CHAPTER VII

DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

This chapter deals with the Economic Development and social change of Mandya district with particular reference to the changes that took place during the year between 1939 – 1960. As mentioned is the introduction generally, history was considered to be an account of the kings and Maharajas and their works. But it is not so. History is the story of mankind its scope has enlarged to include not only the political achievement of kings and maharaja but all aspects of the life of the people. This chapter intends to find out the growth of Mandya in all its aspects. This needs planned economy. The concept of planned development of the economy has captured the imagination of the public in many different parts and inspired a great deal of enthusiasm. Both the capitalistic as well as socialistic countries have found the imperative need for planning. The plans of India have been accredited by reputed economists, as the “best in the world”. In fact, Karnataka (the then Mysore state) was the first to formulate and adopt economic plans. The creation of the Mysore Economic conference by Sir M. Vishweshwaraiah’s Dewanship¹ is worthy of mention.

¹ Vishweshwaraiah M. Memories of my working life, Bombay 1951 p.44
In presenting an account of the economic development and social change in the district of Mandya, it is essential to describe the livelihood pattern of the population, the employment level, the price and wage fluctuation with their impact on Economic and social conditions and the role of the community development programme in the district; in addition to these, a brief survey of the socio–economic structure of the district also becomes necessary. In dealing with these aspects, we have to bear in mind what has been said in some of the earlier chapters of this thesis, particularly Agriculture Irrigation and Industries, Mandya district is not dissimilar to other contiguous districts in its main occupational pattern, which is, of course, predominantly agricultural. It is worthy to mention the role of irrigation in bringing about economic development in the district. It is clear that from the previous chapters that irrigation was given at most importance in the district. The Cauvery Reservoir project, or Krishnarajasagar as it came to be called, was to be a multi – purpose project. It would not only make the generation of additional power to the Kolar Gold Fields possible, but also form the bases of number of industries in Bangalore and Mysore district. It was intended to irrigate a large, previously very dry, area, where paddy and sugar could be cultivated. The Cauvery reservoir committee turned out to be more enthusiastic than the government about the project and spoke about the
“smiling in the fields and garden” which were to be the result of irrigation to the dry taluks of Mandya and Malavalli\(^2\). In 1931 the project was finished. This work was taken up with the following objectives\(^3\).

1) To provide proper supply of water for hot weather crops in area which formerly received a precarious supply of water.

2) To ensure a constant supply of water for the electric power installation at Shivasamudra and to increase the output of power.

3) To increase irrigation by another 1,50,000 acres.

After the construction of the reservoir the importance of Mandya region enhanced rapidly. The first impact was emergence of Mandya district. After the construction of Krishnarajasagar dam the Mandya region enhanced rapidly. Prior to 1939, the Mandya district formed a part of the Mysore district. Mandya was made a sub – division in 1928 in order to facilitate the land acquisition in connection with the Irwin canal and the resettlement of the farmers and disposal of the question connected with the cultivation of the newly irrigated tracts. Maddur sub – division which was merged into Mandya taluk was bifurcated and it became a separate taluk from 1\(^{st}\) May 1931. The hoblies in

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\(^2\) Government order, laying down the future policy regarding the Krishnarajasagar and other allied works (Sep 1924), govt of Mysore K.S.A

\(^3\) C.Hayavadana Rao, Mysore Gazetteer, vol III economic 1929 p.163
Srirangapatna namely Herode, Melkote and Chinkurti was separated from Srirangapatna taluk and were brought together to form a new taluk called French Rock in the year 1937. It was further named as Pandavapura taluk.

In the year 1937, a proposal to form a separate district of Mandya was put before the Mysore Representative Assembly in the August session. However, the proposal was not accepted. Finally, the government agreed to form a separate district in the year 1939 by joining two revenue sub–division viz., French Rock and Mandya. There was a great increase of work in all departments and the special and intricate problems connected with irrigation in the canal area occupied a good deal of time and attention of the Deputy Commissioner and his staff of the composite district. The number of offices, which the Deputy Commissioner and his assistants had to inspect regularly, was also very large and as the area of the Mysore district was also comparatively very extensive, the government came to the conclusion that in the interest of efficient administration of the area, the bifurcation of the district was an urgent necessity and accordingly, they ordered the bifurcation of the Mysore district and the constitution of new district called the Mandya district with effect from 1st July 1939. There are seven revenue taluks in the district,
which have been grouped into two revenue sub-division for administrative convenience. The Mandya sub-division consists of the three taluks of Mandya, Maddur and Malavalli, while the Pandavapura sub-division consists of Pandavapura, Srirangapatna, Krishnarajapet and Nagamangala taluks. These sub-divisions are under the charge of Assistant Commissioners, who were formerly known as sub-divisional officers. This being the preliminary change in the administrative boundaries brought about by irrigation, other matters regarding the development of agriculture was pursued. The character of agricultural practices underwent considerable changes after 1932, thanks to the bold plan of the statesman-engineer, Dr. M. Vishweshwaraiah whose dream of a dam across the Cauvery was fulfilled. The newly irrigated land facilitated the cultivation of cash crops. We have earlier given an account of the Krishnarajasagar Dam project and the obstacles that had to overcome before it could be completed in 1931. Ismail was very anxious to make the most of the project and in 1927 Sir. M. Vishweshwaraiah was appointed as chairman of the committee that was recommended measures for the irrigation under the Cauvery reservoir. In 1929, at a meeting of the

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4 Mysore State Gazetteer Mandya district, 1967 pp 283 - 284
Economic Conference, Alfred Chatterton strongly suggested that the irrigated area should be used for cultivation of Sugarcane:

“As most of you know there is a market in India for something like 800000 tons of sugar which comes from Java, the Mauritius and other sugar producing centres. There is no earthly reason why we should not grow more sugarcane and manufacture all this sugar here. In a short time, there will be a very large extension of Irrigation under the Krishnarajasagar Reservoir …. We start in that area with the one great advantage, viz., that there are no vested rights, and it is therefore possible for government to lay down rules under which water shall be used and the kinds of crops grown I take it that every effort will be made to grow as much sugarcane in this area as is possible. It is one of the greatest opportunities that have ever offered itself to India to put sugarcane cultivation and the manufacture of sugar on a really sound footing.\(^5\)

But for the protectionist policy introduced by the government of India between 1925 and 1931 it would not have been possible to take up competition with the sugar from Java\(^6\) compared to northern India, Mysore, however, possessed distinct advantage, like longer crushing

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\(^5\) PMEC, March 1929 p 103
\(^6\) Balakrishna.R, Industrial Development of Mysore, 1940, p 86
season and higher yield per acre\textsuperscript{7}. This does not mean that the ryots took to cane cultivation easily. Sugar had been grown elsewhere in Mysore for a long time and state had in fact been famous for the preparation of sugar – candy of crystal – like purity for the use of the court. During his travels in Mysore, Buchanan, as he tells in his classic. “A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar”, in the early nineteenth century came across a Banajiga family in Channapatna who anxiously kept the process of making white sugar a profound secret\textsuperscript{8}. In the previously dry area of Mandya, where the sugarcane now was introduced along with irrigation, the cultivation of cane was, however, a novelty. The stubborn vokkaligas were not to be told what to grow and not to grow but it was considered necessary to introduce a crop which could bear the high costs of the construction of the dam. Therefore the Agricultural Department established a farm where 200 acres of cane were cultivated, and the farmers in the surrounding areas were gradually persuaded to take up the new crop. Loans for the purchase to seeds, implements, fertilizers and drought – cattle were giving freely and government purchased the entire sugar cane fixed price\textsuperscript{9}. Mirza Ismail made a speech in front of the Muncipal Council in Mandya, predicting that “the Irwin canal and electric power

\textsuperscript{7} G.B. Baldwin Industrial Growth in south India p 105
\textsuperscript{8} Balakrishna. R. Op.cit p 86
\textsuperscript{9} V.L.D Souza, Economic Development of the Mysore state p 23
are two important factors calculated to make your town the centre of many agricultural and industrial activities\textsuperscript{10}.

Mirza Ismail was right. According to one critical view “the capitalist mode of production came floating down the canals with the water\textsuperscript{11}. Mandya was rapidly transformed from a sleepy country – town to a commercial centre in which the sugar factory constituted the dynamic core on which the surrounding country side depended. From the point of view of the state, this was a process of development, but from another angle the picture was rather one of imposed monoculture, social differentiation and economic exploitation of small peasants who were left with no choice. The policy was not applauded in the Representative Assembly increasingly dominated by vokkaligas. In fact it disapproved of the government proposals by a small majority on the ground that the interests of the sugar cane growers (the Assembly did not have the small peasants in mind) were neglected, Ismail made it clear that this would not prevent him from carrying through the scheme and he also expressed a deep dissatisfaction with the members:

\textsuperscript{10} The Hindu Sep 1930
\textsuperscript{11} P.O. Reinton, Technology and social structure in Karnataka p 7
“It is rather deeply disappointing that these measures, so clearly in the public interest, are not stamped with the approval of the people’s representatives here, because in such matters government has a right to your keen co–operation. By your withholding this, government’s difficulties are increased, no doubt, but that is an injury not to government but to the state, and it is also an injury to the prestige of democratic institution in Mysore\textsuperscript{12}.

Thus, it was considered undemocratic for the people’s representatives not to obey the Dewan’s order, particularly regarding economic policy, which merely aimed at increasing the strength and prestige of the state. Ismail accordingly went ahead with his programme and in 1933 a large sugar factory was constructed in Mandya town. The government was from the start deeply involved in the projects. According to Ismail it was not suitable to leave the growing and production of sugar entirely to “the free play of competition” as there might be a “conflict of interest” between the sugar cane cultivators and the sugar producers. Therefore “government should take steps to bring about a well ordered development of the industry”\textsuperscript{13}.

\textsuperscript{12} Speeches by Mirza Ismail Vol II p 277
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid p - 247
“Industries on a large scale, agriculture on improved lines, and cottage industries, all these can be developed and must be developed, by simultaneous action, and the prosperity of the one spells the prosperity of the others.\textsuperscript{14}

One obvious example of the agriculture – industry link is the sugar complex in Mandya. As described earlier, the extremely costly dam across the Cauvery made it imperative to introduce the cultivation of sugar cane which could bear the cost of constructing and maintaining the dam. Irrigated land was not only the input provided by government, but later a factory for the manufacture of chemical manures was started. The new crop was the raw material for the sugar factory established with state – aid. From the by – product (molasses) alcohol was produced in a distillery unit at Mandya, and later the company took advantage of the possibilities for vertical integration by making confectionary of various kinds.

\textbf{7:1 SOCIAL – ECONOMIC SURVEY (1941)}

Two years after the formation of Mandya district, in the decadal census undertaken, socio – economic survey was conducted in 23 selected villages in the district – Taggahalli, H. Malligere and Basralu

\textsuperscript{14} Speeches of the Eleventh Session of the All – India industries conference held in Mysore (15 Dec 1939) speeches by Mirza Ismail, vol IV P.203
(Mandya taluk), Nelamane, Gendehosahalli and Hunasanahalli
(Srirangapatna taluk), Byadarahalli, Jakkanahalli and Lingapura
(Pandavapura taluk) Maragondanahalli, Belluru Tubinakere and
Bogadi (Nagamangala taluk), Akkihebbala, Kikkeri and
Murukanahalli (Krishnarajapet taluk), Hullahalli, Chikkamulgod and
Pandithahalli (Malavalli taluk), Somanahalli, Kadalur, Tubinakere and
Subbanahalli (Maddur taluk); Data relating to population in the
village, number of families caste data, literacy, agricultural land,
crops, land ownership, private and public property value, assets
liabilities, standard of living, incomes of working class of these
selected villages were collected, analysed and the economic condition
of the respective village was published in 1944. According to this
report, while the highest population (2099) was in Belluru, the lowest
population (108) was in Lingapura. Similarly, the highest number of
houses (395) were in Belluru, while, Lingapura had lowest number of
houses (70). Agriculture and animal husbandry were the major
economic activities and the highest irrigation area (1057 acres) was in
K Shettihalli and the lowest irrigated area (37 acres) was in
Jakkanahalli and paddy was the main crop in these villages. Sugarcane
was grown in 66 acres in Taggahalli, 219 acres in Kothathi, 63 acres
in Nelemane, 3 in Gendehosahalli, 30 acres in Maragondanahalli and
52 acres in Belluru. Jowar, Horsegram, Avare were the other mentionable crops. The wet and dry lands, farms, animal wealth, houses etc of each village was valued and it was found that Belluru had the highest wealth (Rs 5,57,412). While the value of asset of Lingapura was the least (Rs 14,163). In irrigation area, the daily wages for men, women and children were Rs 6,4 and 3 Annas respectively and in dry land area it was 4,3 and 2 Annas respectively. The most number of families with debt (228) were in Kikkeri with a loan amount of Rs 91,893. The average loan per family stood at Rs 271. The least number of families with debt were in Lingapura with 16 families taking loans out of 24 families and the total loan amount was Rs. 2,520 with average loan of Rs 150 per family. All the village had 50 – 60% families with debt and this helps in knowing the standard of living of the peoples\textsuperscript{15}. In a similar manner during 1951 census, socio-economic survey was undertaken.

According to the 1951 census, out of the total population of 7,17,545, about 85 percent of the population or 6,09,827 persons were found to be dependent on agriculture. In the 1951 census, the population, in the first instance, was divided into two broad livelihood categories, namely, agricultural and non-agricultural, and each

\textsuperscript{15}Karnataka Gazetteer department, Mandya district Gazetteer 2009, pp 475-476
categories was sub-divided into four livelihood classes, thus making in all eight classes

The four sub-divisions under the agricultural classes were

(I) Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents,

(II) Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents, (III) Cultivating labourers and their dependents, and

(IV) Non-cultivation owners of land, agricultural rent-receivers and their dependents.

The four sub-division under the non-agricultural classes were those engaged in (I) Production and other than cultivation, (II) Commerce, (III) Transport and (IV) Other services and Miscellaneous sources.

The following table shows the distribution of population according to livelihood categories in the district as in 1951\(^6\)

It is apparent from a perusal of the figures that the pressure on the land is enormous. 75.6 percent of the total population of 5,42,268 (2,71,453 men and 2,70,815 women) were owner-cultivators and their dependents.

### Distribution of population in Mandya district according to livelihood categories as in 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Livelihood Classes and Sub-Classes</th>
<th>Self-Supporting Persons</th>
<th>Non-earning Dependents</th>
<th>Earning Dependents</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agricultural Classes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents</td>
<td>1,112</td>
<td>16,434</td>
<td>149,623</td>
<td>2,47,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents</td>
<td>3,924</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>5,727</td>
<td>9,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Cultivating labourers and their dependents</td>
<td>6,984</td>
<td>3289</td>
<td>9,135</td>
<td>11,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Non-cultivating owners of land or agricultural rent-receivers and their dependents</td>
<td>1,943</td>
<td>2,610</td>
<td>3,702</td>
<td>5,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Agricultural Classes</td>
<td>12,4200</td>
<td>23,037</td>
<td>1,68,187</td>
<td>2,73,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Non-Agricultural Classes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Persons who derive their livelihood from production other than cultivation</td>
<td>9102</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>9,115</td>
<td>15,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Persons who derive their livelihood from commerce</td>
<td>3,470</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>4,286</td>
<td>7,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Persons who derive their livelihood from transport</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>1,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d) Persons derive their livelihood from other services and miscellaneous sources</td>
<td>13,018</td>
<td>3,127</td>
<td>13,509</td>
<td>21,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of Non-Agricultural Classes</td>
<td>26,175</td>
<td>4,729</td>
<td>27,489</td>
<td>45,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total of All Classes</td>
<td>1,50,373</td>
<td>27,766</td>
<td>1,95,676</td>
<td>3,18,840</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dependents, 2.8 percent or 20,228 (10,119 men and 10,109 women) tenant cultivators and their dependents, 4.6 percent or 32,773 (17,052 men and 15,721 women) cultivating labourers and their dependents and 2 percent or 14,558 (5,932 men and 8,626 women) non-cultivating owners and their dependents. If we look at the total agricultural population of all the districts of the state as disclosed by the 1951 census, it is significant that the percentage of the total agricultural population to the total population in Mandya district was the heights (85 percent) and Tumkur district had the second place (83.6 percent). Another significant feature was the predominance of owner cultivators (75.6 percent of the total population or 5,42,268 persons) and it was also the highest in the state so far as industries were concerned, persons of the district (36,196 persons or 19,159 men and 17,037 women). Persons engaged in commerce and transport constituted 2.3 and 0.3 percent, respectively (16,178 persons or 8,149 men and 8,029 women and 2,312 persons or 1,212 men and 1,100 women, respectively). Other services and miscellaneous sources accounted for 7.4 percent of the total population (53,032 persons or 27,454 men and 25,578 women). From 1951 to 1961, there was an increase of 24.49 percent in the population, the 1961 census having disclosed that the population of Mandya district was 8,99,210; the variation between the two census was 1,81,66517.

The 1961 census, unlike the 1951 census, has broadly classified the population under two heads, viz., workers and non-workers. The

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following table shows the total number of workers and non-workers in Mandya district as per the 1961 census:

Table: 7:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2,80,761</td>
<td>1,45,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non - Workers</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1,76,382</td>
<td>2,96,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>4,57,143</td>
<td>4,42,067</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen from the above table that out of a total population of 8,99,210, more than 50 percent were non-workers. The workers were classified under nine sub heads as follows.

Table: 7:3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As cultivators</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2,01,385</td>
<td>1,10,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As agricultural labourers</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>26,801</td>
<td>19,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orehards and allied activities</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>2,011</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>In household industry</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>11,426</td>
<td>7,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>In manufacturing other than household industry</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>8,667</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>In construction</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3,794</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>In trade and commerce</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6,252</td>
<td>1,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>In transport, storage and communications</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1,467</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>In other services</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>18,958</td>
<td>4,907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,80,761</td>
<td>1,45,934</td>
<td>4,26,695</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 Ibid
Another feature of the 1961 Census is the classification of persons into urban and rural population with workers and non-workers and men and women break-ups as shown in the following table:

**Table: 7:4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Non - Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>2,52,703</td>
<td>1,40,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>28,058</td>
<td>5,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,80,761</td>
<td>1,45,934</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rural population of the district as per the 1961 Census was 7,99,138 (4,04,599 men and 3,94,539 women) as against 6,39,769 (3,20,032 men and 3,19,737 women) in 1951. The urban population according to the 1961 Census was 1,00,072 (52,544 men and 47,528 women) as against 77,776 (40,498 men and 37,278 women). The proportion of rural/urban population to 1,000 of population in Mandya district as per the 1961 Census was 889 rural/111 urban. The population – both rural and urban – was further sub divided into nine categories as indicated below:

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19 Ibid, p-250
20 Ibid, p-251
### Table: 7:5

**Rural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As cultivators</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>1,95,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As agricultural labourers</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>25,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In mining, quarring, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>1,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In household industry</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>9,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>In manufacturing other than household industry</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>4,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>In construction</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>2,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>In trade and commerce</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>2,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>In transport, storage and communications</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>In other services</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>10,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>2,52,703</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table: 7:6

**Urban**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As cultivators</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>6,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As agricultural labourers</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>1,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In mining, quarring, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In household industry</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>2,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>In manufacturing other than household industry</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>3,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>In construction</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>1,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>In trade and commerce</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>3,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>In transport, storage and communications</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>1,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>In other services</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>8,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>.. .. ..</td>
<td>28,058</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7:2 PRICE TRENDS:

The general level of prices of the staple agricultural commodities, particularly of a district like Mandya where the Mainstay of the economy is agriculture, largely determines the economic condition of the people\textsuperscript{21} one of the prominent economic phenomena of modern times is the striking fluctuation in the level of prices and wages. Adequate statistics for a comparison of the present with the past economic condition of the district are not available, through statistics are available for the state as a whole. Still, an attempt is made with available sources and records. To understand the price trends, it is necessary to go back to the primary data as far back as possible. Francis Buchanan states that the prices in 1800 were: Ragi 12 Sultani fanams per Khandaga of 200 seers; rice best sort 28½ seers and coarse 66½ seers\textsuperscript{22}. If converted into rupees, ragi was 50 seers per rupee and rice best sort nine seers per rupee and second sort 21 per rupee.

7:3 DURING 1881 TO 1913

A statement indicating the average whole – sale prices of staple food grains, rice and ragi, between 1881 – 82 and 1912 – 13, is given in

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid p 251
\textsuperscript{22} Lewis Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, vol I, 1897 p 562
the table. The characteristics phenomenon of this period (1881 to 1913) was violent fluctuation in prices due to the changing agricultural conditions. The table not only shows a state of frequent fluctuation in prices, but also indicates that the prices of rice were gradually rising, particularly after 1903 – 04, whereas the prices of ragi continued to fluctuate markedly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Ragi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881-82</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>12.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-83</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>15.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>14.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>12.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>14.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>14.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>12.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>11.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>9.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>8.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>11.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>9.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>9.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>9.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-04</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904-05</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>8.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-06</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-07</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907-08</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-09</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-10</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>7.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-12</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-13</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Abstract of Mysore State, 1951, pp- 47-48
The following table shows the variation in the average quinquennial prices of the chief foodgrains from 1886 to 1911 expressed in terms of average for 1886 taken as 100\(^23\).

**Table: 7:8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Ragi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-90</td>
<td>124.2</td>
<td>114.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-95</td>
<td>167.3</td>
<td>148.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-1900</td>
<td>206.2</td>
<td>148.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-05</td>
<td>177.2</td>
<td>126.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-11</td>
<td>264.0</td>
<td>163.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**7:4 MARKED RISE**

It is apparent that there was a general rise in prices and it was marked after 1906. In 1907, the rise in prices of commodities attracted the attention of the government and in 1910, the government of India appointed a committee to undertake a full and a detailed investigation of the problem and the task was entrusted to Mr. Datta, a senior and experienced officer of the Finance Department. The “Prices enquiry committee”, as it was known, divided the causes into two, viz.,

(a) Causes peculiar to India and (b) Causes which forced up the prices all over the world. But in the opinion of the committee, a distinct line of demarcation could not be drawn between the two sets

\(^{23}\) Statistical Abstract of Mysore, 1945 p.48
causes, because they were reacting on each other. Under the former head, some of the causes suggested were (I) a comparative shortage throughout the period under enquiry in the production of foodstuffs, (II) the increased demand for India’s food products and raw materials, both in India itself and world markets, (III) the development of communications, internal and external, and the decrease in the cost of transport and (IV) growth of banking and monetary facilities. Under the head of world influences, some of the causes he listed were (I) the increase supply of gold, (II) the development of credit, (III) the destruction of wealth in wars and the expenditure on armaments. In Mr. Datta’s view; it was in the combined action of these numerous factors that the explanation for the great rise in the price level all over India was to be found. Among the relative importance of causes, Mr. Datta chose the development and expansion of communications as of a special importance. A still further influence was attributed to the large additions which were made to the monetary circulation during the years from 1903–04 to 1907–08 by the coinage of new rupees.

Among the other possible causes of a rise in prices, he devoted special attention to the interesting but difficult problems of the relation
between the supply and the demand for food as measured by the growth of population.

The conclusions he arrived at, in his own words were “considering the growth of the population and the increase in the external demand the supply has been short during the greater part of the period embraced in the enquiry. The demand for both internal consumption and exports having increased at a quicker rate than the production of food grains, it is only natural that the general level of prices of food grains over a series of years would rise, although in a particularly favourable year, it might have fallen to some extent. The food supply in India, compared with the demand, both internal and external, reached its lowest level in the quinquennium 1905 – 09, and this shortage of supply has doubtless contributed, in no small measure, to the unusual rise in prices during the quinquennium.\(^{24}\)

During the year 1905 – 1906, the retail prices were higher than in the previous year. This was due to the general failure of the harvest and want of rains during the year. Prices were also affected between 1870 and 1912 by several famines and distress conditions in Mysore and outside. Before the outbreak of the First World War (1914 – 1918) prices were generally rising and the declaration of the war only added

\(^{24}\) Report on the enquiry into the rise of prices in India, by K.L. Datta, 195 vol I p.61
momentum to this tendency and spurred the prices upto and unprecedented degree, especially from 1916 to 1921. The period of the First World War and the decade that followed were marked by high prices of agricultural products. Tables giving the average annual wholesale prices of staple food grains in each year from 1913 to 1924, the retail prices of the principal food grains in each year from 1913 to 1921 and the fluctuations in the price levels from the year 1919 to 1923 are shown in the table below

**Average annual wholesale prices of Rice and Ragi from 1913 – 1924**

*(quantity given in seers of 80 tolas per rupee)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Ragi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>7.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>4.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>4.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Supplement of the Statistical Abstract of Mysore State, 1926, pp-113-114
### Table 7.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1No</th>
<th>Main Head</th>
<th>Number of items under each of the main heads</th>
<th>Standard index numbers July 1914</th>
<th>Total index numbers July 1919 Average</th>
<th>Total index numbers July 1920 Average</th>
<th>Total index numbers July 1921 Average</th>
<th>Total index numbers July 1922 Average</th>
<th>Total index numbers July 1923 Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Foodgrains and pulses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,944</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>1,698</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>1,713</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Oils and oil seeds</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2,341</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>2,064</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1,608</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other food articles</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,712</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>2,455</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>2,358</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,323</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,712</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>2,470</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>2,497</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General average</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5,400</td>
<td>11,032</td>
<td>10,080</td>
<td>9,409</td>
<td>9,721</td>
<td>8,979</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of Mysore State, 1929, pp. 113-114.
The decade between 1921 and 1930 may be said to have been prosperous on the whole. But this did not last long. In the wake of the great world depression, there was a reversal in the early thirties of this century. The slump in prices of agricultural commodities, which began in the year 1930, continued almost unabated during that decade. For over a decade since 1920, the prices of cell commodities had remained at a very high level compared to pre-war conditions and the agriculturalists increased their commitments by raising their standard of living and by borrowing more and more on the assurance of the higher income and the higher security that the lands offered. The abnormal and sudden fall in the prices, which in many cases was nearly half of the original value, reduced the income of the agriculturalists and they could not adjust themselves to the altered condition.  

The effect of the fall in prices was disastrous in several branches of the economy, but more than anybody else the peasants were hit the hardest since his income was gravely affected. The condition of the tenant was worse than the peasant proprietor. In the case of the tenant, who had to pay fixed cash of those who grew the bulk of their agricultural produce for their own consumption and met their cash

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requirements from the income derived from other sources, the effect was comparatively less. The income of owners of large and medium – size holdings were also seriously affected by the fall in prices. Prices of agricultural commodities fell more than those of manufactured goods, which meant that the peasant was selling cheaper and buying dearer than before. The result of the diminution of income was that in many cases the expenditure had to be met by the sale of gold and jewellery of the family. There was also some dislodgement of the peasant from the land. It is interesting to note that there was no general reduction in the area and volume of production consequent on the fall of prices. On the contrary, in many cases the tendency to increase production to compensate for the reduced prices was predominant. The general fall in prices not only affected agriculturists, but also trade and industry. The government tried to come to the rescue of the agriculturist with periodical ameliorative measures such as granting liberals loans, concessions in recovery of land revenue, starting of land mortgage banks and debt relief. In spite of such measures, recovery from the depression was slow and it was only World War II that brought a favourable change. The war and its after – effects of
inflation brought about a steady and steep rise in the general level of prices\textsuperscript{26}.

7:5 AFTER 1939

Immediately on the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, prices of commodities took an upward turn mainly as a result of speculation. This speculative rise in price lasted only for a brief period and the prices settled down afterwards. In 1940, there was ‘latent’ inflation all round. It should be noted that under this ‘latent’ inflation, there was certainly some amount of excess demand, which was neutralized mostly by gradual dishoarding or decumulation of stocks. In other words, in 1940 there was inflation as excess demand was there, but the inflationary effects were substantially neutralized by the gradual dishoarding policy of the dealers and wholesalers, who had accumulated huge stocks on the eve of the war. It was in 1941 that the latent inflation in the district, as elsewhere, was converted into a real type of inflation and the people seriously felt the impact of the rising trend prices. The prices of rice and ragi in the district which were, in 1939 – 40 Rs 16 – 2 – 0 and Rs 6 – 0 – 0 per palla of 100 seers, respectively, increased to Rs 25 – 0 – 0 and Rs 14 –

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid p 254
8 – 3, respectively in 1944 – 45. A table showing the price – trends in the district between 1923 – 24 and 1944 – 45 is given below.

Table 7:11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rice First Sort</th>
<th>Rice Second Sort</th>
<th>Ragi</th>
<th>Jowar</th>
<th>Bengal gram</th>
<th>Salt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rs</td>
<td>As</td>
<td>Ps</td>
<td>Rs</td>
<td>As</td>
<td>Ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1923-24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1928-29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1943-44</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Abstract of Mysore, 1951, pp – 67-68

Note:- Since Mandya District bifurcated from Mysore District on 1st July 1939, price indicated upto 1938 – 39 refer to both Mysore and Mandya Districts. Price given from 1939 – 40 to 1944 – 45 are exclusively for Mandya District.

Scarcity of consumer goods, accompanied by a serious food shortage, had made the situation gloomy. It was during the last quarter of 1943 that the government introduced price – control and rationing of food, cloth sugar and other necessaries of life. After 1943, the government also slowed down the pace of issuing paper currency,
intensified borrowing programmes for mopping up the extra purchasing power of the people and launched several schemes for increasing agricultural production. The irrigational facilities afforded by the construction of the Vishweshwaraiah canal in the district also contributed towards this Endeavour. These anti–inflationary measures partially stabilized the price situation.\textsuperscript{28}

There was more demand for consumer goods. The partially suppressed inflation of the war period made a jerky outburst in the post–war period under the impact of pent–up demand. During the war period, there was some amount of voluntary abstinence on the part of the people, but once the war ended, they were eager to consume more goods. This outburst of demand for consumer goods could not be immediately met in the post–war period, because adequate replacements and modernization of plants and equipments were not undertaken by the manufacturers during the war period. In other words, the immediate post–war period was characterized by an increase in the community’s propensity to consume without an appreciable increase in the volume of new production investments. This discrepancy between consumption and production was made more serious by further expansion of paper currency during the immediate post–war period. Added to all these, the

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid p 255
loss of supplies of rice from Burma, the shortage of rolling stock on the railways, the inflation of currency, the smuggling of food grains across the border of the state and the exploitation of the war conditions by the profiteering producers and tradesmen – all contributed to the spiral in prices of food grains. Black – markets appeared in many of the consumer goods all over the country and the impact of this was also felt in Mandya district. Mrs. T.S. Epstein points out that the advent of irrigation as the turning point in their recent history points to the importance of irrigation rather than location. The establishment of flour mills is probably the only economic activity that was induced by Dalenas more favourable situation. During the last war (Second World War) Lorries full of black market paddy used to run along the major road and stop outside the village to enquire after the nearest mill. This gave two Dalena men the idea of starting flour mills. The availability of electricity and the proximity of a railway station further facilitated their enterprise people were put to great hardships. Rationing in food and cloth and the control on the prices of other essential materials did not fully remedy the situation. In 1947, the government of India’s decision to de – control food

29 Ibid p 255
30 A fictitious name given by T. scarlett Epstein in her book called “Economic Development and Social change in south India”, Manchester University press, 1962, p 3. Dalena is a roadside village situated on the highway at a distance of about 9 kilometres from Mandya, the district headquarters. Village lands are above the canal level and therefore remain dry.
31 T.S.Epstein, Economic Development and Social change in South India, Manchester University press, 1962, pp 7-8
grains, sugar and cloth resulted in a sharp upward turn in prices, which forced the government to impose cloth – control in July 1948. In 1949, the devaluation of the rupee had a considerable effect on the domestic price – line; price started falling and it appeared that the harmful effects of the earlier rise in prices were slowly wearing out but actually prices did not decline much. The worsening of food situation compelled the government to take steps to curb the rise in prices compulsory procurement of paddy and ragi was ordered and essential food grains were rationed in urban areas. The free movement of food grains from rural to urban areas were kept in check by the issue of control orders. Eventually, controls were removed. As the prices continued to rise, fair price shops were opened to alleviate the difficulties of the consuming public. During the 1960, the price of rice in Mandya district was one and a quarter seer per rupee and that of ragi two and half seers per rupee. As a measure of augmenting the available supplies, import of several commodities from outside the district was resorted to. The distribution of food grains through a chain of consumer co – operative stores and villages panchayats, at reasonable selling prices, greatly alleviated the hardships of the people. Informal rationing was not introduced in the district. The Deputy Commissioner through his food assistant works after the distribution of food grains and enforces the various regulatory orders
issued by the government from time to time. These measures brought considerable relief to the people of the district\textsuperscript{32}.

7:6 WAGES:

It has been recorded that there was a rise in wages during the last quarter of the last century as a result of “the great development of Industries and the extensive scale on which railways and public works of all kinds have been carried out, following upon the loss of population incurred in the famine of 1877 – 78\textsuperscript{33}. The rate of daily wages in 1893 prevalent in Mysore district of which Mandya was a part (till 1939) were – eight to twelve annas for skilled labour and two to four annas for unskilled labour and ten annas to one rupee for cart hire\textsuperscript{34}. The corresponding wage – rates in 1876 were: for skilled labour four annas to one rupee a day, for unskilled labour two annas to eight annas a day and for cart hire eight annas to one and a quarter rupee a day. About the same period (1870 to 1890), almost the same rates of wages with slight difference were recorded by provincial Gazetteers of India\textsuperscript{35}. The daily wages of skilled labour varied in different parts from six annas to Rs 1 – 8 – 0 and for unskilled labour from two annas to eight annas. It was

\textsuperscript{32} Mysore state Gazetteer, Mandya district, 1967 pp 255, 256,257
\textsuperscript{33} Lewis Rice, Mysore Gazetteer Vol I 1897 p 561
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid vide table on p 561
\textsuperscript{35} These figures relate to the entire old Mysore state but may be taken as applicable to the Mandya district also.
recorded in the aforesaid publication that while the latter has remained at about the same figure, as regards the minimum, with the tendency to rise, the former has increased in the last twenty years from 50 to 100 percent. The payment in kind which was customary till 1870 had become less common by 1890, probably owing to the influence of railways, mining and industries and large public works, the labourer being less tied down to single localities and having greater facilities to travel at a cheap rate.

Figures of comparison are not available for any long period in the past, but in 1867, Lewis Rice observed that the price of unskilled labour had doubled since 1850 and that of skilled labour had risen three–fold. According to Buchanan, the wages paid daily to labourers in 1800 were: men, one third to half a fanam and women quarter of a fanam; in other words, about two annas to two annas eight pies and one anna and four pies, respectively.

In 1902, the wages generally were eight annas to one and a quarter rupee a day for skilled labour, one to eight annas per day for unskilled labour and cart hire was about 12 annas to one and a half rupees per day according to locality and necessity. The rise in wages between 1893 and 1902 was mainly due to expenditure on public works and house building.

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36 Provincial Gazetteer of India, Mysore state p 61
37 Ibid p 61
38 Lewis Rice, Mysore Gazetteer Vol I, 1897, p 561
39 Atlas of the Mysore state, 1902 pp 20-21
and also the plague which occurred during the 1890’s. Extension of cultivation and subsequent occupation of agricultural labourers on their village lands considerably diminished the supply of local labour and in consequence, labourers were attracted from surrounding districts, which was also one the causes for the rise in wages. There was a steady rise in wages after 1902.

The effect of the First World War contributed to a further rise in wages and the monthly wages of an able bodied agricultural labourer and unskilled worker which were Rs 7 to Rs 10 between 1912 and 1918, had further increased by 1922. Though adequate details of wages, occupation – wise for different years are not available, some particulars are found in a publication of the year 1917 for six taluks of Mandya district and the table given below.

Table 7:12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluk</th>
<th>Bricklayer</th>
<th>Carpenter and house-builder</th>
<th>Mason</th>
<th>Fitter</th>
<th>Unskilled worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs</td>
<td>As</td>
<td>Ps</td>
<td>Rs</td>
<td>As</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srirangapatna</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandavapura</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandya</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagamangala</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishnarajapet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malavalli</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40 Essential statistics, Mysore District for 1916-1917, Mysore Economic conference, Mysore District Committee, 1917, pp 176 to 179
It is clear, therefore that wages had risen by 1917 compared to the pre-war rates and also that the rates of wages for different kinds of skilled and unskilled labour were almost the same in several taluks of the district. During 1923–24, the daily wages of unskilled labour varied from district to district and in Mysore district (which included Mandya district also) the wages of unskilled labour, on a average, were between eight annas to one rupee and that of skilled labour between one rupee to two rupees\textsuperscript{41}. It was calculated that between 1893 and 1916, during a period of 23 years, the minimum wage of skilled labour rose by 50 percent in Mysore district (which included Mandya also)\textsuperscript{42}. In the year 1934, the wages of skilled labour ranged from eight annas to four rupees and of unskilled labour from three annas to one rupee. The rate of cart hire per day ranged from one rupee to five rupees\textsuperscript{43}. The rates of daily wages of labour in 1934 remained practically the same as in the previous two or three years and the depression and the fall in the price of commodities, particularly of food grains, had not much effect on the rates of labour and cart hire\textsuperscript{44}. Though there was no noticeable fluctuation in wages, the establishment of a sugar factory at Mandya and the

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\textsuperscript{41} Mysore Gazetteer vol III C Hayavadana Rao, 1929, p 387
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid p 388
\textsuperscript{43} Mysore Administrative report for the year 1933 – 34, 1934, p 69
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid p 70
construction of irrigation canals in the district had brought about a slight variation in the wage structure by 1940. Since the Second World War, the wage level has undergone similar fluctuations as the level. A table showing the rates of daily wages in Mandya district for the year 1951 - 52. The rates of wages in 1951 – 52 show that there was a general rise in wages in keeping with general rise in the cost of living.

Rates of daily wages in Mandya District during the year 1951 – 52.

Table 7:13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month and Year</th>
<th>Skilled labour</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1951</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1952</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal Numbers of working hours -8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7:7 INDUSTRIALIZATION

Science is an important element of human heritage that produces a systematic knowledge of nature. Technology, on the other hand, is that element which contains the applications of this knowledge. In this sense,

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45 Mysore Administrative report for the year 1940 – 41, 1942 pp 84-85
46 Season and crop report of the Mysore state for the agriculture year 1951 – 52 dept. of statistics
technology has a utilitarian goal. It has developed mainly due to a desire to apply it for the advantage of common people. This goal has been realized in almost every sphere – industry, agriculture, transport, communication and such other areas. The rapid changes that we experience in our day to day life are related to the development of new techniques, new inventions and new modes of production. The application of modern technology in industry has influenced not only our economic life but also our social and cultural system\[47\]. Industrialization is a process of technological advancement from domestic production with simple tools to large – scale factory based production. However, sociologically, the term implies a process of economic and social change a rising out the change in the structure of industry. Industrialization involves a broad range of social factors that deeply affect the character of social life. For instance, factories give rise to elaborate division of labour, new work culture etc.

It is heartening to note that Mandya district is in a happy position of being one of the most industrially advanced districts in the state. Owing greatly to the inspiring guidance of the farsighted benevolent rulers, efficient Dewans and illustrious administrators, the landscape of industry in the district has become apprecialy large. It has been fortunate

\[47\] Kamlish singh social change in Modern India, 2008 p 3
enough from the beginning to have great industrialists and engineers. It is also fortunate enough to be endowed with rich and varied natural resources\(^{48}\). The fact that the prosperity of the state depended on the planed and fruitful exploitation of the resources was recognized for a long before the plans were thought of.

Earlier (at present also) jaggery was produced in alemane viz jaggery making units. The Ashtagrama sugar factory was established in the district at Palahalli (Srirangapatna taluk) as early as 1847. Although it was world famous for its crustal sugar was closed down very early. But, with the construction of Cauvery dam, irrigation facility increased and it paved way for establishing large-scale sugar factory after 1933. As a result today, there are sugar factories working in Mandya (1933), Pandavapura (1959), spirit production units are functioning at Mandya, Gendehosahalli (Srirangapatna taluk) and Kalenahalli (Mandya taluk), Melkote (Dhotra), Talagawadi, Kodiyalala, Hosaholalu and Kikkeri are famous for saree weaving and have retained their importance even today in the district. Chinya and Mandya are famous for woolen blankets; Malavalli and Halagur for leather goods, Nagamangala for brass items; Ganjam, Sindaghatta for silk fabrics; Ganjam for bullock carts, is popular

\(^{48}\) Structure and prospects of industries in Mysore by V.B. Angadi Article in the state level seminar on Economic Development and Social changes organized by Dept. of Economics, Karnatak University Dharwad, May 1970
even today. In the twentieth century, Tobacco curing factory (1937) started in Mandya, while Mandya National Paper Mill (1962) in Belagola, Mysore Chemicals and Fertilisers (1940) etc are some of the major industries that have impacted the economic trends in the district. In support of this, in order to give stress for industries in the districts in addition to declaring certain selected areas as industrial area, attempts were also made to provide basic infrastructure. As a result, today, 123 industrial sheds are functioning in the six industrial areas of the district.

7:8 SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

We may now turn our attention to the economic and social consequences of industrialization. The economic life Mandya district has witnessed tremendous structural change in the wake of Industrialization. Production has been brought substantially to the factory. Elaborate division of labour, specialization of task and the growth of a class of industrial workers have resulted from changes in the industrial system. Similarly, the nature of agricultural production has also changed because of change in agricultural practices. With the alteration in agricultural practices, alterations have also occurred in agrarian relation and the life–style of farm households. For example sugarcane was a new crop to Mandya farmers. Its cultivation was not just a matter of changing from one crop to another. Apart from greater investment it also involved far –
reaching adjustment in the organization and practice of agricultural production. Though time and experience, Mandya farmers had developed a rhythm of dry crop production in which each participant had a certain task to perform, and each operation had its proper date and time. Unless the production techniques of a newly introduced crop harmonise with those of the customary crops, the new crops must affect the customary productive rhythm. Sugarcane takes 12 to 14 months to mature and requires attention throughout this period. By contrast, dry land and hain crops require little labour and this is concentrated in a few months of the year. After the harvest in January until the ploughing in May or June, farmers are practically free of cultivation. Immediately after the harvest season a series of large cattle fairs takes place in Mysore state\textsuperscript{49} which is attended by villagers from a wide area. At the same time negotiations for marriages begin and the marriage season lasts throughout April and May. After the marriage season ploughing marks the beginning of the new crop season. Such is the accustomed rhythm of economic and social activities of dry land farmer. Sugarcane cultivation completely upsets this accustomed rhythm\textsuperscript{50}. The most common season for planting cane in February and March or October, but throughout the year some cane is planted. This ensures a steady flow of supplies to the sugar factory, but it

\textsuperscript{49} T.S.Epstein, Economic Development and Social change in South India, Manchester University press, 1962, p 53
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid p 53
demands a radical readjustment of the farmers productive organization and social – life whereas, after the January harvest of his dry crops, he was fee in former time to visit cattle fair, go on pilgrimages, or negotiate his children’s marriage, he is now often tied during this period: he may have just then to level and plough his wet land ready for the planting of cane seedling or to perform some other operation necessary to the cultivation of cane. Sugarcane can be grown in the Mandya area only under the most assured sources of irrigation which bring water to the crop throughout the whole year; particularly during first six months of its growth, sugarcane needs constant irrigation and attention. If the young crop is left without water for a few days it will deteriorate very quickly and may be ruined altogether. This constant need for irrigation of cane crops induces many a farmer to walk to his fields at night so as to ascertain that the channel carrying water to his land has not been blocked by some ambitious and selfish neighbour. Many a careful farmer even sleeps for a week’s near his cane crop to make certain of the water supply to his lands. Altogether cane cultivation requires a great deal of more labour than dry crops. The average labour requirements per acre of cane amounts to 178 male and 30 female labour days. Farmers can usually

51 Ibid p 54
52 Ibid p 54
meet this heavy labour load only by hiring labour and by working overtime themselves.

The normal working day starts at about 7.30 a.m. and finishes at about 5.30 p.m; there is a break for lunch from about noon to 2.00 p.m; so that the working day last eight hours. In the case of cane cultivation, farmers usually work over time. Some employ labourers, but during the peak period most farmers go themselves to their fields for about another two or three hours work after their evening meal. The average farmer meets 50% of the total labour requirement per acre of cane from his own household or by ‘inviting’ unpaid friends to come and help. The rest he has to hire. The average gross product per acre of cane amounts to as much as Rs 1,597 of which 61% accrue to the farmer in wages and profits\textsuperscript{53}. The bulk of his production cost has to be met in cash: as much as 65% of the total cost involves expenditure in cash, the remaining 35% being made up of unpaid labour, fodder, manure and seedlings produced for which no cash expenditure is required. The large quantity of labour and working capital required for sugarcane cultivation has re-emphasized the economic interdependence of the villagers; for each farmer cultivating cane has to hire local labour and most farmers have to borrow to cope with a whole year’s working and household – expenditure

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid p 54
before they can draw cash from the sale of cane. In this case Mandya sugar factory helps to ease the financial burden by offering cultivation and cutting advances at 6% rate of interest, which is half the rate ruling in nearby villages. According to the factory’s records, the average credit offered to cane growers in nearby villages in 1953 amounted to 40% of the gross amount due to farmers. Such credit suffices to pay for the manure and fertilizers, but leaves little for other working expenses and is no help at all in meeting household expenses. Farmers therefore have to rely on loans, usually from men in their own village, to help them over the long waiting period before they reap the reward for the effort and cash put into cane cultivation. In this respect it makes it easier for them that cane is not a strictly season–bound crop and that its period of maturation varies from 11 to 14 months. For this means that throughout the year there are always some farmers who are delivering cane and drawing cash from the factory. Whenever a farmer receives his payments, his creditors are always anxious to be repaid, because they in turn may be short of cash and there are always debtors waiting to borrow more. Cash is always particularly short in supply during the wedding season when the struggle for states tempts peasants to spend lavishly on marriage feasts. Anyone receiving his cane payments about that time finds himself swamped by demands for loans. However, most of the debtor–creditor relationships
are of long standing and the debt is never quite settled, so that each creditor has a quasi – hereditary relationship with a number of debtors. Similarly, the relationship between the farmer and his hired labour does not dissolve when a particular job is done and paid for, but persists over generation: the same households supply labour to certain farmers, unless sickness or a quarrel upset the arrangement.

Sugarcane is a risky crop to grow. It cannot be consumed in the household if there is no market for it, nor can it be stored, for it requires processing. Cane may be processed either in crushers and made into jaggery or refined at the factory and made into white sugar. In either case processing should follow immediately after the cane has been cut. Otherwise its sugar content deteriorates rapidly. Prior to the establishment of sugar refinery at Mandya, all cane grown in the area was processed into jaggery at village cane – crushers. Indeed, most of Mysore’s sugar consumption was then in the form of jaggery. In the town, houses have mostly changed over to consumption of refined sugar, although for certain relishes jaggery is still preferred. Villagers still use jaggery for sweetening more often than sugar, although jaggery contains a number of impurities and usually no more than 60% sugar, whereas fine sugar has a 100% sugar content. But sugar is certainly replacing jaggery for since
more has come on to the market, the demand for jaggery has been declining.

The price of jaggery shows a downward trend since 1953. There will always be some demand for jaggery, because some of the Indian dishes of sweet relish can be made only with jaggery. But seems clear that sugar will drive jaggery off the market as the supply of sugar becomes more plentiful. The price of jaggery is inversely related to the supply of sugar. When in 1953 whole salers hoarded white sugar for speculative reasons, the price of jaggery soared temporarily. The high price of jaggery induced cane farmers to have as much of their cane as possible made into jaggery and consequently supplies of cane to the factory declined, which in turn aggravated the shortage of sugar. When steps taken by the government forced wholesalers to release their hoards of sugar, jaggery prices began to fall again and farmers are now eager to sell even non – contracted cane to the factory. At the prices of cane and jaggery ruling in May 1956, for every ton of cane produced the farmer could get Rs. 39.75 by selling to the factory and only Rs. 35 by processing the cane into jaggery and selling it as such. For 10 tons of cane delivered to factory the farmer received Rs. 397.50. These 10 tons yield about one ton of sugar with a 100% sugar content, which is sold at

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54 Ibid p 56
Rs 800 whole sale\textsuperscript{55}. The same 10 tons of cane may be processed into jaggery to produce about 3,500 cubes, which also weigh one ton, but this ton of jaggery has only 60% pure sugar content. To produce 1,000 cubes in a power cane – crusher cost Rs 20. Therefore 3,500 cubes cost Rs 70 to produce and in May 1956 the price of jaggery paid by wholesalers in the Mandya area to farmers was Rs. 120 per 1,000\textsuperscript{56}. Thus while the farmer could get Rs 397.50 for 10 tons of cane delivered to the factory, he could get only Rs 350 for them if he went to all the trouble of having them processed into jaggery and sold the wholesalers, and he forgoes the advantage of cheap credit form the factory. At this relationship between the factory cane price and the producer’s jaggery price obviously all farmers are anxious to sell their cane to the factory.

Cane delivered to the factory is grown under contract: The factory enters into contracts with farmers in the Mandya area to buy the output of a specified acreage. Farmers are always keen to grow cane under contract to the factory, since this reduces their risk. The terms of the contract between the farmer and the factory allow the farmer room for manipulation; the factory undertakes to purchase at a price fixed in advance all the cane produced on a contracted acre and does not specify the tonnage it will buy. This enables the farmers to vary the quantity he

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid p 57
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid p 57
delivers to the factory to suit his own interest. If it is more profitable to have cane made into jaggery, farmers reduce the quantity of cane they deliver to the factory and have the balance of their crop processed into jaggery. If the price of jaggery falls, farmers try to deliver to the factory some of the cane grown on non–contracted acres. Sometime there is a sort black market in cane; farmers who have grown sugarcane without contract to the factory offer their crop to farmers who have a contract and who are prepared to buy this cane well below the price fixed by the factory, so that they can make a profit by reselling it to the factory at the agreed price, together with the crop from their own contracted acreage. The sugar factory tries to protect itself against such deceit by employing fieldmen whose job is to advise farmers on cultivation problems, but who are also there to see that the actual crop produced on an acre of contracted land will be delivered to the factory.

The factory fieldman is only a minor official and has a low status in the factory, but in the village he occupies a very important position. He recommends which of the farmers should have their contracts renewed and he reports when cane is ready for cutting. After about a year of hard work cane cultivators are always eagerly waiting to receive a cutting permit from the factory so that they may harvest the cane, deliver it and finally get their payment. Presents to the fieldmen or open bribery wins
favours from him and spend up cutting permits. The factory tries to avoid this by frequent transfers of fieldmen between different areas, so that their relations with villagers are of limited duration. The system of bribery of small officials bring them within the orbit of village politics and reduces the rigidity of the rules which they are there to enforce. Once an official has accepted bribery he becomes partly dependent on his donors. Though the fieldmen’s strict duty is to make sure that only contracted cane is delivered to the factory, bribery induces him to allow some farmers a margin

Sugarcane requires irrigation almost throughout the whole of the twelve months maturation period. Mandya derives its irrigation water from the Cauvery river which rises in Coorg. If the monsoon fails there, Mandya cane crops are adversely affected. To the greatest surprise and disappointment of all, the Krishnarajasagar Reservoir which has been feeding the area through the Vishweshwaraiah canal went dry for the first time in 1949 after 20 years, due to drought conditions that prevailed at the time for want of rains. That came as a terrible blow and the loss sustained by the company as well as the sugarcane growing ryots in the area was of no small magnitude\textsuperscript{57}.

\textsuperscript{57} B.G. Dase Gowda, Mysore Sakkere, October 1955, p 7
In 1949 of the total 103 acres of village lands contracted with the factory only 12 acres bore a crop at all, and that was very poor. For the 1949 cane crop the contracted farmers received Rs 5,404\textsuperscript{58} as gross amount for cane delivered whereas the factory advanced as much as Rs 12,294. The factory, in which the government hold the major share, decided to write off the deficit as a bad debt. In 1956 irrigation once more threatened to fail and the factory then advised ryots in the area to stop planting cane on contracted land\textsuperscript{59}. The management of the factory took great pain to make it clear that no compensation could be given to any ryot affected by the drought. This meant that any credit advanced by the factory to farmers on the basis of contracted land would have a repaid whether or not the crop for which it was advanced materialized. The threat of a failure in the supply of irrigation water induces farmer to plant paddy or ragi rather than cane on their wet lands. In 1954, which was a normal year as regards irrigation\textsuperscript{60}, 33\% of wet lands were under cane cultivation, 60\% under paddy and 7\% under ragi crops. Thus for every acre of cane the farmers cultivated about two acres of paddy in the year.

Similarly, rice farming also changed in Mandya district. Paddy is a much less remunerative crop than sugarcane, but it is food crop, most of

\textsuperscript{58} T.S. Epstein Op.cit, p 61
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid p 62
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid p 63
which may be used for subsistence consumption; it can be stored; and surplus can be sold without any need for processing. Paddy is a half yearly crop which fits into the accustomed rhythm of production, and it requires considerably less labour and working capital than sugarcane. Paddy requires on an average 97 male and 28 female labour per day acre, which is just over half the labour requirement for one acre of sugarcane. The average wages and profits per acre of paddy are however far less than those on the average acre of cane. Average wages and profits per acre of paddy crop amount to Rs 139 and per acre of cane crop to Rs 980. So while the relationship of labour input between an acre of paddy and an acre of cane is about 1:2, the relationship between wages and profits per acre of paddy and cane is about 1:72 of the sample farmers cultivating paddy 4% made a loss, 48% earned less than Rs 120, 73% earned less than Rs 60; the modal wages and profits amounted to Rs 150.

The common complain of farmers is that they yield of paddy is very low; it is much lower than that of ragi grown on wet land. Yet, as might be expected, the yield of paddy is considerably higher than that of dry ragi: the output of one acre of dry ragi amounts to only about 66% of an acre of paddy. But the much higher cash costs involved in paddy cultivation are responsible for equalizing farm wages and profits of the two crops. Cash costs constitute as much as 52% of paddy output and
only 28% of dry ragi yield. However, since both crops are for subsistence the higher total output of paddy is of more importance to the farmer than his wages and profits.

The Mysore state Agricultural Development, office in Mandya, advocated the Japanese method of paddy cultivation to increase the yield of paddy. This method differs from the indigenous method of paddy cultivation in four aspects: firstly, it carefully selects seeds planted in the nursery and sows them in rows instead of haphazardly, using only a quarter of the seeds used in the indigenous method; secondly, it applies a lot more manure and fertilizer to the nursery; thirdly, it transplants the seedlings at equal intervals into the fields; and fourthly, it applies more manure and fertilizer per acre of paddy. It is claimed for the Japanese method that it can increase the yield of paddy as much as fourfold. However, the success of the method depends largely on the quality of the soil, for not all soils respond favourably to it. On all soils it offers certain advantages: by intensive cultivation of the nursery and fewer plants, the seedlings are more fertile; by transplanting these seedlings equally spaced in rows, each seedling has more room to grow and a better chance to derive benefits from the applications of fertilizer.

61 Ibid p 63
It is said that, fieldmen of the Agricultural Department tour the area to advise farmers on the Japanese Method. At first the farmers did not believe that fewer paddy plants could give a greater yield, but they finally managed to understand this. Yet not a single farmer attempted to use the Japanese method, in spite of the fact that the Agricultural Department offered credit facilities to the first few farmers in a village who were prepared to experiment with it. A number of farmers have learnt to select paddy seeds more carefully, but none of them had tried to space the plants. Such spacing would upset the transplanting techniques to which female labour – and paddy, we must remember, is always transplanted by women – is accustomed. Ten or twelve women form a group, called gumpu62 in the vernacular, who work as a team for transplanting, weeding and harvesting. Each team has a leader whose job it is to collect her colleagues for work whenever a farmer requires their labour. Usually the team is paid a rate for a job, that is to say, so much per acre transplanted or weeded, and the leader receives the pay from the farmer and divides it among her fellows, keeping for herself a slightly larger share. These teams are access turned to the traditional method of transplanting and their members are reluctant to change over to the more tedious way of transplanting according to the Japanese method. The new method would

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62 Ibid p 64
also take much longer and since teams are paid a rate per acre, rather than a daily rate, they are obviously reluctant to experiment with a new technique without the assurance of an increase in pay. Farmers on the other hand, as we shall see, are bound by the customary rate of pay in the village and therefore cannot offer higher pay even if they are prepared to do so. Altogether it is difficult for the enterprising farmer to exert any pressure on these female labour teams to experiment with the Japanese method of transplanting, for just when he needs the team there is usually great demand for it and if he started being difficult he would find himself waiting until the team had more time.

The lack of enterprise as regards the Japanese method of paddy cultivation contrasts with the considerable enterprise farmers have shown in their cultivation of cane. Cane was a new crop which required new techniques and of productive rhythm different from that of the customary crops. Paddy cultivation by the Japanese method also meant changes in cultivation techniques, but farmers were less enterprising about it. Three factors are probably responsible for this difference. Firstly, it appears to be easier to learn all about the cultivation of a new crop than to adopt new methods in the cultivation of a customary crop. In this farmers behave according to the pattern familiar in industry, where it has been found that it is more efficient to train a new worker in new techniques, than to make
an experienced worker change his techniques. Secondly, a fixed rate per job impedes the introduction of new techniques. Again, this is a fact with which we are familiar in industry. Thirdly, farmers experienced far less difficulties in adopting new techniques where these affected the farmers own labour, than where these affected hired labour, in particular that of women. No single household in wet land villages of Mandya district includes a sufficiently large number of women of working age to form a working team, nor do farmers want their own women folk to work on the land. Thus as long as transplanting is done in teams and the rate for the job is fixed, farmers will find difficulty in experimenting with the Japanese method however, enterprising they may be in other spheres of economic activity.

7:9 LAND THE NEW CASH CROPS (SUGARCANE) – CONSEQUENCE OF INDUSTRIALISATION:

Most inhabitants of Mandya district derive at least the major part of their income from the cultivation of land; landholding is the key to economic, political and social status. Majority of people in Mandya wants to be a farmer and most conversation centres on farming problems. Prior to
irrigation the village economy was predominantly subsistence: households produced most of their own needs. Functionaries were paid in kind, and the little cash required to purchase a few pieces of cloth for the family per year was earned by the sale of some garden produce in the town. With the introduction of a cash crop, the whole nature of Mandya’s village economy changed: village no longer produced the major part of the goods they consumed but began to specialize in cash crops and this happens to be a major consequence of Industrialisation in Mandya district. With the cash earned from these specialized crops, in particular from sugarcane, they now buy the major part of their household requirements, though most of the staple diet is still subsistence produce. The cultivation of cash crops brought Mandya’s village economy into the regional market. Farmers deliver sugarcane to the factory in Mandya and there they purchase their groceries, vegetables, fruit, clothes and household articles. The sugar factory provides the major source of cash income for the farmers. However, the contract between factory and cane farmers makes it unnecessary for the farmer to become involved in bargaining or trading; the cane price is fixed in advance and can in no way be affected by the bargaining skill of the individual farmer or by the quantity of cane he sells. Thus the cane farmer earns cash income without being drawn into the commercial or industrial activities of the regional
economy; his interests remain centred in the cultivation of his lands. He has no need to establish stable economic relations with trader in Mandya for the sugar factory is the sole buyer of cane – except for the occasional sale of jaggery to wholesalers touring the area – and therefore is able to lay down terms over which the farmers has no influence at all. Correspondingly, he buys from a number of small sellers with whom he has only casual economic links. His stable economic relations are confined to his own village where he has to rely on exchange or daily labour to help him in the cultivation of his crops. Though the wet land village has to a certain extent become integrated into the regional economy it is still largely closed; the sale of cane provides the only important channel through which cash enter village and this cash originates from one source, namely the factory. In the year when canal irrigation failed to supply sufficient water for the cultivation of cane, village largely reverted to a subsistence economy.

Irrigation changed Mandya’s village economy from subsistence to cash, but the economy remained wholly rural. By making land more productive, irrigation in fact emphasized the agricultural nature of the economy. Prior to irrigation, the price of an acre of dry land was fairly uniform with slight variations according to the degree of fertility and convenience of situation. The village land records show that the average
price of an acre of dry land in the five years preceding the advent of canal irrigation was Rs 150. As irrigation spread to Mandya district, land prices began to rise rapidly. The frequency of land sales increased immediately after irrigation, though the total acreage sold always remained only a small percentage of the total village lands. The demand for land in villages of Mandya district came from three sources; firstly, from the richer farmers in the village; secondly, from richer farmer in neighbouring villages that had not yet received irrigation or were not likely to receive it and thirdly, from the nouveaux riches in the nearby towns.

Immediately after irrigation, the two groups of outsiders (villagers and townsmen) were the chief buyers of land in villages of Mandya (wet land villages). The Mandya farmers were induced to sell land for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the small farmers were attracted by the increased land prices to sell part of his holdings. He was pleased with what appeared to him as a windfall profit. An acre worth Rs. 150 as dry land could be sold for double the price after it was irrigated. Some farmers sold their lands because they feared that prices might drop back to pre – irrigation level. They sadly remember their mistake and complain bitterly that they had to pay many times the money they got when they bought back their land years after irrigation.
Secondly, some farmers sold because they needed cash urgently to meet some contingency. Thirdly, the smaller farmers were forced to sell part of their holding to raise sufficient money to finance wet crop cultivation on the remainder of their estate.

Most of the outsiders buying land in wet land village were townsmen who sought a stake in the rural prosperity. But they found it very difficult to cultivate the newly purchased land. Tenancy arrangements were rare and unsatisfactory for both landlord and tenant in the area of small owner-occupies. The sugar factory refuses to enter into a contract with a tenant cultivator, because it was not sure who was entitled to the payment for the cane. The tenant therefore could only grow paddy or ragi on the wet land. Wet land requires considerable initial investment in the preparation of fields and application of fertilizer, and tenants were not prepared to make such investment on lands held only on lease.

There are two types of tenancy agreement common in the Mandya region: guttige and vara. Guttige is a straightforward rent per acre paid in units of crops or in the equivalent cash; vara means crop – sharing, half of the produce being due to the landlord and the other half being the cultivators share. Under both types the tenant has to meet all cultivation costs. Immediately after irrigation the fixed rent of guttige was about three pallas of paddy per acre per year; it has since risen to five pallas.
The average price per palla of paddy was Rs 22 in 1955. This meant that the rent per acre amounted to Rs 110, which is slightly less than the average farm wages and profits per acre of paddy. The high rent deters farmers from entering into such tenancy agreements. The farmers who entered into tenancy arguments with outsiders all had estates of their own and the cultivation of the land held on lease was secondary to the cultivation of their own lands. Therefore the yield on land cultivated by tenants was considerably lower than that on the ryots own land. Absentee landlords attributed the low yields to cheating on the part of the tenant and quarrels always arose when the landlord come to collect his dues.

But in the main, given the present margin of cultivation, the possibilities of richer farmers increasing their holdings remain few, because land sale became rare in wet lands of Mandya. Their investment opportunities are therefore severely restriced. Landholding has remained dispersed and no single peasant household owns more than 15 acres, inspite of the fact that irrigation gave the richer farmer a better chance to benefit from the growing of cane and therefore emphasized economic differentiation. Irrigation might have led to a higher concentration of landholding if certain forces had not intervened; inheritance law, the disappearance of the joint family, the practice of adoption and an increasing population set up obstacles to the accumulation of wealth over
the generation. If for successive generations an estate has a single heir it will remain undivided and therefore gain in relative economic status as such compared with the division of even the largest estates among several sons over the same period. Since estates cannot be tied up and landholding in the index of wealth, economic status is much more fluid and more easily acquired and lost than political and general social status. We have so far analysed the socio-economic consequence of industrialization but we should not overlook one basic fact in this regard. The way in which a society responds to the industrial changes depends on its own creative genius and social environment. We, therefore, find a substantial difference between one society and another in the degree to which changes take place as a result of industrialization.

7:10 URBANIZATION: ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCE OF URBANIZATION IN MANDYA

Urbanization is a process by which people instead of living in villages start living in towns and cities. It involves a mode by which agriculture – based habitat is transformed into non – agricultural urban habitat. The growth of urban centres is the result of accelerated industrial

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63 Ibid pp 84-92
and service functions. An increase in the size of towns and cities leading
to growth of urban population is the most significant dimension of
urbanization. These centres are essentially non – agricultural in character.
Urbanization as a structural process of change is related to
industrialization but it is not always the result of industrialization. In
certain cases, urbanization has taken place even without industrialization.
Industrialization is always connected with economic growth but we
cannot say the same about urbanization.

Urbanization environment produces a particular kind of social life
which lois wirth, a core member of the Chicago school, calls urbanism.
Social life in cities is more formal and impersonal. The relationship is
based on a complex division of labour and is contractual in nature.\(^6^4\).

Till 1891, urbanization was at a slow pace, while Srirangapatna
was a fourth category town, Mandya was a sixth category. But between
1901 and 1931 Mandya town moved fifth from fourth by 1941, to third
by 1951 to second by 1971 and since 1981 it has emerged as the only first
category town.\(^6^5\)

With the growing pace of industrialization, there has been a
definite evidence of a shift from agricultural occupation to non –

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\(^6^4\) Kamlish singh social change in Modern India, 2005 pp 6-7
\(^6^5\) Karnataka state Gazetteer department, Mandy district Gazetteer 2009, p 474
agricultural ones. A consequence of this transformation is the rapid growth of the urban population. It is found that between 1871 and 1901, there were five towns in the district with a population of above 3,000. The table below indicates their population trends between 1817 and 1901.

Table 7:14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mandya</td>
<td>3,241</td>
<td>3,770</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>4,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Malavalli</td>
<td>5,114</td>
<td>5,078</td>
<td>6,308</td>
<td>7,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Srirangapatna</td>
<td>10,594</td>
<td>11,734</td>
<td>12,553</td>
<td>8,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nagamangala</td>
<td>2,494</td>
<td>2,397</td>
<td>2,928</td>
<td>3,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Melkote</td>
<td>2,891</td>
<td>2,302</td>
<td>2,789</td>
<td>3,129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is seen from the table above that the population had increased in all the towns between 1871 and 1901 except in Srirangapatna where there was a fall, which was due chiefly to the prevalence of Malaria and Plague. The number of towns in the district was ten. The table below indicates the population of the towns in Mandya district with variations from 1901 to 1961.

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Atlas of the Mysore state, 1902, p 21
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Name of Town</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mandyra</td>
<td>4,496</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,255</td>
<td>-241</td>
<td>4,887</td>
<td>+632</td>
<td>5,958</td>
<td>+1071</td>
<td>11,374</td>
<td>+3,416</td>
<td>21,158</td>
<td>+9,784</td>
<td>33,347</td>
<td>+12,189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Malavli</td>
<td>7,270</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,461</td>
<td>-1,809</td>
<td>7,400</td>
<td>+139</td>
<td>8,348</td>
<td>+948</td>
<td>9,055</td>
<td>+707</td>
<td>12,063</td>
<td>+3,008</td>
<td>13,561</td>
<td>+1,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shirangapet</td>
<td>8,584</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,457</td>
<td>-1,127</td>
<td>7,217</td>
<td>-240</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>-917</td>
<td>7,678</td>
<td>+1,378</td>
<td>10,433</td>
<td>+2,755</td>
<td>11,423</td>
<td>+990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Krishnarajpet</td>
<td>2,131</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,337</td>
<td>+206</td>
<td>3,226</td>
<td>+989</td>
<td>2,750</td>
<td>-476</td>
<td>3,127</td>
<td>+377</td>
<td>6,972</td>
<td>+3,845</td>
<td>8,331</td>
<td>+1,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pavavapur</td>
<td>1,983</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,922</td>
<td>-61</td>
<td>2,407</td>
<td>+485</td>
<td>3,016</td>
<td>+609</td>
<td>4,271</td>
<td>+1,255</td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>+1,479</td>
<td>7,508</td>
<td>+1,758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nagaon</td>
<td>3,516</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,633</td>
<td>+117</td>
<td>3,474</td>
<td>-159</td>
<td>3,780</td>
<td>-306</td>
<td>4,258</td>
<td>+478</td>
<td>5,492</td>
<td>+1,234</td>
<td>6,524</td>
<td>+1,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Madiker</td>
<td>2,597</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,739</td>
<td>+142</td>
<td>2,916</td>
<td>+537</td>
<td>3,023</td>
<td>+277</td>
<td>3,838</td>
<td>+745</td>
<td>5,331</td>
<td>+1,603</td>
<td>8,120</td>
<td>+2,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Belakawad</td>
<td>5,183</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,060</td>
<td>-1,123</td>
<td>5,817</td>
<td>+1,757</td>
<td>4,001</td>
<td>-616</td>
<td>4,230</td>
<td>+249</td>
<td>4,602</td>
<td>+302</td>
<td>4,875</td>
<td>+273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Belur</td>
<td>1,734</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,676</td>
<td>-58</td>
<td>1,723</td>
<td>+47</td>
<td>1,937</td>
<td>+214</td>
<td>2,397</td>
<td>+546</td>
<td>3,129</td>
<td>+738</td>
<td>3,602</td>
<td>+473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Malvete</td>
<td>3,129</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,535</td>
<td>-594</td>
<td>6,307</td>
<td>+3,772</td>
<td>2,733</td>
<td>-3574</td>
<td>2,787</td>
<td>+54</td>
<td>2,846</td>
<td>+59</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>-65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE RISE IN URBAN POPULATION:

The foregoing table reveals that between 1901 and 1961, the urban population had increased considerably. During 1941, the urban population of the district was 53,029, which was eight percent of the total population. The corresponding figures for 1951 and 1961 were 77,776 and 1,00,072, which were 10.8 and 11.1 percent respectively. The subjoined table shows that the total population of all towns put together in the district between 1901 and 1961.

Table 7:16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>40,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>35,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>45,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>41,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>53,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>77,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1,00,072</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table given below shows the net variation of population from 1901 to 1951 and 1961 of the different towns in the district.

---

### Table 7:17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Variation since 1901</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upto 1951</td>
<td>Upto 1961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandya</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+16,662</td>
<td>+28,851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malavalli</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+4,793</td>
<td>+6,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srirangapatna</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+1,849</td>
<td>+2,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishnarajapet</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+4,841</td>
<td>+6,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandavapura</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+3,767</td>
<td>+5,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagamangala</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+1,976</td>
<td>+3,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maddur</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+2734</td>
<td>+5,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belakavadi</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>-581</td>
<td>-308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellur</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>+1,395</td>
<td>+1,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melkote</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>-283</td>
<td>-348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The population since 1901 has increased in all towns except Melkote and Belakavadi where, however, the decrease is negligible. The decline in population of Srirangapatna town between 1871 and 1901 continued upto 1931. This was due as much to the growing importance of Mysore city closeby, as to the general unhealthiness engendered by vacant sites and houses and rank vegetation and also to the prevalence of Malaria.\(^{68}\) The population of Mandya town has increased considerably since 1931. This is due to the establishment of the sugar factory and the importance of the place as the headquarters town of the district after it was bifurcated from Mysore district in 1939. It has been said: “of all the towns in the southern Maidan, Mandya is growing most rapidly and promises to develop at an accelerating rate. Development of towns at the

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\(^{68}\) Ibid p -13
rapid pace, unless properly planned is bound to lead to haphazard fringe or ribbon development …..“\(^6^9\) Among the other causes for concentration of population may be mentioned the fertility and the nature of the soil, the facilities for natural and artificial irrigation and the situation of the place in respect of communication, all of which play their part. The process of urbanization, in fact, has been comparatively slow in the district and the increase of the urban population as between 1951 and 1961 was 22,296. Out of the total land area of 12,31,185 acres (according to the village paper, it is 11,78,659 acres)\(^7^0\), 6,75,817 acres were, in 1960’s under different crops. The forest area is not much and extends over 18,330 acres and only Malavalli, Pandavapura, Krishnarajapet and Nagamangala taluks have some forest areas. The district is principally an agricultural region, about 50 percent of the total area being under a variety of food crops. The main food crops grown in the area are paddy and ragi. Other food crops are Jowar, millets and Pulses. Among other crops, sugarcane is prominent, and to some extent mulberry, groundnut, tobacco and castor are also grown. Paddy and sugarcane are confined mostly to the wet areas of Mandya, Srirangapatna, Maddur and Krishnarajapet taluks. In the dry area of Nagamangala, monsoon ragi is the main crop.

\(^6^9\) A Regional synthesis, Mysore state, Volume II, A.T.A. Learmouth, Indian statistical Institute, 1960, p 140
\(^7^0\) Mysore State Gazetteer Op.cit p. 267
This district, upto, 1932, was an arid tract of land and backward economically. Out-moded agricultural practices were followed and the district was often faced with droughts and famines. With the construction of the Vishweshwaraiah canal immense irrigation facilities were made available from 1932 onwards. Establishment of the sugar factory at Mandya, the formation of a rural health unit in the Irwin canal area, the adoption of measures for preventing malaria and the creation of agricultural and credit facilities were provided to Mandya. The proper classes of the people living in the old town have not been able to build houses in the new town. Proposals for a scheme for financing the construction of suitable type of model houses are being considered. The construction of the maternity hospital was also undertaken. The lay – out of the Mandya town extension providing for 76 sites, was completed\(^\text{71}\).

Agriculture being the mainstay of the district, the occupational pattern naturally permits of small scale industries like rice mills, oil mills and sericulture. There are two sugar factories, one at Mandya and another at Pandavapura, started in 1933 and 1955, respectively. The chemicals and fertilizers factory at Belagola started as early as 1939 and was one of the earliest to manufacture super – phosphate in the country. A paper

\(^\text{71}\) PMRA July 1934 pp 36 - 37
factory, which is the first in India to manufacture paper out of baggase, has been started in Mandya district.

Trade and Commerce are mainly carried on in town and in villages, which have a large population. The buoyancy of economic life during 1776 – 1799 was reflected in the flourishing trade in a large number of centres in the state. Shahar Ganjam in Srirangapatna taluk was a grand bazaar opened by Haider Ali, where he assumed, under his protection, merchant and artisans from many parts of the country. Kirmani in his “History of Haider Naik” has stated that Haider Ali brought merchants to the Mysore territory from many parts and gave them pledges of safety and aid to carry on their business. Tippu is stated to have carried on trade on his own account and made considerable profit\(^2\) shandies were being held at Ganjam and other prominent places in the district. The district is a landlocked area and as such it depends for its trade and commerce only on the railway and road communications. The vagaries of the monsoon occasionally hamper the flow of trade. It may be interest to know that in the year 1883 – 84, when the south – west monsoon failed, the then Dewan, Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, visited the Mandya area and personally went round the shandies and ordered the prices to be exhibited. This was done as a measure of control on trade.

\(^2\) Modern Mysore, Vol II M Sharma Rao, 1936 p 315
After the construction of the main Vishweshwaraiah canal and the starting of sugar mills, the importance of Mandya has increased. One of backward region in trade, Mandya district now as a significant role in the economy of the state.

The business of imports and exports is centred in the principal urban areas like Mandya, Maddur, Pandavapura, Srirangapatna, Malavalli, Krishnarajapet and Nagamangala, of which the first four places are connected by railway. The principal commodities which are exported from the district are rice, pulses, sugar, raw silk, handloom, silk fabrics, wool, tanning bark, jaggery, carts and brass and bell – metal vessels. In normal times, rice is exported to Bangalore, Chitradurga and the Nilgiris, pulses to Coorg and Bangalore and tanning bark to Bombay. The jaggery made in Mandya district, the carts of Ganjam and the brass and bell – metal vessels of Nagamangala have acquired a reputation for quality in the neighbouring districts. Better from Mandya is exported to Bangalore. The imports of the district are wheat from Dharwar, Corriander, boiled rice, onions from Bangalore, arecanut for Tiptur and Birur, coconut and copra from Tiptur, ragi from Tumkur, coffee seeds from Coorg, Coimbatore and the Nilgiris, pepper from Shimoga,
Cardomom, oranges, honey, wax and timber from Coorg and other articles (including cloth) from Bangalore and Mysore\textsuperscript{73}.

**7:12 REGULATED MARKET, MANDYA**

The Government of Mysore had taken steps in respect of regulation of Marketing long before the advent of the Five – year plans and had enacted the Mysore Markets Acts of 1939 with a view to encouraging a fair price to the practically no marketing facilities and the producer was often at the mercy of the unscrupulous merchants. There were a number of malpractices such as fraudulent weighment, heavy market charges, unauthorized deduction and irregular payments and naturally, the producer was not getting due and fair return for his produce. With a view to eliminating these malpractices, the markets Act was promulgated in 1939\textsuperscript{74}. A regulated market, calculated to protect the agricultural producer against malpractices, was established at Mandya in December 1959 and it actually commenced business in September 1960. This is the only regulated market in the district. It is a primary market for the business of paddy and a secondary market for articles like jaggery, groundnut, coconut, ragi gingelly and horse – gram. This market has links with Mysore and Bangalore by rail and roads and has connected with Tumkur,

\textsuperscript{73} Mysore State Gazetteer Op.cit p.204
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid p 205
Hassan and Mercara by road. The market are comprises all the taluks of the district.

The changes from the old traditional method of weekly shandies to one of organized pattern are of particular interest. There is a swing towards better organization in trade after the advent of regulated markets and there is now one regulated market in Mandya. The retail establishment in towns caters to the needs of the consuming public and small shops exist even in villages. These, together with weekly shandies in several places, account for a large turn – over in trade.

7:13 FINANCE:

In the old days, there were no institutional financing agencies in the district supplying credit to those who needed it. The traditional money-lenders, who supplied loans to the agriculturists and village craftsmen were, of course, there. As a result of urbanization, institutional banking has come into prominence in the district and a branch of the Bank of Mysore, which is now the State Bank of Mysore, was established in Mandya in 1940. From 1940 to 1955, this branch of the State Bank of Mysore was the only banking institution in the district. The District Co-Operative Central Bank was established in 1953 and it had, 1967, seven branches. In 1955, the Canara Bank Ltd., opened its branch in Mandya.
town. These institutions are supplementing governmental efforts by supplying credit to cultivators and industrialists.

7:14 CO – OPERATION MOVEMENT

It is worth to mention the role of Co – operative Societies in the process of urbanization and industrialization of Mandya district. The credit for establishing hybrid Agricultural Banking system which would operate on the principles of co – operation and which would look similar to joint stock companies in structure took within 1894 itself, even before the co – operative system in India came into being with legal framework, goes to the then Mysore state. The primary purpose of these banks was to provide agriculture credit in simple ways. The first such bank in the whole of Mysore state was established at Palahalli in Srirangapatna taluk.

Before 1939 Mandya district was a part of Mysore district. On the lines of the Indian co – operative societies act, the Mysore co – operative societies act (Regulation III) was enacted in 1905. This co – operative act in Mysore state was more comprehensive and progressive than the national act. While there was provision only to organize co – operative credit societies under the first Indian co – operative act, it was a prominent thing that the Mysore co – operative act provided for the formation of non – agricultural credit co – operative and also that
establishment of non credit co-operative ventures. The Mysore co-operative act was first of its kind among then existed provinces. To enforce the co-operative law of 1905 meticulously, the controllers of co-operative societies were appointed temporarily in 1905 itself. The appointments were regularized and continued in 1912. Prior to this in 1902, officials were sent to Europe and England to study about the ‘co-operation’ from the beginning along with the agricultural co-operative credit societies in urban areas, emphasis was also laid towards the development of both non-agricultural credit co-operative societies and non credit co-operative societies. This helped the co-operative movement to grow both in rural and urban areas.

The co-operative Department was organized in Mysore state in the year 1905–06. In that year, the co-operative movement started with five societies with a membership of 362 and working capital of Rupees 14,243. In 1933–34 the number increased to 2,088 societies having on their rolls 1,46,577 members and a working capital of 218 lakhs of rupees. The Movement though it later developed other valuable forms, was primarily intended by its founders as one to strengthen agriculture credit, finance that basic industry and help in lighting of rural
indebtedness. The movement was mainly represented by its credit side and developed along that line only\textsuperscript{75}.

In 1945 – 46 there were 147 co-operative societies in Mandya district, with 10,038 members and a working capital of Rs. 8,45,865/-. The co-operative societies conducted business worth Rs. 34,29,877/-. The co-operative societies adopted many new dimensions of the popular governments of post independence period and continued as the people’s movement. They were societies including 19 for the Adi Karnatak weavers in the Mandya district. They had a membership of 4,201 a share capital of Rs. 33,1119 (Rs 26,682) and a working capital of Rs 1,47,831 (Rs 1,00590)\textsuperscript{76}. As the capital was invested by the government, several micro changes were brought in the administration of the societies to improve their efficiency. As per the changed attitude of the government, in 1949, in addition to forming multi – purpose societies, priority was given to convert the existing Agricultural Credit Co– Operative Societies into multipurpose co – operative societies. Hence, many multipurpose co – operative societies were organized in Mandya district.

The priority was given to economic development schemes that began from 1951. Accordingly, those societies which disbursed

\textsuperscript{75} Annual Report on the co–operative societies in Mysore 1933 – 34 (Bangalore 1934)
\textsuperscript{76} MAR 1942 – 43 p 87
agricultural credit and non-agricultural credit and those which did not lend money were developed by the active support of the government. This made co-operation movement cover more geographical area and helped co-operative movement grow qualitatively in the subsequent decades. The encouragement by the government went on increasing. By the end of 1953, for the first time, the DCC Bank operating throughout the district was established in Mandya\textsuperscript{77}.

By the end of the Second Five year plan (1961) there were 528 different type of co-operative societies in Mandya district. They had Rs. 139 lakhs and Rs 512 lakhs as owned capital and working capital respectively. By then, forty large scale primary co-operative societies had been established in various places in the district and seven mortgage Bank one each per taluk were functioning during that period. (Now, these Banks are being called as ‘The Agriculture and Rural Development Banks). 1,338 villages (91\%) of the 1,464 villages in the district were brought under the orbit of Agricultural Credit Co-operative societies. The membership of the Agricultural Credit Co-operative societies was 65,508. As many as 41.4\% of the rural farmer community had made use of these societies. As per the new policies of the National Credit Council, after 1950 – 60 the service co-operative societies began. The formations

\textsuperscript{77} Karnataka Gazetteer department, Mandya district Op.cit, pp 376 - 377
of new multipurpose co-operative were stopped and instead, the service co-operative societies were formed throughout the state. Accordingly in Mandya district, 181 service co-operative societies were also established. During the same period, taluk level Agriculture produce marketing co-operative societies were also established. To provide storage facility for Agricultural produce and commodities (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, Agriculture implements etc). the construction of buildings for village societies marketing societies and godowns for storage began. The government not only provide the financial assistance of three lakhs rupees for the construction of thirty godowns, but also provided a sum of two lakhs thirty thousand rupees in the form of loan and subsidy for construction of twenty three rural godowns. 161 service co-operative societies in addition to providing credit for agricultural purpose began the distribution work of fertilizers and agricultural implements. During the period of this scheme, 22 weavers co-operative societies and 33 Industrial co-operative societies were there in Mandya district. There was also an agricultural co-operative societies (Bellibettada Kaval) with 64 members. The other societies in the district like the sugarcane growers co-operative society, co-operative marketing society, Fisheries society and ladies co-operative societies in Mandya and Belakavadi were functioning well. The Mandya district co-
operative union and Mandya district Central Co – Operative wholesale marketing society were formed in 1960 and 1964 respectively, and would operate in the entire district.

The economic consequence of co-operative society was in the field of industrial development, the government has taken rapid strides with a view to giving fillip to the developmental activities in the state and to associate persons who have vast knowledge and experience in private enterprises and industries with such activities, and the government has constituted the state Industrial Development Council. The progress of work in regard to the three co-operative sugar factories which are being established in the state, is encouraging one was the erection of the Pandavapura sugar factory.78

7:15 TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION:

The development of transport is largely dependent on the improvement in communications. The state of communications more than a century ago in old Mysore, of which Mandya was a part has been described thus in the previous Mysore Gazetteer: “The roads were running through swamps, the passage of which would detain the baggage of a regiment an entire day; other places bore the appearance of water –

78 MAR 1958 – 59 pp 45
courses with beds of river sand, the soil having been washed away far below the level of the surrounding country. Bridges were almost totally absent\textsuperscript{79}. Conditions have vastly changed now. The Bangalore – Mysore metre gauge railway line, which was completed and opened for traffic in February 1882, offered good scope for the flow of trade. This railway line has been linked to several important places, situated in and out of Mysore state. During the last country roads in the district were not in a good condition. Road communications are now fairly adequate in the district linking every taluk with the district headquarters town and also Bangalore, the administrative capital. In the domain of inter – village communication also, a good deal of improvement has been done.

7:16 POWER:

Mysore has been a pioneer in the generation and utilization of electricity, having installed and commissioned her first hydro – electric station in 1902 at Shivasamudra. The Cauvery falls were harnessed for power generation in the beginning mainly to feed the requirements of the Kolar Gold Mines. It was in the Mandya region that this pioneering effort was made at generation of electricity. This early power house is situated “amid the gorges and wooded plateaus of Shivasamudram\textsuperscript{80} and the

\textsuperscript{79} Hayavadana Rao, C, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol III Economic 1929 p 320
\textsuperscript{80} A Regional synthesis, Mysore State, Vol II. A.T.A. Learmouth, Indian statistical Institute, 1960 p 105
power generatesd flows “across the beautifully terraced emerald – green rice fields of the Vishweshwaraiah canal area,”81. The Shivanasamudram station has an installed capacity of 42,000 KW and the Shimshapura station 17,200 KW.

7:17 SOCIAL EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION. STANDARD OF LIVING

The Mysore District Gazetteer published in 1869 has described the condition of agriculturists of the area in those days thus; “Agriculture is not the sole source of emolument of the Mysore ryot; silkworm rearing, sheep breeding, weaving and iron smelting, all are among the occupations of the spare moments of himself and his family and eke out his means. And a number of absurd and vexation takes have been removed, which, informed times, brought the assessment to within one – third of the value of the crop; for the Hindu rulers were unwilling to incur the obloquy, which attached itself to a raising of the fixed Kandayam, (revenue) and so resorted to informal measures to increase their revenue. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the ryots are as a body very much contented with their lot82.

81 Ibid p 106
82 The Mysore District Gazetteer, 1869 p. 47
As regards the condition of tenants and Jitgars, it is relevant to quote the following:

“Sometimes they (landlords) employ a ryot to till it, and stipulate for a certain number of Kandis, but generally, the crop is evenly divided between holder and cultivator. In some cases also, they employ ‘Jitgars’. This class, which is happily fast dying out, and whose condition was formerly hardly superior to that of a Russian serf, deserves some notice here. They receive Rs. 2 or Rs. 2 – 8 – 0 per mensem, and a kandi of rice at harvest time, or… two coarse scanty meals a day. They are retained in service by a debt to their employer, in liquidation of which they are always under stoppages to the extent of half their stipend, and as soon as their debt is discharged, their employer lends them a fresh sum, which is at once squandered on a marriage or a feast. Thus they are kept in a state of perpetual bondage. In most cases they and their ancestors have been attached to the same land since time immemorial.\(^8^3\).

It is clear from the foregoing paragraphs that the economic condition of the agriculturists was somewhat good and that of the Jitgars was none too happy, about the middle of the last century. In 1905, the standard of living of the population was much better than what is described earlier as is evident from the following paragraph.

\(^{83}\) Ibid pp 46 - 47
“The general condition of the people has been steadily improving since the middle of the last century, and has made special progress in the past thirty years, as shown by the rise in both wages and prices, and in the standard of living. A moderate assessment has relieved the cultivators, while the easy means of communication provided by roads and railways, together with freer postal facilities, have stimulated the enterprise of traders and benefited all classes. The prosecution of extensive public works has given labourers and artisans ready employment, and public servants have had exceptional opportunities of rising good positions and in important centres the population are better housed, better clothed and better fed than in the generation past.”

7:18 CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

The growth of communication and the improvement in trade helped to bring about a change in the outlook of the people. Education was improved and the number of literates was much larger than what it was in 1869. The hydro – electric power generation at Shivanasamudram in 1902, the construction of the Krishnarajasagar dam and the consequential irrigational facilities provided to the district through the Vishweshwaraiah canal from 1932 and the starting of the sugar factory at Mandya in 1933 and establishment of other industries in later years – all

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84 Provisional Gazetteer of India, Mysore state 1908 p 62
these have contributed to a better standard of living in the district. The living conditions of the people of the district since the publication of the above quoted Gazetteers have much changed. Even at the first session of the Mysore Economic Conference held in June 1911, the importance of economic betterment was stressed by His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV in the following words.

“It will be your privilege to consider measures for the economic development of the country…… with the growth of communication and the increasing use of steam and electricity, questions of economic interest are assuming new aspects closely associated with the well – being of the people …. We have to give increasing attention to our economic problems…. The economic inefficiency of our people will be patent to anyone who looks beneath the surface of things. The recent commercial and industrial development of Mandya, the headquarters of Mandya District, which is within easy reach from in and around villages, has had an important impact on its rural hinterland. Mandya’s population has increased manifold since 1951. The large population growth resulted of course mainly from urban migration. Increasing number of villagers not only from Mandya’s immediate vicinity but also from much further afield have been attracted by the income – earning possibilities the growing

85 Modern Mysore Vol II, by M Shama Rao, 1936 p 238
town offers. The town has over the years developed into a thriving commercial, industrial and educational centre.

Travelling through various parts of Mandya it becomes apparent that its development has been accompanied by a distinct class division. An area with substantial residential buildings, each of which is surrounded by large and well–tended gardens, manifests the presence of wealthy households. The presence of a sizeable middleclass is indicated by a sprawling area with similar but also nice looking bungalows each standing on a separate plot. Mandya’s rapid urbanization has had numerous repercussions in village. In provided a demonstration model for even village development. In terms of life styles this is reflected not only in the many recently built urban – style house in the villages but also in the furniture now part of many such houses and altogether in the availability of amenities such as television and telephones. In 1955 these were the luxuries of which village would not even have dream; now they have become an accepted part of village reality. Economic activities and economic diversification have also been shaped by development.86

86 T. Scarlett Epstein, A.P. Suryanarayana, T. Thimmegowda village voices, forty years of Rural Transformation in South India 2008 pp 161 - 162
Let us now turn to the social effects of accelerated urbanization. Urbanization as altered the structure of joint family as a result of occupational diversification. Consequently, the functions of family and kinship have declined considerably. The traditional family norms are relaxed and interpersonal relationships have become more formal. The basic cause of the break-up of the joint family system in Mandya district must be sought in the economic changes that have taken in Mandya during the year between 1939 – 1960: new economic opportunities and more remunerative cultivation have given rise to the display of individual abilities; This factor have stimulated individual initiative and competitive attitudes, the development of which was impeded by the egalitarian principle operating within the joint family. There is not much room for initiative and economic competition in a subsistence economy where there is little specialization or trade, but competition is found in every sphere of a market economy. The cause of the change in the form of peasant family structure may thus be found in this change from subsistence to a cash economy. The new opportunities to earn cash induce young men to seek independence from the parental productive unit; they want to be able to work and save money for new equipment or such items
as watches and bicycles, or to buy jewellery and costly saris for their wives. The desire to raise one’s family social status feeds upon the opportunity to do so. This desire cannot become effective in impoverished villages where every farmer lives at subsistence level and where a wide range of relatives have a claim on his subsistence income. The restriction in the size of the family unit from joint to elementary, facilitates economic mobility, though the custom of inheritance, whereby each son has an equal right to a share in the ancestral estate, may lead to productive units falling more and more below and economic size when population is growing. On the basis of these data on elementary and joint families in a village called wangala\textsuperscript{87} in Mandya T.S. Epstein has suggested two interlinked hypothesis:

1) In a subsistence economy the joint family is associated with joint estates; correspondingly, if a family in this type of economy does not own an estate, it cannot expand beyond the elementary size;

2) If a cash crop is introduced into a society of subsistence farmers holding estates on the basis of joint families, the conversion of the subsistence into a cash economy will necessarily produce

\textsuperscript{87} A fictitious name given by T. Scarlett Epstein in her book called “Economic Development and Social change in South India”, Manchester University press 1962 p 177. Wangala is a wet land village of Mandya district (Map is provided)
competition between the component families and lead to the breaking of wider kinship ties.

These are hypothesis about the relations between economic organization and kinship structure, and much more data from different societies at different levels of economic organization would be required to validate them. Bailey, in his study of an Oriya village, also discusses the break-up of the joint family, which he attributes to the diversification of economic interests and activities. However, such diversification is not a necessary concomitant of the growth of a cash economy and therefore the more general hypothesis might be more useful in analyzing the evolution of the elementary family unit from the joint family system.

The break-up of the joint family system among peasants has an important impact on the distribution of land and income; the partitioning of joint holdings leads to a periodic redistribution of land and consequently to a change in relative economic status of individual households, depending on the size of the ancestral estate and the number of heirs. The purely economic effects of irrigation tended towards greater concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer families, for irrigation offered greater opportunities to the more enterprising

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88 F.G. Bailey, caste and the Economic Frontier, Manchester University press, 1957 p 92
men; those who risked cultivation of cane immediately after irrigation, when cane was a new and unknown crop to the farmers of Mandya, stood to gain most. This economic effect is reflected in the economic differentiation among middle farmers. To cultivate larger acreage of cane a farmer needed a considerably amount of labour and therefore wanted sons to help him. If he had no natural heir, he adopted as a son the child of one of his cognates or even friends. This makes it difficult to disentangle actual physiological and socially accepted, kinship relationships. Adopted sons or daughters are accorded the status of natural sons and daughters. Only in certain situations are adopted and natural sons or daughters distinguished. For instance, genealogies showed a few intermarriages between men and women of the same clan and on further enquiry it appeared that these were cases of adoption and therefore the rules of exogamy applicable to natural heirs of the families did not apply. However, the distinction between adopted and natural sons disappeared after two or three generations and the heirs of such an adopted son are regarded as full members of the lineage into which their ancestors was adopted the rules of exogamy apply to them as well as to all the natural descendants of the lineage, or clan. Since the distinction between adopted and own sons

89 T.S. Epstein ocip p 178
disappears after two generation it is impossible to say whether the number of adoptions has increased or decreased: the falling infant mortality rate would tend to reduce the number of adoptions, whereas the increased labour requirements would tend to increase them; and it is difficult to weigh up the relative importance of these two factors. It is, however, a fact that if young farmers do not have a male offspring after three or four years of marriage, they begin to think about adopting a small boy from another lineage, often even from another village, for adoption rarely takes place from within the lineage.

The practice of adoption has introduced an element of stability into the relative numerical strength of lineage and families; it counteracts the accidents of birth and death and strengthens the principle of agnatic descent and hereditary political and ritual status, for even if there is no natural heir, appropriate succession is secured through adoption. Thus if a man has no son he upholds the principle of agnatic descent by adopting a son to succeed to his political or ritual status, as well as to inherit his estate and other property.

Adoption and equal inheritance by all male heirs, acting together militate against concentration of wealth and indeed secure a periodic
redistribution of land, even in a period of rapid economic growth as taken place in Mandya since irrigation\textsuperscript{90}.

Even in urban areas the joint family system broke and the traditional family norms were relaxed and interpersonal relationships have become more formal. An urban child now grows within much smaller world. No kinsmen area available in nuclear family to take care of a child. In this manner, the child develops a new type of personality characterized by ideas of freedom and innovation. Such a situation is remarkably different from the environment of dependence found in a joint family. The nature of love and affection in interpersonal relationship has also changed. While children and their mother receive considerable attention, sentiments and attachment towards other relatives have weakened. Likewise, the division of domestic duties between wife and husband is changing in urban settings. They both share domestic duties, as there is no other adult member available to share the burden.

Thus, social life in urban areas faces isolation due to diminishing kinship obligation. Several ties that formerly bound members of the family to group and community life are now broken. Consequently the

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid pp 179, 180
quality of human relationships tends to become more formal and impersonal.

7:20 FIVE YEAR PLANS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MANDYA DISTRICT

The main thrust of Five Year Plan was to push nation’s economic and social fields such as agriculture, industry, animal husbandry, co-operative societies, forestry, education, panchayatraj, social welfare, labour welfare etc. towards the path of progress. Karnataka had felt the need for such a plan even before it was conceptualized in the country. Planned economic development in the erstwhile Mysore province had commenced in as early as 1910. The main objective of this plan were poverty eradication, economic self-sufficiency etc.


It is apt to discuss First and Second Five Year Plans, as these two five year plans fall under the time – line of my study area “The Economic development and social change of Mandya district between 1939 – 1960. The objectives of these plans were development in the field of agriculture, irrigation, power, transport, communication, and social welfare, significant improvement in per capita income and improvement
in standard of living. Accordingly, in order to bring about self – sufficiency in food production measures such as distribution of improved seeds, fertilizers an adopting Japan method of cultivation for paddy and use of technical agricultural implements were undertaken and as a result the food production was 5,61,288 tones by the end of second five year plan. This increase to 11,10,363 tonnes by end of second five year plan. During the same period the cultivated land increased from 3,39,918 acres to 4,13,732 acres. With Rs 35.53 lakhs allocated for irrigation projects 48 tanks, 149 pickers and dams were developed spending an amount of Rs 32.33 lakhs. During this period importance was given to the health of cattle and as a result the number of veterinary hospitals rose from 12 in the first five year plan to 22 in the second five year plan and 2,141 cows received artificial insemination. Out of the 20 rural veterinary hospitals in the district, one rural veterinary hospitals was elevated. There were no projects for fisheries in the first five year plan. But, in 1960, offices of Assistant Director (Fisheries) was opened in Mandya and after a survey for fish wealth in Cauvery basin 4 fisheries centres were established in Mandya taluk and fish rearing in these centres were kept for exhibition. During the second five year plan one fisheries co – operative society and 20 fish nurseries were opened.
Out of Rs.2.33 lakhs granted for forest development during the second five year plan Rs 2.21 lakhs have been spent. The development achieved in the field of co – operative during the second five year plan was very huge during this plan period district central co – operative Bank (D.C.C. Bank), seven marketing co – operative societies and forty primary big co – operative societies were established. Pandavapura co – operative sugar factory came into existence during this plan period with 4,000 members and a capital investment of Rs 110 lakhs. Rs.16,87,522 were spent in the district for the improvement of transport facilities. Rs. 1.03 lakhs were granted for the construction of houses for the lower income group during the second five year plan and 22 houses were constructed spending an Rs. 52,000. In the first two five year plans Rs.5.25 lakhs and Rs 6.71 lakhs were spent respectively for the development of backward classes 91.

Thus, Mandya has made much headway in the field of literary and general technical and professional education. After the advent of Independence and the inception of the Five Year plans, concerted efforts are being made to achieve all – round progress. There has been more of urbanization through the years and also more lands have been brought under cultivation. A definite improvement has been noticeable in the

sphere of industrialization and the growth of a sense of new social values is apparent. The various land laws enacted with a view to helping the tillers of the land as also the Intensive Agricultural District Programme have pushed up agricultural production. The industrial and agricultural labourers have grown in strength. The produce from the fields and the farms is fetching a higher return. Though agriculture has remained the main occupation, development of the village and small – scale industries has helped to assure an extra income, thus contributing toward economic development and social change to a better standard of living.

7:22 CASTE AND CHANGE

A variety of caste and sub castes are found in this district. According to Ristely “caste is a community of certain group identified with an imaginary godly man who is considered as their pioneering founder. It is a cluster of several such families called caste or commonly recognized as group or community”. A caste is a homogenous group. In the caste system there are varieties and marriage from generation to generation but now a days it has undergone several changes. Variations are found across caste in groups in terms of food habits, dress code, and
marriage customs, final rite of the deceased and well defined codes and conducts\textsuperscript{92}.

In Hindu society caste differentiation is normally reflected in the commensal pattern: (Eating at the same table) from whom a caste eats what kind of food reflects its rank in the caste hierarchy. Various items of diet are associated with certain positions in the caste structure: meat eaters rank lower than vegetarians; eating pork or beef is more degrading than eating goat or mutton. But there are exceptions to the general rule. If two caste freely interdine, they demonstrate that they regard one another as having equal status; if two castes have a mutual ban on interdining this reflects that each of them questions the superiority of the other caste; if the dining arrangements are not mutual, the caste which accepts cooked food from another indicates that it also accepts its own status as inferior\textsuperscript{93}.

The scope of this chapter does not enrisage a detailed description of each caste or community in the district. We confine ourselves have mainly to a general discussion of the traditional social structure, customs and religious beliefs of the people. The following is a brief account of some of the castes and communities in the district.

\textsuperscript{92} Karnataka State Gazetteer, Mandya district Gazetteer. 2009, p – 200.
\textsuperscript{93} Epstein T.S, Economic Development and Social Change in South India, 1967, p 156.
7:23 AGASA OR MADIVALA: The Agasas are washermen by occupation. They are an important functional community in the villages of the district. They are sub-divided into several sects. While they follow mainly the profession of washing clothes, some of them also work as casual labourers in order to supplement their income. Their beasts of burden are asses. They worship Vishnu, Someshwara, Mariamma and other gods. They worship also the Ubbe, the steam boiling water in which the clothes are steeped. Satanis are their gurus. Divorces and widow marriages are allowed. They usually bury their dead.

7:24 BANAJIGA:

Banajiga are a trading class, known by various names one of which in Balija. The term ‘Banajiga’ is derived from the Sanskrit Vanik. The caste is a composite one, consisting of people who have trade as their main occupation. Many of them live in streets called pettahs. Some of the Banajigas speak Telugul; the Dasa Banajiga and some of the Ele Banajiga speak Kannada. There are, in all, 14 endogamous groups among Banajigas. The Dasa Banajigas call themselves Jaina Kshatriya Ramanuja Dasa Vaniyas. It is said that they were formerly Jaina Kshatriyas and were converted to Vaishnavism by Sri Ramanujacharya. The Ele Banajigas possess betel gardens. The Setti – Banajigas deal in bangles.

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The Nayudu Banajigas claim that they are Kshatriyas by origin. Marriage prohibitions are the same as in other Hindu castes. Widow Remarriage is not in vogue. The dead are generally buried.

7:25 **BEDA:**

The traditional occupations of the Bedas have been hunting Beda and agriculture. They are identical with the Boyis of Telangana and the Ramoshis of Marathawada. They seem to have been originally a Telugu-speaking people, but after long settlement in the Kannada area, they adopted Kannada as their mother-tongue. The caste is divided into a number of exogamous clans. Most of them are totemistic and as usual bear the names of plants and animals. Marriage is not allowed between the members of the same clan or gotra. Two sisters may be married to one man, but not at the same time and two brothers may marry two sisters. Widow Remarriage is allowed, but the form differs considerably from the regular marriage. Many of the Bedas worship Shiva as their family god and go on a pilgrimage to Nanjangud in Mysore district. Among the goddesses worshipped by the Bedas are Gangamma, Durgamma and Mariamma. The dead are usually buried.
Brahmins belong to one of the three sects, Smartha, Madhva and Srivaishnava. In each of these sects of these sects there are vaidiks, who devote themselves to religious pursuits. The Smartha group consists of Badaganadu, Babbur Kamme, Mulukanadu, Hoysala Karnataka, Vadamas, Brahacharanam, Hale Karanataka, Aruvelu, Aravattu Vokkalu, Sanketi, Velnad and Dravidas. The Madhvas owe allegiance to several Mathas, viz., Uttaradi, Sosale, Vysaraya and Raghavendra. Among the Srivaishnavas, there are considerable divergencies in points of rituals and dogmas. These there are, in all, 16 endogamous groups among the Srivaishnavas like Hebbar, Mandyattar, Hemmigeyar, Vembar, Tirumalayar and Prativadibhayankarattar. In the Mandya district, the Hebbar group is concentrated in some villages like Haravu, Bindiganavale and Srirangapatana. The Mandyattar have settled in Melkote, Arakere and Mandya. There are also some Srivaishnavas, who have come from down south.

All the Brahmins, whether they are Smarthas, Madhvas or Srivaishnavas, have according to the Sutras, to go through the sixteen rites. In addition, all Brahmins perform the annual ceremony to the dead called the Shraddha. They are also enjoined to observe daily the Sandhya
services, the panchamahayagnas and other rituals. Widow marriage and divorce are not in vogue. The dead are generally cremated.\(^95\)

7:27 **DEVANGA:**

Devangas have weaving as their traditional occupations. The Devangas found in the district are divided into four endogamous groups viz., Shivachar Devangas, Kannada Devangas, Telugu Devangas and Hatagararu. The latter three have exogamous groups, some of which have names borrowed from objects considered sacred. With regard to widow re-marriage, the practice is not uniform. In some places it is allowed and in others it is not. They have Kattemanes with jurisdiction over a limited area and presided over by Settis and Yajamans. Many of the Devangas worship both Vishnu and Shiva without any apparent distinction. They also worship village deities like Mariamma and Muneshwara. Devangas bury their dead. They do not generally observe Shraddhas, but on the first anniversary of the day, they worship a Kalasha and feed their castemen.\(^96\)

7:28 **GANGAKULA OR BESTA:**

Fishing and boating have been the chief traditional occupations of the Bestas or people of Gangalkula. They are also called Gangemakkalu or Gangaputras. Many of them taken to agriculture and other avocations;

\(^95\) Ibid 73
\(^96\) Ibid 74
this change of profession sometimes acts as a bar to inter – marriage among the groups. Divorce and widow marriage are permitted. They have caste councils or panchayats, which have a Dodda Yajamana, a Chikka Yajamana and a Desha Shetti. They worship Shiva, Vishnu, Tolasamma, Lakshmidevi, Mariamma, Patalamma and other deities. They have their own pujaris. The dead are buried\textsuperscript{97}.

\textbf{7:29 GANIGA:}

Ganigas are mainly oil – pressers. They are also known as the Jyotiphana people, meaning the community of the lamp, as they supply oil for lamps. Ganigas are divided into three main groups, viz., Jyotinagaradavaru, Sajjana and other Ganigas. On the basis of language, there are Kannada Ganigas, Telugu Ganigas and Tamil Ganigas. They do not allow remarriage of widows. They worship both Shiva and Vishnu as also Muneshwara and Yellamma, whose names are very commonly given to their children. They respect also other gods of the Hindu pantheon. The dead are buried. Some members of the community have taken to agriculture, trade and other walks of life\textsuperscript{98}.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid 74
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid 74
7:30 HOLEYA:

Holeyas are found in all parts of the district. The origin of this caste is, according to a legend traced to one Honnayya, whose shrine is honoured with reverential offerings. This caste has a number of sub-divisions, based on language, profession or place of residence. These groups are all endogamous. They have a number of exogamous clans, all of descend in the male line. The members of each clan regard themselves as belonging to one family. Re-marriage of widows is generally permitted. In the matter of inheritance, the Hindu law, modified by customs, is followed. The members of the caste worship several gods and goddesses. The dead are buried as a rule, but sometimes old people are cremated. Holeyas constitute the backbone of cultivation in the area.

7:31 IDIGA:

The Idigas claim to have been originally Banajigas, but to have became later distinct caste from the profession adopted by them, viz., toddy-tapping. They attribute a supernatural origin to their calling. It is believed that many of the Idigas came to Mysore from the Telugu country. This caste contains two main endogamous groups, viz., Maddi Idigas and Bellada Idigas. The former are also called Uru Idigas, in contra-distinction to the other division. In some places, the Maddi Idigas are
again divided into three groups. The Idiga caste has two exogamous clans. They have in addition family names, which are the names of places, from which their respective ancestors emigrated. Widow re – marriage is allowed, through it does not find favour with some sections. Idigas generally resort to caste panchayat to effect partition of property. Sometimes, the youngest son is allowed the first choice of the share and then the next above him. The caste is well – organized and is divided into several groups, each having its own headman. They worship both Shiva and Vishnu as also several other deities such as Muneshwara, Mariamma and Durgamma. Idigas bury their dead\(^99\).

**7:32 KORAMA:**

The origin and tradition of the Koramas are obscure. It is probable that they were an aboriginal tribe. In communicating among themselves, the Koramas speak a dialect comprising words derived from different languages. There are four main divisions, which though originally based on occupations, have become endogamous. Widow re – marriage is allowed. They worship Durgamma, Mariamma, Halagamma and Gangamma. The worship of Muneshwara is common among the members of this caste. The dead are buried\(^{100}\).

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\(^{99}\) Ibid 75  
\(^{100}\) Ibid 75
7:33 KUMBARA:

The Kumbaras are potters and tile – makers. They are divided into Kannada and Telugu Kumbaras. Kannada Kumbaras have a large number of exogamous clans. The members of a clan observe the usual prohibitions prescribed for them. Widow re – marriage is generally allowed, but is not popular with some groups, especially with that of Sajjana Kumbaras. They worship both Shiva and Vishnu as well as the local deities. Their clan god is known as Kumbheshwara (god of pots) to whom offering are made. The Kumbaras generally bury their dead. Like the Agasas, the Kumbaras play an important part in the village organization. They supply various kinds of earthen vessels to the village folk.

7:34 KURUBA:

The Kurubas have been traditionally shepherds and blanket-weavers. They are sometimes known as Kanakajatiyavaru. A large number of them are now engaged in agriculture. There are three main endogamous groups in the caste, viz., Halu Kurubas, Ande Kurubas and Kambli Kurubas. There are a few other divisions known as Hosa, Sada, Kunchi and Mullu. But there is reason to believe that these names are merely local terms denoting one or other of the three divisions. The caste
has a number of exogamous clans also. It is said that Revanna, the original ancestor of this caste, divided it into “as many as there are grains in four seers of paddy”. Marriage is one’s own kula is prohibited, the affinity to the clan being traced through males. Members of the same exogamous clan are looked upon as brothers and sisters and they are not marry his maternal aunt’s daughter, but the daughter of a maternal uncle is eligible. The Kurubas have their own pujari to officiate at religious ceremonies. Widow re – marriage is permitted. Kurubas are Shaivas in religion and worship also other Hindu gods. Their common deity is Biredevaru. They bury their dead.

7:35 LINGAYAT OR VEERASHAIVA:

Lingayats are also known as Lingawantas, Lingadharis or Veerashaivas; Shivachara or Shivabhakta is their another alternative name, because they pre – eminently follow the tenets of the Shaiva religion. They observe a simplified system of daily and special ceremonies. The daily ceremony consists chiefly of Shivapuja or Lingapuja, while the special ceremony consists of what are known as Dasha Samskaras or ten rites. A Veerashaiva householder has also to observe five Acharas in his daily life, namely, Lingachara, Sadachara, Bhaktachara, Shivachara and Ganachara. They have their own gurus and priests called the viraktas and jangamas. They bury their dead and do not
perform annual Shraddha. Divorce and widow marriage are permitted among certain sections. The Lingayats are found in all the taluks of the district and have several occupations like agriculture, trade, public administration and other services and learned professions\textsuperscript{101}.

7:36 MADIGA:

The meaning of the word ‘Madiga’ is not clear. It is said to be a corruption of ‘Matanga’, the name of a rishi. The caste, has three endogamous divisions. A section among them is known as Jambavas, i.e., descendants of Jambava, one of the allies of Rama. The Jambavas are the gurus of the Madigas. The Madigas have also a number of exogamous divisions known as kulas. Most of them are named after various material objects, such as trees and animals. Widow re-marriage is allowed and freely practiced, but in some places descendants of persons so married form a distinct line. Cases of partition and disputes of a trivial nature are settled by panchayats consisting either of the village elders or their own castemen. They have some animistic beliefs and worship spirits, besides various Hindu gods. Their common deities are Matangamma and Mariamma. They have also priests of their own called Tappatigas who are pujaris in their temples. The dead are buried. The traditional occupation of the Madigas is leather – tanning and making of footwear and some are

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid 76
employed as village watchmen, known as Talaris. Many of them have taken to agriculture.

7:37 MEDA:

The Medars are a caste who makes bamboo articles such as mats and baskets. In the district, they are also known as Gaurigas and Gauri – makkalu as distinguished from Bestas. The Medars are divided into several endogamous groups like Gaurigas, Palli Medars, Bandikara Medars, which in their turn have several exogamous divisions. These clans appear to be totemistic. Medars have also other divisions, which are neither endogamous nor exogamous. Widow re – marriage is allowed and freely practiced. Divorce is also permitted. They worship both Shiva and Vishnu and also pay respect to several other deities like Mariamma. The common deity of the Medars is variously known as Durgamma, Malalamma and Chowdamma. They generally bury their dead.\footnote{Ibid 77}

7:38 MUDALI:

The word ‘Mudaliyar’ is said to have from ‘Modal’ meaning first. Another probable derivation is that the word is the plural of ‘Modali’ meaning a wealthy man in Tamil. Modali is an honorific title like ‘Shreshthi’, ‘Chetti’, given to wealthy and influential traders and

\footnote{Ibid 77}
contractors. Strictly speaking, there are no endogamous groups among the Mudaliyars. They speak Tamil. Among them, there are Shaivas as well as Vaishnavas. They have their own caste councils, presided over by the headman and the elderly members, who generally assemble whenever any caste dispute or similar incidents take place. Many of the Mudaliyars are contractors, traders, brokers and agents to firms. Some have taken to learned professions.

7:39 NAYINDA:

The Nayindas are a caste of barbers. Many of them are also professional musicians. The members of this caste prefer to call themselves as Angarakas or Nayana Kshatriyas. There are Morasu, Uppina and Silavanta endogamous sub – groups. There are no hypergamous divisions in this caste. Re – marriage of widow is prohibited in some sections of this caste, while the majority allows it. They worship both Shiva and Vishnu. The Silavantas worship only Shiva. The other deities worshipped are Muneshwara, Gangamma and Mariamma. They bury their dead.

7:40 SATHANI:

The Satanis are Srivaishnavas. Their traditional occupation has been temple service. Some have taken to agriculture and other
occupations. They revere the sacred hymns of the twelve Alwars and venerate Sri Ramanuja, whom they believe to have been an incarnation of Adi Sesha. They act as priests to the Upparas, Kadu Gollas, Holeyas and some other castes. They generally cremate their dead and also perform Shraddha ceremonies.\footnote{ibid 77}

7:41 THIGALA:

Tigalas call themselves also as Vanneru or Vanni – Kuladavaru, i.e., the descendants of Vanniraja. They talk either Kannada or Tamil. There are two main endogamous division know respectively as Ulli or Kannada Tigala and Arava Tigala or Dharmarayana Okkalu. The caste is divided into a number of exogamous groups, each of which takes its name from a particular patron deity. Marriage of widows is allowed and the customs connected with it are like those in other castes. There are both Shaivas and Vaishnavas among them. The distinctive festival, in which they participate, is the Karaga which falls in the month of Chaitra. Their traditional occupation is kitchen and flower gardening. Many of them have taken to agriculture and other avocations.
7:42 UPPARA:

Upparas are also called as Uppaligas in the district. This term means manufacturers of salt (uppu). As the manufacture of earth salt is not in vogue now, they have changed their original occupation and most of them follow agriculture. Setti and Gowda are the honorific suffixes added to their names, beside the general suffixes, Appa, Ayya and Anna. Originally, the Upparas were probably a single homogenous caste, but they are now divided into number of endogamous groups on account of dispersion to different places and adoption of different professions. Widow re – marriage is permitted and is freely practiced. They are mostly Vaishnavas, their common deity being Channakeshava. Some also worship Shiva. They make pilgrimages to Tirupati, Kadiri and Nanjangud. They also worship Durgamma, Yellamma, Mariamma and Sunkalamma. Upparas bury their dead.

7:43 VISHWAKARMA OR PANCHALA:

Vishwakarmas or Panchalas comprise five professional groups of Akkasaligas, Kanchugaras, Badagis, Kammaras and Silpis, who follow five kinds of handicrafts, viz., work in (1) gold and silver, (2) brass and copper, (3) carpentry, (4) iron and (5) sculpture, respectively. They claim descent from Vishwakarma, the architect of gods. ‘Panchala’, which is a
generic term, also denotes the five types of crafts in which they are engaged. Inter-marriage between these groups is in vogue. Widow marriage and divorce are not traditionally permitted. They have fire gotras or exogamous clans, which are further divided into a number of upa-gotras. The Vishwakarmas have their own priests. Among them, there are both Shaivas and Vaishnavas. Kalikadevi, Kapardeshwara and other deities are also worshipped. They are vegetarians. The dead are generally cremated.

7:44 VODDA:

The Voddas have been tank-diggers, well-sinkers and road-makers by occupation. The name ‘Vodda’ is said to mean the people of Odra country, which is identified with Orissa. The titles appended to their names are Raju, Boyi and Gowda. Their language is Telugu, which they speak with a peculiar intonation. The caste is made up of Kallu Voddas, Mannu Voddas and Uppu Voddas. The names are suggestive of their professions. The caste contains a large number of exogamous clans numbering about fifty. Re-marriage of widows is permitted. They have caste panchayats, which ordinarily settle all disputes. They worship Shakti as also Vishnu. Lord Venkateshwara of Tirupati is the principal

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104 Ibid 78
god of the community. Goddesses like Mariamma and Chowdamma are also worshipped. The dead are buried.

7:45 VOKKALIGA:

A large proportion of the population of the district consists of Vokkaligas, who are mainly cultivators. The term ‘Vokkaliga’ means a cultivator and is probably derived from the word ‘Okkalu’. In recent decades, they have taken up several other occupations also and have progressed in many fields. The title used by many male members of the community in Gowda, meaning headman. Most of the Vokkaligas in the district are Gangadikaras. Gangadikara is a contraction of the term ‘Gangavadikara’, meaning of a man of the country ruled by Ganga kings, a dynasty which flourished for many centuries and held sway over the central and southern parts of the old Mysore State. There are two main divisions, which are endogamous, viz., Pettigeyavaru and Bujjanigevaru. The former derive their name from the custom of carrying marriage articles in a bamboo box and the latter from the custom of carrying them in a covered basket. Of late, however, there have been instance of inter – marriage between these two sections. There are two other sections, which are based upon religious beliefs, viz., Mullujana, who are Shaivas and Dasajana, who are devotees of Vishnu. The Bujjanige section is otherwise known as Dhare marriage section, while
the Pettige section is called Vilyada – Maduveyavar. There is a third section of the caste called Cheluru Gangadikaras, who are vegetarians.

Gangadikaras, living in the district, have a large number of exogamous clans, named after material objects with the usual prohibition against cutting, using and sometimes touching such objects. There as many as 40 such clans.

Marriage ceremonies among the Gangadikara Vokkaligas are not different from those among the other Hindu communities. Divorce and widow re – marriage are permitted. Adoption is allowed and practiced. The boy to be adopted must not only belong to the same sub – division, but in some places must be of the same exogamous sept. the Vokkaligas have Kattemanes presided over by the Gowda or the Yajama.

Gangadikaras worship both Shiva and Vishnu and have also family gods to whom they show special reverence. They also worship other deities such as Muneshwara, Mariamma and Durgamma. Bhaire Devaru of Chunchanagiri near Nagamangala is the family god of many of the Vokkaligas. They bury their dead, but if the deceased when alive had expressed a desire to have his body cremated, this is done. They do not perform death anniversary or Shraddha, but on the Mahalaya Amavasya
day, a Kalasha is set up in the name of all the ancestors and water libations are offered\textsuperscript{105}.

Irrigation, as we have discussed has been the dominant factor bringing about changes: it led to the conversion of the village economy from subsistence to cash; it increased income and agricultural capital; it increased the labour requirements for the cultivation; it also increased economic mobility and intensified differentiation. However, all these changes have been in line with the practices of the customary rural economy\textsuperscript{106}. Since irrigation, the membership of the three economic categories, the magnates, middle – farmers and poorest, has hardly changed. Economic differentiation has intensified between those who own land and can grow sugarcane and those who own a little dry land or are landless. Here we can see that irrigation has widened the gap between the middle – farmers and the poorest. Increased mobility has affected mainly the middle – farmers amongst whom the process of economic and status differentiation is most marked. Since the economic categories largely coincide with caste affiliation, economic changes have not radically affected inter – caste relations, though they have affected relationships within the peasant caste\textsuperscript{107}. The fact is that the peasants are

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid 80
\textsuperscript{106} Epstein T.S. Op. cit, p-154
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid 155
the dominant caste in the villages of Mandya district, in the sense that they are numerically economically, politically and ritually the most important single social group. Inter – caste relations have hardly changed. Economic and social changes since irrigation affected mainly inter – caste rather than inter caste relation.

The other numerically important social groups are the Holeyas. Holeyas constitute the backbone of cultivation in the area\textsuperscript{108}. Irrigation again has had more impact on relations among Holey, than peasants (Vokkaliga) and Holey. It is within the Holey community that we find trace of differentiation, for irrigation has strengthened the economic dominance of Vokkaligas and therefore made it more difficult for the Holeyas to challenge the status of peasants, even in the economic sphere. Here Mrs T.S. Epstein argues that state democratic legislation, which sets out to favour the scheduled castes, has been altogether ineffective in altering political institutions and that the legally reserved seats for scheduled castes in the village panchayat are nothing but a fiction. Political power and economic success remain the prerogative of peasants in Mandya\textsuperscript{109}.

\textsuperscript{108} Mysore State Gazetteer, Mandya district, 1967, p -75.
\textsuperscript{109} Epstein T.S. Op.cit p -155
According to Hindu ideology, the relationship of one caste vis-à-vis all other castes is strictly defined. But social reality differs from Hindu ideology, for instance, different criteria are employed in different situations to determine the place of any one caste in the village caste hierarchy. As mentioned above that in political field Vokkaligas have highest caste rank, because they are dominant in the economic sphere and are numerically also the most important single caste. Even in village ceremonies, too, Vokkaligas have most ritual privileges. Mrs. Epstein argues that according to the interdining patter, Vokkaligas accept that the ritual superiority of the lingayat priestly caste. However, even the interdining patter cannot be taken as a clear reflection of caste ranking. For instance, the Blacksmith are vegetarians, yet not even an Holeya will take cooked food from a Blacksmith kitchen. This may be explained in terms of right and Left Hand divisions among caste in south India. Hutton, J.H. in his book called caste in India has included the Blacksmith in the Left Hand division and the Holeya in the Right Hand division.

Between these two divisions there is a very strong sentiment of factious rivalry leading to frequent clashes, often with riot and violence, generally occasioned by some real or supposed encroachment by castes of the Left Hand on privileges claimed as belonging exclusively to the
right\textsuperscript{110}. Francis Buchanan relates an episode when thirty of weavers who belong to Left Hand side joined themselves to the Teliga Banjigaru belonging to the right and were encouraged by them to use all the honorary distinctions claimed by the Right Hand side. This gave great offence to the Panchum Banjigaru (a subcaste of the Banjigaru Right Hand caste) and the whalliaru or Holeya were let loose to plunder\textsuperscript{111}.

Thus as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century there are evidence of Holeya of the Right Hand division supported by castes of the same division expressing their claim to superiority over castes of the Left Hand division in open fights. Thus refusal of Holeya to eat from vegetarian Black smith is in line with traditional practice and indicates that caste associations and differentiation is based on a number of principles, with different principles assuming importance in different situations. Sometimes all castes join in opposition to Holeya, on other occasions castes of the Right Hand division join with Holeya of the same division against castes of the Left Hand division or, as we have seen in the case described by Buchanan, a Right Hand Caste in opposition to another Right Hand caste may support a Left Hand caste.

\textsuperscript{110} J.H. Hutton, Caste in India, 1946, p - 59
\textsuperscript{111} Francis Buchanan, A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, 1807, Vol I, P – 80
Mrs. Epstein argues that cross-cutting tie between caste and untouchables are partly responsible for the lack of a clearly defined caste structure in Mandya\textsuperscript{112}. Although in theory the status of each caste is clearly defined in relation to all other castes, in practice it is never clearly defined nor is it static. The literature show numerous example of caste or sub-caste in any one area, having achieved higher economic status, trying to established itself at a higher level in the caste structure.

**7:46 SANSKRITIZATION:**

Hinduism was, in essence, a way of life. There was a clear recognition “that men are not the same and that there is hierarchy of class, each with its separate duties and distinctive ways of life. There was a general norm of conduct, called ‘Dharma’ for all. But there was also a norm of conduct or dharma appropriate to each class. The norm of conduct or dharma of men of high birth was not that of men of comparatively humbler rank. In course of time, this kind of division became very rigid and mobility from one class to another, particularly upward vertical mobility was completely closed. The four-field class division was transformed into division on caste lines.

\textsuperscript{112} Epstein T.S. Op.cit, p – 158
One of the axial principles of the caste system in the maintenance of purity in daily living. Different kinds standards are set for determination of purity. Prominent among these standards are occupation and food. Some occupations are rated to be pure and hence considered to be appropriate for people of upper caste. Some occupations are considered to be impure and hence inappropriate for upper caste people and appropriate for people belonging to comparatively lower caste. Similarly, the idea of purity affects kitchen also the type of food to be taken, the manner of cooking food, the caste of the people who cook and serve food etc. There are very elaborate rules governing caste rules regarding food and these rules vary from place to place and from group to group. Innumerable sub – castes have grown around this yardstick.

There is naturally a tendency among those who occupy a low place in the social hierarchy to shun those kinds of food which are considered to be impure and to take to ‘pure’ food in order to elevate their social status. They are also anxious to elevate their social status by observing rituals and other ways of life that are appropriate for high caste people, professor M.N. Srinivas has termed this tendency among low caste people to upgrade themselves as Sanskritization. He gives the following definition of Sanskritization “Sanskritization is the process by which a low Hindu
caste, or tribal or other group, change in customs, rituals and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently twice – born caste. Generally such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to a claimant caste by the local community. The claim is usually made over a period of time, in fact a generation or two, before the arrival is conceded.

Prof. Srinivas also points out the role of the dominant castes in setting the model for the majority of people living in rural areas including occasionally. Brahmins. The mediation of the various models of Sanskritization through the locally dominant caste stresses the importance of the latter in the process of cultural transmission. Thus if the locally dominant caste in Brahmin of Singayat, it will tend to transmit Brahmanic model of Sanskritization.

If the locally dominant caste belongs to the lower stratum of caste hierarchy, the upper caste people may try to conform or abide by the ways of living of the farmer.

In order to bring out the implications of Sanskritization vis – a – vis the social structure he observes as follows: Mobility associated with Sanskritization results only in positional changes in the system and does not lead to any structural charge.
• In the first place, the term Sanskritization is likely to convey a wrong impression in as much as there are no sanskritic rituals.

• Secondly, the process of change, which Prof. Srinivas sought to explain in terms of ‘Sanskritization’ can be adequately explained in terms of reference group concept without the complexities created by the use of the term Sanskritization.

• Thirdly, the complexity of the concept becomes apparent when his concept of Sanskritization also sub sums what he characterizes as investonization.

Srinivas calls the process whereby a caste tries to raise its status in the ritual sphere ‘Sanskritization’. He writes ‘A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism and by Sanskritising its pantheon\textsuperscript{113}. We have to remember that Sanskritization in itself, without appropriate economic and political status, does not result in a rise in status. Furthermore, Bailey has shown that the caste barrier provides an insurmountable obstacle for Holeya to raise their status in the village caste structure. Neither improved economic status nor Sanskritization will

\textsuperscript{113} M. N. Srinivas, Religion and Society among the Coorg of South India, 1952, p - 30

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help lower caste to cross the caste barrier. In the villages of Mandya, where Vokkaliga are in the great majority and the only other numerous community are Holeya or A.K caste mobility and societies such as those described by Bailey and Srinivas. However, there are some evidence of Sanskritization in Mandya as argued by Mrs. Epstein. She argues for instance, Vokkaliga who have become richer and visit the nearby town more frequently are Sanskritising the pantheon. They decorate their houses with pictures of All – India deities and have scenes from the great Hindu epic painted on the exterior wall of their houses. Whenever they worship a local deity, nowadays they go on to worship one or other of the All – India deities. The one Vokkaliga magnate who has managed to become a member of the hereditary panchayat and to have his lineage accepted as one of the ‘major’ lineages declares that he is a vegetarian. There is plenty of evidence that his household does consume meat, but he still maintains the fiction of being vegetarian and villagers respect him for it, whether or not villagers believe that a peasant (Vokkaliga) is actually vegetarian depends very much on his political and economic influence. A few of the poorer peasants who declare that they are vegetarian are only

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114 F.G. Bailey, Caste and the Economic Frontier, 1957, p - 227
ridiculed: villagers remark jokingly that anyone who does not have enough money to buy meat is necessarily a vegetarian\textsuperscript{115}.

A.K’s deny that they eat beef or pork and they have also begun to Sanskritise their pantheon, though, local deities are still of greater importance in their household and communal rituals. Through the process of Sanskritization A.K’s try to differentiate themselves from the voddas. A.K calls Voddas dirty and will not allow them to settle near their houses, nor let them fetch water from their own pond. In the same way castes describe A.K as dirty. i.e. ritually unclean and will not allow them to fetch water from the village well\textsuperscript{116}. They do not rebel against the caste system, but only against their lower position in it. They themselves operate the caste system against the Voddas. Mrs. Epstein argues that they object to the big gap between castes and untouchables in villages’ caste structure, but not to the caste structure as such; they want to change caste differentiation in degree but not in character.

Their biggest complaint is that the caste barrier operates in the economic as well as in the social sphere. During the early days of irrigation Mrs. Epstein argues that, when it was mentioned to them about the benefits of irrigation, they simply shrugged their shoulders and

\textsuperscript{115} Epstein T.S. Op.cit, p 159
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid 159
pointed out that the Vokkaligas have grown so much richer in the last decade while A.K. have remained poor. When Mrs. Epstein enquired, Nanja, the headman of the A.K caste, explained that prior to irrigation Vokkaligas did not need much A.K labour and therefore there were fewer occasions on which A.K client met their Vokkaligas masters or worked for them. The link between them was then much more ritual than economic in nature. Since irrigation, the economic aspect has become more important. But even before irrigation the relationship had an economic content. Thurston describes Holeya as the ‘backbone of cultivation in the country’. Holeya or Madig Kulvadi, holeya means a man of a dry field. The name indicates their close attachment to the soil. Thurston further notes some interesting facts denoting the measure of material well – being achieved by, and the religious recognition accorded to the out cases at certain first – class shrines in Mysore’; and he brings out the important place Holeyas occupied in villages. In the pre – survey period, the Holeya or Madig Kulvadi, in the maidan or Eastern division was so closely identified with the soil that his oath, accompanied by certain formalities and awe – inspiring solemnities, was considered to give the coup de grace to long existing and vexatious boundary disputes.

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117 Ibid 160
118 E. Thurston, Caste and Tribes of Southern India, 1919, Vol II, p 332
He had a potential voice in the internal economy of the village, was the fidus achates of the patel [village headman]\(^{119}\).

According to the account of Thurston, the Holeyas have long been an integral part of the villages. He relates the myth which he was given as an explanation of the Holeyas right to enter the temple at Melcote, a place of pilgrimage. It shows that even the Holeya claim close links with Brahmins. The story goes that when the Brahmin saint Ramanujacharya went to Melcote and found that the image of God Krishna had been taken away by the King of Delhi, he demanded the assistance of Brahmins and other castes to recapture the image but they refused and only the Holeyas agreed to help. For this they were rewarded by admission to the temple. “The service also won the out castes the envied title of Tiru – Kulam or the sacred race\(^{120}\). Thus long before Gandhi came to name untouchables “Harijans”, or ‘Children of God’, they had already gained a similar name in Mysore though it is now rarely used\(^{121}\).

Even though these Holeyas or A.K’s occupy the lowest status in the ritual hierarchy, they have always had an important role in the social system of the village, which is expressed in village and life cycle rituals. No important ritual can take place without their co-operation. Most

\(^{119}\) Ibid, Vol II, p 335
\(^{120}\) Ibid, Vol II, p 332
\(^{121}\) Epstein T.S. Op.cit, p 160
rituals takes place to the accompaniment of drums, which can be beaten on such occasions only by these lower caste. Therefore, rituals like between Vokkaligas and Holeya in villages are still strong whilst economic change since irrigation has emphasized economic differentiation between caste members and Holeyas, it has at the same time stressed the importance of Holeyas, labour in village economy. Thus, while the gulf between caste and Holeyas / A.K has widened, their interdependence has increased.

The Blacksmith and Goldsmith belong to the panchala group of castes which consist of the five Artisan castes: Carpenter, Masons, Goldsmiths, Copper smiths and Blacksmiths. All the panchala castes belong to the Left Hand division and some of them are worshipper of God Shiva, but otherwise they have little in common. Thus, for example, while the wangala Blacksmith are vegetarian, the Goldsmiths are not. They also follow different sets of customs and worship different local deities. M.N. Srinivas notes the discrimination against the smiths throughout peninsular India and suggests that it may be the result of their attempts in the past to rise high in the case hierarchy by means of thorough Sanskritisation of their customs. The Goldsmiths have long been fighting both in and out of season and now and then in the

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122 Ibid p 161
123 M.N. Srinivas, “The Social System of a Mysore Village, p 24
translucent garb of their right to be recognized as Vishvakarma Brahmins\textsuperscript{124}. However, this attempt to achieve higher status by claiming to belong to a section of Brahmins is obviously not just peculiar to the panchala castes.

The Bedars [a cultivator caste] set themselves up as Valmiki Brahmins, claiming direct descent from the celebrated author of Ramayana, the potters describe themselves as Gundu or round Brahmins and piling on the agony, the Madigas or Chucklers as Matanga Brahmins, whipping out for the occasion a certain so – called purana as their charter. Indeed, it is a significant feature of the upheaval and ferment just now going on among the Hindus that while every fragmentary body is anxious to level down the caste heights above, it is most repugnant to the obliteration of inequality below\textsuperscript{125}. The relationship between a caste and its inferiors on the one hand and its superiors on the other is still a characteristic of caste differentiation. Therefore, there is always a difference between the status which a caste ascribes to itself and the status which other accordit. Nor is there general consensus about the status of any one caste in the caste hierarchy except for recognizing Brahmins as the highest and other as the lowest caste.

\textsuperscript{124} Census of India, 1891, Vol XXV, Part I, Mysore, p -239
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid p 240
Relativity of caste status is an important factor in the mobility of castes. For instance patters in used to regard themselves as equals to Vokkaligas, and refused to dine in Vokkaligas houses. Vokkaligas, on the other hand, regarded potters as inferior and refused to eat from potter’s houses, while the lower castes, such as the washermen and Barbers, thought that potters were only slightly below Vokkaligas. In recent years potters have established themselves as farmers and peasants have come to regard them more as their equals.\textsuperscript{126}

The washerman caste and Fisherman caste each regards itself as of higher status that the other, and mutually refuses to interdine. None of the other castes, not even the untouchables, take food from a washerman or Fisherman kitchen. The Fisherman caste was important as long as the office of tank irrigation overseer this office has lost importance and Fisherman in villages have tended to strengthen their kin ties with Fisherman in nearby villages where they are in the majority. They seek economic advantages and higher prestige through their relations with their own caste men in villages where they are economically and politically important, if not dominant, and do not struggle for higher status within caste structure washerman still perform certain hereditary functions in peasants rituals: when a Vokkaliga girl reaches puberty after

\textsuperscript{126} Epstein T.S. Op.cit, p 163
her betrothal, it is the washerman’s duty to carry the news to the husband’s parents together with offering from the girl’s parents. At weddings, the washerman has to lay down saries on which the people walk in the procession. He also carries the devaru pettige, or god’s box, containing certain sacred objects. Furthermore, he has to prepare the clothes for dressing a body before burial. Washerman still perform their hereditary functions in Vokkaligas and village rituals, their economic functions have lost importance. Many Vokkaligas women now was their family’s clothiers and number of men have their shirts washed and ironed in Mandya\textsuperscript{127}. Even now a day’s washerman in the village work as farm labourers on the factory cane plantation. Washermans hope one day to able to acquire more land and become farmers. They have struck up close friendship with the young peasants and other surrounding villages who also work on the factory plantation. Among these plantation workers caste differentiation plays little part: they walk together to work, sit together at night and chat, and walk or cycle together to Mandya\textsuperscript{128}.

Thus I have only dealt superficially with changes that occurred in the villages of Mandya district. These changes took place that resulted from the impact of external forces such as irrigation and state legislation. These changes were part of the system itself, such as population growth,

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid 164
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid 164
factors of personality, and so on. The advent of irrigation forms the turning point in recent history. Irrigation changed Mandya’s ecology: with it came new economic opportunities to the people which changed their pattern of living. Consequently there is now a great demand for Holeya labour. This in turn has largely deterred from seeking employment outside the village, for the increased earning opportunities coupled with the general social security, which is a concomitant of traditional relations between peasants and Holeya/AKs, outweigh the attractions of insecure employment elsewhere. Even the village’s economy changed from a largely subsistence to a largely cash economy. In villages men now wear shirts and a number of also wear dhotis; their wives wear colourfull saris bought with money and they all spend lavishly on weddings; village men pay frequent visits to Mandya where they visit coffee shops and; rice has replaced ragi as their staple diet.

All these changes have occurred since irrigation but not all are due to irrigation. There were other external economic stimuli operative simultaneously, such as alternative employment opportunities, the impact of the growing town of Mandya and the improved system of communication. All these stimuli acted simultaneously upon village economy, and brought about change inside the village of the various external economic stimuli affecting village, irrigation was dominant; it
made land more remunerative, centred the farmer’s attention on cultivation, and therefore strengthened the rural economy.