CHAPTER 5

DROUGHT AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES
THE CASE OF PASTORALISTS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Sheep comprise 11.6 percent of the livestock population in India (Qureshi 1990: 19) which are reared for meat as well as wool. Sheep are more numerous in Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu but their wool is short stapled and inferior to the wool of the sheep reared in north-western India. Marwari breed of sheep of Rajasthan give good quantity of wool. Sheep flocks are also reared by the nomadic grazers in the Himalayas, such as Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir and Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh.

Goats are in larger number compared to sheep and account for 22.7 percent of the livestock of the country. Goat is a poor man's cow. These are found in larger numbers in the north Indian plains and the hills. The sheep and goats provide ready cash to the shepherds as they can be sold at the time of need.

Pastoralism is an important adaptive strategy in the upland zones of the southern Deccan. The pastoralists of this region are the Kurus (called Kuruma in Telangana and Kuraba in Karnataka) and the Gollas. Like the other pastoral castes of India (such as the Ahirs, Gowla, Gonda, Yadava (Jadev), Gavli (Gowli), Kolari, Dhanagar, etc) the Kurus and Gollas live in permanent dwelling places in villages and are involved in agriculture in a supplementary capacity (Murty 1993: 33).

The Raikas are the largest group of nomadic pastoralists in India. They reside, for the most part, in permanent dwellings in the Western Indian states of Rajasthan and Gujarat but migrate with their sheep for more than two-thirds of the years. Women and children often accompany the males in migrations, contributing equally to the success of the enterprise. Migration with sheep is a strategy to manage environmental risks by diversifying investments into mobile assets whose output is determined by a production function independent of that which controls farm production (Kroeber 1948: Sadr 1991).
Each year after the rains, hundreds of thousands of shepherds migrate from Rajasthan into regions of greater forage. Their migration lasts 7-10 months on the average and spans distances between 500 and 1000 miles (Agarwal 1991: 264).

Pastoralism is most typical for landscapes of alluvial plains of Rajasthan. Under conditions of increasing livestock population, there is a sharp growth of pressure on pasture areas and decrease of pasture productivity. Primary natural vegetation in this region practically everywhere is reduced as a result of felling for buildings, fuel and fodder purposes. Many species are used by man for food especially in the years of droughts (Sharma 1991: 298).

The migration of men and livestock (Kavoori 1991: 255) between complementary ecological zones is a frequent feature of arid and semi-arid regions, which includes the vast arid and semi-arid tracts of Rajasthan. Thus agriculture and pastoralism combine to support the region's rural economy; the utilization of large tracts of unarable and marginal land, along with the use of seasonally fallow rain crop tracts, as pasture, forms the primary basis of the success of the transhumant system. Broadly speaking, the direction of migration is towards areas bordering Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Gujarat. Recent years have seen a widespread drought in the region, when the extent of transhumant migration was thought to be near the 80 percent mark.

Agarwal (1991: 264) has shown that duration, distance, and flock size are positively correlated; smaller herds may migrate less frequently and to shorter distances. Adjustments by pastoralists to risk cannot be studied in isolation from the survival options of other communities. At the same time survival in a normal year cannot be completely distinguished from survival in an abnormal period like an year of drought (Gupta 1991: 335).

Pastoralists need access to grazing land, water, places for right shelter, food and other necessities like veterinary medicine, during migration. The need for assurance about security of a person and livestock in the unknown or lesser known regions generates institutions for collective survival. Agarwal illustrates how some migrating
groups of shepherds in the Dangs have a sort of relay race for night watchmen duty. Every person has to watch the herd in the night by moving around the herds.

Villagers in Andhra Pradesh receiving herdsmen from Rajasthan have an informal arrangement for deciding whose fields should be penned in a particular year, and by whose herd. An assembly of village elders negotiate with the scout party of the pastoralists about these arrangements. There have been many cases of violence against pastoralists on the issue of grazing in forests (with or without sanctuaries), private fallows, roadside fallows, on interstate borders. But there remains a vast range of traditional medicine systems or knowledge about combinations of stress ladder and feeds during drought which need to be properly analysed, screened and diffused (Gupta 1991: 335).

Traditional herd management in the present study area is apparently in tune with the theory of “cattle complex” (Herkovits 1926) and supports pastoral conservatism. Herdsmanship occurs heriditorily among the Kuruvas and Gollas. The herdsman's ideology is to maintain a good quantity of livestock to keep up his prestige; it is lessened if he possessed a small stock (Janzen 1991: 9).

5.2 PASTORAL ECONOMY IN THE STUDY AREA

Sheep/goat pastoralism is an important economic strategy in this low rainfall (400 mm - 600 mm), semi-arid region with expanses of grassland savannas and thorny thickets. The sheep/goat pastoralists of this region are the Kuruvas (also pronounced as kuruva) and Gollas. The Gollas identify themselves as Yadavas. The main distinction between the Kuruva and Golla communities can be made on the basis of 'Gotras' to which they belong. Even among the Gollas there exists an intercommunity distinction based on the 'vamshamu' (clan). For example shepherds in Basaram village belong to Yerra Golla vamshamu. Sherpahersds of Yerra Golla vamshamu claim higher rank than the others such as Mustigolla vamshamu, Pakanatigolla vamshamu, etc. Though the Kuruvas and Gollas maintain cordial relations, they do not exchange boys or girls in marriage. There exists 'Kancham Pottu' (i.e., they dine together but do not exchange brides)
The other difference between the **Kuruvas** and Gollas is that it is only the **Kuruvas** who are skilled in shearing the wool and making woolen **blankets**. Gollas do not know shearing of wool and blanket weaving though some of them are getting trained in such an activity. In the three villages namely Peddakothapally, Basaram and jonnalaboguda, Kuruvas and Gollas are not distributed equally. Kuruvas are found to be more in number than the Gollas, and they also possess more land and sheep than the Gollas. The discussion presented in this chapter is based on the fieldwork conducted by the researcher in these three villages located in the Kollapur taluk of Mahbubnagar district.

Two main breeds of sheep in this region are **Deccani** and **Nellore** and the important goat varieties are **Osmanabadi** and a local variety. The **Deccani** variety of sheep have less wool than **Nellore** variety.

**THE SHEEPFOLD**

The sheep are penned in the evening just after the sun set in the open fields in a net enclosure made of **thege vala** (link-chain mesh). This net is made of crisscrossing cotton or fibre strands or iron wire. To make the net enclosure, wooden posts are planted in the ground at intervals of two to three feet, in a circular fashion and the net is secured to these posts. Sheep are driven into the enclosure through an entrance, and the latter is also closed with the net. An elder person looks after the sheep as they graze throughout the day and leads them into the net at dusk. The young shepherds identify the young sheep and take them to their respective mothers for milk feeding. The elder shepherd goes home and returns in the night. He is usually accompanied by two dogs and two boys. The shepherds hardly sleep for two to three hours in the night as they have to keep a watch over the sheep. Early in the morning before the dawn, the sheep are again freed for grazing by opening the gate of the net enclosure. During the winter season, due to moisture, the sheep are freed for grazing around 7.30 a.m. Where as during the summer the sheep are freed early in the morning at 6 a.m.
Kuruvas and Gollas used to go in earlier times to far off areas. The fodder for sheep is getting scarce. The degradation of forest resources over the years, particularly burning of trees to prepare coal by the government and wood cutting by private parties, are said to be the main reasons for forest depletion and decrease of fodder resources. Absence of trees deprive the shade for the sheep to rest. Due to drought conditions for the last three years (and also during the previous drought periods), the shepherds went to Banala, Balmur and Kondanagula which are 50 km away from this region for short term grazing. They start moving during Ugadi (April) and they stay until summer for a period of four months. Usually two elders and three youngsters accompany one sheep unit. Shepherds in this region usually graze their sheep in and around the villages. During rainy season they do not go to other areas as the fodder is available at local place. When there are no rains they move to surrounding villages into Lingala and Peddapolam for grazing. The shepherds with small herd size do not go to such interior areas. However during prolonged droughts they move into the interior forest areas.

The shepherds have a system of grazing which represents a contract between the shepherd and the land owner. Sheep are grazed in their fields after harvesting of jowar, ragi and groundnut crops. The land owners allow the shepherds to graze their sheep in the field. Apart from this, they also allow the shepherd to use the trees and foliage to be given to sheep and goats as fodder. The shepherd in return provides manure by ‘folding’ the sheep in the lands of owners. Such a folding lasts for two to three days, to manure one acre. The droppings of sheep and goat is a natural manure which makes the land and soil fertile. Such a manure is good for ragi, castor, paddy and jowar crops and also it prevents crop diseases in fields. They establish such camps just before the land is ploughed for cultivation. During ploughing the farmer spreads such manure throughout the field. It is not good for groundnut, as it makes the soil hard to hold the groundnut inside resulting half-harvesting of groundnut crops. While establishing such camps in local places, they do not get any other benefits than grazing. But when they go outside
the village on short-range movement they establish camps for one or two days on new lands on the transhumant route. They do not get any thing in return from the camps established during the travel. During the normal period, the land owners give the shepherds 4 kg of jowar or 2 kg of rice for 2 persons per day. Some landlords give shepherds an amount of Rs.5 to 10 per day as remuneration, and some farmers provide arrack.

The shepherds provide rams (yatalu) for annual sacrifices to the village deities to the riots. Rams or annual provision of sheep or goat is given to washermen (chakali), potters (kummari) and other rural artisans on rotation basis. In the case of those shepherds who are not in a position to offer sheep/goats, they give some money because such an offering is a tradition and is given once in every year.

Shepherds with small holdings of sheep do not form units in the normal grazing season (non-migration). It is only during the transhumance they group the sheep into units. Shepherds with small number of sheep do not migrate into forest. They feed the sheep locally in and around village pastures. This sort of local grazing is for a period of ten months and during the summer, due to fodder and water scarcity, they graze in other village for a period of two months. shepherds with big holdings of sheep form into units during Dipavali festival.

In Peddakothapally village there are 10 farmers of different land owning castes leasing out sheep. They hire shepherds for grazing their sheep. They pay Rs.5() per sheep for grazing to the shepherd. The shepherds graze their (farmer's) sheep along with their own sheep. In this way the lease system helps cooperation between the farmers and shepherds. The medicinal costs of the sheep are paid by the sheep owning farmers in case of disease to the sheep. Free grazing is allowed in the post-harvest season. But pre-sowing grazing is done on agreements. Shepherd members numbering 3 to 4 group their sheep and make manuring camps in the fields. This is done as a return, for, the land owner earlier allowed the shepherds to use foliage on land owner's fields for 45 days in a year. The shepherds establish camps twice or thrice in a year for manuring the fields. The manuring is free and is not charged. There exists a traditional contract between land
owner and the shepherds to make manuring camps. A sheep unit with 100 sheep gets Rs.50 per day as renumeration. This amount is divided among the individual shepherds who grouped their sheep into unit during the manuring camps.

5.4. TRANSHUMANCE WITH SHEEP

Shepherds of the region belonging to Peddakothapally, Basaram and Jonnalaboguda village migrate along with their sheep into the forest areas near the Nallamala Hills. There are 150 shepherd families in Peddakothapally village out of which 100 families are Kuruvas and 50 families belong to Golla caste. Four sheep units (manda) are managed by 6-10 members and each unit approximately consists of 1500 sheep. In Jonnalaboguda there are 3 units with a flock size of 100 to 150 sheep in each unit. Shepherds during their transhumance maintain the Hocks on rotation i.e., two members remain with the flock while two members shuttle between the shepherd's forest camp and the village to carry the essentials. Usually one shepherd is needed year round to graze 100 sheep. In the forest they have to pay Rs.10 per goat for grazing for a period of six months to the forest official. In case of sheep free grazing is allowed following the central government's forest regulations allowing only the sheep into the forest as they cause least damage to the local tree species than goats.

The shepherds make transhumance into the forest along with sheep during the month of April (Aswini Karti). at the time of Ugadi festival. They stay in the forest for a period of five months. After grazing the sheep for three months the shepherds find it difficult to maintain the herd at a single place, and the herd scatters. During the month of July the grass becomes thick and is not relished by the sheep, and they start moving. Even then the shepherd stay on in the forest for two more months. They return to their respective native villages in the month of August when the Aslesha Karti (Asaleti) starts. They return during this time particularly to participate in Kharif agricultural operations.

Shepherds of the near by Bijinepally mandal move towards Karivena of Srisailam forest zone in the month of June (Mrugasira Karti) and return after the rainy season in the months of mid-september and first week of October (Hasta Karti). Shepherds shear
the wool twice in a year once in every six months in June (Mrugasira Karti) and November (Anuradha Karti) (Anuraga Karti). After returning from the forest these shepherds engage in cultivation of paddy (Oryza sativa), jowar (Sorghum vulgare), ragi (Elucine corocana), groundnut (Arachis hypozea) and castor (Riscinus communis) crops during the Kharif season (August to September). Some of the shepherds stay on till the completion of Rabi crops (until March). During April, May and June they either go to forest or stay in the village to graze the sheep.

5.5 TRANSHUMANCE ROUTES AND CAMP SITES (fig. 5.1)

The shepherds start from Peddakothapally and proceed towards Nallamala forest area which is 60 km away via Lingala and Achampet. Peddakarpamula is another starting point of the transhumance route which passes through Chinnakarpamula, Ambatipally, Yapatla, Hausailkunta, Lingala, Ayyampally, and Chennampally. The forest area starts from Ayyampally into the Nallamala forest range. The important forest camp locations of transhumance are Ramapuram near Kota, Appapur, Bowrapuram Cheruvu, Gornala, Watlapally and Pathuru Bailu. They camp at Pathuru Bailu for two months and they return on the same route. The transhumance in this region starts from Peddakothapally in the month of April, proceeds towards Peddakarpamula. It takes a day for a shepherd to move his sheep from Peddakothapally to Peddakarpamula. They stay here for one night. The next day they move towards Ambatipally which again takes a day to reach. They stay for one night at Ambatipally. From Ambatipally they travel for one day to reach Lingala and spend a night. The next day they move to Chennampally. It takes one day to move from Chennampally to Ayyampally. The shepherds stay for 3 to 4 days at each camp site and they move from one site to the other within the same time. In the forest they stay for 3 months and return in the month of August. Lonkas are low water yielding areas in this region which are used for watering the sheep. Chenchus and Yerukalas who are tribals of this region also undertake sheep rearing, particularly in Lingala forest zone. For making short-range movement, each sheep unit is headed by two elders and a younger one. During the long-term transhumance only elders go. Figure 5.1 shows transhumance routes and camp sites in the study area.
Fig. 5.1: Transhumance Routes and Camp Sites in the Study Area
In forests shepherd graze the sheep and goats with neem leaves (Azadirachta indica). foliage of tree species such as subabul (Laucaena Leucocephela), nalla thumma (Acacia arabica), thumma (Acacia nilotica). The leaves as well as pods of such trees are used as fodder to sheep and goats. The grass varieties of which the sheep graze in this region are anjan gaddi (Cenchrus ciliaris) nendra gaddi (Sesma nervosum) and dhub grass (Cynodon dactylon), and spear grass (Heteropogon contrasrus). In the forest 'Bauhinia racemosa', mangalu (Zyzyphus jujuba), and narukudu are the local trees and foliage of these trees is used as fodder to the sheep. Jowar and paddy stubbles are also used as fodder after harvesting these crops.

Pods and leaves of subabul, avisa (Sesbania sesban), ravi (Ficus bengalensis) rhodes grass (Chloris guayana) and (Stylosanthes humata) are the prominent fodder sources. The cultivated crops on which sheep can be grazed are hybrid napier and guinea grass (Panicum maximum). There are legume crops such as lucerne, cowpea, siratro, berseem and sun hemp which can be used as fodder. Certain cereals and pulse crops such as jowar, maize, greengram or blackgram can also be used as fodder to sheep.

Sheep are affected by several diseases. Important diseases are pedda rogam or musara vyadhi (rinder pest), galikuntu vyadhi (foot and mouth disease), neelinalika (blue tongue), doma vyadhi (anthrax), gontu vapu vyadhi (hemorrhagic septicemia), jabba vapu vyadhi (block quarter), chituku vyadhi (entro toxaemia), and ecthyma. Sheep are also affected by gomari (ticks or mites caused by flies and pests). The other minor diseases of sheep are milk fever, ketosis, tuberculosis, brucellosis, roundworm, tapeworm, (mastitis milk diseases) and pox and mange (skin disease).

5.6 PASTORAL DEITIES AND RITUALS

The Kuruvas and Gollas worship their Gods Beerappa, Mallaiah and Goddess Yellamma. They have temples of each of these gods and goddesses. They go to Yellamma temple on Mangala-waram (Tuesday) and to Beerappa and Mallaiah temples on Adiwaram (Sunday). They sacrifice goats on August 30th to Beerappa and offer clothes, food, curd saffron, coconut and leaves collected from 12 trees. Chandraiah who is a native of the
Peddakothapally village conducts these rituals. After assembling at the temple, the devotees sing songs related to Beerappa. During the Mallayya festival they eat food prepared with jowar and jonna sankati (gruels of jowar). Dogs are also fed with such food. Lingamayya is their another god. At Saleshwaram, Kuruvas and Gollas provide coconut and sweets (Kaya chekkara) as offerings. They visit Sri Mallikarjuna temple near Srisailam on every Sivaratri festival. The marriage ceremony is celebrated with Unni Kankanamu (wollen wrist band); food is carried in blankets during wedding occasions. Every year on festival occasion Mallanna’s story (Uggu Katha) is narrated for 3 to 7 days. Dandi Yellaiah used to narrate Uggu Katha but at present his son Dandi Mysayya narrates Uggu Katha. Golla suddhulu are recited by Guruvayyalu, who hail from Konipaka, once in every five years. Each Kuruva and Golla family gives an amount of twenty five rupees as aranam (gift). He (Guruvaya) wears panche-dhovathi of red colour. He is guruvu for them. He tells the names of sheep and is also called bondulaina. He is given food, rice, jaggery and is respected like god. He advises the Kuruvas and Gollas not to quarrel and not to learn manthras. He possesses a dastram made of copper leaves, and it is like a diary containing all the details.

Mallanna jatara (fair) is celebrated during the Ugadi festival (Telugu new year day) and it is one of the important festivals of both the Kuruvas and Gollas. Religious priests for this jatara are called as manda pechulollu. These are mataguruvulu. These leaders, who are five in number, form a group and visit the villages once in every five years. They originate from Marikanti village of Mamboobnagar district. They belong to either Kuruva or Golla caste. They narrate the stories in the village and stay for three days. At the end of three days the shepherds offer one sheep per household or sheep unit. Mandapechulollu are originally of brahmin origin in performing rituals of kurvas. Beerlollu are another category of religious leaders who perform marriages of Golla community. The death rituals are performed by Matherlu.

The priests carry with them during their visit to the respective villages, the images of Mallayya, the images of two dogs and tiger which (according to their belief) protect shepherds, their sheep and goats from wild animals in the forest. An image of
disease causing fly (goriteega) is also carried. During their visit to the villages Mallamma and Gouramma stories are narrated and in return the shepherds offer food grains and other essentials and also an young sheep as a mark of respect to their priests.

According to the shepherds God Mallanna is in human form and is black in colour. He is said to be visible in twelve forms. He possess a horse, a flute and rears sheep. God Mallanna protects the shepherds and their sheep from wild animals such as leopards, wild dogs and wolves and thefts and diseases. During the transhumance they have to stay in the forest watching and protecting sheep in the night. Each shepherd unit is accompanied by two dogs (more in some cases) to guard the sheep from wild animals. Their belief in God Mallanna gives them psychological strength; they say that they are not scared of even lightening or thunder. But they believe that sheep are affected by witch-crafts, particularly when the sheep catch diseases. When the sheep are carried away by wild animals, a shepherd identifies his own sheep by looking at the remnants of carcass. They locate the spot where the sheep was killed by the wild animals. They satisfy themselves by at least identifying their dead sheep.

5.7 OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND AND ECONOMY

Sheep rearing is an activity complimentary to subsistance agriculture in which not only men but also women and children are involved in working together in farming, sheep rearing, grazing, and blanket making. Usually the elder shepherds stay at home while the younger ones go out for grazing. Shepherds with land undertake farming as well as sheep rearing where as shepherds without land work in agricultural activities in the cropping season and concentrate on sheep rearing in the off-season. Male children of shepherd families are employed as labourers in transhumant shepherd camp units on either yearly or half yearly basis for sheep rearing.

Women belonging to both the Kuruva and Golla communities participate in grazing the sheep within the village surroundings, agricultural operations and sometime also work as agricultural labourers. They carry food to the shepherd camp units. Some of them are engaged in woolf processing, blanket making and in the sale of blankets in villages.
WOOL SHEARING AND BLANKET MAKING

Kuruvas are skilled in wool shearing and blanket making. There are 25 looms (spindles) for making woolen thread and blanket making in Peddakothapally. One week is enough for 2 males and 1 female to make thread from processed wool. Twelve families from the three villages are involved in blanket making. Two hundred blankets are made per year with 100 blankets in each season. Some of the shepherds purchase wool on agreement terms of shearing the wool of sheep in the nearby villages of Satapur, Gantraipalli. Shepherd employing a shepherd provides Rs. 6000 per annum to the labour shepherd. Male children work as labour in sheep herding and are paid Rs. 2000 per annum as wages. Some times these landless, sheepless shepherds work for a period of one season (non-migration period) in the village for six months on daily wage basis with Rs. 25 per day per male and Rs. 20 per day per female. Out of 15 families who do not have any land or sheep, five families are engaged in agricultural activities such as ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting.

A shepherd in this kind of agreement shears wool of approximately 200 sheep of other sheep owners. For this the shepherd gets paid Rs. 2 per sheep and also gets some quantity of wool.

Wool is shorn in two season i.e., once in the month of December and once in the month of June. The wool shearing in this season is hard as the shepherd can shear only 25 to 50 sheep per day. The wool shorn during June is not sold and is used for making blankets. The wool is kept because processing of wool shorn during this season (June) is easy and the shepherd can shear as many 100 sheep per day. Local wool is purchased by the merchants from Yetigadda and Mahaboobnagar who visit the village to purchase wool. They purchase each quintal of wool at the rate of Rs. 1000/- each. They collect 3 to 4 quintals of wool at a time from the shepherds and transport it in lorries.

Wool selected for blankets is first washed and sundried for two days. Then it is processed in the Hour mill (wool) at the rate of Rs. 15 per a quantity of 10 kg of wool. Firstly they have to make thread from the wool, for this the wool is boiled in jowar liquid.
mixed with *tamarind* seeds. The boiled wool is *cleaned and is ready for making thread.* Two male persons take two days to weave one *blanket on loom.* Blanket making on loom is faster than weaving by hand. They sell each blanket at the rate of Rs. 350/- in nearby market centres and villages.

Fifty families belonging to the Kuruva community in the region are involved in shearing wool which provides employment up to 75 days (30+45) in the 1st (December) and 2nd (June) seasons. One person shears 100 sheep per day. But during December one person can shear only 25-50 sheep per day. This is because the wool is sticky with thorns and other extraneous material inside it, it takes more time to shear the sheep. Hence the shepherd shears less number of sheep when compared with the number of sheep shorn during the next season (June). For shearing the wool the shepherds are paid two rupees for each sheep. During winter season 5 males are needed to shear wool from 100 sheep.

Five kg of raw wool is needed to prepare 3 kg of processed wool; 3 kg of processed wool is needed to prepare to make one blanket. The average price of raw wool is Rs. 90 per kg. The average price of processed wool is between Rs. 100 and 150 per kg.

In the earlier decades there was much demand for the wool. Due to the growth of quality cotton and synthetic nylon, the demand for wool has decreased. Blanket makers have switched over from wool to cotton and synthetic nylon, since then the demand for wool has decreased. The price and quantity of wool during past years from 1985-86 to 1994-95 showed that the price of wool per kg was Rs. 120 in the year 1985-86 and during 1989-95 year price was Rs. 110 and is further reduced to Rs. 90 per kg during the year 1994-95. The quantity of wool collected per sheep during the December season (1st cut) from 1985-1986 to 1994-95 showed that it was 1/2 kg and did not change until 94-95. However the quantity of wool collected during the June season for the years from 1985-86 to 1994-95 remained constant at 1/4 kg per sheep per season. The wool shorn in the second season (June) is of low quality and is cheaper. It is sold at the rate of Rs. 2 per kg for preparing low to medium quality of blankets and the wool collected during the season is locally called *thuggu.* Wool which cannot be sold is dumped in the paddy fields at the time of pre-sowing and land levelling operations for manuring.
After making the blankets these are transported and sold in market centres near Nagarkurnool and Singotam. Cost of medium quality blankets ranges between Rs. 200 and 350. White blanket is priced at Rs. 400. Good quality black blankets are priced at Rs. 450.

More lands are purchased and own individual houses are being constructed by the Kuruvas. Out of 100 families belonging to Kuruvas only two families owned land earlier. Those with limited land have purchased lands since fifteen years. At present 90% of the Kuruva households possess lands. They have purchased lands from incomes from sale of sheep and borrowings from money lenders, incomes from abnormal sale of sheep apart from annual sale of sheep is diverted to the purchase of lands. The attitude of the Kuruvas is that sheep rearing involve certain risks and that sheep are a variable asset due to environmental (drought and cold), ecological (fodder, water, grazing, disease) and market (demand of wool, price of wool and sheep) factors. Kuruvas without land and without sheep are engaged in agricultural operations during Kharif and Rabi season on current wages. Some migrate to Hyderabad for working. Some of them who remain in the village work as outside labour in sheep herding with other shepherds.

5.8. HOUSEHOLD SURVEY OF KURUVAS AND GOLLAS

The household survey of Kuruvas and Gollas has been conducted in 3 villages namely in peddakothapally, Basaram and Jonnala Boguda. A sample of 20% of the shepherd households belonging to Kuruvas and Golla caste have been studied by using questionnaires and participant observation.

A total of 26 households is selected from the Kuruva caste group and 4 households from the Golla caste group. The information collected and analysed is as follows.

Among the Kuruva households studied, there are 40 (33%) males and 34 (28%) females. There are 122 children out of whom 65 (53%) are males and 57 (47%) are females. There are 24 children out of whom 14 are males and 10 are females, consisting of 58% and 42% respectively. Among the Gollas there are 6 males (25%) and 5 females
(21%) and 24 children, out of whom 14 are males (58%) and 10 are females (42%).
Tables 5.1 and 5.2 shows the household composition of Kuruvas and Gollas in the study area.

Among the Kuruvas, out of 65 males 49 (75%) are illiterates and 16 (25%) are literates; and among the females, out of 57, 56 (98%) are illiterates 1 (2%) is a literate.

The literacy among Gollas reveals that out of 12 males, 5 (42%) are illiterates and 7 (58%) are literates; and among the females, 12 out of 12 are illiterates.

5.9. ASSET POSSESSION, INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

Among the Kuruvas, out of 26 families, 11 families possess sheep and the remaining 15 do not have sheep. Out of the 11 families 2 households are from 150-200 sheep size group, 1 family is from sheep size group of > 75 - < 150 and there are 8 families which are from < 75 sheep size group. In the three categories of shepherds, i.e., 150-200, > 75 - < 150 and < 75, as many as 350 sheep are possessed by the sheep size group of 150-200.

The average annual number of sheep sold also shows variation. It is high among the sheep size group of 150-200, i.e. 70 per year. Where as it is less, 40 among the sheep size group of > 75 - < 150. It is further less, 10 among the sheep size group of < 75.

The average annual value of sheep sold also changes with the size of herd. It is Rs.28,000 for herd size of 150-200 group and Rs.16,000 for herd size of > 75 - < 150 group, and Rs.4,000 for herd size group of < 75.

Similarly the average annual veterinary costs, income from sale of wool, income from sheep camps and from sale of manure arc subjected to variations in correlation with herd size. All these aspects show increasing tendency along with the decrease in the herd size. The total income from sheep rearing after balancing and from asset per household for the shepherd households in the herd size of 150-200 is Rs.36,968 per annum. It is Rs.21,125 per annum in herd size of >75 <150, and Rs.5,245 per annum for the shepherds in herd size of < 75.
Tables 5.3 and 5.4 shows the particulars of asset possession, income and expenditures of Kuruvas and Gollas.
However it does not mean that shepherds without any sheep do not get any income from the asset of sheep. Some of them get additional incomes indirectly but not to a considerable extent to meet their requirements.

Among Gollas there are only 2 households which have sheep with a herd size of (less than) < 75. Two families do not have any sheep. The two households own 70 sheep altogether. They sell on average 7 sheep each per year which yields an amount of Rs.2,800 each. They get an annual income of Rs.2,362 equally from wool and Rs.100 from sheep camps and Rs.75() from sale of manure etc. The total income after adjustment from veterinary and other costs is Rs.5,872 per year per household.

POSSESSION OF LAND

Out of 26 Kuruva households 8 (31%) are landless families, 18 (69%) households have lands. More land is concentrated among less number of Kuruva households, 2 households own 14 hectors within the land size group of 5-10 hectors. In this group the average land possessed is also more with 7 hectors.

Less land is possessed by more no of shepherds i.e., within the land size group of less than 2-5 hectors, 11 families own only 27.6 hectors with average land of 2-5 hectors per household. Less land is possessed by more number of shepherds i.e., 5 households owning 6 hectors of total land with average of land of 1.2 hectors. It is observed that it is the shepherds of land owning category of less than 2 hectors who are not only less in number but also they possess very less land.

The possession of land among shepherds of Golla caste indicates that average land possessed by them is less, i.e., only 2.4 hectors per household, within the land owning category of more a 2-5 hectors.

Out of 18 land owning shepherd households of Kuruva caste only 2 households have acquired their land from ancestors. The average land acquired through ancestral means is 0.8 hectors. The remaining 13 households have, however acquired lands through purchases.
Among the shepherds of Golla caste there is no household which acquired land through ancestral property. The 4 households in the group of >2-5 hectors of land holding have acquired their land through purchases.

The shepherd's status discussed here is based on possession of land, sheep, and non possession of the same. Out of 26 households belonging to Kuruva caste there are 9 households who possess land and some sheep. Nine households possess land but do not have any sheep, 2 households possess sheep but do not have any land and the remaining 6 households do not have any land or sheep.

The possession of land among shepherds of Golla caste indicates that average land possessed by them is less, i.e. only 2.4 hectors per household, within the land owning category of less than 2-5 hectors. The shepherds of Golla caste consisted 4 households out of which 2 households have land and sheep and 2 households possess some land but do not have any sheep.

5.10 EMPLOYMENT

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 shows the employment particulars of Kuruvas and Gollas. The employment of shepherds in Kuruva caste indicate that the number of persons employed in sheep rearing increased with the decrease in number of herd or herd size, indicating more dependency of shepherds of less-herd or small herd group on sheep rearing.

In the herd-size of less than < 75 there are 8 households which have 16 persons employed throughout a year. However their contribution towards herd growth, income and work remuneration suggests us to double counting of their working mandays. Though they are employed only for the year, their contribution in terms of returns suggests a hypothetical increase in number of their labour days. This indicates that sheep rearing is not as profitable as on expects. The wage rate of the above mentioned shepherds per day is Rs.7. There is only one shepherd household which employs 2 shepherds throughout year (though doubled in assumption) in the sheep size group of (greater than) > 75 - < 150. The wage rate is Rs.28 per day per person. This indicates
that there exists a differentiation in the herd size and the number of persons employed and variation in the wage rates. However there are only 2 households of shepherds within the herd size of 150-200 which employ 4 persons throughout the year (though doubled in assumption) and their wage rate per day is Rs.25. In total 22 persons are employed from 26 Kuruva families, particularly from those who possess sheep, for a total of 1095 mandays (doubled is assumption) with gaps in wage rates per day ranging from Rs.7,28,25.

Among the Gollas there are only 2 households which employ 2 shepherds year round (in assumption) with average wage per person per day at Rs.16. These shepherds belong to the herd size group of less than 75. This indicates that then wage rate is high when compared with persons employed in Kuruva caste in sheep rearing.

5.11. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Three types of activities are available for shepherds. Altogether there are 26 households out of which there are 40 males and 34 females. In sheep rearing 15 males (37.5%) are employed in main activity and only 5 as secondary activity, 18 are employed (45%) in agricultural labour as main occupation, and 8 are working as secondary occupation, 7 are (17.5%) working in farming as main activity, and 21 are working in secondary activity.

Similarly out of 26 households there are 34 females : 1 (31%) female is working in sheep rearing as main activity and 6 females took sheeprearing as secondary occupation. Thirty one females (91%) are working in agricultural labour activitites as main occupation and 2 in as secondary occupation. 2(6%)females are employed in farming as main activity and 20 females are engaged in farming as secondary occupation. Table 5.7 shows the occupational structure of male and female Kuruvas.

5.12. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AMONG KURUVAS (CHILDREN)

In total, there are 26 households with 25 male kuruva children and 23 female kuruva children. Out of 25 male children, 4 (16%) are working in sheep rearing as main
activity, 3 (12%) are working as agricultural labour as main activity, and no one is working in farming activity. Regarding 23 female children, only 3 (13%) are working in agricultural labour activities as main activity. Table 5.8 shows the occupational structure among the male and female children of Kuruvas.

The overall observation of the occupational structure of Gollas shows that 6 (43%) persons are working males (male and children) in sheep rearing as main activity and 2 are working in agricultural activities as secondary activity and 2 (14%) males are working in farming as main activity and 4 persons are working in farming as secondary activity. The female composition consists of a population of 10. All the female (100%) members are working as agricultural laborers as main activity, they are also working in farming as secondary activity. Table 5.9 shows the occupational structure of male and female Gollas and male children.

The observation from the above analysis is that among the kuruva males more are working as agricultural labour (45%), less are working in sheep rearing (37%), and much less are working in farming (17%).

5.13. THE COMPOSITION OF WORKERS AND NON WORKERS

The overall observation of composition among the all land class categories (including landless) of kuruva males (males and children) shows that about 33 (82.5%) are workers and 7 (17.5%) are non workers. Similarly the female (female and children) composition of Kuruva caste among all the land class categories (including landless) consists of 32 (94%) of workers and 2 (6%) of non workers.

Altogether, an overall observation shows that among the male Gollas (males and children) 6 (43%) of them are workers and 8 (57%) of them are non workers. Similarly among the female Gollas (females and children) there are 7 (70 %) workers and 3 (30%) non workers.
5.14. PASTORALIST ADJUSTMENTS DURING DROUGHT

The shepherds (Kuruvas & Gollas) residing in the study area are often affected by drought. The earliest drought in this area occurred 50 years ago i.e. during the year from 1945-1965, as it existed for a period of 20 years. Lack of water for the sheep and fodder as well, were important problems during the 1950s drought. It existed mainly due to the absence of rains which resulted in lack of pastoral resources. The shepherds provided water to the sheep near the local open wells using Gadi Katta (Mota a kind of water lifting device prepared with leather and wood material). In those days there were no medicines to cure the sheep when infected. However good fodder was available within the surroundings. Teak leaves, ponthenga leaves and nagulaku were the important feeds to the sheep during drought. The three villages were within the jurisdiction of 'Kalsai' area (Taluk). The other surrounding villages were in the area of 'Samsthanam' (state). The sheep of the 'Kalsai' area were not allowed into the 'Samsthanam' area for grazing. Similarly the sheep of 'Samsthanam' area were not allowed into the 'Kalsai' area. At present there is no such restriction on grazing. The shepherds faced with water and fodder problems. The shepherds migrated to Muddunuri Penta which is 18 km. away. They also went to Gunda Polam which is 12 km away. 'Narlinga Kaya' a type of fruit from a tree variety was used as feed to the sheep. Thus the drought existed for a period of 20 years. However the agriculture was good and it was not affected by the drought.

The latest occurrence of drought to the shepherds was during the year 1987-88 and also 1991-92. The crops such as jowar, castor and groundnut were damaged and the rest of the crops were unsown. However such a drought was resultant of agricultural failure. Women, young children belonging to shepherd families migrated to Yetigadda to earn livelihood. They worked for 9 months in agricultural activities such as jowar cutting and paddy harvesting as well as earth project works. The shepherds migrated during that drought into Peddur Polam. They feed their sheep with yepa leaves and jana leaves as foliage.

In earlier droughts, the shepherds have not migrated, but during the present droughts the shepherds are migrating. Their migration is mainly for survival. In 1991-
92, 10 shepherds migrated for 9 months. They were paid Rs. 350 per month each with provision of meals. Mainly, women and children were the migrants.

The 1994-95 drought resulted in a loss of 150 sheep herd. Due to lack of fodder and water the sheep were sold away at the rate of Rs. 30 per sheep (the average price is Rs. 300 per sheep). Sheep are sold either due to lack of water and fodder or due to diseases during rainy season (Chittadi).

Shepherds perceive the drought as drought only when the sheep are diseased and died in large numbers. They do not perceive the normal agricultural drought as drought because they are not affected by the drought due to their migration and transhumance, an adjustment strategy at the time of scarcity, which results in reducing the drought effects. However the only problem they felt is that they had to travel long distances, than they used to travel during the ordinary time. When the normal drought occurred during 1987-88, the shepherds sold away their lands measuring not less than 1 acre each. Their sale of land is due to expenditures on consumption goods. Some of the shepherds sold away their sheep to adjust with drought expenses. During the drought, there are more problems to the shepherds than agriculturists because land is unaffected as much as the crops do, but the sheep are subjected to diseases and also, water as well as fodder scarcities.

Shepherds normally purchase lands through the sale of sheep. But no shepherd sells the land to purchase the sheep. The shepherds during the agricultural drought suffer due to less income from farming. They borrow from money lenders at high interest rates and banks to meet the credit towards agriculture. They even sell their sheep to clear their borrowings. The shepherds also have to spend on sheep and also on themselves towards the curing of diseases which involves purchase of medicines.

The shepherds adjust their migratory pattern during the drought. When drought occurs, the absence of rains results in delays in sowing operations. The shepherds did not return to the fields. They stay on in the forest areas until the arrival of rains. In the complete absence of rains, they stay for 9 months in the forests.
TABLE 5.1

HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND POPULATION

(Kuruvas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Size</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Average Size</th>
<th>No. of Male</th>
<th>Adults Male</th>
<th>No. of Female</th>
<th>Adults Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Male</th>
<th>Total Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 to 5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34 (26%)</td>
<td>25 (20%)</td>
<td>23 (19%)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>57 (47%)</td>
<td>122 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage to total Households.
Source: Field Survey

TABLE 5.2

HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND POPULATION

(Gollas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Size</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Average Size</th>
<th>No. of Male</th>
<th>Adults Male</th>
<th>No. of Children Male</th>
<th>No. of Children Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Male</th>
<th>Total Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 to 5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (25%)</td>
<td>5 (21%)</td>
<td>8 (33%)</td>
<td>5 (21%)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10 (42%)</td>
<td>24 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage to total Households.
Source: Field Survey
TABLE 5.3

ASSET POSSESSION, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

(Kuruvas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheep Size</th>
<th>No of Hhs.</th>
<th>Average Sheep per Hhs.</th>
<th>Total Sheep Held</th>
<th>Average Annual No. of Sheep Sold per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Value of Sheep Sold per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Veterinary cost Per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Income from sale of wool</th>
<th>Average Annual Income from camp per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Income from sale of manure per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Balance from Asset per Hh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28000</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>5906</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>3937</td>
<td>36968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 75-&lt; 150</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16000</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>3375</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>2250</td>
<td>21125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>5245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheepless</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>645</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Hh. = Household
Source: Field Survey

TABLE 5.4

ASSET POSSESSION, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

(Gollas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheep size</th>
<th>No of Hhs.</th>
<th>Average Sheep per Hhs.</th>
<th>Total Sheep Held</th>
<th>Average Annual No. of Sheep Sold per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Value of Sheep Sold per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Veterinary cost Per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Income from sale of wool</th>
<th>Average Annual Income from camp per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Income from sale of manure per Hh.</th>
<th>Average Annual Balance from Asset per Hh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;75</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28000</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>2362</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>5782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheepless</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>2362</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>5782</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Hh. = Household
Source: Field Survey
### TABLE 5.5

**EMPLOYMENT OF SHEPHERDS**

*(Kuruvas)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheep Size</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>No. of Sheep</th>
<th>No of Shepherds Employed in Year</th>
<th>No. of Days of Employment</th>
<th>Average Wage Per Person Per Day (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>365x2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 75 - &lt; 150</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>365x2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>365x2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheepless</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1095x2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

### TABLE 5.6

**EMPLOYMENT OF SHEPHERDS**

*(Gollas)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheep Size</th>
<th>No. Of Households</th>
<th>No. of Shepherds Employed in Year</th>
<th>No of Days Employment</th>
<th>Average wage Per Person Per Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 75</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>365x2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>365x2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey
TABLE 5.7
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
(Kuruvas)

MALE & FEMALE ADULTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size Class</th>
<th>No of Hhs.</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Sheepearing</th>
<th>Agricultural Labour</th>
<th>Farming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40 (100%)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : field survey
* Figures in parenthesis indicates percentage to the total households.

TABLE 5.8
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
(Kuruvas)

MALE & FEMALE (CHILDREN)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size Class</th>
<th>No of Hhs.</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Sheepearing</th>
<th>Agricultural Labour</th>
<th>Farming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25 (16%)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3 (12%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : field survey
* Figures in parenthesis indicates percentage to the total households.
TABLE 5.9

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
(Gollas)
MALE & FEMALE ADULTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size Class</th>
<th>No of Hhs.</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Sheeprearing</th>
<th>Agricultural Labour</th>
<th>Farming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Main</td>
<td>Female Main</td>
<td>Male Main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sec</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Sec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-5 Children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6 (43%)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field survey
* Figures in parentheses indicate percentage to the total households