CHAPTER VII
ECONOMIC ASPECT AND INTER-CASTE AND INTRA-CASTE RELATIONSHIP OF HOLEYA

The present chapter deals with the changing economic pattern and intra-caste and inter-caste relationship among Holeya community in Bidar district. Economy is one of the most important factors which determines the social status of any individual or group of individuals. Economic conditions can either hinder or further develop the life of the people. Poor economic conditions may lead to illiteracy, social immobility and loss of personal freedom. It is evident from history that the scheduled castes have gone through suffering under the disabilities of untouchability. Social exploitation, ignorance illiteracy and denial of basic human rights because of their economic conditions.

The scheduled castes constitute an important section of Indian society. They were considered low in social status and degraded because of their association with certain lowly activities which were considered as low. Traditionally each caste was associated with a particular occupation.

To abandon this occupation in pursuit of another was unthinkable, and this was true particularly with reference to scheduled caste who had very little opportunity
in the selection of respectable and remunerative means of livelihood. Their touch used to defile higher caste Hindus. The social and cultural disabilities blocked their movement from one occupation to another in traditional times. Certain castes, though traditionally carried low social status, have altered their position in modern times. Holeya community of Virar district is an example of this category.

In the wake of independence several constitutional safeguards and provisions, statutory protections and social legislations have been provided for the amelioration of scheduled castes and weaker sections of the society. These have relatively changed the age-old caste relations. The traditional barriers to occupational mobility are rapidly crumbling down and many new fields of employment are being thrown open to the members of the depressed classes. The Government of India has provided innumerable financial concessions and other welfare measures especially in the field of education since education was considered responsible in removing their social and economic disabilities. The inherent right of the scheduled castes to compete with equality has been fully recognised by the constitution.

By taking advantage of various welfare schemes and social legislations, scheduled castes are undergoing rapid change. It is against this background, the present
study is made to understand the economic position of Holeyä community, the sub-caste of scheduled caste, and see how far and to what extent those constitutional safeguards and social and economic legislations have really made an impact on them. Further, the study tries to examine and evaluate their real economic conditions in respect of these changes in occupational pattern and intra-caste and inter-caste relationships.

**OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN:**

"The Sociology of occupations owes its existence to the fact that work in any society is a socially desired activity and is ubiquitous. The sociologist views work in terms of the social relationships that are created by it. Essentially, occupations are roles within society that are defined by the nature of the work that individuals perform. (Dunkerly-1975). It is important to recognise the achieved nature of occupational and work status in the majority of cases in industrialised societies.

Attention needs to be paid to the way in which occupations accommodate or are accommodated by social differences such as age or sex and by other social institution such as the family or religion. In all societies, the family system and occupational system are closely
related. The family prepares the individual for work and it is the immediate beneficiary of his labourers. (Caplow, P. 248: 1970) Social class plays an important part in choosing of an occupation. Man spends most of his working house of life in an occupation. The nature and type of occupation determines his values, thoughts, personality and style of life. The nature of occupation also decides the functional importance of man to society (Goyal, 1973-74).

Occupations in traditional India were believed to be confirmed to set patterns. Particular groups or communities were generally associated with certain occupations which were regarded as hereditary calling for those groups. The four fold verna derived its basis from such a functional division of labour. Social ranking was highly inter-linked with the occupational order. The occupations involving intellectual skills were regarded as superior to manual labour. Even among the groups associated with domestic and manual services, there was further graduations. The occupations like tanning and skinning of hides, sweeping, scavenging etc., which involved the handling of dead carcasses or other putrefying matter were considered particularly as degrading so the groups of which were associated with these occupations were regarded as 'Unclean' or polluting and were relegated to the lowest positions in the social hierarchy. The castes presently known as
Scheduled castes were said to have been previously associated with some of these menial services. Hence these castes were regarded "Polluting" even though majority of their members pursued agricultural activities or other clean services. (Usha Rao P. 232, 1981). But what was worse is that in course of time "Pollution" became to be determined by "Birth". Members of these groups were regarded as polluting even, when they are not actually engaged in occupations considered as defiling. The rigid social control exercised by the higher status groups in guarding their privileged occupations not only curbed the occupations but also compelled the lower status groups to adhere strictly to the interior vocations. In fact, they were made to believe that their lower positions were divinely ordained. Any attempt on their part to change from their traditional calling was fraught with grave consequences.

In Indian rural society occupations are so rightly structured that there is a direct relation between the occupational pattern and social structure. Occupation of the rural people is generally classified into traditional occupations and non-traditional or secular occupations. Traditional occupations are associated with caste hierarchy. The scheduled castes have not been allowed to have any vertical occupational mobility.
The Holeya castes are entrusted to do manual labour of both pure and impure nature. Traditionally pure occupations mostly consisted of agricultural labour, whereas the impure works mean unclean and low statused occupations like digging grave, carrying carcasses, scavenging etc. The traditional occupational patterns have undergone many changes in the recent periods.

**TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS OF HOLEYA COMMUNITY:**

Traditionally Holeyas were associated with unclean activities. These activities were:

1. Removing of the dead cattle.
2. Removing of the dead cats and dogs.
4. Getting wood to make bier.
5. Watching the dead body.
6. Carrying the death message as a messenger.
7. Watching the village.
8. Keeping the fire 24 hours in 'Chaudi'.
9. Serve chuttud eli (tender leaves) to every evening to the houses of high status group.
10. Horse delivery.
11. Seasonwise they should carry fruit, sugarcane from village to another village.
12. Beggary or Batty (carrying burdens).
13. Temple service.
14. Slitting wood at the time of marriage.
15. Settling boundary disputes.

Even today the Holeya castes perform some of these functions in the village of Bidar district. The Holeya community is the largest schedule caste group among the scheduled caste in the Bidar district. The evidence is that there are no other untouchable castes to perform these activities. The Holeya community perform them. But they were considered higher than other untouchables like Madiga, Chamers and Dhole.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to analyse the economic organisation of Holeyas. The brief history of traditional occupations is depicted as follows:

1. **REMOVING OF THE DEAD CATTLE:**

This job was done by the 'Yant mandi holeyar' (means a group of eight people) at all occasions. Whether it is rainy season, summer or winter they have to remove the dead animals in the village. The activity of removing dead carcass up to village outskirt i.e., near 'Holegeri' or Harijanwada and leaving it there was their job. The removing or skinning was done by madiga caste. Holeyas carry the dead animals. When they are called to remove the dead animal, they go to that place and take the animal to the outskirts of the village. Where the madiga remove
the skin of the dead animal. Then the Holeyas cut the animal into small pieces. They consider 16 bones of the cattle as important and they have to be distributed according to their status, based on their "Doddi". Four important pieces of the bone are given to Singya, Metri and Bhutalya separately for their services in carrying the dead animal. Remaining pieces are shared by other groups in the Holeya community. Other community people in the village know that the Holeyas are carrion eaters because of this practice they are considered as low in the caste hierarchy. For their service they get grains from the owners of the dead animal. That grain is equally shared by eight Holeyas. However the Holeyas do not undertake the removing of the dead donkey. This work is undertaken by Jangams or Swamy, as villagers believe the same as the obligation of the swamy.

2. REMOVING OF THE DEAD CATS AND DOGS:

When dogs and cats (which in village) die a natural death anywhere in the village, it is the obligation of the Agsha to remove its body, which they generally drag into the colony. This work Agsha alone could do, because small size of the animals including calf, buffaloes, he carries upto village edge. Afterwards he receives his payment in the form of leftover food or corn from the householder.
3. **GRAVE DIGGING:**

First the message of the death in the village is to pass on from Agsha to 'Yant Mundi Holeyar'. In the morning Holeya people come and sit in front of mourners house. They give them spade, pickaxe and basket. While giving all these instruments they also give jawar in a basket. They dig grave in a desired place. At the time of placing the dead body in it, the upper caste Hindus pay the money 'Mana', 'Kar'. Otherwise, they do not allow them to bury the dead body. Holeya always think that they are the owners of the earth. Except Muslims and Madiga everybody should pay money to them in the village.

In case of a brahmin who cremates the dead body Holeya collect wood and cow-dung cade to burn dead body. After ablaze until body is burnt they should watch.

4. **GETTING WOOD TO MAKE BIER:**

The Holeya caste brings wood to prepare bier, when any one die in the village. Bier could be prepared by the panchal (Carpenter) for all castes except Mohammadans and Madigas.

5. **WATCHING THE DEAD BODY:**

If a person dies in the village Holeya should keep fire in front of the house where the death has taken
place till the dead body is lifted from there. Then if anybody, she/he hangs in the house or in the field or died in the well will be cremated irrespective of caste affiliation. After ablaze to dead body people would go back to their house. But Holeyas should watch the dead body until skeleton and skull burnt on the cremation ground. There is a belief that after half cremation dead body could run out of the fire. It would become demon. On such occasions also a Holeya has to help the other caste people by taking out the body from well or other place and provide fire wood for cremation of such bodies.

6. CARRYING DEATH MESSAGE AS A MESSENGER:

In the village when a death takes place, the message has to be sent to the relatives and friends. Death message will be carried by 'Yanto Mundi Holeyar'. Agsha will be always available in the chowadi where he uses to keep fire all the time.

The caste Hindus call Agsha and ask him to give death message. He collects the list of the relatives and friends and handover work to eight Holeyas 'Yanto Mundi Holeyar'. While going they receive jawar for this service from the mourners family. When he gives message to various relatives some of them also give jawars to him for getting message from him. While some give him left over food to each. Holeyas carry only death message and not the wedding invitation.
7. WATCHING THE VILLAGE:

One of the respondents revealed his father's father's activities of watching the village. Along with this they were also found to be engaged in the activities of village servants and "Watchman". The activity of the watchman was the speciality in Bidar village. The historically oral records convey that near Bidar village Mailar, the Mallar people celebrate Lakshmi pooja once in every third year. They adorn temple, lit the lamp, sacrifice buffelow and goat to enhance the village wealth. The next neighbouring village thought that to steal the Lakshmi lamp, and if it is brought to the village, would bring prosperity to the people. Keeping that in mind on the pooja day a Holeya moved to that village on the direction of village patel. It was midnight. The intention was to steal that lamp and run away up to his village, with lamp. Mailar village people chase him while running with lamp. His village patel received the lamp inside through the gate hole and closed. If he is alive he would marry with patel's daughter. He took round and round to village in that Mailar people found him and chopped him in his village gate. He was alone son to his mother. His mother gave curse to Mailar people "Your village is going to be destroyed, disease would be spread in your village, and people should die, your village should be destroyed". People feel that this curse has been
responsible to destroy Mailar village. This village now contains destroyed houses, wells, walls, all ruined places.

8. **KEEPING FIRE IN THE CHAWADI:**

   In the center of the village Agsha should keep fire twenty four hours continuously. Generally all people know that, it is the job of Agsha. He would be blamed if he does not do his duty of keeping fire.

9. **AGSHYA SERVED TANDU LEAVES EVERY EVENING TO CASTE HINDU:**

   Holeya caste over and above this were also found doing other lowly activities. During the early part of the night they used to go with the basket full of tendu leaves. These are used for smoking by upper caste Hindus. Direct touching by hand through Holeya caste Hindu feels defiled. Holeya receive in the evening the left over food from the Hindu. This was a widespread practice in rural areas of this region. According to routinewise if he donot get he would quarrel with his ethnic pocket. If the conflict resolved; it would go upto village 'Panchayat' or Patel for settlement. He could decide the case who will be the next Agsha. Every day he collects leftover food 'Roti'. Excessive bread expected could be dried by women at house. And some time they send dried roti to their relatives who are poor aside the neighbouring village. So woman usually attend the agricultural work. Her earned money would be spent by male member for his
drinking toddy. If Agashitan comes to his house means he will become rich within one year. If he has any unmarried girls or boys he could arrange marriage of them in that year. Everybody earns in additional leftover food. The family could be maintain by the earnings and a part of it would be spent on the family programmes like marriage, fair, festival and deity. This Agshitan work is based on routine. In addition to this Agsha performs work as a labourer in agricultural field. This traditional occupation forms a part of the economic system.

10. HORSE DELIVERY:

Horse delivery should be undertaken only by Holeyas. They are very expert in that profession. He takes care of the horse for five days. During these days the owner of the horse provides the Holeyas with necessary, but traditionally Holeyas caste should take food and toddy.

After five days he collects his service charge in the form of old clothes and some corns.

11. SEASON WISE SERVICE:

In the village, a few people like Patel or Malipatel have large land tracts of under their control. Seasonwise they produce more sugarcane, mangoes, or any cereals. They send them to their daughters who are married. Holeyas carry those things and give. They act as transporters.
12. **CARRYING BAGARY OR LETTI:**

The Mughals annexed the region after vanquishing Sikandar Adil Shah in 1686. Their system of administration was brought beheaded by Asif Jaha, the first Nizam (1724-48) who was the Mughal subedar of the deccan and his successors established the rule on the Mughal pattern. So during Nizam's regime the Begar system appeared to have been introduced.

Each village had a Patel (head man) for the administration of justice. In Nizam's Government police came to village on riding the horse to see village administration. A Holeya has to look after the horse. Police used to come with another Holeya to carry his Begary (Begary contains his shoes, dress blanket and bed sheet). After his entry in the village Agsha could inform to 'Yento Mandi Holeyar' to manage police and his horse. If worker delayed he will be kicked by any village Patel or Patwari. Among the Holeyas a few of them take his Begary inside 'Panchayat Halli' and few of this will tie his horse to a near by pole. Two people would go to field to bring grass to horse. Grass and benzal grass should be feed to his horse.

At this time every Hindu farmer requests Holeya not to go to his fields. If any Hindu has quarreled with Holeya deliberately, he goes to his fields and brings
benzal grass as much as he likes. If owners raise his rice Holeya would lodge complaint to the police. Due to this fear of police Hindus never quarreled with Holeyas.

Holeyas were very much happy during Nizam's rule. Muslims like Holeya caste and they allowed them in their house upto Ghosakhana and Janana. Except holeya no other Hindus were allowed to enter inner house.

"Dhed Jaminka Ped, Assamanka Tara, Khadaka Para" most of Muslims expressed infront of the Holeya people.

13. TEMPLE SERVICE:

The 'karya' is celebrated once in three years in the name of the goddesses lakshimi, Uur Lakshmi to whom the whole village worship, In this celebration service of Holeya is very important especially of the Bhotdle. For this celebration whole village contribute in the form of money and grain; some contribute the buffelow, shepherds give goats. Instead of paying money and corn holeya caste renders its service to temple.

Before the 'Karya' Holeya levels the ground, sprinkles water to the compounds of temple and white washing outer walls. It is celebrated once in three years.

On the karya day the idon of the deity (Uur Lakshmi) is decorated with green saree brought by village Patel,
green bengal brought by bengle seller, sacred tali brought by goldsmith, earthen pot and lid by potter. In earthen lid lamp is lit by the holeya 'Bhotalya' second in the status person among the Holeya. He will be the sole authority of rounding the village. Singhya will be watching the lamp until celebrations are over. Metraya is the chief under whose directions the entire celebrations is performed.

When the village patel offers the Naivedya to the village Lakshmi holding sword in hand, the he buffolo is brought to the place by the Holeya for sacrifice. Before sacrificing he buffolo the priest-Potya goes round the Lakshmi temple. With sheep calf, shepherded go chasing him. Ultimately potya could kill the lamb by his teeth. Then four or five Holeya members go round the temple circumbulate with village patel saying 'Holega' chalon Polga'.

15. SLITTING THE WOOD DURING THE MARRIAGE:

In the village during marriage season 'Yanttu mandi Holeyar' should slit the wood if marriage happens in the house of patel or any Hindus.

The women folk assist in cleaning grocery, and white wash the outer part of the house. In the marriage they manage party oxen, bullock carts, feed fodder to oxen, women sprinkle cowdung water to compounds. For their services they get leftover food and clothes who continuously serve them.
16. SETTLING BOUNDARY DISPUTES:

Wherever the boundary disputes exist between different villages, the role of Handi holeya is considered as very important. When it becomes very difficult to decide the village boundary, they invite Handi Holeya. They tie a seer (local measure) of Kurdi seeds in piece of cloth, and tie that to the trunk of Handi Holeya. They make a socket (hole) in the piece of the cloth. Then he is asked to move along the edge of the boundary. When the seeds are exhausted that is the end of the boundary. They mark the village boundary by placing a stone there. Generally this method is accepted by all the villagers in deciding the disputes of village boundaries.

In addition to this work the Holeya caste work as agricultural labourers. Practically every upper caste member who has agricultural land employed labourers from Holeya caste. At the time of tilling land, weeding and harvesting Holeyas are engaged as daily wage earners. They work in the field, look after the livestock and engage themselves in the work on the field throughout the day as coolies.

The holeya woman clean the cattle shed sprinkle cowdung water and make cow dung cakes in the morning. For them land lady provides the morning meal called 'Tangal Roti' and 'Tangal Dal' leftover bread and dal.
The traditional occupations, rules and duties of Holeyas towards other caste members from a part of their economic system. Here we find an integration of caste duties with economic activities. The clear division between economic and religious duties is not possible.

Present Occupations of the Respondents:

Occupation plays an important role for the analysis of the life style of the people. A person's attitude and behaviour, leisure time activities, assets he possess are determined by one's occupation.

The economy of the Holeyas of the Bidar district is basically a subsistence economy. They follow the traditional menial jobs to meet their personal requirements. Besides they also work as agricultural coolies to meet the needs of their daily life.

The present occupation of the Holeyas is divided into ten main occupations as they are engaged in diverse occupations such as agricultural labourers, cultivation, Government service along with former menial services.
### TABLE NO. 40

**MAIN OCCUPATIONS OF THE HOLEYA COMMUNITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Main Occupations</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Holatan</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Agricultural Labourer</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Cultivation</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Seasonal Worker</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Grocery shop</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Arrack Shop</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that out of 250 families 44 i.e. 17.00% are engaged in traditional occupation, due to fear of upper caste. In the village Belure, in Basava Kalyan Taluka Holeya caste refused to remove the dead animal and undertake the menial jobs which are traditional for Holeya. All of a sudden the next day upper caste burned the huts erected by Holeyas. They threatened them and told that if anybody files a complaint against them in police station he will be in trouble.
In the village Mardkatti in Bhalki Taluk Holeya caste when denied the upper caste to dig grave for them and carry death message, Hindus immediately stopped taking them as agricultural labourers and providing grocery until they return to their traditional calling. Holeyas reported the matter to higher officials like Dy. Collector and Deputy Superintendent of Police. Authorities pressured the upper caste people pressure to open grocery shop. The government allotted an independent fair price shop for Holeyas. In those villages where the number is less they are forced to return to their former work. 88 families farming 35.2% are engaged in agricultural labourer which is their main occupation. 35 families 14.00% are engaged in cultivation, 17 respondents are in government service, among them only one is lady member. 35 families 14.00% are seasonal workers like digging well, repairing road, digging canals, sugarcane cutting and wash as masons. 3 families i.e., 1.2% are engaged as a carpenter; 10 families i.e., 4.00% are engaged in maintaining arrack shops; 6 families i.e. 2.4% are working as a tailor and 9 families i.e., 3.6% are engaged in social work.

MODE OF PAYMENT OF WAGES:

Indian agrarian history suggests that agricultural labour never enjoyed a bargaining position in the agrarian social structures. Apart from economic dependency they were also bound by social, cultural and religious obligations.
imposed by caste system. They are exploitative nature of the land owning system and labourer relationship.

Among the Holeya community in Bidar district majority of them work as daily wage earners. They are 44 houses serving in fixed traditional calling the labourers go to the fields of the owner early in the morning and return home by evening. The total average working days of labourers who do not have fixed house work in a year to 250-300 days. A labourer gets amount for the work he does at Rs. 8/= per day which is hardly sufficient for two meals in a day. Women get Rs. 6/= per day.

In addition to daily wages, on the days of specified agricultural operations like ploughing the fields, digging the wells, weeds harvesting of jawar, grain etc., the labourers earn a little more than Rs. 8/= per day as his wage. The average annual earnings of a casual agricultural labourer comes to about Rs. 2,000/= per year. He is not employed during slack season for say length of period especially in rainy season (July-August) Holeya women also participate in agricultural operations along with their menfolk. Their earnings supplements the family income. The wages in Bidar district are more or less uniformly fixed.
LAND HOLDING:

In rural society land holding plays an important role since it is the main means of production. The group in control of land is also the group that is capable of dictating its terms. "For in an agricultural economy like that of the Indian village, the land owner, perched on the top ring of the agricultural ladder, comes to control a number of groups on the lower rungs like the tenants, artisans, labourers and the service groups who directly livelihood" (Punit 1973-38). In fact land places its owner to win over to support of other groups in the village.

Since the Holeys being landless, they till the land of higher castes either as tenants or as agricultural labourers. This trend has now changed. The social legislations of land reforms in the recent past has resulted in breaking down the age-old barrier to occupational mobility and some landless workers have found to be land owners now. At the time of the linguistic reorganisation of States in 1956 the differer. Kannada speaking areas scattered over the then Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad States, were brought together with the Old Mysore State, and Coorg province to form the new Mysore State (now called Karnataka since November 1973). Although the cultural and linguistic unity of these areas was the main consideration underlying their unification under one administrative unit—namely the
Karnataka state. Each of these areas had different set of laws governing their respective systems of land tenures, tenancy, and rent and revenue. Since these acts were in vogue side by side, the new states administration had to face enormous problems while dealing with competing, often conflicting, interests of various categories associated with cultivable land.

At this juncture, Bidar district of the former princely state of Hyderabad were merged with Karnataka. The Hyderabad tenancy and agricultural land Act 1950 had declared all tenants who had cultivated the land continuously for six years as protected tenants. Though the tenancy legislations discussed above were promulgated to bring progressive changes, in reality from the tenants points of view they were no more than mock measures.

Karnataka government has taken into account the legislations related to the abolition of Inami (Taxfee) in Mysore region. Mostly the upper caste Brahmins held the Inam lands. Most of Brahmins had migrated to the cities and moved into the government services or professions. They became absentee landlords who now leased their land to tenants for actual cultivation. The Karnataka Government took up the issue of abolition of such Inam tenures in 1947. But the pace of formulating such a legislation was rather slow. To formulate a uniform land reform legislation, the State
government appointed in May 1957, the Mysore Tenancy and Agricultural Land Laws Committee (Popularly known as Jatti Committee) which presented its report in September 1957. Following the objectives of the first five year plan as its basic source of ideas, the committee aimed at the abolition of tenancy in deliberation. The Jatti Committee recommendations became the bases of the Mysore Land Reforms Act 1961 (Later called Karnataka Land Reforms Act 1961).

Though the 1961 Land Reforms Act had received assent of the President of the Republic of India on 5th March 1962 its implementation actually stated on 2nd October 1965. The main purpose of this Act was to provide security to tenants against eviction and prevent land owners from taking over plots which their tenants had cultivated long. The Act was also designed to abolition, tenancy, ban on further leases, fix fair rents with respect to the then existing leases and to impose ceiling on land holdings so that surplus land could be redistributed among poor cultivators and needy landless agricultural labourers.

The implementation of the 1961 Act as a measure of agrarian transformation, however, left much desired. There was a conspicuous delay of eight years in implementing the Act (1965) which was originally formulated in 1957. This delay facilitated malafide transfers of land under
different names. Consequently, the dominant classes with vested interest in the rural areas got abundant opportunity to use their muscle power for evicting tenants and to manipulate land records whereby the leased-out lands were converted over night into lands under 'Personal Cultivation'. This 1961 Act had the laudable objectives of transforming the agrarian structures but its provisions were rendered in effectively by the built in loopholes which came in the way of changing the system.

The next leap forward came only in 1974 when the so called radically amended legislation, the 1974 Act finally abolished all leasing of lands for cultivation (except in cases of soldiers and sailors), it abrogated all the existing leases, abolished the provisions for resumption of leased-out land for personal cultivation and imposed a reduced ceiling on the size of landholding as prescribed by the central guidelines of 1972. The Act however provided for compensation to be paid to landlords by tenants for this purpose it incorporated the fixation of rent on leased land to calculate the amount of compensation payable the landlords. Because the renewed land reforms attempted to plug the loopholes in the 1961 Act the 1974 become the most publicized and progressive measure. It promised to acquire and redistribute surplus lands thereby created hopes of drastic changes in agrarian scenario of Karnataka.
The 1974 Act provided the following facilities to the tenants:

1. Repeated extension of the least date to file declarations for claiming ownership right which was finally extended upto June 30, 1979.

2. Exemption of stamp duty on all formal applications and affidavits filed by the tenants.

3. Free legal assistance to poor tenants wherever necessary for establishing their claim for ownership.

4. Consideration of declaration by the tribunals even if details such as clear survey numbers and extent of the tenanted land were not furnished by the tenants.

5. The land tribunals were empowered to issue interim orders to prevent any forcible displacement of tenants, and if necessary to appoint a receiver to administer the land since the tenant was vulnerable to even a temporary interruption of his farm operations.

6. The compensation to the land owner fixed at minimum rate was made payable in installments to be deposited in the land development bank. Thus, the tenant was released from the direct subordination relationship to his erstwhile land lord subsequently even the remittance of compensation amount has been waited in the case of tenants below the poverty line (i.e. those 2000/- income per annum) like scheduled caste and scheduled tribes.
7. After obtaining the ownership rights however the tenants were forbidden from selling the plot at least 15 years. (Ph.D. Thesis by Chandrashekar Damle).

The social legislations and land reforms in the recent past have resulted in breaking down the age-old barriers to occupational mobility and some landless workers have turned to be land owners.

Table reveals the landholding and landless Holeya among the 250 samples.

**Table No. 41**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Upto 2 Acres</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3 to 5 Acres</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>6 to 8 Acres</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>9 to 11 Acres</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>11 and above Acres</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As there are less facilities for irrigation the farmers have to relay mostly on the monsoon for crops. An excessive amount of rain (8lx) fall in the monsoon period...
between June and September followed by variable quantities in October and November before the dry season commences in December. It continues until as late as the end of April before there is any effective rainfall. The period of December to March is cool with little chill at night.

With above seasonal rainfall distribution it is discernible that in the district are the Kharif (Mungari) and the rabi (Hingari). The kharif sowings commence in June and July and those of the rabi crop in September and October. The people showing in kharif, Jawar, Green-gram, Black gram, Minor millets, sesame, ground nut, hybrid, jawar, chillies, sunflowers. Then sowing rabi crop September and October, jawar, bengal grass, are more in practice. Those who have well irrigation sugarcane, cotton, sunflower, paddy little and chillies.

Farmers with irrigation facilities construct many small bunds, canals and drains to improve water distribution especially during the periods when there is no rain. It is seen that canal irrigation in the district is still in its infancy. The Bimar well irrigation is popular in Karnataka State.
**TABLE NO. 42**

**TYPES OF LAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landowning (Acres)</th>
<th>Dry</th>
<th>Wet</th>
<th>Dry</th>
<th>Wet</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(24.69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(12.34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(68.75%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(31.25%)</td>
<td>(9.87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(44.45%) (55.56%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5.56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(2.46%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50.00%) (50.00%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3.71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(12.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(16.17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(8.02%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 and above 20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(12.34%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total              | 119 | 21  | -   | 22  | 162 |
|                    | (73.45%) | (12.96%) |     | (13.58%) | (100%) |

Table shows the acres of land possessed by Holeya in each category. Out of 250 households 163, 64.80% possess
land both dry and wet. Out of 162 families 40 (24.6%) have one acre of dry land followed by 20 families (12.34%) have one to two acres of dry land, followed by 11 families (44.45%) percent dry land, two to three acres dry; 5 families (31.28%) dry and wet land. Then 4 families (44.45%) of which 5 families (55.56) percent have dry land upto three to four acres 5 families have wet land. Four families (2.46%) have both dry and wet land. Five to six acres three (50%) families have 3 (50%) dry land 3 families (50%) wet land. 3 families have (1.85) sever to eight acres both wet and dry land. Then 21 families (12.96%) have eight to nine acres of dry lands, and 10 families (10.17%) have both dry and wet land, between nine to ten acres. This is followed by 13 families (8.02%) which have ten to eleven acres of wet land. 20 families (12.34%) have eleven and above only dry land.

Since the district has not sufficient irrigation facilities still Karanja project is under construction. The district farmers solely depend upon rainfall, Bidar district popularly an outstanding place in Karnataka state for well irrigation. Ground water source is still maintained. Among Holeyas who had irrigated cultivation have dug wells in their respective lands. Small formers seek loans from P.L.D. Bank. A few of them who have small piece of land above 2-3 acres take water from neighbour farmer for summer crop on share basis. Holeya farmers mostly depend upon the
monsoon. The usual crops cultivated in the wet lands of this area are sugarcane, wheat, groundnut. The living conditions of the wet land possessers are better than those have dry land. If monsoon fails the owners of the dry land suffer a lot.

POSSSESSION OF LAND:

The private ownership of land and property in Bidar district has created a large section of landless population in the Holeya community. The change of economy from subsistence to surplus into production for exchange and money encouraged the people for accumulation of land and property on individual ownership. Moreover due to restriction on land by Hyderabad Land Revenue Act of 1907 some unscrupulosity people took possession of land at a much lower price. Due to fear of princely state revenue these never bothered about land. Land has been under control of Marwari, Jamindar, Patel, Patwari and Kulkarni.

It is seen from table no. 43 that 162 (64.8%) respondents owned a land and rest of them were landless. Some of the respondents hold the opinion that they had inherited 52.47% land from their ancestor. Some of the respondents (17.29%) opined that they did not inherit any land from their ancestor but purchased land from the caste Hindus and their caste groups. Then 30.25% respondents obtained free land from the government on temporary lease.
patta. The table shows land holding pattern of the Holeya community in Bidar district.

TABLE NO. 43
POSSESSION OF LAND AMONG HOLEYAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Land Possession</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Inherited land from ancestors</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>52.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Land purchased by father</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Land given by Government</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>30.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Gairan land)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>162</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is generally found that individual ownership comes into existence gradually when the land is developed for the introduction of permanent cultivation or horticulture. This resulted in change of social organisation particularly social stratification of the Holeya community.

Agricultural labour is the main occupation of the Holeya community. The agriculturists normally buy land when their economic conditions improve and sell land when they are in adverse conditions. Land is considered as an asset for Holeya community. For them any form of purchasing of agricultural land is considered as an investment. And whenever they are in good position they purchase land.
In order to understand the economic conditions of Holeya caste of Bidar district and yearwise income figures of all households were collected. From Table no. 44 it is clear that income of the respondents ranges from less than Rs. 2,000/= to more than Rs. 10,000/= per annum.

Income is one of the major determinants of the economic status of the people and this is so among the Holeya. Their main sources of income are agricultural, coolies and jobs. Their living conditions are very poor.

In view of the uneven distribution of work throughout the year the average annual income was calculated on the basis of actual day excluding slack seasons. In the study of income of respondents the investigator has taken the average annual income of the households.

**TABLE NO. 44**

**ANNUAL INCOME OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Income of the Respondents Per annum in Rupees</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Upto Rs. 2000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2001 - 4000</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>64.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>4001 - 6000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>6001 - 8000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>8001 - 10000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>10001 and above</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was no difficulty in obtaining the income of salaried people since it is paid according to the established rules in force. Some respondents were working as teachers in semi-government Institution, some are in private factory. Then some are in Government office. The table shows that out of 250 respondents the largest number of 161 constituting (64.4%) are in the income group of 2001 to 4000, only (5.2%) are in the income group of Rs. 10001 and above thus more than 70% of the families are in the income group that does not exceed on an average income between Rs. 2001 per annum and 4000 per year.

**INDEBTEDNESS:**

The indebtedness not new to holeya community. They have this character from time immemorial. By his improvidence he is driven yearly to have recourse to borrowing jawar foodgrains and money from the village Patel or Kulkarni who do not fail to exact an almost ruinous rate of interest from him. Although able to pay the original debt contracted, the holeya cast struggles vainly against the load imposed by village patel or kulkarni and although by a system of renewal of the bills against him he may postpone the evil days. Yet eventually the crash comes and he is sold upto meet his liabilities. The Holeyas are illiterate and cocile in character. They cannot make out what patel or kulkarni writes at the time of lending money or jawar. Simply they
thumb impression on promissory note. On inauspicious days Kulkarni or Patel postpones taking money or jawar but eventually interests is imposed on the following year. Consequent upon this they are forced to sell their belonging to meet the liabilities. Debt was incurred in seasons of want and for the purpose of ceremonies and feasts.

The investigator found no reason that the Holeya would fall into debt, but it was an undoubted fact that debts would continue to accrue. Besides loan from individual in village patel or kulkarni or village money lender. The Holeyas used to get agricultural loans from the Government Co-operative Banks.

One of the major problem is the inadequacy of their income to meet both ends, namely livelihood and other personal expenses. Constant deficiency inevitably forces them to resort to loans like follows.

1. Agricultural occupation gives income only once or twice in a year.
2. The other times, they borrow to meet their needs.
3. Due to perennial natural calamities such as droughts, the crops fail, forcing them to borrow money or jawar.
4. Injudicious spending on ceremonies etc.

It is interesting to know in this study that shows families are indebted for one or other reason, below table
shows:

**TABLE NO. 45**

AMOUNT OF LOAN TAKEN BY THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Amount of Loan</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>0 - 500</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>501 - 1000</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1001 - 1500</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1501 - 2000</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>2001 - 2500</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>2501 - 3000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>3001 - 4000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>5001 and above</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total   | 250            | 100.00%            |

It is learnt that there was hardly any household without indebtedness. Therefore, the remark made by the constitution regarding scheduled caste continuation of indebtedness the allegation that the Hooleyas are improvident and their nature to be indebted can not be judged from the modern perspective. It is true that Directive principle of State Policies brought little change along with Socio-economic conditions of scheduled caste. Due to lack of education and poor economic conditions, they could not overcome their difficulties. Currently,
the government initiated to give loans to the poor farmers for agriculture and self employment such as buffelo, goat etc. It is observed that this had helped them marginally. The rural people are so overburdened with loans that any return of the loan is quite impossible. Because after seeking loan from government bank, they utilise that money for marriage and family maintenance.

PURPOSE OF LOANS:

There are various reasons for which loans have been raised by the Holeyas. They are family maintenance, house construction, education, birth expenditure, marriage, death, fair and festival, purchase of land and agriculture. The reasons are quite obvious. The payment of wages to agriculture labourers is very low. Apart from their poverty, most of them take loans to propitate their dicty and attend holy places. After return they provide feast to the community members. The table reveals that out of 250 respondents 140 constituting (62.67%) have taken loans for family maintenance; for house construction 18(7.92%) and 5 respondents (2.20%) seek loan for the purpose of education, 47 (20.71%) for marriage purpose and for the sake of land, 5 (2.20%) respondents, 5 for agriculture (2.20%) and 7 respondents (3.8%) for other purposes have taken the loan.
### TABLE NO. 46

**PURPOSE OF LOAN TAKEN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Purpose of Loan</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Family maintenance</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>61.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>House construction</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>20.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Purpose of Land</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCES OF CREDIT:**

In the village various sources of credit are available from time immemorial. In rural setting to poor scheduled castes the first source of credit is their children. In the beginning of monsoon they send their children as cowboys to rich agricultural families where they get credit. Then usual source of loan is small patch of land. The widely adopted practice in the village to execute a loan is promissory note. Nearly 80% of the Holeya families have taken loan by executing promissory note with caste Hindus.
TABLE NO. 47

SOURCES OF CREDIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Relatives of same caste</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>High caste</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Government agencies</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Money Lenders</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The various sources of credit available are presented in the above table. It shows that out of 250 respondents 227 have taken loan from various sources. Among these who have taken loan 66.5% have taken from high caste Hindus; 18.5% from relatives and 8.8% from Government Agency like State Bank of India and P.L.D.Bank after mortgaging their land. Only 10.57% have borrowed from money lenders. The widely adopted practice is to execute a promissory note, to seek loan.

This study made an attempt to know the use of electricity by the Holeyas in their houses indicated in the table. Majority of the households are deprived of the electricity. It is clear that out of 1990 thatched houses only 5 houses (2%) are provided with electricity and 191 (76.4%) not provided. Of the ten houses only 4%
are electrified. In other words out of the total 250 households 222 (88.8%) are non-electrified and only 28 households (11.2%) are electrified.

**ASSETS OR FURNITURES:**

In this modern age of science and technology the needs of man are endless. Demands are more when an individual comes in contact with many pursuits of modern life. He has to buy many things for himself and for his family. These properties determine the socio-economic status of an individual in society. Thus, in order to obtain information about the movable and immovable properties which consists of land livestock, furniture utensils, modern gadgets possessed by the respondents were enquired is to.

In most of the houses of Holeya caste, it is discovered that small planks of wood prepared by country wood are used as seats. It is called in local term 'manli'. In some houses stone benches are used for sitting and sleeping purposes. In a very few families furniture like chair, table, bicycle almirah, television, radio cassettes are found. Out of 250 holeya houses, 198 constituting (79.2%) do not have any furniture. Among them 12 (4.8%) have only chair; 4(1.0%) have tables then 23 (9.2%) respondents have bicycle and 2 (0.8%) respondents have
almirah, then one respondent has a television set, and 10(4%) respondents have Radio, cassettes.

**TABLE NO. 48**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the household furniture</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No furniture</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>79.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Table</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Almirah</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Television</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Radio cassettes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possession of furnitures and modern gadgets indicate the financial position and educational level of the families. The 20.8% indicated by 82 respondents who have some furniture and other valuables are economically better off and also have some education.
FOOD HABITS:

Food is one of the most important basic needs without which no animate being can survive. Normally individuals adopt their diet patterns with the indigenous food stuffs available in the area. Differences in food habits are due to diversity of castes culture and the ecology.

An analysis of the food items and dietary habits of the people as an area is important because it reflects the nutritional level of the population. The normal diet of the Holeya of Bidar district at present consists of jawar Roti, Dal Vegetables etc." The old practice of eating "Tangal Roti" and dry chilli powder and onion which was their common practice is changed now. The Holeya are non-vegetarians. In the past Holeyas were carrion eaters. But now they have given up by campaign against it by an ex-servicemen and with the help of school going children. He persuaded the people not to eat carrion. In the beginning there was resistance but slowly people gave up that habit. Some members when tried to continue the old practice, youngmen poured kerosene on the dead animal to avoid it as food. However they continue to be non-vegetarians as they occasionally buy meat from the butcher who comes every fortnight.

Taking intoxicated drinks like toddy and arrack is common.
DRESS HABITS:

The dress pattern of Holeya community is similar to other Hindu castes, dress. The male members wear a white turban, some of them yellow, a few of them use vermilion colour towel and dhotee.

The youths use trousers and bush shirts. People use western type of dresses. Educated or uneducated wear wrist watches.

The Holeya woman grizzle complexion and a well developed figure. Traditionally, Holeya married woman were supposed to wear a "Nov wari" saree i.e. eighteen cubits (9 yards) long Anjuri and Ashmani colours like other Hindu women. They wear blouses of cotton dyed dark blue with blue deep ref and boarder called "Jurd Anch" Young girls before her maturation start wearing saree. They use to wear phaki, polka, and kirguni (small sari) before starting wearing saree. In joint families or where the old parents livings, their daughter-in-laws were compelled to wear the Nav Wari Saree. It was found that the educated girls and young daughter-in-laws rebelled against this old practice of wearing 9 yard saree and were six yard sarees. Young girls who were school going wear Langa (skirt) and Davani after maturation at present instead of saree.
Holey woman do not wear costly ornaments. Some cheap ornaments are seen among them. They are nose pins, ear pets, silver anklets and toe rings. Also they wear glass bangles of different colours. Cosmetics are rarely used except coconut oil and vermillion.

Most men, women and children look shabbily dressed. They wear cotton clothes. Rarely are found gaudy dressed. They do not use bed sheet. Most of them use gunny bags and toddy mat for sleeping on the floors. They do not use pillows. The pattern of dress and use of other things like trinkets, beads etc. reflect their poor economic conditions.

**THE CHANGING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS:**

The sign of change in the economic organisation of Holeyas is summarised as follows:

Eighty percent of the families have given up and this change "Holatan" menial jobs. Most of them got enlightenment through the Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy when they came into contact with Maharstra Mahars.

Other social workers like Shamasundar and B.Venkata rao have taken keen interest in Holey community and have tried to emancipate them through their persuasive aspects. When members of the Holey community were convinced by
the leaders, slowly started giving up the traditional occupations of menial service and started taking up new occupations.

However some have still continued traditional occupations and they are not bound to the employer by occupational relations as it used to be but get money in return to their service. Even they are looked down upon by other communities in the village.

2. Previously during early part of the evening Holeya people use to beg for leftover food and giving tendu leaves as part of their traditional occupations. But since the enlightenment of Ambedkar Philosophy has reached them they have given up begging leftover food from the upper caste Hindus.

3. At present nobody is doing the task of watching village or chawadi, nagsha is not protecting fire in the village. After work they are enjoying free time with their family without fearing fear of Hindus.

4. Carrying bitty or beggary had been ended after the police action. Now some people have established themselves in running grocery shops, purchasing land, sharing crop etc.

5. Holeya man and woman though drudgery was more profitable than wages in the past but today they find
doing coolie, and agricultural daily wage to be more profitable than drudgery. Since they got cash at hand every day or weekly.

6. Previously Holeyas were carrion eaters. In the beginning there was resistance but slowly people gave up that habit. Now Holeya are completely free from carrion eating.

7. Then occupational pattern of Holeyas have got changed much. Because they were working on the lands of the higher castes. In the earlier days and now also they are working. But we notice change in the behaviour both of landlord and of the servant. In earlier day masters use to show sympathy on their servants by way of giving food, old cloths, some money at the times of need. But now-a-days they have become business minded.

8. Now-a-days Holeyas are very much attracted towards the agricultural work. It is observed that 64.8% of the Holeya families have one to two acres of dry land. Some of the families possess irrigated land. Now-a-days some of the Holeyas are becoming progressive as they have started using modern varieties of hybride seeds, chemicals and fertilizers in their land. However, majority of them still continue traditional methods of cultivation.

9. Some of the respondents complained that though the Government has a number of schemes, the Holeya have not received benefits from them as the schemes have not
reached them as yet. All the benefits are taken away by upper caste Hindus in the name of scheduled caste.

10. Previously Holeyas were self-sufficient in their occupation and they used to carry out their economic activities collectively. But now-a-days their life is becoming more independent. It is observed that 64.8% of the Holeyas who have a little crop are forced to go for daily wages in the fields of others for their livelihood.

11. In the past majority of Holeyas were addicted to toddy drinking, now-a-days non-availability (availability) and the cost of liquor is high. Hence occasionally they drink.

12. Holeyas have been taken to the various type of economic activities for their livelihood now-a-days. They are in Government services. They are also found in professions, like doctor, engineer, lecturer, labourers, farmers, businessmen, tailors etc. This shows the flexibility and change in the economic activities of the Holeya community.

13. Previously because of the practice of unclean occupations, Holeyas were kept in the outskirts of the village and were treated as untouchables. This practice has hampered their progress. But due to Government policy of upliftment of backward castes and classes, Holeyas are making progress. The new generation is quickly adopting itself to the new trends in the society; children
are taking education in schools and making use of Government facilities like hostel and college and making use of Government and semi-government services for their economic progress. Still the stigma of untouchability is attached to Holeya caste in the village. However, high caste Hindus are mixing up with scheduled caste persons in hotel, cinema and in other public places.

In the event of the facts stated in this chapter, it is clear that there is a virtual break down in the traditional caste system due to passing of several social legislations and other constitutional provisions. Although Holeya practice even now some of the impure occupations. The study reveals that 17 people have got some jobs outside their village in the Government offices and or private organisations. Even though their climbing up of the social ladder is very much limited, in the sense. Holeya are yet to capture position which carry power, authority and social status.

Education is proved to play a significant role in socio-economic mobility. If Holeya are better educated, they are bound to move out and seek jobs that are relatively good. This alone will have a greater impact on their stagnated social mobility.

If we review the entire economic activities of the
Holey a caste in modern times we find the signs of change which are easily discernable. The study of Holey a community throw light on the dynamics of modernization of the community which was degraded and backward for sometimes. It can easily be turned into progressive one if people become aware of Government policies.

Many people criticised Government Policies of upliftment of backward communities. They say Government measures for the progress of backward classes is useless but the example of Holey a community shows that a fill up can be given for the progress by the Government. The study of other communities and the change they are undergoing provide as an example and guideline for the upliftment of other backward communities.

The researcher is of the view that unless Government's economic programmes such as rural developmental programme percolate down to the real needy, the socio-economic position of the Holey a is bound to remain stagnated and immobile.

**INTER-CASTE AND INTRA-CASTE RELATIONS:**

The study of inter-caste and intra-caste relations of Holey a caste of Bidar district is necessary in order to understand their status in the village community.
An Indian village generally has a small composite population consisting of a number of groups belonging to different castes and in some cases, to different tribes as well as different religions. Rural sociologists and anthropologists have often observed that in a traditional village in general, different castes and communities are integrated in their economic, social and ritual pattern by ties of mutual and reciprocal obligations. The village council often has the final authority for social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions.

Rural communities are more homogeneous in their social and psychological traits than the urban population. In rural communities, there is a predominance of personal and relatively durable relations. According to Dube (1965) the features common among the rural communities one stable population, common past number of shared values, recognition of the individual an economy built largely around agriculture, importance of the agricultural caste both economically and socially, a great value for an lore of land, and a tendency to share some common community problems.

**INTER-CASTE RELATION:**

Caste hierarchy was built in India on inter-caste relationship. It was the elaborate proliferation of roles governing inter-caste relationships and their meticulous
enforcement that guaranteed the separateness and integrity of each caste. It is well known fact that the Holeya live on the outskirts of the village in clusters of tiny cone-shaped and square shaped thatched houses known as 'Holgeri' or Harijan wada. These wadas which look like tiny hamlets are almost disconnected from the main village. It means that they are not living with other castes. Untouchability was the logical culmination of the caste structure in intensity and degree. It is a sub-structured running parallel to the social structure in our country. It is of sociological interest to inquire into this area in order to know the status quo in the midst of efforts to reduce the social distance between the Holeya and other High caste Hindus. To find out the net work of social relationship between the Holeya and the caste-Hindus of Bidar district, it is felt very significant to ask all the 250 household, heads, the following questions.

1. Can you enter temples ?
2. Can you fetch water from the public well ?
3. Do high caste Hindu include you in their religions festival ?
4. Do they consume food with you ?
5. Do you like keeping close personal relations with high caste Hindu ?
6. Do you have non-dalit friends ?
7. Do you get different treatment from high caste Hindu ?
8. Is caste system reinforced?

9. Are you aware of the communal riots in your village during past five years?

10. Do you think caste conflicts are decreasing?

1. TEMPLE ENTRY:

One of the social laws passed by our government after independence is that all people should be allowed to enter into the temples. Until this law was passed, the temples were open generally only for higher castes. The question was asked: Do you enter temples? Article 25(1) of the constitution reads: No citizen shall be denied entry in any temple. Of the total population of 250 respondents 80 (32%) said that Holeyas were allowed to enter into the temple and 161(64.4%) felt that they were forbidden. Agasha respondents (3.6%) said they do not know. Table shows that percentage of entry and non-entry into the temple. They stated that the muslims do not object their entry into their mosques but Hindus take an objection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE NO. 49

TEMPLE ENTRY BY CASTE HOLEYA IN VILLAGE
According to data only 32% caste Holeyas enter into the temple. It is possible only where Holey caste is in majority and well educated and stay near to other Hindus in village. But in remote village the Hindus do not allow them to enter into the temple. They have their own temples for worship on the occasion. They visit village Hanuman temple, they seek darshan from outside.

2. FETCHING WATER FROM THE PUBLIC WELL:

Basically due to idea of purity and pollution, high caste Hindu do not allow Holeya draw water from the public wells in the villages. During the drought in the year 1971, 1973, 1974 entire district was facing scarcity of water. At that time most of High caste Hindus took water from wells in Holey areas. After laying the water pipe line when holeya went to fetch water from the tap, some High caste hindu objected.

They were also denied from using stream water, where people wash their cloths. Even woman of high caste denied to Holeya women to wash when they are washing in the lower part of the stream.
TABLE NO. 50

OPINION ABOUT FETCHING WATER FROM PUBLIC WELLS BY HOLEYA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 250 100.00%

The table shows that 32 families (12.8%) are of the opinion that they fetch water from the public wells, while 200 households (88%) said no, and 18 (7.2%) have no response in this regard. While high caste Hindus do not allow Holeyas to take water from public wells, Holeyas do not allow Madigas to take water from their well in Holegeri. Holeyas feel themselves superior to Madigas and also superior in respect of water to other high caste Hindus. Because they say that all high castes together share one well whereas Holeyas well is used exclusively by themselves only.

3. PARTICIPATION IN RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS:

Participation in religious and other social activities: The Holeyas are not invited by high caste Hindus either to attend poojas at their homes or to participate in social gatherings such as games, bhajans,
However, those Holeys who are working as agricultural labourers and those who are attached to High caste Hindu family service attend the functions like marriages.

On other occasions whenever their services are needed they are called for and are served with food. Holeys also do not invite high caste Hindus for their family functions. They celebrate only with their caste people and relatives. Out of 5 villages I have studied in only one village some times Holeys invite high caste Hindus to attend marriage ceremonies. At that time high caste persons usually only men attend. They do not accept any food but receive Tumbula i.e. beatle leaves and arecanuts.

**TABLE NO. 51**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OPINION OF INVITATION BY CASTE-HINDUS TO HOLEYA IN THEIR FAMILY FESTIVALS
Out of the 250 respondents, it is found that only 84 (33.6\%) were called by the caste-Hindus to take part in their family functions and ceremonies. And 150 families 60\% said no, rest of 16 families (4\%) said that they do not know. The table reveals that the opinions of invitation by high caste to Holeyas on their family religious festivals. One important thing to be noted here is that family functions and celebrations are different from poojas and ceremonies connected with family deities while both Holeyas and caste hindus used to invite each other for their respective family functions. They do not invite each other for their respective family functions. They do not invite each other for the poojas and ceremonies performed for their family deities. This is seen as an index of the social distance and social relationship that are found between the Holeya and caste hindus. At the village level functions all castes including holeyas participate. On such occasions all castes groups were assigned some roles based on the ritual hierarchy of each caste. Holeyas were assigned the menial eoles and they occupy place on the social periphery keeping with the ranking or status in the caste hierarchy. It was noted that mostly the Holeyas were hired by the caste-hindus to work as agricultural labourers, but not the other way round. They holeya caste working as agricultural labourers did not express any preference or difficulty in offering their services as farm labourers for the caste hindus. According to them they worked for all caste hindus.
4. **DO HIGH CASTE HINDUS CONSUME FOOD WITH YOU?**

People belonging to higher caste like brahmin, vaishva, lingayath, maratha. Twenty-six higher castes are existing in the district. They do not accept cooked food or water from them. Although the people of higher caste invite them for certain ceremonial dinners they are served separately, that is in the court yards.

**TABLE NO. 52**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>79.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 250 100.00%

The table shows that 24 respondents (9.6%) said high caste people consume food with them. And 198 (79.2%) replied high caste persons never consumed food with them. 28 families 11.2% have no response. The 24 families who says that high caste people consume food, but this is done in privacy, with youths and those who drink arrack. But for other celebrations like marriage, caste hindus who attend functions do not consume food with Holeya families. The Holeya people offer "Sedha" to high caste people who
have good relationship with them. In rest of activities they eat with others in hostel, canteen, in public place without any hesitation.

6. FORMING FRIENDSHIP:

Life in the village cannot be spent in isolation. Inter-dependency and the inter-relationship are characteristic feature of village community. Hence, Holeyas though are at the lowest level have relationship with all other castes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE NO. 53</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OPINION ABOUT NON DALIT FRIENDS AMONG HOLEYA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table reveals that 105 (42%) have non-dalit friends and 110 (44%) families do not have non-dalit friends except their own caste, 35 (14%) said they don't know. Among 250 (44%) of the respondents said they are unable to cultivate friendship with high caste Hindus. There is a saying in the village that "Holeyа Nent Alla Hullu Bhinki Alla" means Holeyas are considered as insignificant and
hence others will not make friendship with them. Holeyas express their feeling that they wanted to develop friendship with others but, they are always looked down by high caste hindus.

7. **DO YOU GET DIFFERENT TREATMENT FROM THE HIGH CASTE HINDUS ?**

The concept of pollution manifests and runs into several remifications—pollution by touch, pollution by physical contact and pollution by eating food and so on. Most of Holeya in rural area live in regragation. Admission of a person to the kitchen or living room of a different caste could be taken as an index of the quality of the two castes in inter-action.

Since the Holeyas have been denied this admission to the inner parts of the caste hindus houses for centuries, now, an attempt is made here to see whether the status quo of the physio-social distance maintained by the caste-hindus in respect of the Holeya or has been relaxated now.

It is significant to note that all the 250 house holders said that they had no freedom of entrance or were not allowed to enter the kitchen, pooja and living rooms of caste hindus. But all most of all the holeyas were allowed admission to the portico and compound of the houses of caste hindus. As a compromise in cases of exigency when there was no person in the household for carrying something
into the living rooms of the caste hindus. Holeya could not carry such things into the living rooms. Although the people of the higher caste invite them for certain ceremonial dinners they are served separately, i.e., in the court yards. This indicates that still social distance is maintained and there is no change in the treatment with Holeyas.

9. ARE YOU AWARE OF COMMUNAL RIOT IN YOUR VILLAGE DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS:

In village solidarity tipically exists and comes alive for certains purposes and under certain circumstances. Villagers live close to each other, they see each other and interact more frequently than they do with people of other villages. They share the same familiar life space and share also, common experience of famine or harvest bounty of flod, or epidemic, of village fast or festivals. A village is usually an administrative and revenue unit. This in itself provides some common experience in the school, in the post office, in revenue collection. A man commonly has his closest economic associates within his village. As patrons and clients or workers or customers with whose help he makes his livelihoos. When a man goes outside his village, he is to be identified first of all by his village rather than by his caste or reference category.
After Indian independence constitution has incorporated so many facilities for the upliftment of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes in following articles. Article 15 of the Constitution clause (1) reads "the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on the ground only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them". Clause (2) ensures that "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them the subject to any disabilities, liabilities, restrictions, conditions, with regards to a excess shops public restaurants, hotels and place of public entertainment, or (b) "the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintain wholly or partly out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public". Clause (4) "nothing in this article or in clause two (of the article 29)shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and economically backward classes of citizens or further schedule caste and scheduled tribes) while article 16(1) states that "there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizen in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under state. Clause (4) makes it clear that "nothing in this article shall of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizen which, in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services under the states".
Article 17 of Constitution is related to the abolition of untouchability, "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. Article 25 interalia empowers the state to make any law and also the continuance of any existing law, providing for social welfare and reforms, or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

As one of the Directive Principles of State Policy Article 39 reads "the state shall state to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national lifes".

Article 46 lays down another very important Directive Principle of State Policy and provides that "the shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

Besides, in order to supervise the working of the special provisions clause (1) read "There shall be a special officer for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to be appointed by the president". Clause (2) "It shall be the duty of the special officers to
investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under this constitution.

1974 Karnataka Land Reforms Act provided them waisted (Gairan) land. Influenced by Maharashtra people, they started Dr. Ambedkar Jayanti on 6th December and 14th April. In some village they take Dr. Ambedkar's portrait in procession. High caste hindus never tolerate. They parted stones which may lead to riot in the village. In some villages Holeyas tried to enter in upper caste hotels. They were denied, some times they went to bring water from public wells, at that time they are beaten. In those villages where majority people are Holeya they have beaten caste hindus.

**TABLE NO. 54**

HOLEYA CASTE AWARENESS OF COMMUNAL RIOT IN THE VILLAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows about the riots took place between Holeya and caste Hindus. Out of 250 respondents 180 respondents (72%) said they are much aware of communal riots in their village, then 60 respondents (24%) said no while rest of 10 (0.4%) replied they don't know.

Due to the awareness developing among Holeyas and other lower caste, they are demanding equal treatment. This situation has lead to the communal disharmony in the village.

10. **DO YOU THINK CASTE CONFLICT WOULD DECREASE?**

**TABLE NO. 55**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | **250** | **100.00%**

The table shows that out of 250 household members 195 families (78%) respondents said caste conflicts are decreasing and 35 families (14%) of respondents said caste conflict are not decreasing while 20 members (8%) have said they don't know.
Conflict among castes is common and is better understood as an outcome of the basic motivation of development and equal treatment as the root causes of village conflict. The importance of this motivation is shown when a caste or a caste-group is so firmly entrenched that its members fear no challenge from others. Challenge and conflict are then likely to come up with different castes. Some of its members will feel subordinate to other members and will sooner or later dispute with their superiority.

The ideology of noncompetitive varnas is firmly believed. Whole conflict social action among caste is zealously waged. At any given time and place, some groups may be rising while others may be losing ground in their local order.

Holey caste is breaking the traditional restrictions on occupations and are entering into the new activities right from the start of the twentieth century. This was an important cause for beginning of conflicts in the village.

One respondent told that when high caste Hindus exploited for centuries together the exploited were innocent and poor. Now the Holeys are aware of their status. If any high caste Hindu raise his voice, they do not tolerate. It is a never ending process. They are thinking that hindus
are their enemies. High caste hindus are also thinking that Holeyas are their enemies.

11. **DO YOU LIKE KEEPING CLOSE PERSONAL RELATION WITH HIGH CASTE HINDUS ?**

**TABLE NO. 56**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table reveals that 150 respondents (60%) wanted to keep close relation with high caste hindus. And 88 respondents (35.2%) said no because they are a bit economically sound. While 12 respondents (4.8%) said they don't know.

An exception to this is there. The respondents who had lived with caste-hindus as labourers did not express any preference or difficulty in offering their services as farm labourers for the caste hindus. According to this they worked for all caste hindus and seek wage, Rs. 7 to 10.
In regard to economic dependency we find that of the total 250 householders Holeyar had borrowed grain from some caste-hindu groups and rest did not borrow any grain. It is to be noted that in view of the low economic status of Holeya and with their meager income, they are the perpetual borrowers of money, grain, guidance, seeking loans from higher castes, but it is not purely one sided. Depending on their social relations are intimacy, and ability of the Holeya to lend money to caste-hindus. This reciprocity is likely to increase as the conditions of the Holeyas improve and the caste barriers decline.

In all, there are about 32 castes and sub-castes in this district. An attempt is made to group all the castes into four categories as A,B,C,D.

A) A group consists of brahmins, Lingayat, Goldsmith, Comti, Hoogar, Ghanger, Jangam, Panchal or Vishwakarma, Jadar, Devarga.

B) B group consist of Maratha, Rajput, Agasa, Kuruboor, Heddy, Kumbar, Astraunus, Gouli.

C) C group consists of Muslims, Govindaligas, Navadar, Kabbaliga, Uppara, Waddar, Idiga, Bhoi, Beda, Ellamalwar, Byagara.

D) D group consists of Holeyar, Sumgar, Dhor, Madar.
INTER-CASTE RELATIONS:

It is very interesting to know that other castes very rarely have any role to play in the performance of rites of passage. However, it is essential to know the relations between Holeya caste and other castes on these occasions.

BIRTH:

At the time of birth all the activities are carried out by the community people themselves. After the birth of the child the intercaste relationship has been established with the Brahmin through consultation regarding the new born baby's 'Jatak'. Brahmin priest supposed to ascertain the position of the star and gives the 'Jatak' of the child and also suggest a birth name to the baby.

For car piercing holeyas go to 'Agasala' in turn Agasala gets balla of coconut and 1.25 paise from child's parents.

PUBERTY:

On puberty parents of the girl consult 'Ainor' for knowing about the 'Vea Panchi' and 'Hora Panchi' and also about the days for observing puberty rituals for which swanies paid.

Then on the last day of this Hoogar provides flowers, lingayat and komti help by giving grains for the
occasion. Those who are serving high caste masters, feel obliged to give 'Sida' to them. This is a sign of maintaining good relations with their masters, Muslims who are supposed to be 'Bulogar' in the villages go to the girls house to wear bangles. As the puberty ritual requires the changing of bangles of the matured girl. He will be paid for this service.

**MARRIAGE:**

Elaborate ceremonies are to be held on the occasion of marriage in the community. For the poor families the master of the higher caste help either in the form of food grains or money as loan. Sometimes the masters are their influence and arrange for getting cloths for the occasion on credit basis. Hoogar provide flower, Dhobi, 'Parroli' Agasal makes Tali to belt anklet, silver and gold give by the Holeya. Komti caste people help to give onions garlic, tamarind, turmeric and chillies, Kumbar give them pots, Budigya (carpenter) give them cradle by charging, Gondlega helps to perform Devi ceremony at the time of marriage.

**DEATH:**

At the time of death holeya rarely get any kind of service from other castes, digging grave, sending message, collecting wood, etc. are done by their caste
people only. But he has specific roles to play when a person dies in high caste. For his services at such occasions he gets some financial help from members of other communities.

**FESTIVALS:**

Holey community lives with other castes and participate in various activities with them. Major festivals celebrated in the village Hola, Kar-Hunni etc. in which Holey and high caste hindu help each other.

For the celebration of Hola or Kar Hunni festival tying of torana is essential and it is done by holeyas. 'Torana' will be tied to the village gate by the Holey people at the time of animal procession. On this occasion feast is given to Holey people by high caste people. They eat in the front yard of the house.

Next day morning the leftover food is also given to the Holey people, on this occasion Holey tries to keep discipline by roaming around.

It is learnt from the respondents that their marriage processions are not allowed to pass through the main streets of the village. Social distance is maintained, however they maintain cordial relations with the holeya for the sake of peace and harmony in the village. Higher
Castes are dependent on holeya operations, most of the holeya are needed by the upper caste villagers. Any slight rupture of quarrel will disengage them from carrying out the operations in the forms. It is for this reason the upper caste people restrain themselves in their attitudes. In spite of this fact, quarrels and minor scuffles are now and then witnessed between them.

While on the land the Holeya helps the villager, villagers help the holeyas during the time of marriage, birth, death and festival ceremonies. In this way we see that the people belonging to higher caste and holeya caste members are inter-dependent and accommodate themselves in an atmosphere of peaceful living.

INTRA-CASTE RELATIONS:

In holeya community there are professional or occupational groups which are identified by their occupations. Such as Metraya, Singe, Bhutale, Vagga, Agasa, Jani, Potya, Bhutya, etc.,. The Holeyas are endogamous group. The Intra-caste relations in the community have been described in terms of occupational hierarchy within the Holeya community.

Metraya, Singe, Bhutale enjoy high status among the holeya caste, whereas Vagge, Bhutya, Jani, Potya have comparatively low status. Vagge beg from door to door for his livelihood, hence he has low status. But he can sit
with other Holeya people and share his idea etc. He can
draw water from the same well. They Bhutya who is a
devotee of Ambabai belongs to the same category as Vagge.
Then Jaani, and Potya have been considered as illegitimate
sons and daughters. Hence their status in the Holeya
community is very low. Metraya, Singay, Bhutyle, do not
give their daughters in marriage to the Jaani or Potya
families. Because they are considered "Akkar Mast". They
do not seek alliance with Jaani. Metray, Singya, Bhutyale are considered "Bora Mas". The Metraya,
Singya, Bhutalya, cannot marry any one from other groups
and vice versa. If such forbidden marriage takes place
they are punished by the family members. Some times,
they send out from the family also. In the field
investigation the researcher did not come across a single
instance of such marriage between Jaani, Potya, families
with Metraya, Singe, and Bhutalye. The reason is the
prevailing strong superiority and inferiority feelings
between them.

Now-a-days, it is however noticed that all Holeya,
that is all division of the Holeya sit and dine together
in marriage. But giving or taking daughters is not
practiced. This caste depends on the services of their
people on the occasion of birth, marriage and death
ceremonies.
BIRTH:

At the time of delivery 'Jaani' takes the responsibility of the 'Dananti' and the child. At the time of cradle ceremony the Metrya does his duty of informing the community members to participate in the ceremony. Rest of the people participate on the occasion.

PUBERTY:

Puberty is the important ceremony in the girls life. On this occasion community takes part in singing songs. On the last day of the ceremony all community people take food together. Metrya performs main role to invite the people for the occasion.

MARRIAGE:

While celebrating marriage, the community people take active part in making arrangement about food and water to the guests and the community people 'Oni' 'Wada' people.

It is the responsibility of the Metrya (A sub-caste of Holeya) to make necessary arrangements to beggary by providing ''Beediki mani'' Bhutya acts as a priest and utters mantras at the time of ''Akshata''. 
DEATH:

While observing death ceremony all community people share their sorrows with the mourning families and they cannot do any work on that day because they follow 'Sutaka'. The Singe, Metrya, Bhutale help the family till the corpse is disposed off. The Bhutale utters mantras on this occasion.

The important festival being celebrated usually by the Holeyas are on the 14th April and 6th December. The former is birth anniversary of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar and the later is the death anniversary.

One can conclude from this study that inter and intra caste relations are to be treated as part of high lighting dependency and resolving of problems between them. For the successful living it is necessary to enter into relations with other caste members and also one's own sub-caste groups. Such relations also are treated as part of rituals. In observing the traditional roles, they feel life would be smooth sailing and free from problems.
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