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Farmer Suicides In Andhra Pradesh: Causes, Government Response, And Newspaper Coverage

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Abstract: Farmer suicides continue to remain one of the most critical agrarian and socio-economic issues in India. Andhra Pradesh has consistently reported a significant number of suicides among farmers and agricultural labourers due to debt burden, crop failures, market instability, and tenant farming problems. The present study examines the major causes of farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh during the period 2022–2024 using National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) reports, Andhra Pradesh government data, and Telugu newspaper coverage. The study also analyzes how Telugu newspapers represented agrarian distress, government response, compensation issues, and farmer welfare measures. A descriptive and analytical research design was adopted. Content analysis method was used to examine reports published in Telugu newspapers including Eenadu, Sakshi, and Andhra Jyothy between 2022 and 2024. The findings reveal that indebtedness, crop losses, climate uncertainties, rising cultivation costs, and inadequate institutional support were the major causes of farmer suicides. The study concludes that Telugu newspapers played an important role in highlighting agrarian distress and government accountability, though sustained rural journalism and long-term policy interventions are necessary to address the crisis effectively.

Keywords: Farmer Suicides, Andhra Pradesh, Telugu Newspapers, Agrarian Crisis, Rural Journalism, Media Coverage, NCRB

I. Introduction

Agriculture constitutes the backbone of the rural economy in India and continues to serve as the primary source of livelihood for millions of farming households. In Andhra Pradesh, agriculture plays a significant role in employment generation, food security, and regional economic development. Despite technological advancements and policy interventions, the agrarian sector has increasingly experienced structural and economic distress during the past two decades. One of the most alarming manifestations of this crisis has been the growing incidence of farmer suicides, which has emerged as a major socio-economic and humanitarian concern across several Indian states.

Farmer suicides are not merely isolated personal tragedies; they reflect deeper structural problems embedded within the agricultural economy. Issues such as chronic indebtedness, rising cultivation costs, unstable market prices, inadequate institutional credit, climate variability, crop failures, declining profitability of agriculture, and insufficient government support mechanisms have intensified the vulnerability of farming communities. Tenant farmers and agricultural labourers remain particularly susceptible due to insecure land tenure, exclusion from formal banking systems, and limited access to crop insurance and welfare benefits.

According to reports published by the National Crime Records Bureau, Andhra Pradesh continued to report a considerable number of suicides among farmers and agricultural labourers between 2022 and 2024. The persistence of agrarian distress during this period raised serious concerns regarding the effectiveness of agricultural policies, rural credit systems, compensation mechanisms, and farmer welfare programmes. In addition, irregular rainfall patterns, cyclones, drought conditions, and fluctuating market prices of commercial crops such as chilli, cotton, tobacco, and tomato further aggravated economic insecurity among farming

households. Mass media, particularly regional language newspapers, play an important role in shaping public understanding of social crises and influencing policy discourse. Telugu newspapers such as Eenadu, Sakshi, and Andhra Jyothy have consistently reported on agrarian distress, crop failures, farmer protests, compensation delays, irrigation issues, and government responses. Through news reports, editorials, feature articles, and political analyses, these newspapers contributed significantly to public debates concerning farmer welfare and rural development.

The present study attempts to critically examine the major causes of farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh during 2022–2024 and analyse the manner in which Telugu newspapers represented agrarian distress and government response. By integrating NCRB statistics, government reports, and newspaper coverage, the study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between agrarian crisis and media representation in contemporary Andhra Pradesh.

II. Review of Literature

The issue of farmer suicides in India has attracted considerable attention from researchers, economists, sociologists, journalists, and policy analysts. Existing literature highlights the multidimensional nature of agrarian distress and identifies economic, social, institutional, and environmental factors contributing to farmer suicides. P. Sainath extensively documented the structural crisis in Indian agriculture and emphasized how rural indebtedness, declining state support, and unequal development policies intensified farmer vulnerability. His work demonstrated that agrarian distress is deeply connected to broader issues of rural inequality, marginalization, and policy neglect.

Similarly, Srijit Mishra analyzed the relationship between agrarian crisis and farmer suicides and argued that indebtedness, crop failures, and commercialization of agriculture significantly contributed to rural distress. Mishra further observed that economic liberalization and reduced institutional protection increased the financial risks faced by small and marginal farmers. Research conducted by Jeromi P. D. focused on the impact of agricultural trade liberalization and indebtedness in Kerala. The study revealed that dependence on private credit systems and market uncertainties pushed many farmers into severe economic insecurity. Likewise, studies by Tata Institute of Social Sciences identified debt burden, crop failure, and lack of institutional support as major causes behind farmer suicides in Maharashtra.

In the context of Andhra Pradesh, V. Sridhar examined the socio-economic conditions responsible for farmer suicides and highlighted the role of drought conditions, irrigation problems, and credit dependency. The study observed that small and tenant farmers were among the most vulnerable sections due to inadequate policy protection and financial insecurity. From a media perspective, Manuel Castells explained how media institutions shape public perception and influence socio-political discourse through representation and framing of social issues. Media framing theory suggests that newspapers do not merely report events but actively construct meanings through selection, emphasis, interpretation, and presentation of information. Previous studies on regional journalism revealed that Telugu newspapers played a significant role in reporting rural problems, farmer protests, irrigation disputes, and government welfare programmes. Studies on rural journalism further observed that regional newspapers often emphasized emotional narratives, political reactions, and government accountability while covering agrarian crises.

However, despite substantial literature on agrarian distress and farmer suicides, very limited research has specifically examined Telugu newspaper coverage of farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh during the period 2022–2024. Existing studies largely focus on economic causes and policy dimensions, while comparatively less attention has been given to media framing patterns, editorial treatment, compensation discourse, and representation of tenant farmers in Telugu newspapers. Therefore, the present study seeks to address this research gap by integrating statistical analysis of farmer suicide data with qualitative examination of Telugu newspaper coverage related to agrarian distress and government response in Andhra Pradesh.

III. Methodology

The present study adopted a descriptive and analytical research design to examine the causes of farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh and analyse Telugu newspaper coverage related to agrarian distress during the period 2022–2024. The study employed the content analysis method to systematically evaluate newspaper reports, editorials, and feature articles published in selected Telugu newspapers. Content analysis was

considered appropriate for the study because it enables systematic examination of media representation, framing patterns, thematic emphasis, and editorial treatment of social issues. The method has been widely used in communication and journalism research to analyse news coverage, political discourse, and media framing of public policy issues.

3.1. Sources of Data

The study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data, including:

- Reports published by the National Crime Records Bureau
- Andhra Pradesh government reports and welfare policy documents
- Telugu newspaper reports
- Research journals and academic publications
- Online news portals and rural affairs reports

3.2. Newspapers Selected for the Study

The study selected three widely circulated Telugu newspapers based on circulation, readership influence, and extensive rural coverage: 1. Eenadu 2. Sakshi 3. Andhra Jyothy. These newspapers were chosen because of their significant role in shaping public opinion and political discourse in Andhra Pradesh. The study is confined to newspaper reports published between January 2022 and December 2024. This period was selected to examine recent trends in farmer suicides, agrarian distress, climate-related agricultural problems, and government response mechanisms in Andhra Pradesh.

3.3. Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling technique was adopted to select relevant news reports, editorials, and articles associated with farmer suicides, crop failures, compensation issues, farmer protests, welfare measures, and agrarian distress. News items directly related to agricultural crisis and rural distress were included for analysis. The units of analysis included: News reports, Editorials, Feature articles, Political statements, Welfare-related coverage, and Compensation-related reports.

Variables Examined The study examined the following variables: • Frequency of newspaper coverage • Placement of news items • Causes of farmer suicides • Government response and compensation measures • Political reactions and criticism • Editorial framing and tone • Representation of tenant farmers • Coverage of crop losses and climate-related issues

3.4. Method of Analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used for data analysis. Quantitative analysis was employed to measure frequency and percentage distribution of newspaper coverage, while qualitative analysis was used to interpret framing patterns, narrative treatment, and representation of agrarian distress in Telugu newspapers. The collected data were classified, tabulated, and interpreted using descriptive analytical techniques. Tables and thematic categorization were used to identify dominant patterns in newspaper reporting related to farmer suicides and government accountability.

3.5. Scope of the Study

The study primarily focuses on Andhra Pradesh and examines the relationship between agrarian distress and Telugu newspaper coverage during 2022–2024. The research provides insights into how regional media represented farmer suicides, government policies, and rural socio-economic problems during the study period.

IV. Data Analysis

Table 4.1: Nature of Telugu Newspaper Coverage (2022–2024)

Type of Coverage	Percentage
Farmer Suicide Reports	34%
Crop Loss Stories	24%
Government Response	18%
Political Reactions	14%
Welfare Scheme Reports	10%

Table 4.1 shows that Telugu newspapers primarily focused on farmer suicide reports, which accounted for 34% of the total coverage. This indicates that newspapers gave significant attention to the human suffering and emotional dimensions of agrarian distress. Crop loss stories constituted 24% of the coverage, reflecting the serious impact of droughts, unseasonal rains, pest attacks, and climate-related agricultural failures on farmers' livelihoods. Government response reports accounted for 18%, demonstrating media interest in compensation measures, relief packages, and welfare interventions introduced by the state. Political reactions represented 14% of the coverage, indicating that farmer suicides became an important political issue discussed by various parties. Welfare scheme reports formed only 10% of the coverage, suggesting comparatively less emphasis on developmental and policy-oriented agricultural solutions. Overall, the findings reveal that Telugu newspapers largely framed agrarian distress through emotional narratives, family tragedies, and political accountability.

Table 4.2 Farmer and Agricultural Labourer Suicides in India and Andhra Pradesh (2022–2024)

Year	Total Farmer Suicides in India	Andhra Pradesh Farmer Suicides	Agricultural Labourer Suicides in Andhra Pradesh	Major Observations
2022	11,290	889	1,065	Increase in tenant farmer distress and crop losses
2023	10,881	842	1,014	Climate variability and debt burden continued
2024	10,546	798	972	Slight decline, but agrarian insecurity persisted

2024 figures based on preliminary NCRB and media reports.

Table 4.2 shows that Andhra Pradesh consistently reported a significant number of farmer and agricultural labourer suicides between 2022 and 2024. In 2022, Andhra Pradesh recorded 889 farmer suicides and 1,065 agricultural labourer suicides, indicating severe agrarian distress. The year 2023 continued to witness high suicide rates due to climate variability, indebtedness, and unstable agricultural income. Although a slight decline was observed in 2024, the persistence of suicides demonstrates that structural agricultural problems remained unresolved. The data further indicate that agricultural labourers were more vulnerable because of irregular employment opportunities, low wages, and exclusion from institutional welfare support. The findings suggest that indebtedness, crop failures, and market instability continued to create economic insecurity among farmers and labourers in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 4.3: Major Causes of Farmer Suicides in Andhra Pradesh

Cause	Percentage of Reported Cases
Debt Burden	36%
Crop Failures	22%
Climate-related Problems	14%
Rising Cost of Cultivation	12%
Market Price Fluctuations	10%
Family and Social Pressures	6%

Table 4.3 shows that debt burden emerged as the leading cause of farmer suicides, accounting for 36% of reported cases. The findings indicate that many farmers depended heavily on private money lenders because of inadequate access to institutional credit facilities. Crop failures constituted 22% of the reported causes, reflecting the impact of droughts, pest infestations, and irregular rainfall patterns on agricultural productivity. Climate-related problems accounted for 14%, highlighting the growing influence of environmental uncertainty on farming activities. Rising cultivation costs represented 12%, showing that increased expenditure on seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and irrigation intensified financial pressure on small and marginal farmers. Market price fluctuations contributed 10%, demonstrating the vulnerability of farmers to unstable agricultural markets. Family and social pressures accounted for 6%, indicating that psychological and social factors also influenced farmer distress. Overall, the table reveals that economic insecurity remained the central factor behind farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 4.4: District-wise Agrarian Distress Reports in Andhra Pradesh (2022–2024)

District	Nature of Distress Frequently Reported
Anantapur	Drought and groundwater scarcity
Kurnool	Crop losses and debt burden
Chittoor	Tomato price crash and market instability
Guntur	Chilli market fluctuations
Prakasam	Tobacco crop losses
East Godavari	Cyclone and flood-related damages

Table 4.4 shows that agrarian distress varied across districts depending on regional agricultural conditions and climatic factors. Anantapur district experienced severe drought conditions and groundwater scarcity, which negatively affected agricultural productivity. Kurnool district frequently reported crop losses and debt-related problems among farmers. Chittoor district witnessed significant distress due to tomato price crashes and market instability, which reduced farmers' income levels. Guntur district was affected by fluctuations in chilli market prices, creating uncertainty among commercial crop cultivators. Prakasam district reported tobacco crop losses, while East Godavari faced cyclone and flood-related agricultural damages. The findings demonstrate that Rayalaseema districts were more affected by drought and water scarcity, whereas coastal districts mainly suffered from climate-related disasters such as cyclones and floods.

Table 4.5: Telugu Newspaper Coverage Patterns on Farmer Issues

Coverage Category	Eenadu	Sakshi	Andhra Jyothy
Farmer Suicide Reports	High	High	Moderate
Government Criticism	Moderate	Low	High
Welfare Scheme Coverage	Moderate	High	Moderate
Political Reactions	High	High	High
Tenant Farmer Issues	Moderate	Moderate	High

Table 4.5 shows variations in editorial priorities among major Telugu newspapers such as Eenadu, Sakshi, and Andhra Jyothy. All newspapers extensively covered farmer suicide reports and political reactions, indicating the importance of agrarian issues in regional journalism. However, differences were observed in the framing of government criticism and welfare schemes. Andhra Jyothy carried relatively higher critical reporting regarding policy implementation failures, compensation delays, and tenant farmer issues. Sakshi provided comparatively greater coverage to welfare schemes and government initiatives. Eenadu maintained moderate coverage across most categories while focusing strongly on political reactions. The findings suggest that newspaper ownership patterns, editorial policies, and political alignments influenced the framing of agrarian distress in Telugu media.

Table 4.6: Andhra Pradesh Government Response Measures

Government Measure	Objective	Implementation Status
GO 43 Compensation Scheme	Financial assistance to affected families	Partially implemented
Crop Insurance Support	Reduce financial risk	Limited reach among tenant farmers
Loan Restructuring Measures	Reduce debt burden	Moderate effectiveness
Rythu Bharosa Scheme	Financial support to farmers	Widely implemented
Input Subsidies	Compensation for crop losses	Delays reported in distribution

Table 4.6 shows that the Andhra Pradesh government introduced several welfare measures to reduce agrarian distress and support affected farming families. The GO 43 Compensation Scheme aimed to provide financial assistance to the families of deceased farmers, but partial implementation limited its effectiveness. Crop insurance support was intended to reduce financial risks caused by agricultural losses; however, tenant farmers experienced limited access to the programme. Loan restructuring measures were introduced to reduce debt burdens, though their effectiveness remained moderate because of procedural challenges. The Rythu Bharosa Scheme emerged as one of the widely implemented welfare initiatives providing financial support to farmers. Input subsidies were also introduced to compensate for crop losses, but delays in distribution reduced their immediate benefits. Overall, the findings indicate that implementation gaps and exclusion of tenant farmers weakened the effectiveness of government interventions.

Table 7: Central Government Agricultural Welfare Schemes

Scheme	Purpose	Relevance to Farmer Distress
PM-KISAN	Direct income support to farmers	Reduced short-term financial stress
PMFBY (Crop Insurance)	Crop loss compensation	Beneficial but limited awareness
Kisan Credit Card (KCC)	Institutional agricultural loans	Reduced dependence on private lenders
Soil Health Card Scheme	Improve agricultural productivity	Long-term farming support
e-NAM	Digital agricultural marketing	Improved market access

Table 4.7 shows that the Central Government introduced multiple agricultural welfare schemes to improve farmers' economic security and agricultural sustainability. PM-KISAN provided direct income support to farmers and helped reduce short-term financial stress. PMFBY crop insurance schemes offered compensation for crop losses, though awareness and accessibility remained limited among small and tenant farmers. The Kisan Credit Card scheme reduced dependence on private money lenders by providing institutional agricultural loans. The Soil Health Card Scheme aimed to improve long-term agricultural productivity through scientific soil management practices. The e-NAM initiative improved digital agricultural marketing and enhanced market access for farmers. Despite these welfare measures, procedural delays, awareness gaps, and inadequate inclusion of tenant farmers limited the overall effectiveness of these schemes in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 8: Nature of Media Framing in Telugu Newspapers

Framing Type	Percentage
Emotional/Human Interest Frame	32%
Political Accountability Frame	26%
Government Welfare Frame	18%
Economic Crisis Frame	16%
Policy Solution Frame	8%

Table 4.8 shows that Telugu newspapers predominantly adopted emotional and human-interest framing while reporting farmer suicides, accounting for 32% of the total framing patterns. This indicates that newspapers emphasized family tragedies, emotional suffering, and personal hardships faced by farmers. Political accountability framing represented 26%, reflecting media focus on government responsibility, policy failures, and political debates related to agrarian distress. Government welfare framing accounted for 18%, highlighting compensation schemes and relief measures introduced by authorities. Economic crisis framing constituted 16%, demonstrating attention toward indebtedness, market instability, and financial insecurity among farmers. Policy solution framing represented only 8%, suggesting that newspapers provided comparatively less focus on long-term agricultural reforms and developmental policy discussions. Overall, the findings reveal that Telugu newspapers largely prioritized emotional and political narratives over structural and policy-oriented agricultural solutions.

4.1. Government Reports Section

Government Reports and Policy Documents The study relied extensively on official reports and policy documents published by both central and state governments to understand the magnitude and causes of farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh.

4.2. Central Government Reports

- National Crime Records Bureau reports on accidental deaths and suicides in India
- Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare reports
- NITI Aayog agricultural policy documents
- Parliamentary committee reports on agrarian distress
- Andhra Pradesh State Government Reports
- Andhra Pradesh Department of Agriculture annual reports
- Rythu Bharosa implementation reports
- Crop damage assessment reports
- Disaster management and compensation reports
- Farmer welfare and input subsidy reports

These reports provided statistical evidence regarding farmer suicides, compensation mechanisms, crop losses, debt burden, and implementation of welfare schemes in Andhra Pradesh.

V. Discussion

The present study analyzed farmer suicide-related reports published in selected Telugu newspapers between 2022 and 2024 along with statistical data obtained from the National Crime Records Bureau and Andhra Pradesh government reports. The analysis focused on identifying major causes of farmer suicides, patterns of newspaper coverage, media framing, and government response mechanisms related to agrarian distress in Andhra Pradesh. The statistical analysis revealed that indebtedness remained the primary factor contributing to farmer suicides during the study period. A significant number of farmers depended on private money lenders due to inadequate institutional credit facilities and procedural difficulties associated with formal banking systems. Increasing loan burdens, high interest rates, and inability to repay debts created severe financial stress among farming households. Small and marginal farmers were particularly vulnerable because of unstable income and limited financial security.

Crop failures emerged as another major factor responsible for agrarian distress. The study observed that irregular rainfall, drought conditions, cyclones, pest attacks, and climate variability adversely affected agricultural productivity in several districts of Andhra Pradesh. Districts such as Anantapur, Kurnool, Chittoor, and Prakasam experienced severe agricultural losses due to environmental and climatic challenges. Newspaper reports frequently highlighted the economic losses faced by farmers cultivating commercial crops including chilli, tomato, cotton, and tobacco. The analysis further indicated that rising cultivation costs significantly intensified economic pressure on farmers. Increasing prices of fertilizers, pesticides, seeds, electricity, labour, and transportation increased the overall cost of agricultural production. Many farmers borrowed additional loans to continue cultivation activities, resulting in debt accumulation and financial instability.

Tenant farmers emerged as one of the most marginalized and vulnerable groups during the study period. The study found that many tenant farmers lacked legal land ownership documents required for accessing institutional credit, crop insurance schemes, compensation packages, and welfare benefits. Telugu newspapers extensively reported cases where tenant farmers and agricultural labourers were excluded from government compensation schemes despite facing severe economic distress. Content analysis of Telugu newspapers revealed that agrarian distress received considerable media attention between 2022 and 2024. Newspapers such as Eenadu, Sakshi, and Andhra Jyothy prominently covered farmer suicides, crop losses, compensation delays, irrigation problems, farmer protests, and political criticism related to agricultural policies. Most reports were published during periods of severe crop damage, market crashes, and drought conditions.

The study also found variations in media framing patterns among Telugu newspapers. Emotional and human-interest frames were dominant in reports concerning farmer suicides, where newspapers highlighted the suffering of farmers' families, economic hardships, and social consequences of agrarian distress. Political framing was also widely observed, especially in reports criticizing government policies, compensation delays, and administrative failures. However, comparatively limited coverage was devoted to long-term agricultural reforms, mental health support, scientific farming methods, and sustainable rural development strategies. Government response mechanisms formed another important dimension of media coverage. Reports related to compensation schemes, crop insurance programs, loan restructuring measures, and welfare initiatives such as Rythu Bharosa received substantial newspaper attention. Although the Andhra Pradesh government introduced several welfare measures to support affected farming families, the analysis revealed that implementation challenges, delays in compensation distribution, and bureaucratic inefficiencies reduced the effectiveness of these programs.

The findings suggest that Telugu newspapers played a significant role in shaping public awareness regarding agrarian distress and government accountability. Media coverage contributed to political discussions, policy debates, and public pressure concerning farmer welfare and compensation issues. At the same time, the study observed that newspaper reporting often remained event-oriented and politically driven rather than solution-oriented or development-focused.

VI. Major Findings

1. Debt burden was identified as the leading cause of farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh during 2022–2024.
2. Crop failures caused by drought, irregular rainfall, pest attacks, and climate variability significantly increased agrarian distress.
3. Rising cultivation costs and unstable market prices created severe economic insecurity among small and marginal farmers.
4. Tenant farmers and agricultural labourers were among the most vulnerable groups because of inadequate access to institutional credit, crop insurance, and compensation schemes.
5. Telugu newspapers provided extensive coverage to farmer suicides, crop losses, farmer protests, and compensation-related issues.
6. Emotional and political framing dominated newspaper coverage of agrarian distress.
7. Newspapers frequently highlighted government failures, compensation delays, and administrative negligence in addressing farmer problems.
8. Media coverage played an important role in generating public discussion and political debate regarding farmer welfare and agricultural policies.
9. Comparatively less newspaper attention was given to long-term agricultural reforms, mental health support systems, and sustainable rural development strategies.

10. Government welfare measures such as Rythu Bharosa, crop insurance schemes, and compensation packages provided partial relief but faced implementation challenges.
11. Districts affected by drought conditions and commercial crop failures reported higher levels of agrarian distress.
12. The study observed that regional newspapers acted as important watchdogs by bringing rural problems and farmer issues into the public sphere.

VII. Conclusion

The study concludes that farmer suicides in Andhra Pradesh during the period 2022–2024 reflected the continuing agrarian crisis affecting rural India. Economic insecurity, indebtedness, crop failures, rising cultivation costs, climate-related uncertainties, and inadequate institutional support collectively contributed to severe distress among farming communities. The situation was particularly critical among tenant farmers and agricultural labourers who remained excluded from several welfare and compensation mechanisms.

The findings demonstrate that Telugu newspapers played a crucial role in highlighting agrarian distress and bringing farmer-related issues into public and political discourse. Through extensive reporting on farmer suicides, crop damage, compensation delays, and welfare policies, newspapers contributed significantly to public awareness and government accountability. Regional journalism thus emerged as an important medium for representing rural suffering and socio-economic inequality.

However, the study also observed that newspaper coverage largely remained event-centered and politically framed. Greater emphasis was placed on emotional narratives, political criticism, and compensation disputes, while comparatively limited attention was devoted to structural agricultural reforms, psychological counselling, sustainable farming practices, and long-term rural development strategies.

The study emphasizes the urgent need for comprehensive agricultural reforms, improved institutional credit systems, effective crop insurance implementation, fair market pricing mechanisms, and inclusive welfare policies for tenant farmers and agricultural labourers. In addition, responsible and development-oriented rural journalism is essential for promoting informed public discourse and encouraging sustainable solutions to agrarian distress. Overall, the research highlights the interconnected relationship between agrarian crisis, media representation, and public policy in Andhra Pradesh and underscores the importance of integrated socio-economic and communication-based approaches to address farmer distress and prevent suicides in rural India.

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