160	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	348	175	173	50	64	120	106	5	3	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	319	163	156	22	66	62	61	79	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	213	99	114	26	61	12	22	55	30	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	151	61	90	21	58	7	13	26	19	4	...	1	...	1	...	1	...
	25-29	188	69	119	26	103	13	7	21	9	4	...	3	...	2	...	...	...
	30-34	143	51	92	16	64	13	15	17	13	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	275	104	171	36	148	14	8	48	15	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	339	144	195	81	180	14	7	37	8	11	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	60 & over	190	77	113	46	112	6	...	18	1	4	...	...	...	2	...	1	...

145. Out of about two-hundred children of school-going age who do not attend schools, at least 90 to 100 of them are from the poorer section of the Muslim community and the rest of them are from other backward communities like Yadhavas, Muppanars and Kuravans. Most of the poor Yadhava boys are engaged in cattle grazing and their parents are not eager to send them to the school. A good number of Muppanar children assist their parents in beedi-rolling work and in agriculture. Among the Kuravans, except about four or five children who attend school, all the rest of them are engaged in pig-rearing, cooly work and basket-making. The Muslims very rarely send their girls to the school and many of their boys also do not attend school, but assist their parents in mat-weaving, cooly work etc. Generally, the enlightened communities of the village, namely, the Brahmins, Pillais, Pandarams and Acharis send their children regularly to schools. Of late, an increasing awareness to the value of education is noticeable among the backward communities of the village. An increasing number of children from the backward communities like Muppanars, Yadhavas and Kuravans are attending schools in the recent years. But still, a considerable proportion of children of school-going age are out of the schools.

146. There are three Primary Schools in the village. The Hindu Elementary School situated at Agraharam has a strength of 43 boys and 35 girls, who are managed by three teachers. It is a private institution, originally started by the Brahmins exclusively for their children. Even now, a majority of the children studying in this school are from Agraharam. Unlike in the remote past, Non-brahmin boys and girls are also admitted in this school now. This school receives annual grants from the Government. The second of the schools is the Board Elementary School run by the Panchayat Union. This school has a strength of forty-six boys and twenty-eight girls who are managed by two teachers. Most of the Non-brahmin boys study in this school. The third school of the village is again a private institution run by the Muslims. This was originally started exclusively for Muslim children, but now a good number of Hindu children are also studying in this school. This school has a strength of ninety-one boys and seventy-seven girls who are managed by six teachers. About ten to fifteen Hindu children are studying in this school. A good number of Muslim girls attend this school. The school is run with the help of donations from rich Muslims supplemented by the annual grants from the Government. Mid-day meals are being served in all these three schools

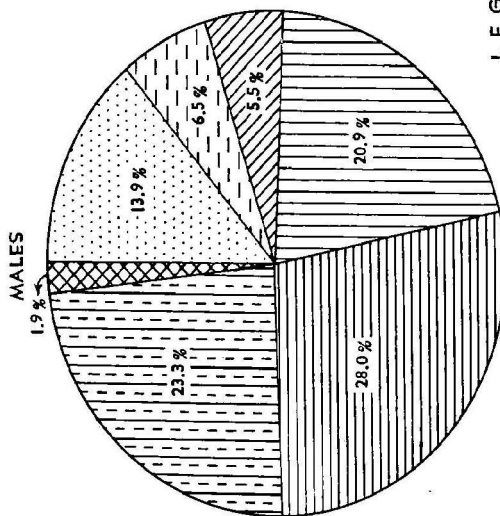
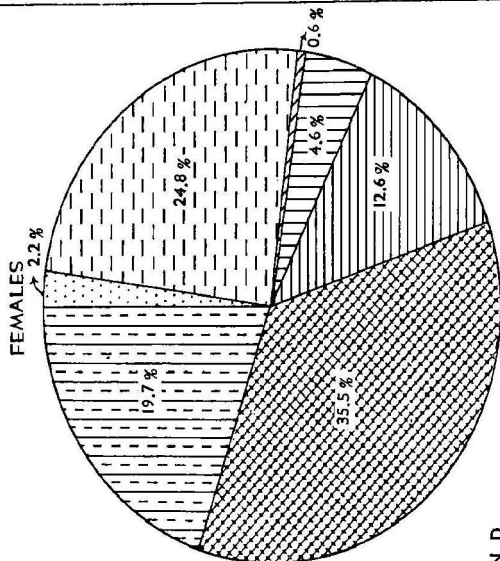
LITERACY

COMMUNITIES :



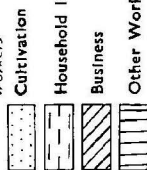
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

WORKING FORCE

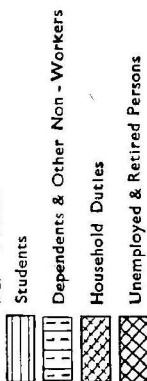


LEGEND

Workers



Non-Workers



for a limited number of poor children, for the last two years. About twenty children are benefited by the mid-day meals scheme. The mid-day meals scheme has not had any remarkable effect in drawing the children to the school. At best, it has drawn only a few marginal cases into the school. There are educational facilities in this village only upto Primary level and students wishing to pursue their studies further have to go to the neighbouring villages. There is a Higher Elementary School at Thirumalaippapuram, at a distance of five furlongs from the village and a High School at Kadayam at a distance of one and a half miles from the village. About one hundred boys and girls from this village are studying in these two institutions.

147. A number of people from this village who pursued higher studies are now well-settled in good jobs. These include one I. A. & A. S. Officer, two Marine Engineers, two top ranking officers in the Railway Board and in the Finance Ministry at Delhi, one Municipal Health Officer, one Mines Engineer, one Veterinary Officer, one Agricultural Officer, one Officer in the Life Insurance Corporation and one Divisional Panchayat Officer. In addition to these officers, there are about thirty to thirty-five persons from this village who are employed in various clerical jobs in Government as well as in private firms at Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta. About ninety percent of these people who have settled down in good jobs are from the Brahmin community of this village. At present, eight boys from this village are pursuing college studies. Six of them are from the Brahmin community and the other two are Muslim boys.

148. There is also a Nursery School in this village for the benefit of the young children. The Nursery School otherwise known as the *Bahvadi* is in charge of a *Grama Sevika*.

Nursery School

Children of ages three to five are admitted in this school. The children are brought to the school by their parents in the morning at about 9 A. M. and they attend school till noon.

During these hours, the children are taught alphabets and simple arithmetic in addition to clean habits. A major part of the time is devoted to the amusement of the children with toy games, singing and story-telling. About thirty-five children attend this Nursery School and most of these children are from the Pillai community. Five Brahmin children, three Muslim children and a few children from the Yadhava and the Muppanar communities are among the thirty-five children on the rolls of this Nursery School. This school was started by the *Avvai Ashram* in the year 1955 and it was subsequently taken over by the Central Social Welfare Board which is currently running the Maternity-ward and this Nursery School. About fifteen poor children are also fed at the school. The school is run with the help of annual grants from the Central Social Welfare Board and the local Panchayat Board and public donations including the donation from the Ravanasmudram Welfare Fund, at Delhi. The monthly expenditure of the school excluding the pay of the *Grama Sevika* comes to about Rs. 30 to Rs. 35. The school is becoming increasingly popular among the villagers as it not only prepares the children for their educational careers, but also saves the mothers of the botheration of looking-after the children during those hours. It also teaches clean habits to the children.

149. The level of literacy of the village as a whole, is fairly high when compared to other villages. The literacy level varies from community to community with the Brahmins at one extreme, and Yadhavas and other backward communities at the other extreme. But there is a noticeable awakening among the backward communities to the value of education and an increasing number of their children attend the schools nowadays. The trend is in the right direction, but the change is rather slow. The change is much slower in respect of girls' education. While many people do not send their girls to the school, even those who send their daughters to the school stop them after these girls attain puberty. It is only among the Brahmins that a girl pursues her education at least for about two to three years after the attainment of puberty. As observed in another context, the girls of some of the Non-Brahmin communities including Muslims are not permitted to go out during day time between the time of their attainment of puberty and their marriage. A few of the modern-minded persons, of course, do not impose such restrictions.

150. We have earlier referred to the Ravanasamudram Welfare Fund in different contexts. It is a benefit fund raised by voluntary donations from natives of this village who have settled down in good jobs outside. We have indicated in

Ravanasamudram Welfare Fund another context that about fifty to sixty Brahmins of this village are employed in white-collared jobs in Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta and that this includes some top ranking officers at Delhi. These people established a Welfare Fund known as Ravanasamudram Welfare Fund a few years back. Most of them make annual contributions to the Fund at the rate of one anna per rupee of their salary. From this Welfare Fund to which only Brahmins contribute, annual grants ranging from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 are made to the school at Agraharam. This private school in Agraharam has been in existence for the past fifty years and it does not collect fees from the students. It is maintained by the donations from Ravanasamudram Welfare Fund and grants from the Government. About four years back, a grant of Rs. 500 was made from this Welfare Fund for carrying out repairs to the school building. In addition to this monetary assistance to the school, annual contributions from the Ravanasamudram Welfare Fund are also made to the Maternity-ward and the Nursery School in the village. Besides these, scholarships out of this fund are given to a few bright but poor Brahmin students of this village. Occasionally donations are also made from this fund towards festival expenses of the Meenakshi Amman temple. This is an unique example of how the public spirited men who have settled down in good jobs outside could help their brethren in the village.

151. The thirty-nine percent of the population who have been classified as workers constitute the economically active population of the village. This working force consists of 46.7% of the male population and 32% of the females. Analysing

Economically active population the age structure of the workers, we find that 6.2% of the total workers fall in the age-group 0-14. Another 7.2% of the workers are in the age group 60 and above. So, only about 86.6% of the workers belong to the working age of 15-59 years, rest of them being either below 15 years or above 60 years. As much as 50.5% of the people aged above 60 years and 5.1% of people aged below fifteen have been returned as workers.

TABLE No. XII

Workers and Non-workers by sex and age groups

Community	Age group	Total population			Workers			Non-workers		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Muslim-Hanafi	All ages	726	295	431	290	113	177	436	182	254
	0 - 4	100	48	52	...	...	...	100	48	52
	5 - 9	105	53	52	1	1	...	104	52	52
	10 - 14	95	46	49	17	4	13	78	42	36
	15 - 19	64	26	38	38	9	29	26	17	9
	20 - 24	38	13	25	22	10	12	16	3	13
	25 - 29	61	18	43	47	18	29	14	...	14
	30 - 34	41	7	34	29	7	22	12	...	12
	35 - 44	81	29	52	60	27	33	21	2	19
	45 - 59	92	37	55	55	27	28	37	10	27
	60 & over	49	18	31	21	10	11	28	8	20

Table No. XII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Muslim-Shafi	All ages	455	164	291	206	55	151	249	109	140
	0 - 4	49	25	24	...	...	...	49	25	24
	5 - 9	65	33	32	...	...	...	65	33	32
	10 - 14	62	29	33	21	1	20	41	28	13
	15 - 19	56	22	34	36	8	28	20	14	6
	20 - 24	24	6	18	20	6	14	4	...	4
	25 - 29	37	11	26	26	7	19	11	4	7
	30 - 34	21	3	18	17	3	14	4	...	4
	35 - 44	56	13	43	43	*11	32	13	2	11
	45 - 59	49	11	38	26	10	16	23	1	22
	60 & over	36	11	25	17	9	8	19	2	17
Brahmin	All ages	279	141	138	67	53	14	212	88	124
	0 - 4	37	22	15	...	...	...	37	22	15
	5 - 9	39	19	20	...	...	...	39	19	20
	10 - 14	39	24	15	...	...	...	39	24	15
	15 - 19	25	13	12	...	...	...	25	13	12
	20 - 24	12	6	6	2	1	1	10	5	5
	25 - 29	10	3	7	4	3	1	6	...	6
	30 - 34	15	5	10	6	4	2	9	1	8
	35 - 44	27	12	15	14	12	2	13	...	13
	45 - 59	42	21	21	26	21	5	16	...	16
	60 & over	33	16	17	15	12	3	18	4	14
Pillai	All ages	281	133	148	98	74	24	183	59	124
	0 - 4	35	17	18	...	...	...	35	17	18
	5 - 9	40	20	20	1	...	1	39	20	19
	10 - 14	32	16	16	1	1	...	31	15	16
	15 - 19	21	12	9	7	6	1	14	6	8
	20 - 24	21	6	15	8	6	2	13	...	13
	25 - 29	22	12	10	12	11	1	10	1	9
	30 - 34	19	9	10	11	9	2	8	...	8
	35 - 44	36	18	18	23	18	5	13	...	13
	45 - 59	38	18	20	24	18	6	14	...	14
	60 & over	17	5	12	11	5	6	6	...	6

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Achari	All ages	121	55	66	42	31	11	79	24	55
	0 - 4	16	6	10	...	...	...	16	6	10
	5 - 9	14	7	7	...	...	...	14	7	7
	10 - 14	18	8	10	1	...	1	17	8	9
	15 - 19	4	1	3	...	...	...	4	1	3
	20 - 24	7	5	2	4	4	...	3	1	2
	25 - 29	7	3	4	3	3	...	4	...	4
	30 - 34	9	5	4	6	5	1	3	...	3
	35 - 44	18	7	11	8	7	1	10	...	10
	45 - 59	20	9	11	15	9	6	5	...	5
	60 & over	8	4	4	5	3	2	3	1	2
Muppanar	All ages	130	70	60	69	46	23	61	24	37
	0 - 4	14	5	9	...	...	...	14	5	9
	5 - 9	20	12	8	...	...	...	20	12	8
	10 - 14	15	10	5	7	4	3	8	6	2
	15 - 19	11	8	3	9	8	1	2	...	2
	20 - 24	13	7	6	12	7	5	1	...	1
	25 - 29	7	4	3	5	4	1	2	...	2
	30 - 34	8	6	2	8	6	2	...	...	...
	35 - 44	10	2	8	9	2	7	1	...	1
	45 - 59	23	13	10	15	12	3	8	1	7
	60 & over	9	3	6	4	3	1	5	...	5
Yadhava	All ages	134	66	68	48	36	12	86	30	56
	0 - 4	17	8	9	...	...	...	17	8	9
	5 - 9	21	12	9	...	...	...	21	12	9
	10 - 14	15	7	8	2	2	...	13	5	8
	15 - 19	10	5	5	4	3	1	6	2	4
	20 - 24	9	6	3	5	5	...	4	1	3
	25 - 29	10	4	6	5	4	1	5	...	5
	30 - 34	7	3	4	3	2	1	4	1	3
	35 - 44	11	5	6	7	5	2	4	...	4
	45 - 59	18	7	11	11	7	4	7	...	7
	60 & over	16	9	7	11	8	3	5	1	4

Table No. XII (contd.)

[illegible]

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XII (contd.)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	All ages	49	21	28	15	12	3	34	9	25	
	0 - 4	5	1	4	...	...	...	5	1	4	
	5 - 9	7	...	7	...	...	...	7	...	7	
	10 - 14	8	4	4	...	...	...	8	4	4	
	15 - 19	6	5	1	3	2	1	3	3	...	
	20 - 24	3	2	1	2	2	...	1	...	1	
	25 - 29	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	30 - 34	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	2	
	35 - 44	7	3	4	3	2	1	4	1	3	
	45 - 59	7	4	3	5	4	1	2	...	2	
	60 & over	3	1	2	1	1	...	2	...	2	
Other communities	All ages	125	57	68	49	34	15	76	23	53	
	0 - 4	17	10	7	...	...	...	17	10	7	
	5 - 9	15	8	7	...	...	...	15	8	7	
	10 - 14	14	6	8	3	3	...	11	3	8	
	15 - 19	8	2	6	3	1	2	5	1	4	
	20 - 24	10	3	7	6	3	3	4	...	4	
	25 - 29	15	6	9	10	6	4	5	...	5	
	30 - 34	7	5	2	7	5	2	...	...	...
	35 - 44	13	6	7	7	6	1	6	...	6	
	45 - 59	17	6	11	8	6	2	9	...	9	
	60 & over	9	5	4	5	4	1	4	1	3	
Village Total	All ages	2,479	1,096	1,383	958	512	446	1,521	584	937	
	0 - 4	313	153	160	...	...	...	313	153	160	
	5 - 9	348	175	173	2	1	1	346	174	172	
	10 - 14	319	163	156	53	16	37	266	147	119	
	15 - 19	213	99	114	106	42	64	107	57	50	
	20 - 24	151	61	90	90	51	39	61	10	51	
	25 - 29	188	69	119	122	64	58	66	5	61	
	30 - 34	143	51	92	97	49	48	46	2	44	
	35 - 44	275	104	171	182	98	84	93	6	87	
	45 - 59	339	144	195	210	131	79	129	13	116	
	60 & over	190	77	113	96	60	36	94	17	77	

152. The non-workers of the village constitute 61% of the village population. 32.3% of the non-workers are females who are solely engaged in household work and another 31.6% of them are full-time students and children attending schools. The infants and dependants who are unable to work constitute 34.7% of the total non-workers and persons seeking employment account for 1.31% of the non-workers. Analysing the age-structure of the non-workers, we find that 60.8% of the non-workers fall in the age group 0-14. These are mostly the children attending schools and the infants. The non-workers above the age of 60 constitute six percent of the non-working population. Among the non-workers in age group 15 to 59, 10.5% of them are full-time students and 76% of them are ladies engaged in household work. As regards the sex composition of the non-workers, 61.6% of them are females and the rest are males.

TABLE No. XIII

Non-workers by sex, age groups and nature of activity

Community	Age group	Total non-workers			Full time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependants, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Persons never employed		Retired persons	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Muslim-Hanafi	All ages	436	182	254	98	62	...	111	80	81	4	...	...	...
	0- 4	100	48	52	...	...	...	...	48	52	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	104	52	52	45	43	...	1	7	8	...	...	...	...
	10-14	78	42	36	37	19	...	15	4	2	1	...	...	...
	15-19	26	17	9	15	...	...	8	1	1	1	...	...	...
	20-24	16	3	13	1	...	...	13	...	...	2	...	...	...
	25-29	14	...	14	...	...	...	10	...	4	...	...	...	...
	30-34	12	...	12	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	21	2	19	...	...	...	18	2	1	...	...	...	...
	45-59	37	10	27	...	...	...	19	10	8	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	28	8	20	...	...	...	15	8	5	...	...	...	...

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XIII (contd.)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Muslim-Shafi	All ages	249	109	140	59	31	...	59	41	50	9	...	...	...	...
	0- 4	49	25	24	...	...	...	...	25	24	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	65	33	32	25	24	...	...	8	8	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	41	28	13	24	7	...	6	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	20	14	6	10	...	...	6	...	...	4	...	...	...	...
	20-24	4	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	11	4	7	...	...	...	7	...	...	4	...	...	...	...
	30-34	4	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	13	2	11	...	...	...	10	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
	45-59	23	1	22	...	...	...	18	1	4	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	19	2	17	...	...	...	4	2	13	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	All ages	212	88	124	52	34	...	70	31	20	4	...	...	1	...
	0- 4	37	22	15	...	...	...	...	22	15	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	39	19	20	17	18	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	39	24	15	22	12	...	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	25	13	12	12	4	...	8	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	20-24	10	5	5	1	...	...	5	1	...	3	...	...	...	...
	25-29	6	...	6	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	9	1	8	...	...	...	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	13	...	13	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	16	...	16	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	18	4	14	...	...	...	12	3	2	...	...	...	1	...
Pillai	All ages	183	59	124	31	20	...	75	26	29	2	...	...	...	...
	0- 4	35	17	18	...	...	...	...	17	18	...	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	39	20	19	13	13	...	...	7	6	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	31	15	16	13	7	...	6	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	14	6	8	5	...	...	8	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	20-24	13	...	13	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	10	1	9	...	...	...	9	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	30-34	8	...	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	13	...	13	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	14	...	14	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	6	...	6	...	...	...	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Achari	All ages	79	24	55	13	6	...	33	11	16	...	...	...	...
	0- 4	16	6	10	...	...	...	...	6	10	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	14	7	7	5	4	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...
	10-14	17	8	9	6	2	...	6	2	1	...	...	...	...
	15-19	4	1	3	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0-24	3	1	2	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	4	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	3	...	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	10	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	5	...	5	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
Muppanar	All ages	61	24	37	10	...	...	20	14	17	...	...	...	...
	0- 4	14	5	9	...	...	...	...	5	9	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	20	12	8	4	...	...	2	8	6	...	...	...	...
	10-14	8	6	2	6	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	8	1	7	...	...	...	7	1	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	5	...	5	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	...
Yadiava	All ages	86	30	56	11	2	...	34	18	20	1	...	...	...
	0- 4	17	8	9	...	...	...	...	8	9	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	21	12	9	7	2	...	...	5	7	...	...	...	...
	10-14	13	5	8	3	...	...	6	2	2	...	...	...	...
	15-19	6	2	4	1	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	4	1	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...
	25-29	5	...	5	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	4	1	3	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	4	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	7	...	7	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	5	1	4	...	...	...	2	1	2	...	...	...	...

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XIII (contd.)

[illegible]

Table No. XIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	All ages	34	9	25	5	5	...	14	4	6	...	...	...	...
	0- 4	5	1	4	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	7	...	7	...	3	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...
	10-14	8	4	4	3	2	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	3	3	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	4	1	3	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...
	45-59	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other communities	60 & over	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	All ages	76	23	53	8	5	...	33	15	15	...	...	...	...
	0- 4	17	10	7	...	...	...	...	10	7	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	15	8	7	6	3	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	...
	10-14	11	3	8	2	2	...	6	1	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	5	1	4	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	4	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25-29	5	...	5	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	6	...	6	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Village Total	45-59	9	...	9	...	...	...	7	...	2	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	4	1	3	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...
	All ages	1,521	584	937	307	174	...	491	256	272	20	...	1	...
	0- 4	313	153	160	...	...	...	...	153	160	...	...	...	...
	5- 9	346	174	172	130	117	...	7	44	48	...	...	...	...
	10-14	266	147	119	128	53	...	57	18	9	1	...	...	...
	15-19	107	57	50	46	4	...	45	4	1	7	...	...	...
	20-24	61	10	51	3	...	...	50	1	1	6	...	...	...
	25-29	66	5	61	...	...	...	57	...	4	5	...	...	...
	30-34	46	2	44	...	...	...	44	2	...	...	...	...	...
Village Total	35-44	93	6	87	...	...	...	85	5	2	1	...	...	...
	45-59	129	13	116	...	...	...	102	13	14	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	94	17	77	...	...	...	44	16	33	...	...	1	...

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE ECONOMY

153. Our selection of villages for the Socio Economic Survey has been purposive and we have selected three categories of villages, namely, (1) villages which contain dominant communities with predominating occupation; (2) villages dominated by Scheduled Castes and Tribes; and (3) villages of old and settled character with multi-ethnic population and variegated occupations. Ravanasamudram was selected under the first category. Muslims form the largest single community of this village and mat-weaving is the predominant occupation among them. Mat-weaving and other household industries provide gainful employment to a large number of workers. Agriculture is also an equally important source of livelihood as in other parts of the Tambraparani basin. These two form the back bone of the village economy and a considerable proportion of the population derive their livelihood from petty business ventures.

154. Out of the 573 households as many as 428 households derive their livelihood from these three major sources of livelihood. The households engaged in these three main occupations constitute 74.69% of the total households. Out of these 428 households, 320 are solely engaged in one of these three occupations as detailed below:

Occupation	Number of households
Cultivation only	124
Household industry only	173
Business only	23

The remaining 108 households have more than one of these occupations as detailed below:

Combination	Number of households
Cultivation and household industry	64
Cultivation and business	23
Household industry and business	14
Cultivation, household industry and business	7
Total	108

Thus, the bulk of this village population derive their livelihood from cultivation, household industry and business. Altogether 218 households or 38.05% of the total households are engaged in cultivation. Out of these, 124 are solely engaged in cultivation and the others combine household industry or business as secondary occupations. The number of households engaged in household industries, both as primary occupations as well as secondary occupations, are 258 households or 45% of the total households. Among these, 173 households are solely engaged in household industries and the rest of them have cultivation or business as secondary occu-

pations. The most important household industry in which a large number of households are engaged is mat-weaving, as would be discussed in detail later. Only about 145 households are engaged in occupations other than cultivation, household industry and business.

TABLE No. XIV

Occupational classification of households

Community	Number of households engaged in								Other occupations	Details of industries with number of households	Details of business with number of households			
	Total No. of households	Cultivation only	Traditional industry only	Business only	Cultivation, Business & Traditional industry	Cultivation & Traditional industry	Cultivation & Business	Business & Traditional industry						
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)			
Muslim-Hanafi	169	26	64	5	6	38	13	3	Religious worker	2	Mat-weaving	105	Kadalai selling	1
									Teacher	1	Weaving	3	Mat business	3
									Agricultural labourer	5	Rice-pounding	2	Cloth business	1
									Social worker	1	Kandasari-making	1	Provision store	6
									Dependant	5	...	...	Business	6
													Tea shop	6
													Wood depot	1
													Mutton stall	2
													Light shop	1
Muslim-Shafi	109	13	58	4	...	11	2	9	Religious worker	1	Mat-weaving	78	Business	13
									Teacher	1	...	...	Cycle shop	1
									Clerk	2	...	...	Petty shop	1
									Agricultural labourer	5	...	...	...
									Barber	1	...	...	...
									Dependant	2	...	...	...
													...	
Brahmin	60	25	1	...	...	...	...	...	Clerk	3	Appalam-	...	...
									Cook	5	making	1	...	...
									Religious worker	11	...	...	...
									Teacher	4	...	...	...
									Midwife	1	...	...	...
									Doctor	1	...	...	...
									Ticket Examiner	1	...	...	...
									Station Master	1	...	...	...
									Postman	1	...	...	...
									Village Official	1	...	...	...
									Compounder	1	...	...	...
									Dependant	4	...	...	...
												

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XIV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)			
Pillai	69	24	4	9	...	1	4	1	Peon	1	Mat-weaving	1	Idli selling	5
									Cooly	4	Beedi-making	2	Tea shop	2
									Teacher	2	Rice-pounding	1	Milk seller	1
									Watchman	1	Garland-making	1	Petty stall	1
									Religious worker	2	Watch repair	1	Provision store	2
									Cart driver	1	...	...	Firewood depot	1
									Clerk	2	...	...	Grocery shop	1
									Agricultural labourer	6	...	...	Sweet seller	1
									Servant	3	...	...	...	...
									Mason	1	...	...	...	...
									Railway gangman	2	...	...	...	...
									Dependant	1	...	...	...	...
Achari	33	2	20	...	1	2	...	1	Servant	4	Carpenter	6	Store	2
									Agricultural labourer	1	Rice-pounding	11	...	...
									Clerk	2	Blacksmith	3	...	...
									Beedi-making	3	...	...	...
Muppanar	29	6	10	3	...	2	3	...	Mason	1	Beedi-making	12	Milk dairy	2
									Agricultural labourer	3	...	...	Business	1
									Cooly	1	...	...	Provision store	2
									...	...	...	Petty stall	1	
Yadhava	28	12	...	2	...	...	...	...	Agricultural labourer	4	...	...	Milk dairy	2
									Mason	1	...	...	...	...
									Clerk	1	...	...	...	...
									Shepherd	6	...	...	...	...
									Servant	2	...	...	...	...
Pandaram	25	5	5	...	...	4	...	...	Agricultural labourer	7	Beedi-making	7	...	...
									Mason	3	Weaving	1	...	...
									Servant	1	Spinning	1	...	...
								
Meistry	9	...	5	...	...	3	...	...	Servant	1	Tailor	8	...	...
Vania	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Agricultural labourer	3	Beedi-making	1	...	...
Chettiar	7	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	Village Official	1	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Shepherd	1	...	...	...	...
Saiva Pillai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Agricultural labourer	3	...	...	Provision store	1
Chettiar	9	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	Cooly	1	...	...	...	...
Other communities	26	6	6	...	...	2	...	...	Dhoby	9	Beedi-making	3	...	...
									Sweeper	2	Mat-weaving	2	...	...
									Fishing cooly	1	Potter	3	...	...

Table No. XIV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)			
Village Total	573	124	173	23	7	64	23	14	Religious worker	16	Mat-weaving	186	Kadalai selling	1
									Clerk	11	Weaving	4	Mat business	3
									Village Official	2	Rice-pounding	4	Cloth business	1
									Teacher	8	Kandasari-		Provision	
									Social worker	1	making	1	store	11
									Barber	1	Appalam	„	Business	20
									Cook	5	Beedi	„	Tea shop	8
									Doctor	1	Garland	„	Wood depot	2
									Midwife	1	Watch repair	1	Mutton stall	2
									Ticket Examiner	1	Carpenter	6	Light shop	1
									Station Master	1	Goldsmith	11	Cycle shop	1
									Postman	1	Blacksmith	3	Petty shop	3
									Compounder	1	Spinning	1	Idli	
									Peon	1	Tailor	8	selling	5
									Watchman	1	Potter	3	Milk seller	1
									Cart driver	1	...		Grocery shop	1
									Mason	6	...		Sweet seller	1
									Shepherd	7	...		Store	2
									Dhoby	9	...		Milk dairy	4
									Sweeper	2	...		...
									Agricultural		...		...
									labourer	36	...		...
									Cooly	6	...		...
									Servant	11	...		...
									Railway gangman	2	...		...
									Fishing cooly	1	...		...
									Dependant	12	...		...
										145		258		67

155. There are 958 total workers in this village comprising of 512 males and 446 females. Out of these, 271 workers or 28.3% of the total workers are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. This includes 181 workers who are engaged

Occupational structure

in cultivation and 90 workers who have been returned as agricultural labourers. Agriculture, however, takes only the second place in respect of the volume of population who derive their livelihood, conceding the first place to the household industries. A total number of 417 workers are engaged in household industries and these constitute 43.5% of the total workers. In other words, fourteen out of every 100 male workers and seventy-seven out of every 100 female workers are engaged in household industries. It is noteworthy that a majority of the workers in household industries are females. Out of the 417 total workers engaged in household industries only 74 are male workers and the other 343 are female workers. In other words, eighty-two percent of the household industry workers are females. This reflects the fact that a large number of Muslim women of this village are engaged in mat-weaving.

TABLE No. XV

Workers classified by sex, age groups, industry, business and cultivation

Community	Age group	Total workers			Workers engaged in							
					Household industry		Household business		Household cultivation		Others	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Muslim-Hanafi	All ages	290	113	177	12	167	29	3	50	6	22	1
	0-9	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	10-14	17	4	13	...	13	1	...	1	...	2	...
	15-19	38	9	29	6	28	...	...	...	1	3	...
	20-24	22	10	12	...	11	3	...	2	1	5	...
	25-29	47	18	29	2	28	8	...	6	1	2	...
	30-34	29	7	22	...	22	2	...	3	...	2	...
	35-44	60	27	33	2	31	8	...	11	2	6	...
	45-59	55	27	28	2	24	6	3	17	...	2	1
	60 & over	21	10	11	...	10	1	...	9	1	...	...
Muslim-Shafi	All ages	206	55	151	12	139	15	...	14	10	14	2
	0-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	21	1	20	...	20	...	...	...	...	1	...
	15-19	36	8	28	5	28	1	...	...	...	2	...
	20-24	20	6	14	...	14	1	...	1	...	4	...
	25-29	26	7	19	2	18	...	...	1	1	4	...
	30-34	17	3	14	1	13	1	...	...	...	1	1
	35-44	43	11	32	1	29	6	...	4	3	...	...
	45-59	26	10	16	2	12	3	...	4	4	1	...
	60 & over	17	9	8	1	5	3	...	4	2	1	1
Brahmin	All ages	67	53	14	...	1	1	...	23	7	29	6
	0-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
	25-29	4	3	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	1
	30-34	6	4	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	1
	35-44	14	12	2	...	...	...	...	4	2	8	...
	45-59	26	21	5	...	...	...	...	10	3	11	2
	60 & over	15	12	3	...	1	...	...	8	1	4	1

Table No. XV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Pillai	All ages	98	74	24	3	3	14	4	18	4	39	13
	0- 9	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	10-14	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	15-19	7	6	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	4	1
	20-24	8	6	2	...	...	3	...	1	...	2	2
	25-29	12	11	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	8	1
	30-34	11	9	2	1	...	2	...	2	1	4	1
	35-44	23	18	5	...	1	1	1	4	1	13	2
	45-59	24	18	6	...	2	5	1	8	...	5	3
	60 & over	11	5	6	...	...	1	2	1	2	3	2
Achari	All ages	42	31	11	26	4	1	...	...	1	4	6
	0- 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15-19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	20-24	4	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
	25-29	3	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30-34	6	5	1	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	35-44	8	7	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	45-59	15	9	6	8	2	...	...	...	1	1	3
	60 & over	5	3	2	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	2
Muppanar	All ages	69	46	23	4	16	6	1	11	2	25	4
	0- 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	7	4	3	2	3	...	...	1	...	1	...
	15-19	9	8	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	5	...
	20-24	12	7	5	...	5	1	...	...	...	6	...
	25-29	5	4	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	2	...
	30-34	8	6	2	...	1	1	...	2	...	3	1
	35-44	9	2	7	...	4	...	...	...	1	2	2
	45-59	15	12	3	...	1	1	1	5	1	6	...
	60 & over	4	3	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	1
Yadhava	All ages	48	36	12	...	...	...	1	14	...	22	11
	0- 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
	15-19	4	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
	20-24	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3	...
	25-29	5	4	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	1
	30-34	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1
	35-44	7	5	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	2
	45-59	11	7	4	...	...	...	1	3	...	4	3
	60 & over	11	8	3	...	...	...	...	3	...	5	3

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XV (contd.)

[illegible]

Table No. XV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Other communities	All ages	49	34	15	6	4	...	...	5	...	23	11
	0- 9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	10-14	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
	15-19	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2
	20-24	6	3	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	2
	25-29	10	6	4	1	1	...	...	1	...	4	3
	30-34	7	5	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	4	1
	35-44	7	6	1	2	...	...	...	2	...	2	1
	45-59	8	6	2	1	1	...	...	2	...	3	1
Village Total	60 & over	5	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
	All ages	958	512	446	74	343	66	9	150	31	222	63
	0- 9	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
	10-14	53	16	37	2	37	1	...	4	...	9	...
	15-19	106	42	64	16	58	3	...	...	1	23	5
	20-24	90	51	39	2	32	8	...	7	1	34	6
	25-29	122	64	58	10	50	12	...	13	2	29	6
	30-34	97	49	48	9	40	6	...	12	2	22	6
	35-44	182	98	84	14	65	15	1	29	9	40	9
	45-59	210	131	79	17	45	15	6	54	10	45	18
	60 & over	96	60	36	4	16	6	2	30	6	20	12

156. As indicated earlier, mat-weaving is the predominant household industry of this village, which provides work for 318 workers. Beedi-making is another significant household industry of this village, but it provides work only for about thirty-eight workers. In these two industries, female workers are predominant. Out of the 318 workers in mat-weaving industry, only eighteen are males and all the rest are females and out of the thirty-eight workers engaged in beedi-making, only six are males. About seventy-four percent of the female workers of this village are engaged in these two household industries. A majority of the workers in the mat-weaving industry belong to the Muslim community whereas beedi-making is almost a monopoly of Muppanars and Pandarams. The third important household industry of this village is the textile-weaving which provides work to fifteen workers. The other household industries carried on in this village are tailoring, goldsmithy, pottery etc. There are also one or two households engaged in other household industries like garland-making, rice-pounding, appalam-making etc.

157. The household industries carried on in this village can be broadly classified into two categories as the traditional occupations and non-traditional occupations. Goldsmithy, tailoring, carpentry, blacksmithy and pottery are the five important traditional occupations and mat-weaving, beedi-rolling and textile-weaving are the three important non-traditional occupations. The non-traditional industries provide employment to a larger section of the village population than the traditional industries. Only thirty-nine workers are engaged in these five traditional industries as against 371 workers employed in the non-traditional industries. An interesting point of contrast between these traditional and non-traditional industries is that all the workers in the traditional industries are male workers, whereas the non-traditional industries are dominated by the females except in the case of textile-weaving. As indicated earlier,

mat-weaving has been developed almost as a specialised occupation of the Muslim women and beedi-rolling is done by the Muppanar and Pandaram women but for a few exceptions.

158. The workers engaged in the various household industries discussed above and in agriculture constitute about seventy-two percent of the total workers. Even as regards the other twenty-eight percent of the workers who are engaged in other occupations, we may classify them as those engaged in traditional occupations and those in non-traditional occupations. The barbers, dhobies, the fishermen and the Yadhavas who are engaged in sheep and cattle rearing belong to the first category. The workers engaged in business belong to the second category. A total number of 75 workers are engaged in business. These are the working proprietors or employees of the restaurants, eating houses and tea-shops in this village. A few others are running provision stores in the village.

159. The other workers in the non-traditional occupations can be further classified as (1) those engaged in occupations which involve manual labour and which do not require any education; and (2) those engaged in white-collared jobs and occupations which require education. In the first category, there are sixteen masons, nineteen domestic servants and eight cooks in this village. Most of these masons are from the Pandaram community and many of them manage to find construction work in the village and its neighbourhood. Some of the family members of these masons work as agricultural coolies, whenever they do not have construction work. The domestic servants and the cooks, are mostly from among the Pandarams, Muppanars and the poor communities. A large majority of these domestic servants and cooks are employed by the well-to-do households in Agraharam. A few of the well-to-do Pillais and Muslims have also employed domestic servants and cooks. There are also five coolies in the village who are employed as gangmen in the Railways, and three sweepers in the employment of the local Panchayat Board.

160. As regards the second category of workers, there are the following salaried people in this village. There are thirty-three clerks, ministerial assistants and accountants.

Salaried workers

Among these, fourteen people are working in the village itself and the rest of them are working in the neighbouring villages of Kadayam and Pottalpudur and some in Ambasamudram. The fourteen ministerial assistants employed in the village include the two clerks in the Railway Station, one Panchayat clerk, two clerks in the Rice Mills, one clerk in the Dairy Farm, the accountants and ministerial assistants in the various commercial establishments of the village like the Soda Factory, Fire-wood Depots, and the accountants employed by the yarn merchants and mat merchants of this village. The clerks and ministerial assistants employed outside the village include the clerks working in the Bank, Block Development Officer's office, the High School and other commercial establishments and private institutions in Kadayam. Two clerks are employed in the Spinning-mill near Ambasamudram. Of the thirty-three clerks and ministerial assistants, only seven people are Matriculates and all the rest are under-Matriculates. Except nine people who draw salaries of above Rs. 90 per month, all the rest of them draw salaries ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs.40 a month. Some of the accountants in the small commercial establishments of the village are paid very meagre salaries like Rs. 15 and Rs. 18 per month. Six of these belong to the Muppanar community and two each to the Yadhava and Achari communities. All the rest of them belong to either the Brahmin or the Pillai community except the three Muslim boys. There are also eight teachers in the village, out of whom six are working in the local schools and two are working in Kadayam and Pottalpudur. Among the other salaried employees of the village, there are one Station Master, one Post-Master, two Postmen, one Midwife, one Gramasevika and five Peons including the Peons working in the Railway Station and the Panchayat Office.

161. Another noteworthy fact about the occupational structure of this village is that there are a good number of pujaris and religious workers. There are nineteen religious workers. Eleven of the religious workers belong to the Brahmin community and they are

attached to the Meenakshi Amman temple. The other religious workers include Pandarams who supply flowers to the temples and Labbais who perform their traditional services in the mosques. In this connection, it may be of interest to note that there are seven temples and three mosques in the village. The Pandarams who supply flowers to the temple get paid partly in cash and partly in kind. The Labbais get paid in kind at the rate of half 'Kottah' of paddy per month. The Brahmin pujaris and religious workers, in addition to being fed in the temple during important pujas, get paid in kind.

Religious workers

162. It would now be of interest to study the occupational pattern of the various communities in this village. We may first examine the occupational pattern of the Brahmins.

Occupational pattern of the communities

There are sixty households of Brahmins with a total population of 276 persons. There are only sixty-seven workers among them. Thus, there is only one worker per household on an average and all these workers are males. Brahmin ladies do not normally engage themselves in any remunerative occupations but invariably confine themselves to household work. There are twenty-six cultivators among the Brahmins and all of them own lands. Four other Brahmin households who own lands have leased them out to others for cultivation. A number of salaried workers of this village are from the Brahmin community. There are four clerks, four teachers, one Postman and a Ticket Examiner in this community. One of the Village Officers and the two doctors of the village are also from the Brahmin community. There are four retired Government servants among them and three of these have now taken to cultivation. As indicated earlier, eleven of the Brahmins derive their livelihood from temple services. There is also a wholesale merchant among the Brahmins who is dealing in yarn and handloom cloth. A number of persons from this community are employed in good jobs outside the village. There are five Gazetted Officers and a large number of ministerial assistants who are working in places like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. These people send money to their parents and dependants in the village. So a good number of Brahmin households of this village have two sources of income, one of them being their own occupation and the other being their sons' or grand sons' who are working in the provincial cities.

163. Brahmins and Pillais constitute the prosperous section of the village. A large number of Pillais are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood and many of them are land-owners. There are ninety-eight workers drawn from the sixty-nine households of Pillais. Among these, twenty-four have been classified as cultivators and all of them own lands. A few other

Pillais

households of Pillais who own lands have leased them out to others. Even among the Pillais, the ladies generally do not go out for work but confine themselves to their household work except in cases of extreme poverty. Only about one-sixth of the Pillai households can be classified as poor households wherein the ladies are also engaged in remunerative occupations. Among the rich and the middle-class Pillais, it is considered below their dignity for the ladies to go for work. There are a number of salaried workers in this community also. These include the nine ministerial assistants and clerks, four teachers and two Village Officers. There are six well-to-do merchants among them, one of whom owns a Rice Mill and another eight people are engaged in petty commercial ventures like grocery-shops, restaurants, cycle shop and other retailed business. There are also thirteen agricultural labourers among the Pillais drawn from the poorer section of the community.

164. Mat-weaving, agriculture and trading are the three major sources of livelihood for the Muslims of this village. A large number of female workers among them are engaged in mat-weaving. In discussing the occupational pattern of the Muslims, it would be useful to treat the two sects separately, so that the economic conditions of the two sects could be compared. In the Hanafi sect, there are 290 workers drawn from 169 households. Out of these,

Table No. XVI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)																			
		Lease cultivation			Rice pounding			Domestic servant			Furriers			Cooly			Shop assistant				
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.		
Muslim-Hanafi (contd.)	All ages	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
	0 - 14
	15 - 29	1	1
	30 - 44	1	1	...
	45 - 59	1	1	1	...	1	1	1
	60 & over	1	...	1
Muslim-Hanafi (contd.)		Kandasari making			Street vendor			Mat-weaving			Cultivation			Business			Clerk				
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.		
	All ages	1	1	...	1	1	...	146	7	139	22	12	10	13	13	...	6	6	...		
	0 - 14	1	1	...	20	...	20
	15 - 29	1	1	...	...	...	...	66	6	60	3	2	1	1	1	...	4	4	...
	30 - 44	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	...	42	5	2	3	6	6	...	1	1	...
Muslim-Shafi (contd.)	45 - 59	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	1	12	8	4	4	3	3	...	1	1	...
	60 & over	5	...	5	6	4	2	3	3	
Muslim-Shafi (contd.)		Agricultural labourer			Weaving			Religious worker			Barber			Lease cultivation			Plantation Manager				
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.		
	All ages	6	4	2	5	5	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...		
	0 - 14	1	1
	15 - 29	3	3	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1
	30 - 44	1	...	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
Muslim-Shafi (contd.)	45 - 59	1	1
	60 & over	1	...	1	1	1	1	1
Muslim-Shafi (contd.)		Cycle shop owner			Shop assistant			Cultivation			Pujari			Cook			Clerk				
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.		
	All ages	1	1	...	1	1	...	30	23	7	9	9	...	8	4	4	4	4	...		
	0 - 14
	15 - 29	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	3	3	...
	30 - 44	1	1	8	5	3	3	3	...	1	1
Muslim-Shafi (contd.)	45 - 59	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	10	3	4	4	...	4	2	2	1	1	...
	60 & over	9	8	1	2	2	...	2	1	1

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XVI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)																	
		Teacher			Religious worker			Postman			Midwife			Business			House keeper		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Brahmin (contd.)	All ages	4	4	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	...	1
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	
	30 - 44	3	3	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	45 - 59	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin (contd.)		Village Official			Ticket Examiner			Compounder			Assistant in hospital			Station Master			Appalam making		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Pillai	45 - 59	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	
		Cultivation			Agricultural labourer			Clerk			Tea shop			Cooly			Idli selling		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	20.	16	4	13.	8	5	9	9	...	6	6	...	6	4	2	6	2	4
	0 - 14	...	...	...	1.	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai (contd.)	15 - 29	2.	2	...	6.	4	2	4.	4	...	4	4	...	3	3	...	...	...
	30 - 44	8.	6	2	2.	1	1	4.	4	...	1	1	...	2	1	1	1	...	1
	45 - 59	7.	7	...	4.	3	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	1
	60 & over	3.	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	3	1	2
		Mason			Teacher			Domestic servant			Railway gangman			Village Official			Lease cultivation		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Pillai (contd.)	All ages	5	5	...	4	3	1	4	...	4	3	3	...	2	2	...	2	2	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
	15 - 29	3	3	...	2	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	1	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	45 - 59	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
	60 & over	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...

Table No. XVI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)																	
		Mat-weaving			Rice pounding			Cart driver			Watchman			Building contractor			Garland making		
Pillai (contd.)		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	2	1	1	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
	30 - 44	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45 - 59	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Pillai (contd.)		Beedi making			Religious worker			Peon			Pujari			Sweeper			Business		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	6	6	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
	30 - 44	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	2	2	...
45 - 59	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	
60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Achari		Goldsmith			Carpenter			Domestic servant			Beedi-making			Blacksmith			Clerk		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	15	15	...	8	8	...	6	1	5	4	...	4	3	3	...	2	2	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	2	2	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...
	30 - 44	9	9	...	2	2	...	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
45 - 59	3	3	...	3	3	...	3	...	3	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...
60 & over	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Achari (contd.)		Mason			Business			Cultivation			Agricultural labourer			Beedi making			Agricultural labourer		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	1	20	4	16	16	13	3
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	2	3	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	2	7	6	6	...
	30 - 44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5	5	3	2
45 - 59	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	4	4	...	
60 & over	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	

Table No. XVI (contd.)

[illegible][illegible]

		Shepherd			Agricultural labourer			Cultivation			Lease cultivation			Clerk			Servant		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Yadava	All ages	16	15	1	12	4	8	11	11	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	2	...	2
	0 - 14	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 ~ 29	5	4	1	3	2	1	3	3	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	30 ~ 44	3	3	...	3	...	3	2	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	45 ~ 59	3	3	...	3	1	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
	60 & over	4	4	...	3	1	2	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1

	Business			Mason			Betel vine cultivation			Agricultural labourer			Beedi making			Mason		
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
All ages	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	18	17	1	8	1	7	6	6	...
0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6	...	3	...	3	...	...	...
30 - 44	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	2	1	1	2	2	...
45 - 59	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	5	4	1	3	...	3	3	3	...
60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...

[illegible]

Meistry	Vania Chettiar												Agricultural labourer			Cultivation		
	Tailor			Cultivation			Peon			Servant								
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
All ages	8	8	...	3	3	...	2	2	...	2	...	2	6	3	3	3	2	1
0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 - 29	3	3	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	4	3	1	...	...	...
30 - 44	1	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45 - 59	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	2	3	2	1
60 & over	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...

Vania Chettiar (contd.)	Saiva Pillai Chettiar																	
	Shepherd			Beedi-making			Village Official			Lease cultivation			labourer			Shepherd		
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	8	6	2	3	3
0 - 14
15 - 29	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	5	4	1	1	1	...
30 - 44	1	1	...	...	...	...
45 - 59	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	2	...
60 & over	1	1	...	...	...	...

Saiva Pillai Chettiar (contd.)	Cooly			Cultivation			Servant			Dhoby			Potter			Beedi making		
	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	Other communities																	
All ages	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	20	10	10	5	5	...	4	1	3
0 - 14	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
15 - 29	10	4	6	1	...	1
30 - 44	1	1	...	1	...	1	5	3	2	2	2	...	1	...	1
45 - 59	2	2	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	...	1
60 & over	3	2	1	1	1

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Table No. XVI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)																	
		Cultivation			Fisherman			Barber			Agricultural labourer			Mat-weaving			Sweeper		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Other communities (contd.)	All ages	4	4	...	4	4	...	2	2	...	2	...	2	2	2	...	2	2	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	1	1	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	2	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	2	...
	45 - 59	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other communities (contd.)		Cooly			Railway gangman			Farm worker			Postman			Mat-weaving			Cultivation		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	318	18	300	157	127	30
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Village Total	33	...	33	3	3	...
	15 - 29	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	140	13	127	21	17	4	
	30 - 44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	95	3	92	47	36	11	
	45 - 59	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	36	2	34	52	43	9
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	14	34	28	6	
Village Total (contd.)		Agricultural labourer			Business			Beedi-making			Clerk			Shepherd			Dhoby		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	90	63	27	47	42	5	38	6	32	33	33	...	20	19	1	20	10	10
	0 - 14	3	2	1	...	...	...	7	3	4	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
	15 - 29	41	34	7	12	12	...	14	2	12	21	21	...	7	6	1	10	4	6
	30 - 44	18	11	7	15	15	...	9	1	8	7	7	...	3	3	...	5	3	2
	45 - 59	19	12	7	16	11	5	8	...	8	3	3	...	5	5	...	1	...	1
	60 & over	9	4	5	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	3	2	1
Village Total (contd.)		Domestic servant			Mason			Religious worker			Goldsmith			Weaving			Lease cultivation		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	19	3	16	16	16	...	16	16	...	15	15	...	15	8	7	13	13	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
	15 - 29	3	2	1	5	5	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	3	3	...
	30 - 44	3	...	3	4	4	...	7	7	...	9	9	...	8	4	4	3	3	...
	45 - 59	9	1	8	5	5	...	6	6	...	3	3	...	4	1	3	6	6	...
	60 & over	4	...	4	2	2	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...

Table No. XVI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)																				
		Cooly			Hotel owner			Cook			Teacher			Carpenter			Tailor					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Village Total (contd.)	All ages	13	11	2	12	12	...	8	4	4	8	7	1	8	8	...	8	8	...	...	...	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	6	6	...	5	5	...	1	...	1	2	1	1	2	2	...	3	3	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	4	3	1	4	4	...	1	1	...	5	5	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	45 - 59	2	2	...	1	1	...	4	2	2	1	1	...	3	3	...	4	4	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	1	...	1	1	1	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Village Total (contd.)		Betel vine Cultivation			Idli selling			Potter			Village Official			Peon			Railway gangman					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	7	6	1	7	3	4	5	5	...	5	5	...	5	5	...	5	5	...	...	...	...
	0 - 14	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	1	1	...	1	...	1	2	2	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	3	3	...	...	...	...
Village Total (contd.)	45 - 59	4	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	1	1	...	3	1	2	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Village Total (contd.)		Barber			Fisherman			Farm worker			Blacksmith			Butcher			Sweeper					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	4	4	...	4	4	...	3	3	...	3	3	...	3	3	...	3	2	1	...	...	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	1	1	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	...	...	...
Village Total (contd.)	45 - 59	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	2	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Village Total (contd.)		Pujari			Postman			Shop assistant			Dairy worker			Rice pounding			Plantation Manager					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	3	3	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	2	2	...	2	...	2	1	1
	0 - 14
	15 - 29	1	1	...	2	2
	30 - 44	3	3	...	1	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	1
Village Total (contd.)	45 - 59	1	1
	60 & over	1	...	1

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Table No. XVI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)																				
		Cycle shop owner			Coir spinning			Cycle repairer			Furriers			Kandasari making			House keeper					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Village Total (contd.)	All ages	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...
	30 - 44	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45 - 59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Midwife			Compounder			Garland making			Appalam making			Watchman			Assistant in hospital					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Village Total (contd.)	All ages	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45 - 59	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
		Social worker			Building Contractor			Street vendor			Driver			Station Master			Ticket Examiner					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Village Total (contd.)	All ages	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
	0 - 14	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15 - 29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	30 - 44	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	45 - 59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
	60 & over	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

*T: Total

*M: Males

*F: Females

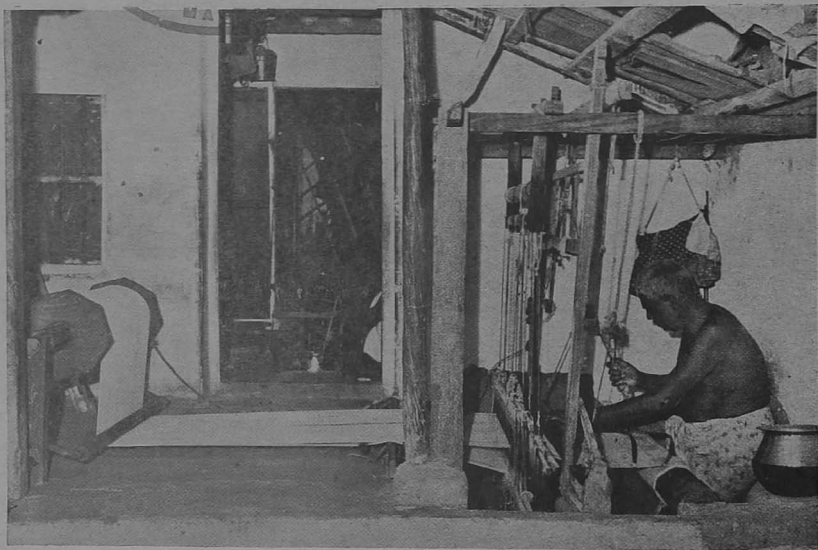
166. Bulk of the Achari households derive their livelihood from their traditional occupations of blacksmithy, carpentry and goldsmithy. Some of them have agriculture as a secondary occupation. Twenty four out of the total of thirty-three households are engaged in the traditional occupations and this comprises of fifteen goldsmiths, three blacksmiths and eight carpenters. Four of these households which are engaged in traditional occupations have agriculture as secondary occupation. Two households of Acharis are solely engaged in cultivation. There are also two ministerial assistants among the Acharis. There are four single member households consisting of widows and these earn their livelihood as domestic servants in Agraharam.



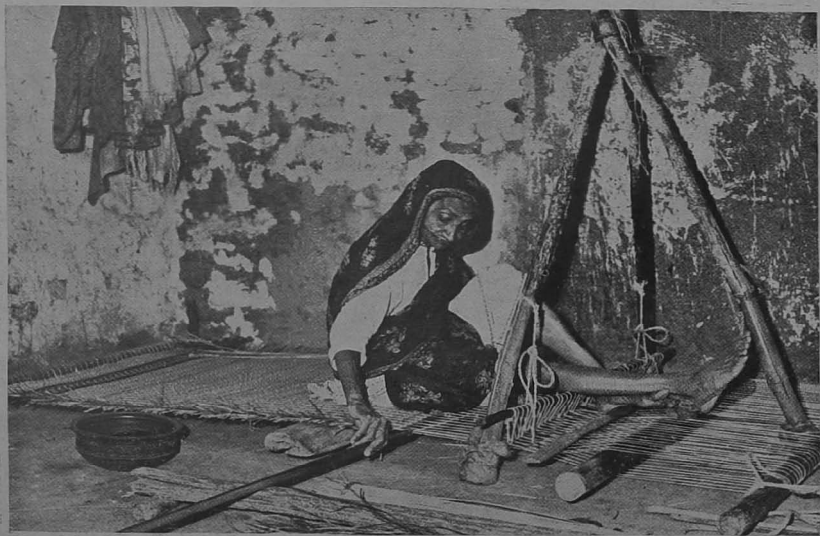
The goldsmiths at work



The potter's household at work

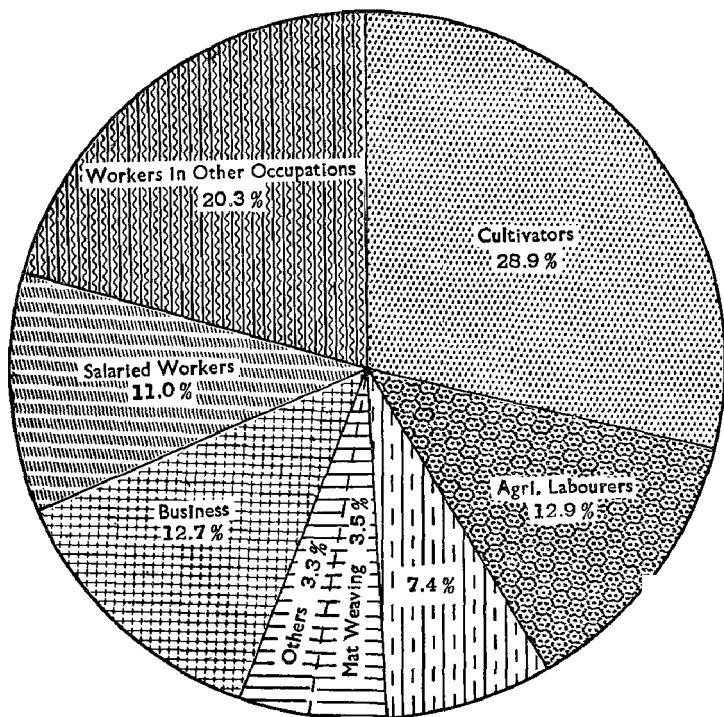


A handloom weaver at his work



Age is no bar to work. A Muslim lady in the evening of her life, engaged in mat-weaving to add to the meagre income of her family.

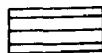
OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF MALE WORKERS



LEGEND

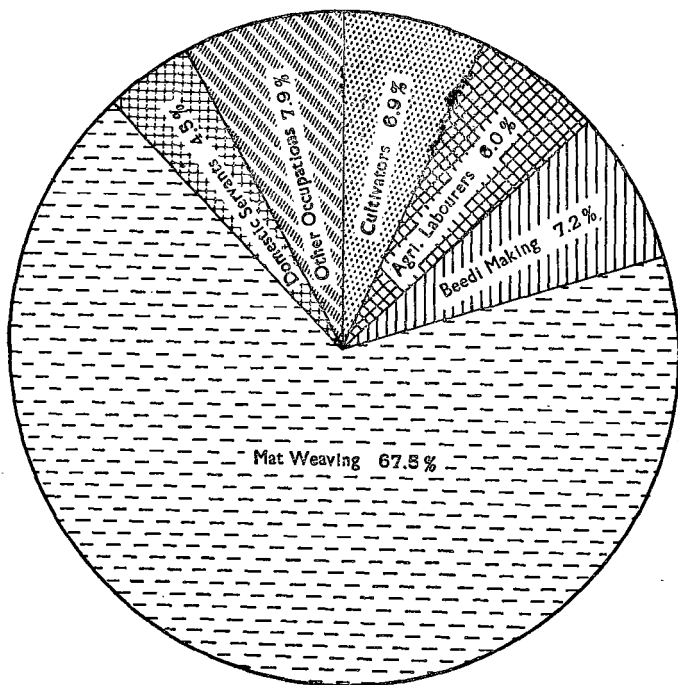


Workers in Traditional Household Industries
(Tailoring, Blacksmithy, Goldsmithy, Carpentry & Pottery)



Workers in Non - Traditional Household Industries
(Textile Weaving, Beedi Making & Others)

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF FEMALE WORKERS



167. Betel-vine cultivation is the traditional occupation of Muppanars and seven out of the twenty-nine households of Muppanars are engaged in their traditional occupations. Among these, only two households own lands and the others are leasehold cultivators. The other people dependent on agriculture for their livelihood are the sixteen agricultural labourers. Three of the Muppanars have taken to kothanar or construction work and another three households are engaged in retail trading. Beedi rolling is a popular secondary occupation among the Muppanars and about sixteen Muppanar female workers are engaged in this occupation. Five Muppanar boys, all of whom are under Matriculates, are engaged as ministerial assistants in the commercial establishments.

Muppanars

168. A large number of Yadhava females are engaged in their traditional occupation of sheep and cattle rearing. There are sixteen shepherds from the Yadhava community and eleven cultivators. Even the households engaged in agriculture have this cattle rearing as a secondary occupation. One of the Yadhavas has taken to kothanar work and a good number of the Yadhavas earn their livelihood from agricultural cooly work. Three Yadhava

Yadhavas

boys are employed in salaried occupations; two of them are clerks in the private institutions at Kadayam and one of them is a Postal-runner.

169. Pandarams are mainly dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. There are eight cultivators among them, out of which five are land-owning cultivators and the other three are leasehold cultivators. Seven households are solely dependent on agricultural labour and seven Pandaram women are engaged in beedi-making. Six male workers have taken to kothanar work and two households are engaged in textile-weaving.

170. The other communities of the village are numerically insignificant and most of the households of these minor communities are engaged in their traditional occupations as detailed below:

Community	Total No. of households	Traditional occupation	No. of households engaged in traditional occupation
1. Panankula Meistry	9	Tailoring	8
2. Vannan	9	Dhoby work	9
3. Saiva Pillai Chettiar	9	Business	1
4. Vania Chettiar	7	Oil-mongering	Nil
5. Padayatchi	4	Fishing	4
6. Kuravan	4	Basket-making	4
7. Barber	3	Hair-dressing	3
8. Kusavan	3	Gottety	3

Thus, a majority of these people are dependent on their traditional occupations except the Chettiars. None of the Vania Chettiars is engaged in his traditional occupation and most of them belong to the low income group. Three households of Vania Chettiars are solely dependent on agricultural cooly work. There are two cultivators among the Vania Chettiars who own small extents of land. There is also a Thalayari in this community. Only one household of Saiva Pillai Chettiars is engaged in their traditional occupation of business and the rest are dependent on agriculture. The Saiva Pillai Chettiars are economically better off than the Vania Chettiars and four households of the former own lands. A few households of other minor communities also own small extents of lands and these have cultivation as a secondary occupation, the traditional occupations being their primary occupations. A large number of the landless poor among these minor communities supplement their incomes from their traditional occupations by cooly work in agriculture. The solitary household of Panankula Meistries which is not engaged in their traditional occupation is a single-member household of widow, who is working as a domestic servant. Two of the Kuravans are employed as sweepers in the Panchayat Board and they have their traditional occupation of basket-making as secondary means of livelihood.

171. Income is a reliable index of the household's economic status and its standard of living. The following statement classifies the households of this village into income groups:

Income levels:

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Income group	Number of households	Percentage to the total number of households
Rs. 25 or less	188	32·8
Rs. 26 to 50	221	38·6
Rs. 51 to 75	71	12·4
Rs. 76 & above	93	16·2

The 188 households which have monthly incomes of less than Rs. 25, are cases of extreme poverty. The 221 households who earn between Rs. 26 and Rs. 50 per month, may be termed as the lower, middle class of the village. Some of the large families in this income group cannot be strictly termed as the lower, middle class as their economic condition is as bad, if not worse, as the poorer group who earn less than Rs. 25 per month. The seventy-one households which fall in the income group Rs. 51 to 75 may be called the higher, middle class of the village, and on the basis of the low standards of the village, the ninety-three households with monthly incomes of Rs. 76 and above, may be said to comprise the richer section of the village. Thus, as much as seventy-one percent of the households earn only less than Rs. 50 a month and they lead a hand-to-mouth existence. It is only the other twenty-nine percent of the households who earn more than Rs. 50 per month that lead a fairly convenient, if not comfortable life.

TABLE No. XVII

Monthly Income per household by source and occupation

Community	Occupation of household	Monthly Income per household in the range of				
		Rs. 25 or less	Rs. 26 to 50	Rs. 51 to 75	Rs. 76 to 100	Rs. 101 and over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Muslim-Hanafi	Mat-weaving	39	32	4	...	...
	Cultivation	9	7	8	6	15
	Agricultural labourer	6	1	2	...	...
	Business	1	6	...	2	3
	Weaving	1	1	...	...	...
	Religious worker	1	2	...	1	...
	Clerk	1	1	...	...	...
	Tea shop owner	1	1	1	...	1
	Teacher	...	...	1	...	...
	Lease cultivation	1	...	...	...	...
	Cycle shop owner	1	...	...	...	...
	Rice pounding	2	...	...	...	...
	Butcher	...	2	...	...	...
	Social worker	...	...	1	...	...
	Peon	...	1	...	...	...
	Cooly	1	...	...	...	...
	Dependants	3	2	...	...	...

Table No. XVII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Muslim-Shafi	Religious worker	...	...	1	...	...
	Teacher	...	1	...	...	...
	Clerk	...	2	1	...	...
	Business	2	4	...	1	3
	Cultivation	1	8	9	3	2
	Lease cultivation	...	1	...	...	...
	Plantation Manager	...	...	...	1	...
	Agricultural labourer	5	...	...	...	...
	Weaving	...	2	1	...	...
	Mat-weaving	26	25	6	1	...
	Barber	1	...	...	...	...
	Dependants	1	1	...	...	...
Brahmin	Cultivation	...	3	1	4	17
	Religious worker	5	4	1	1	...
	Cook	2	3	...	...	...
	Teacher	...	...	2	...	2
	Clerk	...	...	1	1	1
	Village Official	...	...	...	...	1
	Appalam making	...	1	...	...	...
	Doctor	...	...	...	...	1
	Ticket Examiner	...	...	...	...	1
	Station Master	...	...	...	...	1
	Midwife	...	...	...	...	1
	Compounder	...	...	...	...	1
	Postman	...	...	...	1	...
	Dependants	...	1	2	...	1
Pillai	Cultivation	2	7	4	1	3
	Agricultural labourer	5	1	1	...	...
	Idli selling	4	2	...	...	...
	Clerk	...	3	1	1	...
	Cooly	2	2	...	...	...
	Mason	1	2	...	...	...
	Railway gangman	1	1	...	1	...
	Servant	3	...	...	...	...
	Teacher	...	...	...	2	1
	Tea shop owner	...	1	1	...	...
	Village Official	...	...	...	...	2
	Lease cultivation	...	1	1	...	...
	Pujari	...	2	...	...	...
	Business	1	1	...	...	...
	Mat-weaving	1	...	...	...	...

Table No. XVII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Pillai (contd.)	Building contractor	...	...	1	...	...
	Peon	...	1	...	...	...
	Watchman	...	1	...	...	...
	Cart driver	1	...	...	...	...
	Garland making	1	...	...	...	...
	Beedi rolling	...	...	1	...	...
	Dependants	...	1	...	...	...
Achari	Goldsmith	...	7	5	2	...
	Carpenter	...	6	...	...	...
	Servant	5	...	...	...	...
	Blacksmith	...	3	...	...	...
	Clerk	...	1	1	...	...
	Agricultural labourer	1	...	...	...	...
	Cultivation	1	...	...	...	...
Muppanar	Mason	...	1	...	...	...
	Agricultural labourer	3	3	...	...	...
	Lease cultivation	4	...	...	...	...
	Business	...	3	...	...	...
	Betel vine cultivation	...	2	1	...	...
	Farm worker	...	1	1	...	...
	Servant	1	1	...	...	...
	Cultivation	1	...	1	...	...
	Mason	...	1	1	...	...
	Clerk	...	2	...	...	...
	Beedi rolling	1	...	...	...	...
	Railway gangman	...	1	...	...	...
Yadhava	Cooly	...	1	...	...	...
	Shepherd	4	6	...	...	...
	Cultivation	3	1	...	1	2
	Agricultural labourer	3	2	1	...	...
	Servant	2	...	...	...	...
	Clerk	...	1	...	...	...
	Mason	1	...	...	...	...
Pandaram	Business	...	1	...	...	...
	Agricultural labourer	7	1	2	...	...
	Mason	...	6	...	...	...
	Lease cultivation	3	...	...	...	...
	Cultivation	...	1	1	1	...
	Servant	1	...	...	...	...
	Weaving	...	1	...	...	...
	Cooly	...	1	...	...	...

Table No. XVII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Meistry	Cultivation	...	2	1	...	...
	Tailor	...	4	...	...	...
	Servant	1	1	...	...	...
Vania Chettiar	Cultivation	...	1	...	...	...
	Lease cultivation	1	...	...	...	...
	Shepherd	1	...	...	...	...
	Agricultural labourer	1	2	...	...	...
	Village Official	...	1	...	...	...
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	Cultivation	...	1	...	...	2
	Shepherd	...	2	...	...	...
	Agricultural labourer	1	1	...	...	...
	Cooly	1	...	1	...	...
Other communities	Postman	...	...	...	...	1
	Farm worker	1	...	...	...	...
	Sweeper	...	2	...	...	...
	Mat-weaving	2	...	...	...	...
	Potter	...	3	...	...	...
	Beedi rolling	1	...	...	...	...
	Barber	...	1	...	...	...
	Dhoby	5	4	...	...	...
	Fishing	...	2	...	...	...
	Railway gangman	...	1	...	...	...
	Cultivation	...	1	2	...	...
Village Total	Religious worker	6	8	2	2	...
	Doctor	...	...	...	...	1
	Midwife	...	...	...	...	1
	Compounder	...	...	...	...	1
	Teacher	...	1	3	2	3
	Social worker	...	...	1	...	...
	Village Official	...	1	...	...	3
	Building contractor	...	...	1	...	...
	Tea-shop	1	2	2	...	1
	Clerk	1	10	4	2	1
	Peon	...	2	...	...	...
	Business	4	15	...	3	6
	Cultivation	17	32	27	16	41
	Lease cultivation	9	2	1	...	...
	Plantation Manager	...	...	...	1	...
	Betel vine cultivation	...	2	1	...	...

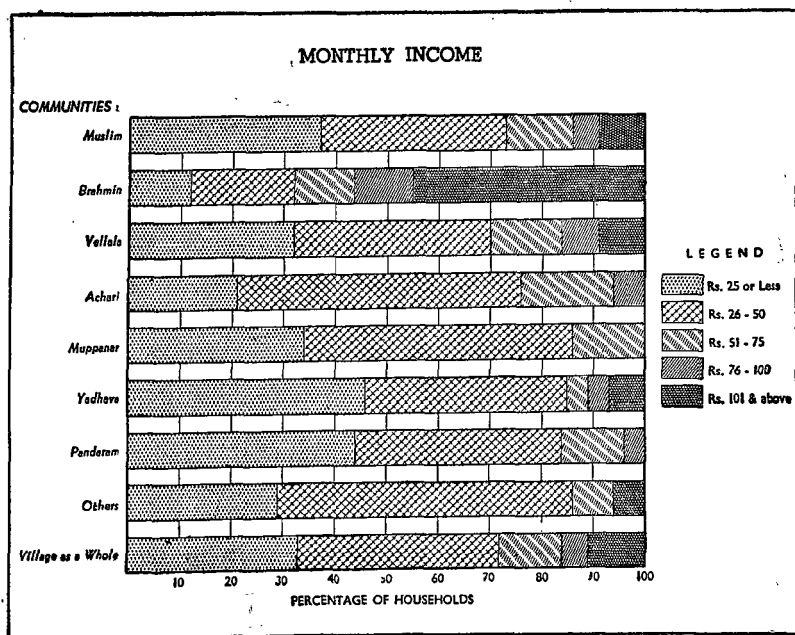
VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XVII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Village Total	Shepherd	5	8	...	...	...
(contd.)	Agricultural labourer	32	11	6	...	...
	Farm worker	1	1	1	...	...
	Fishing	...	2	...	...	...
	Cart driver	1	...	...	...	...
	Station Master	...	...	...	...	1
	Postman	...	...	...	1	1
	Ticket Examiner	...	...	...	...	1
	Railway gangman	1	3	...	1	...
	Weaving	1	4	1	...	...
	Tailor	...	4	...	...	...
	Blacksmith	...	3	...	...	...
	Goldsmith	...	7	5	2	...
	Cycle repairer	1	...	...	...	...
	Carpenter	...	6	...	...	...
	Mason	2	10	1	...	...
	Potter	...	3	...	...	...
	Rice pounding	2	...	...	...	...
	Appalam making	...	1	...	...	...
	Mutton shop	...	2	...	...	...
	Idli selling	4	2	...	...	...
	Beedi making	2	...	1	...	...
	Mat-weaving	68	57	11	1	...
	Garland maker	1	...	...	...	...
	Cooly	4	4	1	...	...
	Watchman	...	1	...	...	...
	Cook	2	3	...	...	...
	Servant	13	2	...	...	...
	Sweeper	...	2	...	...	...
	Barber	1	1	...	...	...
	Dhoby	5	4	...	...	...
	Dependants	4	5	2	...	1
Total		188	221	71	31	62

172. The Brahmins are economically better off than many other communities. As much as 56·7% of the Brahmin households belong to the high income group of Rs. 76 and above per month. Another 31·7% of the Brahmin households belong to the middle income group of Rs. 26 to Rs. 75 per month; only the remaining 11·6% of the Brahmin households who earn less than Rs. 25 per month belong to the poorer section. Majority of the Pillai households belong to the lower, middle and poor classes. 31·8% of the Pillai households earn less than Rs. 25 per month and another fifty-two percent of the households belong to the middle

income group of Rs. 26 to 75 per month. The prosperous section among the Pillais constitute only about sixteen percent of the total households. Among the Muslims, only fifteen percent of the households can be called rich with monthly incomes exceeding Rs. 75. Another twelve percent of the Muslim households belong to the higher middle class with incomes ranging from Rs. 51 to Rs. 75, and a majority of the Muslims, namely, seventy-four percent of the total households, belong to the lower, middle and poor classes. Among the other communities, only thirty out of the total of 166 families have monthly incomes exceeding Rs. 50 and all the rest belong to the lower middle and poor classes. These thirty families include the households of salaried workers like the Post-Master, Station-Master, teachers and ministerial assistants and a few of the goldsmiths. Thus, the poorer section of the village population consists mostly of the Muslims and the minor communities of the village; the richer section comprises of the landed gentry and leading merchants among the dominant communities of Pillais, Muslims and many of the salaried workers of the village.



173. The income of a household very much depends on its occupation and the expenditure, to a large extent, is limited by the size of the income. It would be of interest to study the correlation between these three economic factors. Accordingly, we shall now examine the income

Expenditure pattern

levels and expenditure patterns of the important occupational groups of the village.

174. Mat weavers form one of the important occupational groups of the village. Bulk of the people engaged in mat-weaving belong to the lower income groups. Fifty percent of

the households engaged in mat-weaving earn only less than Rs. 25 a month and the rest belong to the income group of Rs. 26 to Rs. 50 per month. Only twelve households earn more than Rs. 50 a month. The meagre incomes of the mat weavers seem hardly sufficient to buy their daily wants. Bulk of their incomes are spent on food and other necessities. The average expenditure on food constitutes about eighty-one percent of the income and the expenditure on clothing and other necessities accounts for the rest, with a very little margin to be spent on luxuries and other items. In the lowest income group of less than Rs. 25 a month, almost the entire amount is spent on food and other necessities; small amounts ranging from 75 nP. to Re. 1 are spent on little luxuries of life like smoking and chewing. Very few households in this income group incur expenditure on education of their children.

175. The pattern of expenditure in the income group Rs. 26 to Rs. 50 per month is also similar in as much as bulk of the income is spent on food and clothing. Here also, little amounts ranging from Re. 1 to Rs. 1.25 are spent on luxuries like smoking, chewing and other amusements. The average monthly expenditure on food ranges from Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 and the expenditure on clothing works out to Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per month on an average. The few households who earn more than Rs. 50 have enough to buy their food and clothing and they spend a little more on luxuries and amusements. Thus, the bulk of the mat-weavers lead a hand-to-mouth existence and their meagre incomes very often prove insufficient to buy their daily necessities.

176. Cultivators form the next important occupational group. The economic condition of the average cultivator is only slightly better than the mat weavers except the fortunate few who own large extents of lands. Out of the 133 households solely engaged in cultivation, forty-nine households earn less than Rs. 50 a month, twenty-seven households between Rs. 50 and 75 and fifty-seven households earn more than Rs. 75 per month. The households with monthly incomes less than Rs. 50 own only small extents of land ranging from 20 cents to one acre. In the lower income groups almost the entire income is spent on necessities, whereas the higher income groups have a little to spare for amusements and luxuries and for the education of their children. Among those who earn less than Rs. 50 a month, nearly eighty-five to ninety-five percent of their incomes are spent on food, clothing and other necessities, whereas the average expenditure on these items ranges from seventy to eighty percent of the incomes for the higher income groups. The people in the high income groups spend about three to five percent of their incomes on the education of their children and their expenditure on luxuries and amusements is much more than those of the lower income groups. The petty cultivators earning less than Rs. 50 are just able to make both ends meet, whereas the high income groups have enough to buy their necessities and lead a convenient, if not a comfortable life. The plight of the petty cultivators who earn only less than Rs. 25 a month is as bad as some of the mat-weavers. The cultivators who earn more than Rs. 100 per month form the richest section of the village and only these people are able to save a little after meeting their expenditure. The plight of the agricultural labourers is also one of hard existence with their meagre incomes. Bulk of these agricultural labourers are able to earn only less than Rs. 25 a month, and this is not even sufficient to buy their food and clothing. Only a handful of households earn a little more than Rs. 25 a month and even these spend bulk of their incomes on food and clothing. Even among the low income groups of the village, we find that small amounts ranging from 75 nP. to Rs. 1.50 are spent on luxuries and amusements which include smoking, chewing and picture-going.

177. The economic condition of the traditional occupational groups like goldsmiths, carpenters and potters is only slightly better. Most of them earn only between Rs. 26 and Rs. 50 per month and this is just sufficient to buy their daily wants. The expenditure on food and clothing constitutes about ninety percent of their incomes and a few households spend amounts ranging from one to three percent of their incomes on the education of their children. Among those engaged in their traditional occupations, the goldsmiths seem comparatively better off. Many of the dhobies and barbers eke out only a hand-to-mouth existence from their traditional

services. Many of them earn less than Rs. 25 a month and this is barely sufficient to keep their body and soul together.

178. Salaried workers also form an important occupational group of the village. The expenditure pattern of the salaried workers slightly differs between the income groups. In the case of people who earn more than Rs. 50 a month, about seventy to eighty percent is spent on food and other necessities and the rest is spent on luxuries and education. The ministerial assistants who earn less than Rs. 50 a month just manage a living and almost the entire amount is spent on necessities. The prosperous section of the salaried workers include those who earn more than Rs. 100 per month like the Station-Master, Post-Master etc.

179. The other important occupational group of the village comprises of people engaged in business. This includes the petty retail traders like the owners of grocery shops, tea-shops, restaurants etc., and the rich merchants engaged in wholesale business of mats, textiles and grains. A majority of these petty traders earn only less than Rs. 50 a month and only a very few get incomes exceeding Rs. 50 a month. Many of these retail traders belong to the lower-middle class of the village where the incomes are just sufficient to meet the expenditure on necessities and very little is left for expenditure on luxuries and education. The wholesale merchants belong to the prosperous section of the village. They not only have sufficient money to buy their necessities but have something to save. The saving would be much more among the prosperous section but for the ostentatious items of expenditure incurred on festive occasions.

180. Thus, the expenditure pattern of the poor and the lower-middle income groups is rather simple with almost the entire income being spent on food and clothing. They have very little to be spent on luxuries and education and very often their incomes prove insufficient even to buy their daily wants. The average monthly expenditure for a poor family ranges from Rs. 25 to Rs. 35 per month and whenever the incomes fall below this level, those people have no other option except to borrow to buy their daily wants. The average monthly expenditure for a middle class family ranges from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 and that for a rich household from Rs. 70 to Rs. 90. Even though the high income groups have sufficient to buy their daily wants, they also face the necessity of borrowing either to meet unforeseen contingencies or for ostentatious expenditure involved in marriages and festivals. Thus, a very few households have enough to save and a majority of the poor and the lower-middle class are steeped in debts.

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TABLE No. XVIII

Average monthly expenditure per household by income groups and occupations

[illegible]

Table No. XVIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
			Rs.nP.			Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.
Clark	Food	18	54.17	79.63	1	30.00	10	35.50	4	60.50	2	89.00	1	170.00
	Education	9	2.67	3.92	...	...	4	0.88	2	6.75	2	1.50	1	4.00
	Clothing	18	2.72	4.00	1	2.00	10	2.90	4	2.63	2	2.25	1	3.00
	Fuel	18	3.94	5.79	1	5.00	10	3.50	4	3.50	2	3.50	1	10.00
	Luxuries	14	1.64	2.42	1	3.00	8	1.50	3	1.00	2	2.50	...	...
...	Lighting	17	2.88	4.24	1	5.00	10	2.50	4	3.00	2	3.50	...	...
...
Religious worker	Food	16	35.82	73.11	6	19.17	6	31.67	2	59.00	2	75.00	...	...
	Education	7	1.79	3.65	2	2.25	3	1.17	1	2.00	1	2.50	...	...
	Clothing	16	2.72	5.55	6	1.92	6	2.00	2	7.25	2	2.75	...	...
	Fuel	16	3.00	6.12	6	2.00	6	2.67	2	5.00	2	5.00	...	...
	Luxuries	12	1.17	2.39	6	0.92	3	0.83	1	2.00	2	2.00	...	...
...	Lighting	16	2.50	5.10	6	2.00	6	2.50	2	4.00	2	2.50	...	...
...	Others	1	2.00	4.08	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2.00	...	...
Servant	Food	15	17.13	60.13	13	13.99	2	37.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	1	1.00	3.51	1	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	15	1.67	5.86	13	1.54	2	2.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	15	3.66	12.85	13	2.38	2	12.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	11	1.09	3.83	10	1.10	1	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	Lighting	15	1.94	6.80	13	1.85	2	2.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	Others	1	2.00	7.02	1	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goldsmith	Food	14	47.69	77.75	...	...	7	32.94	5	60.00	2	68.50	...	...
	Education	7	1.50	2.45	...	...	3	0.83	2	2.00	2	2.00	...	...
	Clothing	14	3.11	5.07	...	...	7	2.64	5	3.80	2	3.00	...	...
	Fuel	14	4.14	6.75	...	...	7	3.43	5	3.80	2	7.50	...	...
	Luxuries	12	1.83	2.98	...	...	7	1.64	3	1.67	2	2.75	...	...
...	Lighting	14	3.07	5.00	...	...	7	2.57	5	3.40	2	4.00	...	...
Shepherd	Food	13	31.92	72.52	5	22.00	8	38.13	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	2	0.50	1.14	1	0.50	1	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	13	3.54	8.04	5	3.80	8	3.38	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	13	3.62	8.21	5	3.20	8	3.88	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	10	1.90	4.32	3	1.50	7	2.07	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	Lighting	13	2.54	5.77	5	2.80	8	2.38	...	...	...	...	...	...

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XVIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
			Rs.nP.			Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.
Cook	Food	5	27.00	74.12	2	15.00	3	35.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	3	1.83	5.02	1	2.50	2	1.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	5	1.60	4.38	2	1.00	3	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	5	2.00	5.49	2	2.00	3	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	4	1.00	2.75	2	1.00	2	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	5	2.00	5.49	2	2.00	3	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	1	1.00	2.75	...	...	1	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mason	Food	13	31.23	74.39	2	25.00	10	30.10	1	55.00	...	...	...	...
	Education	4	0.63	1.50	1	0.50	3	0.67	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	13	2.08	4.95	2	3.00	10	2.00	1	1.00	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	13	3.62	8.62	2	3.50	10	3.50	1	5.00	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	9	1.78	4.24	...	...	8	1.75	1	2.00	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	13	2.65	6.30	2	3.75	10	2.40	1	3.00	...	...	...	...
Lease cultivation	Food	12	26.41	64.92	9	2.33	2	37.50	1	50.00	...	...	...	...
	Education	3	2.17	5.33	1	1.00	2	2.75	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	12	2.92	7.18	9	2.67	2	3.50	1	4.00	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	12	4.50	11.05	9	4.33	2	5.00	1	5.00	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	10	1.90	4.67	9	1.78	1	3.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	12	2.79	6.85	9	2.44	2	3.25	1	5.00	...	...	...	...
Cooly	Food	9	28.55	76.49	4	14.25	4	33.75	1	65.00	...	...	...	...
	Education	2	0.75	0.45	1	1.00	1	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	9	2.22	5.95	4	1.50	4	2.25	1	5.00	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	9	3.00	8.04	4	2.75	4	2.75	1	5.00	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	7	1.64	3.42	3	1.67	3	1.50	1	2.00	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	9	2.11	5.65	...	4	1.75	4	2.25	1	3.00	...	...	...
Dhoby	Food	9	24.44	74.05	5	18.00	4	32.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	3	0.67	2.03	1	0.50	2	0.75	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	9	1.96	5.88	5	1.90	4	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	9	2.67	8.09	5	2.00	4	3.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	9	1.06	3.22	5	0.80	4	1.38	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	9	2.22	6.73	5	2.00	4	2.50	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XVIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	
Carpenter			Rs.nP.			Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.	
	Food	6	34'17...	75'28	...	...	6	34'17	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	3	1'67...	3'68	...	...	3	1'67	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing...	6	2'75...	6'06	...	...	6	2'75	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	6	3'00...	6'61	...	...	6	3'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries...	4	1'63...	3'59	...	...	4	1'63	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lighting	6	2'17...	4'78	...	...	6	2'17	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tea shop	Food	6	45'01...	76'92	...	1	15'00	2	32'50	2	52'50	...	...	1	85'00
	Education	3	1'33...	1'14	...	1	0'50	1	0'50	...	...	...	...	1	3'00
	Clothing...	6	3'50...	5'98	...	1	2'00	2	4'50	2	3'00	...	...	1	4'00
	Fuel	6	4'00...	6'84	...	1	2'00	2	3'50	2	5'00	...	...	1	5'00
	Luxuries...	4	2'38	2'71	...	1	0'50	1	2'00	1	5'00	...	...	1	2'00
	Lighting...	6	3'75...	6'41	...	1	2'00	2	2'75	2	5'00	...	...	1	5'00
Idli selling	Food	6	26'67...	70'20	...	4	18'75	2	42'50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	2	1'50...	3'94	...	1	1'00	1	2'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	6	1'83	4'82	...	4	1'50	2	2'50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	6	3'82	10'08	...	4	3'25	2	5'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	2	1'50	3'94	...	1	1'00	1	2'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	6	2'67...	7'02	...	4	2'50	2	3'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Weaving	Food	6	43'34	77'84	...	1	25'00	4	41'25	1	70'00	...	...	...	...
	Education	4	1'25	2'25	...	...	4	1'25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	6	4'92	8'84	...	1	2'00	4	6'38	1	2'00	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	6	3'00	5'39	...	1	2'00	4	3'50	1	2'00	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	6	1'33	2'39	...	1	1'00	4	1'50	1	1'00	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	6	1'83	3'29	...	1	2'00	4	1'75	1	2'00	...	...	...	...
Railway gangman	Food	5	40'40	76'92	...	1	20'00	3	34'00	...	...	1	80'00	...	...
	Education	1	0'50	0'95	...	...	1	0'50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	5	2'20	4'19	...	1	3'00	3	2'00	...	...	1	2'00	...	...
	Fuel	5	3'99	7'60	...	1	5'00	3	3'33	...	...	1	5'00	...	...
	Luxuries...	3	2'33	4'44	...	...	2	2'50	...	...	1	2'00	...	...	...
	Lighting	5	3'10	5'90	...	1	5'00	3	2'50	...	...	1	3'00	...	...

Table No. XVIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
			Rs.nP.			Rs.nP.	Rs.nP		Rs.nP.	Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.	Rs.nP.	
Village Official	Food	4	81'50	66'13	...	...	1	45'00	...	...	...	...	3	93'67
	Education	2	11'25	9'13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	11'25
	Clothing	4	14'00	11'36	...	...	1	2'00	...	...	...	...	3	18'00
	Fuel	4	7'50	6'08	...	...	1	5'00	...	...	...	...	3	8'33
	Luxuries	2	3'50	2'84	...	...	1	2'00	...	...	...	...	1	5'00
	Lighting	4	5'50	4'46	...	...	1	2'00	...	...	...	...	3	6'67
Tailor	Food	4	35'00	69'37	...	...	4	35'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	3	0'50	0'99	...	...	3	0'50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	4	3'50	6'93	...	...	4	3'50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	4	5'00	9'91	...	...	4	5'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	3	3'33	6'60	...	...	3	3'33	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	4	3'13	6'20	...	...	4	3'13	...	...	...	...	...	...
Blacksmith	Food	3	23'33	66'51	...	...	3	23'33	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	2	0'75	2'14	...	...	2	0'75	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	3	3'17	9'04	...	...	3	3'17	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	3	4'00	11'40	...	...	3	4'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	3	1'50	4'27	...	...	3	1'50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	3	2'33	6'64	...	...	3	2'33	...	...	...	...	...	...
Farm worker	Food	3	36'00	80'60	...	...	1	20'00	1	38'00	1	50'00	...	...
	Education	1	1'00	2'24	...	...	...	1'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	3	2'33	5'22	...	...	1	2'00	1	3'00	1	2'00	...	...
	Fuel	3	2'00	4'48	...	...	1	2'00	1	2'00	1	2'00	...	...
	Luxuries	3	1'33	2'98	...	...	1	1'00	1	2'00	1	1'00	...	...
	Lighting	3	2'00	4'48	...	...	1	2'00	1	2'00	1	2'00	...	...
Potter	Food	3	33'50	74'97	...	...	3	33'50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	3	0'67	1'50	...	...	3	0'67	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	3	2'67	5'98	...	...	3	2'67	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	3	4'00	8'95	...	...	3	4'00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	3	1'17	2'62	...	...	3	1'17	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	3	2'67	5'98	...	...	3	2'67	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XVIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
			Rs.nP.			Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.
Beehive-making	Food	3	33.33	75.46	2	17.50	...	...	1	75.00	...	...	...	...
	Education	1	2.00	4.53	1	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	3	2.00	4.53	2	1.50	...	...	1	3.00	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	3	3.17	7.18	2	2.25	...	...	1	5.00	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	3	1.33	3.02	2	1.00	...	...	1	2.00	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	3	2.33	5.28	2	2.00	...	...	1	3.00	...	...	...	...
Fishing	Food	2	37.50	78.94	...	...	2	37.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	2	3.50	7.37	...	...	2	3.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	2	3.50	7.37	...	...	2	3.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	1	3.00	6.32	...	...	1	3.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mutton shop	Food	2	40.00	77.67	...	...	2	40.01	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	2	2.00	3.88	...	...	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	2	5.00	9.71	...	...	2	5.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	2	2.50	4.86	...	...	2	2.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	2	2.00	3.88	...	...	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pujari	Food	2	51.00	78.14	...	...	2	51.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	2	1.00	1.56	...	...	2	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	2	3.50	5.47	...	...	2	3.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	2	5.00	7.80	...	...	2	5.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	2	4.50	7.03	...	...	2	4.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peon	Food	2	40.00	72.08	...	...	2	40.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	2	1.00	1.80	...	...	2	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	2	5.50	9.91	...	...	2	5.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	2	5.00	9.01	...	...	2	5.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	2	2.00	3.60	...	...	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	2	2.00	3.60	...	...	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XVIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
			Rs.nP.			Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.
Barber	Food	2	17.50	60.34	1	5.00	1	30.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	2	4.00	13.79	1	1.00	1	7.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	2	3.50	12.07	1	2.00	1	5.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	2	2.00	6.90	1	1.00	1	3.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	2	2.00	6.90	1	2.00	1	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rice-pounding	Food	2	12.50	65.79	2	12.50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	2	1.50	7.89	2	1.50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	2	2.00	10.53	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	2	1.00	5.26	2	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	2	2.00	10.53	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Panchayat sweeper	Food	2	37.50	83.33	...	...	2	37.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	2	2.00	4.44	...	...	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	2	2.50	5.57	...	...	2	2.50	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	2	2.00	4.44	...	...	2	2.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Others	1	1.00	2.22	...	...	1	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Postman	Food	2	145.50	91.79	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	85.00	1	206.00
	Education	1	2.00	0.64	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2.00
	Clothing	2	3.25	2.10	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2.50	1	4.00
	Fuel	2	5.00	3.22	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5.00	1	5.00
	Luxuries	2	2.50	1.61	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3.00	1	2.00
	Others	1	2.00	0.64	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2.00	...	...
Teacher	Food	9	86.22	81.26	...	...	1	45.00	3	61.00	2	84.00	3	126.67
	Education	3	2.67	2.52	...	...	...	...	1	2.00	1	2.00	1	4.00
	Clothing	9	4.83	4.55	...	...	1	2.00	3	8.33	2	3.50	3	3.17
	Fuel	9	5.44	5.13	...	...	1	2.00	3	4.00	2	5.00	3	8.33
	Luxuries	6	1.83	1.72	...	...	1	1.00	3	2.00	1	3.00	1	1.00
	Lighting	9	5.11	4.82	...	...	1	2.00	3	3.00	2	5.00	3	8.33

Table No. XVIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
			Rs.nP.			Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.		Rs.nP.
Betel vine cultivation	Food	3	48'33	79'12	...	...	2	45'00	1	55'00	...	...	...	...
	Education	2	1'25	2'05	...	...	2	1'25	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Clothing	3	3'00	4'91	...	...	2	4'00	1	1'00	...	...	...	...
	Fuel	3	4'33	7'09	...	...	2	4'00	1	5'00	...	...	...	...
	Luxuries	3	1'17	1'92	...	...	2	0'75	1	2'00	...	...	...	...
	Lighting	3	3'00	4'91	...	...	2	3'00	1	3'00	...	...	...	...
Other occupations	Food	25	42'00	76'81	7	20'71	7	31'43	4	56'25	1	80'00	6	63'33
	Education	15	1'60	1'76	2	0'50	5	1'30	2	2'50	1	3'00	5	1'70
	Clothing	25	2'78	5'09	7	1'79	7	2'07	4	3'88	1	12'50	6	2'42
	Fuel	25	4'12	7'53	7	2'14	7	4'00	4	5'00	1	5'00	6	5'83
	Luxuries	20	2'05	3'00	6	0'83	6	2'17	4	2'75	1	2'00	3	3'33
	Lighting	25	3'18	5'81	7	2'00	7	2'43	4	3'50	1	5'00	6	4'92

181. As many as 304 households are indebted and these constitute fifty-three percent of the total households. The indebted households are spread among all the income groups, but the percentage of indebted households is more among the lower income groups than among the high income groups. The percentage of indebted households is the most in the income group of Rs. 26 to Rs. 50 where 63.8% of the households are indebted; it is the least in the income group of Rs. 101 and over where 17.7% of the households are indebted. The average debt per household varies between the income groups as it should be. It is the lowest in the income group of Rs. 25 and below per month and it gradually raises with the rise in income. It ranges from Rs. 544.95 per household in the income group of below Rs. 25 to Rs. 3,472.73 per household in the highest income group of Rs. 101 and over per month. The village average works out to Rs. 764.67 per household.

TABLE No. XIX

Indebtedness

Community	Income group	Total No. of households	Indebtedness by income group			Average indebtedness per household in debt
			No. of households in dept	Percentage of indebted households to total households	Total indebtedness	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
					Rs.	Rs. nP.
Muslim-Hanafi	Rs. 25 and below	67	36	53·73	18,710	519·72
	Rs. 26 to 50	56	31	55·36	24,300	783·87
	Rs. 51 to 75	18	7	38·89	8,450	1,207·14
	Rs. 76 to 100	9	5	55·56	14,100	2,820·00
	Rs. 101 and over	19	4	21·05	11,700	2,925·00
	Total	169	83	49·11	77,260	930·84
Muslim-Shafi	Rs. 25 and below	36	30	83·33	23,250	775·00
	Rs. 26 to 50	44	27	61·36	23,300	862·96
	Rs. 51 to 75	18	9	50·00	8,900	988·89
	Rs. 76 to 100	6	2	33·33	2,400	1,200·00
	Rs. 101 and over	5	1	20·00	1,000	1,000·00
	Total	109	69	63·30	58,850	852·90
Brahmin	Rs. 25 and below	7	2	28·57	200	100·00
	Rs. 26 to 50	12	4	33·33	1,000	250·00
	Rs. 51 to 75	7	1	14·29	500	500·00
	Rs. 76 to 100	7	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	27	2	7·41	13,000	6,500·00
	Total	60	9	15·00	14,700	1,633·33
Pillai	Rs. 25 and below	22	8	36·36	4,500	562·50
	Rs. 26 to 50	26	14	53·85	10,550	753·57
	Rs. 51 to 75	10	2	20·00	3,950	1,975·00
	Rs. 76 to 100	5	1	20·00	1,500	1,500·00
	Rs. 101 and over	6	3	50·00	9,500	3,166·67
	Total	69	28	40·58	30,000	1,071·43
Achari	Rs. 25 and below	7	2	28·57	180	90·00
	Rs. 26 to 50	18	10	55·56	2,600	260·00
	Rs. 51 to 75	6	3	50·00	1,200	400·00
	Rs. 76 to 100	2	1	50·00	300	300·00
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	33	16	48·48	4,280	267·50

RAVANASAMUDRAM

Table No. XIX (contd.)

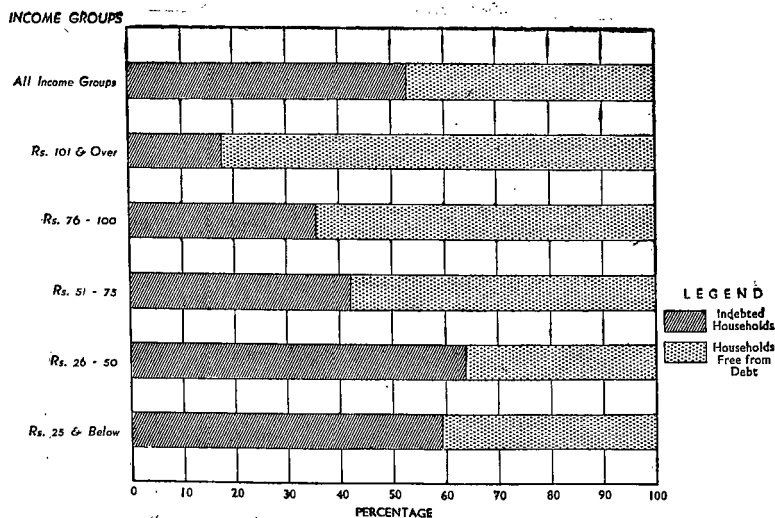
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Muppanar	Rs. 25 and below	10	6	60'00	1,950	325'00
	Rs. 26 to 50	15	11	73'33	2,350	213'64
	Rs. 51 to 75	4	2	50'00	800	400'00
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	29	19	65'52	5,100	268'42
Yadhava	Rs. 25 and below	13	9	69'23	5,350	594'44
	Rs. 26 to 50	11	9	81'82	5,250	583'33
	Rs. 51 to 75	1	1	100'00	500	500'00
	Rs. 76 to 100	1	1	100'00	1,000	1,000'00
	Rs. 101 and over	2	1	50'00	3,000	3,000'00
	Total	28	21	75'00	15,100	719'05
Pandaram	Rs. 25 and below	11	10	90'91	4,150	415'00
	Rs. 26 to 50	10	7	70'00	1,650	235'71
	Rs. 51 to 75	3	2	66'67	1,600	800'00
	Rs. 76 to 100	1	1	100'00	1,000	1,000'00
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	25	20	80'00	8,400	420'00
Meistry	Rs. 25 and below	1	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	7	6	85'71	1,750	291'66
	Rs. 51 to 75	1	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	9	6	66'67	1,750	291'66
Vania Chettiar	Rs. 25 and below	3	2	66'67	350	175'00
	Rs. 26 to 50	4	4	100'00	1,020	255'00
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	7	6	85'71	1,370	228'33
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	Rs. 25 and below	2	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	4	4	100'00	1,825	456'25
	Rs. 51 to 75	1	1	100'00	100	100'00
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	2	...	...	...	...
	Total	9	5	55'56	1,925	385'00

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XIX (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Other	Rs. 25 and below	9	6	66.67	1,850	308.33
Communities	Rs. 26 to 50	14	14	100.00	3,875	276.78
	Rs. 51 to 75	2	2	100.00	8,000	4,000.00
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	1	...	...	...	...
	Total	26	22	84.62	13,725	623.86
Village Total	Rs. 25 and below	188	111	59.04	60,490	544.95
	Rs. 26 to 50	221	141	63.80	79,470	563.62
	Rs. 51 to 75	71	30	42.25	34,000	1,133.33
	Rs. 76 to 100	31	11	35.48	20,300	1,845.45
	Rs. 101 and over	62	11	17.74	38,200	3,472.73
	Total	573	304	53.05	2,32,460	764.67

INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



182. A considerable number of the households in the lower income groups have the necessity to borrow to buy their daily wants since very often their expenditure on necessities outruns their income. Even those families who are just able to buy their necessities with their incomes have to borrow for contingencies like marriage or sickness in the family. Due to these

two causes, a greater proportion of the households in the lower income groups are indebted. Largest number of indebted households had borrowed money to meet their daily wants. As many as 176 households have incurred debts to the tune of Rs. 78,090 to meet their ordinary wants and this works out to 33.6% of the total debt of the village. The next important cause of indebtedness is the expenditure on marriages. One hundred families have borrowed to the tune of Rs. 84,920 to meet the marriage expenses. The debt under this cause constitutes as much as 36.5% of the total debt of the village. Marriage involves considerable amount of ostentatious and wasteful expenditure which many of them cannot help because of considerations like social prestige. Even simple marriages cost a considerable amount and the poorer section who find their incomes hardly sufficient for their maintenance, have no other choice except to borrow. These two are the prominent causes of indebtedness in this village and the total debt due to these two causes works out to Rs. 1,63,010 which works out to 70.1% of the total debt of the village. The other important causes of indebtedness are losses in cultivation and business and sickness in the family. These causes account for nearly twenty-two percent of the total debt of the village and forty-one families are in debt due to these causes. The five causes of indebtedness discussed above are all unproductive causes and they account for ninety-two percent of the total debt of the village. Only the remaining eight percent of the debts are due to productive causes. The only two productive causes of indebtedness are purchase of lands and house construction.

TABLE No. XX

Indebtedness by causes

Community	Cause	Amount of debt Rs.	Number of families in debt	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (Percentage)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Muslim-Hanafi	(a) House construction or repairs to existing building	750	5	0.97
	(b) Marriages	39,975	38	51.74
	(c) Purchase of cattle	300	1	0.39
	(d) Sickness	900	5	1.16
	(e) Ordinary wants	24,835	46	32.15
	(f) Household cultivation	8,000	3	10.35
	(g) Business run by the household	2,500	2	3.24
	Total	77,260	100	100

VILLAGE SURVEY

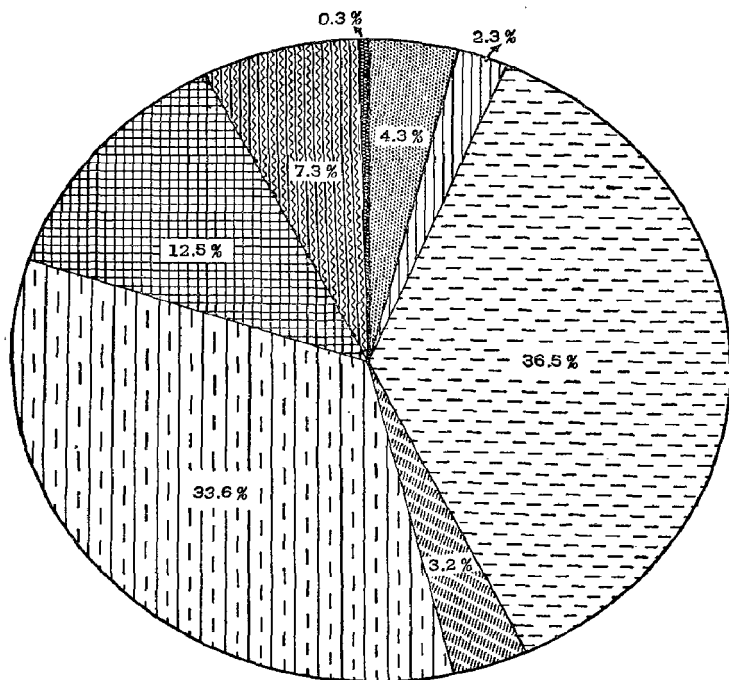
Table No. XX (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Muslim-Shafi	(a) House construction or repairs to existing building	2,000	3	3'40
	(b) Marriages	24,350	26	41'38
	(c) Sickness	4,800	4	8'15
	(d) Ordinary wants	15,200	26	25'83
	(e) Business run by the household	12,500	9	21'24
	Total	58,850	58	100
Brahmin	(a) Ordinary wants	10,700	9	72'79
	(b) Household cultivation	4,000	1	27'21
	Total	14,700	10	100
Pillai	(a) Purchase of land	6,000	4	20'00
	(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	1,950	3	6'50
	(c) Marriages	2,850	6	9'50
	(d) Sickness	1,500	2	5'00
	(e) Ordinary wants	8,200	15	27'33
	(f) Household cultivation	9,500	7	31'67
	Total	30,000	37	100
Achari	(a) Marriages	2,000	3	46'73
	(b) Ordinary wants	1,980	12	46'26
	(c) Business run by the household	300	1	7'01
	Total	4,280	16	100
Muppanar	(a) Marriages	1,600	4	31'37
	(b) Purchase of cart	50	1	0'98
	(c) Purchase of cattle	550	2	10'79
	(d) Ordinary wants	2,000	10	39'22
	(e) Household cultivation	350	1	6'86
	(f) Business run by the household	550	2	10'78
	Total	5,100	20	100

Table No. XX (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Yadhava	(a) Purchase of land	4,000	2	26.49
	(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	750	2	4.97
	(c) Marriages	4,900	6	32.45
	(d) Purchase of cattle	1,800	4	11.92
	(e) Education	500	1	3.31
	(f) Ordinary wants	3,150	9	20.86
	Total	15,100	24	100
Pandaram	(a) Marriages	1400	3	16.67
	(b) Ordinary wants	6,150	16	73.21
	(c) Household cultivation	850	2	10.12
	Total	8,400	21	100
Meistry	(a) Marriages	250	1	14.29
	(b) Sickness	300	1	17.14
	(c) Ordinary wants	1,200	5	68.57
	Total	1,750	7	100
Vania Chettiar	(a) Marriages	970	3	70.80
	(b) Ordinary wants	400	3	29.20
	Total	1370	6	100
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	(a) Purchase of cattle	750	2	38.96
	(b) Marriages	75	1	3.90
	(c) Ordinary wants	100	1	5.19
	(d) Business run by the household	1,000	1	51.95
	Total	1,925	5	100
Other communities	(a) Marriages	6,550	9	47.72
	(b) Ordinary wants	4,175	15	30.42
	(c) Household cultivation	3,000	1	21.86
	Total	13,725	25	100
Village Total	(a) Purchase of land	10,000	6	4.30
	(b) House construction or repairs to existing building	5,450	13	2.34
	(c) Marriages	84,920	100	36.53
	(d) Sickness	7,500	12	3.23
	(e) Ordinary wants	78,090	176	33.59
	(f) Household cultivation	25,700	14	11.06
	(g) Purchase of cattle	3,400	7	1.46
	(h) Business run by the household	16,850	15	7.25
	(i) Others	550	3	0.24
	Total	2,32,460	346	100

CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS



LEGEND

	Purchase of Land		Household Expenses
	House Construction etc.		Household Cultivation
	Marriages		Business
	Medical Expenses		Other Causes

183. The sources of credit are mostly the private money-lenders in this village and in the neighbouring towns of Kadayam and Pottalpur. There is no organised source of credit like Co-operative Society in this village. Previously, a Co-operative Society was functioning here and it was wound up four years back because of defalcation and mismanagement of funds by the Manager of the Co-operative Society. There has not been any fresh attempt to form a Co-operative Society and people mostly resort to the private money-lenders and merchants for credit. Many of the mat weavers take advances from the merchants and many others borrow from the South Indian Bank at Kadayam which lends money on the security of jewels. Such of those who do not have jewels to be pledged, rely only on friends, neighbours and private money-lenders for loans.

184. Land ownership is not only an index of the economic status of the owner but also certain amount of social prestige is attached to it. Bulk of the cultivable land in the village are concentrated in the three dominant communities, namely, the Muslims, Brahmins and the Pillais. Most of the medium-sized and big holdings are owned by the people from these three communities. Out of the 225 holdings in the village, as many as 175 holdings or 77.78 % of the holdings are owned by these communities. The other holdings, most of which are small-sized ranging from ten to fifty cents, are distributed between the members of the other communities. The Barbers, Kuravans and Sambans do not own any land.

185. Land is the important of the economic assets of the village. There is a total extent of 205 acres of wet lands and forty-four acres of dry lands. Majority of holdings are small and medium-sized ones. As much as thirty-two percent of the holdings are less than fifty cents in area and another thirty-eight percent of the holdings are medium-sized with their areas ranging from 0.5 acre to 2.5 acres. Only the remaining thirty percent of the holdings are larger than 2.5 acres in area.

Table No. XXI
Possession of Land

Com- munity	Name of interest on land	Number of households and extent of land									
		No land	5 cents & below	6-10 cents	11-20 cents	21-50 cents	51 cents to 1 acre	1.01 to 2.49 acres	2.50 to 4.99 acres	5 to 9.99 acres	10 acres & above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Muslim-Hanafi	Land owned	...	...	...	...	23	14	12	10	5	6
	Land owned & taken on lease	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Land held from Government & taken on lease	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
	No land	96	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muslim-Shafi	Land owned	...	...	...	1	18	4	17	3	1	...
	Land held from Government & taken on lease	1
	No land	64

VILLAGE SURVEY

Table No. XXI (contd.)

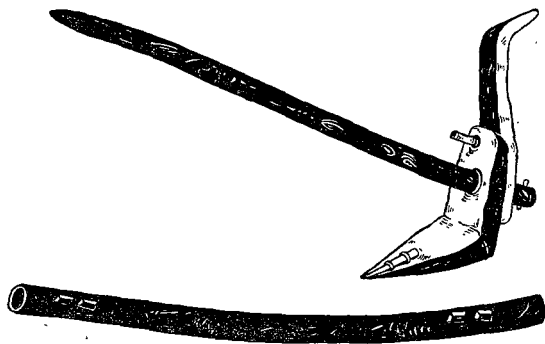
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Table No. XXI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	Land owned	1	2	...	1	...
	No land	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other communities	Land owned	...	...	...	1	4	1	1	...	1	...
	Land held from Government & taken on lease	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	No land	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Village Total	Land owned	...	...	1	5	65	36	42	25	17	17
	Land owned & taken on lease	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	1
	Land held from Government & taken on lease	...	...	...	2	7	10	3	...	...	...
	No land	336	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

186. As observed earlier, the village lies in the most fertile part of Tirunelveli district and the land values range from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 7,000 per acre of wet land and Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500 per acre of dry land. The wet lands of this village have perennial sources of irrigation. The main source of irrigation is the Vagaikulam channel which irrigates an extent of 173 acres. The Vagaikulam channel branches off from the river Rama Nadhi and supplies water for cultivation for ten months in a year, that is, all throughout the year except April and

Agriculture

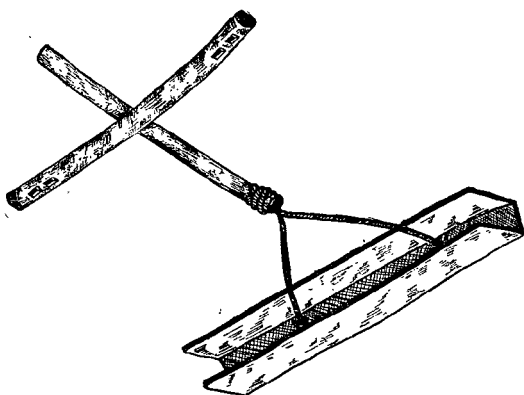


The Country plough

May. The remaining extent of wet lands are irrigated from the two tanks, namely, Iyyam pillaikulam and Korandaikulam. These tanks are fed by feeder-channels from the river Rama Nadhi and Jambu Nadhi, a tributary of Rama Nadhi.

187. Almost the entire extent of wet lands is cultivated with paddy and two crops of paddy are raised in a year. The first crop is raised during the *Kar* season which extends

from the middle of June to the first week of October. The second crop is raised during the *Pishanam* season which starts in the later half of October and extends upto February-March. The average yield per acre ranges from twelve to fifteen kottahs for the first crop and ten to twelve kottahs for the second crop. A kottah of paddy is equivalent to 112 Madras measures or 161.28 Kilograms. Most of the wet lands lie fallow during the summer months.



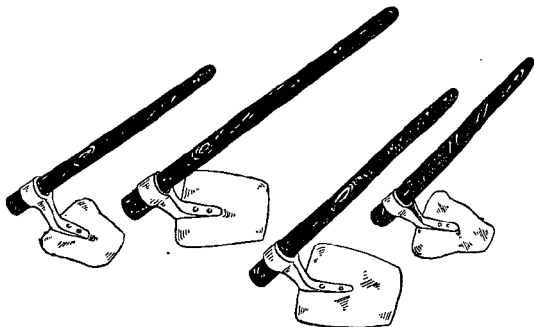
The levelling instrument used in agriculture

taken by a few of the cultivators to improve their methods of cultivation. An improved type of wooden plough known as the *Bose plough* is becoming increasingly popular among the cultivators. A few cultivators have just adopted the Japanese method of cultivation. Last year, about ten percent of the cultivators obtained improved seeds from the Block Development Office and reaped good yields. So, a greater number of ryots are using these improved seeds this year. The manures commonly used are the farm-yard manure and the green-leaves manure. A good number of farmers also use fertilisers like Ammonium Sulphate and Super Phosphate which, however, are available only in limited quantities. Whenever the crops are affected with pests, the insecticides are sprayed. The seedlings are transplanted for the first crop during the *Kar* season and the broadcasting method is adopted for the second crop.

189. Oil seeds like ground-nuts and gingelly are cultivated in the dry lands.

In small plots **Dry crops** which are irrigable with well water, some of the ryots raise commercial crops like chillies and plantains. In the wet lands, a summer crop of blackgram is also raised over small extents, as this crop takes only three months to mature. Such of those ryots who do not want to leave their wet lands fallow during summer months raise blackgram in their fields. Ground

188. The technique and methods of cultivation are antiquated and only in the recent years efforts are



Spades used in agriculture

nuts and gingelly are the most important dry crops of this village and other crops like Ragi, Cumbu or Cholam do not seem to be cultivated except for stray cases. Coconuts are the other important produce of the village and the coconut groves extend over an area of 5.5 acres.

190. The three important agricultural products of this village are paddy, ground-nuts and gingelly. It has been estimated that an annual quantity of 9,090 bags of paddy is produced in this village. Nearly ninety-five percent of the paddy produced is consumed in the village itself leaving a marketable surplus of only 290 bags. The ground-nut and gingelly produced in this

Marketing

village are mostly sold out and very little of them is retained for local consumption. The marketable surplus of paddy is mostly sold in the village itself. The two Rice Mill owners in the village buy off nearly fifty to sixty percent of the marketable surplus, grind them in their mills and export the rice to Kerala. The rest of the marketable surplus is bought by grain merchants and private money-lenders of this village as well as those from the neighbouring villages of Kadayam and Pottalpur. These merchants store up paddy for sometime and sell it after the prices shoot up a little. The Rice Millers and the grain merchants advance interest-free loans to some of the cultivators under an agreement that when the paddy is harvested, it should be sold to the lenders at a discount of Rs. 5 per kottah from the prevailing market price of paddy. The return to the cultivators by this method is rather low not only because the market price of paddy is low immediately after the harvest but also because of the discount made in lieu of interest. This discount works out to a high rate of interest. The South Indian Bank at Kadayam which lends money on the security of the jewels, charges only 12% as interest. The marketable surplus of groundnuts and oil seeds are also purchased by the merchants from the neighbouring villages. There is no organised method of marketing like a Co-operative Marketing Society in this village.

TABLE No. XXII

Quantum of Agricultural produce and their disposal

	Paddy (1) (bags)*	Ground-nut (2) (lbs)	Coconut (3) (nos)	Gingelly (4) (lbs)
Total annual quantity produced	9,090	2,128	496	3,536
Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households	8,800	—	496	—
Total annual quantity available for sale	290	2,128	—	3,536

* 1 Bag=80.640 kgm.

191. Agriculture is often termed as a 'gamble in the monsoon'. It is not so as far as this village is concerned, since it has perennial sources of irrigation. All the same, cultivation seems to be a remunerative occupation only for the owners of medium and large-sized holdings. The small cultivators often seem to work at a loss due to uneconomic size of their holdings. But these peasants continue to eke out a meagre livelihood from their tiny plots unmindful of the losses. This is so because the alternative ways of comfortable living are not open to them in the village and nor do these half-starved peasants seek them outside the village. They very often supplement their income from their tiny plots by working as agricultural labourers in the fields belonging to others. The agricultural labourers are paid in cash except for harvesting for which they are paid in kind. The wages for these labourers are paid at the rate of Rs. 1.25 for a male worker and 75 nP. for a female worker per day.

192. The plight of the leasehold cultivators is also not quite happy. A good number of the leasehold cultivators carry on cultivation at a loss because they do not see alternative

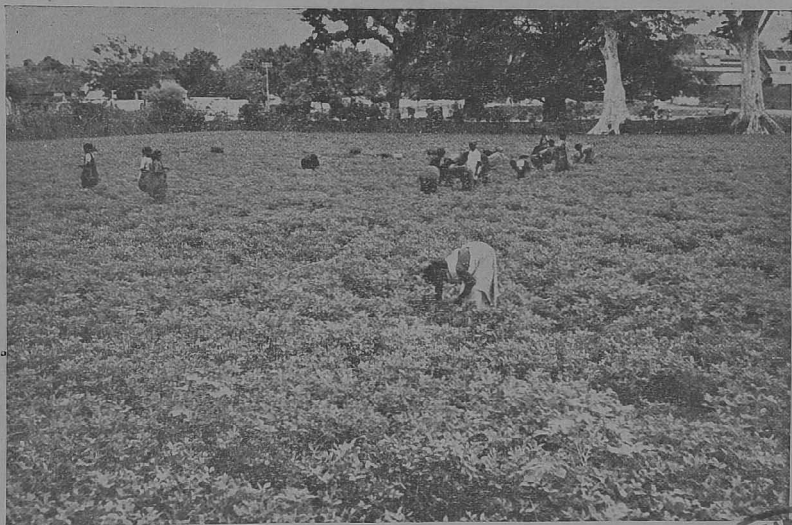
ways of earning their livelihood. The consideration for the leasehold is paid in kind and it ranges from twelve to fourteen kottahs of paddy per acre for one year. The yield from two crops of paddy ranges from twenty to twenty-seven kottahs per acre. Nearly one-third of the yield is required to meet the cost of cultivation. After paying the land-owner and meeting the cultivation expenses, the leasehold cultivator is left with only about six to eight kottahs of paddy for his family maintenance for the whole year. In recent years, especially after the enactment of the Tenants' Protection Act and the Fair Rent Act, a good number of the tenants are resorting to the Fair Rent Court for the fixation of fair rents. The other effect that these land reforms have had on the leasehold practices is that nowadays the lease deeds are reduced to writing unlike previously when it used to be oral agreements.

193. Besides the land, the other economic asset of the village is the livestock. The livestock of the village comprises of 245 bullocks, 151 cows, 151 buffaloes. The bulls and cows are not of any improved variety, but of the local breed obtained from the shandies in the neighbourhood. The bullocks and the he-buffaloes form the draught force of the village used in ploughing, cart-pulling, etc. The cows and she-buffaloes are reared for their yield of milk. A good number of the milch cattle belong to the Yadhavas, many of whom have milk-selling as a secondary occupation. There are also 527 sheep and goats and 293 poultry in this village. The sheep and the goats mostly belong to the Yadhavas whose traditional occupation is shepherding. The Yadhavas lend their sheep and goats for penning on the cultivable land. They earn a sizeable income through this. There is no Poultry Farm in the village. A good number of the Muslims, Yadhavas and the Muppanars breed poultry at their homes. The fodder requirements for the cattle is met to a very large extent by letting the cattle graze in the pastures around the village and in the neighbouring forests. The draught cattle are fed with dried hay and husk except during seasons of hard work when they are given special fodder like cotton seeds and ground-nut cakes. The milch cattle, in addition to grazing in the pastures, are fed with ground-nut cakes and cotton seeds.

TABLE No. XXIII

Livestock Statistics

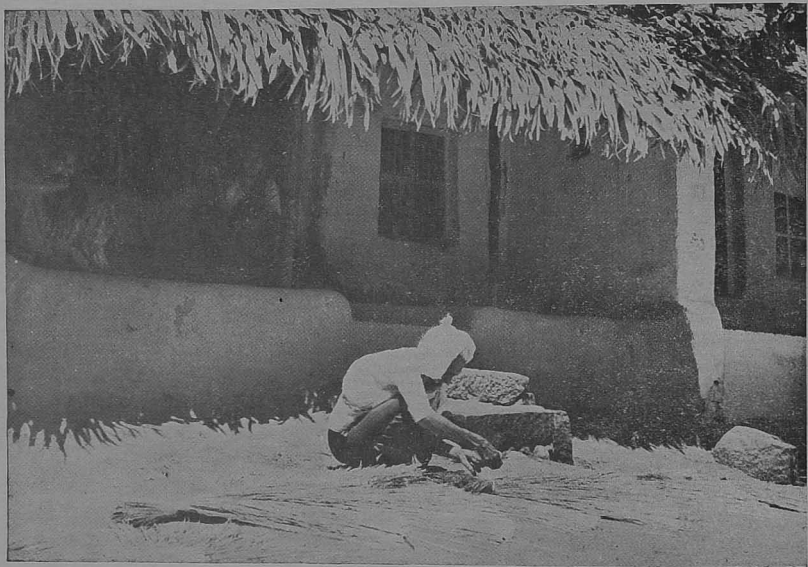
Community	Cows		Bullocks		Goat/Sheep		Buffaloes		Poultry	
	No. of households owning	Total number	No. of households owning	Total number	No. of households owning	Total number	No. of households owning	Total number	No. of households owning	Total number
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Muslim-Hanafi	20	47	13	46	8	27	3	5	110	132
Muslim-Shafi	9	19	5	20	...	...	...	...	35	78
Brahmin	12	28	9	58	...	...	6	6	...	...
Pillai	19	29	11	38	3	6	10	28	...	...
Achari	4	4	3	4	...	...	...	...	2	3
Muppanar	1	1	3	8	3	5	3	6	10	24
Yadhava	4	10	18	48	13	478	23	90	9	16
Pandaram	1	1	2	13	...	...	3	8	5	10
Meistry	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	1	1	1
Vania Chettiar	1	3	...	...	1	4	...	...	3	7
Saiva Pillai Chettiar	5	6	1	3	2	5	3	5	3	3
Other communities	3	3	2	6	2	2	1	2	7	19
Total	79	151	68	245	32	527	53	151	185	293



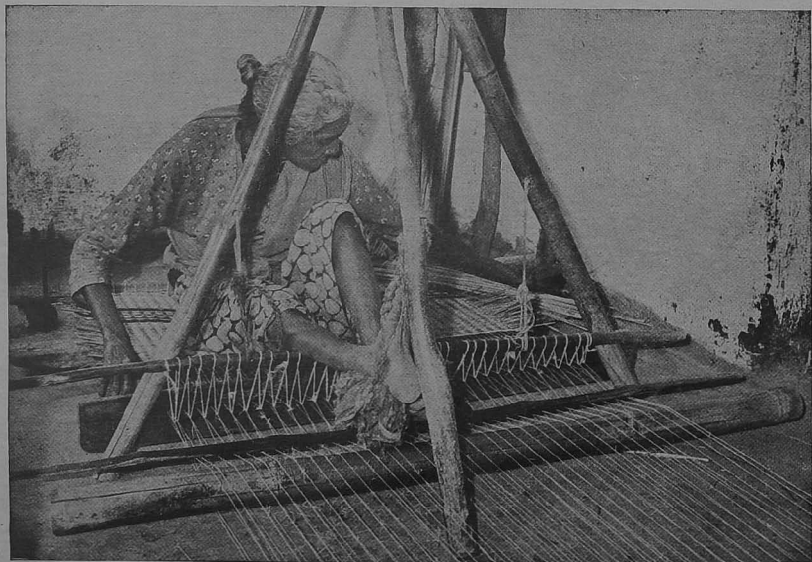
Agricultural labourers at work



Beedi-rolling is the second important non-traditional household industry of the village. Picture shows a group of women-folk engaged in beedi-rolling. Even young girls of eleven and twelve who ought to be attending school are engaged in this household industry.



A process in mat-weaving — The *Korai* grass is being dried up in the sun.



Mat-weaving in progress

194. Household industries form one of the major sources of livelihood for the people of this village. The most important household industry of the village is the mat-weaving industry. A total number of 319 workers, comprising of 18

Mat-weaving Industry males and 301 females are engaged in this occupation and 137 households of this village are primarily dependent upon this industry for their livelihood. Most of the workers engaged in this occupation are piece-rate wage earners. These workers obtain the raw materials from the mat-merchants of the village. They return the finished products to these merchants and they are paid wages according to the number of mats woven. Normally, a piece-rate wage of four to six annas per mat is paid. A person, if occupied for the whole day from dawn to dusk, can weave two mats at the most. But an average worker weaves only about one to one and a half mats per day for which his daily earnings range from six to nine annas. There are, however, a good number of independent weavers, say about twenty five to thirty workers. These people buy the raw materials themselves, weave the mats and sell them to the mat-merchants at competitive rates ranging from fourteen annas to Rs. 1.50 per mat depending upon the quality and the size of the mat. These independent weavers obtain the raw materials from the Sales Depot at Kadayam run by the Mat-Weavers' Co-operative Society. They buy bundles of Korai grass at the rate of Rs. 10 per bundle out of which they can weave about twenty-five to thirty mats. These independent weavers also employ one or two coolies who work under them and get paid piece-rate wages. The average earnings of an independent weaver range from ten to fourteen annas per day.

195. Though the average earnings of the independent weavers are slightly more than the earnings of the piece-rate workers in this occupation, the majority of the people are working as piece-rate wage earners, because of their inability to invest money in raw materials. This, I feel, is in a large measure due to the unfortunate lack of enterprising spirit on the part of these workers. The net result of the inertia of these workers is that the middle-man-merchant who gives them the raw materials and takes the finished products after paying their piece-rate wages, benefits a great deal because the wages he pays to the weaver is only a portion of the final consumer's price that he will get.

196. The raw materials required for the industry are the Korai grass and the dyeing materials. The Korai grass is available in plenty in the neighbouring tank and river beds and in the channel bunds. It grows in abundance in the swampy grounds at the foot of the hills. The right to collect this grass has been granted by the Government

Raw-materials to the Veeravanallur Mat-weavers' Co-operative Society. This Mat-weavers' Co-operative Society has opened Sales Depots in various places for the benefit of the mat-weavers. One such Sales Depot is in Kadayam, about one and a half miles from this village. This Depot not only sells Korai grass but also buys the finished products from the weavers. In addition to the Korai grass locally available, the Weavers' Society imports Korai grass from places like Karur and Thanjavur. It is from this Sales Depot at Kadayam that the independent weavers of this village buy their requirements of Korai grass. As regards their finished products, the independent weavers sell them either to the Sales Depot at Kadayam or to the merchants operating in the village, whichever price is advantageous to them. In cases where the independent weavers have taken loans from the merchants, the former are obliged to sell their finished products to their creditors even at a lower price.

197. As regards the piece-rate wage earners, they do not generally go to the sales depot at Kadayam as the local merchants supply them all the raw-materials required and take the finished products from them after paying the piece-rate wages. The mat-merchants who operate in this village generally import Korai grass from places like Karur and Thanjavur. The finished articles collected by them are sent to the wholesale merchants in towns who export them to other districts. Special mats woven for export to Burma and Malaya are sent either to Nagapattinam or Tuticorin ports. The independent weavers sell part of their finished products in

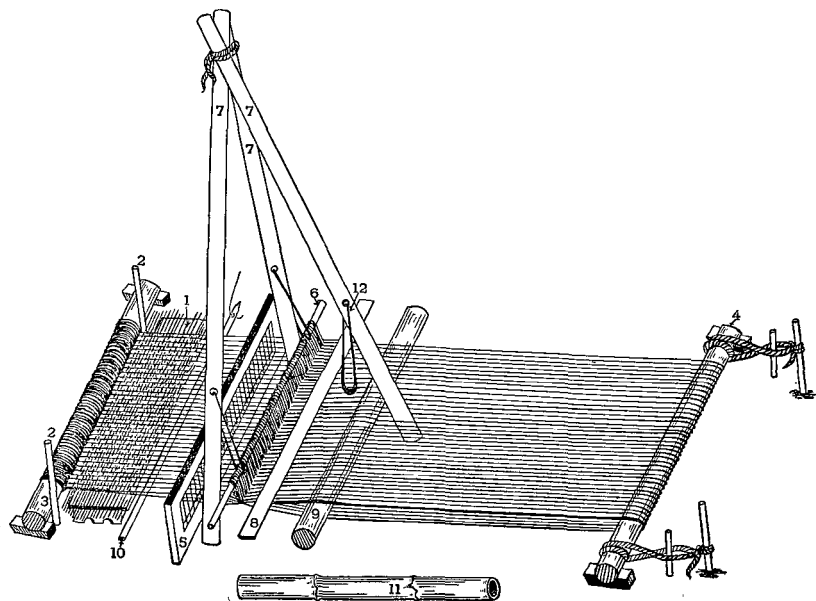
the neighbouring shandies at Kadayam, Pottalpudur etc. There are a large number of mat-weavers in this taluk and the Korai grass mats are also widely used by the poor people.

198. The raw-grass cut from the tank or river bunds is dried up in the sun for two or three days, after which it is soaked in water for one or two hours. Then the grass is taken

out of the water and dried up in a shady place. The thick stems of the grass are split into two or three thin yarns. The yarn is once again dried up in the sun for a few hours till it

attains a fine mellow golden colour and it has lost all the trace of greenness. The mats woven out of these have the golden colour of the grass. The borders of the mats are woven with the dyed strands. These strands are dyed as follows. The red and the green dyes are popular among the weavers. The dye is mixed with water and the strands or yarn to be dyed are soaked in it and boiled. After one or two hours, the strands are taken out and dried up in the sun. Now, the strands acquire the colour of the dye. The dying materials are obtained from the local market.

199. The mats are woven with locally made looms and shuttles. Thin strands of aloe fibre are used as warps. A split bamboo needle is used as the shuttle. The loom is a very simple construction and it is locally made by the carpenters with bamboos and thin wooden rafters. Generally, the mats woven do not have any design except that the borders are woven with the coloured strands. But of late, some of the mat-weavers weave mats with floral patterns. On specific orders, initials are also woven out of the coloured threads.



Mat-weaver's loom

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Mana palakai (Seating Plank) | 5. Achu (Reed) | 9. Ana: kuzhal (Separating beam) |
| 2. Mulai kambi (wooden-pegs) | 6. Veludukambu (Beam) | 10. Kuchaali (Shuttle) |
| 3. Suththu Pirimaram (Beam) | 7. Mukkali (Tripod-stand) | 11. Ethi Kattai (Bamboo Stick) |
| 4. Mun Thundu (Front Beam) | 8. Mithi Pattai (Plank peddle) | 12. Kalari (Supporting rope) |

200. Though a large number of workers are engaged in this important occupation, there has not been any attempt to form a Co-operative Society for their benefit. Because of the absence of a Co-operative Society which can lend raw-materials to the weavers and which can assure the marketability of the finished products after paying the weavers a reasonable portion of the consumers price, a large number of weavers are left at the mercy of the merchants who exploit the situation by paying a low percentage of the consumers' price to the weavers. Actually the wages paid to the piece-rate workers range from one-third to two-fourths of the final price of the mat. The raw-materials would not cost more than about one-third of the consumer's price. This leaves a large margin of profit for the middle-man at the cost of the weavers. Even the independent weavers are sometimes faced with the necessity of selling the mats to their creditors at low rates, whenever they borrow money from the merchants. The only benefit which accrues to the mat-weavers of this village from the sales depot at Kadayam is that they get the raw-materials easily. This Sales Depot does not provide any credit facilities.

201. The other important cottage industry of this village is beedi-making. This industry is more important as a subsidiary occupation than as a primary occupation as many of the agricultural labourers have this as a secondary occupation, whenever they do not have agricultural work. A total number of thirty-eight workers comprising of thirty-two females and six males are engaged in this occupation. Like the majority of the mat-weavers, workers in this industry also are piece-rate wage earners. The raw materials are supplied to them by the beedi-merchant who takes back the finished products after paying the piece-rate wages. All the raw-materials like tobacco, rolling leaves and thread are supplied from the Beedi Factory at Mukkudal. An agent of the Mukkudal Factory comes with his van once or twice a week to the village, distributes the raw-materials to the workers and collects the finished products after paying the piece-rate wages. The Beedi Factory at Mukkudal belongs to a wealthy merchant, by name Chokkalal Ram Sait, and he has the monopoly of beedi business in this region. Raw-materials for the beedies like tobacco and rolling leaves are imported from Vijayawada and the finished products made here are exported to other parts of Tamilnad and other countries like ceylon, Burma and Malaya.

202. The wages for beedi-rolling is one anna for a bundle of twenty-five beedies and two annas for a bundle of forty beedies. A worker can roll about eight to ten bundles per day, if she is engaged in this work for the whole day. But rarely does a worker engage herself in this occupation for the whole day. During the off-season when they do not have work in the fields, the workers spend about five to six hours in beedi-rolling and their average daily earnings range from six to ten annas per day. Even during the days when they have agricultural work, they engage themselves in this occupation for one or two hours. Though this is a remunerative occupation which enables the workers to work in their homes during their leisure to supplement their incomes, not many people are engaged in this occupation. There is no restriction for other people to take up this secondary occupation which provides a supplementary source of income. Yet, this occupation has not drawn many of the needy people of the village possibly because of the low remuneration and also because of their inertia and lack of inclination to learn the craft of beedi-rolling.

203. The other industry of importance in this village is textile-weaving, in which a total number of fifteen persons, comprising of eight males and seven females are engaged. Even here, the weavers are only piece-rate wage earners. They get yarn from the merchants, weave it and give back the finished cloth to the merchants. They are paid on the basis of the weight of the woven cloth. There is a yarn merchant in this village who supplies yarn to the majority of the weavers in this village; the other weavers get their yarn from the merchants of Kallidai-kurichi. The cloth woven in this village is a rough kind of cloth.

204. There is also a dairy farm in this village. It is a Co-operative venture and it is known as the Ganapathy Dairy Farm. It was started in 1957 by a partnership of four enterprising people with a capital of Rs. 1,200. Additional

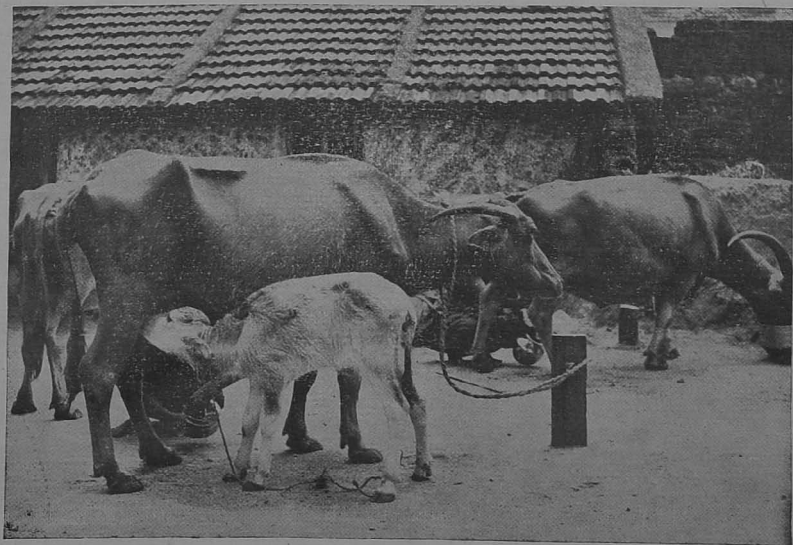
Ganapathy Dairy Farm

members were enrolled on payment of the share capital of Rs. 5. Ten she-buffaloes were bought and distributed to the members who undertook to rear the buffaloes and supply milk to the farm. In addition to this ten people, milk was supplied to the farm by another twenty people who owned milch cows; these were mostly from the Yadhava community. The farm worked very well for about one or two years when the membership was on the increase and it was supplying milk to this village as well as to the neighbouring villages of Pottalpudur and Kadayam. The farm used to buy milk at the rate of 88 nP. per measure and sell it at Re. 1 per measure; 12 nP. per measure accrued as profit to the farm. (One measure is equal to about two litres). Interest-free loans were also granted to some members to enable them to buy milch cattle, with the understanding that they will supply milk to the farm.

205. With the increase in the number of tea-shops and hotels in the village, a number of Yadhava people who were previously supplying milk to the farm found it more profitable to supply direct to the tea-shops, not only because the tea-shop owners paid a little more than the farm but also because they were able to pass off diluted milk to the tea-shop owners. At the dairy farm, it was insisted that the cows should be brought to the farm for milking and only undiluted milk was accepted at the farm. These stipulations by the dairy farm and the unfair competition of the tea-shop owners undermined the working of the farm to a large extent. At present, there are only twenty-four people who supply milk to the farm. They are under the obligation of supplying milk to the farm because of the interest-free loans they have taken from the farm. These twenty-four people own about fifty she-buffaloes and cows. The farm also owns twelve buffaloes which are reared in the farm itself. Other milch cattle owners who are free from any obligation to the farm, supply milk direct to consumers and to the tea-shops. Only such of those people who do not have capital, approach the farm for interest-free loans to buy a cow or a buffalo and they supply milk to the farm only till their loans are cleared. Because of the dwindling business of the farm, two of the original partners withdrew from the partnership and the other two partners are managing the farm at present. The farm has employed one accountant, two distributors, one call-boy and a watchman. Majority of the people engaged in rearing milch cattle and supplying milk are Yadhavas who are cow-herds and shepherds by tradition. Unless there are more people to take up this secondary occupation there does not seem to be any prospect of increasing the membership of the dairy farm. One of the incentives which might draw more members will be an increase in the price of the milk paid to the cattle owners. The two partners who are engaged in this business now get only a monthly return of Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 each on the capital invested. They do not seem to be very enthusiastic about continuing this business. They say that they would close down the business when all the debtors clear off the loans.



Breeding milch cattle and selling milk is a secondary occupation for many households.
Picture shows a woman milking the buffalo.



The milch cattle at the Ganapathy Dairy Farm

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

206. The two religious groups in the village, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims constitute respectively 52.4% and 47.6% of the total population. Though the Muslims form a smaller group, they are a well-knit community unlike the Hindus who are divided into a number of castes. The two sects of Muslims are closer to each other socially and culturally than the different

Caste distinctions

castes of Hindus. There are sixteen Hindu castes in this village and caste distinctions play a decisive role in the social life of the village. The social status of a caste is determined by the rank of that particular caste occupies in the social hierarchy. These differences in the social status of castes are manifested in certain restrictions in the social life. Inter-caste marriage and inter-dining between high and low castes are proscribed by Hindu religion. Normally, members of high castes would not accept food or inter-dine with members of low castes and whenever members of one caste freely inter-dine with the members of other caste, those two castes would be of equal or of comparable social status.

207. Brahmins occupy the first place in the social hierarchy. They are generally recognised as the religious leaders by many other communities, and they set the pattern for the socio-religious observances. The Brahmin priests officiate at the weddings and purificatory ceremonies performed by many Non-brahmin communities. The higher social status of the

Social hierarchy

Brahmins is conceded by all other communities and the traditional respect due to them both as a group and as individuals, is still in evidence. As a mark of their social superiority, the Brahmins would not accept food or inter-dine with the Non-brahmin communities. Among the Non-brahmins, the Pillais occupy the foremost place in the social order and they claim to be second only to the Brahmins in the social hierarchy. The Pillais accordingly would accept food only from Brahmins and they would not inter-dine with any other Non-brahmin communities. The leadership of Pillais among the Non-brahmins is not contested by any other community. In addition to their higher social status, Pillais have the numerical strength and economically they are better off than many other communities.

208. The Acharis claim parallel status with the Pillais. They claim to be the descendants of Viswakarma, the divine architect and call themselves as Viswakula Brahmins. They observe many of the rituals and customs of the Brahmins. The Acharis too would not accept food from any of the Non-brahmin communities. The parallel status claimed by the Acharis is not readily conceded by the Pillais who would also not inter-dine with the Acharis. The social superiority of Acharis is, however, conceded by many other Non-brahmin communities. Abstinence from meat and wearing of sacred threads (Punul) are some of the marks of social superiority among the Non-brahmins. Many of the high caste Hindus are vegetarians by birth like the Brahmins. The Pillais are strong saivites and strict vegetarians. The Acharis too are vegetarians by birth; they also wear the sacred thread like the Brahmins.

209. The other high caste Hindus like the Naidus, Vania Chettiars, Pandarams and Yadhavas come next in the social order. The Saiya Pillai Chettiars are ranked along with the Pillais but the Vania Chettiars are ranked below the Pillais and Acharis. These communities would inter-dine among themselves but would not accept food from the communities lower in the social scale. The Pandarams and Yadhavas would accept food from the communities above them but would not inter-dine with the communities lower in the social order, like Padayatchis and Muppanars. The Padayatchis and Muppanars are ranked below the Pandarams and Yadhavas even though the Muppanars claim equal status with Yadhavas. The artisan communities like Vannans and Barbers are ranked below the Muppanars.

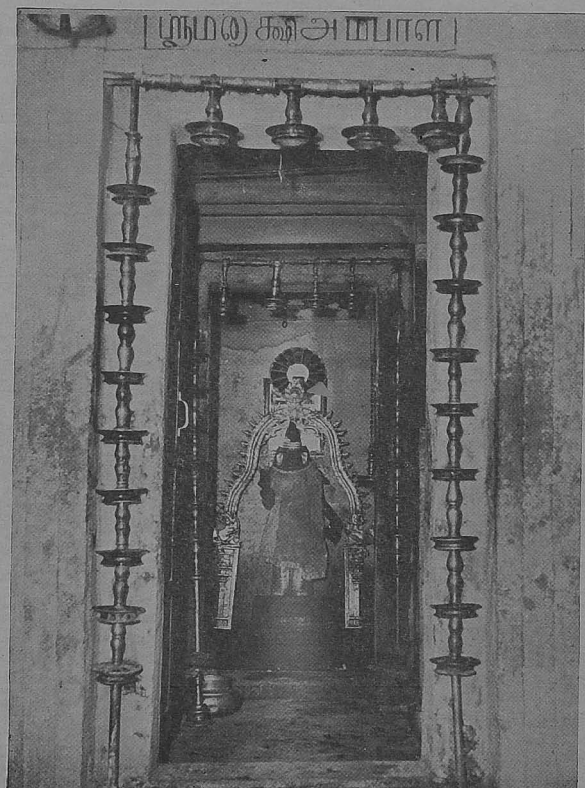
210. In a few cases, however, the actual place of the caste in the social hierarchy is not unanimous in the sense that the status claimed by a particular community will not always be the same as the position conceded by the general accord of other communities. In the case of Brahmins, Pillais and a few other communities, the social status claimed is not disputed by other communities. But in the case of a few communities, the position accorded by other communities is something lower in the hierarchy than what the community claims for itself. One such instance is the community of Kusavans or the Potters in this village. The Kusavans who also call themselves as Vezhars wear sacred threads like the Brahmins. They claim to be second only to the Brahmins, in the social order and they would not accept food from the other communities. Though the Kusavans claim a comparable status with the Pillais and Acharis, the village community ranks them much below the Pillais and Acharis. Another such instance is the case of Muppanars. By the general accord of other communities, the Muppanars are considered socially superior to Dhobies and Barbers. But the latter consider themselves to be superior and as such they would not inter-dine with the Muppanars. The Scheduled Castes, of course, occupy the lowest rank in the social order and it is not disputed by them.

211. Thus the caste distinctions continue to regulate the social life of the village community and the rules regarding inter-marriage and inter-dining are still observed scrupulously though there are stray cases of young men who occasionally break these rules by inter-dining with the lower communities. The other aspect of caste system viz., the untouchability has undergone noticeable change in recent years. The Scheduled Castes were regarded as untouchables and these people suffered a number of social disabilities in the days gone-by. In the past, the members of Scheduled Castes could not walk in the streets occupied by high castes, with their sandals on. This type of disabilities is disappearing gradually. Even now many of the high caste Hindus would not allow a Scheduled Caste member to enter their house but the crude form of untouchability is gradually disappearing. The other manifestation of the caste distinctions is found in the residential pattern as we have described in Chapter I.

212. Despite these caste distinctions and the differences in customs and manners, the different castes of Hindu religion can be deemed to belong to one cultural group as their core-traits are the same and differences are only in matters of detail. Except a few communities like the Brahmins and the Pillais who can be classified as Saivites, the others defy this classification as they worship Saivite and Vaishnavite deities with equal reverence. Nevertheless, each community has a deity of special adoration which is sometimes called its caste deity. For example, Lord Krishna is the caste deity for the Yadhavas, Lord Muruga is the deity of special adoration for the Pillais and Lord Vigneswara is the favourite deity of the Acharis. Madaswamy is a demon God of special adoration for many of the lower communities like Muppanars, Dhobies and Barbers. These castes also worship with equal devotion, the other Gods and Goddesses which other castes might claim to be their caste deities. The Pillais and the Brahmins who are Saivites pray with equal devotion and reverence to Lord Chokkanatha and Goddess Meenakshi Amman, whom the Vaishnavaites claim to be their caste deities.

213. Goddess Meenakshi Amman is deemed to be the presiding deity of the village, who, when properly appealed to, bestows all the material benefits of life. There is a big temple for Goddess Meenakshi and Lord Chokkanatha in the village.

Temples The other village God, whom all the sections of the village population except the Brahmins worship is the Goddess Muppadathi Amman, who is believed to protect the village from epidemics and from the evil spirits. There are altogether seven temples in the village, the most important of which are the

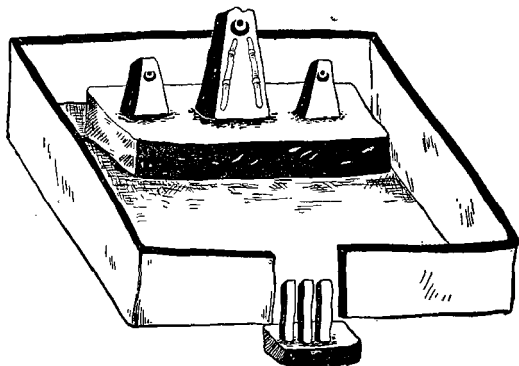


Goddess Meenakshi Amman — The presiding deity of the village



The properties of goddess Meenakshi Amman — the mass of unproductive wealth offered to the deity by the devotees in fulfilment of their vows.

Meenakshi Amman temple situated in Agraharam and the Muppadathi Amman temple situated amidst Non-brahmin quarters. The temple dedicated to Lord Krishna is situated near the Yadhava quarters. There are three temples dedicated to Lord Vigneswara in the village.



The shrine of Madaswamy—A demon God

214. The temple dedicated to Goddess Meenakshi Amman is the biggest temple in the village and it has an endowment consisting of 1.70 acres of wet lands and 14.36 acres of dry lands. The properties of Meenakshi Amman temple are administered by a committee of three people. The temple has two Brahmin priests permanently attached to it and daily pujas are performed in it. The Brahmins, Pillais and Acharis frequent this temple. A good number of the Brahmins attend the daily pujas in the temple and the others attend the temple only on special ceremonial occasions. An annual festival lasting ten days and involving an expenditure of Rs. 500 to Rs. 600, is celebrated in honour of Goddess Meenakshi Amman in the Tamil month of Thai (January-February). During this festival, the whole village puts on a festive appearance. Another interesting feature about the annual festival in honour of this deity is that certain historical facts about the village are repeated during this festival. On the fifth day of the festival, Goddess Meenakshi Amman and Lord Chokkanatha are taken in procession and a farce family quarrel is enacted between them with two priests advocating the cases of the God and the Goddess. In the farce dispute about the properties, the priests acting for the deities enumerate the various endowments made to the temple. It is during this farce family quarrel of the Gods that the priest advocating the case of Goddess Meenakshi Amman, mentions the historical facts that the temple and the village were built by Ravanappa Naicken and that the Sabhapathy Mandapam was built by his successor Kaduvetti Rangappa Naicken. The various persons who had endowed lands are also enumerated during this farce family quarrel. As described in Chapter I, this village is a renovation of the flood-ravaged settlement of Krishnappa Naicken. The Naicker household in the village, who are the descendants of Ravanappa Naicken are given special temple honours during the ceremonial occasions at the temple. An annual festival is also celebrated in honour of Goddess Muppadathi Amman. Though this temple has no endowment of lands, the annual festival is celebrated on a considerable scale out of public donations. Land-owners and other devotees contribute liberally towards this festival, which lasts only for one day. Krishna Jayanthi is celebrated on an elaborate scale in the temple dedicated to Lord Krishna.

215. The important festivals for the Hindus of this village are Pongal, Deepavali, Ayudha Puja and Vinayaga Chaturthi. Besides these which are common to all the Hindus, the Brahmins celebrate another festival known as *Avani Avittam*. This is an important festival for the Brahmins and it is during this festival that the sacred threads are renewed annually. The

Festivals

Acharis and the Kusavans who also wear the sacred threads celebrate Avani Avittam. The other festivals observed by the Brahmins, Pillais and Acharis are the Mahalaya Amavasai, Karthikai Deepam, Kandha Shasti etc. The Brahmin ladies observe a festival known as *Savitri Nonbu*. The Savitri Nonbu falls in the Tamil month of 'Masi' and the ladies fast for the whole day and pray for the welfare of their husbands. Savitri is a legendary figure who

is depicted as a model of devotion to the husband in the Hindu legends. Krishna Jayanthi is the most important festival for the Yadhavas for whom Lord Krishna is the caste-deity.

216. Apart from these annual festivals with their concomitant religious observances, there are also day-to-day religious observances in vogue among some of the communities.

Religious life

In religious observances, it is the Brahmins who set the pattern which many others follow. In addition to attending the daily pujas in the Meenakshi Amman temple, the Brahmins who have undergone Upanayanam perform their daily prayers known as *Sandhya Vanthanam*. Sandhya Vanthanam is a daily prayer of thanks-giving to God, performed twice a day before the sun-rise and after the sun-set. The ritual content of this daily prayer consists of taking water in the hollow of the palm of one hand and performing oblations with the other hand, all the while chanting vedic verses. Though most of the Brahmin gentlemen observe these daily prayers, there are, however, a few who have dispensed with this custom. Another important fact about the religious life of the Brahmins is that every Brahmin household has a puja room in their houses wherein daily pujas are performed. Many of the Brahmins observe fasting on the New Moon day of every month. Like the Brahmins, some of the orthodox and well-to-do Pillais also have puja rooms in their houses and perform daily prayers. As regards the rest, their religious life consists of occasional visits to the temples on ceremonial occasions and prayers performed in the fulfilment of the vows taken.

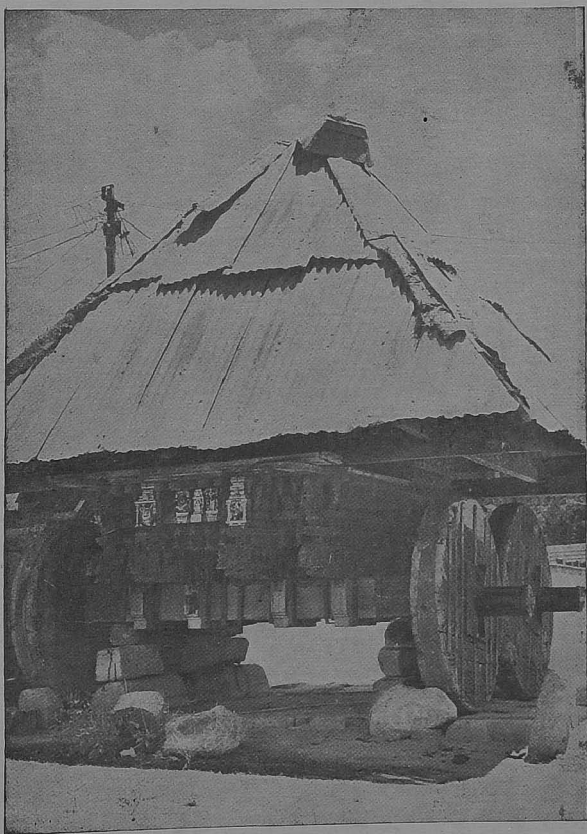
217. We may now proceed to study the social and cultural life of the Muslims. As observed earlier, they constitute nearly half of the village population and there are two sects among them, the Shafis and the Hanafis. The only difference between the two sects is in their methods and timings of prayer as explained in Chapter II. There is no other difference between them and all their customs and manners are identical. There are no restrictions on the social inter-course between the members of the two sects as between the different castes of Hindus. Though originally the members of the two sects did not inter-marry, now they inter-marry and the children of such inter-marriage adopt the sect of their father.

Muslims

218. There are certain similarities between the ritual structures of the Hindus and the Muslims as explained in Chapter II. These similarities have led some people to believe that the Muslims of this village are converts from the Hindu religion. In the absence of any conclusive proof to support this theory, it is safer to assume that these Muslims have imbibed certain elements of Hindu culture by their long association with the Hindus. These Muslims have also developed some caste characteristics like the other Hindu castes of the village. They have developed mat-weaving as their specialised occupation and have practically established a monopoly over this industry. In matters of inter-dining also, the Muslims accept food only from the high castes like the Brahmins and Pillais, though the latter would not reciprocate this. Communities other than the Brahmins, Pillais and Acharis would accept food from the Muslims normally. The Muslims of this village form a compact group with a strong sense of solidarity among themselves. Though this village is fortunately free from communal tensions and the two religious groups live on terms of amity, yet the sense of solidarity is stronger among the Muslims than among the Hindus of this village. The majority of the Muslims are poor and it is only a handful of them who are well-to-do. Yet, the good neighbourly policy of give-and-take and mutual help at times of crisis is noticeable more among the Muslims than among the Hindus.

Acculturation

219. The Muslims, as a group, are a more religious than the Hindus. There are three mosques in this village where the Muslims offer their prayers. One of the three mosques belongs to and is exclusively used by the eight well-to-do households of Hanafi sect. The other two mosques are alternatively used by the two sects for their weekly prayers on Fridays. Only the men-folk among the Muslims attend the prayers in the mosques and the



The temple-car of the Meenakshi Amman temple



The Dharga, in honour of which the Muslims celebrate an annual festival.

women-folk pray in their homes. Daily prayers are held at the mosques and there are a number of religious workers attached to the mosques. The religious workers known as Mohideens keep the premises of the mosques clean, stand at the gate and receive the people coming to the mosque. The religious workers known as Labbais conduct the prayers in the mosque and read out verses from the Koran. Though only a minority of the Muslims attend the daily prayers in the mosque, all of them attend the weekly prayers on Fridays. There are also two Dhargas in the village. These Dhargas are tombs of some well-known religious Muslims. Annual festivals are held in honour of these Dhargas.

Religious life

220. The important religious festivals for the Muslims are Ramzan, Bakrid and Muharram. Ramzan is a most important festival when a day of great rejoicing and feasting follows about a month of fasting. During the month of Ramzan, the orthodox Muslims and most of the women-folk fast during the day time and they do not eat anything between the dawn and the dusk. A month of fasting is broken on the last day after they see the crescent of the New Moon. It was on the last day of the Ramzan month that the Prophet received the Koran from 'Allah'. The festival of Ramzan falls on the last day of the Ramzan month when the Muslim members wear new clothes and indulge in feasting and rejoicing. The second important festival of the year is the 'Bakrid' which is celebrated in commemoration of the great sacrifice by their Imam Ibrahim who was prepared to sacrifice his own son to prove his devotion to God. The Bakrid is also marked with special prayers, feasting and rejoicing. 'Muharram' festival is celebrated in commemoration of the Prophet's grand-son Imam Hussain who was one of the early martyrs of the faith. The Muslims go out in a procession to a tank or the river wailing over the martyr's death. All along the route, they beat their breasts crying aloud the name of the martyr. Thus, there is certain element of pathos in the celebration of Muharram festival.

Festivals

221. There is an ancient mosque at Pottalpudur which, in respect of sanctity, is as famous as the mosque at Nagore in Thanjavur district. This mosque is dedicated to 'Mohideen Andavar'. Mohideen Andavar is said to be a descendant of the Prophet. A close disciple of Mohideen Andavar by name Olivilla Kadhari is believed to have built

Kanthuri Festival

this mosque in Pottalpudur. An annual festival known as Kanthuri festival is celebrated in this mosque. This is an important festival for the Muslims of Ravanasamudram. The Kanthuri festival which draws a large crowd from all over the district, lasts for eleven days and is marked by daily prayers at the mosque. Another significant fact about the mosque in Pottalpudur is that a greater number of the Mohideen Andavar's devotees are Hindus and many of the ceremonies performed in the mosque during the Kanthuri festival resemble the ceremonies performed in the Hindu temples. Holy ashes made of turmeric, ghee and sandal are distributed during this Kanthuri festival to the devotees. During this festival, all the devotees who had taken vows offer their prayers and make contributions in money and in silver models of limbs, eyes etc. in fulfilment of their vows. Devotees who have some bodily defect appeal to the Andavar and take vows that if they are cured of the bodily defects, they would offer special prayers in fulfilment of their vows and would make contributions of silver models of the limbs, eyes etc., During this festival, sheep and fowls are sacrificed to the Andavar. The Labbai priests slay the fowl and the sheep and the flesh is divided between the devotees and the priests. Sandal paste is prepared on a large scale at the time of this festival and after offering it to the Andavar, it is distributed to the eager crowds of Hindus and the Muslims. Mohideen Andavar of Pottalpudur draws a large number of devotees both from the Muslims and Hindus of the village. They believe that the Mohideen Andavar, when properly appealed to, grants them their wishes. This festival is celebrated in the Muslim month of Rabiyyussani. It has been estimated that this festival draws a crowd of about

6,000 to 7,000 persons on an average. This Kanthuri festival sometimes is attended by more Hindus than Muslims. So much so, this festival fosters a curious kinship of religious feelings between the Hindus and the Muslims.

222. One of the brightest aspects of this village is the communal harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims. It is a strange but a happy fact that even in those tense days following the partition when communal quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims were widespread all over the country, the Hindus and the Muslims of the village have lived on terms of amity and friendship. Since the numerical strength of these two communities are, more or less, equal it cannot be said that overwhelming numerical strength of one group made the other to be on friendly terms. They adopt the good neighbourly policy of give-and-take and there is no instance of any tension between these two religious groups in the living memory. To quote an instance of the unusual communal harmony in the village, even though eight elections have been conducted for the local Panchayat Board, there has not been a single contest between these two communities. Both the elections of Presidents and that of the representatives to the Panchayat Board are regulated by a healthy convention which prevents any contest or tension between these two communities. We would discuss this in greater detail under 'civic administration' later in this Chapter.

223. The internal disputes between the Muslims are settled by an Ad-hoc arbitration committee consisting of the elders of the community. There is no hereditary chief for the Muslim community. All matters of general interest for the community are discussed during the Friday meetings at the mosque over which the elders of the community preside. Petty disputes among the members of the community are settled by this Ad-hoc arbitration committee of elders and their decision is invariably respected. Petty quarrels between the land-lords and the tenants, quarrels between the husbands and wives, bickerings between the employees and the employer, cases of minor assaults are some of the disputes which are referred to the Ad-hoc arbitration committee of elders. Whenever there is a dispute or a quarrel of a minor nature between a Muslim and a Hindu, care is taken to see that this minor dispute does not spread into a communal flare-up. The elders of both the communities get together and solve such disputes in a friendly manner. Even in their day-to-day life, the Muslims and the Hindu members of the village have several occasions for mutual help.

224. As regards the relationship between the various Hindu castes, the overall picture is one of cordiality and friendly attitude towards each other. But beneath this apparent amity are under-currents of rivalry and jealousy between a few communities like the one between the Brahmins and the Pillais of this village. These two communities are, more or less, equal in numerical strength as well as in economic strength; none of them is economically dependent on the other. The Pillais very often champion the cause of Non-brahmins whenever they feel that the Brahmins are dominating. In all civic matters, the Brahmins and the Pillais are given equal weight. This under-current of rivalry between these two communities has not breached into an open conflict on any issue so far and it has not stood in the way of cordial relationship in their day-to-day life. The position can be summed up as follows. They are no doubt rivals in many matters, but they are friendly and accommodative rivals. The Brahmins maintain a certain amount of social aloofness and the proscription on inter-dining with other communities is scrupulously observed. Even when the Brahmin members attend the weddings of Pillais or other high-caste Hindus, they do not partake in the general feast. The hosts, by way of respecting the sentiments of their Brahmin brethren, have a separate section for the Brahmins where the food is cooked by a Brahmin cook who also serves the Brahmin guests. In civic matters, the Brahmins recognise the equal claims of the Non-brahmins and do not dominate over them. Whenever their advice is asked for, they tender it in a friendly manner and they do not demand the traditional respect due to them. On some rare occasions when Non-brahmin members accuse them for their aloofness, they follow the wise policy of ignoring it, being well aware of the

Inter-caste relationship

changing times when they can no longer use social force and demand respect from those who claim to be equals. This accommodative attitude of the Brahmins which is conducive to social harmony, is largely due to the fact that a majority of the Brahmins of this village are modern-minded with progressive attitudes. The orthodox type of Brahmins who would consider themselves to be polluted, if touched by a Non-brahmin and who used to look down upon other communities as people of inferior birth, are no longer there. As regards the relationship between the various Non-brahmin communities, it is one of cordiality and mutual help. The social leadership of Pillais among them is recognised by all. The Pillais in turn consider themselves to be socially superior to the other castes and they would not also inter-dine with others. But this does not prevent cordial relations in their day-to-day life.

225. The Brahmins, Pillais and the Muslims are the dominant groups of the village, who have a decisive influence in all matters affecting the general interests of the village. A remarkable aspects of this village is its well administered Panchayat Board. The Panchayat Board was established here in 1926 and it now has a strength of 14 members including the President and the Vice-President. The village has been sub-divided into wards for purposes of Panchayat elections and each ward elects a representative for the Panchayat Board. The members elected from these wards choose among themselves a President and a Vice-President. The term of the Panchayat Board is five years. There has not been any contest either for the post of the representatives or for the post of the President and the Vice-President so far and the elections have been unanimous. This was made possible by a general agreement between the various communities of the village. This agreement has now fortified into a healthy convention which regulates the Panchayat elections.

226. At the time of the inception of the Panchayat Board, the representation of various communities in the Panchayat Board was agreed upon by a council of elders drawn from the various communities. Since the numerical strength of Hindus and Muslims are, more or less equal, equal representation has been given to Hindus and Muslims. Accordingly, Hindus of the village elect seven members to the Panchayat Board and the Muslims elect the other seven members. As regards the representation of the various Hindu communities for the seven posts to be filled up by the Hindus, the elders of these communities get together and decide the number of representatives from each of the communities. The numerical strength of each community in the village is the basis on which this communal representation is decided upon. Of the seven Hindus now in the Panchayat Board, there is one Brahmin, two Pillais, one Muppanar, one Pandaram, one Yadhava and one Naidu. Smaller communities are given representation in turns. The representatives from each community are chosen by the elders of the respective communities in order to avoid contests and wasteful expenditure. Thus, the elections of representatives have been managed to be unanimous and this accounts for the unique record that there has not been a single contest from the inception of the Panchayat Board. The members of each community generally accept the decision of the elders of their community.

227. Another convention regulates the elections to the posts of the President and the Vice-President. The President and the Vice-President are elected from among the three groups of the village in rotation. The three groups are the Muslims, the Brahmins and the Non-brahmins. Among the Non-brahmins, it is the Pillais who are politically dominant and the other Non-brahmin communities generally accept the leadership of the Pillais. Out of the three Non-brahmin Presidents who have held office so far, two have been Pillais and one has been a Naidu. Though there is only one household of Naidu in this village, the Naidu gentleman was elected as the President in deference to his royal lineage. The other Non-brahmin communities are appeased by giving them the post of Vice-President in rotation.

228. The selection of the representatives has been most unanimous among the Brahmins and the Muslims so far. It is only among the Non-brahmin group that occasional differences of opinion have arisen regarding the selection of representatives. The Ad-hoc council of elders among the Non-brahmins have so far been able to wield their influence and make the elections of the representatives unanimous. Whenever there are dissenting voices from among the younger generation, the elders either promise the 'next chance' or strive to effect a compromise. There have been eight elections so far for the Panchayat and there has not been a single contest either for the membership or for the posts of President and the Vice-President.

229. There are no political factions to hamper the working of the Panchayat Board. The majority of people take active interest in the working of the Panchayat Board. The Panchayat representatives including the President and the Vice-President consult the other elders of the village and respect the opinion of the majority on various matters of interest.

Working of the Panchayat Board

They run the affairs of the village in such a way that it appears to be in accordance with the majority opinion. There is no domination by any single community. The Panchayat Board meets once a month regularly when general matters of interest are discussed. Whenever there are special issues to be discussed, extraordinary meetings are convened. The Panchayat Board owns a fine building in the midst of the village where the office is situated. This building was bought out of the Panchayat funds. The well maintained office with amenities like fans, lights and furniture are all indications of the efficient civic administration. The Panchayat Board has a clerk to maintain the accounts and to look after the correspondence work. In many of the villages, the Panchayat Boards are nothing more than mere statutory bodies which hardly perform the minimum statutory functions. In such places the attitude of the people also is one of apathy and indifference. But the people in Ravanasamudram take an active interest in the working of the Panchayat Board which in actual practice is more than a mere statutory body. The people look up to the Panchayat Board in all matters of general interest. They willingly pay their taxes and the Panchayat Board makes good use of the public funds.

230. The Panchayat Board has effected a number of improvements in the village and has also provided a number of civic amenities. It has a reading room-cum-library where popular journals and daily newspapers are provided for the public to read.

Achievements

There is a good collection of books in the library which many people make good use of. The Panchayat Board has installed a radio in the reading room which is tuned on every evening. A good number of people ranging from 25 to 35 come to the Panchayat reading-room everyday to read newspapers and to listen to the radio. This reading-room was opened seven years back. The Panchayat Board has constructed a road of about five furlongs connecting the village with the neighbouring town of Kadayam, at a cost of Rs. 3,000. The Panchayat is maintaining this road at present. This road has considerably reduced the distance to Kadayam and it is of considerable importance to the people of this village who frequently go to Kadayam for various purposes. The Panchayat Board also maintains the village streets and roads. It gives annual grants of Rs. 100 each to the Maternity-ward and the Nursery School in the village. In fact, the building which houses the Maternity Centre and the Nursery School was constructed partly out of the Panchayat funds. It has dug out two drinking water wells in the Non-brahmin and Muslim quarters of the village. It has also provided bathing facilities to the people by constructing a number of bathing ghats on the banks of the river Rama Nadhi. Whenever water dries up in the river during the summer months, the Panchayat Board undertakes a sort of dredging operation. By digging out the sand to a considerable depth, water is provided for bathing and for washing clothes. The Panchayat Board has a scheme to supply protected water to the village at a cost of Rs. 20,000 with the assistance of the Government. It also makes contributions to the Midday Meals Scheme that is being implemented in the village

schools. When the village was electrified in 1940, sixty street lights were provided with Panchayat funds and even now the Panchayat Board is maintaining these street lights. It has employed sweepers and scavengers to keep the streets clean and provides regular scavenging services. It has also provided a number of dust-bins in the streets to collect the sweepings and rubbish. Whenever epidemics break out in the village, the Panchayat Board makes special arrangements with the help of the Health authorities, for protective measures like vaccination and inoculation. It also makes special sanitary arrangements at the time of the temple festivals, when a large number of people congregate in the village. These special arrangements consist of provision of temporary latrines, sweeping and keeping the streets clean. For the past two or three years the Panchayat Board is celebrating 'Family Planning Day' when meetings are organised and the idea of planned parenthood is propagated. The Panchayat Board has successfully persuaded two people to get themselves operated under the Madras Government's scheme of subsidised sterilisation.

231. The Panchayat Board has an annual income of Rs. 8,680. The major sources of income are the house tax which yields about Rs. 2,000 per annum, the land revenue and the land cess which amount to a little more than Rs. 2,000 and the stamp duties which provide an income of Rs. 2,300 per year.

Income

Profession tax, lighting fees and vehicle tax are some of the other levies imposed by the Panchayat. The financial position of the Panchayat is comparatively sound and it is one of the major factors which contribute to the effective and efficient administration of the Panchayat.

232. The efficient and successful functioning of the Panchayat Board in this village may be attributed to the following factors:

Reasons for the success

(1) There are no political factions or communal tensions hampering the working of the Panchayat. It is administered on a non-party basis. Healthy conventions have been established to regulate the elections to the Panchayat Board and these are very conducive to the communal harmony.

(2) The people, literate and the illiterate, take an active interest in the working of the Panchayat Board. They generally accept the leadership of the Panchayat Board in civic matters.

(3) The elected representatives respect the opinion of the majority and conduct affairs of the village in a democratic way. There is no group or clique which tries to dominate over the others.

(4) Last but not least important, is the financial soundness of the Panchayat Board. The people do not grumble about the taxes they pay, because they are confident that their funds are being spent for the overall welfare of the village. The present Panchayat President is a young graduate who has ambitious schemes for the future and I am sure, with the energetic leadership of this type, the Panchayat administration of this village would improve further and serve as a model for the other villages.

233. The people of this village are law abiding citizens as evidenced by the record of crimes relating to the village. The crime register of the village is almost blank and the only type of offences that are registered is the prohibition offence. Even these offences did not relate to the natives of this village beyond one or two people. The four prohibition

Record of crimes

offences registered in 1958 and those registered in 1960 relate to the Harijans of the neighbouring Mandiyur Panchayat who were caught within the boundaries of this village. Apart from these prohibition offences, there have been stray cases of one or two thefts. This village is under the jurisdiction of Kadayam Police Station.

234. This village, as stated earlier, is served with modern means of transport and communications. It is in close proximity to towns like Kadayam and Ambasamudram, People

of this village frequent these towns for various purposes. These visits to the towns expose them to the urban influences in various ways. The retired officers who have settled down in this village and the people who are working in the nearby towns form the urban element of the village population. The extent of urban influences is reflected in the characteristics like attitude towards education and occupation, mode of dressing and other changing habits. In the place of the old rustic modes of dressing, the new urban fashions of dressing have made their appearance both in the case of males as well as females. Tea and coffee drinking is also widespread in the village, as evidenced by the fact that there are twelve tea shops and restaurants in the village.

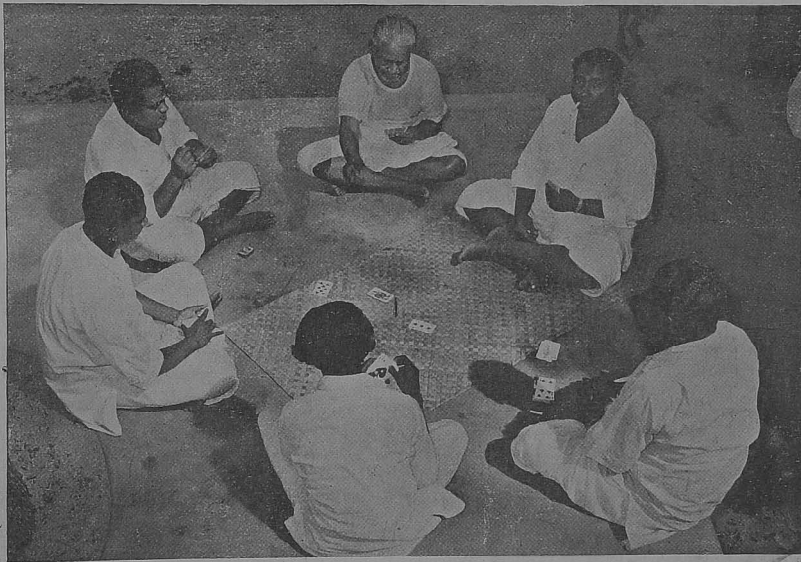
Urban Influences

235. In olden days, caste was the important determinant of one's occupation and people generally took to their traditional occupations. Though a good number of people are still engaged in their traditional occupations, the caste can no longer be called the sole determinant of one's occupation. There is a conspicuous desire on the part of the poor people to educate their children and to settle them in good non-agricultural jobs. An increasing number of people send their children to the school nowadays. Three boys from the Yadhava community and six from the Muppanar community who have read upto Third or Fourth form are employed as accountants and ministerial assistants in the private institutions and commercial establishments. Even some of the lower communities like Vannans and Kuravans now send their children to school. The advanced communities like Pillais who were previously satisfied with educating their sons upto Secondary School level, now have a desire to send them for higher studies which would enable them to settle down in good white collared jobs. The fact that a number of Brahmins from this village are employed in decent jobs after University Education, serves as an added incentive to these people. But the position regarding female education is still backward. No doubt, a greater number of people who previously did not believe in female education send their daughters to the village school. But their education usually stops with the attainment of puberty.

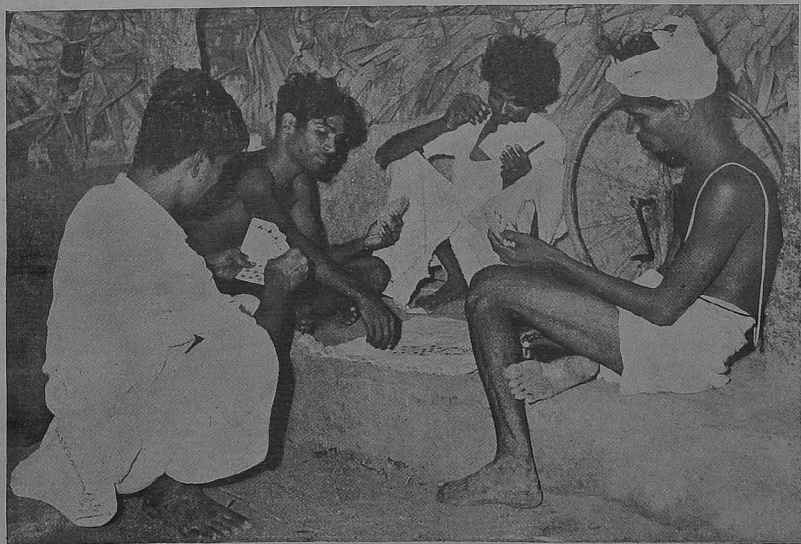
236. The other effect of the urban influences is the progressive attitude towards modern medicine. Gone are the days when illiterate people used to run away at the sight of the vaccinators. Even the illiterate people are slowly beginning to know the value of hygienic ways of living and the preventive aspect of the medicine. Unlike in the past, when they mainly depended upon their fervent appeals to Gods and sought the help of the country physicians in unavoidable cases, a large number of people nowadays resort to Allopathic medicine for curing their ailments. As a resultant of the urban contacts, a trend towards urban ways of living with more domestic amenities is noticeable. This trend is more conspicuous among the well-to-do both because they can afford more domestic amenities and because their contacts with the urban areas are more. About 300 houses in the village are electrified and a good number of well-to-do households have electric fans. Sixty-two households own radios in this village. Although the majority of the people use only firewood as domestic fuel, a good number of Brahmins and a few households of Pillais and Muslims are using smokeless kerosene stoves for cooking. A good number of people subscribe to the newspapers and journals regularly. The magazines and papers provided in the Panchayat Board reading room are also made good use of.

237. The recreational facilities in the village are rather limited. Most of the men and the women folk have only traditional recreation of gossiping. It is a common sight in the evenings to find gossiping groups of men in and around the tea-shops of the village. Some people read the vernacular newspapers available in the tea-shops. Sensational and important news items are read out to the surrounding folk who might be interested. Sometimes these gossip groups discuss important political and social matters in a light-hearted manner and exchange their opinions on the subjects. The latest scandals of the village form a lively subject

Recreation



Game of cards is a popular mode of recreation for the men-folk, both rich and poor.
Picture shows a group of well-to-do men playing cards.



A group of poor people amusing themselves with a game of cards. This sometimes degenerates into gambling.



The *Dhayam*—A popular indoor game for the women-folk.



Pallankuzhi—Another favourite pastime of the women-folk

of discussion. Similarly, I found gossip groups of women on the river side where women come to bathe and wash their clothes.

238. A good number of men go to the Panchayat Office in the evenings to listen to the radio. Card-games are a popular mode of recreation for the men-folk, both rich and poor. The women-folk also have games like Pallanguzhi and Dhayam. Dhayam is something like the game of draughts and it is popular among the women-folk. The youngsters play games like volley-ball and badminton. For the boys and girls, there are always a number of games to amuse themselves. The most popular among the games are Kiliyan Thattu, Chadugudu, Pachai Kudirai and Pandi. The last game is specially popular among the girls and Pachai Kudirai, Chadugudu and Kiliyan Thattu are the monopoly of the boys. Another interesting game known as Raja-Mandhiri game is also popular among the boys. Each of the assembled boys draws out a chit which shows the part he has to play. There is a king, a minister, a policeman and a thief. The boy who is to play the role of a thief bolts away and the policeman chases and catches hold of him. The minister enquires into the theft and the king passes judgement. The punishment awarded to the thief in this make-believe game of the small boys, usually consists of two or three 'buskies' or knocking on the ground with his knuckles. During festive occasions, the boys and girls of the village have amusements like chorus singing, kolattam etc. 'Kolattam' is a kind of folk-dance, popular among the teen-age girls. A good number of people frequent the Cinema shows in the temporary touring theatres at Kadayam and at Pottalpudur.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

239. The following picture emerges out of our study of the social and economic conditions in Ravanasamudram. This historic village situated amidst picturesque surroundings in the fertile Tambraparani basin is multi-ethnic composition. The sixteen different castes of Hindus live on terms of amity with the Muslims who form the largest single community of the village. The caste system of the Hindus plays a vital role in the social life of the village and codes of conduct sanctified by traditions still influence the social intercourse between the various communities. The Brahmins and Pillais, by virtue of their social and educational advancement and their economic strength, form the dominant groups of the village in addition to the Muslims who, by virtue of their numerical strength, play a dominant part in the political and social life of the village. Despite the existence of two religious groups and a number of communities, the communal and social harmony prevalent in the village is exemplary. This is one of the factors which contribute to the successful and efficient functioning of the Panchayat Board.

240. Agriculture and mat-weaving industry form the backbone of the village economy in as much as they are the two main sources of livelihood for the majority. Except the handful of big land owners, a majority of the cultivators and the agricultural labourers lead only a hand-to-mouth existence and many of them are steeped in debts. The yield per acre is low and the methods of cultivation are as old as time. The value of improved methods of cultivation is only slowly dawning upon the cultivators. But in a good number of cases, the uneconomic size of the holdings and the lack of credit facilities render it difficult for the small cultivators to try improved techniques of cultivation. The net return to the agriculturists is rather low since a large number of small cultivators are at the mercy of the private money lenders, a good number of whom are grain merchants. The small cultivators are under obligation to sell their produce at low prices to their creditors, who charge exorbitant rates of interest. It would be of immense benefit to these small cultivators, if there is a Co-operative Credit Society to provide credit facilities at reasonable rates of interest. It would be ideal, if the credit society also provides storing and marketing facilities for the grains. This would increase the cultivators' incomes and improve their economic condition.

241. The Co-operative Society that was functioning in this village was closed down about four years back owing to the defalcation of funds by the Manager of the Society. By way of punishing the dishonesty of an individual, the society itself need not have been liquidated. It would be of benefit to the poor cultivators, if a Credit Society is formed once again.

242. The plight of the other important occupational group viz., the mat-weavers is much worse. Most of them are piece-rate wage earners who lead a very miserable existence. Because of their inability to invest and buy the raw materials, they continue to work as piece-rate wage earners. They are at the mercy of the middle-men merchants who pay them only a portion of the final consumers' price of the finished products. If a Mat Weavers' Co-operative Society is established to supply raw materials on credit and to assist in the marketing of the finished products, it would enhance the incomes of the mat-weavers and improve their economic condition.

243. The dairy farm functioning here may be closed down at any time due to the unfair competition of the tea-shops and restaurant owners. It would be a good idea to

establish a Co-operative Milk Supply Union which would pay a better price to the milch cattle owners and extend credit facilities for buying milch cattle. This would induce more people to take to cattle-rearing as a secondary occupation.

244. Though a good number of people are still engaged in their traditional occupations, the caste can no longer be called the sole determinant of one's occupation. There is a conspicuous desire among the people to educate their children and to settle them in good non-agricultural occupations. But their desire is, to a large extent, limited by their financial resources. Barring the advanced communities of Brahmins and Pillais, the literacy levels among the other communities are rather low. But the winds of change are blowing in the right direction and value of education is dawning on many people. An increasing number of students from the backward communities are attending schools nowadays.

245. This village is in close proximity to the towns and it is well served with modern means of transport. Frequent urban contacts have made the people of this village susceptible to urban influences, traces of which are found in the village life. There is a noticeable desire on the part of the people for better ways of living with more amenities as in urban areas. But this desire is limited by their economic strength. With the improvement in economic conditions, the old rustic ways of living will gradually get replaced by urban ways of comfortable living in due course.

246. The village is included in the Kadayam Community Development Block. Apart from inducing a few cultivators to adopt the Japanese method of cultivation and supplying improved seeds, the Block Development Staff do not seem to have effected any other improvement in the village. The proposed Protected Water Supply Scheme would eradicate the water-borne diseases completely from this village. The Maternity-ward and the Nursery School established by the *Avvai Ashram* and currently run by the Central Social Welfare Board are of immense benefit to the village. It would be useful in raising the levels of literacy of the backward communities, if the strength of the Nursery School is increased and the backward community people are persuaded to send their children to this school. A few months of training at the Nursery School would generate a desire in the hearts of the young ones to study further.

247. The village has a well-administered Panchyat Board and there are no political factions or communal feuds to hamper the working of the Board. The Panchyat Board has provided a number of civic amenities in the village. It has a number of schemes for the future and their implementation is limited only by their slender financial resources. Let us hope that under the new Panchayat Raj that has just been ushered in, the financial resources of the Panchayat Board would improve with a number of matching grants from the Government and allocation of tax revenues to the Panchayat. The people of this village are politically conscious and they take an active interest in the working of the Panchayat Board which, in actual practice, is more than a mere statutory body unlike in many other villages.



The *Kolattam*—A popular folk dance performed by young ones on festive occasions.

APPENDIX I

CENSUS 1961—SOCIO ECONOMIC SURVEY

Household Schedule

Name of village :

L. C. No.

Serial number of household :

Name of Taluk/District in which
it is situated.

I. Approximate dimensions of the house : ...

Number of rooms in the house :

Number of households residing in the house. ...

II. COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD :

Name	Sex	Age	Relation- ship to head	Marital status	Age at marriage	Literacy & Edu- cation	Occupation		Income	
							Pri- mary	Secun- dary	Pri- mary	Secun- dary
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Head										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										

III. DURATION OF RESIDENCE:

(a) Does the family previously belong to this village?

(b) If not, from where did they migrate to this village? (Give name of village, town, taluk and district.)

(c) When and why did they migrate?

IV. LANGUAGE :

1st member	2nd member	3rd membe	4th member	5th member
---------------	---------------	--------------	---------------	---------------

What languages can each member of the family:—

- | | | | | |
|--|------|-----|-----|-----|
| (a) Read, write and speak | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| (b) Speak only | .... | ... | ... | ... |
| (c) Examinations passed in languages under (a) | | | | |

V. DIET :

- (a) How many times do they take meals in a day?
- (b) What are the main constituents of food?
- (c) How many times a week do they consume non-vegetarian food?
- (d) Is any article of food forbidden? If so, which and why?
- (e) Do the members of the family chew pan regularly?
- (f) What are the oils and fats commonly used for cooking?
- (g) What types of utensils are used for cooking and household use—
 - (a) Earthenware.
 - (b) Aluminium ware.
 - (c) Copper.
 - (d) Brass.

VI. DRESS:

- (a) What are the types of dresses usually worn by—
 - (1) Males.
 - (2) Females.
- (b) Is there any special dress for festival occasions?
- (c) What types of ornaments are worn?

VII. LIVESTOCK AND POULTRY :

- (a) Does the household own any cattle? (Give numbers and types.)

- (b) What other domesticated animals does the household keep in the house? (Numbers and types to be specified.)

VIII. MARRIAGE :

- (a) Has any inter-communal marriages taken place in your family?
- (b) What is the expenditure on marriage?
- (c) Is dowry given? If so, is it in cash or in kind?
- (d) Is the family in debt on account of this?

IX. RELIGION :

- (a) To what religion does the family belong?
- (b) What are the principal deities worshipped?
- (c) What is the expenditure incurred by the family on important religious festivals?

X. LAND AND CULTIVATION :

- (a) Extent of land owned (acres and cents).
- (b) Is it inherited or acquired?
- (c) Does the family possess for itself agricultural implements? (Numbers and types to be specified.)
- (d) Are these of the improved or traditional pattern?
- (e) What is the type of cultivation adopted?
(a) Improved, (b) Traditional.
- (f) How do you market your surplus produce?
- (g) Do you have a vegetable garden in your house?

XI. FURNITURE AND PERSONAL BELONGINGS :

- (a) What items of furniture are generally in use?
- (b) Are they of local manufacture or imported from outside?

XII. GENERAL :

- (a) Do all children between 6-16 attend school regularly?
- (b) If they do not, how do they occupy themselves?
- (c) What is the general range of household expenditure per mensem for the family?
- (d) What are the main items of household expenditure and their proportion to the total?
 - 1. Clothing
 - 2. Food
 - 3. Fuel
 - 4. Lighting
 - 5. Luxuries (pan, smoking, etc.)
 - 6. Others not specified.
- (e) What is the outstanding debt?
- (f) **Source** from which money is generally borrowed:

Co-operative Society.	Rate
Private money lenders.	Do.
Governmental agencies.	Do.
- (g) Who is responsible for clearing the debts of a deceased person?
- (h) Does the family members wear shoes?
- (i) If so, are they of local manufacture or imported from outside the village?

XIII. SANITATION :

- (a) Is the house equipped with a bath-room?
- (b) Where does the household deposit its rubbish?
- (c) Is the house neatly and cleanly arranged?
- (d) Do the children urinate or defecate near the house?

APPENDIX II

CENSUS 1961—SOCIO ECONOMIC SURVEY Village Schedule

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

I. HOUSING :

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

II. LITERACY & EDUCATION:

- (a) Is there any school in the village? (Specify whether it is Elementary, Higher Elementary, High School and also whether it is a night or day school.)
- (b) What is the highest class upto which education is imparted?
- (c) Who runs the school?
- (d) Specify the number of students and teachers in each.
- (e) Is there a reading room/library in the village?
- (f) Total number of schools:

III. HEALTH & SANITATION:

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

- (o) Is there a Primary Health Centre in the village?
- (p) Does it have a Maternity Ward?
- (q) Where does delivery take place? At home or in the hospital?
- (r) Are there any midwives in the area?

IV. SOCIAL LIFE :

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

V. AGRICULTURE :

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

VI. MARRIAGE :

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

VII. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES :

- (a) No. of temples/mosques/churches in the village:
- (b) Do villagers ever join in common worship?
- (c) What are the main fairs and festivals celebrated?
- (d) How ancient is the festival? Mention the local legend about the village and the fair or festival:
- (e) Does this attract people from nearby villages?
- (f) Mention the name of the deity:
- (g) What is the duration of the festival?
- (h) Is any shandy conducted during the festival either in the village itself or in the outskirts?
- (i) Are communal feasts or free kitchens organised during the festival?

VIII. CO-OPERATION :

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

IX. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES :

- (a) What are the recreational facilities available?
- (b) Do all villagers participate in these activities?
- (c) Is there any play ground in the village? Mention area of playground:

- (d) Is there any club for sports or recreation? What sports are played and what amenities are provided in the Club?

X. LIVESTOCK :

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

XI. GENERAL:

- (a) Do villagers tattoo their bodies?
- (b) Do villagers favour female education?
- (c) Do the children get sufficient quantities of milk?
- (d) No. of street lights (Kerosene or Electric lamps to be specified.)
- (e) Are there any craftsmen in the village?

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

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

APPENDIX III

Glossary of Local Terms

<i>Tamil words</i>	<i>English equivalents</i>
1. Anda	... A large vessel
2. Balwadi	... Nursery School
3. Buskies	... Knocking on ground with knuckles
4. Dharaivarthai	... A ceremony performed during the wedding
5. Gayatri	... The most sacred mantra of Vedas, recited by the Brahmins.
6. Gopuram	... Temple tower
7. Gotram	... Exogamous groups in a caste.
8. Grahapravesam	... House warming ceremony
9. Guru	... Preceptor
10. Idly, Puttu	... South Indian edibles made out of rice flour
11. Kar, Pishanam	... Agricultural seasons
12. Kila Theru	... East street
13. Korai	... A kind of grass used in mat-weaving
14. Kothanar	... Mason
15. Kuthuvilakku	... A lamp of five wicks
16. Mandapam	... An open court or shed near the temple
17. Masi	... Tamil month corresponding to February-March
18. Mouli	... Muslim preacher
19. Muhurtham	... Auspicious time for the wedding
20. Nadhi	... River
21. Nalangu	... Ceremony performed to ward off the effects of evil eyes.
22. Navathanyam	... The nine kinds of grain.
23. Padithurai	... Bathing ghat
24. Pandhal	... A temporary structure for shade
25. Parisampanam	... The bride price
26. Pattu	... Silk
27. Pen azhaithal	... Ceremony performed on the eve of the wedding when the bride is brought to the marriage pandhal in a procession
28. Pookkattuthal	... A superstitious ceremony performed to ascertain whether a proposed matrimonial alliance has the divine approval
29. Prathisaram	... An yellow coloured thread worn on the wrist of the bride and the groom
30. Punniyahavachanam	... A purificatory ceremony
31. Sandhya Vanthanam	... Daily prayers performed by the Brahmins
32. Seeni	... Sugar
33. Seervaisai	... Customary gifts given to the newly wedded couple by the bride's parents
34. Sthalapuranam	... History and Legendary mythology of a holy place or a sacred shrine
35. Sural panam	... A customary gift given to the bridegroom by the bride's parents
36. Thali	... Marriage badge worn around the neck of the bride
37. Thamboolam	... Betelnuts and leaves served to guests on festive occasions
38. Therku Theru	... South Street
39. Undial	... A cash collection box
40. Vaikasi	... Tamil month corresponding to May - June

