Chapter-2

Village Background
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VILLAGE BACKGROUND

The objective of this chapter is to bring to the fore the general framework of the social life of the people of the village. This framework is formed out of a holistic understanding of the village which includes geographical location, history, topography, seasons, climatic conditions, settlement pattern, flora and fauna, income, education and occupation, agricultural cycle, settlement pattern, festivals, dress pattern, food habits, health care, administration and the people. The intention is to find out how do the various social institutions interact with one another to form the social organization of the village explained in the next chapter. The researcher in this chapter tries to bring out the context of the present study which will help in bringing out the interlinkages between the various aspects of village background and thus arriving at the underlying patterns of cultural life of the people. By doing so the researcher intends to focus on gender and reproductive health in the backdrop of the social organization of the people of the village.

a. Geographical location

The village under study, Nigadi, lies 12 kilometers from Dharwad city as we travel west along the Dharwad-Haliyal Road. It is a part of Dharwad district which earlier came under the Bombay Province during the British rule. Presently it is a part of north western Karnataka in southern India that was formed during reorganization of states in 1956. Nigadi is located on the eastern slopes of Western Ghats also referred to as Sahyadrian forests. The village lies between longitudes 74° 43' to 75° 25' east and latitudes 15° 02' to 15° 48' north (Central Ground Water Board 2007). It is spread over
an area of 1440 acres which comes to 3600 hectares (1 Acre = 2.5 Hectares) as per the information taken from village accountant. The state highway Dharwad-Haliyal road runs tangentially towards the east of the settlement of the village. Apart from Dharwad district in the east, the village shares its boundaries with Belgaum district in the north, Uttara Kannada in the west and Haveri district in south.

The National Highway Number – 4 which runs from Pune in north-west to Bangalore in south-east, cuts the Dharwad district into almost two equal halves. The regions on the either side of the highway have their own distinct geographical features. The tract towards the west of this road, where the present area of study is located is called as – malnad and the tract towards the east is referred to as – belula. The term malnad literally means a region that receives more rainfall and belula on the other hand means a land that grows more crops. Thus malnad as a geographical region is characterized by high levels of rainfall, proportionately larger and denser forest cover, and paddy as its main crop. The soil here is red in colour and is hard and brittle. As against this, belula is characterized by low levels of rainfall, variety of crops namely Jowar, Wheat and Sugarcane and a forest cover which is not as dense as that of malnad. The soil here is blackish and is soft and clayey. It is this difference in the geographical features that brings about a difference in the agricultural practices of the people of these two regions which also gets reflected in the differences in their life styles.

b. History of the village

Historically, Dharwad district as a whole is one of the important tracts of the wider cultural and political territory known as Karnataka, which has been inhabited since pre-historic times. Initially Karnataka region came under the influence of
Mauryas, Pallavas, Kadambas, Gangas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Kalachuris, Yadavas, Hoysalas, Delhi Sultanate and Vijayanagar empire as mentioned in order. Dharwad in particular passed under the following rulers – Adil Shahs of Bijapur (1565-1685); Moghuls (1685-1720); Marathas (1720-1818) and finally British (1818-1947) (Halabar 1986).

The elders of the Nigadi village say that, the history of the village can be traced to Peshwa period which dates back to 300 years. Dada Saheb Killedar of the Musalmanru caste, who is one of the earliest settlers in the village, says that when his ancestors settled in the village there was Peshwa rule in this part of the region. In those days there use to be a village called Ajjanaikanakatti on the other side of the Dharwad-Haliyal road, opposite to the present settlement of Nigadi village. Dharwad was the nearest town which was the only market place nearby from where they could get things for their daily use. But during rainy season people of this village used to find it very difficult to go to Dharwad as the lakes used to overflow and block the road. Therefore they had to travel round about to reach Dharwad, that is through the villages of Bada and Salakinakoppa. In order to avoid this inconvenience the people of Ajjanaikanakatti shifted and settled on other side of road which later came to be known as Nigadi. The earliest settlers of Nigadi village were from Killedar Manetana (lineage) belonging to Musalmanru caste, Gaudara Manetana (lineage) belonging to Hande Kurubaru caste, and Badadar Manetana (lineage) of Kurubaru caste. During the earlier days the villagers had their own traditional panchayati (Panchayat) system. Panchayati (Panchayat) system is a method of governance followed by the villagers before the modern local self government called Panchayati raj system came in to
existence to settle various issues and disputes arising in the village. The traditional Panchayati (Panchayat) was a group of five elderly men of the village, one of which was the gaudaru (headman). It was the members of these early settled manetanas (lineages) who were in the Panchayati (Panchayat). The elderly men belonging to these manetana (lineage) played an important role in settling the disputes and also taking various decisions relating to the development of the village. An elderly member of the gaudara manetana (lineage) was the traditional headman of the village.

c. Legends relating to origin of the village

There are two legends relating to the etymological origins of the word Nigadi as narrated by the people of the village.

During 12th century there was a revolution in Basavakalyana, a place which is located in the present Bagalkot district of Karnataka. This revolution is referred to as kalyana kranti in the history of Karnataka. It was headed by the great social reformer of the time Basavanna who was a minister under the rule of King Bijjala. Basavanna, who was a Brahmin, and a follower of God Shiva, allowed the members of all the castes to enter into the Hindu temples. Before this, only the people belonging to upper caste were allowed to enter the Hindu temples. The followers of Basavanna were known as Shiv Sharanaru (followers of God Shiva). Bijjala, the king of Basavakalyana, was against this revolution as he thought that this would create unrest in his kingdom. Therefore, he started to crack down on the followers of Basavanna. Soon the followers of Basavanna also revolted against this action of king Bijjala and the movement turned violent. Many followers of Basavanna were driven out of Basavakalyana. As a result of this many such followers took to different parts of Karnataka. One such follower was
Channabasaveshwara who was the son of Basavanna's elder sister. The legend has it that Channabasaveshwara first came to Nigadi village and stayed there. It is in Nigadi that he decided to go to Uluvi Kshetra, an important pilgrimage centre for the people belonging to Lingayat caste which has a Shiva temple. Uluvi is located on the Dharwad-Haliyal road. The term Nigadi is derived from the Kannada word nigadi padisuvudu which literally means ‘to decide’. It was when Chennabasaveshwara was in this place that he decided to go to Uluvi and became lingaiyka (salvation, one with the God). Therefore the village came to be known by the name Nigadi. Chennabasveshwara along with Basavanna later on came to be worshipped as God by their followers. In order to commemorate this sacred occasion the people of the village arrange dasoha wherein mass food camps are set-up for pilgrims during bharat hunnive (a full moon day) which falls in the month of February-March. It is on this day that the yearly festival of Uluvi temple is celebrated and people from different parts of this region visit Uluvi as pilgrims. These facilities are provided to the followers in Madivaleshwara Matta of Nigadi village which is located on the way to Uluvi Kshetra.

The people of the village have one more legend relating to the origin of the word Nigadi. Long ago, there was a king called Nigar who ruled over the region. He had a daughter by the name Nigandi. The villagers say it was after her that the village came to be known as Nigandi and as the time passed by, people changed the middle syllable of the word Nigandi and started using the term Nigadi. Thus the village got its name as Nigadi.
d. Topography

Broadly speaking, the region under study is characterised by three kinds of physical features, the Sahyadrian forests which the people refer to as Malnad (rain fed area), the middle plateau and the wide black soil plains. The village under study is situated at a point where the Malnad and middle plateau region meet. The average elevation of the region is 1900 feet. Some of the summits in the Sahyadrian forests have heights ranging from 1200ft-2400ft (Survey of India 1952 in Halabar 1984). The forest area in the region is protected by Government regulation against the indiscriminate exploitation of forest by the people. People cut the trees for the fire wood purpose, for building houses, making furniture and agricultural implements. The forest department looks after the afforesation of these areas in order to achieve a nationally determined minimum percentage of forest area as told by the forest guard of the region.

There are two lakes in the village one is hirekeri (large lake) which is used for irrigation purposes during the summer. The water from Hirekeri Lake (large lake) is also used for washing the clothes, and for taking bath. Another lake is known by the name kempgeri (red lake), water of which is muddy. This is a comparatively smaller lake. The water from this lake is used for washing cattle.

The area is surrounded by red soil, which has high laterite content. This soil is essentially forest soil. It is heavily leached hence acidic and poor in fertility. The land does not hold water and therefore becomes hard once it stops raining, and therefore it is very hard to work on this type of land. This soil therefore needs to be heavily manured and properly looked after in order to get the required yield (Cambell 2003).
e. Seasons

The villagers say that, a year can be divided as *beshige* (summer)-from middle of February-to end of May with strong east-wind until the mid-April followed by *gudugu male* (thunder rain showers) at the end of May. *Malegala* (rainy season) that is strong South-West monsoon begins in June and extends till September which brings cool and damp climate. After the heavy rains in monsoon there is north-east rains in October and November, the cold season is in December to mid-February. Usually in June, the South-Western monsoon sets in and gains momentum in a short period. The monsoon remains active till October.

f. Climate

The climate of this region is said to be quite mild and pleasant. The average temperature through the year is maximum 39.4°C and minimum 20°C (www.karnatakaonline 2009) The rainfall in the region occur from south-west monsoon extends from June to September and ranges from 998.2-594.30 mm.(Central Ground Water Board 2007). December and January can be considered as the coldest months. Heavy rain occurs in the month of June-August. The rainfall is not stable every year.

g. Flora and Fauna

The natural vegetation of the region indicates its response to the climatic and physiographic conditions. There is dense cover of forest in the hilly region to the west of area under study. In the region itself, much of the forest has been cleared for cultivation and settlement. The forest contains various species of plants, namely *teak* (Tectona grandis), *matti* (Terminalia tomentosa), *honme* (pterocarpus), *bamboo* and
thorny shrubs. The forest can be described as a mixed monsoon type. Much economic importance is placed on the forest as a source of timber, firewood and charcoal. Some of the minor forest products are medi hullu (a type of grass which is used to make broom sticks), antu (gum), jenu tuppa (honey), bidiru (bamboo) and wild fruits. Inside the settlement, we can see the plants and trees like hunchi gida (tamarind tree), arali mara (banyan tree), tengina gida (coconut tree), dasavala gida (hibiscus plant), tulasi gida (tulasi plant), kakada mallige gida (jasmine plant), bevina gida (neem), kari bevina gida (bay leaves).

The people of the village say that, until the recent past, the region had a rich variety of fauna, but indiscriminate destruction of wild animals and birds has led to the extinction of many species and a general decline of wildlife. Some of the important species of wildlife include tiger, bison, panther, leopard, sloth bear, wolf, jackal, wild boar, sambar, spotted deer and barking deer. The bird life of the area includes the Malabar trogon, the fairy blue bird, the great Indian hornbill, wood peckers and flycatchers with numerous striking colours and habits (Cambell 2003). The villagers’ rear akala (cows), yethu (bulls), yemme (buffalows) and aadu (goats). Very few households have pets like bekku (cats) and naayi (dogs). We can also find mangya (monkeys) and inichi (squirrels) and kaage (crows) in the village.

h. Agricultural Cycle

Kamata (agriculture) forms the backbone of the village economy and social life of the people of Nigadi. Seventy percent of the total households of the village are dependent on agricultural activities. All the activities of the village center around agriculture. Many aspects of social life of the villagers like health, marriage, family and
education are determined by agriculture. For example, even if a person has injured his leg badly while doing the agricultural work he first thinks of finishing the work in the field only then he thinks of going to hospital for treatment. People fix the various rituals and ceremonies in a season of the year when there is very less work on the agricultural field.

All the members of the family participate in the agricultural work. The kind of a work that a person does in the field is dependent on age and gender. For instance, men do the work of *gale hodyodu* (ploughing) and *dana hodyodu* (controlling the cattle) during the process of sowing. Women engage in *kale tegeyodu* (weeding), *hasan madodu* (cleaning the field) and help the men during sowing. Both men and women do the work of *kyuyyodu* (cut the paddy crops), *thulyodu* (separating the paddy grain from its chaff) and *toorodu* (winnowing). Children are engaged in *hendi hodyodu* (breaking the lumps of the soil) and also helping their family in all the other agricultural activities.

The village falls under the *malnad* region as it receives heavy rainfall. Most of the agricultural lands of this region have *berch mannu*- red soil and therefore the land is hard which makes it difficult to cultivate. The agricultural fields in this region are located on the slopes of the hills and therefore are irregular in shape. The total cultivated land belonging to the *Nigadi* village is 1044 acres as per the information collected from the village accountant. The main agricultural crop grown by the people of the village is *batha* (paddy). The most common *thali* (breed) of paddy grown by the villagers is *Intan batha* (Intan paddy) and *bili dadi batha* (white stalk paddy). They also grow *jola* (jowar), *godi* (wheat), *kalu* (pulses) and *kayiphalle* (vegetables). But all these
crops depend on the paddy cultivation that is after the paddy is removed from the field
the people grow vegetables or other pulses for about four months. Therefore, if we
understand the different stages of paddy cultivation we can get a complete overview of
agricultural cycle followed by the people of the village.

Paddy is a rain dependent crop as it needs stagnant water in the field for at least
three months. Therefore the bithodu (sowing) is done in the month of June once the
rains start. After two or three rains fall, villagers start the process of hada madodu
(cleaning the field and loosening the land) by different agricultural implements like
renti, kunti and dhoni. Later they break the hendi (lumps of soil) which are left over
during-gale (ploughing) through a process called dindu hodyodu. After this process
villagers wait for male (rains). Once the heavy rains start and the field is wet the
bithodu (sowing) process begins. But before the villagers sow the seeds they give
offering for the village deity Dyamavva. The village elders fix a day in the month of
June mostly which falls on on one of the Mondays for giving the offering to the
Goddess Dyamavva. Mondays are preffered as it is considered as the day of basavanna
(sacred bull) without which the villagers cannot perform their agricultural activities. On
this day all the people of the village fast-oppattu (having food once in the day), they
visit Goddess Dyamavva, offer fruits and drape Goddess with green saree and take her
blessings. A committee is formed which usually consists of elders of the village.
Members of this committee collect rice flour, oil for lamps and incense sticks for pooja
(worship) from every household and give it in the hands of the priests of all the gudi
(temple) in the village. The rice flour is used to prepare yedi (sacred food) for all the
dieties of the village and the incense stick and oil is used to perform pooja (rituals). In
the evening a pooja is performed in the name of all the villagers. Once the blessing of Goddess of Dyamavva and all the other Gods in the village are obtained they begin with the work of sowing the paddy. The villagers are of the opinion that if the villagers begin their agricultural year without the blessings of the village deity they will not be able to get a good yield and the crops may be spoiled because of heavy rains or may dry off without getting the required rainfall. They also say that their yethu (bulls) may die during the course of year.

The sowing is done with the help of koorgi (the agricultural implement). Koorgi is tied behind the yethu (bulls). Two people are required to sow the paddy seeds, one person directs the bulls and the other person to put the seeds in to the koorgi. While sowing the seed in the field both hands will be used one after the other to put the seeds into the koorgi. The paddy batha (seeds) fall into the furrowed land through the pipes of the koorgi. It falls close to one another in such a way that paddy plants form a bunch.
Once the work of the koorgi is over it is tied on the ceiling of the house near the entrance. Before keeping it back the villagers perform a pooja for the implement known as koorgi pooja. They consider koorgi as bhoomi thaayi (Goddess of earth). After sowing is done, either on Friday or on a Tuesday in the evening they decorate the koorgi with saree and flowers. The pooja (worship) is preferred to be conducted on Fridays or Tuesdays because these two days are the vaara (fasting days) for the female deities. Later they apply arshina (turmeric), kumkuma (vermilion) and vibhooti (white sacred powder) and keep it in the padsaali (hall). They prepare special food like vada, sajjaka and undi- on the occasion which they keep as yedi (sacred food) and offer it to Goddess of earth. It is only after this sacrifice that the Goddess is pleased with the villagers. The next day they remove the koorgi and tie it to the ceiling of the house.

*Koorgi being worshipped as bhoomi tayee*
Once the paddy grains are sown they sprout easily and grow about a foot tall within fifteen days. While paddy plants are growing, along with it kale (weeds) also grow. They need to be separated from the paddy plants right from the beginning. This process of separating the weeds from paddy plants is known as kale thegyodu. They are separated by a kind of ploughing which is done with the help of agricultural implement called yedi kunti and dhoni. By this time heavy rainfall starts and water needs to be stored in the field. Therefore the field is prepared in such a way that it is slopping on one side so that water remains in the field when there is heavy rain and does not flow away. They say there should be water till knee level for about three months continuously. After this, according to the villagers there is very less work in the field. They have to only manage the water and keep on removing the weeds from the field which is done with help of kurchige (a type of sickle). Within three months time with heavy rains, paddy starts thene bidthaiitee (sprouting). Two months after this the grain becomes red and is ready for katavo (harvest). The villagers cut the paddy after deepavali or hatti habba (deepavali festival) that is after the month of October-November. The paddy plants are cut from the lower edge of the plant with the use of kudgolu (sickle) and all these cut plants are banvi haaktaare (stacked together) in one comer of the field. The roots of the paddy plants remain inside the field for which they again plough the field with the help of renti and kunti. And sow other kalu (pulses) like green gram, black gram, jowar and wheat. People who have irrigation facilities grow vegetables like tomato (tomato), sauthikaayi (cucumber), badne kaayi (brinjol), hasi menasinkkaayi (green chilly) and bendi kaayi (lady’s finger). Once they are done with putting the new crops in the field they have to separate the paddy from the husk. They prepare a separate place near the field by cutting the plants and grass and smearing the
ground by cow dung. This place is known by the name *kana*. They bring the paddy plants from the place where they are stacked and put in the *kana* and stamp on it to separate out the paddy grains from the rest of the plant. People who have tractor use the same for this purpose. This process is called as *henti hodyodo*. Later, *thoorodu* (winnowing the chaff from the paddy) is done. By this the paddy is ready to use. They perform a ceremony-*kana habba* before using the newly grown paddy wherein a feast is prepared from the newly grown paddy and taken to the field. They go along with all the family members, keep the *yedi* (sacred food) for the *boomitayi* (Goddess of earth), and eat the food sitting in the *kana*. *Kana habba*, villagers say is performed as a mark of their gratitude towards the Goddess of earth for giving them a good yield. After this, they fill the paddy grains in gunny bags take them to the houses in the tractor or bullock carts. These grains are stored in *ambar kone* (a room which is specially made for this purpose) or in *kanaja* (cylindrical shaped cases made out of bamboo fibers). The *ambar kone* and *kanaja* are prepared in such a way that the paddy stored in this place will not be spoiled for years. And they sell this paddy whenever they require money and the same is used for their daily needs.

By the time of new year that is *ugadi* which comes in the month of March-April, they remove all the other crops that are grown in the field and perform *bhoomi pooja* and also *Basavanna pooja*, Basavanna here refers to bull used for agricultural activities. They keep *yedi* (sacred food) for the *bhoomi tayi*. After this they again plough the field, keep it clean and ready for the next season.
i. Settlement Pattern

*Nigadi* is a nucleated village which is tending to get linear along the Haliyal-Dharwad road. It is getting linear as the extended families on the main settlement are getting divided into nuclear families and these families construct their own *mane* (houses) on either side of the Haliyal-Dharwad road. The streets of the village are referred to as *oni*. As we move from Dharwad to *Nigadi*, the first *oni* (street) we encounter is the *Hosur oni* (Hosur Street), which runs west to east originating directly from the main road that leads to Haliyal. Houses here are located on the left side of the Haliyal road and the original settlement of the village also lies on the same side. *Hosur oni* (Hosur Street) is a newly formed extension of the village wherein there are less number of houses compared to the main settlement. In this area there are families belonging to *Ram Kshatriya*, *Kurubar* and *Panchamsali* castes who have been separated from their parental families living in the main settlement. When we cross the *Hosur oni* (Hosur Street) and move ahead on the main road there are some of the houses which fall within the limits of *Benakatti*, an adjacent village of *Nigadi*. Opposite to these, on the other side of the road are the houses belonging to *Panchamsali* caste of the village. As we move ahead in the main road we come across a *cycle angadi* (cycle repair shop) which also houses a *girani* (flour mill) which the villagers consider as the oldest *girani* (flour mill) in the village. This *girani* (flour mill) is run by a family belonging to *Musalmannru* caste.

A little ahead of this, on the same side of the road there is a *gudi* (temple) of Goddess *Anklevva*. The villagers say that the idol of the Goddess *Anklevva* was discovered in that particular place and therefore it is considered as *thala*, the original place where the Goddess *Anklevva* resides. People of the village believe that there is no other temple or statue of Goddess *Anklevva* in and around the region. Therefore, there
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7. Sarai angadi (Liquor Shop)
8. Benakatti Road
9. Bore Well
10. Mansur Road
11. Boundary Line of Nigadi & Benakatti
12. Khara kuttu girani (Chilly Pounding Mill)
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16. Arali gida (Banyan Tree)
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is a saying in the village that “Nigadiyanta urilla, anklevvana anta devarilla” (there is no other village like Nigadi and there is no other Goddess by the name Anklevva).

Goddess Anklevva is believed to be the mother of Goddess Dyamavva and Goddess Durgavva and therefore during the course of time the villagers installed the statue of Anklevva along with her two daughters inside the sanctum sanctorum of the village temple. Just opposite to this Anklevvana gudi (temple) there is a road that leads to Mansur village. There is a hand-pump located on the same spot, from where the people of the village fetch water whenever they do not get sufficient water supply to their houses through nala (public taps). As we move along the main road towards the left there are houses and a khara kutto girani (chilly pounding mill) before we come to the main entrance of the village.

At the entrance of the village there is an arali gida (banyan tree). The villagers have built a raised platform around this tree which acts as a sitting place for the men during their leisure time. The main road of the village starts from this banyan tree and leads to Dyamvvana gudi (the temple of Goddess Dyamavva) located at far end of the village. Goddess Dyamavva is referred to as the Gramadevathe (village deity) by the villagers. When we stand facing the village, this road cuts the village into two equal halves. There is a Hanumappana gudi (temple of Lord Hanumappa) on the other side of the banyan tree. This temple is being renovated now. Therefore the murti (idol) of God Hanumappa is kept under the banyan tree with a lamp kept burning in front of the idol.
On the other side of the Haliyal road is the Nigadi bus stand, which is located behind a large hunchi gida (tamarind tree). This Bus stand is very rarely used by the people of the village. The Hunchi gida (Tamrind tree) has a raised platform which is used as a sitting place when they are waiting for the buses to go to Dharwad city or towards Haliyal city. On the same side of the bus stand, which is on the right side is the Gram Panchayat (Gram Panchayat office). There are a number of public amenity buildings around the Gram Panchayat office. The public amenity buildings located here are Post office (Post office), Phone office (Telephone Exchange), Ration angadi (Ration Shop), Bank (Grameen Vikas Bank) and Society (Co-operative Society). In front of the Gram Panchayat office there is a statue of Mahatma Gandhi. On the right side of the Panchayat Office there is a bhavi (well) in which there is no water and therefore it is abandoned by the people of the village. Behind the bus stand there are two houses one belonging to the members of Kurubaru caste and the other belonging to the members of Hande Kurubaru caste. On the other side of the bus stop there is a
chaad angadi (tea shop) and a pan angadi (pan shop) near by, where betel nut and betel leaves are sold.

All the streets of the main settlement of the village originate from the street that connects the arali katti to Dyamavvana Gudi. Villagers refer to every street in the main settlement by the name of manetana (lineage) of the first house in the street or by any other important structure like anganwadi or Dyamvvana gudi in the beginning of the street or by the name of manetana (lineage) which has more number houses in that particular street. Beginning from the agasi, the entrance of the village, the first oni (street) we come across toward left of the main street is kammar oni (Kammar Street).

The street is called so because the first house at the beginning of the street belongs to kammar manetana which is the only family in the village that practices kammarike (smithy) as its traditional occupation. The members of the kammar manetana (Kammar lineage) belong to Panchamsali caste. The villagers say that in earlier days when there were no kammars (blacksmiths) in the village to prepare the agricultural implements, the gaudaru (headman) of the village requested the people of the village to come forward to learn kammarike (smithy work). One of the elder members of this particular manetana (lineage) came forward and learnt kammarike (smithy work) which was later on passed from generation to generation which became their traditional occupation. The street is inhabited by the people belonging to Kurubaru, Maratharu castes as we move towards the end of the street. At the beginning of Kammara oni, on the right side there is a kirani angadi (grocery shop). On the left side as we move ahead on the main street there is a khasagi davakhane (private clinic) which is run by a lady Registered Medical Practioner (RMP) whom villagers refer to as khasagi doctor (private doctor).
The next street as we move ahead on the main street towards the left is anganwadi oni (Anganwadi Street) which is also called as mullanar oni or as naragundar oni. It is said that the early settlers of this street were Mullanar manetana (lineage) of Musalmanru caste and there are five houses of mullanar manetana and therefore people belonging to musalmanru caste refer to this street by the name mullanar oni (Mullanar Street). The first house of the street is the ancestral house of mullanar manetana behind which there is a Masjid of Bibi Fatima and Haseni Huseni (mosque, a place where the people belonging to Musalmanru caste pray). The members of the family who presently live in the ancestral house burn incense sticks every day in the masjid (mosque) and pray. During the festivals all the members belonging to mullanar manetana (Mullanar lineage) offer prayers. This street has maximum number of houses belonging to naragundar manetana of Maratharu caste and therefore the people belonging to older generations other than Musalmanru caste refer to this street as naragundar oni. The name anganwadi oni (Anganwadi Street) is recent in origin which
came after the coming of anganwadi (kintergarden run by Government) at the very beginning of the street.

As we move ahead keeping left the next street is the agasar oni (Agasara Street). This street is known by the name agasaru oni as maximum number of houses in this street belong to agasaru manetana (lineage) of Madivalaru caste. In this oni (street) we can find the families belonging to Panchamsali, Kurubaru and Maratharu castes. There is a hanumappana gudi (Hanumappa temple) within the limits of the house belonging to Jodalli manetana located at the entrance of the street which is called by the villagers as hakkyanavara hanumappa. It is known by the name hakkyanavara hanumappa for the reason that the people belonging to Jodalli manetana (lineage) are also called by the name hakkyanavara in day-to-day interactions (hakki here refers to cattleshed). People say earlier this manetana (lineage) had a large cattleshed as they had more agricultural landholdings which required more number of cattle for cultivation and therefore the name hakkyanavaru and it is this Hakkyanavara manetana (Lineage) which built this temple some two hundred years back as told by Shivappanavaru an elderly member of the hakkyanavara manetana (lineage). Therefore people of the village refer to it as hakkyanavara hanumappa. This hanumappa is also known as sanna Hanumappa (sanna here means small) because there is a big Hanumappa at the entrance of the village.

The next street lying towards west of the main street is haliyaldar oni (haliyaldar street). It is called so because majority of the houses in this street belong to haliyaldar manetana (lineage) of Panchamsali caste. Unlike other streets which are curvilinear, haliyaldar oni (Haliyaldar Street) is straight till it reaches the end of the adjacent village Benakatti. The other houses in this street belong to Benni manetana (lineage) of Hande Kurubaru caste, Sugandhi and Pawar manetana (lineage) of
Maratharu caste, Ganji manetana (lineage) of Musalmanru caste, Dasankoppa manetana (lineage) of Panchamsali caste and Shivappanavara manetana (lineage) of Kurubar caste. There is a temple in this street which has idols of Basavanna-holy bull, God Shiva and a Dundi (a round shaped stone). The agricultural families pray to Dundi Basavanna as bulls are an integral part of their agricultural activity. As we move towards the west in this street there is a kal daari (kacha road) which leads to a village called Mansur. Mansur is eight kilometers away from Nigadi.

The last street of the main settlement of the village bending towards the west is dyamavvana gudi oni (Dyamavvana Street), it is referred by this name because the temple of the village deity- Dyamavva is situated at the beginning of this oni (street). This temple has idols of Dyamavva, Durgavva and Anklevva which are all female deities. When we go into the garbhagudi (sanctum sanctorum) of this temple we can find that Dyamavva’s idol is situated in the center who is considered as the gramadevathe (village deity) and on the left side Dyamavva’s sister Goddess Durgavva’s idol is present and on the right side there is the idol of Goddess Anklevva who is the mother of both these Goddesses. The Dyamavvana jatre (car festival of the village deity) is held once in 40 or 50 years. The villagers say that, inorder to perform the Dyamvvana jatre they need to have money, manual labour and material on a largescale. The theru (car) that is used during the jatre should be newly prepared each time the festival is performed and the wood which is used should be of sagavani (teak). Traditionally, the responsibility of performing pooja in the Dyamavvana gudi (Dyamavva temple) is given to Badigeru manetana (lineage) of the village. At present this Badigeru manetana (lineage) is divided into 22 households living separately and priesthood is also shared between these 22 households. One female member of every household gets the opportunity of becoming the priest of the temple. When it comes to
the performing of pooja on a day-to-day basis it is the elder women of these families who perform the pooja and on the special occasions like feasts and festivals, male members of these families also accompany women and share the responsibility of the performing the pooja. The villagers are of the opinion that the women are given the responsibility of the priesthood as all the three deities in the temple are females which is unique to the village of Nigadi.

Adjoining the temple, as we move towards the right we have the house of the Badigeru manetana (lineage), which was once the ancestral home for all the existing 22 Badigeru families of the village. When we move still further towards the right there are houses of families belonging to Ainaru caste. On the other side of the street, there are houses of families belonging to Hande Kurubaru caste.

Towards the other end of the Dyamavvana gudi oni (Dyamavvana street) that runs towards the east of the village is the malseriyar oni (malseriyar street), where the families belonging to Malseri manetana (lineage) of Hande Kurubaru caste are located. This oni (street) leads to plot (plot) which is located at the eastern most end of the village. This is called as plot because the whole area which was owned by the Government was later sold to people of the village by converting it into small sites. The people, who were separated from their larger extended families of the village, bought land in this area, built new houses and settled there. Behind the plot area there is a street where people belonging to Bhajantri caste reside. People refer to this street by the name Bhajantri oni (Bhajantri Street).

If we go still further towards north of the village on the main street between malseriyar oni and dyamavvana gudi oni, there is another oni (street) which the people of the village refer to as Keri which is outside the main settlement. People of the village make a clear distinction between the streets in the main settlement which they call as
uru and the street outside the main settlement as called as keri. The villagers who stay in the uru do not enter the houses of the people living in the keri as it is considered to be polluting. And neither do people living in Keri enter the houses belonging to the people living in the village proper for the same reason that they belong to impure caste. The people living in the uru refer to people living in the keri as holeyaru. Every family living in the keri is supposed to undertake the services of the family living in the uru. The services include taking care of cattle, cleaning and helping the upper caste people in agricultural activities, making baskets, ropes, broomsticks, beating drums, blowing the chonch during the ceremonies and mending the footwear. This act of assigning one holeyaru family in service to one family of upper caste is vokkalu togolodu. The keri comprises of families belonging to Madar, Kali caste whom villagers collectively refer to as holeyaru. The term holeyaru is used collectively by the people belonging to uru to refer to all those the people living in keri. For the people living in uru, all those who stay in keri are untouchables, that is holeyaru, where the term holi means polluted and people who embody this pollution are called holeyaru. There is a temple of Goddess Matangi in keri which is visited by people belonging to all the castes of the village. There is Nityananda Swamy Matta (Saint Nityananda’s Monastery) in the Keri. It is said that this Matta (monastery) was built on the grave of Swami Nityananda (Saint Nityananda). Swami Nityananda was a saint who came to the keri and lived with the people of keri and died in the keri. Nobody in the village knows from where he came. The villagers say that the swamy worked for the betterment of people living in keri. A small monastery is now constructed in his name and one of the followers of the Swamy is looking after the monastery.

Towards the right side of the main street, the first street from the northern most end is the malseriyar oni (street). As already mentioned this street extends towards east to connect to plot (plot). As we move down to the main street the next street we come across is Kalmeshwar oni. This street is called so because there is a Kalmeshwar gudi
(Kalmeshwar temple) present at the beginning of the street. Behind the Kalmeshwar gudi (Kalmeshwar temple) there is a small temple of Goddess Karemma. It is believed that couples who are not able to have children pray to this goddess and they are able to beget children. The street comprises of houses belonging to the people of Panchamsali and Hande Kurubaru castes. There is also Garadi mane in this street, a place where in earlier days men used to get wrestling training. But the room is no more used for this purpose as wrestling is no more practiced by the villagers. The people of the village are of the opinion that the gaudara manetana (lineage) of the Hande Kurubaru caste which was entrusted with job of maintaining the garadimani was not able to do its job properly. As a result of this garadimani soon fell apart. But the street is still called as Garadimani oni (street) by the people of the village. The houses belonging to Killedar family, who are one of the earliest settlers in the village, are all located in this street. There is Mehboob Subani Dhargah in this street which was constructed recently that is, in the year 2007. All the people belonging to Musalmanru caste of the village come here to pray.

Mehboob Subani Dhargah-a recently constructed place of worship of Musalmanru
The next street towards the right side of the main road is koriyar oni (Koriyar Street). The street is called so because there are houses belonging to koriyar manetana (lineage) at the entrance of street. The koriyar manetana (lineage) belongs to Panchamsali caste. This street is also known by the name badiger oni (Badiger oni) as the majority of the houses of badiger manetana (lineage) are located in this street. The families belonging to Panchamsali and Hande Kurubaru castes live in this street.

The last oni (street) towards the right side of the main road is Mattad oni which is called so because of the presence of Madivaleshwara matta (monastery) situated at the Southern most tip of the village. The matta (monastery) has a shrine of Lord Madiwaleshwara who was a famous sage of Madivalaru caste. As there is lot of space for people to stay in this monastery it is used as place for the pilgrims belonging to all the castes who pass by Nigadi on their way towards Uluvi Chennabasaveshwara temple, a famous pilgrimage center which is located in Uttar Kannada district of the State. There is a hall in the monastery which is used for conducting marriage ceremonies.

As we move towards east on the Dharawad-Haliyal road on the other side there is a lake which is called as Kempgeri, the water from this lake is used for bathing the cattle. On the far end of this lake there is danad davakhane (veterinary hospital). Going still further on the other side of the main road we reach a hilly part of the village which people call as Maddi, literally meaning 'a high standing area'. The saali (Government Primary School) is located in this area. On the back side of this school is the Maddi davakhane (Government Homeopathic Health Care Centre). If we go still up we come across the masanagatti (burial grounds) used by the Musalmanru caste of the village. And towards the northern most end of the Maddi we have High school (High School) belonging to Malnad Shikshana Samiti, a Government aided school. Behind the high
school there is the masanagatti burial ground for the people belonging to Hindu castes. Each caste has its own space for burying or cremating the dead, which is demarcated by laying down stones.

A raised area in the village, maddi where the sub-center and the schools are located

House types

The houses in the village can be classified depending on the type of material used to build the gode (walls) and maadu (the roof). There are basically four types of houses in the village.

1. Where the walls are made up of a mixture of hullu and berch mannu (straw and red soil) and the roofs are made up of mangalur hanchu (mangalore tiles). These roofs are supported by magadi (a vertical framework which is made up of teak wood) and in between this framework there are thin sheets of parsi kallu (slate stones). These types of houses are called as magadi mane by the villagers.
2. Where the walls are made up of bamboo fibers mixed with red soil, bidiru (bamboo) and berch mannu and roofs of these houses are made up of mangalur hanchu (mangalore tiles). The villagers refer to these types of houses as hanchina mane.

3. Blocks of berch mannu (kiln burnt red soil) and the roof made up of mangalur hanchu (mangalore tiles) which is referred to as Ittangi mane by the villagers.

4 Modern day bricks produced in factories and the roof made up of iron framework, sand and cement which they call as RCC mane (RCC house).

The magadi mane is considered as the traditional type of house by the villagers. The families belonging to Jodalli, Haliyaldar, Malseriyar, and Badiger manetana (lineages) live in the traditional ancestral houses that is magadi mane. Magadi mane and the RCC houses are considered as expensive in terms of money spent on their construction.

*Ittangi mane*— a house being constructed of kiln-burnt bricks
Structure of a typical house in the village

At the entrance of the house there is chavani (raised platform) on either side of the door. This is meant for visitors who come from outside to take rest. The long pathway from the Munchi bagila (front door) till the hittila bagila (back door) is called husi. By the side of the chavani on both the sides, there are ambar koni (rooms built for storing paddy grains). The next portion after the entrance usually towards the right side is padsaali (hall) which is a raised place by the side of husi. This padsaali (hall) is made of parsi kalu (slate stones). This place is used by the residents of the house to sleep and take rest. All the rituals and ceremonies are performed in padsaali (hall). On the right side of padsaali there is room for worshipping God-devra koni. At the end of padsaali, towards the hittila baagilu on the same side there is adigi koni (kitchen), which also incorporates bachlu koni (bathroom). Towards the left sides of the padsaali is the hakki (cattle shed). The back portion of the house is called as hittila. Thus a typical house in the village belonging to any caste has the munchibagila (front entrance), padsaali (the hall), hithila bagilu (back door) and hittilu (the backyard).

The munchi bagilu- front door of a magadi mane
The families which do not practice agriculture as their main occupation and do not rear cattle do not have *ambar koni* and *hakki* in their houses instead they have *padsaali* on both the sides.

### j. Festivals

Festivals are celebrated by villagers as an expression of faith and devotion towards God. People of the village believe that all the festivals need to be celebrated according to the tradition laid down by their elders. The people of the village spend money on the feasts because it is only after performing these festivals with utmost care and dedication that they will be bestowed with good health and prosperity. There are many festivals that the people of village observe during the course of a year and these are cyclic in nature. It was observed that all the members of the family actively participate in performance of the various rituals on these days of festivals. On the previous day of these festivals every household is cleaned by the members of the household. They sweep and clean the floor, smear cow dung on the floor and apply *kyame* (red paint) over the wall, wash all the *arbi* (clothes), *hasigi* (bed sheets and blankets), wash all the *bhande* (utensils). Following are the festivals that are observed by the people of the village. They say the festival begins with the New Year according to Hindu calendar.

**Ugadi**- The importance of *Ugadi* lies in the fact that it marks the beginning of New Year for the villagers. The word ‘*ugadi*’ has been derived from two Kannada words ‘*uga*’ (century) and ‘*adi*’ (beginning) therefore ‘*ugadi*’ means beginning of a new year which is part of a larger period called ‘*uga*’ (century). Therefore this festival falls first among all the other festivals.*Ugadi* marks beginning of agricultural cycle, festival
season, and marriage season for the villagers. The people start preparing their agricultural fields for sowing the paddy after the _ugadi_. All the other festivals that the people of the village observe follow after _Ugadi_. The marriage ceremonies are fixed after _ugadi_ as this time is considered auspicious.

It falls in the month of March-April. On this day _mavina torana_ (mango leaves) are tied to the main door of the house which denotes prosperity where the festival is being observed. It is believed that the God visits every household on all the festival occasions. In order to welcome the God on this day women in the house clean the threshold and apply _arshina_ (turmeric powder), _kumkuma_ (vermilion) to the _hostala_ (threshold). It represents prosperity and good omen. Every member in the family takes ritual bath and performs _pooja_ on this day. The eldest woman in the household goes to the temple of village deity- _Dyamavvana gudi_ for her blessings. She prays to the Goddess to keep everyone in the family happy and pray for the prosperity of the family. The villagers distribute _bevu bella_ (neem and jaggery) among themselves. Sharing the _bevu bella_ symbolizes the fact that individual should be able to take pain and happiness in the same way throughout the year.

This festival also marks the beginning of agricultural cycle. On this day the family members go to their respective agricultural field with _yedi_ (sacred food) and offer it to the _bhoomi taayi_ (Goddess of earth). One of the family member sprinkles the _yedi_ (sacred food) around the field and other person sprinkles water. This ritual is known by the name _cheraga chelluvudu_ (offering to the Goddess of earth). _Yedi_ is offered to the Goddess Earth so that they get good rains and also good yield in the coming year. Later the family members will have feast sitting in the field.
Mannetina Amavase - The word mannethu comes from two Kannada words mannu (mud), yethu (bull) and the word amavase means new moon day. During this festival the agriculture dependent households worship the basavanna (sacred bull). They prepare the idols of bull with hudlu (mud) and keep it in the jagali (god's place) and worship the idol of yethu (bull). People offer yedi (sacred food) to the idols of the bull which are kept in the jagali (God's place). This offering of food to the basavanna, the sacred bull is called as yedi idodu. Mannetina amavase is celebrated in the month of July. This festival symbolizes respect for the bulls which work with them in the agricultural field and the respect is shown in the form of worship.

Nagar Panchami - This festival comes after five days of mannetina amavase and is observed for two days, on these two days they worship the nagappa (holy snake). The villagers worship the idol of Naga on these days and this idol is made by a family belonging to Badigeru (carpenter) caste in Devarhubli, a nearby village. This family distributes the idol of nagappa to every household in the village. They say that this practice giving Nagappa is practiced every year. The people of the village keep this nagappa (holy snake) in the jagali (god's place) and worship it by applying kumkuma (vermilion), vibhooti (sacred white powder) and arshina (turmeric powder), hoovu yersodu (offering flowers). These are the decorations done which symbolize respect to God Nagappa. Then milk is poured on the idol of nagappa (holy snake) in the name of everyone in the household. Milk is considered as favourite food of the snake. On this occasion undi (round shaped sweet dish) is prepared and offered to God Nagappa (holy snake). On the second day they prepare kuchikadbu which is also a kind of sweet. This is offered to God Nagappa.
Noolu Hunnive - It falls on a full moon day in July-August. As the name noolu (thread) refers it has a special significance for the Badigers of the village who wear the janivara (sacred thread). Hunnive here refers to full-moon day. On this occasion they change their janivara (sacred thread) and wear a new one. Special sweet dishes are prepared on this occasion.

Ganapati Chaturthi - Ganapati is a Hindu God whose festival is observed on the occasion of Ganapati chathurti. This festival is observed in the month of August-September. The people who have the tradition of keeping the idol, place the idol of Lord Ganapati on a wooden plank in the padsaali (on raised platform in the hall) of the house and worship it for five days - Ganapathi kundristaare. They prepare a special dish which includes godi huggi (a sweet dish prepared out of wheat flour and jaggery). They also fry sandige, chilly, chapati (wheat cakes). This is kept as yedi (sacred food) for the Lord Ganapati and this prasada (food) is served to daiva (people who are invited). Different kinds of dishes are offered to Lord Ganapati for five days. On the fifth day after performing pooja the idol is taken and immersed in the lake-kempgeri or in the well. On the eighth day of Ganapati festival the villagers celebrate ashtami. On this day they keep the idol of Goddess Laxmi and worship her. The people of the village prepare karchikaayi a sweet dish prepared out of wheat and jaggery and offer it to Goddess Laxmi. In the evening she is immersed in the water, either in the lake-kempigeri or in a well.

Manavami - The word Manavami is derived from the two Kannada words maha (large) and navami (nine nights) which means that nine 'large' nights during which all the nine forms of Goddess Devi are worshipped. This festival usually comes in the month of
October and is celebrated for nine days. Before the Manavami begins the villagers under take mane sarsodu (cleaning and white washing the house). And on the first day of Manavami a lamp-deepa is lit in the jagali (God's place) and kept burning continuously for nine days. On this occasion the villagers pray to the nine forms of Goddess Devi. On the eighth day of Manavami the villagers perform pooja to the implements that are used for agriculture which is known by the name khande pooja. On this day the books and pens of the children who go to schools are worshipped. The ninth day of festival is known by the name banni pooja. This is the last day of manavami. On this day a sweet dish is prepared and all the members of the family sit together and have food. After the feast the villagers visit each others houses to give banni (betel fruit) leaves which symbolize prosperity and the younger ones take the blessings of the elders.

Seegi Hunnive - After five days of Manavami, Seegi Hunnive is celebrated, that is in the month of October. This is celebrated on a full-moon day. On this day every family member goes to their respective agricultural fields. A variety food is prepared at home for the occasion which is carried to the field. In their respective fields, villagers prepare idols of pandavas- the characters of Hindu holy epic Mahabharata. These idols are made up of hudlu (mud). All the members of the family perform pooja to these by applying kumkuma (vermillion), vibhooti (sacred white powder), and arshina (turmeric powder). Yedi (sacred food) is offered to the pandavas and to the bhoomitayi (Goddess of Earth) and family members have feast sitting together in the field.

Hatti Habba - This festival is celebrated in the month of October-November. On this day cattle are taken outside their cattlesheds. And then the villagers prepare idols of
hattiwa made of cow dung. These idols are small round shaped pieces of cowdung which are kept in circular manner in the cattleshed. These pieces of hattivva (cowdung) are decorated with food grains, pumpkin and a garike hullu (holy grass) and a large branch of banni gida and chanda hovu (flowers). Then they apply kumkuma (vermilion), arshina (turmeric powder), and vibhooti (sacred white powder) to each of these cow dung pieces. The yedi (sacred food) prepared is offered to the Goddess Hattivva and curd is poured in each of these cow dung cake.

The men give bath to bulls-basavanna. A red cloth is put on their back and apply kumkuma (vermilion), arshina (turmeric), and vibhooti (sacred white powder) on their forehead. The people perform pooja to the bulls-basavanna. A ganti (bell) is tied around the neck of the bulls-basavanna. Later the basavanna (bulls) are taken to the temple of village diety-Dyamavva, and to all the other temples of the village. In the afternoon after having the feast, the bulls of every household are taken in procession till the agasi (sitting place) and then they are left for grazing. A sweet dish-holige is prepared on this occasion.

**Gauri Hunnive** - This festival is performed in the month of November-December. On this day villagers keep idol of Goddess Gauri inside the temple of village diety Dyamavvana gudi, perform pooja for five days and on the fifth day sakkare arati (waving of lamp with sugar) is performed and then the idol is taken in a procession and immersed into water, either in lake- kemperi or in a well.

**Sankranti** - This festival is observed in the month of January. On this day pooja is performed to the family deities of the villagers. Yedi (sacred food) is prepared and
offered to the God and then villagers have the feast. On this occasion the people visit various pilgrimage centres like Uluvi, Dharwasthala, Pandrapur and Shrishaila.

**Bharat Hunnive** - On this day people go to Yellamma temple in Savadatti and participate in the fair. The villagers from different castes arrange a bus on this day and everyone together visit the temple for one day. They go along with sweet dishes, *jolad roti* (pan cake made of jowar), *saaru* (curry) prepared of brinjol, onion, cucumber, leafy vegetables and offer it to Goddess Yellamma at Yellammana Gudda which is located at Savadatti Taluk of Belgaum district. The people who remain back at home on this day, have bath and prepare *yedi* (sacred food) and offer it to the their family deity and have the feast.

**Shivaratri** - This festival is celebrated in the month of February. On this day elderly members of the house especially the devotees of God Shiva fast and observe *jagarane* (stay without sleep for the whole night). On the next day a sweet dish made of cooked wheat and jaggery, that is *Godi huggi* is prepared and after doing *puja* to Lord Shiva this sweet is eaten.

**Holi Hunnive** - *Holi Hunnive* is performed in the month of March which falls on a full-moon day. On this day the men in the village collect firewood to burn the *holi-Kamanna*. *Kamanna* here refers to God of love in the Hindu mythology. The idol of *Kamanna* is burnt in the village. On this day a sweet dish-*yedi* of pumpkin - *gaargi* is prepared for *Kamanna* and offered to him. The men and children play with colours on this day.

**Ramzan** - During the month of Ramzan (lunar month in the Muslim calendar), the Musalmanru of the village observe *upavasa* (fasting). They do not eat or drink any kind
of food during the day light. At the end of the day after sunset they perform *namaaz* and take food. At the end of the *ramzan* month that is on 29th or 30th as per the lunar sighting they celebrate the festival by breaking the fast. Men go to *Bara Imam Idgah* to perform prayers which is located near the high school. The children and the elders wear new clothes. *Muselmanru* of the village prepare non-vegetarian food on this occasion. Later they have feast and visit the friends and relatives and wish each other.

**Bakrid** - This festival is observed to commemorate the great sacrifice of Prophet *Ibrahim* who agreed to sacrifice his son to God *Allah*. It is believed that he blindfolded the paternal feelings and sacrificed his son, but when he opened his eyes he could see his son alive, instead a slaughtered lamb could be seen. On this day men belonging to *Muselmanru* caste go for prayers at *Bara imam dhargh*. Goat is sacrificed on this day in the *dargah* and is distributed among the families of the village. Later this meat should be cooked for breakfast. A variety of sweets are prepared on this day.

**Gyarwein** - On this occasion people belonging to *Muselmanru* caste prepare non-vegetarian food. While preparing food, holi words are uttered by the priest *Mullah*. After that, seven lamps are lighted with ghee and these sacred lamps are made of sweet dish called *malida* - a dish prepared by mixing wheat flour and jaggery. Friends and relatives of the family are invited for the festival.

**k. Dress Pattern**

Traditional attire of the women in the village comprises of a type of a saari known as *kanni seeri*. This type of saari is either made of silk or cotton. They drape this saari and wear a *kubsa* (blouse) which is also made of cotton or silk. The nylon saari which the younger married women drape is called as *Pathla*. The young girls wear
langa (skirt) and an upper garment which is known as kubsa (blouse). The young girls wear what they call as chudidaar. The ornaments that a married woman wears daily includes gudadaali (the sacred thread which the husband ties during marriage), bendole (ear stud), and another ornament on the upper portion of the ear lobe known as taloka. They also wear the kalungara (toe ring), hasiru bale (green glass bangles). A woman with all these ornaments and kumkuma (vermilion) on her forehead is considered as a mutaide (a woman who is married and whose husband is alive). Along with the glass bangles, women also wear different varieties of gold bangles which they call as tode and bilwara. They wear these ornaments only during the special occasions like marriage and festivals.

A ganda sattaki (a woman whose husband is dead) usually does not wear all these ornaments. She wears a bangarad sara (gold chain) and kempu kajina bale (red glass bangles). She is not allowed to put kumkuma (vermilion) on her forehead. Her gudadali, kumkuma (vermilion), hasiru kajina bale (green glass bangles) and kalungura (toe rings) are removed during her husband’s death rituals.

Traditionally married men wear dhotra along with the Nehru shirt, a shirt which does not have a collar. Along with that they wear a pataga (turbon). The pataga that they wear is usually is gifted to them by their parents-in-law during marriage. Pataga is made up of either cotton or silk. Men who do not wear the pataga use a type of cap known as Gandhi topige. We can see the elderly men of the village use this attire. The younger men of the village wear pantu and angi (shirt and trousers). It is also found that the people of the village are not particular about the dress unless there is festival or a
special occasion. This above mentioned dress pattern holds good for all the people of the village irrespective of their caste and religion.

A Lingayat couple in their traditional attire

1. Food Habits

Food habits represent the culture of a region. The beliefs and practices of the people are expressed through food. Food plays an important role in various domains of social life, in fact it is an indispensable part of any social occasion which has lot of meaning attached to it. No ritual or interaction is considered complete without food. For
example: on occasions like birth rituals, puberty, marriage and death rites, food is given a lot of importance. Eating different types of food on different occasions brings to the fore the very purpose of the occasion.

The staple food of the villagers is *joiada rotti* (pan cake of jowar), *pallya* (thick curry), *anna* (cooked rice), and *saaru* (curry). Villagers usually grow that much of *jola* (Jowar) which is required for the household purpose. Only when there is shortage of the *jola* (Jowar), they buy it from *kirani angadi* (grocery shops). Paddy being the main agricultural crop of this area, they do not buy rice from outside. They also grow different types of pulses like *kadli kaalu* (bengal gram), *hesru kaalu* (green gram) and also grow vegetables like *badne kaayi* (brinjol), *bende kaayi* (ladies finger), *sauthe kaayi* (cucumber), *hasi menasina kaayi* (green chilly) that are required for their daily consumption. The villagers grow most of the vegetables and pulses that are required in their fields at least for their daily consumption. When enquired about how people in paddy growing area started eating *jola* (Jowar), they say it was the marriage alliance with the people of *belula* (jowar growing area) like Bagalkot, Belgaum districts of North Karnataka that they learnt eating food made of *jola* (Jowar).

People of the village prepare different feasts on different festivals, rituals and ceremonies. They normally prepare sweet dishes on the festive occasions. During *nagar panchami* they prepare *karikadbu* (a sweet dish prepared of coconut, wheat flour and jaggery) and *vada* (a dish prepared out of phaseolus mungo and rice). During *hatti habba* they prepare *hurakki holige* (a sweet dish prepared of rice), *byale kadbu* (a sweet dish prepared of daal), and *shyavige* (noodles prepared of wheat). On the occasion of *holi hunnive* they prepare a sweet dish out of pumpkin called as *gaargi*, during *ugadi*
festival the same kind of sweet dishes are prepared. And during other rituals like puberty, naming ceremony, marriage, pregnancy rituals they prepare the same kind of sweet dishes.

During the summer season the women of the village take some time out from their daily routine and make sandige, a kind of dry food prepared out of rice flour, which is dried in sun and then preserved for the years to come in bags. They also prepare shyavige, gulige, souti beeja from the wheat flour and dry it in the sun and preserve it. Later on this is used for making all kinds of sweet dishes during the festivals and feasts. All these preserved food is used and given for pregnant woman, beegru (relations that are established through marriage alliance) and other sambandhikaru (relatives) when they come home, and also to the girl who has reached puberty.
Cha (tea) is commonly used beverage in the village. They usually drink cha (tea) prepared with milk. But when there is shortage of milk they take kari cha (black tea). churmuri (Puffed rice-) and cha (tea) is used in between the meals when men are at home especially on Mondays. Recently there is a trend among the villagers of eating breakfast in early morning. Usually they prepare - rava uppittu as breakfast and have it with cha (tea).

There are people who take non-vegetarian food that is saaru (curry) made of chicken, mutton, and egg. The Musalmanru, Maratharu, Bhajantri, Madaru, Kali, and Kurubaru families of the village belong to non-vegetarian tradition. But the villagers have been influenced by the teachings of Lord Basavanna and therefore there are some of families belonging to Madaru, Kali, Musalmanru, Maratharu, and Kurubaru who do not eat meat. There are also people who consume sherry (arrack) which is sold in a petty shop near Benakatti bus stop.

m. Administration

The villages in India are run by a local self government. It is a three-tier system of which Gram Panchayat is the grass root level political organization. The other two tiers of this system are Taluk Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat. The members of Gram Panchayat are elected by the people themselves through election. The Nigadi Gram Panchayat constitutes of four villages that is Nigadi, Bada, Salkinakoppa, and Benakatti. There are elected representatives in the Panchayat from all these four villages. The elections are held once in five years. The village Gram Panchayat is responsible for various Government run development programmes and policies. The development programmes of the Government include drainages to the village, monetary
support for building houses to those who have income below poverty line. It also monitors the work of various government programmes in the village like the *Anganwadi* and the work of ANM. The water is supplied to the households only when it sanctioned by the Gram Panchayat. *Mane patti* (revenues) are collected by the Gram Panchayat. It is through the elected body of representatives that all the programmes and funds are sanctioned to the villages. The secretary of the Gram Panchayat who is a government employee looks after maintainence of the records and monitoring of the budget and funds allocated to the village. The decision regarding sanctioning of these schemes is taken by the representatives. The Gram Panchayat secretary looks after official record keeping aspect of the Panchayat.

There is a *talaati* (village accountant) appointed by the Government who looks into all the matters relating to land issues, like keeping up to date information about the landholdings and mapping the boundaries of the agricultural fields.

The people of the village have their own traditional dispute settling mechanism which is based on their caste-*Jati* identity. The process of finding a solution to people's problems is done through caste Panchayats which they refer to as *Jati Pancharu*. For instance, whenever there is a dispute arising between two persons belonging to the same caste-*Jati*, the five elderly men-*Jati Pancharu* call the two persons involved in the dispute and settle the dispute at the caste-*Jati* level. In case, the dispute has arisen between the people belonging to two different castes, the caste Panchayat-*Jati Pancharu* representing the people involved in the dispute come together and solve the problem. If the problem still persists and it cannot be solved at the traditional inter-caste mechanism, the people then have to approach the government run Gram Panchayat. There, an altogether different body of representatives exists which operates
at the village level. This body which the people refer to as Gram Sabha meets once in a week. People having grievances, irrespective of their caste affiliations participate in these Gram Sabhas and get their problems solved. It was observed that caste affiliations are not as important in the modern Gram Panchayat System as it is in the case of traditional caste Panchayat-Jati Pancharu System.

**n. Health care facility**

The village has one Government Health sub-centre where there is one Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) and a male health worker whom the villagers identify as *malaria doctor*. He is referred to as *malaria doctor* as the gives information on contagious diseases like Malaria, its causes and the various prevention methods every time he visits them along with information on Tuberculosis and Dengue. At the same time he also provides the service of providing injections to the people when they have flu or common cold. There is one *maddi davakhane* (homeopathic hospital) in the village with a lady doctor and a compounder. The homeopathic hospital is part of the AYUSH Programme of Government of India. This hospital is known as *maddi davakaane* as it is situated in the hilly region which in Kannada means *maddi*. There are six *khasagi davakhane* (private clinics) in the village where the Registered Medical Practitioners (RMPs) come and provide health care facilities for the villagers. There is a *danad davakhane* (veterinary hospital) in the village where the health services for the cattle are provided.

Village has got two kinder garten- anganwadis each with an anganwadi teacher and an aya (helper). One of the anganwadi is situated at *mullanavara oni* (street) and was started in the year 1972 and the other one is in the *kalmeshwar gudi - oni* (Street). This was started in the year 1999. Both these anganwadis come under the Department of Women and Child Development of the State Government and all the maternal and
child health services are provided through these angnwadis in collaboration with Department of Health and Family welfare. These anganwadis play role in providing immunization services, nutritious food for both mother and child, contraceptives, and it is they who identify the women and child to recommend their name for various schemes and incentives to the government on maternal and child health.

Anganwadi of the village

o. Transport and Communication

The elders of the village say that there were hardly any roads, bridges and culverts in the region till 1884. The transportation of goods was mainly by bullock carts along the rough tracks most of which could not be used during the monsoon season. The elders of the village still remember how they used to travel to Dharwad in order to bring necessary household items taking a long route through the forests which is now converted into village of Bada and Salakinkoppa. With the laying down of the
Dharwad-Haliyal road which runs tangentially to the village, people say transport has became easier. The state run transport buses, tempos, and three wheeler rickshaws ply quite frequently along the state highway which connects Dharwad to Haliyal. More recently the villagers have started using their own two wheelers and four wheelers that have made it easy to travel to different places.

Another means of communication for the villagers is the Post Office (Post Office) which is located beside the Gram Panchayat. It is functioning in a rented room. This Post Office (Post Office) was started sixty years ago. Earlier the Post Office (Post Office) was functioning in the house of the Kammar family which is located in the Kammar oni. People use this means of communication for sending marriage invitations, money orders and letters. This Post Office is connected to Hulkoppa Sub-Post Office which in turn is connected to Dharwad Head-Post Office. There are two people presently working in the Post office, one of them is Post Master and the other one is the Post man.

Telephone is another means of communication that people make use of in the village. There is a telephone exchange in the village which was started fifteen years back. The staff of the telephone exchange includes Junior Telecom Officer and a mechanic who look into the technical aspects of the communication. There is one mobile tower in the village. Recently people have started using mobile phones more than the landline services.

People of the village have access to both regional newspapers as well as national news papers but they read regional news papers like Samyukta Karnataka and Vijaya
Karnataka. A girl from Dharwad gets the newspapers to people who order them. We can see the men sitting in groups in agasi (sitting place), reading newspapers and discussing the issues that have appeared in it in the evenings.

p. Self-Help Groups

Swa Sahaya Gumpu (Self-Help Groups) are an approach to poverty alleviation and many of the voluntary organizations and government institutions use this as a method for development. Self-help group members collect thrift on a weekly or monthly basis according to their convenience and pool these resources to give short term loans to their members. The government and non-government organizations have initiated these self-help group programmes in the village and villagers actively participate in these programmes. The self-help group run by the government that operates through anganwadis is known by the name Stree Shakti Swa Sahaya Gumpu. The other self help groups are run by NGOs like Seva Ashram, World Vision and BAIF.

Based on these ideas and inspired by the developmental activities of NGOs the people of the village have also formed their own Swa Sahaya Gumpu (Self-Help Groups) and these groups are not attached to any NGO. They have their account in the bank in the group’s name. Most of the Swa Sahaya Gumpu (Self-Help Groups) are restricted to only the women like for example the Stree Shakthi Swa Sahaya Gumpu and the World vision.
Table 1: Caste-wise Membership of Self-Help Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI No</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Sujala Jalanayan Sangha</th>
<th>Stree Shakti</th>
<th>Own Self-Help Groups</th>
<th>Other Self-Help Groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Not members of any SHGs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panchamsali</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kurubaru</td>
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<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hande Kurubaru</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maratharu</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Radigeru</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Musalmanru</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Madaru</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Madivalaru</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ram Kshatriya</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>00</td>
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<td>Hadpad</td>
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<td>00</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Bhajantri</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Waddaru</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>00</td>
</tr>
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<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
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<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Idigaru</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>125</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>208</strong></td>
<td><strong>132</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of total 339 households in the village 208 are members of one or the other SHGs; that is, 61% of the households are part of these SHGS. Villagers say these SHGS help in saving money which they can use during emergency purposes like marriage, or health emergencies. People are of the opinion that they will not have to run around for loans for they will have to pay high interest to the money lenders. If they are part of these self-help groups they can easily avail loans at low interest. Some of the villagers even have started their own business and bought cattle with this money. The households which are not part the SHGs say that they cannot afford paying thrift every week or month and it is difficult to work in the group and coordinate among the group members. Some of the women say that they are not allowed to become the members of these Self-Help Group by their family members.
**o. Education**

Even though the people give a lot of importance to agriculture and spend most of the time in agriculture related activities, they have, of late, started realising the importance of *saali* (school). For villagers, *saali* (school) becomes important because they say agriculture does not give them good yield and it is not possible to earn their living only through agriculture as it requires hard work from all the members of the household. And therefore, the parents in the village do not want their children to continue with agriculture. Villagers are of the opinion that without formal education they will not be able to find jobs at the government offices or in any other offices which they think as more secure and comfortable job. Without any kind of formal education they will not have any other option other than doing agriculture and non-agricultural labour. It is not possible to find jobs in cities. Thus the villagers have started sending their children to school. Earlier it used to so happen that children at the age of seven and above used to go to cattle herding or help the elders in cleaning the agricultural fields. But now-a-days children go to agricultural field only when they get holidays at schools. And during the sowing season and harvesting season children do not go to school and help the elders in the agricultural activities.

There are two schools in the village catering to the educational needs of the villagers, that is the *Primary Saali* (Government Higher Primary School) and *High School* (Malnad Shikshana Samiti Higher Secondary School). The Government Higher Primary School which runs classes for 1-7 standard was started in the year 1885, and it is one of the oldest schools in the region. At present it has 394 students studying in it, of which 204 are boys and 190 are girls. The headmistress of the school says that, in order to make the children come to school and make education affordable, the school
provides the children free text books, mid-day meals and also give a pair of school uniform to the children who go to school. There are educational programmes for the school children like, *banuli*-a radio programme, *edusat*-satellite teaching programme and *sarvashiksha abiyana*-education for all. The teacher says that, knowledge of computer is important for children to compete with other children in cities and therefore school provides them computer education. There are two computers in the primary school. The school runs its classes in two buildings in which there are totally 17 rooms. The school is provided with electricity and drinking water facility. It has a library that includes text books, general knowledge books, autobiographies and story books. There are 13 teachers in the school who have taken up the responsibility of teaching the students of which three have come on deputation. The headmistress and other teachers of the school are of the opinion that by providing all the facilities it is trying to give quality education to all its students.

The other school in the village is “Malnad Shikshana Samithi Higher Secondary School”, a Government aided school founded and managed by Sri Somangowda Kallanagowda Patil of the village. This school was started in the year 1982. There are 406 children studying in the school, out of which 260 are boys and 146 are girls. Children from nearby villages like *DevaraHubli, Bada, Benakatti, Mansur,* and *Salakinakoppa* come to study in this school, for it is the only High-school in the nearby villages. The head-master of the school says that there are students from 12 nearby villages and students even come from the city of Dharwad. The students from the city also come to this school because education in a rural area like *Nigadi* is inexpensive when compared to the schools in the cities. Mid-day meal is available to the students.
There are 8 teachers in the school. There is library facility which the students of the school can make use of.

There is a Government Pre-University College in the village which was started in the year 2007. The Principle and people of the village say that as the college is new, the infrastructure and teaching facilities available are limited. There is only one permanent faculty in the college and appointment of rest of the faculty is still under process.

The number of boys is more than girls in both the schools. It is because the parents believe that the female children are supposed to cook and take care of the atte (mother-in-law), mava (father-in-law) and other family members at her husband’s place. Therefore she needs to be taught how to cook, look after the house and children and therefore it is not necessary to give her education. In that case, the question they ask is what she will do by getting educated and taking up a job after marriage. It is for this reason that the parents do not send their girl children to schools. Also, after the menarche, the girls are not sent out of the house for they are scared of the evil spirits and evileye. On the contrary there are parents who believe that girls can also contribute to the income of the household and help in earning their livelihood and therefore send their female children to schools.
Table 2: Caste-wise Distribution of Literates and Illiterates*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI No</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Literates</th>
<th>Illiterates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panchamsali</td>
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<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Kurubaru</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Hande Kurubaru</td>
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<td>Ainaru</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hadpad</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bhajantri</td>
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<td>Waddaru</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Valmiki</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Kali</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Idigaru</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * literates here refer to the males and females who can read and write.  
        * illiterate are those men and women who cannot read and write.

Table 2 shows that the total number of literates in the village is 1187 and the total number of illiterates in the village is 520. This clearly indicates that more than half, that is, 1187 of the people are literates which show that they are exposed formal education in the village. According to them formal education is a prerequisite to earn a good livelihood. Also, they are of the opinion that without education they will not be able to meet their economic needs by getting a job which pays them more than agriculture. Agriculture fails if there is less rainfall. Agriculture requires more people to work, physical labour, hard work and the final out-put is less when compared to the kind of labour they put in. Therefore people of the village feel that it is better to invest in education and find a job than take up agriculture in which there is lot of risk.
Table 3: Caste and Sex-wise Education levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Lower Primary (1-4)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Upper Primary (5-7)</th>
<th></th>
<th>High School (8-10)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Intermediate (10+2)</th>
<th></th>
<th>Graduation (10+2+3)</th>
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<th>Post Graduation (10+2+3+2)</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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Note: M-Male, F-Female
The Table 3 shows that there are five people who have reached post graduate level of education in the village. Of 1187 literates of the village, 329 have completed upper primary school and the number of people studying above this grade goes on declining. The people who have completed high school level of education is 310 and 144 have completed intermediate level of education. Villagers say that education after high school becomes expensive that is, they have to spend more on books, fees, and also they will have to go to Dharwad city for higher education. The other reason for less number of people going for higher education is children at very small age start going to the agricultural fields, prepare food, graze the cattle and help their family in preparing the land for sowing along with going to schools. This has its own impact on the education of the children. They are left with very little time to go school and study. As a result of this they do not do well in the exams and when they fail they do not go to school.

The Table 3 shows that of the 75 graduates in the village, 40 of them belong to Panchamsali caste and 19 of them belong to Hande Kurubaru caste. People belonging to these two castes could afford going to school as they had resources in terms of money and support from their families. By resources we mean that the people belonging to these castes are the property and land owning castes of the village. It was observed that the economic well being of the people of the village encourages them reach higher levels of education. Majority of them live in an extended family therefore even if one person from the household goes for education there are other people to take up the responsibility at home and in the agricultural field in his or her place. Therefore, family structure, the availability of helping hands both at home and in the agricultural field gives people the time and scope required to take up higher levels of education.

**p. Occupation**

Major chunk of the households in the village is dependent on agriculture. For 69.32% of the households, agriculture is the primary source of occupation. *Badigertana* (Carpentry), *Kammarike* (Smithy), *Hajamati* (Barbary), *Koravaru* (Blowing pipes), *Kali Udodu* (Blowing Counc), *Kamata* (Agriculture), *Dana Kayodu* (Cattle herding), *Kuri Kayodu* (sheep herding), *Bhoomi aseyodu* (digging earth), *Pujari* (priesthood) are the traditionally followed occupations by the people of the village.
### Table 4: Caste-wise Occupation of the Households

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<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Cult</th>
<th>Agr Labr</th>
<th>Non Agri Labr</th>
<th>Salrd wrk</th>
<th>Artsn</th>
<th>Cult + Agr labr</th>
<th>Cult + Non Agr labr</th>
<th>Salrd wrk</th>
<th>Cult + Artsn</th>
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<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
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**Note:** Cult-Cultivation, Agr Labr-Agricultural Labour, Non agri Labr-Non agricultural labour, Salrd wrk-Salaried work, Artsn-Artisan, Cult+Agr labr-Cultivation and agricultural labour, Cult+Non Agr labr-Cultivation and non agricultural labour, Cult+Salrd wrk-Cultivation and Salaried work, Cult+Busns-Cultivation and business, Artsn +Busns-Artisan and business, Salrd+Artsn-Salaried work and Artsn, Artsn+Agr labr-Artisan and Agricultural labour, Non Agri labr+Agr labr-Non agricultural labour and Agricultural labour, Cult+Agr Labr+Salrd wrk-Cultivation, Agricultural labour and salaried work.
The Table 4 shows that among the 131 households belonging to Panchamsali caste, 30 of the households are dependent on cultivation for their livelihood, 10 of the households are dependent on agricultural labour and 27 of them do both cultivation and agricultural labour. 15 of the Panchamsali households are dependent on agriculture and salaried work. Of the 53 Kurubaru households in the village, 32 of the Kurubaru household practice cultivation and agriculture labour to earn their livelihood and of the 37 of Hande Kurubaru households, 19 of the households are dependent on cultivation and agriculture labour for their livelihood. The households are taking up both agriculture and agricultural labour as their occupation as most of them own less land and the paddy and other pulses grown by them are not enough to earn their livelihood. The only other work they know is agricultural labour and therefore they go for agricultural labour along with cultivation in their land.

The Table 4 shows that comparatively more number of families are engaged in non-agricultural activities. Of the total of 339 households, 104 of the households are not dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. The reason for this kind of shift is failure of rain, their educational status and marginal land holdings that makes them less dependent on agriculture. It is evident from the table that more people have started taking up non-traditional work like construction works, salaried work, menial jobs in cities and small business along with agriculture. The reason for this shift from agriculture to non-agriculture occupation is that they are not able to sustain their livelihood by doing agriculture alone. The reduction in their land for cultivation has had a great impact on their traditional lifestyle of being agriculturists. Their food habits, family structure and marriage patterns have all been significantly altered.

Of the total 24 Badigeru households of the village, 11 of them practice carpentry, no Kurubaru family in the village is engaged in sheep herding, none of the
Madivalaru follow the occupation of washing clothes. The reason for this kind of shift is that the traditional occupations are not fetching them money to earn their livelihood.

q. Income

The village economy is dependent mainly on agriculture and the other sources of income for the villagers are salaried work, artisan and non agricultural labour which include construction work and ittangi batti- brick making work.

Table 5:Caste-wise Distribution of the Average Annual Income of the Households

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<th>Sl.No.</th>
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<th>Average Annual Income in Rupees</th>
<th>Number of Households Studied</th>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</table>
The average income of the 339 households in the village is Rs.25,510. The average income of the households belonging to *Hande Kurubaru* caste is Rs.35,513 which is highest compared to other caste groups. The average income of the households belonging to *Madaru* caste is lowest that is Rs.14,500 per year. The average income of the households belonging to *Panchamsali* caste is Rs.34,427. The people belonging to *Panchamsali* and *Hande Kurubaru* caste have the highest land holdings and therefore their income is high compared to the other caste groups. The people belonging to *Madaru* caste always worked as agricultural labourers in the fields of *Panchamsali* and *Hande Kurubaru* caste whose traditional occupation is agriculture and they do not have any land holdings and therefore the people belonging to *Madaru* caste have lowest income when compared to all the other caste groups.

**r. Daily routine**

Every individual in the household has her/his own role to play when we consider the daily routine of the villagers. The people of the village begin their day at around 6:00 to 6:30 in the *munjaane* (morning). Women or the younger girls in the family *kasa udgi*, (sweep) the frontyard of the house, *neeru haaki* (sprinkle water) and then draw *rangoli* in front of the house. The people of the village believe that, by doing so they will have purified the *hostilu* and the entrance of the house. This will ward off the evil spirits from entering their houses. Then the women prepare tea for the men who wake up after women. Later the women clean the *hakki* (cattle shed) and the men take the cattle to the *kempgiri*-red lake in order to wash them. By the time men are back the women prepare breakfast. They also prepare *jolad rotti* (pancake of jowar), *pallya* (thick curry), *anna* (cooked rice) and *saaru* (curry). In an extended family of 7-10
people, women prepare about 60-80 roti as there are many people. They say every man in the village eats at least four jolad rotti (pancake of jowar) as they do agriculture work which requires shakti (energy). Also the agricultural lands are far from the village and once they go there they will not get anything to eat till afternoon that is till their women get them food in the afternoon which they call as butti. The elderly people of the village are of the opinion that the practice of eating breakfast is only a recent phenomenon. However, there are people who still prefer to eat jolad rotti and curry in the morning especially the older generation and also the people who work in the agricultural field. The older men especially people who work in the agricultural fields are of the opinion that it is only the jolad rotti that will give them energy to do the kind of hard work they do in the agricultural fields. The men after bringing back the cattle from the lake have bath and eat their breakfast. Later they move to field in the bullock carts and villagers who do not have bullock cart go along with their cattle on foot.

By this time the women get their children ready to send them to school. They first jalaka madsi (give them a bath), then tele hikki (comb their hair), and make them wear school dress. The school in the village starts at 9:00 am. Later the women do bhande tholeyodu (wash the utensils) and arbi ogeyodu (wash the clothes). Most of the women wash the arbi and bhaande (clothes and utensils) in front of the house as tap water is available. The elderly women in the village say that they used to walk up to hirekeri to wash the clothes. Even now whenever there is shortage of water during summer they go to lakes hirekeri or Ajjanakatti keri to arbi ogeyodu (wash the clothes). Once washing and cleaning is over at around 10:00 am in the morning women take bath and go to Dyamavvana gudi, the temple of the village deity to take her blessings.
people of the village believe that the blessings of the village deity is necessary whenever they take up a new job or task both at home or in the agricultural fields. Later on they take food to the men who are working in the agricultural fields. In the field they help men in the agricultural activity depending on the type of crop they grow and also the season.

Women come back from the field by 5:00-6:00 pm. Some times they come with the men or some times before men, and on their way back from their field they collect katige (firewood) which is required for cooking. Men come back from the field and tie the cattle in the hakki (cattleshed). Then they have a cup of tea along with chrurmuri (puffed rice) and go to agasi (sitting place) sit there for a while chatting about the matters like politics, their financial problems and other happenings in the village and come back home at 8:00 p.m. By then the women in the household will have prepared dinner which includes jolad rotti (pancake prepared of Jowar), anna (cooked rice), and saaru (curry). First the men and children in the family have the food and later on women have their dinner. The women believe that that the health and well being of the children and male members of the family is more important to them. It is only when the men are healthy and strong that the whole family gets to earn their livelihood and they able to lead a happy and content life. They sleep by 9:00 pm-9:30 pm.

Mondyas are considered as Basavannana vara (day of the sacred bull) and therefore the cattle are given rest. The Villagers also take a day off from agricultural activities on Mondays. On these days men go to Dharwad, the nearby city, to buy vegetables and grocery. They also take time off to visit the neighbouring villages to meet their sambandikaru (relatives) if there is any work. If they do not have work they
stay back at home, take rest on that day. The women observe oppattu (fast) on every Monday. This done as a token of devotion to God Basavanna without whom they will not able to do their agricultural activities. They think that if they part with half day's meal God Basavanna will be pleased. They clean akki (rice), jola (Jowar), and godi (Wheat) on this day and take it to girani (flour mill). They also prepare kullu (cow dung cakes) according to the need, which is used as a fuel for cooking.

This daily routine changes in the case of non-agricultural families where in, most of the men work as drivers, conductors and other kind of salaried work. But the women of these families do not go out for any kind of work outside the houses. In the case of non-agricultural work the family depends on the earnings of the elder male member and all others stay at home doing household chores. While in agricultural work all members of the family are supposed to help the elderly male member in doing his job. In case of non-agricultural work, the men go outside the village early in the morning and come back only in the night. The women and children's routine remain same as in the agricultural families except for the fact that they don't have to go to the field. As a result of this they get some leisurely time to spend in visiting the neighbours, or going to the houses in other oni (street).

s. People

In order to have an in depth view into the lives of the people and to understand their world view it is necessary to know the way they are organized and patterns of their lifestyle. Religion and caste are such aspects which define the behaviour and ultimately guide them in various domains of their life (Haviland 1996). There are variations in the socio-economic background of the people of the village. People of the
village undertake different occupations to earn their livelihood. The level of education also varies from person to person and from family to family. This section of the chapter explains variations in the socio-economic background and the characteristics of each caste and of the people belonging to these caste groups.

Table 6 : Caste, Household, and Sex-wise Distribution of the Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>No. of Males</th>
<th>No. of Females</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panchamsali</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>42.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kurubaru</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>16.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hande Kurubaru</td>
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<td>128</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>12.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maratharu</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>6.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Badigeru</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>5.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Musalmansru</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>5.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Madaru</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Madivalaru</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ainaru</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ram Kshatriya</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bhajantri</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Waddaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Valmiki</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Idigaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>339</strong></td>
<td><strong>1055</strong></td>
<td><strong>1035</strong></td>
<td><strong>2090</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Sex ratio: 981 women for 1000 males. This is calculated as: Number of Females/Number of Males*1000.

The Table 6 shows that the total population of the village is 2090, living in 339 households. The total male population of the village is 1055 and the total female population is 1035. The over all sex ratio of the village comes to 981 and the sex ratio of 0-6 population is 848. That is means to say that there are 981 females for thousand males and 848 female children of the age 0-6 for 1000 male children. The child sex
ratio, that is 0-6, is considered here because it is critical to know how many female children survive when compared to male children.

Kannada is the language both spoken and understood by all the people of the village and people have their own colloquial version of speaking it. It transcends all the boundaries of religion and caste. Urdu and Marathi are also spoken by the people belonging to Musalmanru and Maratharu caste but is restricted to their households.

The people of the village belong to 16 different Jati-castes. The Hindu caste groups consists of Panchamsali, Hande Kurubaru, Kurubaru, Badigeru, Ainaru, Madivalaru, Maratharu, Madaru, Kali, Ram Kshatriya, Hadpad, Bhajantri, Idigaru, Valmiki, and Waddaru. The Muslim social group comprises of an endogamous caste group called as Sayyed. One commonality that exists among the all the Jati-castes of the village is the marriage pattern followed by them. The practice of marrying sodara mava (mother’s brother), sodaratti maga (father’s sister’s son) and sodaramavana maga (mother’s brother’s son) when the ego is female, is followed along with non-kin marriages.

**Panchamsali**: The people belonging to Panchamsali caste constitute single largest group in the village. There are 131 households in the village belonging to Panchamsali jati (caste) and their total population is 886. The Panchamsali of the village claim themselves as the worshippers of God Shiva and followers Lord Basvanna, and because they worship the Linga (symbol of Lord Shiva) they are known as Lingayat mandi (people) or Lingavantararu. The Panchamsali of the village are of the opinion that they are the “real Lingayataru”. Historically, the Panchamsali are more in number in Northern Karnataka and more so in Dharwad district and the same trend can be seen in
this village. According to the villagers the traditional occupation of Panchamasali is
_śāśṭra_ (cultivation) that needed more hands to work in the agricultural field, therefore
there are more extended family households among them. As the number of people in
the extended family households increased they began setting up new nuclear family
households which again grew into extended family households during the course of
time. For example, the _Haliyaldar manetana_ (lineage) of Panchamsali caste had only
one household when their ancestors migrated from Haliyal four generations back to
_Nigadi_. But now it has grown into 24 households. The _Panchamsali_ of the village
control the economic power and political leadership therefore wield a lot of influence
in the village.

_Śūṇḍ:k_: Table 6 shows that _Śūṇḍ:k_ form the second largest _jāti_ (caste) in the
village, with 53 households and a total population of 339. The traditional occupation of
people belonging to this _jāti_ (caste) is _śūṇḍa _ (sheep herding) and therefore they
are known by the name _Śūṇḍ:k_ (shepherds). Their traditional occupation includes
knitting the blankets. The people belonging to this caste in the village refer themselves
as _śūṇḍakāra _ as they used to sell _śūṇḍa _ in earlier days. The people
belonging to _Śūṇḍ:k_ _jāti_ (caste) of _Nigadi_ have given up tending sheep and taken up
agriculture as their main occupation. People say that the hot and humid climatic
conditions prevailing in the region has made the sheep herding difficult for them. There
is no household of _śūṇḍ:k_ in the village who follow the traditional occupation of
herding the sheep. They all have taken up _śāśṭra_ (cultivation) and cultivation related
activities for their livelihood.
The Kurubaru of the village have been influenced by the Lingayat mandi (followers of God Shiva and Lord Basavanna) and it can be seen in their food habits, and in performing various rites and rituals. It was observed that Kurubaru are non-vegetarian by tradition but majority of the Kurubaru families in the village do not eat meat. They are of the opinion that eating vegetarian food gives them higher status in the village. They invite Ainaru (Lingayat priest) to conduct various rites and rituals. All these aspects show that they are influenced by the Lingayat tradition in the village.

Hande Kurubaru: Table 6 shows that there are 37 households belonging to Hande Kurubaru jati (caste) in the village and their total population is 260. The elderly members belonging to Hande Kurubaru caste in the village say that, their ancestors have migrated from different parts of Bijapur district of the Karnataka state during the rule of Adil Shahis (1565-1685) in fear of conversion and settled in different parts of Dharwad district and some of them in Nigadi village.

In ancient Tamil literature there is a mention of the caste Andai Idyar whose main occupation was rearing domestic animals like cattle and sheep. During the course of time Andai was pronounced as Ande and Kurubaru was added, and later on they came to be known as Hande Kurubaru (Gundakarajigi 1997). Hande Kurubaru of Nigadi now follow kamata (cultivation) as their main occupation. The Hande Kurubaru of the village call themselves as Lingayat Mandi and follow the Lingayat tradition. They follow the vegetarian food habits and are ritually associated with Ainaru (the Lingayat priest).

The villagers say that traditional gaudike (headmanship) of the village was in the hands of Gaudara Manetana (lineage) belonging to Hande Kurubaru jati (caste).
The term Gaudaru refers to headman of the village. There has always been a struggle for economic and political supremacy between the Panchamsali and Hande Kuruba in the village as both have been dominant when it comes to numbers, ritual affiliations and land holdings.

Maratharu: Table 6 shows that there are 26 households belonging to Maratharu jati (caste) in the village and their total population in the village is 132. The Maratharu of the village claim that they are the descendants of Shivaji, the Maratha ruler and the Maratha chieftains who carried their arms into Karnataka. Some of these descendants settled into Nigadi. Maratharu of Nigadi form an endogamous group, and call themselves Shivaji Maratharu.

The people belonging to Maratharu jati (caste) invite bhatru (brahmin priest) to perform their marriage ceremonies. No priest is invited during other lifecycle rituals like puberty, pregnancy and death. The head of the household officiates as the priest. The Maratharu eat non vegetarian food. They cremate their dead.

Badigeru: Table 6 shows that there are 24 households belonging to Badigeru jati (caste) in the village and their total population is 121. The Badigeru of the village work on badige (wood) and therefore they are known as the Badigeru. The traditional occupation of the Badigeru of the village is carpentry. The badigertana (carpentry) work includes making and repairing the agricultural implements, making the roof of the house, and also making furnitures. Every Badigeru family is attached to three to four traditional agricultural households who pay them in kind, that is food grains, for their services depending on the yield. The Badigeru have to make and repair their agricultural implements and in turn, each raita (farmer) gives them one chitti of batha
(paddy) that is seven kilograms of paddy per year. This system is known as *aya padhati* in the village, which is akin to the *jajmani* system of north India. However, there are people belonging to non agrarian castes who also avail the services of *Badigeru* where the means of exchange is money. But this kind of a money based transaction is not made on a regular basis and therefore the *Badigeru* do not rely on it.

The *Badigeru* of the village hold a priestly status as it is they who are the hereditary priests of the temple of the village deity, *Dyamavanna gudi*. One of the eldest women of the *Badigeru* household in the village gets the opportunity of performing *pooja* (worship) to the village deity every year. They follow vegetarian tradition. The *Badigeru* have their own traditional priest who officiates at the rites and rituals. The priests of *badigeru* are known by the name *achari*.

**Musalmantu**: The *Musalmantu* of the village are comprised of an endogamous caste known as *Sayyeds*. The *Sayyeds* claim that they are of the higher order among the *Musalmantu*. This is the only *Musalmantu* caste found in the village. The people of the village refer to this particular social grouping as *Musalmantu mandi* denoting an existence of a different religion in the village. They belong to non vegetarian tradition. They speak *Urdu* and *Kannada* languages. The main source of livelihood of the people belonging to *Musalmantu* caste is *kamata* (agriculture). The *Musalmantu* of the village are ritually associated with *Mulla* (the Muslim priest) who officiates during the various life cycle rituals. The *Mulla* (priest) stays in *Kalghatgi*, a nearby village. Table 1 shows that there are 23 households belonging *Musalmantu* caste and the total population of this caste is 119.
Madaru: There are 11 households belonging to Madaru jati (caste) and their total population in the village is 57. They come under the scheduled caste category as per the constitutional provisions. The people belonging to Madaru jati (caste) do not stay in the main settlement of the village. They stay outside the village settlement, in a street known as holageri (Holi+Keri=Holageri, holi here refers to pollution and keri refers to street). The people belonging to this caste occupy the lowest rung of the caste hierarchy in the village. The people who live in the main settlement of the village think that the touch of people belonging to Madaru caste will pollute them, therefore they do not eat or drink anything from their hands. The traditional occupation of the people belonging to Madaru caste is leather work. They also work as agricultural labourers in the fields of the traditional cultivators of the village. Each Madaru household is associated with one cultivator household of the village and, under this system they are required to do all their agricultural work and help their womenfolk in cleaning the vessels, smearing the floor with cowdung, cleaning the hakki (cattle shed) and in return the raitaru (farmers) pay them paddy and pulses that they grow in the field. This system is referred to as jeeta padhati which means bonded labour which is different from aya padhati which is similar to Jajmani system of north India.

Traditionally, people belonging to Madaru jati (caste) consumed meat. But people belonging to Madaru Jati say that they are influenced by God Shiva and Lord Basavanna and therefore many of them have stopped eating meat. According to people belonging to this caste, once they have started worshipping lingu, the symbol of God Shiva they are not supposed to eat meat as it is against the teachings of Lord
Basavanna. They invite ainaru (the lingayat priest) for performing various life cycle rituals.

Madivalaru: There are 10 households belonging to Madivalaru caste in the village and their total population is 56. The word madi means ‘to clean’ or ‘to purify’ clothes and people who clean the clothes are known as Madivalaru. Therefore, the traditional occupation of the people belonging to Madivalaru caste is washing clothes. All the Madivalaru households of the village have given up their traditional occupation of washing clothes. Members of one household belonging to Madivalaru caste have set up a shop in Dharwad for washing and ironing clothes. Others have taken up agriculture as their occupation.

Madivala Machideva belonging to Madivalaru caste is an important religious leader of this caste who carried forward the vachanas (poems) of Lord Basavanna and therefore this group of people is also influenced by the Lingayat tradition. They invite ainaru priest for performing the various life cycle rituals. The dead bodies of the people belonging to Madivalaru caste are buried.

Ainaru: There are 7 Ainaru households in the village and their total population is 47. The ainaru have a priestly status in the village. The Hiremath ainaru of the village represent the priestly order of the Lingayat tradition. They are traditionally identified with the performance of rituals during the life cycle crisis of the followers of Lingayat tradition in the village. The ainaru priests are invited by the people to their houses to perform various rituals. This practice of going to every house to perform the rituals is called as urutana madodu. All the ainaru households in the village belong to one single manetana (lineage). And therefore the right to perform urutana keeps on rotating from
one family to another family within the lineage every year. Ainaru of the village follow vegetarian tradition and also practice agriculture as their occupation apart from priesthood. The people belonging to ainaru jati (caste) bury their dead.

**Ram Kshatriya** : There are 5 households belonging to Ram Kshatriya caste in the village and their population is 20. The Ram Kshatriya claim that they are warriors by profession which they no more practice. They have taken up agriculture as their main occupation. They say they are the devotees of God Rama.

**Hadpad** : There are 4 households in the village belonging to Hadpad caste and their total population is 21. The traditional occupation of the Hadpad caste is hajamati (barbery) but only two households belonging to Hadpad caste practice barberly in the village. Traditionally, barberly was done as a part of aya paddati, that is every household in the village was associated by a barbar household belonging to Hadpad caste and one member of that particular household has to go to the houses to which he was associated to perform his duties and in turn he was paid in kind. But currently, the two households who are following the traditional occupation of barberly do not follow it as part aya padhati. They have set up barbar shops in the village instead of going to the houses of the villagers. The other Hadpad households of the village have either taken up agriculture or agriculture related work or salaried work as their source of livelihood. They are vegetarian by tradition. They follow the Lingayat tradition and therefore ainar priests are invited by the people belonging to Hadpad caste for performing the various rites and rituals. The people belonging to Hadpad caste bury their dead.
**Bhajantri**: There are 4 households in the village belonging to Bhajantri caste and their population is 18. They are also called as Koravar. The people belonging to Bhajantri caste said that they belong to the scheduled tribe category as per the provisions of the constitution of India. Originally, they were wandering tribes but the Bhajantri of the village are now settled and have their own houses in the village. The traditional occupation of the Bhajantri is weaving bamboo baskets, mats and also making broom sticks. The men belonging to Bhajantri caste blow sanadi (a type of musical instrument, a pipe) during the marriages and other ceremonies held in the village and in other nearby villages and towns. The Bhajantri do not hold any agricultural land as their traditional occupation has nothing to do with the agriculture. They are non-vegetarian by tradition and the men belonging to Bhajantri caste go for hunting small animals in the Byarammana gudda, a nearby hill. They cremate the dead.

**Waddaru**: The traditional occupation of people belonging to Waddaru caste is digging earth, stones and wells. They also dig canals. There is only one Waddaru household in the village in which there are 6 members. This household does not follow the traditional occupation of digging the earth, canals and wells, instead they have taken up other occupations like maid servant in the nearby city of Dharwad and peon in a government office for their livelihood.

**Kali**: There is one household belonging to Kali caste in the village and their total population is 9. And they live in the Holageri along with the people belonging to Madaru caste, which lay outside the main settlement of the village. They perform all the activities similar to that of Madaru caste except for the reason that the men belonging to Kali caste blow Kali (couch) during the festivals in the village and in
other villages. It is for this reason that people belonging to Kali caste consider themselves one step above in status when compared to Madaru caste in the jati (caste) hierarchy of the village.

Valmiki: The people belonging to this jati (caste) claim that they are descendants of sage Valmiki who wrote the Hindu epic Ramayana. Their traditional occupation is hunting. There is only one household belonging to the Valmiki caste in the village and there are only two people living in that household. But they are not permanent residents of the village. They have come from the Bagalkote district of Karnataka in search of job and the head of the household now works as a conductor in State Transport.

Idigaru: There is one Idigaru household in the village and the total number of people living in this household is six. The Idigaru are traditional palm tappers. The people belonging to this household are not original residents of Nigadi. They have come from Gulbarga district of Karnataka because of the job requirement. The head of the household is a male health worker who works in four nearby villages including Nigadi.

Intercaste Relations and Hierarchy of Castes in the Village

Therefore in the light of all these aspects of the village background discussed so far, it can be said that the people of the village are organized into two main composite socio-religious groups, referred to as Hindu mandi (denoted by Hindu religion) and Musalmanru mandi (denoted by Muslim religion). They form composite groups because, the people under these groups follow diverse socio-religious nambiki (beliefs) and paddhati (practices) that are unique to their groups. At a more operational level, both these groups are comprised of sampradaya (traditions). These sampradaya, that is traditions in turn consist of jati (castes). For instance, the Hindu mandi, people belonging to Hindu composite group of the village make a clear cut distinction between
Lingayat, Vishwakarma, Maratha, and other Hindu mandi - the different sampradaya (traditions) in the village where there is hierarchy both within as well as in between these sampradaya (traditions). Similarly, Musalmanru mandi, that is the people belonging to Muslim composite group make a distinction between the two sampradaya (traditions)-Sayye and Sheikh where there is again a hierarchy between these two groups. However, there are only people belonging to Sayed sampradaya (tradition) in the village and they claim that they are superior to Sheikh. Of all the three traditions, that is, Lingayat, Vishwakarma, Maratha and others, the people belonging to Lingayat tradition claim that they belong to an altogether different religion and are therefore referred to as Lingayat mandi. This four way classification of traditions into Lingayat, Vishwakarma, Maratha and others is done on the basis of the similarities in the beliefs and practices when it comes to their life cycle rituals and the group behaviour that gets expressed in their education, occupation, income, settlement pattern and daily routine. Among these, the group ‘others’ is not homogeneous in terms of the beliefs and practices followed by its constituent jati (castes) and is therefore not comparable to the other traditions in the group. It comprises of castes like Kurubaru, Ram Khsatriya, Kali, Madaru, Bhajantri, Waddaru, and Valmiki that fall under the Hindu composite social group but are too diverse to be classified under one single tradition. Thus, the most important point that needs to be stressed from the people’s perspective is that, the relation between all these three levels of classification, that is, mandi, sampradaya and jati (religion, tradition and caste) is highly eclectic and context sensitive. And the whole discourse of social organization rallies around the concept of jati (caste) in the village. Especially when it comes to the day-to-day interactions in the village, jati (caste) is a nuanced term that encompasses all above mentioned levels of classification among both the Hindu as well as Muslim composite groups. Therefore, it is a
homonym, a similar sounding term having different contextual meanings. It also forms the basic functional unit when it comes to fundamentals of social organization like, marriage patterns, occupation, religion, social control and law, and village economy. It is for this reason that the researcher has chosen *jati* (caste) as an important parameter in order to explain various aspects related to gender and reproductive health, the main focus the study. It provides with an intervening framework for an in-depth and clear-cut interpretation of the reproductive health status of the people of the village.

A Hande Kurubaru man washing the feet of Ainaru priest

Coming back to the earlier classification of *mandi*, *sampradaya* and *jati* (religion, tradition and caste), the most dominant tradition in the village is *Lingayat* tradition that has an over-arching influence on the village as whole. The people belonging to this *Lingayat* tradition belong to two *pantha* – philosophical sects, that is, *Aradhya pantha* and *Sharana pantha*. Ainaru, Pancharmsali, Banajiga and Shilavanta belong to *Aradhya pantha*. Of these, only Ainaru and Pancharmsali are present in the
village of which Ainaru form the priestly order for all the Lingayats of the village signifying the presence of hierarchy among the sects. This Aradhya pantha is in tune with the teachings propounded in the Vedas. Therefore the people of the village believe that this pantha pre-existed Basavanna’s period, the 12th century shaivite social reformer. It was Basavanna who included the other non shaivite castes of Hinduism into his social reform movement and started the Sharana pantha (sect). This Sharana pantha (sect) includes Hande Kurubaru, Madivalaru, and Hadpad in the village. The next in the hierarchy after the Lingayat are the Vishwakarma who are a part of Hindu composite group. They follow the gotra system which is a clan like exogamous organization. The priestly order of this group is called as achari, who officiates at all the rites and rituals of the Vishwakarma people. They are basically associated with artisan work in the village as they work on wood, metal, clay and stone. Of these only those who work on wood who are referred to as Bedigeru are present in the village and are therefore a part of the study. They are endogamous in nature and therefore form a jati (caste) in the village. All the Bedigeru of the village belong to suparnasya gotra of the Vishwakarma sampradaya (tradition). The next in the hierarchy are the Maratharu who form a part of the Hindu composite social group in the village. They comprise of two main groups, that is, Shivaji Maratharu (chieftains) and Shimpi Maratharu (basket weavers). Of these, only Shivaji Maratharu are present in the village. The priestly order of bhatru officiate at the various rites and rituals performed by the members of this tradition. And finally we have the lower most echelon of the Hindu composite groups who are collectively referred to as Holeyaru by the other jati (caste) people in the village. They stay outside the main settlement of the village as they are considered to be polluting castes, the term holi means pollution. They comprise of Kali, Madaru,
Bhajantri, Waddaru, and Valmiki. They also form a hierarchy among themselves and are dependent on the Lingayat jati (caste) of the village for their livelihood and sustenance as social group. When it comes to their occupation and the practice of various life cycle rituals they are dependent on the people belonging to upper castes through a system called as jeeta paddhati, that is, bonded labour. According to this system, every Holeyaru, that is untouchable family of the village is supposed to undertake the services of the one upper caste family. These services are hereditary in nature. The people belonging to Ram Kshatriya (traditional warriors) and Idiga (palm tappers) jati (caste) come under Hindu composite group but do not follow any of the sampradaya (tradition) mentioned so far. They have settled in the village two years back and the head of their households are engaged in non-traditional governmental jobs.

Therefore, it is evident from the ongoing discussion that within the given social organization of the village, the traditional ritual hierarchy that cuts across all the levels of classification, that is, religion, tradition and caste is based on the principle of madi (purity) and mailigi (pollution). The principle of purity and pollution followed in the village has its roots in the belief structure of the people which further shapes and guides their social organization. That is, this principle which in turn determines the rules of marriage, that is, whom to marry and whom not to marry, food habits and the commensal relations that ultimately shape the ritual hierarchy for the different jati (castes) of the village. Based on these criteria, one can arrive at an overall ritual hierarchy encompassing all the jati (castes) of the village which can be represented as follows,
However, this traditional ritual hierarchy discussed so far is an ideal construct and is not readily apparent to any investigator who intends to study the village as a cultural unit. But on a closer look at the day-to-day interactions, one comes across many other aspects of the social organization that impinge upon this ritual hierarchy formed out of different jati (castes) of the village. As an outcome of this interaction one can arrive at a holistic and integrated hierarchy of the jati (castes) that is clearly apparent and therefore exists at a more operational level in the village. For instance, occupation plays a pivotal role in determining position of a jati (caste) within this hierarchy. Kamata that is agriculture is revered and is held in high esteem by the villagers. The villagers are of the opinion that, kamata (agriculture) is important to them in two ways, one that it produces davasa-dhanya-food grains- which in turn produces wealth in terms of movable and immovable property for the people of the village. Therefore, the castes which practice agriculture as their primary occupation
enjoy a higher status in the village. Even the priestly castes, namely, Ainaru and Badigeru are considered subordinate to the agrarian castes like Panchamsali, Hande Kurubar, Kurubar and Maratharu for the reason that it is only the occupation of agriculture that produces food grains and income necessary for the sustenance and well being of all others castes of the village. Another aspect related to agriculture is the land holding that contributes to the socio-economic status of castes in the village. The people of the village worship jaminu (land) as bhoomi tayee- the Goddess of earth, and castes which own more land command more respect in the village. The traditionally agrarian castes of the village, namely, Panchamsali, Hande Kurubaru, Kurubaru and Maratharu together account for more than 80% of the total land holdings of the village. With advent of the modern means of irrigation in the village, these castes are able to double their agricultural produce and therefore generate more income than before. These four castes also comprise of large extended families as agriculture as an occupation requires more people to work in the fields. Thus it is the numbers and land holdings that account for the economic advancement of these castes. Once they are economically well off they are able to send their children to higher levels of education which is very much evident from the statistics on educational status of the villagers. Thus, all these determinants put together, that is, numbers, economic well being and educational empowerment of the people belonging these castes paves the way for a greater participation in the field of politics and administration. It is members of these dominant castes that are represented in more numbers in co-operative societies and milk federations in the village. On the other hand, there are people belonging the other castes living in the lower sections of the hierarchy and who are referred to as Holeyaru comprising of Kali, Madaru, Bhajantri, Waddaru, and Valmiki. The people belonging to these castes do not own any land and are therefore dependent on the higher castes for
their survival in the village. They are associated to the higher castes people through a system called *jeeta paddhati* that is bonded labour. It is because of this reason that they are not economically, educationally and politically empowered as upper agrarian castes of the village. Therefore, on the village as whole, it is the interlinkages that have developed between the occupational, economical, educational and political status of the castes with that of their ritual status that ultimately results in the positioning of these castes within the overall hierarchy of the village. Thus, in the day-to-day interaction of the people the *jati* (caste) hierarchy can be represented as follows,

*Panchamsali*
*Hande Kurubaru*
*Kurubaru*
*Maratharu*
*Ainaru*
*Badigeru*
*Madivalaru*
*Musalmanru*
*Ram Khatriya*
*Hadpad*
*Kali*
*Madaru*
*Bhajantri*
*Waddaru*
*Valmiki*

**Clustering of the Castes**

It has been observed that, within the already mentioned operational day-to-day hierarchy of *jati* (castes) in the village, there exist certain discrete patterns or clusters of castes which exhibit similar behavioural features. These patterns or clusters of castes are determined by their economic empowerment as an outcome of number of people, their land holdings, agricultural produce, income levels and participation in work force.
The religious affiliation of the members of the castes as determined by their degree of adherence to their respective beliefs and practices. Their educational empowerment which is turn determined by the influence of belief system and economic well being. The political empowerment as determined by their participation in the decision making process of the traditional as well as the modern *Panchayat* system, participation in agricultural and milk co-operatives and in *Swa Sahaya Gumpu*, that is, self-help groups. This creates a type of empowerment which puts them in an advantageous position when compared to other caste groups. Then comes the mobility, that is, the ability of both men and women as individuals and as members of a social grouping, to move freely in and around the village. And the autonomy, which enables the individuals, both male and female, to negotiate and utilize the opportunities from the existing social (social structure) and physical (nutrition and property entitlements) environment around them. Thus it can be said that, within the cultural context of the village as a whole, it is the combination of these above stated behavioural features that contributes towards the formation of the following patterns or clusters of castes within the overall hierarchy of the village.

When we consider the cluster of castes comprising of *Panchamsali, Hande Kurubaru, Kurubaru* and *Maratharu*, it was observed that they posses large agricultural land holdings which necessitate greater participation in work force. These castes also happen to be the most populous castes in the village. Which in turn results in an overall increase in their agricultural produce and income levels. In effect, these factors have two kinds of behavioural ramifications for the cluster as a whole. The economic well-being thus created, enables the people belonging these castes to attain higher levels of education. As a result of this, they are more receptive to the changes that are taking place around them when compared to the priestly and untouchable caste groups in the
village. Especially within the realms of development activities that are taking place in the village like modern education system, modern *Panchayat* system and the modern health care system. The social structure among these castes is marked by the presence of an elaborate and closely knit kin-groups comprising of large extended families. Apart from this, the basic functional units of these castes are *manetana*, that is, lineages that are linked together by preferential kin-marriages where in males marry their *sodaramavana magalu* (mother’s brother’s daughter), *sodaratti magalu* (father’s sister’s son) and *akkana magalu* (elder sister’s daughter) when they are younger than the male ego. Through this kind of a marriage pattern all the members of a caste within the village are related. These kinds of preferential forms of marriages are very much effective in bridging the gap between the two genders and also the gap between the subsequent generations. This kind of bridging the gap is not possible in the case of non-kin marriages. But under the system of preferential kin-marriages, the male and female who are about get married know each other as well their kin-groups very well. This situation further entails that there are no impediments in the inter-personal relations in general and inter-spousal communication in specific. Gender disparities and the subsequent gender based deprivation are greatly reduced under these conditions. Both men and women do not have any restrictions on their movements both inside the village as well as to their places of work. This greatly enhances their accessibility and the utility of the various facilities provided to them by the by the governmental and non-governmental organizations in terms of the developmental support to these caste groups in the village. Thus, it is the inter linkages that exist between these behavioural features, that is, economic, educational and political empowerment along with parameters like mobility and autonomy of the individuals that determine the clustering of these castes.
The other cluster of castes that exist in the village comprise of the priestly castes of Ainaru and Bedigeru. Among the people belonging to these castes, the belief system plays a dominant role in determining their overall status in the village. It is only after the initiation ceremony, that is, aitana among the Ainaru and upanayana among the Bedigeru that the males are allowed to take up their work, either traditional or non-traditional in order to support their families. Among the females, it’s only after the doddakki ago karya, that is, puberty ritual that they are considered the members of their respective castes. The people belonging to these castes strictly adhere to the principle of madi (purity) and mailigi (pollution) when compared to that other caste groups in the village. Thus livelihood to large extent is a function of their belief system. These castes do not own agricultural land nor do have the expertise required to work on agricultural fields. The incidence of kin-marriages is comparatively less among these caste groups. On the other hand, the men belonging to these caste groups are not capable of doing jobs other than priesthood and carpentry owing to their lack of educational qualification created by their economic impoverishment. The women are also discouraged from going out of their houses either for education or for work once they attain puberty because they believe that they will be affected by gaali (evil spirit) and muttu dosha (pollution caused by menstrual blood). These beliefs and practices are present among the other caste groups also, but they do not adhere to them as strictly as the priestly castes of Ainaru and Bedigeru do because of the differences in their ritual statuses in the overall caste hierarchy of the village. Therefore it is the combination of all these factors, that is, lack of agricultural land holdings, absence of closely knit and coherent kin-groups, highly ritualistic beliefs and practices, lack of economic, educational and political empowerment that has its own implications on the mobility and autonomy of individuals in negotiating their well being both as individuals and as the members of
their respective caste groups. It is for this reason that they form a cluster of castes in the village.

Finally, we have the cluster of castes that the people of the village collectively refer to as Holeyaru. This group of comprises of castes like, Kali, Madaru, Bhajantri, Waddaru and Valmiki. The castes belonging to this cluster do not own land and their traditional occupation is to clean the houses and agricultural fields of the upper caste people under the system called jeeta paddhati, that is, bonded labour. If they are to observe any of the life cycle rituals they will have to do it with help of the upper caste people under whom they work. They do not own land and are engaged in occupations which do not give them enough returns and as result of this they are not able to reach higher levels of education. Apart from this, they live in small nuclear families which are separated by their allegiance to different families belonging to upper agrarian castes. The incidence of kin-marriages is comparatively less among these castes which further aggravate their situation in the village as it dents their solidarity as a social group. They are considered ritually inferior to all the other castes in the village and therefore live outside the main settlement of the village. They do not enjoy any mobility in the village as are considered as polluting castes. Thus the individuals belonging to these castes, both men and women lack that autonomy to negotiate their well being with people other caste in the village. It is for this reason that the development programmes implemented in the village do not reach these groups of untouchable castes in the village. Therefore, the similarities that exist between these castes force us to club them together into one cluster.

The village background thus helps us to have an overall view of the day-to-day life of the people. The various aspects of the social life like agriculture, festivals, settlement pattern, economy, education and income help us to understand the world
view of the villagers. Each one of these aspects of the social life of the people informs our perspective and guides us towards a better understanding of the topic under study. The settlement pattern gives us the geographical spread of the settlement of the people of the village. The agriculture cycle gives us the information regarding the centrality of agriculture to the lives of the people of the village. Food habits, dress pattern and languages give us a glimpse of the expressive part of culture of the region. Therefore it is against this framework of social-cultural way of life of the people that the researcher intends to study the topic of gender and reproductive health.