

# Caste Composition in a Telangana Village, South India: Segmentation and Interdependence

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## Introduction

Our scholarly attentiveness in studying rural India, especially village societies, is in comparison to rural China. Employing the framework of village governance, one of the authors, Tahara, has conducted a case study of the organizational efforts to solve various daily problems in Chinese villages (Tahara 2019). As a part of enormous agrarian countries in Asia, both Indian and Chinese village governance can have profound impacts on social welfare and national stability. However, two points are particularly intriguing when we focus on Indian-style village governance.

First, in the Chinese social context, mobilizing “communal awareness” among villagers is often important in solving village problems, whereas in Indian village governance, a more “businesslike” approach is frequently employed. In other words, the village resorts to a simple method of taxation to raise funds and employment of staff as village servants. In a previous study, Wade (1988) clarified this point in detail by covering the case of irrigation and grazing issues. He points out that Indian villages lack the “cooperative” sense of community and that “the welfare of the village” and “cooperative ways of doing things” are hardly seen. Village-based organizations, even long-lasting ones, have a substantially weak “morally motivated obedience.” Farmers’ involvement remains calculative rather than moral (Wade 1988: 196). How can such a “dry” manner in village governance be possible?

Second, while village governance resources have been acquired through “self-reliance” in China, Indian village governance is deeply involved in national and local electoral politics (Tahara 2015). Of course, this may not be unusual in countries where profit-guided “pork barrel” politics are prevalent. Therefore, as a more India-specific phenomenon, the author has found it particularly interesting that local politicians make donations to temples as a unique way of engaging in electoral campaigns. Why do candidates donate money to the village temple? What are the related political and social implications?

When trying to analyze salient features in Indian villages, such as the taxation and employment of villagers or donations to temples, researchers must start by understanding the village so-

cial structure, which is represented by caste composition. It is not possible to draw a proper interpretation of these political and governance issues without understanding the caste composition of the village. Therefore, in this paper, as a preparation to start considering the two above-mentioned problems, we will start by portraying the caste composition in Peddamallareddy Village, the author’s research site in Telangana State<sup>1</sup>).

The following is a brief overview of the survey area. Peddamallareddy is located in the Kamareddy district in Telangana State. From Hyderabad, the state capital, it takes about 3 hours by local bus to get the nearby town, Ramayampet, and one may hire an auto-rickshaw to get to the village, which takes half an hour. Before 2019, the original Peddamallareddy Gram Panchayat (GP) included Mallupally and Ayyawaripally, both of which are geographically separated smaller villages. These two villages became independent GPs. At present, Peddamallareddy has 14 electoral constituencies (wards), each of which has one deputy called the “ward member.” One village chief, the sarpanch, is elected from the entire village. Ward members and the sarpanch are elected by voters in direct elections, whereas the Upa-sarpanch (vice-village chief) is elected by ward members.

According to the 2011 census, Peddamallareddy revenue village had 1,565 households and a population of 6,451. However, the village at this time still included Ayyawaripally. If Ayyawaripally is excluded, the population of Peddamallareddy (GP) as of 2020 is slightly more than 5,000. Although the total area of farmland is unknown, according to the village revenue officer (VRO), the irrigated land comprises 900 acres and the “government land,” which is distributed to poor village residents, comprises 1,102 acres. Major crops include maize, paddy rice, and sugar cane. As of 2010, there were 330 acres of paddy rice, 650 acres of maize, and 180 acres of sugarcane. The first crop of paddy rice is called “kharif,” and it is planted in the rainy season from June to July and harvested from November to December. The second crop is called “rabi,” and it is planted in the dry season in December and harvested from April to May.

## **1. Caste Composition**

Our previous research in Peddamallareddy showed that 24 Hindu castes, distinguished by traditional occupations, and one Muslim community can be identified. The breakdown by caste category is three “Other Castes” (OC), 17 “Backward Castes” (BC), three Scheduled Castes (SC), and one Scheduled Tribe (ST) [Table 1]. The rest of this section will describe the traditional professions and the current reality of each caste community.

**Table 1: Caste Composition in Peddamallareddy Village (2019)**

Caste name	Category	Traditional occupation	Number of household	Temple	Community hall	Financial association
1 Brahman	OC	priest	3	×	×	×
2 Vaishya	OC	traders	32	△	○	○
3 Reddy	OC	agriculture, landholder	40	△		
4 Jangam	BC	low-rank priest	3	×	×	×
5 Mudiraj	BC	fishing	166	○	○	×
		fruits collecting	146	○	○	
6 Goud	BC	toddy topping	160	○	○	○
7 Kurma/Golla	BC	shepherds	150	○	○	○
8 Chakali	BC	washer man	60	○	○	
9 Vadla/Kammari	BC	carpenter / blacksmith	46	○	×	○
10 Padmashali	BC	weaving	46	△	○	△
11 Perika	BC	agriculture	45	×	○	○
12 Munnuru Kapu	BC	agriculture	40		○	○
13 Vanjari	BC	agriculture and labor	25	×	×	△
14 Balija/Banja	BC	traders	16	△		△
15 Mangali	BC	barber	10	×	×	×
16 Housla	BC	goldsmith	11			
17 Vaddera	BC	stone cutting	small	×	×	×
18 Katkollu	BC	butcher	2	×	×	×
19 Kanchara	BC	bronz pot making	1	×	×	×
20 Kolupula	BC	shaman	1	×	×	×
21 Mala	SC	agriculture and landless labor	174	○	○	○
22 Madiga	SC	cobblers	150	○	○	
23 Baidra	SC	shaman	1	×	×	×
24 Yerukala	ST	pig raising, bamboo weaving	50	○	×	×
25 Muslims			5	mosque	×	×

\* OC; Other Caste, BC; Backward Caste, SC; Scheduled Caste, ST; Scheduled Tribe  
source: Interview by authors.

### (1) Brahman

There are three Brahman households. One is that of a village priest who originally lived in the village and is called Ragunat Sharma. Another Brahman, who was later invited by the Vaishya community, is the priest exclusively belonging to the Harihara Temple.

Two Brahmans provide ritual services to the villagers (not including the SCs). According to the caste tradition, Brahman priests cannot carry out SC weddings. This tradition is strictly followed in villages, but in large towns and cities, Brahman priests may also perform SC rituals. Some wealthy SCs can hire Brahman priests to perform marriages and various types of rituals in

their homes. Brahmans in the city are not overly concerned with people's castes as long as they are properly paid. In the village, as Brahman priests' services are unavailable, those in the Baidnala community, which belongs to the SC category, play the role of priests for SCs.

It is well known that when the English system of education was introduced, Brahmans quickly adjusted and took over all the professions and ranks of government service in large numbers (Sarma 2018: 52). As a result, the position of the village leader is usually held by somebody in the dominant caste, Reddy, while the accountant is usually handled by a Brahman (Wade 1988: 27–28; Srinivas 2018: 24). This is also the case in Peddamallareddy. For example, Rajeshwar Rao's (50) family belonged to a sub-category of Brahman whose traditional occupation was not priest but was assigned to manage the land and revenue of the village. His grandfather's name was Kancharla Wani Sudarshan Rao. His grandfather's eldest son, his father, worked as a VRO in the neighboring village of Kancharla and Peddamallareddy. After his father's retirement, his grandfather's second son, his uncle, took over the VRO. After this hereditary system was abolished under N.T. Rama Rao's (popularly known NTR) regime (as a part of administrative reform, "taluka" was replaced by "Mandal"), Srinivas Reddy, who was once working under his father in Kancharla, took over this post. S. Reddy is the former VRO. Previously, their large family owned 100 acres of land. As a result of continuous land sales, it has now decreased to 24 acres.

## (2) **Vaishya**

Vaishya is a trader community with 32 households, 15 of which run daily necessities (kirana) shops. All the kirana shops in the village are run by Vaishyas. Other Vaishyas are engaged in cement and marble trade, money lending, or the management of electronics shops, bracelet and ornament shops, or medical shops. They also buy rice (paddy), maize, and jaggery (sugar cane products) from farmers and sell seeds and fertilizers to them. In the Telangana region, where Kshatriya categories are practically non-existent (Whitehead 1916: 19), Vaishya is the highest caste after Brahman, and women avoid working outside their homes as much as possible. For this reason, they are often engaged in indoor work, making leaf plates called "motku." The leaves are picked by the workers and sold to Vaishya women. After stitching the leaves, they are dried in the sun. The plates have often been used at banquets, but recently, most of them have been replaced by paper plates<sup>2</sup> (we had one opportunity to eat food on a leaf plate during our stay). Some Vaishya women also help their husbands to run the kirana shops. A few Vaishya women are involved in stitching clothes.

## (3) **Reddy**

Reddis are landowners and it can be considered the dominant caste in Andhra Pradesh (AP)

and Telangana. In addition to the caste's economic superiority as a landowning class, it has close ties with low-caste agricultural workers and peasants through agricultural production.

First, land ownership is Reddy's economic base. Although the Andhra region has experienced leftist movements and therefore land distribution is more advanced than in other states, Reddis still own a relatively large amount of land and are economically wealthy. In Peddamallareddy, two brothers, Baga Reddy and Surender Reddy, are influential figures. Baga Reddy retired as a physical training teacher from the government school. Before obtaining a teaching job, he was a small farmer in the village. Once he got this job, he started buying land and built very good, fully equipped houses in the village. The younger brother, Surender Reddy, runs 20 acres (about eight hectares) of farmland including sugar cane fields; this is almost the largest parcel of land in today's Peddamallareddy. His family has also long been running the milk collecting center.

Second, it is worth noting that Reddy has a widespread connection with other castes. While there were limited numbers of Brahmans and Vaishyas and no Kshatriyas, Reddis, the dominant caste from the Sudra category in AP and Telangana, was less "Sanskritized" and more secular (Elliott 1973: 150). The landowners openly interacted with a wide range of agricultural workers and even ate and drank with the people of other lower castes and SCs. It has been pointed out that powerful Reddis are more likely to be connected to other castes instead of engaging in caste-wide unity. Having connections with a wide range of people is one of the political resources of the Reddy caste (Elliot 1973). In this sense, the Reddy was traditionally "political" in the Andhra and Telangana regions. For example, Surender Reddy (mentioned above) is the largest real estate manager. Whenever a city company wants to acquire a piece of land in Peddamallareddy, they always require him to introduce a suitable seller. In other words, he knows many people and has diverse relationships with them. These qualities are largely lacking in other "non-political" castes such as Vaishyas<sup>3</sup>).

#### **(4) Jangam**

Jangam is a low-rank priest caste that belongs to the "BC-A<sup>4</sup>)" category. The name comes from the god Shiva. Only three Jangam families in Peddamallareddy run funeral rituals. Apart from funeral rituals, people in this caste are also called by other communities to perform rituals by families on the occasion of remembering ancestors. Every year, most households from different castes conduct a ritual in which members remember their ancestors and give grains to Jangam and Brahmin priests. Generally, the ritual is conducted before the Dasara festival on the day of the new moon. This represents one source of income for the Jangam families. In the past, one of the members from the household also worked as a Registered Medical Practitioner (RMP) in the village.

## (5) Mudiraj

Mudiraj is the largest community in the village by population, and it is divided into two sub-groups based on the members' traditional occupations: fishermen (166 households) and fruit collectors (146 households).

*Fishermen:* The Mudiraj fishermen community is called Ganganamma, the name of the goddess they worship. The community has a caste committee consisting of a chairman, vice president, secretary, and six directors (committee members). The committee term is five years.

Ganganamma's traditional occupation is fishing in an enormous reservoir (called "tank") built by the Kakatiya, an ancient kingdom that ruled in this area. The Gangammas have an exclusive right to catch fish in the reservoir. Some of the fishery activities are managed by the community members, and some external contractors are also permitted to catch fish there.

First, fishing rights are auctioned to those inside of the community. Only those who have this right are engaged in fishing in the tank, as not all households in the community have fishing nets or fishing skills. As of 2014, about 30 people wished to obtain fishing rights. Most of the catch is transported and sold in the city markets. Contractors within the community are only allowed to capture small black fish, and white fish are prohibited from catching. Second, the community makes annual contracts with individual external merchants instead of calling for auctions. As of 2014, the contractors paid Rs.30 per kilo to the fishermen community from the income of the catch (before 2014, Rs.22 per kilo). The catch of the same year amounted to about 19 tons, which means that it earned Rs. 418,000. Segmentation between the Ganganamma people and contractors depends on the type of fish. The contractor is supposed to raise "white fish" and has exclusive rights to catch this type of fish. Ganganamma people, on the other hand, should only catch "non-white" fish, and violators are severely punished.

As can be seen from above, the Ganganamma community has its own "financial income," but it does not engage in financial activities such as offering informal credit to members. Ninety percent of the income obtained from bidding for fishing rights is pooled in the community association, and the remaining 10 percent is paid as tax to the government. The community pays Rs.4,995 per year to the government's Fishery Department for fishing activities in the reservoir. In return, the Department provides a certain amount of fry (to obtain the right to fish, more than 1 hectare, or 2.5 acres, of the pond or tank catchment is required).

*Fruit collectors:* they are called Peddammalollu according to the name of a goddess-peddamma they worship. This group has approximately one leader per 30 households and five leaders in total. Ganganamma Temple is a Mudiraj's caste temple, but it is not exclusive and people from other communities can worship there.

The Peddamma people have the exclusive right to collect custard apples within the territory

of the village. Custard apple trees are mainly grown in the “government land” in the eastern and western parts of the village, but they are also scattered around the village. Ordinary villagers other than Peddamma are prohibited from picking and eating custard apples unless the trees belong to their own yard. Compared to the fishermen community, the income generated by fruit selling in the Peddamma community is far less as the fruits are only available during the short period between September and October. The Peddamma community is not as politically or economically powerful as the fishermen community.

#### **(6) Goud**

Goud has 160 households and 18 surnames. The Goud Association has a president, vice president, cashier, accountant, and 18 directors representing each family name. The term of chairmanship is one year and it runs from each October to the next October. The traditional profession of Goud is the production and sale of toddy, a liquor made from *Eatha Kallu*<sup>5</sup> (Toddy Tree). Toddy is a beverage that is inseparable from rural life in Telangana, especially for non-vegetarian lower castes and SCs. It is a must-have, especially during the election and festival seasons when candidates must distribute it to voters. Interestingly, Goud people generally do not drink toddy on their own. Instead, if they need to offer it to someone else, they drink beer or whiskey.

The right to produce toddy in the factory and sell it to all stores is dominated by the Goud community. Like the Mudiraj fishermen community, the management right of the toddy business is put up for bids within the community. In 2014, deputy sarpanch Y. Raju won the business right for 2.5 million rupees. From the annual winning bid of toddy business, every Goud household is entitled to be given Rs.1,100 monthly. In that sense, the Goud community is an economic entity. Unlike the case of Mudiraj, toddy transactions are not taxed by the government.

Individuals who own toddy trees in the village sign a four-month contract with toddy managers and receive Rs.25 per month for the supply of raw materials. There used to be about 600 toddy trees, but that number has decreased. Thus, in 2013, the Goud Association purchased five acres of land near their Yallamma Temple and the toddy factory to plant more palm trees; it was priced at Rs.500,000 per acre.

Goud Association serves to deliver the brewed toddy to shops and individuals in the village. Traditionally, Goud is not supposed to offer delivery services to SCs, and SCs have no choice but to go to the shops themselves to purchase toddy. In such cases, toddy sellers must go to the SC area to collect empty bottles the next morning. Apart from the caste occupation shown above, several households also run tea (chai) hotels and chicken centers. Other families are engaged in agriculture.

Yallamma Temple is the “spiritual symbol” of the Goud community, and it is thriving thanks

to the toddy business. It is said to have been built around 1985 and occupies about four acres of land. Here, caste discussions, wedding ceremonies, and a grand festival once every five years are held. Approximately 5,000 to 6,000 rupees are paid each year by the Goud Association to maintain the temple. The association also bears the entire funeral costs of members of the community. In this sense, the Goud community serves a high-level welfare function. Regarding Goud marriages, the amount of dowry we observed was Rs.250,000, most of which was used for the purchase of gold. The groom's side receives 40 g of gold from the bride's side, processes it into earrings, rings, necklaces, etc., and gives it to the bride.

#### **(7) Kurma/Golla**

Kurma is a shepherd caste with 150 households, of which 100 are still engaged in shepherd work. Their way of life is unique, and many men have ear piercings. Most households own approximately 100 sheep and 100 goats. In the dry season, from January to June, shepherds travel with their goats and sheep to distant pastures. They travel about 100 km along the canal. During the dry season, ponds and swamps remain in only a few small basins. Goats and sheep use water for bathing purposes. During the grazing journey, shepherds sleep in a special blanket made of goat or sheep wool. This blanket can protect them from the cold and is waterproof. The Kurma's sheep and goats are sold not only to the villagers, but also to the city merchants. The price is about Rs.300 per kg, and goats are more expensive than sheep. The community sells sheep and goat dung to farmers, by which they can make a good amount of money. In addition, farmers also invite the shepherds to keep their sheep and goats on their agriculture lands for overnight stops. While staying on the lands, sheep and goat dung and urine will spread over the land, which improves the soil productivity. For such overnight stays, farmers pay money to shepherds depending on the number of sheep or goats. In addition to raising sheep and goats, some of the families are also engaged in cultivation.

The Kurma own both the caste temple and the community hall. They belong to a lower caste and are basically non-vegetarian and drink alcohol. Therefore, they worship a carnivore goddess, Beerappa. During the festival, caste members can sacrifice sheep and goats in front of the temple and perform rituals. In the context of Indian villages, drinking alcohol openly is refrained from. When an author, Tahara, was inclined to drink alcohol during the fieldwork, we chose to drink near the non-vegetarian temples or in empty areas at night. We also drank beer at Bhayanna God Stone, another Kurma temple located under a giant banyan tree.

#### **(8) Chakali**

Chakali is a washermen caste; they wash clothes for all the villagers. They have approxi-



mately 60 households and are divided into three sub-groups. According to several informants, at least 30 households are still engaged in the traditional occupation of laundry. Moreover, they maintain fixed relationships with families; these are widely known as jajmani relationships (Wiser 1936). For example, Ashok has about 10 fixed household customers, and most washers have about 20 households. They have made annual contracts with their customers for Rs.300–600.

It is important to note that the laundry service performed by Chakali, in large part, is ritualistic. In other words, it is mainly given in association with the implementation of festivals, marriages, funerals<sup>6</sup>), and so on. To have clothes washed, customers offer Chakali 100 kg rice or toddy purchased from Gouds. Especially at the funerals, they are supposed to wash all the clothes worn by relatives who have gathered for the occasion, so an additional fee of Rs.100 is required. However, even for everyday laundry, villagers may ask Chakali to wash bulky materials such as blankets. All laundry work is performed near the pond/reservoir.

In addition to washing villagers' clothes, Chakali people have a traditional side job as a butcher to treat goats and sheep for festival occasions by other lower castes<sup>7</sup>). In return for this service, Chakali people get the head and skin of the livestock and use them to obtain pocket money to drink toddy. As is the case with Gouds, Chakali members are not supposed to provide this service for SCs. When an SC family needs to have animals slaughtered or dissected, they resort to the butcher caste, Katkollu. Chakalis' second sideline-job is to plaster the walls of the house.

### **(9) Vadla/Kammari**

Vadla/Kammari is a carpenter/blacksmith caste. In reality, however, there are no Kammari households in the village, and some Vadla households substitute in blacksmith jobs. There are 46 Vadla households, the majority of which include carpenters, and the rest are engaged in blacksmithing. In housebuilding, for instance, the door is made by carpenters, while the latch and other iron articles are attached by blacksmiths. Sometimes, interchanging iron work may be done by a carpenter, but this depends on the skill learned by individuals. Both castes are closed off from each other and stay in the same locality in the village.

Among the carpenters, 20 to 25 households are engaged in farming-related work, producing and repairing plowing tools. Nonetheless, with the mechanization of agriculture, farming-tool-related work has decreased. The number of cows for cultivation and transportation is also decreasing, making plows and carts less necessary. Due to the decreasing demand from farmers for agricultural products, the demand for blacksmithing has also decreased. Carpenters are more engaged in woodwork in houses and shops.

Carpenters can be divided into wood carpenters and stone carpenters. Wood carpenters oversee ordinary houses, while stone carpenters specialize in temple construction. A father (60) and a son (30) with whom I had a brief interview were teaming up to undertake the construction of the new Shiva Temple, which was under construction by the Goud community (Gouds already owned the Yellamma Temple). It takes two months for a team consisting of father, son, and two temporary workers to complete the carving on the 5-meter-long stone pillar. It can be sold for Rs.60,000 and the net profit of the pillar is approximately Rs.30,000, excluding shipping and maintenance costs of Rs.30,000. Some money will be provided upfront before the actual work begins. They believed they could complete the project within the next year.

Similar to the abovementioned washermen situation, each carpenter maintains a fixed jajmani relationship with customer families. When a customer builds a new house, the carpenter is responsible for making the windows, doors, furniture, and so on in the house. If one carpenter cannot take on the job, the carpenter association can find another carpenter for the customer. One carpenter interviewed was then undertaking a new construction of a house with a contract of Rs.65,000.

One of the roles of the Vadla Association is the management of goodwill in peripheral hamlets such as Kancharla, Mallupally, and Ayawaripally, where no blacksmiths are found. Exclusive commercial rights in these settlements are auctioned by the association. The auction is held every year from the end of March to the beginning of April during the time called Ugadi. At the 2014 auction, a blacksmith called Srinivas won the right to serve villagers in Kanchara for two years. The bidding money of Rs.15,000 was to be paid in two installments, not all at once. Ayawaripally and Mallupally also have blacksmiths with contracts. Due to the smaller populations, the bidding amounts are lower for these hamlets than for Kancharla.

Vadla has its own temple near Goud's Yellamma Temple. It was built around 1994, and visitors can find a list of donors beside the temple. Curiously, most of the donating amounts are either Rs.1016 or Rs.516. Perhaps 16 is a lucky number in India.

#### **(10) Padmashali**

Padmashali is a tailor caste. The details about livelihoods are unknown. Historically, the community has been involved in weaving clothes for the entire village. However, in this village, there is no record of anybody engaging in weaving. Even now, many households in villages from other districts are engaged in weaving clothes (unstitched sarees, towels, dhoties/panchas, and shirt material). Male members are engaged in stitching clothes for men and boys. All the women create rolling beedies<sup>8</sup>). A few families also run beedi-making businesses as agents for beedi companies.

Within the BC category, the Padmashalis are said to be inclined to save money and can be very stingy people. Their temple was located inside the Harihara Temple. There is a thread-like ornament called the *Jandyam* that men wear from their shoulders to their hips. At the Hindu *Raki*<sup>9)</sup> festival (Raksha Bandan), which is held every year, the Padmashali caste leader distributes *Jandyam* to all male members. The habit of wearing *Jandyam* has been maintained by Brahman, Vaishya, and castes of Vishwa Brahmin. As mentioned above, the trend of Sanskritization (Srinivas 1966: Chapter 1) in the South India and Andhra regions is less pronounced than in other regions, but the lower castes here also began to imitate the Brahman customs and traditions to some extent. As a result, Padmashali and Vishwa Brahmans now wear *Jandyam*.

### (11) Perika

Perika is an agricultural caste. There are 45 households in the village, divided into two groups of 30 and 15 households. In the past, the community was engaged in trading salt and food grains. The community name is derived from *perika*, a type of bag used to carry goods. It is made of two gunny bags that are stitched together and placed on both sides of the donkey or ox. Salt or food grains are poured into them and transported from one place to another. Community women are also involved in making gunny bags. Due to the modernization of transportation, their trade has become obsolete, and they have shifted to agriculture. The MLA (Member of Legislative Assembly) of the Kamareddy constituency belongs to the Perika community.

### (12) Munnuru Kapu

Munnuru Kapu is an agricultural caste with approximately 40 households. Unlike other communities with some landless members, almost all of the households have agricultural lands. All of them are engaged in cultivation. Some women also perform beedi rolling. However, agriculture is the primary source of income for all Munnuru Kapu families.

### (13) Vanjari

The Vanjari community works in agriculture and labor, but they do not have temples and community halls. In 2014, when we conducted fieldwork, they still had an active financial association. However, members gradually became inactive because some members who had already taken out loans lost interest in repaying the money. As a result, no financial activity is taking place as of 2020. The community does not have any specific caste occupation, but many of them are engaged in agriculture. The community population is not growing on par with other communities, as most of the educated people have migrated to cities/towns for employment. All the women perform beedi rolling. A few members engage in money lending. Generally, in cities and

towns, others know that the Vanjaris are money lenders. It is true that the wealthy people in towns and cities are involved in money lending. During the 2009 Assembly elections, Datrika Vittal, who was a builder in Hyderabad and a native of Peddamallareddy, contested an MLA from the Praja Rajyam Party but could not be elected. In general, the community is not actively involved in politics. An exception is Kaleru Venkatesh, a community member who won as an MLA from Amberpet Assembly Constituency from the TRS (Telangana Rashtra Samithi) party in Hyderabad in the 2018 Assembly elections.

#### **(14) Baliya (Banja)**

Baliya (Banja) has 16 households in the village and belongs to the commercial caste. However, unlike Vaishya, most of the Baliya people work with vegetables and spices such as dry mirchy, green pepper, onion, ginger, or turmeric. They purchase these foods in urban wholesale markets and sell them in the village. Shevella Bumaiah has been a Baliya leader since he was 25 in 1976; he is in the timber business. Despite being a merchant caste, most of the Baliya family, except for one household who runs a bracelet and jewelry shop, owns about 10 acres of land. Although they do not have an independent temple, they worship at the Harihara Temple and are members of its management committee.

#### **(15) Mangali**

Mangali is a barber community. All 10 households in the village are engaged in the traditional occupation of barbers. Nine shops are located near the Girls' High School in the center of the village, another is near Harihara Temple. The community leader is named Mangali Srinivas.

Like carpenters and washers, barbers have a fixed relationship with their customers' families. The customer may hand over paddy, maize, or Rs.1200 in cash for barber services. On the customer side, in contrast, not all customers have a fixed relationship with a barber. Currently, very few families maintain bartered jajmani relationships. One of the authors, Laxman's family, who belongs to the Vanjari community, has not had a fixed relationship with a barber previously. However, on average, each barber has about 100 customer families. Interestingly, barbers' services are exclusively for male villagers, which means that women do not get haircuts in the barber-shops.

With washermen and barbers being absent, residents in the Ayawaripally village must come to Peddamallareddy for both laundry and haircutting. Having one barber but no washermen, residents in Mallupally village come to Peddamallareddy just for laundry. Young people can come to Peddamallareddy if they want a more fashionable hairstyle.

Essentially, barbers' work is also more ritual than practical. They play an important ceremo-

nial role during the funeral of a family when male family members shave their heads. Other than the funeral, they oversee making special decorations for people's marriages.

It is already clear from the example of the washermen, Chakali, that some castes engage in multiple professions. Barbers also have a side job: midwifery. It was not until around 2005 that people started to go to the hospital in Bhiknoor, the mandal center, to give birth. Before that, all babies were delivered in villagers' homes, where female Mangali members played the role of midwives in the delivery.

Surprisingly, the barber community has a significant amount of farmland and is also involved in farming. The wealthiest of the barbers in the village, the Naresh family, has a whopping 17 acres of farmland and four irrigation wells. The father of this family is now engaged exclusively in agriculture without barbering.

The barber community tends to stop their children's formal education when they complete the 10th grade. They encourage boys to succeed them in their barber jobs. Even if there is more than one brother, all the male siblings may carry on the traditional employment. Naresh, the 21-year-old mentioned above, has also completed 10th grade and remains in the village, working as a barber. His friend Anil (20) is also a barber in the village after finishing a 10-year course plus 2 years of education. Since there are only 10 households, barbers have neither a community hall nor a temple. There have not been politicians or ward members from the Mangali community. Even during the sarpanch election campaign in 2013, they only received toddy from some candidates and nothing more than that. The Mandal Parishat Territorial Council (MPTC) candidates did not approach them either.

#### **(16) Housla**

Housla is a goldsmith caste. Traditionally, dowry in Hindu marriage has been spent to buy gold ornaments produced by Housla craftsmen. Of the 11 Housla families in the village, six are still working as goldsmiths and five are working as tailors. The young generation is not included in the six goldsmiths, as traditional goldsmith works are being replaced by ready-made ornaments. A Housla housewife we interviewed had worked earlier as a Hindi teacher at a Domakonda school in a nearby town but had resigned to do sewing work at home. Similar to Vaishyas, women in this community are encouraged to work at home, as they fall into a high-varna category called Vishwa Brahman. One of the Housla families lives in a large two-story building, which gives people an extravagant impression of an Indian village.

#### **(17) Vaddera**

This is a stone-cutting caste that takes stones near a poultry farm and provides them to the

Vadla stone carpenter. Details are unknown.

**(18) Katkollu**

Katkollu is a butcher caste with only two households in the village. Two of the members are brothers. The elder son lives with his father and has two sons. He worked in Dubai for several years and returned to the village to succeed the butcher. The younger son is also married and works as a butcher. His daughter and son, who appeared to be 13 to 15 years old, are also good at dissecting animals. As mentioned above, only the butcher caste can treat sheep and goats during the SC festival. Lower castes can also require Chakali, washermen, to take this charge. The butcher receives a fee of Rs.100 from the customer and acquires animal skin to sell. They occasionally sell meat in the periodical market on Friday. They also sell meat every Sunday and on festival days. In these cases, they can either buy animals from the Kurma community or can grow animals by themselves in a small shed located in front of their house.

Interestingly, when sacrificing an animal, the very first cut to the throat must be handled by the Muslim of the village who can cast several spells, not by the butcher himself. This is called *Halal*, and it is only performed by Muslims with the remuneration of Rs.10. The rest of dissecting work is performed by the butcher.

**(19) Kanchara**

Kanchara members make bronze pots, buckets, and other water carrying/storage items, and there is only one such household in the village. Recently, the bronze pots, buckets, and other items have been replaced by steel and plastic items. The Kanchara is one of the “Vishwa-Brahman” castes who are theoretically inter-marriageable with each other.

**(20) Kolupula**

Kolupula is a shaman community that serves the entire village. Only one such household lives in the village.

**(21) Mala**

In Telugu countries, Mala and Madiga are two major Scheduled Caste communities. Malas, as agricultural laborers and workers, considered themselves superior to the other untouchable caste groups that were engaged in various defiling occupations. Malas did not get food from Madigas. However, Madigas did not mind eating food offered by Malas. There were separate wards for all of them in every village. They maintained separate wells and independent shrines dedicated to local deities (Chetty 1991: 35–37). The Mala caste in Peddamallareddy is divided into three

sub-groups, with 16, 82, and 76 households in each subgroup. As was observed by Whitehead (1916: 72), Malas worship the Pochamma goddess.

Originally, the SCs were denied the right to own land and cultivate it. Later, vast cultivable wasteland, surplus land released through the imposition of a ceiling on land holdings, land under the Bhoodan and Gramdan movement, and land acquired under other schemes were allotted to the SC families. It is said that by 1990, more than 15 million acres of land had been allotted to about 1.5 million SC households, enabling nearly one-third of the SC families to own land (Chetty 1991: 47). In Peddamallareddy, Mala is considered to be comparatively better off than Madiga because it has been politically more active, which has resulted in obtaining more government land, while Madiga still largely remains landless and economically behind. This Mala–Madiga economic gap, resulting from accessibility to government resources, has been observed by other researchers (ex. Krishna *et al.* 2018: 217).

There are conceivably many Christians among SCs. During the early part of the nineteenth century, Christian missionaries converted many Scheduled Caste families into Christians. A considerable number of the SC in the AP state embraced Christianity (Chetty 1991: 39). In Peddamallareddy, there have been Christians since the 1960s. In the Mala dwelling area in the village, one can find a church built in 2001 by popular donations. The church is exclusively visited by the Mala people. When we visited there, we saw about 20 people, both male and female, attending Sunday service. One of the believers, a college student, said to me that he had a Christian identity and therefore did not participate in any activities related to Hindu gods. Christians among the Madiga community attend another church located in Domakonda, a nearby town.

## **(22) Madiga**

As noted above, Madiga, in addition to Mala, is a major SC community in Telugu regions. Madiga's traditional jobs were cobblers (leatherworkers), village menials, drum beaters, and agricultural laborers. Among the 160 Madiga families, only six owned land in 2019, while among 170 Mala families, only 10 did *not* have land. This contrast is said to be due to Mala's proximity and advantageous position in accessing government lands. Recently, the Telangana government provided land to TRS active supporters, one Mala and three Madiga households.

Regarding drum-beating jobs, Bhikshapathi, a Madiga community leader, disclosed that he has been beating drums for many years on ceremonial occasions. His drum band is composed of 12 members and earns Rs.60,000–70,000 per year. Especially during the marriage seasons from February to June, August, September, and November to December, their band has more jobs.

### (23) Baidla

As Whitehead keenly observed, in the past, the object of a festival was simply to propitiate the goddess and to avert epidemics and other calamities from the village such as cholera, smallpox, cattle disease, or drought (Whitehead 1916: 43–44). On such occasions, they used to sacrifice a male buffalo. However, a Brahman is unable to provide services for non-vegetarian rituals involving animal sacrifices. This is why the Baidla community category in SCs was required. During the marriage season, when many non-vegetarian families sacrifice goats or sheep, they need the Baidla community to conduct rituals. They charge Rs.2,000–3,000 for a ritual of a few hours performed by 4–6 people. Other than marriages, they are needed for village festivals (the village has a small statue that represents a village temple) or during epidemics.

### (24) Yerukala

Yerukala is a scheduled tribe found throughout Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Their traditional women's profession is fortune telling. They have sub-divisions called "Dabba Yerukala" (those who make baskets from split bamboo), "Yeethapullala Yerukala" (those who make baskets from wild date leaves), "Kunchapuri Yerukala" (those who make weaver's combs), "Parikamugla Yerukala" (soothsayers and beggars), "Kariveraku Yerukala" (curry leaf sellers), and "Uppu Yerukala" (salt hawkers). Each sub-division is divided into four phratry: "Satupadi," "Kavadi," "Manupati," and "Mendraguthi." Each phratry is further sub-divided into several intiperlu (surnames). Endogamy at the community level and exogamy at the phratry and intiperlu levels can be observed (Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute, Tribal Welfare Department 2008: 46–48).

Peddamallareddy's Yerukala, judged by their traditional jobs, belong to the "Dabba Yerukala" community shown above. The number of such households is less than 50. Like the barbers, Mangali, all individuals use "Yerukala" as their surname. Since the community owns a very small amount of land, they make a living on pig farming and bamboo work. Bamboo can be collected in the village, but only in very limited places. In Peddamallareddy, one can observe pigs freely roaming throughout the village streets, all of which belong to the Yerukala community. They are sold to the city market where general citizens consume pork.

Yerukala in Peddamallareddy has a small but independent temple and holds a ritual at the end of June each year, offering pigs as a sacrifice to the goddess. They have no community halls and no financial activities. No one has ever been successful in business. Most young Yerukala students stop education after basic academic foundations up to 10th grade. Only about five percent proceed to higher education.

One day, when Srinivas, the village private school headmaster, and I were walking on the



street in the Yerukala dwelling area<sup>10</sup>, harsh quarrels and fighting arose among the two villagers. An old man had knocked into a young man, and the young man was put on the defense. Some 20–30 on-lookers were watching the scene, and some were trying to mediate between the two parties but were unable to stop the clash. Suddenly, the old man raised a wooden staff over his head and gave a crushing blow on the neck of the young man.

That was the only case in which I encountered such outright violence in the village. It would be short-sighted to think of this event in connection with the character of the Yerukala community, but it left an impression on me. More interestingly, Shrinivas, who was walking with me, showed almost no interest in the commotion.

There are two different ST communities in Mallupally Tanda, which formerly was a peripheral hamlet under the jurisdiction of Peddamallareddy GP: (1) Lambada is an ST engaged in agriculture, and (2) Kashithuruka is a Muslim ST engaged in stone work. They migrated here only 60 years ago. Mallupally Tanda is in the proximity of KJL (Kalidindi Jhansi Laxmi) poultry farm and the quarry where Kashithuruka members take stones and sell them to the carpenters of Peddamallareddy. They have a Mosque that has been built recently with government funds.

## **(25) Muslims**

Formerly, there were 16 Muslim families in Peddamallareddy. Currently, the number has decreased to five. The occupational profile of each family is: (1) auto driver, (2) bangle store owner, (3) meat shop owner, (4) migrant worker in Bombay (father) and Dubai (son), and (5) attendant at Farmers' Cooperative Society. In addition, one other family temporarily lives there. Muslim members gather at the Mosque from 12:30 to 14:00 on every Friday. Five children gather in the morning (7:00–8:00) to study Urdu writing and the Koran, the holy book of Muslims.

## **2. Village Social Structure**

### **(1) Segmentation**

In the previous section, we overviewed Peddamallareddy's major castes and the nature of their communities. Several points are worth noting. First, wide varieties of traditional professions are formed on highly endemic local resources. The Mudiraj fishing community, for example, can only sustain their livelihoods from the village reservoir built during the early Kakatiya Kingdom (AC. 12–13). Likewise, Mudiraj fruit-collecting groups depend on and are tied to particular fruits, custard apple that grows on the native land. The same relationship can be found between the Goud and the toddy tree, and Kurma and livestock. In addition, the stonecutters, Vaddera and Kashithuruka in Mallupally Tanda, had their profession regulated by a quarry that happened to

exist nearby.

Second, the utilization and management of various resources is regarded by the villagers as the inviolable right of a specific caste. Professional specialization was made possible by the exclusive use of resources associated with a given profession. It has been widely observed that these rights to utilize resources are auctioned to individuals within the caste. Mudiraj's fishing rights and Goud's toddy business are typical examples. Bidding money raised by such resource management is pooled and used for the welfare of the community.

Third, some service castes have shown a multiple job-holdings pattern in which they, outside of the original traditional profession, have "traditional side jobs." For example, Chakali, washermen, are simultaneously engaged in dissecting livestock and plastering walls. Likewise, Mangali, barbers, played the role of midwives.

The caste communities live in "segments." Sharing the same time and space in a specific village, they are nevertheless characterized by a certain degree of isolation. As shown in Appendix, caste communities, although not strictly segregated, tend to settle in specific areas within the village boundary. Among others, SC dwelling areas show a relatively clear demarcation in the western part of the settlement. The importance of these "segments" in village life is shown in the fact that some caste communities have their own temples and community halls as well as being engaged in various decision-making meetings and financial activities [Table 1].

Segmentation is an important concept that characterizes Indian society and forms a basic structure. As is well known, Hindu castes are distinguished by a hierarchy of "purity" and "impurity." Even today, caste endogamy remains intact in the village social context. For the same reason, people from different castes usually refrain from eating together in one place. Contacts among different castes and genders are ritually avoided in many situations, such as marriage, co-eating, or family relationships.

First, the caste segment has been the unit of mate choice. Inter-marriage with other castes is unthinkable, at least in the village context. If such a case were to happen, the couple would be forced to leave the village. Srinivas, a private school headmaster who had such experience but eventually married the same Mudiraj wife, admitted this point. In 2017, a Madiga (SC) girl from Peddamallareddy became acquainted with a Padmashali boy in the Nalgonda district on Facebook, which eventually led them to pursue a romantic marriage. People gossiped quite a bit about the event since it was an extremely rare case. Actually, there are many examples of inter-caste marriages in the village. A girl from the Vanjari community married a boy from Munnuru Kapu from Domakonda as both were studying at Osmania University in Hyderabad. Likewise, one Perika girl married another caste boy in Hyderabad when she worked there. Again, one Marvadi<sup>11)</sup> family from Kamareddy town arranged a marriage with a Peddamallareddy girl from the Munnuru Kapu

community because the boy's family was unable to find a bride with whom to arrange a marriage. As these cases show, of all the inter-caste marriages that have so far occurred, all of them were in towns or cities.

Caste is an endogamy unit, but there are in fact several groups who are theoretically inter-marriageable. They are five castes called "Vishwa-Brahman" considered to be relatively upper-class: (1) Vadla (carpenter), (2) Housla (goldsmith) (recently there have been few cases of mutual marriage with other categories), (3) Kammari (blacksmith), (4) Shilpakar (sculpture/stonecutter), and (5) Kanchara (bronze potter). There are no Kammaris and Shilpakars in Peddamallareddy, so the carpenter community (Vadla) is substituting for these jobs.

The second aspect of segmentation is reflected in "co-eating." Here, it would be useful to compare the Indian methods of forming social relationships through meals to Chinese practice. The typical meal style in China involves sharing all foods on several large plates, so it is easy to eat together or, conversely, Chinese banquets require people to eat together. The more people gather together, the more dishes are prepared, which makes it reasonable to enjoy various types of food. There is no distinction between pure and impure people, and there is an extremely low hurdle for gathering around the table for a meal. Co-eating makes it possible to create new "relationships" between strangers. Image-wise, individuals looking like scattered sand can get to know each other, deepen relationships, and broaden their networks through co-eating. Any Chinese individual has the potential to cultivate new relationships and resources through banquets, by which one can raise their social status<sup>12</sup>.

In contrast, the Indian dietary form has a structure that makes co-eating difficult or impossible. Each dish placed in front of an individual forms a self-contained microcosm, and there is no need to eat together. Again, due to the idea of purity and impurity, individuals refrain from eating together with people from different castes. Likewise, meal timing is different even within the family. In particular, the male and female family members are also segmented, and villagers seem to avoid opportunities to eat together. Whenever they are "hungry," they start eating, at different times. Living spaces differ greatly between men and women, and in this sense, living areas are clearly separated between genders, even within the same caste. For example, in the central square, there is a Gandhi statue [Appendix], and men gather there every day and have lively conversations, such as about election issues. Free chatting between men over a cup of chai can happen everywhere, regardless of castes. In contrast, women often spend a long time in domestic work, especially beedi (leaf cigarette) making, either sitting alone in the house or in groups of several women in the *Kharkhana*<sup>13</sup>.

Co-eating beyond the family can happen in weddings or festivals, but invitations to those banquets, in principle, go to families from the same caste or very limited close friends. At these

banquets, people sit in a row on the ground to eat curried rice. With no liquor served, one very quickly becomes full, so the banquet does not last long enough to establish new social relations.

The existence of such inter-segmental taboos is, however, impractical. Conversely, if one adheres to the ritual taboo, then the contact is unexpectedly “free,” as shown in the lively political debates in the village square occurring across the caste boundaries. Nakane (1999) points out that taboos in gender contacts within the family are particularly strict between older men and younger women. Daughters-in-law need to respect their in-laws, particularly fathers-in-law. These women need to be cautious while talking with their fathers-in-law. In contrast, very close and intimate interactions are observed between older women and younger men in a family.

## **(2) Interdependency**

The existence of the segmental structure in the village as described above, however, does not indicate that the segments are disintegrated and have no relationship with each other. According to Chie Nakane (1987), who gave a structural explanation of rural India, the actual condition of a village is explained by two elements: a “segmental structure” and a “division of labor.” In other words, the segments described in the previous section have distinct identities and remain as units of endogamy, but on the other hand, they have been linked by dual organic interdependence (Nakane 1987: 185–205).

One is the division of labor within the agricultural sector, the relationship between the landowner (Reddy) and the agricultural worker caste. Apparently, these entities are interdependent in agricultural production. As described earlier, under the condition that there is no Kshatriya category in Telugu countries, and the Vaishya community is also small, Reddy are located at the top of the Sudra category. Although higher castes generally refrain from drinking alcohol and eating meat, Reddy, having daily contact with agricultural workers including SCs, have a popular non-vegetarian personality. They have a generous attitude toward the people and were traditionally political leaders of the village. In a sense, Reddy characteristics bridge other segments and integrate every part into the village as a political organism.

Another division of labor is between agricultural and service castes that are referred to as the “jajmani system” in Indian village studies (Wiser 1936). Agricultural castes receive various services from service castes and pay them with crops. Because of the division of labor and mutual dependence, Indian villages have continued to exist as a kind of entity, even without communal consciousness observed in other Asian villages<sup>14</sup>). As seen in Section 1, Peddamallareddy’s service castes include priests, merchants, fishermen, fruit collectors, toddy makers, shepherds, washermen, blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, barbers, goldsmiths, basket makers, butchers, which are interdependent with other agricultural castes. This is seen in day-to-day matters, but is especially

prominent during rituals and other important occasions such as weddings or festivals (Srinivas 2018).

Some service castes do not provide services to SCs. For example, Brahmans' ritual services or the slaughtering and dissecting performed by the Chakali as a side job are only for castes other than SCs. Since barbers refused to shave SCs' hair, these individuals had to shave each other or use their own barbers. Likewise, they had their own washermen to wash their clothes (Chetty 1991: 37). In Peddamallareddy, there are small communities, such as Baidla and Katkollu, that serve Mala and Madiga.

In the case of large-scale villages such as Peddamallareddy, almost all daily needs are fulfilled by service castes within the village. On the other hand, small villages composed of only a few castes can depend on the services provided by neighboring larger villages. Thus, as Nakane (1987: 188) notes, traditional rural India was "a system that can live without relying on cities." Of course, contemporary villagers, especially those of the younger generation, do not necessarily engage in the traditional profession of the caste community. Among others, those in agricultural castes are free to enter other professions, including city-based employment, while some service castes often inherit traditional occupations, as is the case with Mangali. Overall, the interdependent structure of Telangana villages remains salient.

## **Conclusion**

In this paper, we have described the complex caste composition in a Telangana village in South India. We attempted to illuminate the basic structure of the Indian village that has survived throughout history, employing segmentation and interdependence as key concepts.

Starting with an understanding of such grassroots structure will help us to comprehend the characteristics of India's politics and governance. In the beginning of this article, we posed two conspicuous phenomena that captured our attention. The first is a business-like manner, taxation and employment of villagers, by which village society manages collective issues. This greatly differs from what can be seen in China, in which village leaders often resort to communal reciprocity among the villagers. The second is local politicians' donations to the caste temples as a part of their election campaign, which is completely lacking in rural Chinese politics. The keys to satisfactory interpretation to these phenomena, in our view, lie under a proper understanding of segmentation and interdependence as described in this paper. A detailed examination of these issues is left for future discussion.

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## Notes

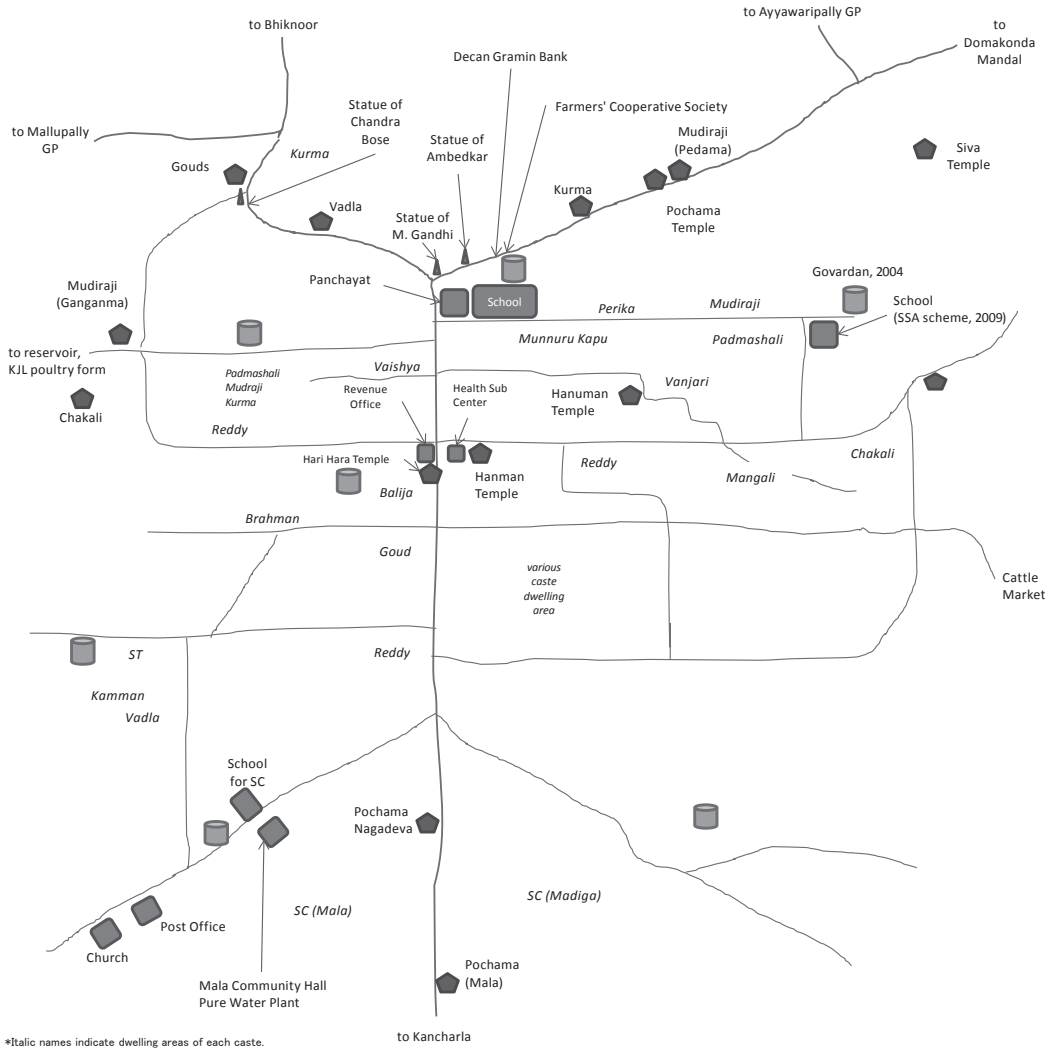
- 1) Our fieldwork in the village was conducted intermittently in December 2010, December 2011, April to June 2014, and October 2019. The total duration of stay was about 11 weeks.
- 2) The change in people’s eating patterns and scarcity of leaf plates in the market has resulted in an increase in the use of paper plates, which are cheaper than leaf plates. Formerly, guests used to sit on the floor to eat food that was served on leaf plates. Currently, almost all functions follow a buffet system in which the guests pick up the plates and walk to serving stations where they are served. They hold the plate and eat while standing. It is impossible to hold a leaf plate and eat while standing.
- 3) The real estate field is not only confined to Reddis. Others have also entered into it as one can make a profit in a short period of time. For instance, Srinivas, RMP (Registered Medical Practitioner), has made a lot of money doing real estate business in the village. The business requires a large network to find suitable buyers and sellers.
- 4) BCs are divided into four groups: A, B, C, and D for the purpose of reservations in public employment and seats in higher educational institutions. Those from aboriginal tribes, Vimukthi Jatis, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, and so on are placed in category A (7%), whereas those from Group B, vocational groups, are given 10% reservations. SCs converted into Christians are placed in category C (1%). Most other BC communities are categorized in Group D (7%). Group E (4%) is composed by lower caste Muslims. The total amount of reservations is 29 percent for these groups.
- 5) In the village, since there were no palm trees, liquor was produced from toddy trees. However, its availability became very limited. Consequently, toddy is generally made out of chemicals and water. The artificial toddy may have some natural toddy in it to a nominal extent.
- 6) They charge a large amount for washing clothes and do other ritual during funerals. For instance, the elder brother of Laxman Vare, one of the authors, passed away in January 2019. His family paid Rs.8,000 for all the rituals, which lasted for three to four days. They included washing clothes and performing rituals.
- 7) On this point, see also Whitehead (1916).
- 8) This is a kind of cigarette made by women in rural areas, and is cheaper than regular cigarettes. Most women in the village are engaged in beedi making. The agent supplies raw materials and wages are paid monthly based on total amount. Approximately Rs.150 to 170 is paid per 1000 beedies, depending on the company. One woman can earn Rs.15,000 to 20,000 per month on average.
- 9) This is a specially made article for the festival that is sold in market. It is made of thread, paper, and other decorator items. Generally, sisters in the family tie the *raki* to the brothers. Even after sisters’ marriages, they come to brothers’ houses to tie the *raki*. A brother promises his sister that he is ready to protect her from any kind of threats/dangers/problems. He also presents her with a gift in the form of money/dress/gold. The festival also provides occasion for both sisters and brothers to get together after marriage.
- 10) All the street roads in the ST area are paved by cements. A same situation can be observed in SC areas.




- 11) The Marvadi caste is a trading community basically originating from Gujarat or Rajasthan. Generally, they run kirana general stores, sweet shops, jewelry shops, and other businesses in small towns and cities across Telangana State. However, they are completely absent from the villages.
- 12) This has been a major focus in numerous works in Chinese anthropology. See, for example, Kipnis (1997).
- 13) The Kharkhana is an Urdu word similar to “company.” Woman beedi workers occasionally sit in one place to do beedi making in Kharkhana or private houses. If a woman works alone at home, her productivity may be lower due to other disturbances.
- 14) See, for example, Shigetomi and Okamoto (2014).

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## Appendix: Map of Peddamallareddy Village (2019)



-  public facility
-  drinking water tower
-  temple

