CHAPTER IV
THE SELECTED VILLEGES, LEVELS OF TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The main purpose of this study is to assess the social impact of road transport development in rural India. For this purpose two villages, one from the transportationally developed Teerthahalli taluka and the other from the transportationally backward Devdurga taluka are selected for case study. The two selected villages are comparable in respects of the population, and distance from the nearest urban center, i.e., the taluka headquarter.

These village studies are intended to capture the impact that can be reasonably considered as representative of the impact which is obtained at the macro level in the country. This would enable us to link macro perspectives with the micro level findings obtained from these studies. However, it is to be remembered that the diversity of the country makes such linking of the micro-level findings of the case studies to the macro perspective difficult and some times unreliable. Even so it is attempted to portray the main findings obtained from these case studies within the macro perspectives through our analysis of changes in the two villages attributable to the development of the road transportation.

We have discussed the change in status, role, family relations, community relationships, mobility, economic base, status of women, living standards, life styles and expectations of the people of these two villages. These changes are assessed by comparing the two villages. It may be noted here that the differences between the two selected villages observed through
comparison are the result of many factors, which are operating directly on the life and economic status of the people of the two villages. We have also tried to identify all differences, which are mainly due to the transport development, though we are well aware of the operation of the other factors in creating such differences.

Heddur and Ramdurg villages are located at a distance of 15 - 20 kilometers to the Southwest and Southeast of their taluka headquarters namely, Teerthahalli and Devdurg respectively. These two villages had 457 and 447 households respectively in 2004 comprising a population of 2514 and 2486 respectively.

As for the geographical background of Heddur and Ramdurg Villages, data on altitude, annual rainfall and maximum and minimum temperature are not available for the villages in particular. The two villages have some common and some uncommon physical features. For instance, agriculture in both the villages is largely rain fed. Both have a tank each. However, at the time of fieldwork, it was found that the Heddur tank could still provide water during summer, while the tank near Ramdurg has gone completely dry. Besides, the Heddur village has got one more tank in the vicinity of one kilometer, which is used for washing cloths and cattle. Besides, Heddur has got greater rainfall than that in Ramdurg.

As for the political background of the villages, no party politics seems to have played any role during the local Panchayat elections. People of both the villages explained that until the recent elections to the local
panchayats, in which Bharatiya Janata Party candidates had come to power, they knew the panchayat members more by their names and castes than by their political affiliations. As far as the villagers remember, presidents and a majority of the members of the panchayats belonged to the Lingayat community, which is both numerically dominant and ritually superior in the two villages. What is true of the social composition of the panchayat members is also true of the social composition of the directors of the local cooperative societies and also of leaders of youth clubs and mahila mandals.

According to the Gazetteer of these districts, which are the earliest available documents containing some information on these two villages, Heddur and Ramdurg had one mosque each, while Heddur had three old temples (belonging to Basavannadevaru, Vinayaka and Hanumantha), Ramdurg had four temples (belonging to Shiva, Rama, Ganapati and Hanumantha). If presence of the temples of Hindu Gods and of one mosque confirm that the two villages have been having only Hindu and Muslim cultures for a very long time, numerical strength of the Hindu temples indicates that in both the villages Hindus have been in majority, (91.9 per cent in Heddur and 93.9 per cent in Ramdurg in 2001); Muslims constitute 8.1 per cent in Heddur and 6.1 cent in Ramdurg. Though the number of temples was found to be slightly higher in both the villages, most of these temples contained statues and idols of Shaivite Gods and Goddesses; indicating thereby that influence of Veerashivism was more in these villages.

Coming to the caste composition of the people of the selected villages, Heddur has got 16 castes. However, Ramdurg has got 15 castes. Four castes namely Brahmin, Bunt, Konkani and Kshatriya constituting 2.21 per cent of
population are not found in Ramdurg. Similarly, Ramdurg has got 15 castes, among which three (Kuruhinashetty, Kammara and Kumbara) constituting 1.82 per cent of the total population are not found in Heddur. Though lingayats are dominant in both the villages, their dominance is more pronounced (72.74 per cent) in Heddur than in Ramdurg (44.93 per cent). However, Ramdurg has got more artisan castes like Akkasale (goldsmith), Kammara (blacksmith), Ganiga (oil crusher) and Kumbara (potter), constituting 6.04 per cent of population as compared to only 1.22 per cent in Heddur. Though this is also true of other castes like Ambigas (fishers) and Bedas (hunters), it is more so in the case of Kurubas (shepherds). However, in respect of serving castes like Dhobi (washer man) and Hadapad (barber) and scheduled castes like Bhovis (masons) and Harijans (agricultural labourers), there is not much difference between the two villages.

Coming to the economic background of the selected villages, district Gazetteers of Raichur and Shimoga report that in 1951, 86.91 per cent and 90.92 per cent of the population was dependent on agriculture in Heddur and Ramdurg respectively. If we analyse the proportion of workers engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour in 1991, we find slightly higher percentages, (89.43 per cent and 92.06 per cent respectively), which was perhaps due to agricultural prosperity during that year. It may be observed from Tables 10 and 11 in Appendix 1 that though these relative shares have been declining after 1991, (from 86.98 per cent in 1991 to 80.28 per cent in 2004 in Heddur and from 91.90 per cent in 1991 to 87.56 per cent in 2004 in Ramdurg. They are still above 80 per cent in both the villages. This establishes the fact that the economy of the two villages has been predominantly agricultural. Other occupations of the people of Heddur
which may be listed in the decreasing order of percentage of workers engaged in are livestock (mainly dairying), trade and commerce, household industry, other services, manufacturing (other than household industry), transport, storage and communications and construction. But the relative importance of occupations in Ramdurg is slightly different. Household industry tops the list and trade and commerce, other services, construction, livestock and allied activities, transport, storage and communications and manufacturing (other than household industry), follow in descending order of importance.

Heddur had 2371 acres of land, out of which 2156 acres, (90.93 per cent), were unirrigated but cultivated and 85 acres was not available for cultivating (excluding 130 acres of cultivable wasteland). The corresponding figures for Ramdurg were 5495 acres, of which 5348 acres (97.32 per cent), were unirrigated and 147 acres were cultivable waste. Table 12 in Appendix 1 shows that total cultivable land was found to be lesser in Heddur than in Ramdurg.

For instance, it was 1769.34 acres for Heddur and 3490.30 acres for Ramdurg in 2004. This greater availability of land was one of the reasons as to why landowning households constituted 73.36 per cent in Ramdurg, while they accounted for only 53.67 per cent in Heddur. We cannot find much difference between the two villages in respect of land per land owning household. It was 8.95 acres in Heddur and 11.82 acres in Ramdurg.

Land tenure refers to the relationship between the cultivator and the government in regard to the payment of assessment on land. Till the
Independence of the country three systems of land tenure co-existed in India, namely, zamindari, inamdari and rayatwari. Under the pre-British zamindari system, the right to collect assessment on land was granted to persons in return for their civil and military services to kings. Such land was leased by the zamindars to tenants who cultivated it on share-cropping basis. The tenants were not directly related to government (kings) in the matter of land revenue. Under the British rule, zamindars were made to pay a fixed sum of land revenue to the government and they, in turn, collected the land revenue from the tenants who cultivated the land. Thus under the zamindari system, there was no contact between the actual cultivator of the land, tenant and the government. The government collected lumpsum rent or assessment agreed between the zamindar and the government. The zamindar was free to parcel out and lease the land to the tenants at any rate of assessment.

Under the inamdari system lands were given as inams, (gifts) in return for some kind of service ranging from priestly duties to menial workrs to kings or to his community. In this system the land was held by inamdar; system the cultivating tenants were different from owners (inamdar). Like in zamindari system, in this system also there was no direct contact between the cultivators and the government, (kings) in the matter of land revenue. Inam lands were held not only by individuals, but also by institutions like temples, trusts and Lingayat mutts.

The individual inams were of three types namely personal or jat inams, political inams (saranjams) or jahagirs and service inams or watans). Personal inams were gift to individuals for personal traits like bravery,
talents, etc. political inams were granted by the state for performance of civil and military duty or for the maintenance of personal dignity of nobles and high official. And service inams were in recognition of the social service, These tenures were in practice till the legal abolition of the system during 1950s. The only prevalent form of land tenure in the selected villages is the rayatwari system, in which an individual former cultivates his piece of land and he need not pay any thing to the king as assessment, excepting the land tax.

However, in the course of our interview, we found that the main temples of the two villages were granted some inam lands, which gradually had become private properties of the people traditionally serving those temples. Subsequently all forms inam tenures were abolished in the state.

Kamataka state has abolished the tenancy and has put a ceiling on the size of the landholding. Though the maximum size of the poorest quality land cannot exceed 52 acres per family engaged in agricultural occupation, it was found that both the villages have a few households owning as many as 100 acres, which are divided into different survey numbers and registered in the names of different family members to evade land ceiling legislation. Besides, informal leasing and mortgage leasing system, have also developed with a view to evading land reform legislation.

We have found that in both the selected villages the rayatwari system of land tenure predominates. However, the distribution of land among the households in these two villages is uneven. For instance, the percentage of big farmers (owning more than 25 acres of land) is only 9.65 per cent and 7.48 per cent in Heddur and Ramdurg villages respectively ( See Table 13 in
Appendix 1). What is more interesting is that despite their small proportion, they controlled 45.38 per cent and 34.63 per cent of the village lands in Heddur and Ramdurg respectively. (See Tables 14 and 15 in Appendix 1). In contrast to this 56.35 per cent of the farmers in Heddur and 42.85 per cent of the farmers in Ramdurg respectively owned less than five acres each (Tables 14 and 15 in Appendix 1). In 1982-83, the corresponding figures were 77.78 per cent and 56.61 per cent respectively (Table 11 in Appendix 1). But if we observe the percentage of land owned in 2004 in the Tables 14 and 15 in Appendix 1, we find that they owned only 13.02 per cent and 11.63 per cent of the village lands respectively. These ownership patterns confirm that inequality in land ownership is high in both the villages. This is of course, true of the entire country as well as of the state of Karnataka.

With the development of road transport this inequality has further widened. For instance, in the developed village, marginal farmers had declined from 44.45 per cent in 2002-03 to 40 per cent in 2004 (Table 11). Such decline is equally evident in the case of small farmers. In contrast to this decline in the proportion of marginal and small farmers, the proportion of big farmers has almost doubled in percentage from 22.22 per cent in 2002-03 to 43.66 per cent in 2004. This would suggest that both the marginal and the small farmers have lost their lands to the bigger farmers who increased in percentage with the increase in the levels of transportation development. Though the decrease of the marginal and the small farmers and the increase of the big farmers are also true of the backward village, the decline is not so sharp in it as is in Heddur. Table 11 shows that percentage decline of the marginal and the small farmers has been 27.56 per cent in Heddur as against 20.75 per cent in Ramdurg. The difference is only 6.81
per cent. But in the case of the big farmers, they have increased by 96.48 per cent and 31.68 per cent respectively in Heddur and Ramdurg. The difference in the increase in the percentage of big farmers has been as high as 64.80 per cent between the two villages. These findings lead us to a hypothesis that the transport mechanization either leads to the accumulation of lands or occurs in the case of farmers with more lands. Especially, the latter part of the hypothesis is found to be true as 94.74 per cent of the farms of big farmers in the developed village are more developed in their transport technology (Table 14 in Appendix 1). Though the percentage of large farmers in the more developed category is not so much, (45.45 percent) in Ramdurg due to the dominance of both traditional agriculture and lack of access to good transport facilities in the village, it is still higher than that in the less developed and the not- developed categories (Table 15 in Appendix 1).

Variations in the economic position and supply of labour (family or outside) had also given rise to some intermediary systems of land tenure such as informal lease (share cropping) and mortgage.

Under the informal lease system, lands are given by owners to actual cultivators, for which the owner gets a share in the crops (usually 50 per cent) as rent on the land. Under the mortgage system, usually owners of lands pledge their lands to somebody as security for some loans. They will get back their lands when they repay those loans (principle amounts) after an agreed period. But in the meantime during the currency of mortgage, lands are cultivated and their crops are entirely enjoyed by the creditors as interest on the loans advanced to the land owners. However, in both the villages the mortgage system is not practiced and lease contracts are rarely observed. But wherever the lease contracts are found, they are mostly between land owning
non-agricultural households (like carpenters, barbers etc) and middle level (medium and semi-medium farmers. This implies that getting lands on lease (and mortgage) by these middle level farmers from non-agricultural households appears to be the beginning of the accumulation of lands by the big farmers.

**Level of Road Transport Development at the grass roots:**

At the levels of villages and households, road transport development may be taken as an adoption of different levels of technology in transportation. In common purchase, it refers to the use of modern vehicles for the transportation of men and materials which may have a direct and/or an indirect bearing on the society. It does include use of such equipments, which may not influence productivity. For instance, if one uses a tractor-operated trailer for transporting harvested crops to places of storage or market, it is considered as mechanized or vehicular transportation, as this sort of transportation hastens the process of shifting goods from one place to another. It may be argued that such use of tractor-trailers may substitute bullock carts by tractor-operated trailers for transporting required quantity of manures, fertilizers or nutrient soils to the fields. No doubt, this substitution will help to get the work done on time, which may have an indirect influence on the agricultural productivity also.

Ideologically at the household level, road transport development may be seen at three levels of development, namely more developed, less developed and not developed. More developed households are those which own their own motor vehicles, mini lorries, multipurpose tractor-cum-trailers. And less developed households depend up on buses but travel frequently, own
two wheeler automobiles and bullock carts. And not developed households do not own the vehicles and are also less mobile, except for agricultural labour for which they are picked up from and brought back to the villages. At the most they keep bicycles. It was found that in both the villages more developed households are less and not developed are more. But in relative sense more developed households are more in Heddur than in Ramdurg and Vice versa.

Table 16 in Appendix 1 shows that the mechanized transportation first started about 20 years ago (Started around 1985) in the developed village, while it is only about 12 years old (Started around 1994) in the backward village. Even in the case of the latecomers to mechanized transportation, it is 16 years old in the mechanized village, while it is only 8 years old in the backward village. It is interesting to know in the backward village (Ramdurg) that one-third of the more developed households have adopted the mechanized transportation very recently (within two years), though such households accounted for only 6.81 per cent. This indicates that the mechanized/vehicular transportation has started becoming popular in Ramdurg only recently, while it has already become well established in Heddur.

This is obvious from the fact that the percentage of transportationally developed households to the total number of households is only 5.1 per cent in Ramdurg whereas it is 22.3 per cent in Heddur. If we analyse the trends of transport development by size of holding, we find positive association between the two. High the level of transport development, bigger the size of holdings.
We have also observed the combination of adoption of mechanized transportation and going in for modern agricultural equipments used by different categories of the households. It would help us understand the sequential order of the use of these new technologies in transportation and different agricultural operations. Tables 17 and 18 in Appendix 1 show that in the case of mechanized farm households, percentage of mechanized farm households using hired tractors, trailers and mould board disc ploughs and hand sprayers ranged between 97 percent and 100 percent. This would suggest that transportation (of the harvested crops, manures, fertilizers, nutrient soils, etc), ploughing and plant protection by using pesticides and insecticides are the three agricultural operations which they mechanized first. Though households using two wheeler automobiles and disc harrows also constitute 100 per cent in the case of the more developed households, their percentage is only the second highest in the case of the less mechanized households. This implies that in the second stage of adoption of technology the farmers of both the villages tended to depend on own vehicles and mechanize tilling operation. The remaining 6 types of modern equipments, (as listed in Tables 17 and 18 in Appendix 1) are mostly used by the more developed households, which appear to have adopted them in two subsequent (3rd and 4th) phases. In the third phase, there sowing equipments, namely seed drills, seed-cum-fertilizer drills and seed planters appear to have been added as households using them constituted the third highest percentage in the more developed category. The fact that households using levelers (in Heddur), irrigation pump sets (in Ramdurg) and power threshers and power sprayers (in both the villages) constitute very low percentage indicates that leveling, irrigation and threshing came to be added to the list of already mechanized operations in the fourth phase. However, it is
necessary to mention here that owning of tractors, trailers, cars or taxis and frequent visits urban centers (taluka or district headquarters) started occurring along with the third and the fourth stages of the form mechanization. Though we can demarcate the phases of transport development and farm mechanization on the basis of the percentage of households using them, it is difficult to identify the years during which each of these phases occurred.

Both the villages have access to banks. Under the broad programme of rural development, banks have been operating a scheme of providing loans worth of 85 percent of cost of vehicles and of the modern agricultural equipments to the villagers. People of both Heddur and Ramdurg have access to branches of the Canara Bank and the Tungabhadra Grameena Bank respectively within a distance of 3 kilometers. If a farmer is prepared to bear 15 percent of the cost of tractors in the beginning, these banks advance the remaining 85 per cent of the cost in the form of loan at low interest rate, which is repayable in easy installments. We found that more or less equal number of more developed households availed themselves of this loan facility in these villages.

Three types of local institutions, namely cooperative societies, Raits Sangha and leadership are catering to the needs of all types of farmers through timely supply of credit, fertilizers, seeds, pesticides and also give some agricultural equipments on hire. In fact the farm mechanization is reported to have been ushered in by these cooperative societies in Heddur. Apart from procuring the bank loans for buying the vehicles and the modern
agricultural equipments, they have been hiring out agricultural equipments as steel ploughs, blade harrows, wheat threshers, sprayers, etc.

The emergence of a Raita Sangha (Farmer's Association) in both the villages has lessened the burden of such services on these cooperative societies. Raita Sangha has started using political influence to get their agricultural problems solved. In Heddur both the Rait Sangha and the cooperative societies are playing equally effective role in popularizing the rural development schemes. But in Ramdurg the Raita Sangha seems to be playing a more effective role than the cooperative society.

Coming to the role of local leadership, we have learnt that the leaders of Heddur are more influential than their counter parts in Ramdurg because of their political connections. For instance, in Heddur one large farmer from more developed households is the President of the Bharatiya Janata Party, (which is in power in the state). Though the nearby private high school and its hostel have to serve the educational needs of the surrounding villages the local leaders of Heddur have significant role in their management. On top of this, one of the local leaders from Heddur has been publishing local monthly news Bulletin called Spoota(which means explosion)from Teerthahalli, the taluka headquarter to bring to light injustice done to the villagers of the taluka. In contrast to these leaders, none of the Ramdurg leaders have risen up to even taluka level, which means they have not been able to wield as much political influence as the local leaders of Heddur on the state government machinery and banking institutions which are operating in the area.
Structure Of Family Groups:

Before analyzing the impact of the transport development based on the data collected it would be worthwhile to know certain broad features of the respondent households like structure of family. Structure of a family refers to the number of persons it consists of and the their relation with one another. In other words, size of the family and the inter-family relations between the members are the two main components of the family structure. Three features of the structure of the family are common to both Heddur and Ramdurg. They are average size of the family, predominance of families consisting of 3-6 persons and also of nuclear families consisting of husband and wife with or without unmarried children. The average size of family is 5.9; n Heddur and 5.8 in Ramdurg. 53.4 percent of the families in Heddur and 48.5 percent in Ramdurg have 3 to 6 members. And about 48 percent of the families in Heddur and 56 percent in Ramdurg are nuclear families. However, there were some differences between the transportationally developed and the backward villages and the households, which may be noted here.

Table 19 in Appendix 1 shows that in the developed village, percentage of joint, (lineal, collateral and extended), families is slightly higher, (40 percent) than that in the backward village, (32 percent). In contrast to this, 60 percent of the families in Heddur and 68 percent in Ramdurg are nuclear families. In terms of the size of the family also, families consisting of more than 9 persons constituted 12 percent in Ramdurg and 24 percent in Heddur, whereas families with less than six persons constituted 64 percent in Heddur and 56 percent in Ramdurg. This implies that with the transport development the size of the family appears to
have increased and even encouraged continuation of Joint family system in Heddur. This provides empirical evidence to one of our hypothesis listed in Chapter I.

This phenomenon is encouraged by the compelling need to mobilize huge investment funds required for purchasing costly vehicles and expensive modern farming equipments and also to meet increased cost of cultivation of the mechanized farms. If the family property is substantial and also generation of surplus becomes easy, large funds can be mobilized. The need for secured manpower to engage in and expand the family occupation (i.e., agriculture) strength and status of bigger families have been considered as an important reasons for the increase of the joint and the bigger families at the higher levels of technology. But this does not seem to have contributed much in the selected villages. For instance the number of workers per household increased from 4.25 in the not developed category of households to only 4.71 in the less developed category of households in Heddur. Ramdurg too showed a similar trend with 4.5 and 5 workers per household in the respective categories of households. In fact this trend becomes even negative if we compare the less developed category of households with the more developed category. That is, the number of workers per household in the more developed category of households is only 1.33 and 1.67 in Heddur and Ramdurg respectively, and all these are only male workers.

Since nuclear families and families consisting of 3-6 persons are numerically predominant, which is more or less true at different levels of development, clear differences in size and types of the family are not observed between the developed and the not-developed households.
However, distribution of families of broad type and size groups by level of transport technology, shows that the developed (more and less) households ranged between 29.4 percent and 33.3 percent in the case of the individual (sub-nuclear and nuclear) families, whereas, they ranged between 50 percent and 62.5 percent in the case of the joint (lineal, collateral and extended) families (see Table 20 in Appendix 1). Similarly, the relative proportion of developed households increased, as size of the families increases.

**Sources Of Wealth In The Family:**

There are two main sources of income for the sample households in the selected villages: occupational sources (including main as well as subsidiary occupations) and non-occupational sources. The main occupation of a majority of households is agriculture. Subsidiary occupations include animal husbandry and dairy activities. Non-occupational sources include rent on buildings, rent on livestock, rent on agricultural equipments, interests on loans advanced, remittances from family members living outside the village and other remittances like old-age pension.

As for the occupational income, it is observed that 56 percent of the households in both the villages pursued agriculture either as the main or as subsidiary occupation. Percentage of households which pursued agriculture, as the main occupation is 50 percent in the not-developed category, 87 percent and 100 percent respectively in the less developed and the more developed categories. (See Tables 60 and 61 in Appendix 1). In the more mechanized category, agriculture is the single major occupation and hence the main source of income in Heddur, constituting 94.60 percent of the total
income. The more mechanized households have not taken up any subsidiary occupation, as their main occupation itself fetched them very high income. In Heddur, it is more than Rs. 21,000 per annum per person, which is nearly six times the per capita income of the village. In Ramdurg also, per capita income from agriculture is about two times the per capita annual income of Rs. 1,752 per annum in the village. (See Table 64 and 65 in Appendix 1).

Coming to the less mechanized households, agriculture is the only source of income for 28.68 percent of them. Even in the case of the rest of these households (excepting one household in Heddur only), agriculture is the main occupation. The single exceptional household in Heddur which has been pursuing carpentry and blacksmith as its main occupation, is having agriculture as a subsidiary occupation. Thus in the case of the less mechanized category of households also, agriculture is the main source of the occupational income in both the villages. Yet this category, unlike the more mechanized category, does have some subsidiary occupations though they are different between the mechanized and the non-mechanized villages. In Heddur, 57 percent of the less mechanized households pursue agricultural labour as a subsidiary occupation. This implies that the subsidiary occupations of the less mechanized households are not only more rewarding than that in Ramdurg, but also carry higher status in terms of dignity of labour.

Coming to the non-mechanized households, each of them is engaged at least in two occupations. Agriculture is pursued by all of them either as main occupation or as a subsidiary occupation. In 50 percent of the households, which pursue agriculture as the main occupation, trade,
government service, construction and agricultural labour are the subsidiary occupations. In the case of the remaining half of the households, which pursue agriculture and milk vending as subsidiary occupations, agricultural labour and government service are the main occupations. (See Tables 21 and 22 in Appendix 1).

As for the non-agricultural category of households, 54.55 percent of them pursue agricultural labour as the main occupation in Heddur. In Ramdurg, such households constituted 72.73 percent, among which nearly two-thirds have been pursuing agricultural labour as the only or the main occupation. Wherever agricultural labour is a subsidiary occupation, unskilled or ritually inferior occupations like hair cutting, washing of cloths (dhobi) and vegetable vending are pursued as main occupations. Government service is the occupation of two households in this category in Heddur, as against of only one in Ramdurg. Other occupations are medical practice, vehicles repair, tractor servicing, priesthood and factory work in Heddur, and carpentry and black smithy in Ramdurg.

As for the non-occupational sources, Tables 23 and 24 in Appendix 1 reveal that in Ramdurg only households pursuing mainly agricultural labour have some non-occupational incomes. But, in Heddur most of the households, which earn non-occupational incomes, pursue agriculture as the main occupation. This clearly shows that such non-occupational income sources, as rents on agricultural equipments and on draught animals, which go with agriculture, are more important in Heddur, while they are not so important in Ramdurg. This is mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, since a little more than three-fourths of the households are engaged in agriculture in
Ramdurg, who own less than 5 acres, each of these households keeps one or the other agricultural equipment and animal. As the cash position of the villagers is not always comfortable, they cannot always afford to use these equipments on hire basis. They usually use them on mutual -aid-basis, (barter), though a very few of them are also hiring them whenever necessary. In contrast to this, most of the agricultural households in Heddur, which cannot maintain the modern agricultural equipments, easily hire them, as their cash position is relatively better. Secondly, while Ramdurg farmers take only one crop in a year, their counterparts in Heddur take two. This implies that in Heddur, the farmers are forced to complete their agricultural operations in time, which they found through experience could be done only through hiring the modern equipments. In contrast the Ramdurg farmers do not have to worry about the time factor. Therefore, their main sources of the non-occupational income are remittance from family members living outside the village (45 percent), income through animal products (20 percent), rent on buildings (15 percent), rent on agricultural equipments (10 percent) and old age pension (10 percent). But in Heddur, the non-occupational sources of income include rent on agricultural equipments (60 percent), rent on buildings (20 percent) and interest (20 percent) on loans advanced to the more developed households. Though the less developed households in the village also have access to these sources, they have other sources such as income through animal products and rent on agricultural animals. Finally, the not- developed (including non-agricultural) households have access to remittance from educated family members employed outside the villages, interests on petty advances made and old age pension.
Though the level of income determines the living standards of people, it is the basic needs like food, clothing, sanitation, health, education, housing, recreation, etc., which truly reflect the living standards and influence the life styles of the people. In the present context we have attempted hereto analyse how these basic needs have been provided for and their variations in terms of quantity, quality and content between the transportitionally developed and the backward villages. This will help us in understanding differences, if any, in the life styles of the people of the selected villages.

**Food:**

Transport development has not brought about any change in food intake in these villages. The number of meals per day (3-4 in the case of children and 2-3 in the case of adults), seem to have been continuing. So also their staple food, (jowar and ragi). Consumption of jowar bread as breakfast item, use of hotel tea (in the case of men) and food taboos (non-vegetarian items in the case of vegetarian castes) appear to be in practice since long. But with the transport development and the subsequent improvement in the cash position, the composition of food of the members of the developed households seem to have undergone some change in both the villages. They have started preparing snacks (such as Uppittu, etc) for breakfast, items with fried rice, beaten rice, soji, etc. They have also started consuming sugar and milk, which the not-developed households have not yet been able to afford. What is more, compared to the developed households at Ramdurg, those at Heddur are also using instant food and drink items like horlicks, biscuits, chips, etc. This is a clear indication of the
modernization process, which the transport development has initiated through improving the economic conditions in the village.

**Clothing**

The transport development has neither altered the usual dress items of boys, (shirts or slacks and knickers), of girls, (frocks, petty coats and blouses), of aged men (dhotis and shirts) and of ladies (sarees and blouses) nor changed the bridal dresses (silk sarees or yellow cotton sarees and blouses). It has not increased even the frequency of getting clothes stitched in a year. However, consequent on the improved cash position on account of the transport development, some indications of modernization in clothing have occurred. They are of follows:

i) Introduction of pants and bush shirts in the dresses of adult males and of skirts in the dresses of school going girls.

ii) Tendency to go to Teerthahalli tailors for getting their cloths stitched (instead of local tailors) particularly for getting the pants and bush shirts of costlier variety.

iii) Use of washing soaps or soap powders (detergents) in the place of *savalu* (a kind of saline soil) for washing the clothes.

iv) Use of pressing irons, shaving sets, cosmetics and shoes (in the place of chappals), and

v) Use of cots, cotton beds, mosquito curtains and shawls by transportationally developed households, as against the use of mats, *kamnlis* (carpets made of local wool) and *kaudis* (old clothes) got stitched together to form a bedding by the not-developed, especially poor households. However, this particular
difference in the bedding is not a post-transport development phenomenon in all cases.

**Housing**

Though living in own and hereditary houses is a common practice in both the villages, it is more so in Ramdurg than in Heddur. Ramdurg has high percentage of land owning households, having their own houses, however small they may be. Heddur has high percentage of agricultural labour families due to its high employment potential created by an increase in the cropping intensity (from one to two crops in a year) and the adoption of the mechanized farming. This agricultural prosperity attracted outside laborers, who stay mostly in rented houses. Thus the greater number of rented houses in Heddur is a post-development phenomenon. However, due to the recent implementation of the Janatha Housing programme and distribution of housing sites to poor and the scheduled Caste families, some agricultural households (30 in Heddur and 10 in Ramdurg) belonging to these categories have come to occupy their own houses in both the villages.

Though the developed households are also occupying their own (hereditary/purchased) houses like the non-developed land holding households, the former have either renovated their existing houses or added (vertically or horizontally or, so) some portions (though constructing or purchasing) after responding to the transport development and farm mechanization. Though this may not be entirely post-transport development phenomenon due to the adoption of the farm mechanization, but may have influenced it indirectly through increased farm income. In contrast to this, transportationally not-developed households, especially petty farmers, have not effected even normal repairs to their living houses during the past five years, probably because their income does not permit them to have better
houses. This is due to their tendency to continue with the traditional farm technology and transport technology.

Apart from this, some qualitative differences in the housing conditions between the developed and the not-developed households are observed:

i. Most of the tranpotationally developed households live in independent or main houses in Heddur. This is less so in Ramdurg. Besides, as many as 7 households (including 2 developed) in Ramdurg are staying in common houses with their kinsmen even after division of family property.

ii. Most of the households in Heddur and Ramdurg have been built of mud or mud and stone walls, mud or stone floors and roofs of wooden planks or tiles. However, most of the developed households in Heddur have *pucca* houses built of bricks, cement and stones.

iii. Since most of the more developed households live in independent houses in Heddur, they naturally contain rooms which are not only spacious but also more in number compared to those of the less developed and the non-developed (including non-agricultural) households. This is more or less true of Ramdurg also. But in the non-mechanized category, due to the limited number of rooms in the living house, use of one room for more than one purpose is a common scene.

iv. Most of the rooms in the more developed houses have good ventilation through wall or roof windows both in Heddur and
Ramdurg. But about 40 percent of the non-developed houses have only wall windows in Heddur. This is still less in Ramdurg.

v. In most of the cases, irrespective of the levels of transport development, cattle sheds are a part of the living houses in both the villages. This is mainly due to two reasons. First, keeping draught animals near living rooms makes periodic feeding easy in the night. Second, a religious belief that bullocks symbolize Basavanna (Chariot of Lord Shiva, the God of Shaivites) and therefore, their presence in the living house will prevent evil spirits from entering into the house is common among the villagers. However, with modernization, awareness of the benefits of sanitation is slowly coming into Heddur, which is reflected in the separation of cattle sheds from the living houses by two developed households in the village.

vi. Separate bathrooms, separate latrines, electrification and gobar gas plants are the common features of many houses especially of the developed households in Heddur and Ramdurg. Among these amenities, only separate latrines and gobar gas plants are post transport development phenomena, which are mainly due to an improvement in the cash position as a result of the exposure to the world outside the villages. This exposure has also created a desire for modernization and it supports one of our hypotheses mentioned in the introductory chapter.

vii. Apart from modernization in respect of the amenities within the living houses, \textit{sanskritization} (following traditions of ritually higher castes) in respect of how they live in those houses is also noticed in the developed households. For instance, magical
safeguards in the form of amulets, coconuts, etc. hung above (inside) the main gates of the houses (magic being a form of primitive religion) and a kind of cow-dung statues called Gullavva (a Hindu goddess supposed to be bringing good fortune) kept above the main gate walls were a common feature of the not developed households in the developed villages. To some extent this is also true of the developed households of the backward village. But the developed households in Hedur, irrespective of their castes, have started putting framed photocopies of the Swamiji of veerashaiva Mutts of nearly places in the place of magical safeguards. This implies a Lingayat model of saniskritization that is becoming popular in the village.

Thus it is clear that only the latter three of the above mentioned differences were the post-developed phenomena, in which the improvement in the economic conditions played a direct role. The first form of differences existed even before they started transportatically developing.

**Sanitation and Health Care**

Another aspect of modernization is the awareness of benefits of sanitation and health care. Such awareness appears to be more pronounced in Hedur, especially among the tranportationally developed households, than in Ramdurg. This is reflected in the following:

i). While there are no public latrines in both the villages, Hedur had private latrines in 24 percent of the sample houses as against in only 4
percent of the houses in Ramdurg. Even so using open fields as latrines is common among both men and women in both the villages.

ii). The habit of taking bath daily (due to the abundance of good water), tendency of washing hands, feet and face by children before taking meals, substitution of ash powder and mud by cleaning powders for cleaning vessels and use of tooth powder and tooth paste instead of mud or charcoal are gradually becoming popular in Heddur, especially among the transportationally developed households. Excepting daily bath, the other changes are also observed in Ramdurg among the similarly developed households.

iii). People of Heddur prefer local private doctors to government doctors (who are available in the local medical sub-center or a Teerthahalli hospital), as they do not mind spending for better and quick medical treatment. Some rich families also reported to have gone to costlier nursing homes in Shimoga-Bhadravati Munipal area. Though rich and transportationally developed households of Ramdurg also show the same tendency, some of them reported that carelessness and unsatisfactory treatment of the government doctors accounted mainly for their preference for the private doctors.

iv). Some transportationally not developed, including poor households in Ramdurg reported to be going for witch doctors and practitioners of native medicines. This is widely practiced by their counterparts in Heddur. People resort to witch doctors only when they fail to find immediate relief from the modern medical treatment. It is also true that villages do have a sentiment that some evil spirits may be nullifying or negating the impact of the modern medical treatment.
v). Preference for District hospital or the nearby medical sub-centre has started only in respect of child deliveries in both the villages. Since this is more pronounced in Heddur, relatively higher proportion of children received immunization facilities like polio drops, triple antigen injections, BCG and Small pox vaccinations in the medical units by themselves. Immunization services are also offered at the local Balawadi and the Primary Schools in both Heddur and Ramdurg. But the tendency to ignore such locally available services is common among villages.

**Recreation:**

As regards various forms of recreation, clear differences were found for men between the developed and the not- developed households of the villages. Common form of recreation prevalent among the developed and the not- developed (but rich) households in Heddur is seeing movies or dramas in places like hosahalli and Teerthahalli. But this is not very much in Ramdurg due to both distance factor and non-availability of assured return transport after 7.00 pm from Devdurg. Gambling is also common among men in both the villages. Men from lower income groups resort to it almost daily with the hope of winning more money in places like temples. Rich and men from tranpotationally developed households play it occasionally for fun. Similarly, drinking liquors (such as arrack and toddy) is observed, all castes. This is more so in Ramdurg and among ritually inferior castes.

We have also observed some differences in the modes of recreation for women between the developed and the backward villages. In Heddur, participation in the Mahila Mandal (social clubs for women) activities has
become a source of recreation for the ladies who are members of Mahila Mandals. Since the Mahila Mandal at Ramdurg is not very active, this is not very much so with the women of the village. However, some common forms of recreation for women, who are not members of the Mahila Mandals in these villages, are only occasional in nature. They include singing at the time of marriages, first pregnancy ceremonies, naming ceremonies etc., or seeing dramas whenever staged within the villages or going to movies whenever permitted to accompany their husbands to places like Teerthahalli, Shimoga, Devdurg and Raichur, attending fairs in the places of parental families, etc.

To sum up, changes in recreation, which may be clearly identified as post transport development phenomena, are only two: seeing movies (in the case of men and women) and participating in the Mahila Mandal activities (in the case of women). While an improvement in the cash position due to the transport development has been a common cause for all these changes though good transport system, nearness to the taluka and the district head quarters and effectiveness of the Mahila Mandal also contributed to the first two changes.

Change in Family Relationships:

Family has an informal system of division of labour, in which every member, (except, perhaps, children of below school going age), has certain tasks and responsibilities to perform for the family. Unlike in the case of any formal organization like a factory, where division of labour is on the basis of skills, training or qualifications, the division of labour in the family is mostly on the basis of sex and age. On the basis of sex, males engage
themselves mainly in the family occupations or economic activities outside the household, while females look after a series of domestic activities. On the basis of age also, children usually assist adults in their domestic activities and family occupations, while elderly persons perform supervisory role. This age based and sex-based division of labour in the family does not remain the same for all types of families. It varies depending upon size, type and economic conditions of the family. In this study we have tried to find out the differences in the family division of labour between the transportationally developed and the not-developed households.

Table 25 Number of workers per family in Heddur and Ramdurg in 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>More Developed</th>
<th>Less Developed</th>
<th>Not-Developed</th>
<th>Non-Agricultural</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEDDUR</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAMDURG</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25 in Appendix 1 shows that the number of workers per family declined, though the size of family increased with the levels of transport development. This is more so in the case of female workers. This implies that with the improvement in the economic conditions due to the exposure to the society outside the villages, tendency to enjoy leisure or take up
supervisory activities seem to have increased in the case of females. This seems to be the reason for most of the more developed households reporting to be employing maid servants for such domestic activities as cleaning utensils, sweeping and or cleaning living house, washing of clothes, bringing water for domestic use and running errands. Before responding to the transport development, most of these activities were said to be performed by the family members (especially females) themselves. However, in most cases, activities like cooking and serving food for the family members and looking after children (bathing, dressing and feeding), are still performed by adult females in the families, irrespective of the levels of transport development. Two significant changes in the division of domestic activities, which have come about directly or indirectly due to this development are: i. Before this development, women used to carry meals to their husbands working in farms. But after the development, they have started packing meals in advance and sending in the tractors by which they or their husbands go to work in the farms. To some extent, this is also true of agricultural labourers, who go to work in far off farms by tractors, and ii. Pounding of red chilies and preparation of atta (flouring by hand operated flouring stones) are gradually disappearing. Improvement in the cash position due to the greater employment opportunities and higher wage rates has been partially responsible for this change, while ready availability of flourmills within the villages has also played an equally important role.

Coming to the agricultural activities, women of the more developed households in both the villages have given up doing any agricultural activity on their farms, despite the increase in the employment opportunities. But in the less mechanized households, women have started performing such new
tasks as plucking of cotton, digging and cleaning of potatoes and onions, etc. This is in addition to their earlier activities like weeding, sowing, cutting of corns, pulling of groundnut and the like, which are mostly done by women in the not-developed households. In some households, which have also combined animal husbandry, new tasks such as cleaning cattle shed, bathing cattle, feeding of fodder, milching, etc., have also been added.

As for the responsibilities there have bee some changes in the developed households. Before responding to the transport development, purchase and repair of vehicles and agricultural equipments, purchase of inputs like fertilizers and pesticides and sale of harvested crops used to be the responsibilities of an elderly male member of the household. But after the responding, these responsibilities are being shared by some educated male member, especially the eldest son, in the household. This is in addition to their other responsibilities like approaching the government officials for getting benefits, representing the household in village meetings etc. However, some responsibilities like purchase of food and non-food items for domestic consumption finding matrimonial alliances for the unmarried, widowed or divorced members of the family and arbitrating in family quarrels have still remained the prerogatives of the elderly male members of the households. Similarly, responsibilities such as choice of menu for cooking food, supervision of the work of domestic servants, distribution of domestic activities among different female members are vested with elderly female members of the households.

**Patriarchal features:**

These are understood in terms of descent, authority, place of stay of married women, children. It is observed that in both the villages and in all
categories of households, family has always been patrilineal and the transport development has had no impact on it.

In regard to authority also, males have always been dominant in all households in the two villages, which is the main feature of patriarchal families. However, with the transport development these is a shift from domestic sphere to economic sphere. By virtue of becoming workers and earners, they have gained the right to be consulted in matters like sale or purchase of durable consumer goods, type of cloths to be stitched, education of children, inviting guests, construction of new house, conversion or extension of the living house, etc.

In most of the cases, family has been patri-local, in the sense that married women leave their parental families and go to stay with their husbands' families. But in a few households, separated or widowed women are staying with their parents. Though they are said to be not entitled for any share in the parental property after their marriage, they are looked after by parental families. In the case of a few widows having sons they are also helped till their sons grow up to be independent. A few cases in both the villages were also observed where husbands are staying with their wives' parents. In such cases, they do not enjoy the same status as they do in the patri-local families.

As for the right to property, sons inherit their fathers' property, but not daughters, Daughter's share is said to be spent on finding a good bridegroom and celebrating her marriage. A few elderly persons reported that daughters are also entitled for occasional gifts like sarees and blouses. The farm mechanization has not altered these customs relating to the property. However, with the improved cash position of the parental family due to the transport development, daughters can either be married to economically
better off days and have more gifts (like gold, furniture, beds, household goods, sarees, etc.)

And finally, the parental attitude towards males and females has also undergone a desirable change especially in the case of the less developed households. In some of the households which are economically poor before responding to the transport development, the attitude of parents was said to be different for daughters and sons. Sons were said to be receiving more and immediate attention in matters like clothing, health and education, as they are supposed to be the perpetuators of the family names, bread winners for the family members and protectors of their parents during their old age. In contrast to this, with the economic improvement of these families, parents have started treating sons and daughters equally, except in respect of education. In one case of a less developed farmer, it is even found that he has not gone for re-marriage, though he has got only daughters from the first wife. Thus the traditional preference for sons is gradually losing its importance.

Coming to children 94.73 percent in Heddur and 87.2 percent in Ramdurg do not do any work in their houses, in the sense that they are either school going children or children of below school going age who are too young to do any work. But the remaining 5 percent and 16 percent of the children in respective villages are workers mainly engaged in assisting their parents in domestic activities, animal husbandry activities (sweeping cattle shed, selling milk, etc.) and agricultural activities (weeding and harvesting operations). And in both the villages, all these working children are from the not developed and the non-agricultural households, but not from the transportationally development households. After responding to the transport
development the children are sent to school, because of the appreciation of the value of education by their parents.

**Skills in the family workers**

There has been a change in the skills of the family workers after the transport development. This is in respect of learning the repair works.

In most of the vehicle owning and tractor owning households, the tractors are driven by some male members of the households. In the process of driving the tractors these members have learnt to do a few simple repairs to the tractor and vehicles. For instance, if some part of the tractor is broken it is removed and taken to a local blacksmith to repair it or to get a similar part prepared. Then the repaired or the new part is fitted to the tractor by the family worker himself, without commissioning the services of a tractor mechanic. However, compared to the traditional agricultural equipments, many of which could be repaired within the village with the help of ironsmith, vehicles and modern equipments are not easy for repair.

**Pattern of decision –making**

Family decisions are of many types such as domestic, social, economic and others. Choice of daily menu or occasional food items, distribution of domestic activities among different female members of the family, type of clothes to be stitched or bought for children and women are a few of the domestic decisions. Social decisions relating to matrimonial alliances, decisions relating to daughters and daughters –in-law, education of children, observance of occasional (not regular and routine) family festivals like nomenclature, Satyanarayana pooja (worship), Paada pooja (worship of feet) of a Lingayat guru (religious leader), sale or purchase of
durable consumer goods, construction of a new house, conversion or extension of the living house, purchase of agricultural equipments, type of crops to be grown, place and rate of marketing harvested crops, etc. are areas for economic decisions. And finally, who should approach a political leader or government official to get a benefit, whether to go to the court of law or seek justice in an informal way are the collective decisions of the family.

In both the villages, it is observed that excepting the domestic decisions all other decisions are taken by an elderly male member of the family, who is normally the head of the household. At the most, he may consult the next elderly man in the household on some of the matters. Though this is true of all categories of households in the two villages, in terms of degree, it is more so with the not developed and poor households, which have got higher literacy rate youths in the decision making process. However, in the case of the developed households, which have got higher literacy rate and income level, the educated youths and the women seem to have acquired comparatively more voice in the family decisions.

While the educated youths are increasingly participating with the heads of the households in the decision making, working or literate women impress upon both these persons in some of the social and economic decisions. Especially before taking matrimonial decisions, consent of bride and bridegroom is invariably taken, which was not so earlier. One case study may be quoted here to show how women can influence in economic decisions like purchase of modern agricultural equipments.

In a less developed household in Heddur, which was already having a tractor, persuasion from daughter-in-law was said to be mainly responsible for purchase of a modern threshing machine. Before buying the threshing equipment, the household was finding it difficult to complete all harvesting
operations quickly to prepare the land for the next sowing. Therefore, this household used to seek the assistance of relatives, especially married daughters and sisters, to assist them in the harvesting including threshing. Though these relatives used to get some reward in the form of harvested produce, it was not possible for all relatives to respond to the calls of the household every time. This was unnecessarily causing loss of harvested crops by rains, thefts, rats, etc., which intensified the need for mechanising the threshing operation. Incidentally, the household’s youngest literate daughter-in-law coming from an agriculturally mechanised household in the neighboring Teerthahalli village was repeatedly suggesting through her husband to buy threshing equipment, which could complete the whole threshing work in one day. Her desire was fulfilled only two years ago with the purchase of the threshing machine which has not only quickened the process but also saved the household from many humiliating situations. This machine has no doubt replaced labour, which is scarce during harvesting season.

This case study throws up two insights: firstly, literate women can influence family decisions in the light of their past experience. And secondly, transport development has led to the establishment of horizontal kinship relations with the less developed household, which has contributed (through its daughter) to the further mechanization of farming of the husband’s household. Occurred only after the increase in the cropping intercity due. To some degree of mechanization that was already there. This implies that initial mechanization itself leads to further mechanization. However, it is necessary to ramber that between women and the educated men, it is the latter who are more active in the family decision making.
Changing role of government

Since the reference and the control villages are selected from different districts there is a visible difference between the two villages in respect of the role of government. In both the villages, the government has provided borewells, medical sub-centre, (within two kilometers), per-natal and post-natal care through visiting health workers, veterinary services, sub-post office, roads, credit through cooperative societies is banks, agricultural inputs at subsidized rates and so on.

But if one compares the role of government in the two villages at different points of time, some improvement over a period of time could be observed. For instance, electricity was provided to both the villages before 1961 but supply of free electric lights to poor houses under Bhagyajouyhi scheme started in the late seventies. Though provision of street lights appears to have been long-ago, substitution of kerosene by electricity for street lighting was made after the electrification of the villages. Similarly, the government provided primary schools and middle schools to both the villages about 20 years ago. Yet distribution of free text books and uniforms to the needy school going children, mid-day meals, adult education classes for women and confessional travel to students studying in city colleges (like Shimoga) are of recent origin. Fair price shops to sell essential commodities like wheat, ragi, rice, palmolive oil, sugar, kerosene, cloth, soji etc., are not new, though sale of some of these times at further subsidized rates to holders of green cards is recent. Old age pension, pension to disabled persons, supply of milch animals (cows and she-burrfaloes), installation of gobar gas plants, distribution of houses or house site to lower income groups etc., have all been provided to the people of these villages during the last ten years.
Such increasing community services and social security benefits indicate the continuously expanding role of government in rural India.

**Influence in the community**

Transport development has produced a few major changes in the community. First, as a result inducing mechanized farming and increasing in the cropping intensity from one to two crops in a year, employment opportunities have increased in Heddur. This increase in the employment opportunities without proportionate increase in the supply of labour has led to an increase in the wage rates for agricultural labourers, who constitute 56 percent of total workers in Heddur and 36 percent in Ramdurg. For instance, in Heddur the daily wages which were Rs. 5 to 6 for males and Rs 3 to 4 for females during 1970s have increased to Rs. 25-30 for males and to Rs. 15-20 for females in 2004. In contrast in Ramdurg, they have increased from Rs. 4-5 for males and Rs. 2.50 to 3 for females during the sixties to Rs. 15-20 for males and Rs. 10-15 females in 2004.

Second, due to increase in the employment opportunities and the wage rates for agricultural laborers, the proportion of agricultural labourers to total number of workers has increased much faster in Heddur than in Ramdurg. For instance in Heddur it increased from 32 percent in 1981 to 53.7 percent in 1991 and further to 56 percent in 2004 respectively. Whereas in Ramdurg, it has increased only by 3 percent from 33 recent in 1971 to 36 percent in 2004.

Third, this increase in the percentage of agricultural laborers is not entirely due to in-migration of manual laborers from the surrounding villages. Percentage of cultivators has declined sharply in Heddur as compared to that in Ramdurg. In Heddur, it has declined from 57 percent
1971 to 24.29 percent in 2004, while in Ramdurg it has declined from 59 percent to only 51 percent during the corresponding years. This is also supported by the fact that the large farmers are accumulating lands from persons who are cultivating small pieces of lands. All these trends suggest that in the developed village, people have preferred wage employment (due to higher employment opportunities and higher wage rates) to concentrating on the cultivation of un-economic holdings.

Fourth, due to double cropping, increased wage rates and the introduction of cash crops like paddy, sugar potato, onion and cotton cash position of the people of Heddur has improved as compared to that of the people of Ramdurg. This is partly reflected in the higher per capita annual income of Rs. 3,719 in Heddur as compared to Rs 1,625.43 in Ramdurg.

Fifth, this improvement in the cash position has led to gradual replacement of barter transactions by cash transactions. Earlier wages were paid in kind. But cash payment has become a common practice. What is more, farmers who used to make payments in kind (in the form of food grains) to various services such as those of doctors, oil crushers, priests, porters, carpenters, black-smiths, washer man, barbers, scavengers, etc., have started making cash payments to them. This is more so in Heddur than in Ramdurg.

Finally transport development has brought about some changes in the village customs. In both the villages, farmers used to take -off from cultivating activities on every Monday, which is believed to be a day worship of Basavanna (Bull, the chariot of land Shiva). In the traditional form of agriculture, in which the farmers need bullocks for most of their agricultural operations, this custom is strictly followed even today. Because it is believed with religious sanction that they will not get good yield if they extract work
from bullocks on Mondays. But with the adoption of the mechanized framing, as a result of transport development this custom is slowly changing to the extent that only farmers have started working on Mondays by using machineries, as bullocks are not required in the new type of farming.

Inter-dependency

Inter-dependency is one of the basic features of any community—rural, or urban, primitive or modern and backward or developed. This inter-dependency can be seen in various spheres such as social, economic, political and even in cultural field. In this study, we have tried to observe how transport development has brought about changes in the dependency pattern in the two villages.

i) It is noticed that the number of non-workers per 100 workers has declined from 232 in 1971 to 165 in 2004 in Heddur, whereas it has increased in Ramdurg from 84 to 215. This is mainly because of the increase in the cropping intensity and the resultant increase in the employment opportunities in the former village. But this has not happened in Ramdurg. The fact that the number of workers per household has ranged only between one and two in the more developed households, should not cast doubt on the above mentioned observation because such households are not many in number, (less that 12 percent)

ii) One of the indirect effects of farm the transport development is the decline in the dependence of agricultural households on certain non-agricultural households working for them on jajmani pattern. In the jajmani system, patrons, who are usually land-owning or well-to-do farmers, use the services of certain occupational groups (clients) like priests, carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers, scavengers, cobblers, etc., on bi-annual remuneration basis. Though this system is still prevalent in both the villages, it is reported to be
declining in Heddur in three ways: Firstly, people have started underrating real value of payments in kind vis-à-vis cash payments, which has led to bargaining for wages from both the sides – patrons and clients. Secondly, with the improved cash position the farmers of Heddur have started using such durable consumer goods as pressing irons and shaving sets, which has minimized the need for the services of washerwomen and barbers respectively. Therefore, people are now using their services on cash payment whenever they need them in times of emergency.

Status of women

Change in the status of women can be assessed by using such indicators as percentage of literacy, working status, occupational structure, age at marriage, participation in sociopolitical activities, husband-wife relations, decision-making, etc. In Heddur, the percentage of literacy has inversed from 16.2 percent in the non-agricultural category of households to 21 percent in the non-developed households, 29.3 percent in the less developed households and 38 percent in the more developed households. The corresponding literacy rates are slightly higher in Ramdurg, namely 18.8 percent 25.2 percent, 39.5 percent and 40.6 percent respectively in the non-agricultural, non-developed, less developed and the more developed categories. This indicates that the transport development has created the need for education among females. The adult education classes for women and availability of education upto the middle school level within the village have also contributed to this increased literacy rate.

However, it should be remembered that though the need for education has incersed with the levels of technology, it has started declining after the middle school level. For , the villagers do not like to send their daughters to co-
educational institutor like high schools in the nearby villages after they reach puberty.

- This may appear paradoxical in that since level of economic development and level of literacy are generally associated, we should expect higher literacy rate in economically better off Heddur village than in Ramdurg. But literacy level and level of education are governed by complex factors. For instance, Kerala states in the Indian union has had high literacy rate because of the conceited effects of the Church to promote education in Kerala. At the micro level, Scarlet Epstein has found in her study of two South Indian villages that relatively dry village had higher level of education because of the economic compulsion to seek jobs outside agriculture which was undependable. Therefore, Ramdurg, though an agriculturally traditional and transportationally backwrd village, has high literacy rate because of the urge to get jobs outside agriculture.

As for the working status, it is observed that in Heddur, the number of non-workers, per 100 workers has declined, from 4931 in 1971 to 312 in 2004 whereas in Ramdurg, it shows the reverse trend i.e. it has increased from 106 in 1971 to 851 in 2004. This would imply that in the developed village, women have tended to become workers, while in the backward village, they have become non-workers. Though this is mainly due to the availability of employment opportunities in the developed village, the transport development has provided some economic status to women in the developed village which means that an increasing proportion of women from marginal farmer households have joined the group of agricultural laborers and the elderly women from developed better-off families take to supervision of agricultural operations. This is a status giving work and,
therefore, they take pride in doing it. But both this phenomena have not been evident in Ramdurg.

About the occupational structure, in 1991, 76.93 percent of the women workers were engaged in household cultivation in Heddur. But in 2005, 70.89 percent of women workers are in wage employment instead of entirely depending upon the cultivation of uneconomic holdings. This is one of the direct effects of the transport development. Though Ramdurg also shows the same trend, their relative shares are not so high in that village, (53.2 percent Cultivators in 1991 and 59.5 percent agricultural laborers in 2004).

As for the age at marriage, in Heddur only one case of child marriage is reported while in Ramdurg four cases of child marriage are reported. In both the villages, these child marriages have occurred in the case of females and in the categories of the not-developed, and the non-agricultural households. This implies that in the developed households, the practice of child marriage is disappearing fast, which is an indication of the improvement in the status of women.

Since the developed village has given scope for its women to become literates and earners, they are more active than their Ramdurg counterparts in social and economic activates. Women in both the villages, especially of the developed households, are participating in the local Mahila Mandal activities such as organizing and attending tailoring classes, classes in bakery, in wire basket making etc. In Heddur a few women have emerged as leaders. This indicates that the transport development has indirectly provided scope for women to make some headway in social and political activities.
Coming to the husband-wife relations, two changes, which observed, are worth-mentioning here, which can be entirely attributed to the transport development. One change has been that wives can now accompany their husbands to places like Teerthahalli and Shimoga to see movies. Husband and wife together going to a movie has been an urban phenomenon in India, This is spreading to rural areas also, thereby making traditional male chauvinism to give way to equality of status. The other change is that women who belonged to earlier generation used to do obedience padanamaskara (touching their husbands’ feet with their forehead) after finishing daily bath and worship, modern women no longer continue this practice. Thus their economic independence in which the transport development has played some role and informal education through Mahila Mandals have created self-respect, of course not to the extent of claiming equality with their husbands. This can be seen in most of their day-to-day activities such as eating food only after serving to their husbands, keeping a distance behind the husbands while walking together, sitting on mat or floor while the husbands sit on chairs or mane (wooden stool of less than 6 inches height) etc.

And finally, coming to the decision-making, women have not influenced decisions at the community level. However, they can influence the elderly male members of their families in making family level decisions, which has already been dealt with.

Pattern of decision-making

village level decisions relate mostly to such activities as conducting village fairs or festivals, organizing some functions in the villages, approaching officials or political leaders to get certain collective benefits to the village etc. It is observed that in both the villages, it is mainly lingayat
leaders who take lead in such village level decisions. This is mainly because in both the villages they are numerically dominant and economically better-off (with land base and good income).

Recently, a few Scheduled caste leaders have emerged due to political awakening supported by the political parties and the government. But they are not so active in these villages as the lingayat leaders. They simply attend the village meetings, but do not participate in discussions on resolutions of such meetings. People belonging to other castes (non-Harijan and non-Lingayat castes) do not have any say in the village level decisions.

One change in the decision-making which we have observed is that even among the Lingayats and the Harijans, educated youths now have to play some role if not the main role in the village level decision-making. In both the villages all the them are from developed households. I Heddur mostly these youngsters supported the decision to start the milk producers cooperative society in the villages. This impress that education and transport development are contributing to the emergence of youth leadership in the villages.

**Change in Expectations**

Man is a bundle of wants. If one want is satisfied another want will arise, as aspiring for better is a human tendency. What is more, with or without any improvement in his socio-economic conditions man keeps expecting more and more. However, these expectations do vary in intensity and content depending upon the socio-economic conditions of the people. In the present section it is attempted to examine these variations reference to socio-economic conditions obtaining in the transport development and the backward villages. For analytical purposes the expectations are grouped
into five categories such as basic services, social services, education, public utilities and other amenities.

Drinking water sanitation and health are important basic services. During the early 50s, people in Heddur and Ramdurg depended upon the tanks in villages. While the Heddur tank could provide water more or less throughout the year, the Ramdurg tank used to be dry during summer and thereby forcing Ramdurg people to dig pits of 3 to 5 feet deep in the tank bed for obtaining drinking water.

With the passage of time, growing population and reportedly declining rainfall made these sources of drinking water inadequate for the needs of the villagers. This accounted for the digging of public wells around 1970 and borewells (under government) during 1980. The borewells dug in Heddur were also better than those in Ramdurg. For not only they were more in number in Heddur than in Ramdurg 1 but also the former contained potable (sweet) water, the wells of Ramdurg contained water with high sodium content. Since availability of the drinking water is supposed to be a basic condition for human inhabitation, Ramdurg people had no other go but to press the government to allow them to use the upper Krishna Project (Narayana pura Dam), which passes through a pipeline nearly the village. The government, however, considered their request favorably and provided a water chamber about one km far from the village, which they have been using in recent years. Besides there are 10 borewells in Heddur, but only 6 borewells and private wells in Ramdurg.

Though the water chamber offers adequate drinking water to the people of Ramdurg they were not yet free from certain genuine problems. The fact that it is one km away from this village was imposing an unavoidable tiresome exercise of bringing required quantity of water, due to
which people used to forego their daily wage employment. Relatively rich households in the village, are maintaining has-pulled carts for carrying 8-10 pots of water at a time. Yet, whenever these carts go out of use for want of repairs, these households also find it difficult to have the required quantity of water. Therefore, they are aspiring for and also making concerted efforts to tap water at the cost of the government.

Since the drinking water position is not so bad in Heddur, demand for the water is not so intense in the village. However, rich households in the village, do expect something more in the drinking water facility. This is reflected in the efforts of 5 to 6 such households sinking private wells in the backyards of their houses exclusively for their own use and one such household also installing pump to its private well to get the well water within the house. These developments can be attributed to improved economic position made possible to their tillage and the consequent double cropping and growing of cash crops (potato and onion).

Like the drinking water facility sanitation and sewage disposal facilities are also not satisfactory is Ramdurg as compared to this in Heddur.

i) Compared to curved lanes any by lanes in Ramdurg, those in Heddur are more straight and abroad. This made them appear cleaner than those in Ramdurg.

ii) Though sweeping of the lanes and the bye-lanes is a daily phenomenon in both the villages, almost every one of them in Heddur contained open drains, which were cleaned and sprayed DDT or phenoil frequently. On top of this, tendencies of children to answer their nature calls and of women to throw dust and dirty things near
houses (as their houses had no provision for dustbins unlike their Heddur counterparts) further contributed to unhygienic appearance of some of these lanes any by lanes.

iii) The borewells in Ramdurg were not used as much for drinking purpose as they are in Heddur because of salty water in Ramdurg borewells. But they are used for cleaning bullocks and such other no-essential purposes. And the surroundings of the borewells are not kept clean leading to stagnation of water and mosquito menace.

iv) However in respect of the disposal of cow dung and night soil (in the houses having private latrines) there is no visible difference between the developed and the backward villages due to the presence of gobar gas plants in such houses. But whenever these plants failed to function, they did face some problems, until assistance came from taluka level officer-in-charge of the gobar gas.

In the light of these differences between the developed and the backward villages in the sanitation amenities some difference in the expectations were also noticed. The Heddur people are wanting underground drainage system and pucca roads within the village, whereas Ramdurg people are satisfied if they could get the existing drains regularly cleaned, if dustbins and additional drains are provided at needed points and if community latrines are built and maintained properly.

As for the health and medical amenities, both the villages home local private doctors and one or two dais (ladies indigenously trained in the art of conducting child deliverers). Both Heddur and Ramdurg are officially served by a medical sub-center at the near by villages. Heddur people used
its services more than the Ramdurg people due to the distance factor. While people of both the villages have no doubts about the regularity of their visit its of Auxiliary Nurse Midwives, Family planning Health Assistant Corolla Control Workers, malaria health visitors to their villages, they are not happy with their emphasis on motivating them to undergo the family planning operation. Prenatal and postnatal care, MCH (Maternity Child Health) are reportedly not given properly. In Ramdurg, immunization service is also limited to what the school going children of the village received in their schools, as child deliveries in the hospital are rare in the village. Excepting this Ramdurg and Heddur do not differ much with regard to other health services. Demand for a private lady doctor on regular or visiting basis is also here from rich and developed households of Heddur.

**Expectations relating to Social services**

Though the concept of social services includes education, health and other public amenities, we are using the term here to include the social activities which are provided by voluntary agencies like youth clubs and Mahila Mandals and which are partly in the nature of skill formation programmes. Such social services are available to the people of the two selected villages and are mostly provided by voluntary agencies, and programmes. Youth clubs for men and Mahila Mandals for women started by voluntary agencies are found to be doing social services in these villages. While the youth club at Ramdurg is not doing any social service, and that at is doing some social service like building a Kalyanamantap (community hall for marriages) repair of village roads once in a year, organizing security service through night patrolling (in collaboration with the local Raita Sangha) and so on. In spite of such an active role of this youth club, Heddur
people are not satisfied. They are appiring for adult education classes for men. But the Ramdurg people would be content if they get a building for their club for playing some indoor games like playing cards etc.

Coming to the Mahila mandals, the mahila mandal at Heddur is older (Started in 1970) and active one as compared to that at Ramdurg started around 1984. While in the former is functioning in its own building, the latter is running in the local anganawadi school building. In Ramdurg the Mahila Mandal is only training ladies in tailoring. It could also get sewing machines to some poor ladies in the beginning. In contrast to this the Marewads Mahila Mandal is becoming more and more active It was not only training the local needy ladies (20 every year) in tailoring like that in Ramdurg, but is also imparting training in bakery, wire basket making, doll making, preparation of art materials out of cut pieces of cloth, cigerrate packets, etc. Though it is charging nominal fee of Rs.10/- per head per month. Scheduled Caste women are exempted from paying this fee. So far, it has been able to get sewing machines freely for eight needy ladies in the village. Besides, this Mahila Mandal is directly responsible for the local Balawadi school (which is providing milk and bread to as many as 50 poor children of the village. The state government Social Welfare Department of the state Government and the local village panchayat started maintaining it later. Though the Heddur Mahila Mandal has been playing such as active role, people of this village are not satisfied with it. The villagers are demanding some follow-up measures to make productive use of the skills imparted through the mandal activities. In contrast to this, Ramdurg people are satisfied if the local Mahila Mandal could diversify its training activities.

Besides the activities of the youth clubs and the Mahila Mandals, the activities of the village community in general also deserve our attention.
Both the villages contain gramophone facility for playing devotional songs. In addition to this, the Ramdurg people are having two gymnasiums (Garadimane), wherein elders are training youngsters in body building exercises like wrestling, weight lifting, etc. Though Heddur is also reported to have had two gymnasiums earlier, one of them is no longer used much and building of the other has collapsed and has not been repaired for several years. This shows that the Heddur people have lost interest in traditional recreational activities, though some of the Ramdurg people want more chances to play the games of strength (like Wrestling).

As for expectation relating to education it is observed that both the villages are more or less similar in this respect. Each of them has got one balawadi (nursery) school, one primary school and two adult education classes for women. While in the balawadis poor students are fed under the midday meal programme, in the primary school and the adult education classes they receive free test books and slates. Recently, the primary schools run by the state government have also started giving free uniforms to the needy children.

But in respect of middle school and the high school education, some differences are observed between the two villages. Though both had a middle school each, in Heddur it is run by a private management, Ramdurg School is a government school. Both the villages do not have high school though a school is located in neighboring bigger villages. Compared to that Ramdurg, the distance between Heddur and the high school in the nearby village is relatively less, (within one kilometer as against two kilometers distance to Ramdurg).

For people of both the villages, taluks headquarters serve as a center for higher (post - metric) education. Though in terms of the distance from
Raichur, Ramdurg is not in an advantageous position, good transport facilities during day time and provision of confessional travel passes to the school going children compensated for it.

Coming to the way in which the educational amenities are used at the village level, Ramdurg has made a headway, whereas at the household level, the developed households have done better that the not – developed households. At the village level, Ramdurg has got higher percentage of literates than Heddur. This is mainly due to three reasons: (i) lack of employment opportunities (in agriculture) for children, (ii) facility of free education due to the presence of government schools up to the middle school (Seventh standard), in the village, and (iii) villagers’ desire for entering into non – agricultural occupations (especially jobs in private or public sector concerns in places like Shimoga). In spite of these compelling reasons, 90.3 percent of these literates have not crossed secondary school level in this village.

But within the villages significant difference in the use of educational facilities are observed in terms of the levels of transport development. In both the villages’ percentage of literates increased with an increase the level of transport development. This is true of both male and female literates. Similarly, the proportion of literates having primary and middle school education are high in the not – developed category of households, while the proportion of those having secondary and college education are high both in the more developed and in the less developed categories of households. This difference is true even when we compare the less developed category of households with the more developed households. This implies that transport development has created demand for higher education in both the villages. This is also reflected in their expectation of getting more number of
scholarships and increase in the transport services during working hours of colleges. In contrast to this, the not developed households are satisfied if their men are covered under the adult education scheme.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Electricity, veterinary, communication and transport facilities are important public utilities. Both the villages were electrified in the late 70s. In 2005, it was found that 84 percent and 56 percent of the households were electrified in Heddur and Ramdurg respectively. Even a few houses belonging to weaker sections have come to possess electric lights under Bhagyajothi Scheme, under which the government provides electric lights at nominal charge. Though most of the lanes and the byelanes in both the villages have street lights, they are not properly maintained in areas which were occupied by lower income group and lower caste localities. This is more so in Ramdurg. Therefore people in Heddur want additional street lights for new streets like Janatha Housing Colony, while in Ramdurg, timely replacement of fused bulbs in all lanes and bye-lanes is found to be a widely felt need.

As for the veterinary facilities, Ramdurg has got state government veterinary unit with a building and a livestock Inspector, whereas in Heddur, Secretary of the milk producers’ cooperative society has undergone training in livestock insemination and he has been rendering voluntary and free veterinary services in the village. In both the villages some of the households are reported to have been using veterinary facilities. In Heddur, out 36 percent of the households sought veterinary services from outside the village for special care for their animals, which are a source of regular income through diary products. Therefore, their
main demand is provision for such additional and special veterinary facilities in their own village. This is not so in Ramdurg nor are they required there.

As for the communication facility, a sub – post office is located in both the villages. Apart from the sale of stamps and delivery and disposal of letters, the Ramdurg sub –post office is provided with a telephone service through which telegrams could also be booked. But the Heddur sub-post office does not have this facility. The people of Heddur have to go to the nearby Hosohalli or Teerthahalli for these facilities. Therefore, people of Heddur, especially the developed category of households, strongly demand public telephone service at the village sub-post office.

Coming to the transport facility, on which the entire study is conducted, the two selected villages are located on the state highways, which are maintained by the state Public Works Department. Government Thus all vehicles – Private or Public- plying this road, by and large, fulfilled the transport needs of these villages. Apart from this, Heddur has got an additional transport facility through a deviation road by which vehicles from Shimoga to ply. Though the Shimoga sub –urban Bus Transport system covers the Heddur village, frequency of shuttle service is more to Heddur village than to Ramdurg village. Buses going to neary bigger villages are also used by the Heddur people. Therefore, the Ramdurg people strongly feel that it is difficult for them to travel to and from Raichur or Devdurg after 7.00 p.m.

**Other Facilities**

Among other facilities available in these villages, private shops, fair price shops, and cooperative institutions are important. Heddur has got at least one provision store and one tea stall for every street. In some streets, there are even three or four such provisions stores. But in Ramdurgt
number of provision stores is small. Therefore, Ramdurg people want more number of provision stores within the village, so that at least necessary things will be available at competitive prices. In contrast to this, people of Heddur are aspiring to start different kinds of shops such as general stores, medical stores, fancy stores, etc., within the village.

Fair price shops, which are meant for providing basic items- food and non-food (such as rice, wheat, sugar, kerosene, palmolive oil, cloth, etc.,) to people at subsided rates, are run by the cooperative societies in both the villages. Besides, recently introduced green cards, through which people below the poverty line are supposed to buy their monthly requirements of food grains at highly subsidized prices are given to the needy people in both the villages. While people in Ramdurg, by and large, are satisfied by this additional facility, in Heddur even poor people want better quality goods under this scheme.

Finally, there are three multipurpose societies in Heddur (One for agricultural purposes and one for dairy purpose), while there is only one multipurpose society functioning in Ramdurg village. Apart from the timely supply of credit, seeds, fertilizers and agricultural equipments, the agricultural cooperative societies also provide godown facilities (two in Heddur and one in Ramdurg).

Over and above all these, the state government has been providing some social security measures to the people of these two villages. They include old-age pension and pension for physically handicapped. There is no difference between the developed and the backward villages in that respect.

In both the villages, about 20 old persons and 6-8 physically handicapped persons are receiving old age pension and disabled persons’
Pension respectively. Besides, under anti-poverty programmes, milching animals (cows and she-buffaloes) were distributed to needy households in Heddur to utilize the services of the local dairy cooperative society. As for the changes in the expectations of the people in this respect, the Heddur people only expect a wider coverage particularly in respect of the old age pension, while the Ramdurg people want some employment guarantee to unemployed or under-employed educated and uneducated people of the village.

Thus, it may be noticed that the transport development has created an impact of changing the expectations of the people in respect of the basic needs, social services, educational, facilities and public utility services. In other words, it has made the developed households more materialistic in outlook than the not-developed households. A clear difference is observed in their outlook, life style and aspirations.

**CHANGE IN MOBILITY**

People move from place to place for varied reasons. They include such important reasons as marriage and employment and such transitory purposes like pilgrimage, education, entertainment etc. Particularly, when we are comparing the transportationally developed households with the not-developed households, it is interesting to know whether these households differ in terms of purposes, frequencies and distances of their movements.
FAMILY MOVEMENTS (PHYSICAL)

At the village level, we do not find much difference between the developed and the backward villages with regard to migration due to marriage, education and, to some extent, religious visits. But there are a few differences between them in matters of other types of family movements such as pilgrimages, excursions, business tours and journeys for employment and entertainment.

It is observed that out-migration for employment is more in Ramdurg, while in-migration for employment is more in the case of Heddur. There are 47 (12.6 percent) and 12 (3.1 percent) in-migrant households in Heddur Ramdurg respectively. Most of these households pursued agricultural labour and are seasonal in-migrants. This is mainly because of the employment opportunities in Heddur created by the transport development and mechanized farming and the resultant increase in the cropping intensity. In contrast to this, households whose members out-migrated for seeking livelihood or employment, are 8 and 55 in Heddur and Ramdurg respectively. The greater number of the out migrant households in Ramdurg is mainly because of the look of employment opportunities within the village as the households are using the traditional farming technology.

For the people of Heddur, Teerthahalli town, which is 15 kilometers far from the village, served as center for excursion, entertainment and business. For the people of Ramdurg, Raichur, Mantralaya, Shaktinagar are the centers of pilgrimage, excursion and business respectively. Generally movements of people of Heddur are generally more than those of Ramdurg people. Improvement in the cash position due to the accepst to
employment provided by the transport development has helped Heddur to be more mobile than their Ramdurg counter parts.

**EXTENDED AREAS OF OPERATION**

It is observed that with transport development, areas of operation have also widened in the case of the developed households in both the villages. Increase in the cropping intensity from one to two crops in a year, change from subsistence production to surplus production and introduction of cash crops (paddy, sugarcane, sunflower and cotton), have widened the area of market for their produce to Teerthahalli, Shimoga and Chitradurga cities. Two less developed households in Heddur have opened *adathi* (foodgrains) shops in these cities for selling their farm products. Contacting taluka level and district level officials in Teerthahalli and Shimoga and going up to the state capital (Bangalore) for getting bank loans for the purpose of purchasing vehicles and modern agricultural equipments are also observed in the case of some developed households in Ramdurg.

A few non-agricultural households, on which the agricultural households depended, also have made a headway in their family occupations. There is one household in the village, which is pursuing blacksmithy and carpentry. With its family background in these crafts, it is catering to the needs of the local farmers (preparing and repairing vehicles and traditional agricultural equipments). But with the transport development, this family has found its traditional technology and skills inadequate to repair the modern farm equipments. This has forced it to modernize its family occupation by opening an engineering workshop in the village. Such an enterprising initiative is observed in the case of similar families in Ramdurg.
CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC BASE OF THE FAMILY

Though the main focus of the study is on the social impact of transport development, understanding of the economic impact which goes with the social impact is equally necessary. In fact, it has been observed that the transport development itself has directly induced some social changes and some changes as income effects. Therefore, it would be relevant to analyse the changes in the economic base of households which have been brought about by the transport development mechanization.

Expenditure On ‘Non–Subsistence’ Activities

The term non-subsistence refers to something that is not very essential for subsistence. Since economic background of people differ, what is non–subsistence for one section of people may be otherwise for another section. Taking the economic background and particularly the standards of living of the people of the two villages, food, clothing, house rent or house tax, health and fuel or electricity may be considered as subsistence items. At the household level, the percentage of expenditure on these items has increased with the level of development in both the villages. But in Ramdurg, these percentages are not only lower than those in Heddur, but also the difference between the non-developed and the more developed categories is only 3 percent as against 32 percent between such categories in Heddur.

These differences in the proportions of subsistence and non-subsistence expenditure throw up one useful insight, which is also true at the macro level. That is, in the backward village, people cannot afford to spend more on the non-subsistence activities, unlike those in the developed
village. This implies that their saving propensity and capacity to invest in such durable consumer goods is relatively less as compared to that of the Hedur people. It is because of this that movable assets like big vessels, radios, sewing machines, watches, wood chairs, are a common sight in all categories of households in both the villages. But steel furniture, wooden tables, cots, tape recorders and pressing irons are mostly found in the developed households.

**Saving And Indebtedness**

With the introduction of transport development, three changes in the pattern of saving have developed households have achieved positive savings. In the case of seven less developed households only two in Hedur and three in Ramdurg have got savings, whereas, in the case of the not-developed category only one household in Ramdurg reported to have saved something. From this it becomes clear that as the transport development takes places, income increases, savings of the households also increase, (ii) In Hedur, all the seven households, which reported to be saving, have saved through modern saving channels like banks, post offices, pigmy and life insurance. Though in Ramdurg 75 per cent of households which have saved are reported to have done so in such modern saving schemes, another 25 per cent of the households have resorted to the primitive method of saving by putting the money in earthen pots or boxes, (iii) Per household savings have increased to Rs.4000 in Ramdurg to Rs.7000 in Hedur in the case of the more developed households. If we compare the less developed and the more developed households within the villages also, the latter have done better than the former.

Regarding indebtedness, two differences were noticed between the developed and the not developed households. (i) In both the villages, banks
and agricultural cooperative societies are the main sources of credit. However, in Heddur, it is only in the non-developed category that one household is still dependent on exploitative source such as money lenders. (ii) In both the villages, the more developed households have borrowed loans for agricultural purposes buying tractors or other farm equipments and for meeting working expenses such as harvesting crops. In contrast to this, less mechanized households have combined non-agricultural purposes like domestic reasons, opening of a welding shop and settling a tenancy dispute. The non-developed households have borrowed mainly for such non-agricultural and sometimes unproductive purposes. This indicates that as the level of transport development increases, people save more, they tend to become aware of the dangers of borrowing for unproductive purposes. This awareness comes probably through formal education and by observing how others in non-agricultural sector utilize borrowed funds.

**Negative in Implication Of Transport Development**

The road transport development, as several studies have revealed, has also got negative side also. It consists of environmental pollution, accidental injuries and deaths wasting of hours and hours of time in waiting for the buses and performing monotonous journeys. The people of both the villages alleged that old buses only are meant for rural service, which do not make the journey enjoyable. Particualrly in the developed village a respondent coming from the not developed category of households narrated that he lost his legs in an accident caused by a tractor used for the Ganesh festival. Since then, he could not cultivate his lands and there was nobody also at home to cultivate. Therefore, he had to sell-off his lands and become a landless petty shopkeeper. Such cases are not many and they are not observed in Ramdurg.
village. Similarly the lack of timely bus service and irregularity of the buses have caused waste of time, which the villagers would have otherwise used for economically beneficial purposes.