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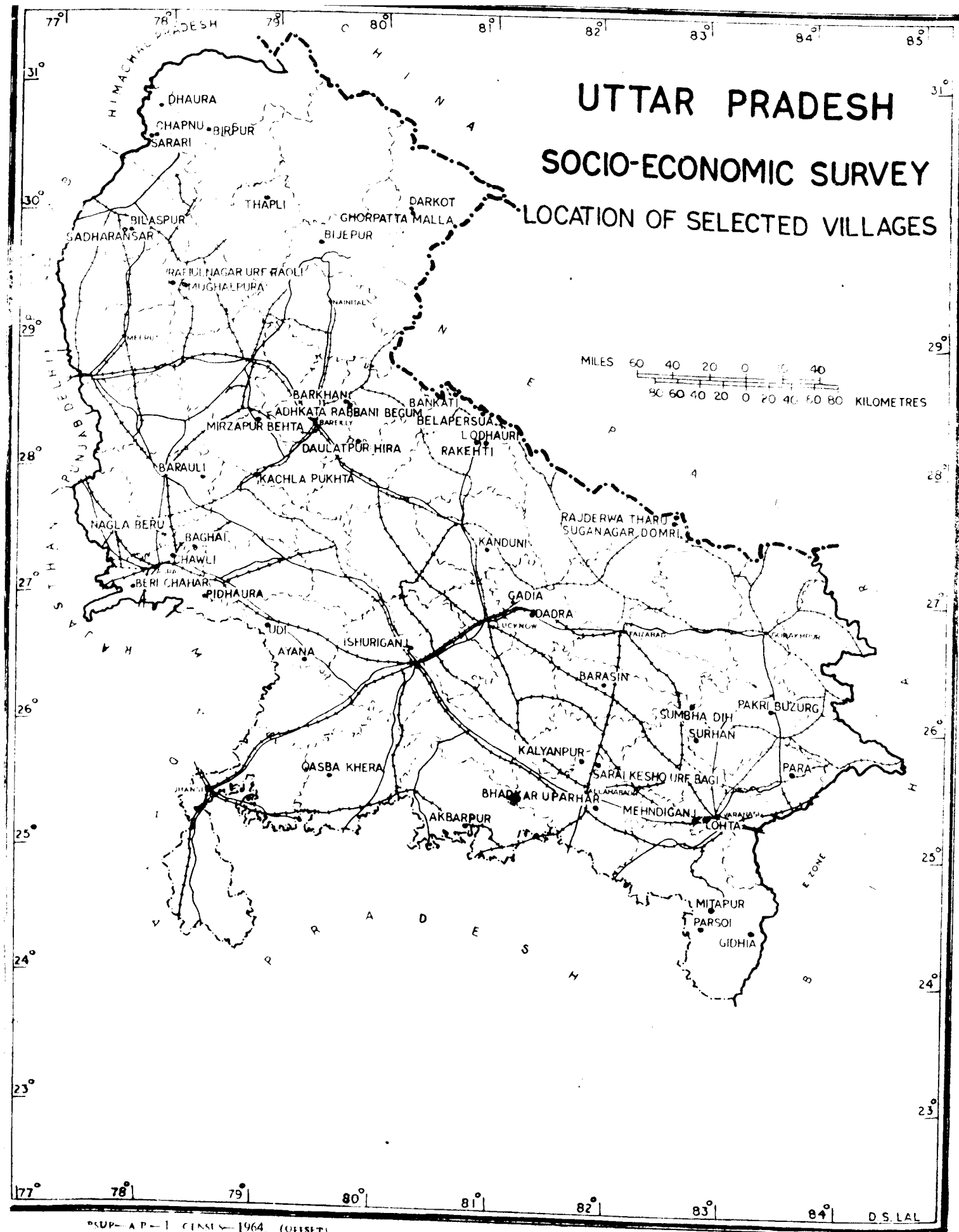
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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

VOLUME XV

UTTAR PRADESH

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH No. 4

General Editor

P. P. BHATNAGAR

of the Indian Administrative Service

Superintendent of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh

VILLAGE RAFIULNAGAR urf RAOLI

(TAHSIL AND DISTRICT BIJNOR)

BY

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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

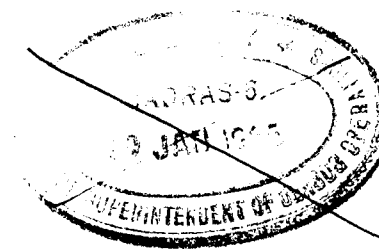
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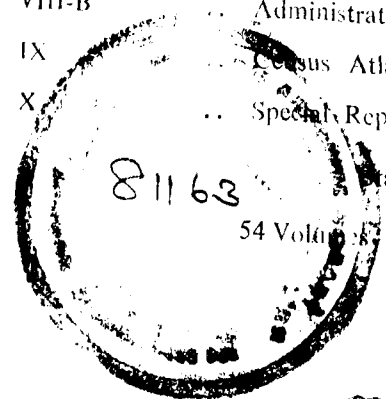
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54 Volumes of District Census Handbooks



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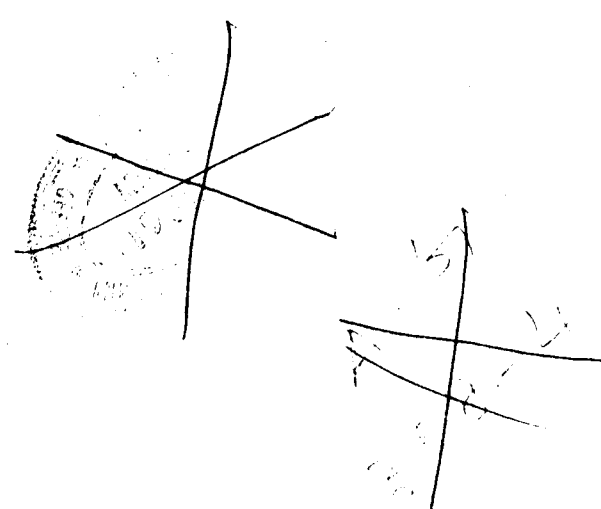
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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life — sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralisation on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g. fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters,

weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500–700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 Conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude

and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an Appendix to the monograph on village Thapli, district Garhwal.

NEW DELHI:

July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA.

Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

IN Uttar Pradesh the Census Organisation selected a number of villages for special study of the dynamics of change in the social, cultural and economic life of the rural community. An analysis of the structure and functioning of the village economy is expected to reveal the forces which promote or retard the processes of change coming into play, either in the natural course or as a result of various legislative measures such as the establishment of Panchayats, the abolition of Zamindari, the extension of Planning and Development activities, and the enforcement of various social laws. The knowledge thus gained can be utilised for reorientation of the policies of rural development and village uplift.

2. The selection of villages for study was made in accordance with certain principles and criteria laid down by the Registrar General. Of the selected villages, some contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, some are populated by backward aboriginal people, and others have an old and settled character with a multi-ethnic composition and diverse occupations. Minor deviations from the standards prescribed for selection were inevitable because of the non-availability of the requisite number of villages having all the prescribed variables. This purposive selection has made it possible to study the impact of various factors of change upon the culture and economy of villages situated in the interior where outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act as also the normal types which are exposed to a greater degree to the winds of change from various directions.

3. Rafiulnagar *urf* Raoli is a medium-sized village situated at the confluence of rivers Ganga and Malin at a distance of about 7 miles to the north-west of Bijnor. It has 146 households, with a population of 795 persons, consisting predominantly of Jatavas and Mallahs, followed by Julahas, Rohars, Brahmins, Barhais, Dhobis, Sainis, Nais, Gadariyas, Ranghars, Bhangis, Bishnois, Jogis, Darzis and Vaishya. The main occupations in this village are cultivation, boat-rowing and agricultural labour.

4. The research methods employed in this study have consisted of the use of schedules and questionnaires, case studies, village records, census data, interviews and group discussions. The local investigation was carried out in 1961 by Shri B. D. Sharma, Socio-Economic Inspector, who had been borrowed from the National Sample Survey Organisation. In the initial stages, there was some difficulty in collecting the data because the investigator was viewed with suspicion but after he gained the confidence of villagers and established rapport with them, the work of investigation became easy and simple.

5. Shri R. C. Sharma, Deputy Census Superintendent, of the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service, is responsible for supervising the investigation, marshalling the statistical evidence, analysing the data and

drafting the report. He visited the village twice for acquiring first-hand knowledge of the background and environments of the people. He talked with them freely in groups and singly, to have a 'feel' of their attitudes and opinions, mainly with a view to assessing the impact of various factors of change on them.

6. Opinions expressed and conclusions reached by the writer of this monograph are based on the results of the investigation. They are his own and do not reflect the views of the Government in any way.

LUCKNOW :

The 5th December, 1962.

P. P. BHATNAGAR,

Superintendent of Census Operations,
Uttar Pradesh.

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Location

Rafinagar urf Raoli is an ordinary type of village situated at the confluence of rivers Ganga and Malin in the north-western corner of Tahsil Bijnor, at a distance of about seven miles from Bijnor, the district headquarters. The village lies at the parallel 29° 26' 50" north latitude and 78° 4' 30" east longitude. It is bounded on the north by villages Devapuri, Chaunkpuri, Abutalibpur and Khairpur Khadar, on the east by village Chunarpur, on the south by villages Nurullahpur, Barkala Ismailpur, Muzafrā and Rewa whereas on the west the deepstream of river Ganga forms the natural boundary between this village and district Muzaffarnagar. The village lies within the jurisdiction of Police Station Mandawar which is situated at a distance of 4½ miles by a *kachcha* road. The headquarters of the Nyaya Panchayat and the Development Block are at Mohammedpur Deomal at a distance of 3 miles by a *kachcha* road. The village Lekhpāl lives at Mandawar and the Supervisor Kanungo at Bijnor. The nearest centre of commerce and industry is Bijnor.

The main *abadi* of the village is on the northern bank of river Malin, which divides the area of the village into two parts, viz., Raoli proper and its hamlet Brahmapuri.

Size and Residential Pattern

The village is of an average size. The total area of the revenue village including its hamlet (the population of which has not been included within this survey) is 2,695 acres or 4.21 square miles approximately. This area is subject to change from time to time on account of the frequent changes in the deepstream of river Ganga which forms the dividing line between Bijnor and Muzaffarnagar districts. Both the rivers annually flood the low-lying areas of the village causing considerable erosion and damage

all round. The devastation on account of floods has been quite marked during the last four or five years, because the upper alluvial layer of the soil over a vast area has been washed away, leaving behind a vast sandy and infertile tract.

Raoli has 146 households with a total population of 795 persons, consisting of 425 males and 370 females comprising various religions and castes such as Jatavas, Mallahs (Dheenwars), Brahmins, Vaishya, Muslims, etc. People of various castes live in separate clusters of houses in the neighbourhood of each other. There is a grouping of houses on caste basis as a whole. The Bhangi community lives at a slight distance from other communities.

Physical Features

The village is situated on a level plain in the *khadar* area of river Ganga. The land is inundated every year by the waters of rivers Ganga and Malin. Some of the fertile land is annually eroded or transformed into barren sand. Great damage is caused to the standing crops as well. The deposits left behind by the two rivers at the time of recession of floods differ with the nature of inundation. If the current is strong it carries away all except the heavier particles of sand but if the current is slow the mud settles down gently, leaving behind a fertile layer of rich loam on the flooded ground. Thus a strong current of receding water is quite disastrous. More often than not only sand is left on the soil, as a consequence of which a large tract of land in the bed of River Ganga has to be left uncultivated — it being fit for the growth of reed locally called *beend* and thatching grass known as *poola* only. The alluvial land flanking River Malin is quite fertile and generally yields good crops every year. Some of the sandy land in the bed of river Ganga came to be covered by mud in course of years and has been reclaimed for agricultural purposes.

Flora and Fauna

The village has a number of guava, mango and neem trees and a couple of peepal trees. The *khadar* area has a natural growth of reed, thatching grass, *moonj* and *kans*. Wild animals such as deer, hare, wild boar, jackal, hyena, and leopard are sometimes seen in this area.

Climate

Owing to its geographical position Raoli enjoys a good climate, free from the extremes of heat and cold. The situation of the village on the banks of rivers Malin and Ganga is conducive to a temperate climate. During winter the bite of the cold easterly winds is not too unkind and in summer the dry westerly winds do not assume the usual violence and ferocity. Thus during winter the climate is cool and pleasant and during summer the heat of the mid-day sun is not much too scorching.

Communications and Means of Transport

Raoli is situated at a distance of about seven miles from Bijnor on the Bijnor-Muzaffarnagar motor road. For six months only during the winter season, when there is a bridge of boats on river Ganga, there is a private bus service between Bijnor and Muzaffarnagar. For going to the village one has to drop at Kuti bus stand at a distance of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bijnor. The main village is situated at a distance of about 4 furlongs from Kuti. The way to the village is full of sand and River Malin has to be crossed by a ferry before reaching the site. The residents of the village are not required to make any payment to the Mallahs for the boat service. The river is not deep and except during the rainy season one can wade through it and reach the village. Tongas, *ekkas* and rickshaws also ply between Bijnor and Kuti. During the period the bus service remains discontinued, one can travel from Bijnor up to Kuti by a rickshaw, tonga or *ekka* but on the return journey there is no surety of the availability of any such vehicle at this place. The distance up to Bijnor has, therefore, to be covered on foot when no vehicle is available.

In the absence of the bridge of boats during the period from June to November the river Ganga has to be crossed at the Raoli ferry by boats. The ferry is managed by the Public Works Department through a contractor. The indispensable bullock cart holds its own as the traditional means of transport. Of late, some people, especially those required to go out of the village frequently, have taken to bicycle as well, since it is a convenient and economical means of transport. The nearest rail-head is Bijnor at a distance of about eight miles by road. It is situated on the Gajraula-Najibabad Branch Line of the Northern Railway.

Postal Facilities

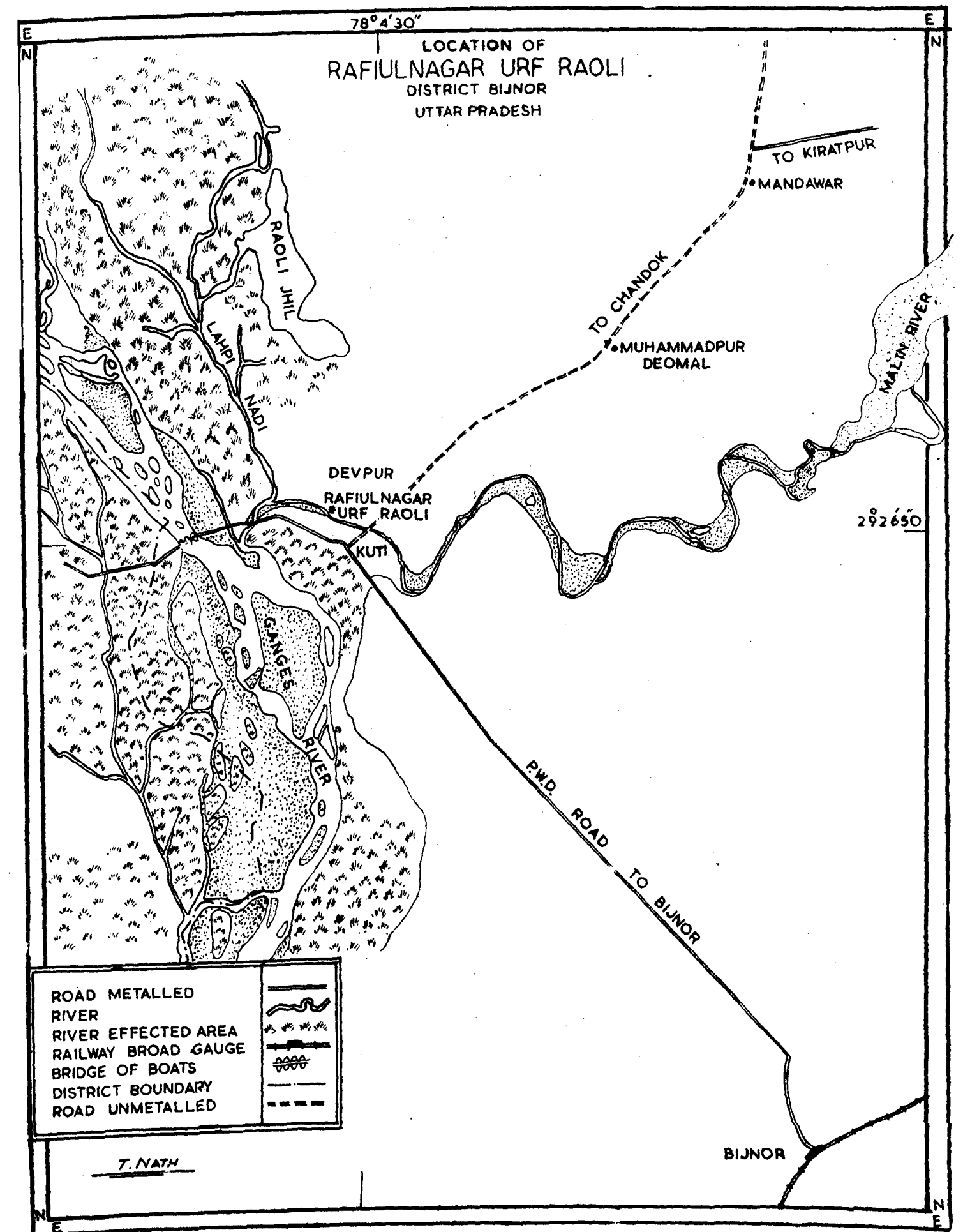
There is no post office or letter-box in the village. The nearest branch post office is at Mohammedpur Deomal at a distance of three miles from the village whereas the nearest telegraph office is at Bijnor. The prescribed bi-weekly visits of the postman to the village are reported to be erratic and irregular, being generally confined to the delivery of money orders or articles which require signatures of the recipients. Sometimes the dak is sent through residents of the village, who happen to visit the post office.

Important Public Places

There is only one small Shiva temple in the village, got constructed by a village Zamindar. It is not properly maintained nor is it frequently visited by devotees. There is no mosque or *idgah* or any other place of worship for the Mohammedans.

The dead are burnt on the bank of river Ganga whereas those dying young are buried in the bed of the river or immersed in the main stream. The Muslims bury their dead in a burial ground on the Raoli-Mohammedpur road at a distance of about 2 furlongs from the village.

There are no monuments in the village, even though it is claimed to be the ancient place where King Dushyant first met his future queen Shakuntala.



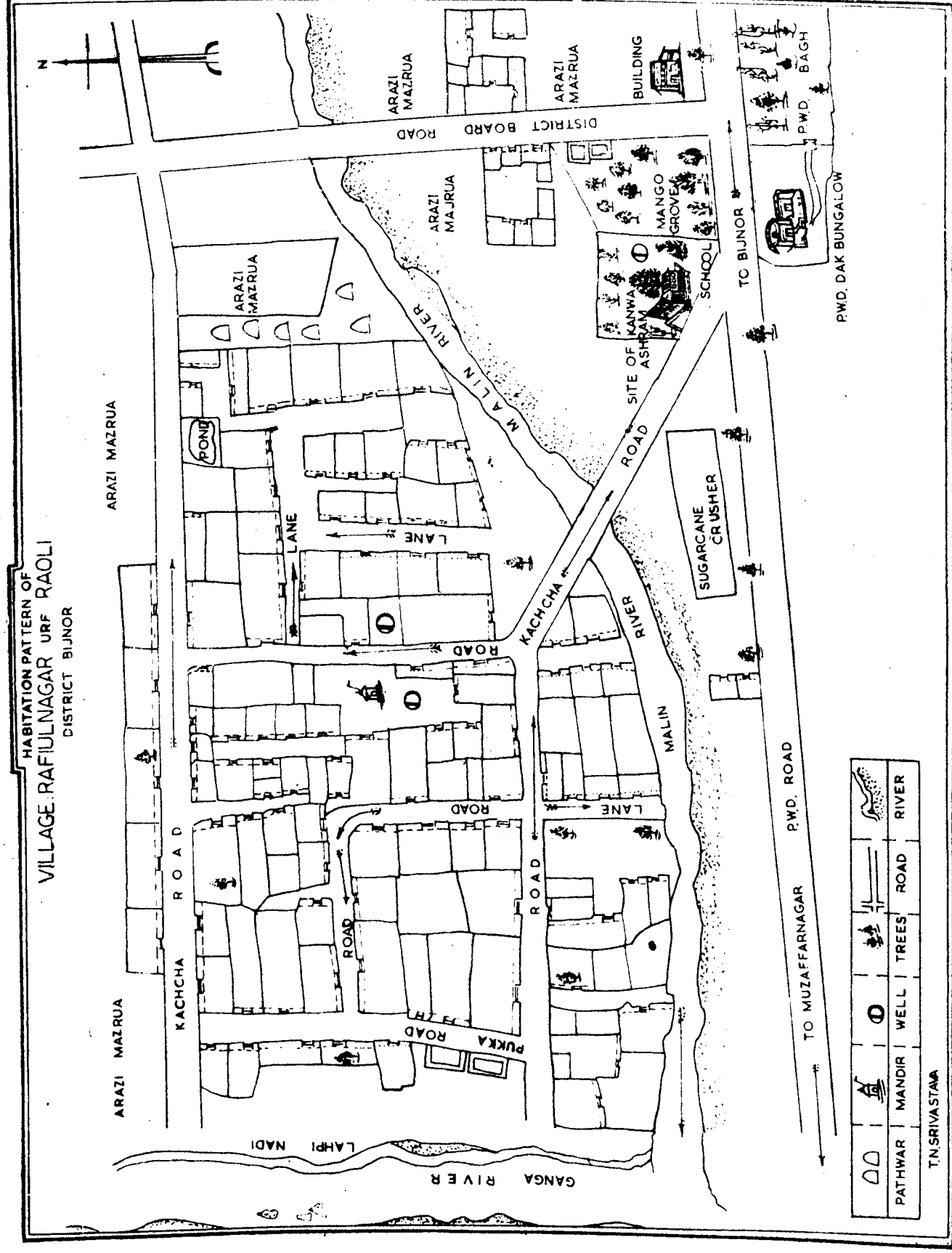
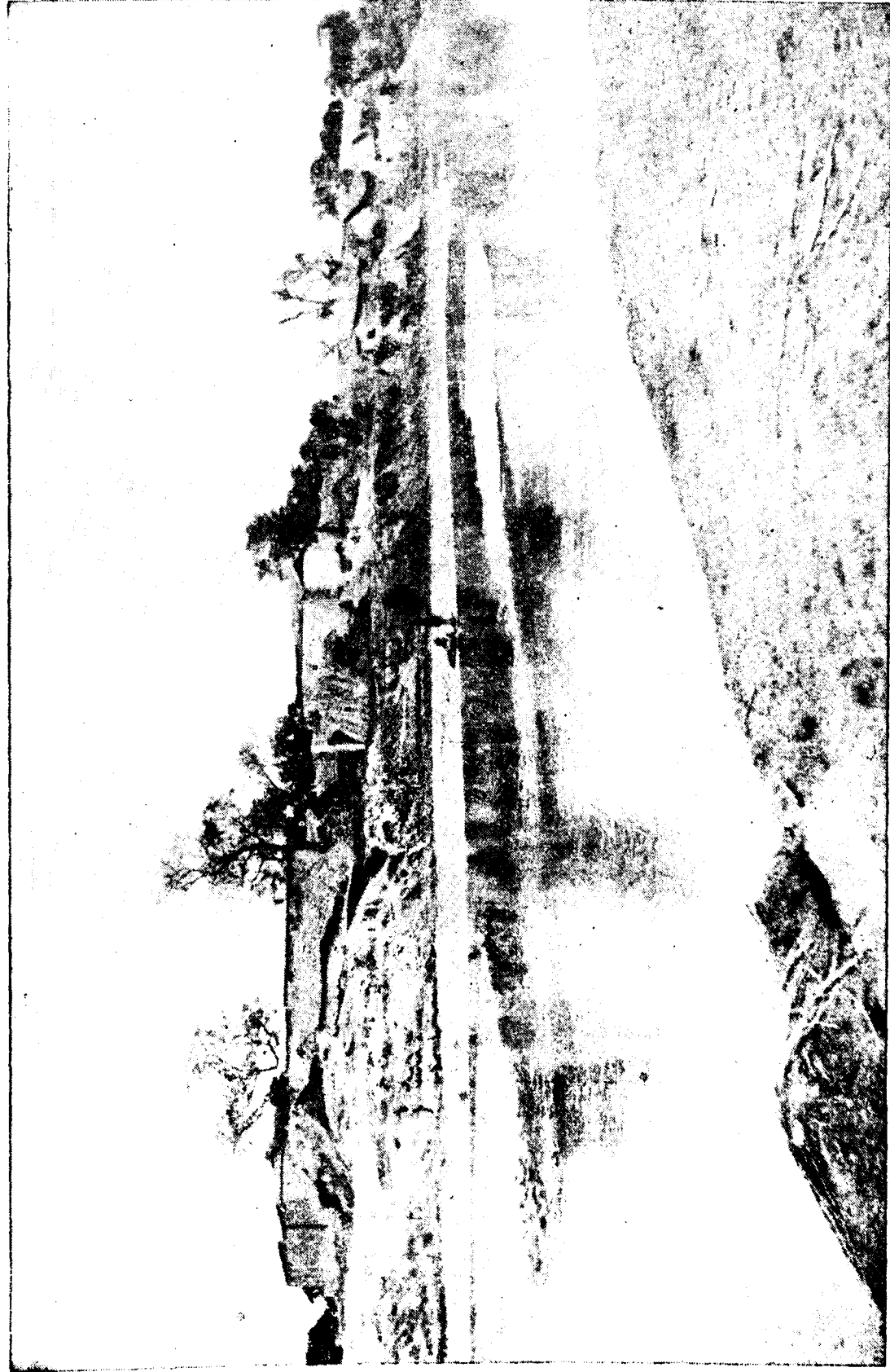


PLATE No. 1



A distant view of village Rafulnagar urf Raoli across river Malin
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

PLATE No. 2



For crossing river Malin during winter one has to wade through knee-deep water

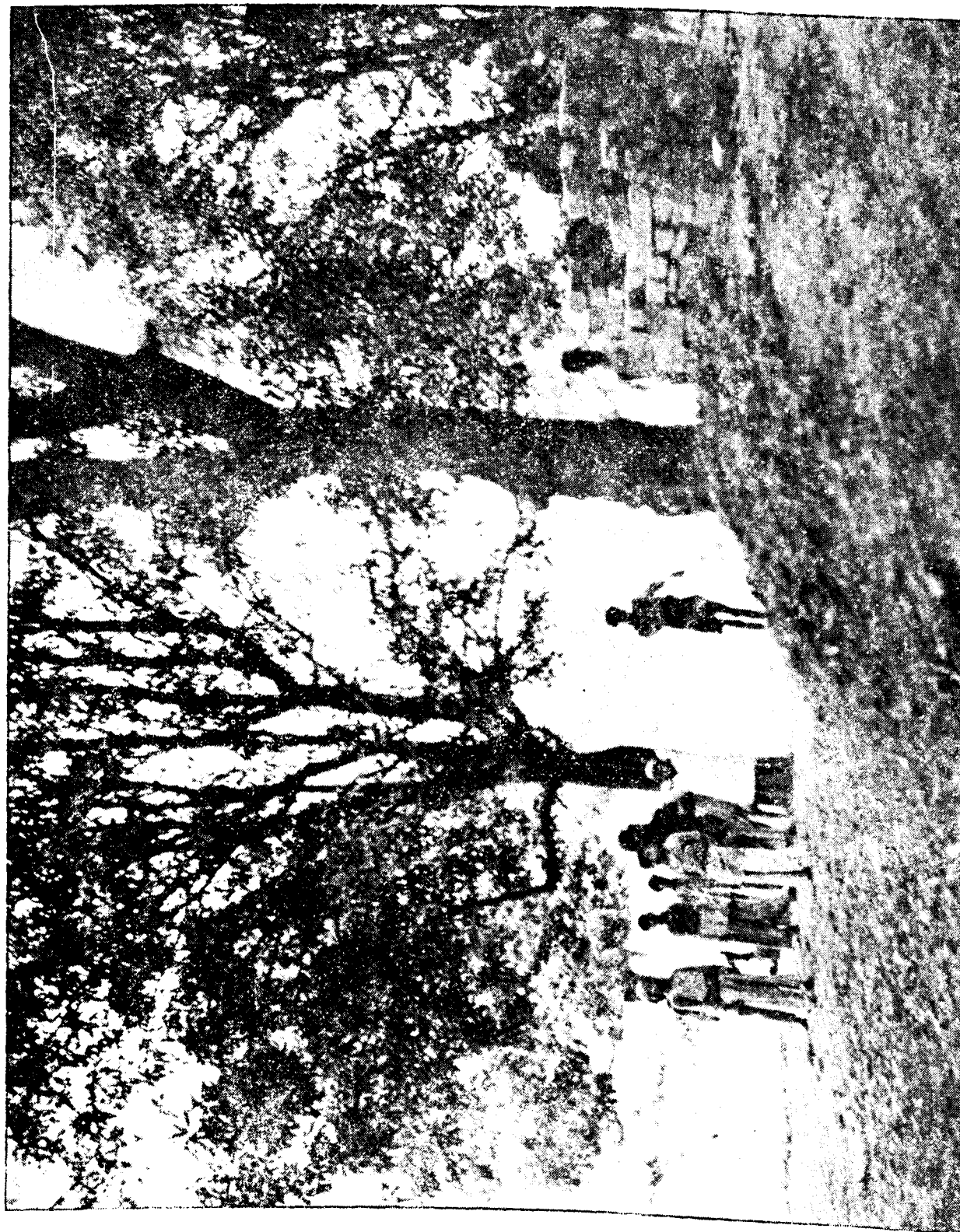
—PHOTO BY RAMESH

PLATE No. 3



The temple of Lord Shiva

— PHOTO BY RAMESH



The place where Kanwa Ashram is said to have been located
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

Potable water is obtained from the hand pumps in the village. The water of river Malin is also used for this purpose by those who have no hand pumps. There is no pond or tank within the village and hence the cattle are taken to this river for quenching their thirst.

The nearest markets are at Mandawar and Bijnor, the latter being more important.

Legend and Origin of the Village

The time when this village actually sprang up and the different sections of the population settled in it is not exactly known. Also the correct origin of the name Rafiulnagar urf Raoli is not traceable. Whatever legends are available are of extremely doubtful authenticity. Some people believe that in the hoary past the Ashram of Maharishi Kanwa extended up to this village. There was a large forest adjoining the Ashram where King Dushyant of Hastinapur—about 39 miles from the present village site—is said to have been infatuated by the beauty of Shakuntala, the daughter of the fairy Menka and Maharishi Vishwamitra, who had been brought up by Maharishi Kanwa at this Ashram. The story of the romance of Dushyant and Shakuntala, their *gandharva* marriage and subsequent developments are too well-known to warrant a repetition here. It was in this forest adjoining the Ashram that King Dushyant is said to have accepted Shakuntala as his wife at a secret *gandharva* marriage. According to one interpretation, Raoli (from Hindi 'Rao' meaning 'king' and 'li' meaning 'accepted') signifies the place where King Dushyant accepted Shakuntala as his queen. It is asserted that river Malin which flows through the village, is the same as mentioned by poet Kalidasa in his immortal drama *Abhigyan Shakuntalam*. On page 14 of the *Gazetteer* of district Bijnor, Nevill writes: "The Malin is a river of some historical importance and interest. It has been tentatively identified with the Erineses mentioned about 300 B.C. by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes; while some 250 years later the poet Kalidasa immortalised the stream in his famous drama of Shakuntala. It was

here that King Dushyanta pursued an antelope to its refuge in the shrine of a hermit and in the forests on the river bank the monarch first beheld his future queen."

According to another story, the Kanwa Ashram is said to have been situated in village Chaukaghat at a distance of about six miles from Kotdwar in district Garhwal, on the bank of river Malin at the feet of the Himalayas. A temple sacred to Kanwa, Bharat and Shakuntala and a library have already been constructed there at the place known as Kanwa Ashram. The inaugural ceremony was performed by Dr. Sampurnanand, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. A fair is annually held there on the occasion of Basant Panchami.

After the formal establishment of Kanwa Ashram near Kotdwar some people of Bijnor district began to assert the claim of village Raoli to Kanwa Ashram. In 1955 the Kanwa Sanskritik Shiksha Prasar Samiti was organised. Pandit Jagannath Shastri is the moving spirit behind the Samiti. He is not a resident of this village. In fact no active member of the Samiti is a resident of Raoli. The Samiti has been emphasizing that Kanwa Ashram was situated in this village.

The actual location of the Kanwa Ashram still remains a point of dispute. It is reputed to have been a big Ashram by the bank of river Malin over a length of about 40 miles from village Raoli in district Bijnor to village Chaukaghat in district Garhwal.

General

This village has a predominant population of Dheenwars following the occupation of a Mallah or boatsman. Out of a total population of 795 persons, the number of Dheenwars or Mallahs is 240, representing 30 per cent of the total population. They are mainly engaged as boatmen. A study of the ways of life of members of this community would not only afford a factual assessment of their present socio-economic condition but would also pave the way to their uplift and emancipation in future.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic Composition

Out of a total population of 795 persons, 683 persons, i.e., 85.9 per cent of the total population are Hindus while 112 persons, i.e., 14.1 per cent of the total population are Muslims. Out of the 683 Hindus, 285 persons, i.e., 35.8 per cent of the total population belong to the Scheduled Castes consisting of 269 persons (141 males and 128 females) of the Jatava community and 16 persons (11 males and 5 females) of the Bhangi community.

Jatavas as a community take the lead in point of numbers, aggregating 269 persons or 33.8 per cent of the total population. Their population consists of 52 per cent males and 48 per cent females. They claim to be the highest of all the sub-castes of the Chamars because they do not perform the "degrading work and practise the disgusting habits characteristic of the caste". The majority of them are cultivators and the remaining are agricultural labourers. Their womenfolk are engaged in string-making as a household industry. They are said to be of aboriginal descent. Their economic condition is tolerably good.

The next important community is of Dheenwars who are also called Kahais. Their population consists of 240 persons, representing about 35 per cent of the Hindu population and 30 per cent of the total population. Among them 55 per cent are males and 45 per cent females. They are mainly engaged in rowing of boats in rivers Ganga and Malin. On account of this occupation of boat-rowing they are known as Mallah also. They do not belong to the Scheduled Caste. They have a dark complexion. A few persons of this community are engaged in fishing also. They claim to be descendants of Maharishi Kashyap and hence they assert that they are Kashyap Rajput, even though they are not recognised as Rajputs by the other communities.

The Rohar community is comprised of 4.4

per cent of the total population and 5.1 per cent of the Hindu population. They have a fair complexion and a well-built body with sharp features. They claim their descent from the Punjab. The Rohars are found in three or four more villages of the district. They are good cultivators.

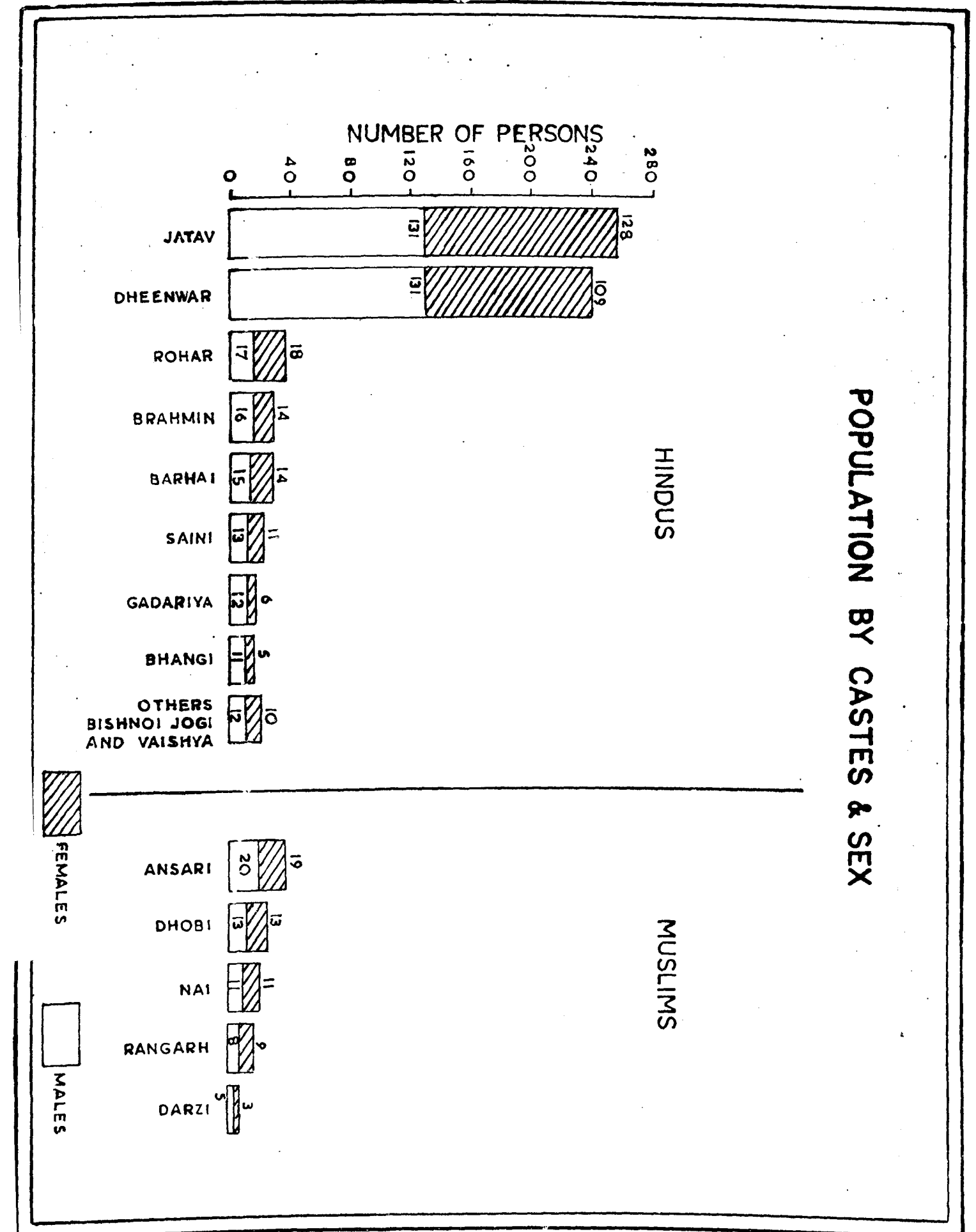
The other communities found in the village are Brahmins (3.8 per cent), Barhais or carpenters (3.5 per cent), Sainis or Malis (3.0 per cent), Gadariyas (2.3 per cent), Bhangis or scavengers (2.0 per cent), Bishnois (1.4 per cent) and Jogis (1.0 per cent). There is only one family of the Vaishya community.

All the Brahmin families are Gaurs. They have the highest literacy and education percentage. They are the virtual brain-trust of the village politics. Their main source of livelihood is agriculture but they are not good cultivators because they get the agricultural operations done through the labourers rather than perform this 'derogatory' work themselves. None of them is a priest accepting offerings and alms. They maintain a good standard of living.

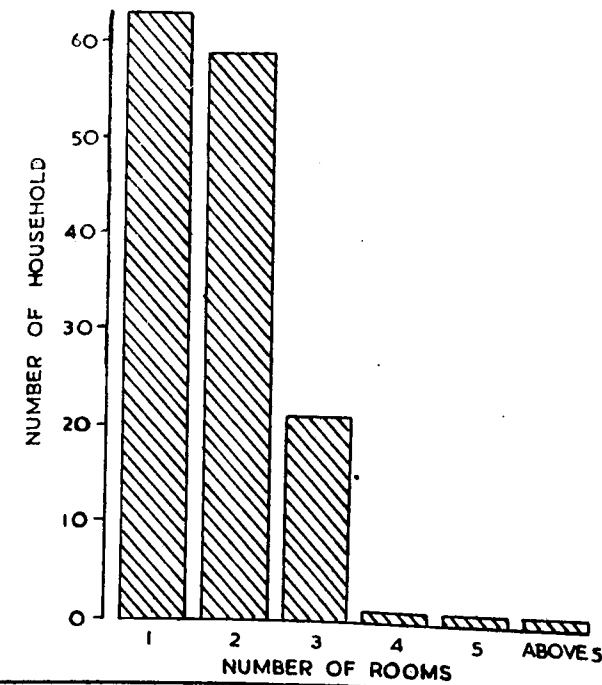
The Barhais or carpenters are mainly engaged in their traditional occupation. They are necessary for the smooth running of the village economy especially agriculture and industry, tools and implements for which are supplied by them. They are also making an attempt of ascending in the social hierarchy by asserting that they are descendants of Vishwakarma, the celestial artificer, even though their claim of being Brahmins is not recognised by others.

The Sainis are market gardeners by tradition but in this village they are good cultivators. They are also known as Muraos or Kachhis in some other districts.

The Bhangis are the sweeping and the cleaning force of the village. Rearing of pigs is a subsidiary occupation followed by them.



HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS



D. S. LAI

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

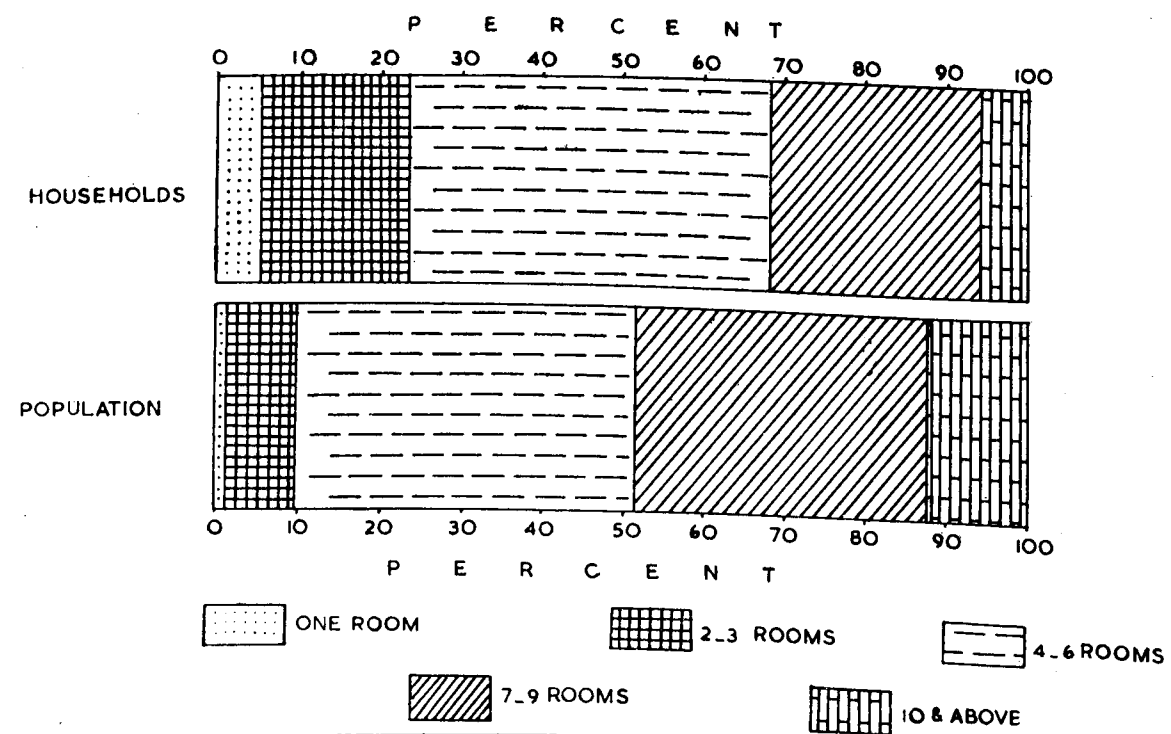


PLATE No. 5



A group of villagers having a pull at the hookah
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

PLATE No. 6



The village kids — typically ill-dressed and bare-footed — on a bullock cart, with a background of houses, having slanting thatched roofs supported on mud walls.

— PHOTO BY RAMESH

The Bishnois are also cultivators. In the Gazetteer of district Bijnor, Nevill has pointed out: "The sect has been founded some four centuries ago in Marwar by one Jhamaji, otherwise known by the Muhammadan appellation of Sheikh Makhdum Jahania Jahangasht. Till recently, his followers used to adopt Musalman names and customs but these have been renounced and Bishnois differ little from strict Hindus, being particular in matters of ceremonial purification and having as strong an aversion to talking life as the Jains."*

The only Vaishya family consisting of three members is an immigrant from West Pakistan. The head of the household has contacted an inter-caste marriage with a Sindhi woman.

All the Muslims in this village are followers of the Sunni sect. Amongst them 39 persons or 34.8 per cent of the Muslim population are Julahas or weavers, 26 persons or 23.2 per cent of the total Muslim population are Dhobis or washermen, 22 persons or 19.6 per cent of the total Muslim population are Nais or barbers, 8 persons or 7.2 per cent of the Muslim population are Darzis or tailors and 17 persons or 15.2 per cent of the Muslim population are Rangarhs who were originally Rajputs but had adopted the Muslim religion during the Moghul period.

The following table shows the different communities in this village along with households and population :—

TABLE NO. 2.1

Showing Communitywise Distribution of the Population

Name of the Community	Households	Population		
		Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
<i>Scheduled Castes</i>				
1. Jatava	49	269	141	128
2. Bhangi	2	16	11	5
Total	51	285	152	133

*. Nevill, H. R., Gazetteer of District Bijnor, 1907.

	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Other Hindus</i>					
3. Mallah		42	240	131	109
4. Barhai		6	29	15	14
5. Brahmin		5	30	16	14
6. Roharh		5	35	17	18
7. Bishnoi		4	11	8	3
8. Saini		4	24	13	11
9. Jogi		2	8	3	5
10. Gadariya		3	18	12	6
11. Vaishya		1	3	1	2
Total		72	398	216	182

<i>Muslims</i>					
12. Julaha		10	39	20	19
13. Dhobi		5	26	13	13
14. Nai		4	22	11	11
15. Darzi		2	8	5	3
16. Ranghar		2	17	8	9
Total		23	112	57	55
Grand Total		146	795	425	370

General Description of Dwellings

Most of the houses are *kachcha* structures, having walls of clods or *kachcha* sun-dried clay bricks, with roofs of clay and mud spread over wood logs and planks or thatches over a sloping structure at the top of the walls. A few houses were found built of pukka bricks, cement, girders and corrugated galvanized iron sheets. The following figures show the various types of houses in the village :—

TABLE NO. 2.2

Showing Types of Houses Communitywise

Community	Number of houses	Com-pletely pukka	Partly pukka	Mud wall and Mud roof	Mud wall and thatched roof
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Hindus</i>					
1. Jatava	49	10	7	32	..
2. Dheenwar	42	1	5	34	2
3. Barhais	6	..	1	..	..
4. Brahmins	5	3	2	..	..
5. Rohars	5	1	4	..	..

	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Bishnois	4	..	..	2	2	..
7. Sainis	4	..	..	..	4	..
8. Gadariyas	3	..	..	1	2	..
9. Jogis	2	..	..	..	2	..
10. Bhangis	2	..	..	..	2	..
11. Vaishya	1	1	..	..	..	..
Total ..	123	16	22	83	2	2
<i>Muslims</i>						
12. Julahas	10	..	..	..	9	1
13. Dhobis	5	..	..	..	5	..
14. Nais	4	..	..	..	4	..
15. Darzis	2	..	..	..	2	..
16. Ranghars	2	..	..	..	2	..
Total ..	23	..	..	..	22	1
Grand Total	146	16	22	105	3	3

Out of 146 households, 105 households or 72 per cent of the total number live in houses with mud walls and mud roofs, while only 16 households or 11 per cent of the total number live in completely pukka houses. No Muslim owns a pukka or partly pukka house. The greatest number of pukka houses is with the Jatava community, followed by the Brahmins. This is an index of their better economic condition.

The custom of having a pukka roof over a structure of *kachcha* walls is quite prevalent in this village. The number of such houses is 22. Slanting thatches in front of rooms — both inner and outer — are quite common among households having *kachcha* houses.

The number of rooms in a house is generally small. In most of the houses the cattle-shed is close to the living room or the sitting place. No latrines and bathrooms are provided in the house. Most of the people, including women, go to the nearing fields for answering the call of nature. They take their bath in the open. The womenfolk sometimes use a cot covered with a bed sheet as a sort of purdah wall while taking their bath in the courtyards of their houses. The dwellings are ill-ventilated and poorly lighted. People are generally ignorant

of the utility of a ventilator. It is sometimes argued that a ventilator provides an easy access to the house for a burglar. The windows are mere apertures. Chimneys are not provided for the escape of the kitchen smoke. Hence at the time of cooking, the smoke spreads freely throughout the house. The walls of the houses are plastered with mud, which is periodically coated with a clay wash. Just before Diwali the houses are washed either with clay or coloured earth. The mud floor of the house is also smeared with a thin layer of cow-dung mixed with clay and water. Some of the houses are seen having paintings with ordinary colour while in some of the houses are hung cheap prints of Hindu deities or photographs of the younger generation in the family taken by street photographers in an exhibition or a fair.

Cost of Construction

The sun-dried clay bricks are manufactured locally. The cost of 1,000 bricks of 14" x 12" x 6" size is about Rs.6 and an equivalent amount has to be paid by way of transport charges from the pond, where they are manufactured, to the place of construction. These bricks are mainly used for the construction of walls. Thatching grass is available in the jungle area at a distance of about four miles from the village at a cost of Rs.4 per 1,000 bundles, to be paid to the Forest Department. Another amount of Rs.5 is paid by way of transport charges. An average mud house with a mud and timber roof costs about Rs.1,000 only. As regards burnt bricks, they are available at Bijnor kilns. Their standard size is 9" x 4½" x 3". Previously 1,000 first class bricks used to cost Rs.28 at Bijnor but now the price has gone up to Rs.45 because of a higher demand and limited supply, further aggravated by the scarcity of hard coke. The transport charges from Bijnor to Raoli are Rs.12 per thousand. The price of *sal* wood is Rs.8 to Rs.9 per cubic foot. Cement is available against permits obtainable from the District Supply Officer at Rs.7 per standard bag. C.G.I. sheets also are obtainable against permit. Iron bars are available at Bijnor at the rate of Rs.32 per maund. Also the price of 180 maunds of *bajri*

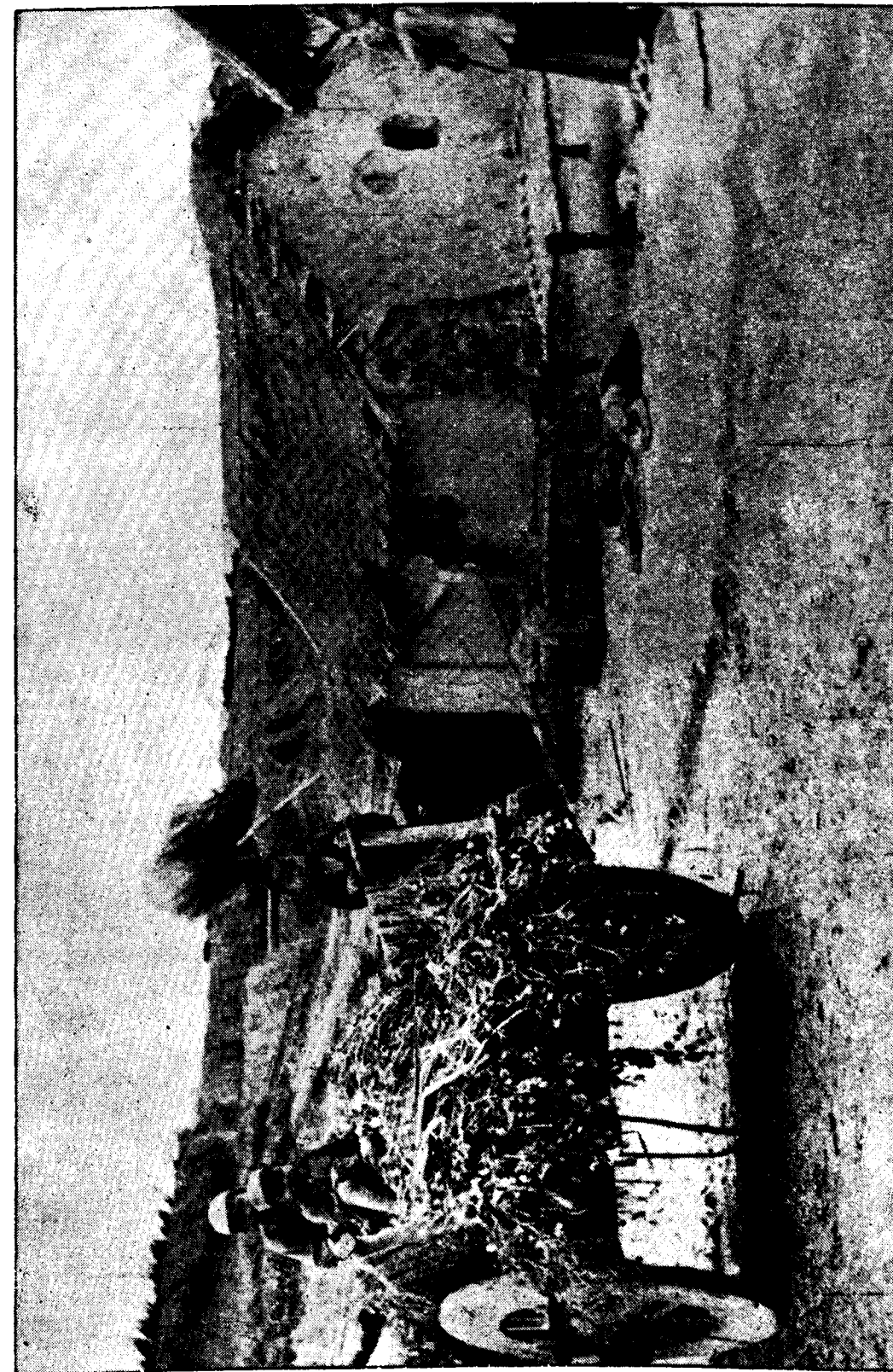
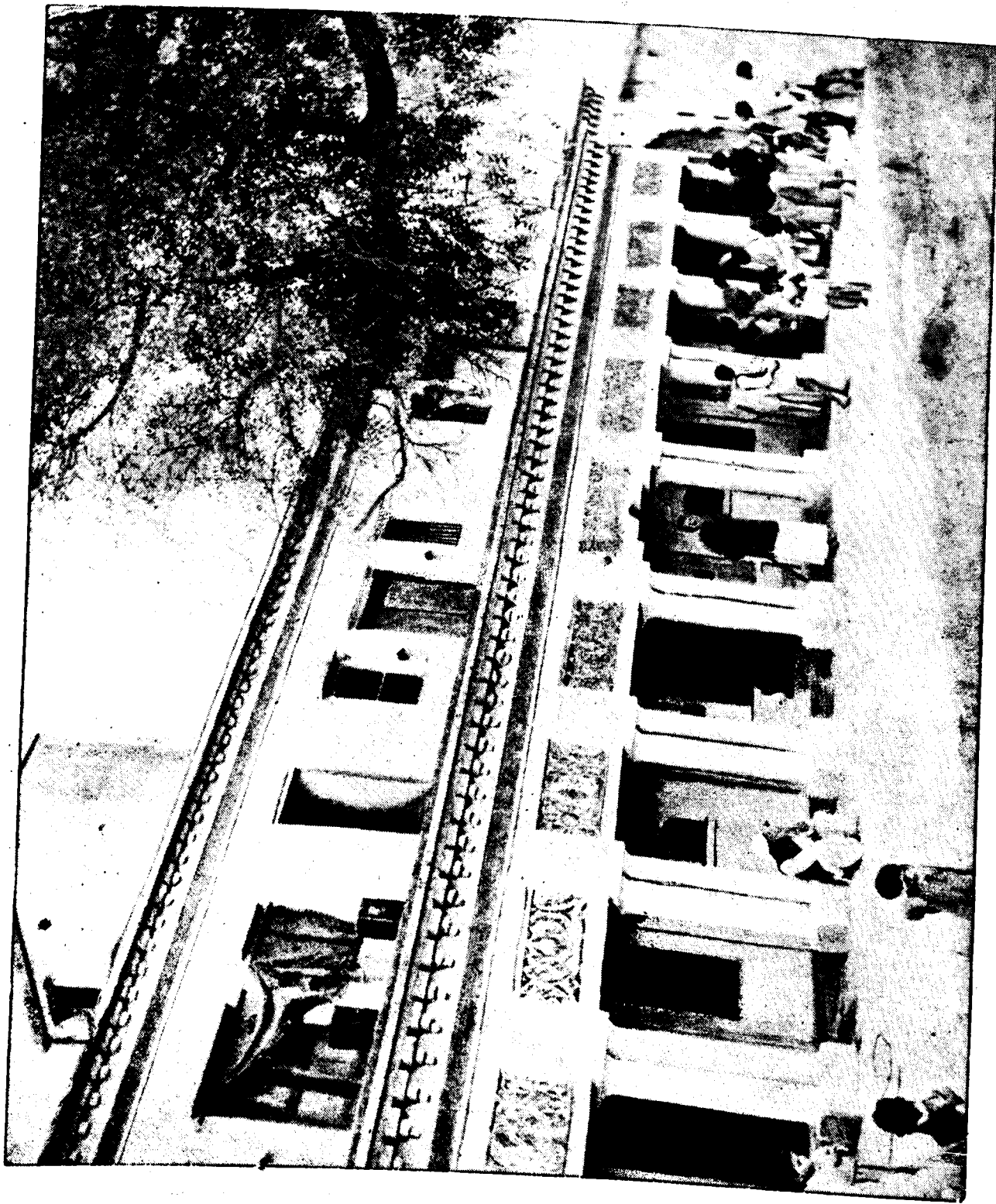


PLATE No. 7

A typical kachcha house in the village
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

PLATE No. 8



A pukka house in the village
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

or shingle used for roofing and construction purposes is Rs.100 approximately including its cost of transport from Kotdwar to the village. The cost of an average pukka house comes to Rs.8,000.

Customs relating to Construction of Houses

Whenever a new house is to be constructed, a pandit is requested to find out an auspicious date and time for laying the foundation stone of the house. On the appointed date and time a sort of puja is performed at the site. Thereafter, the foundation stone is laid. Some copper coins, turmeric and betel-nuts are buried beneath the first brick in the foundation of the house. After some construction when the first door frame is fixed, a betel-nut is tied round the frame with a multi-coloured *dori* (thread). Some sweets are distributed among the labourers engaged in construction. When the house is ready for occupation an auspicious date is fixed again in consultation with the pandit and then the house is occupied only after performance of some puja and distribution of sweets among friends and relatives. This ceremony is called the *Grih Pravesh* ceremony (from Hindi *Grih* — house and *Pravesh* — entering into).

It is a common belief among the Hindus that having the main entrance of the house towards south is inauspicious. Hence they avoid constructing the main door of the house facing south. The Muslims, however, have no objection to having the main entrance of their house facing south. They do not observe any particular custom in connection with the construction of a house.

Dwelling Standards

Out of 146 households in the village, only 16 were found living in completely pukka houses. Thus 89 per cent of the households are living in semi-pukka or *kachcha* houses, which is apparently an index of the poor economic condition of the majority of households.

The description of dwellings generally occupied by the various communities is as follows :—

Name of Community	Description of Dwellings
1. Jatavas	A courtyard and two rooms having mud walls and roofs and a thatch. A few households have another room in addition for store etc. Ten households have pukka houses.

Name of Community	Description of Dwellings
2. Dheenwars	One room built of mud, a thatch and a courtyard without a boundary wall
3. Barhais	A courtyard and two rooms with walls of mud and a thatch
4. Brahmins and Vaishya	A courtyard with three rooms, a kitchen and a separate built-in latrine. Four houses are pukka, constructed with bricks and cement.
5. Rohars	A courtyard, two rooms, all built of mud, without any latrine or kitchen separately
6. Bishnois	A courtyard and two rooms, having mud walls and roofs and a thatch
7. Sainis, Gadariyas, Jogis and Bhangis	A courtyard and two multi-purpose rooms built of mud with a thatch
8. Muslims	A courtyard with a boundary wall and one room built of mud and a thatch

Evidently the Brahmins, Jatavas and Vaishya families have got the best dwellings.

The following table shows the number of households by number of rooms occupied :—

TABLE NO. 2.3

Showing Households by Number of Rooms occupied

Number of Rooms	Number of Households	Percentage	Number of Persons
1	63	43.0	271
2	59	40.5	359
3	21	14.5	144
4	1	0.6	7
5 & over	2	1.4	14
Total	146	100	795

Thus 83.5 per cent of the households with 79 per cent of the total population are living in one-roomed houses or two-roomed houses. On an average the number of persons living in one room comes to four which shows general overcrowding in most of the houses. Also on an average, a household having 5.4 members has to remain huddled in a house having 1.7 rooms.

The following table shows the size and composition of households :-

TABLE NO. 2.4
Showing Size and Composition of Households

Number of Members	Number of Households	Percentage of Households	Total Number of Persons	Percentage of Total Population
1	8	5.5	8	1.0
2-3	26	17.8	68	8.6
4-6	65	44.4	333	41.9
7-9	38	26.1	292	36.7
10 and over	9	6.2	94	11.8

The above figures indicate that the largest number of households has a membership of 4-6 persons. The average household has 5.4 members within its fold.

Physical Features, Dress and Ornaments

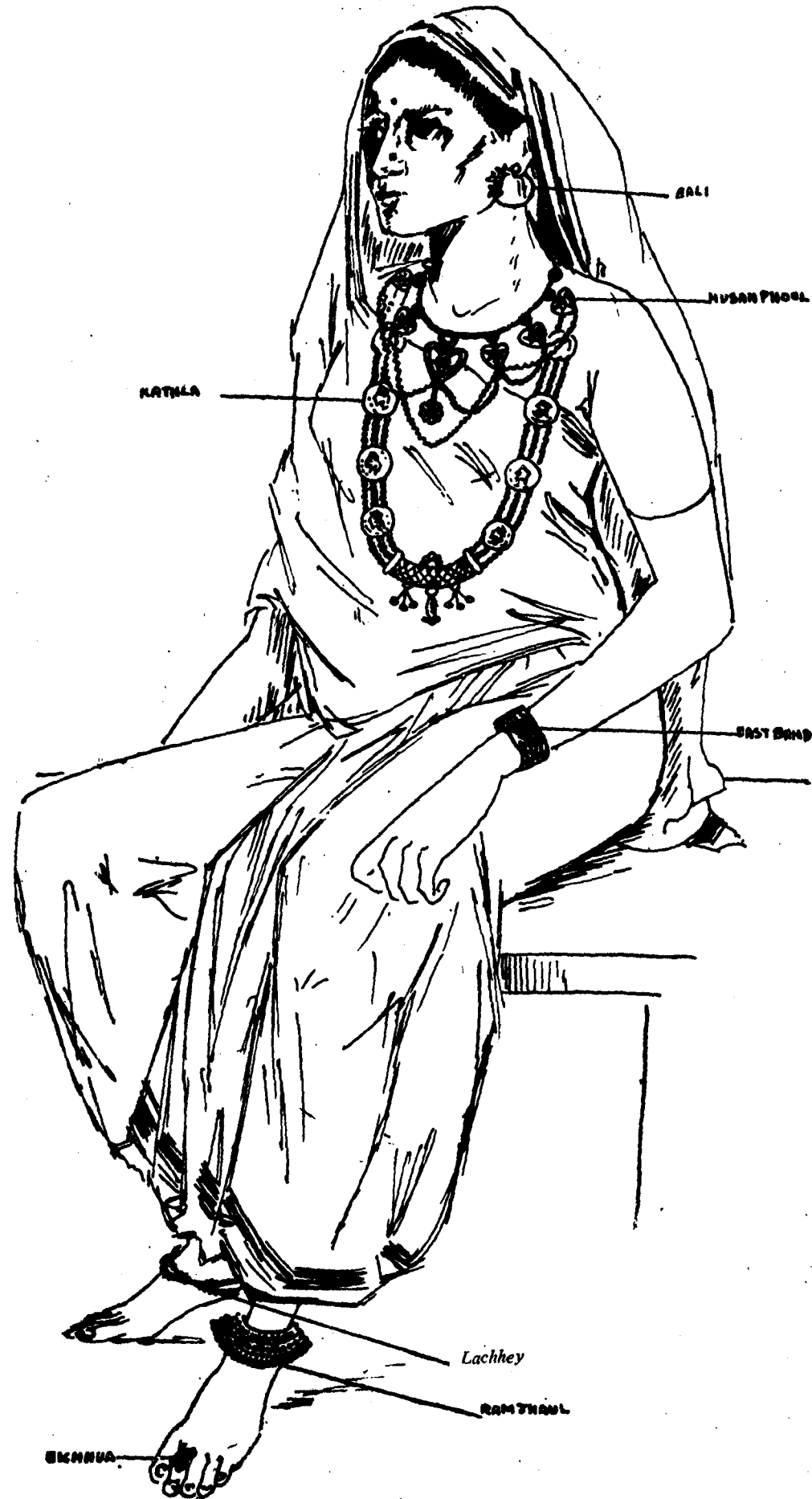
The inhabitants of the village are of an average structure commonly found in the western parts of the Uttar Pradesh. The complexion of Mallahs, Bhangis and Muslims is fairly dark whereas the complexion of the remaining population is wheatish, except that of Rohars whose complexion is comparatively fair. Some of the Brahmins also have a fair complexion. The older people generally wear a long moustache of the 'I beg your pardon' style. The younger generation has an inclination to wear closely-trimmed moustache of various styles, including the Curzon fashion. The backward and the poor wear the native shoes popularly known as *dhauri* or *nari*. Those who are better off wear Bata shoes including boots. The male dress generally consists of *dhoti*, pyjama, *kamiz* (shirt) or *kurta* and a cap among the Hindus. The older people wear a *safa* (turban) as a head gear. The school-going children sometimes wear knickers. The well-to-do people wear *banians*, woollen pullovers, *bundis* (jackets) and coats also. The Mohammedans wear *tahmads* instead of *dhotis*.

The womenfolk wear a *kamiz* and a *lahanga* with *orhani* (head gear consisting of a small piece of coloured cloth) or a *kamiz* and sari. In fact sari is becoming more popular with the younger generation. *Shilwars* are worn by some of the females in Rohar and Muslim communities. *Damans* are worn on ceremonial occasions only among the Hindus. The *lahanga* and *daman* are just like voluminous petticoats extending to the ankles. The *daman* is costlier and is usually bright coloured, with a wide patterned border of bright colours at the bottom. Sometimes it is richly embroidered. The females in the households of Brahmins and Vaishya also wear blouses with saris, petticoats and brassiers. Some women among the Mohammedans and backward Hindus wear tight pyjamas called *suthanas* made of cheap and coarse cloth, of red, black or blue-black colours.

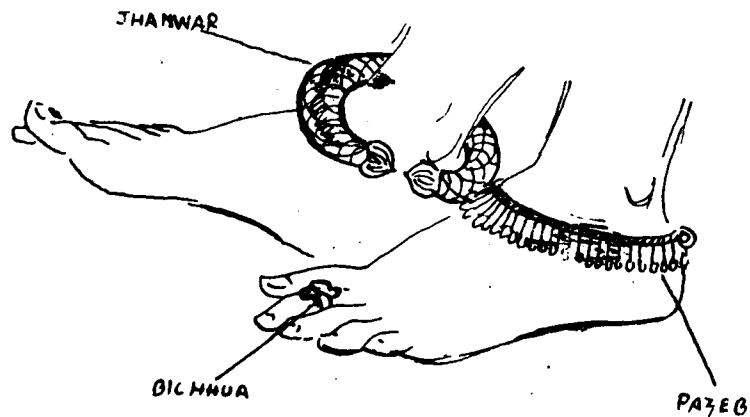
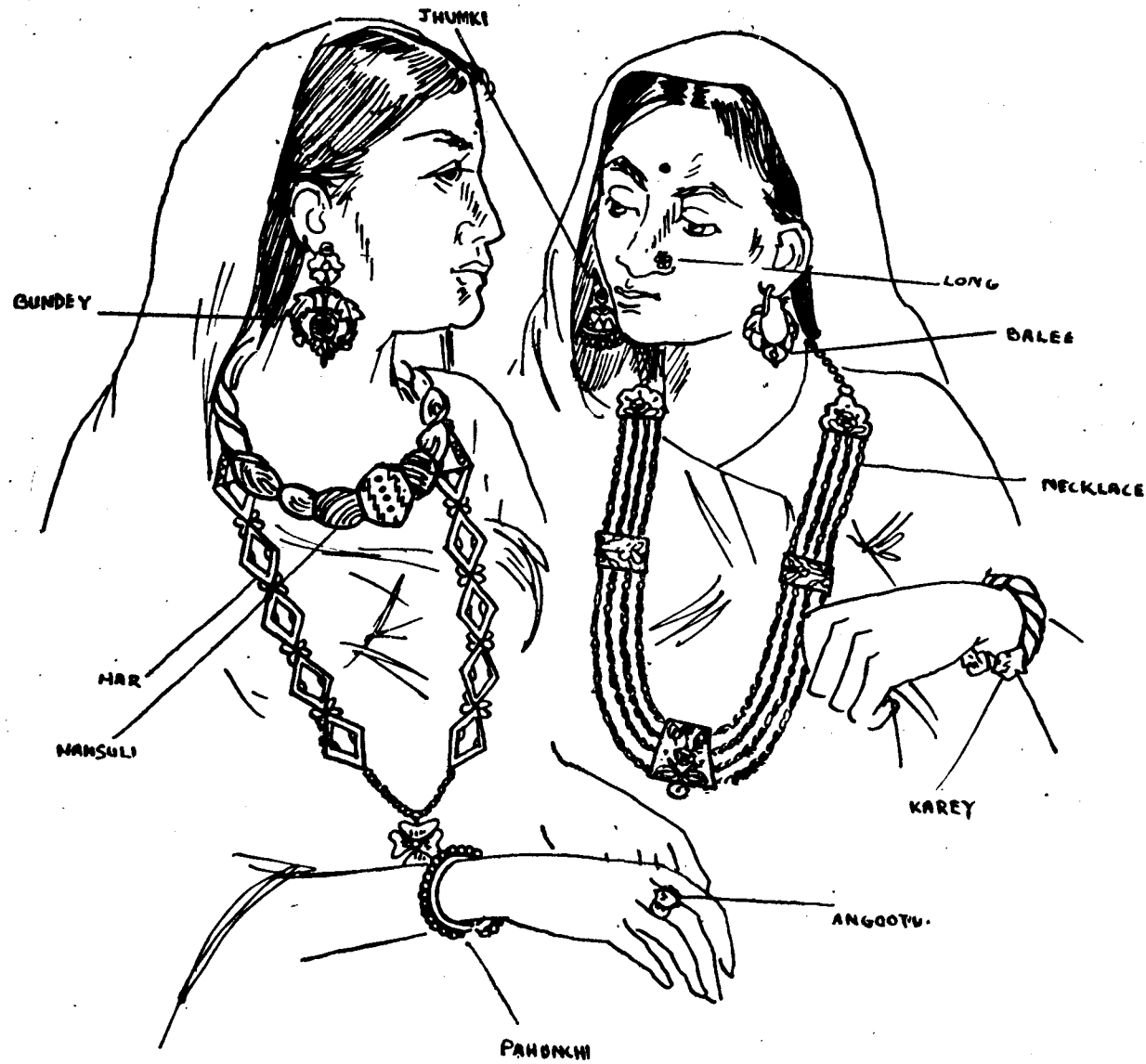
The local names of some of the jewellery generally used by the women are as follows :-

Local Name of Ornament	Description
Jhumki, Bunda and Bali	Ear-rings worn in the lobe
Hansli	A round ornament of solid silver worn round the neck. It is quite heavy in weight.
Har, Husan Phool, Champakali	Necklaces
Kathla	Garland of silver rupees with a pendant in the centre
Laung	Nose pin
Karey	Bracelet made of solid silver worn on the wrist
Pazeh, Jhanwar, Lachhey, Ramjhol and Payal	Silver ornaments worn round the legs near the ankles
Dustband, Pahunchi, Paribund and Kangan	Bracelets worn round the wrist
Murki	Ear-ring worn by men

Among the Brahmin and Vaishya families, women were found using some gold ornaments such as *kangan*, necklace, rings and ear-rings. The Rohar women use *jhumkis*, *champakali* and rings made of gold; *hansli*, *karey* and *lachhey* made of silver are also used. The Barhai women use *bundas*, *balis* and rings of gold and *karey*, *hansli*, *dustband*, *payal* and *pahunchi* of silver. Among the Jatavas and Mallahs *balis* of gold and



Some ornaments used in the village



Some more ornaments used in the village

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

hansli, karey, har, lachhey, pariband and mala of silver are used. Other communities use silver ornaments to some extent according to their economic condition.

The use of ornaments in day-to-day life is decreasing, in spite of the fact that every woman has a keen desire to have as many ornaments as possible. On ceremonial occasions, however, every woman uses all her jewellery as it keeps up the prestige of the family and indicates the financial condition of the house.

Household Goods

The following table gives an idea of household goods in possession of various communities in the village :-

TABLE NO. 2.5

Showing Household Goods by Communities

Name of Article	Total	Number of Households possessing				
		Jatava	Dheen-war	Brah-min	Other Mus-lims	
1. Chair	24	5	3	3	5	8
2. Table	15	3	3	3	4	2
3. Bedstead	13	1	1	4	5	2
4. Charpoy	146	49	42	5	27	23
5. Mirror	113	34	37	5	24	13
6. Bench	9	3	..	3	3	..
7. Stool	9	2	..	3	3	1
8. Wall-shelf	38	9	13	3	9	4
9. Radio-set	1	..	..	..	1	..
10. Gramophone	1	..	..	..	1	..
11. Kerosene Stove	2	..	..	1	1	..
12. Torch	24	6	7	3	7	1
13. Petromax	2	..	1	..	1	..
14. Hurricane lantern	120	31	37	5	26	21
15. Motor cycle	1	..	..	..	1	..
16. Cycle	27	8	8	3	6	2

The single Agarwala family in the village is ahead of others in material culture as it possesses

a motor cycle, radio-set, gramophone, petromax, torch, kerosene stove, furniture and all other articles useful in daily life. The Brahmin households too are well-off in this respect. Chairs are used by 16.4 per cent households, cycles by 18.4 per cent households and hurricane lanterns by 82.2 per cent households.

The following utensils are generally used by the residents of this village :-

Local Names of Utensils	Description
1. Patili	Brass vessel used for boiling rice and pulse or cooking vegetables
2. Karahi	Iron or brass frying pan for preparing vegetables, halwa or poories
3. Parat	A big plate of brass, meant for preparing dough
4. Thali	A big plate of brass, aluminium or bell-metal used for taking food
5. Tawa	A round and convex piece of iron used for baking chapaties
6. Karchhi Chamcha	A big spoon made of brass or iron used for serving cooked pulse or vegetables
7. Lota	A small round utensil made of brass for taking water etc.
8. Kalsa	A big utensil made of brass for storing and carrying water
9. Balti	Bucket made of iron
10. Gilas	A tumbler made of brass or bell-metal
11. Bhagona	A brass utensil used for boiling milk or cooking vegetables or pulse
12. Katori and bela	Small brass or bell-metal utensil used for taking vegetable or pulse
13. Katordan	A brass utensil with a covering used for keeping chapaties
14. Kunda	A big utensil made of wood or clay used in Muslim households for preparing dough— an equivalent of parat used in a Hindu household
15. Handia	A clay utensil used generally in Muslim households for boiling rice or pulse or cooking vegetables—equivalent of patili used in a Hindu household

Out of the above utensils, patili, thali, parat, lota, chamcha, katori, tawa and gilas are found

in almost every household. *Bhagona*, *kalsa*, *katoridan*, *karahi*, etc. are found in addition in the households of Brahmins, Vaishya and Rohars. Besides, they have a large number of utensils of better quality. The Muslims have a number of aluminium utensils. The poorer among them use plates, *handia* and *kunda* made of clay. A small basket called *changeri* or *tokri* is used for keeping *chapatis*, just as *katoridan* is used among some of the Hindu households. They also use a multi-purpose *tontidar lota* (ewer with a spout). The expenditure of the Muslims over utensils as compared to Hindus is very small.

Meals are cooked at the *chulha* by the housewife by sitting down on a *patri*. Firewood or dung cakes are used for cooking. During the summer season especially, cooking is a trying job for the housewife who has also to scour the utensils.

Food and drink

The following figures indicate the number of vegetarians and non-vegetarians community-wise in this village :--

TABLE NO. 2.6
Showing Dietary Trends

Community	Total Number of Households	Vegetarian Households	Non-vegetarian Households
1. Jatava ..	49	..	49
2. Dheenwar ..	42	..	42
3. Barhai ..	6	6	..
4. Brahmin ..	5	5	..
5. Rohar ..	5	5	..
6. Bishnoi ..	4	4	..
7. Saini ..	4	4	..
8. Gadariya ..	3	..	3
9. Jogi ..	2	2	..
10. Bhangi ..	2	..	2
11. Vaishya ..	1	..	1
12. Muslim ..	23	..	23
Total ..	146	26	120

Thus 83 per cent of the total households in the village are non-vegetarian, a non-vegetarian household being one in which there is no objection to the cooking of meat or eggs in the common kitchen. All the households of Jatava, Dheenwar, Gadariya, Bhangi, Vaishya and Muslim communities are non-vegetarians, the remaining households being pure vegetarians. The number of non-vegetarian households is $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the number of vegetarian households.

Fishing is done by Dheenwar households and hence they consume fish very often. Meat and fish are consumed only casually by other non-vegetarian families except the Vaishya household, because of their high prices. Milk is used in households having milch cattle. When it has to be purchased it is used only rarely, say for a child or an ailing person.

The diet is cereal-predominated. Vegetables grown locally are used by some people. They are sometimes purchased by those who can afford. Daily consumption of fruits is almost unknown in the village. During the season cheap varieties of mango are consumed whereas in May and June melons and water-melons are also taken. Tea is taken in 21 households only. Wheat and rice are consumed in well-to-do families while coarse grain and inferior rice are used by the poor.

In the morning almost every family takes breakfast. The poor take stale *chapatis* cooked the previous night with a pinch of salt; some get *chapatis* prepared in the morning. The well-to-do take *paratha* (*chapati* fried in ghee) with milk or *matha*. *Chapati* and *dal* are consumed in the majority of households at lunch and dinner time. Boiled rice and vegetables are casual additions to the menu. As regards frequency of meals, 69 per cent of the households have three meals a day and the remaining 31 per cent only two meals a day.

No one in the village was reported to be in the habit of drinking.

Customs and Beliefs

The social conduct of every community is determined almost at every step by a set of customs followed from times immemorial. Some

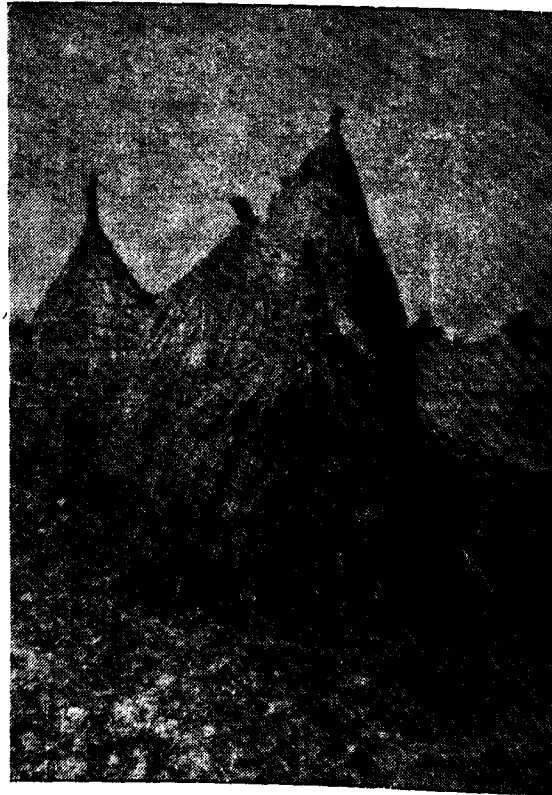


PLATE No. II

A group of village women returning home with fuel collected from the jungle and fields

PHOTO BY RAMESH

PLATE No. 12



The chaff (*bhoosa*) store locally known as *koop* has a straw covering.

A GROUP OF KOOPS

— PHOTO BY RAMESH

changes are no doubt introduced from time to time.

Birth Customs

Every married couple is keen to have a child soon after the effective marriage. At least one male child is necessary not only for preservation of the progeny but also for attainment of salvation whereas one daughter is necessary so that *kanyadan*, the most virtuous and important *dan* or charity among Hindus, may be given by performing the marriage of the daughter. For obvious reasons the birth of a male child is heralded with lot of fanfare and rejoicing, which are at their height at the time of birth of the first male issue. If a male child is born a *thali* is rung for sometime but if it is a female, a *tawa* is struck. Just after birth the mother and other members of the house are rendered ritually impure. No outsider accepts any edibles cooked in this house. Sweets are, however, acceptable to everyone. For six days only the *dai* and one more woman can go to the room of confinement. Even the husband is not allowed to enter it. Drum-beating by the village Bhangi for a few minutes every day and singing of songs to the accompaniment of *dholak* by a number of women continue during this period. On the sixth day of birth, the *Chhati* or sixth day ceremony is solemnized for all male and female issues alike. On this occasion some puja is performed by the womenfolk of the household. The mother and the infant are also given a bath. From this day light food such as *chapati* and cooked pulse of *moong* are served to the mother. Also the child starts wearing clothes henceforth. The ritual impurity of the family is removed after the *Chhati* ceremony.

On the tenth day the room of confinement is cleaned with Ganga water after whitewashing with lime or clay. *Havan* is also performed in the households of all Hindus except the Scheduled Castes on this occasion. The mother and child are bathed and given new clothes to wear. A pandit is consulted for finding out a lucky name for the child as also for giving his predictions about the future of the child. Thereafter

the *Namkaran Sanskar* or christening ceremony takes place. Friends and relations are invited to a feast. The womenfolk celebrate the occasion by dancing and singing. Some clothes and gifts are also received from the near relations especially the father or brother of the mother. The old earthen pots are replaced by new ones as a part of ritual purification. Payment is made to the sweeper and the *dai* generally in kind but sometimes in cash. On such occasions the pandit does not go to the house of the Scheduled Caste, even though they can consult him at his house for finding out a suitable name for the infant.

The *Mundan* ceremony is performed as soon as the child attains the age of one year. On this day the head of the child is shaved with a razor. To the singing of songs by some women the child is taken by the parents, friends and relatives to the bank of river Ganga where his head is shaved clean. Puja of the holy Ganga is also performed. Sometimes a child is taken to the shrine of the family goddess for this function.

The *Yagopavit* or sacred thread ceremony is generally performed among the Brahmins when the child attains the age of 12 years. From this day onwards the boy is expected to have full adherence to the principles of his religion. Now-a-days, this ceremony has disappeared from many a household. Instead, the boy is asked to wear the sacred thread without any formal ceremony, which takes place subsequently at the time of marriage.

Among the Muslims also there is a great rejoicing on the birth of a male child whereas the birth of the female is not given any importance. On the sixth day the *Chhati* or *Ahika* is performed. They sacrifice two goats if the issue is a male and only one goat if it is a female. Thereafter, the meat is distributed among friends and relatives.

The *Khatna* ceremony is performed any time before the male reaches the age of 12 years. The child is circumcised generally by a village *nai* who works as a *jarrak* or surgeon also. A feast is given to all friends and relatives on a large scale.

Marriage Customs

Members of one caste generally form one endogamous group. In this village there is only one case of inter-caste marriage. Also, as a rule, the bridegroom is not selected from the village in which the prospective bride lives. Similarly boys belonging to the villages to which a certain group of close relatives belongs are also avoided. Also, no one likes to give his daughter in marriage in a far off locality because in that case he would not be able to maintain closer and more intimate relations with that family. Boys and girls both are, as a rule, married when they become adults. Child marriages are rare. Sometimes adolescents, too, are married. Runaway marriages are also rare.

More often than not the marriage contract is negotiated. It is the family of the girl which seeks the bridegroom. Since the proposal comes from the girl's side, it is the males who can remain unmarried. No girl remains unmarried ultimately. If the two families are agreed to the proposal of the marriage of the boy and the girl, the betrothal ceremony takes place at the house of the groom in the presence of friends and relatives of the prospective bride who offer some money, sweets and articles to the boy as a token of reservation of this boy for the girl. The amount of money spent on this ceremony depends upon the financial condition of the two parties. The commitment made by the two parties is seldom repudiated.

Later on, according to the alround convenience of the two parties a date for marriage is settled in consultation with the pandit who makes some astrological calculations for finding out an auspicious date and time, so that the marriage so performed might be blessed with happiness and prosperity. The date is proposed by the girl's party and is confirmed finally by the boy's family. Some days before the date of marriage, the parents of the girl send the *lagan* to the boy's parents through a *nai* (barber). *Lagan* is an intimation of the final fixture for the date of marriage and other details in that connection. On this occasion some cash, some utensils, some clothes and sweets are also sent

along with. Sweets are distributed by the boy's parents to the relatives and friends present at that time.

Three or four days before the actual date of marriage, several ceremonies are performed at the houses of the bride and the bridegroom. For example, *ubtana* (a paste of turmeric, oil, gram flour and milk for beautifying the body) is regularly rubbed for days together on the bodies of the prospective couple. A regular singing of songs, especially composed for the occasion, goes on at the two houses. Puja of the gods and goddesses is also performed. On the day fixed for the actual marriage ceremony the *barat* or marriage party of the bridegroom reaches the house of the bride. Fastidious arrangements for their boarding and lodging are made by the parents of the bride. In the evening, accompanied by his friends and relatives, the bridegroom goes to the house of the bride with all pomp and show, with various tunes being played by a band of musicians. The party is given a warm reception and the groom is welcomed and received at the door of the bride. This is known as *Darwaza* (Hindi for door) ceremony. The pandit is also present for enchanting some verses from the holy scriptures. The actual marriage ceremony is performed generally late in the night. The boy and the girl are made to sit side by side in the presence of the holy fire. The pandit presides over the function. He recites *mantras* or holy verses on the occasion. The actual marriage ceremony consists of *Shaptapadi* or *pheras* (the circumambulation of holy fire seven times) and the recitation of marriage vows by the bride and the groom, to the chanting of holy verses and performance of *havan* by the pandit. The *kanyadan* or the giving away of the daughter to the groom is performed by the father of the bride. The marriage ceremony is performed under a well-decorated *mandap* (canopy) in the presence of a number of friends and relatives and ladies of the house. If the boy and the girl are both mature, the *gauna* ceremony is performed then and there, by seating the bride on the wooden seat occupied by the bridegroom and *vice versa*. Sometimes this ceremony is postponed

to a later date and is performed even after years if the couple was not mature at the time of marriage. Some functions are held on the next day of the marriage. For example, the boy and girl are made to sit on a bedstead and some offerings in cash and kind are given to them turn by turn by the friends and relatives of the bride's family. On the third day, the marriage party departs for the groom's house along with the veiled and wailing bride.

Three or four days after, the bride returns to her mother's house to go back to her husband's house again after the *gauna* ceremony. The husband accompanied by his brothers and a couple of close relatives goes to the house of the bride and returns to his house along with her. From that day they start living together as husband and wife. Thus effective marriage starts after the *gauna* ceremony.

Dowry is given according to the financial condition of the parties both on the occasion of marriage and *gauna*. Among some of the households the amount of dowry is settled previously but generally this previous settlement does not take place among most of them, the amount of dowry depending on the sweet will of the girl's family.

It is only amongst the Rohar community that marriage by exchange takes place. If a man is to marry a girl he should provide another girl, who might be his real or cousin sister, to be married to his own bride's brother. Such a marriage is generally looked down upon by other communities. Sometimes a male who cannot find out a girl to be given in exchange has to remain unmarried just for this reason.

Cases of remarriage are most common in both the sexes amongst the Dheenwar, Saini, Gadariya and Jatava communities. Generally, a widow does not go outside the family. She is remarried to the younger or elder brother of her deceased husband or to some distant cousin of his. For example, among the Jatavas three persons have married the widows of their elder brothers, among the Dheenwars two persons have married the widows of their younger brothers and one has married the elder brother's widow. Thus only 6

cases of this type of marriage were reported among Hindus. As regards Muslims one person married his mother's sister's daughter and another married his mother's brother's daughter, the same person having married his elder brother's widow. One person had married his younger brother's widow. A remarriage is not performed in the same elaborate manner as the first marriage. It is a very simple ceremony.

An interesting case of a runaway marriage was that of Mr. R. K. a Dheenwar who was betrothed to a girl in village Dayalwala situated at a distance of 5 miles on the bank of river Lahpi. He started living at his fiancée's house before marriage and some days after eloped with her cousin sister Miss C. This elopement was disapproved by the caste panchayat and Miss C was married away to some one in village Chhita-war at a distance of about 11 miles from this village. She could not stay long with her husband and she returned to her lover Mr. R. K. in this village. She was finally married to him with the approval of the caste panchayat. It was after lot of botheration and expenditure in courts that he could ultimately marry her.

Some poor people belonging to the lower group of society sometimes accept some money from the prospective son-in-law as price of the bride even though they do not do so openly for fear of being condemned in society. For example, one Mr. K accepted Rs.300 from one Mr. S of village Mandawar as price of his daughter Miss C. The caste panchayat came to know of it. The money was got returned and in view of the poverty of Mr. K arranged finances by subscription for meeting the expenses of her marriage. Such cases are, however, rare.

The pandit does not go to the house of the Scheduled Caste people for presiding over the marriage ceremony, even though he gladly tells the auspicious date and time of marriage after consulting the almanac. Some people of their own caste perform the marriage ceremony.

According to the Muslim customs, children born of the same parents only cannot be married together. Marriage is generally permissible in

other cases. Child marriage is discouraged in this community as well. It is the girl's father who searches out a suitable bridegroom. The amount of *mehar* (money to be given by the husband to the wife in case separation takes place at the former's instance) is settled at the time of settlement of marriage. The actual marriage ceremony is performed at the house of the bride where the bridegroom goes with his marriage party. This is called the *Nikah* ceremony. The Mohammedan *mulla* or priest presides over this function. There is a recitation of vows by the groom and the bride in the presence of friends and relatives of the two parties. Registration of the marriage is also done by the *mulla*. Thereafter some sweets and *chhuaras* (dry dates) are distributed among the persons present at the ceremony. Dowry system is not prevalent amongst the Mohammedans. Remarriage of both the sexes is quite common among them. Since the girl has an equal right over the ancestral property, an attempt is made to marry her within closer relatives. That also explains the absence of dowry system to a great extent.

Death Customs

Just before death every Hindu is taken down from the cot and is placed on the earth, smeared with cow dung and water. Ganga water is also administered to the dying person so that he might be purified. Lot of weeping and wailing takes place on the occasion. A fire is burnt at the place where the dead body was placed and it continues being burnt for 13 days. This is done apparently for warding off the spirit of the dead which, according to tradition, continues hovering about the house for 13 days. Soon after death, the corpse is given a bath, wrapped in a new cloth, put on a bier and taken to the cremation ground on shoulders of four persons turn by turn, to the recitation of *Ram nam satya hai* (The name of God alone is true). If the deceased is quite old and has sons and grandsons, the bereaved family is not expected to mourn, for he had his cup full with the joy of life. Similarly, it is considered auspicious for a woman to die during the lifetime of her hus-

band. The pyre is lit by the eldest son of the dead. If he has no son, a near relation does it. The *Kapal Kriya* or breaking the head of the dead when it is being burnt, is also done by the eldest son. The cremation ground of the Hindus is at the bank of the river Ganga. When the dead body is fully burnt and the fire subsides, the ashes are immersed in the Ganga. Children below eight years of age are not burnt but their dead bodies are immersed in the Ganga. Sometimes, in the absence of firewood in the rainy season, Sainis, Dheenwars and Jatavas also immerse the dead bodies of adults in the Ganga without burning. This is known as *Jal Prawah* (from Hind *Jal* — water and *Prawah* — immersion).

On the third day, the *Tija* ceremony takes place. On this day boiled rice and curry are taken by the members of the family. On the thirteenth day the house is cleaned thoroughly with Ganga water and some puja is performed by a pandit. Some Brahmins, friends and relatives are also fed on this occasion. If it is a rich family and the person who died has left behind sons and grandsons, a grand feast is given. If the family is poor or the person who died was not old the feast is restricted and the day is solemn. The head of the eldest son is shaved with a razor on the day of cremation. The period of mourning continues for thirteen days. It is over after the thirteenth day feast or *Terhavin*, as it is locally known.

On every thirteenth day of consequent month up to eleven months a Brahmin is fed by all except the Jatavas and Bhangis at whose house the Brahmin would not eat. Jatavas give uncooked food to the Brahmins. When twelve months are over, the *Varshi* (from Hindi *varsh*—year) ceremony is performed on the lines the thirteenth day ceremony is performed. Thereafter, *Shradh* ceremony is performed every year during the *Pitar Paksha* (fortnight sacred to the ancestors) for not only commemorating the dead but also for keeping their souls pleased so as to safeguard against the wrath of the ancestor spirits. On this day, a Brahmin is fed. If one is not available, the meal set apart in the name

of the dead is served to a cow. No *Shradh* ceremony is performed in the case of children.

Among the Mohammedans the dead body is buried in the ground. Some food is distributed among beggars and the poor on the tenth day. On the fortieth day the *Chaliswan* (from Hindi *chalis* — forty) ceremony is performed. On this occasion also, some food is distributed to the beggars and the poor. If a person died in old age they do not mourn for him much, but when he died young it is a solemn and grave occasion.

Death ceremonies in all the communities are observed strictly, so far as practicable. Their non-observance is believed to turn the deceased into a ghost or evil spirit, creating lot of trouble for the whole family. Special care is taken in the case of a person dying unmarried or an unnatural death, as by accident or suicide, because the slightest lacuna might turn him into

an uncontrollable ghost creating trouble not only for the household but for the entire village.

With the passage of time, however, the rigidity in the performance of these ceremonies is being relaxed to some extent. On account of the high cost of living, for example, the number of annual *Shradh* ceremonies is curtailed only to those of the more important or troublesome ancestors, or the practice of not doing any work at all during the entire period of 13 days of mourning is changing. Similarly a smaller number of relatives get their heads shaved now. With the spread of education and enlightenment and availability of effective medicines, the age-old belief in ghosts and evil spirits, too, is declining. Hence instead of performing every ceremony in elaborate details, short-cut token ceremonies are resorted to. A change to suit the exigencies of changing times is visible.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

The following table gives a detailed split-up of occupations, showing the number of persons engaged therein :—

TABLE NO. 3.1

Showing the Number of Persons engaged in different Occupations

Occupation	Number of Persons engaged in Occupation			Percentage
	P	M	F	
Cultivation ..	105	94	11	35.0
Agricultural labour ..	45	44	1	15.0
Boat-rowing ..	55	55	..	18.4
Farm service ..	1	1	..	0.3
Retail shop of grocery ..	4	4	..	1.4
Domestic service ..	3	1	2	1.0
Halwai ..	1	1	..	0.3
Rearing of livestock ..	7	5	2	2.4
String-making ..	40	..	40	13.3
Weaver ..	6	6	..	2.0
Tailor ..	3	3	..	1.0
Peon or watchman ..	5	5	..	1.8
Washerman ..	3	1	2	1.0
Barber ..	5	5	..	1.8
Sweeper ..	7	2	5	2.3
Carpenter ..	6	6	..	2.0
Chatai-making ..	2	2	..	0.7
Mill service ..	1	1	..	0.3
Total ..	299	236	63	100

Occupations and Communities

The following table shows the number of persons of each community in various occupations :—

TABLE NO. 3.2

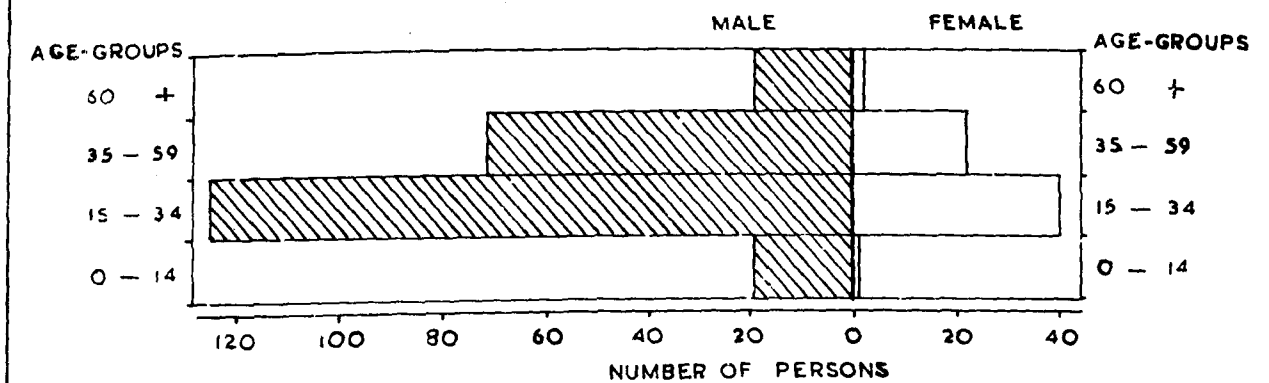
Showing Occupations according to Communities

Occupation	Jatava	Dheenwar	Barhai	Brahmin	Rohar	Bishnoi	Saini	Gadariya	Jogi	Bhaugi	Vaishya	Muslim	Total
1. Cultivation ..	52	13	..	6	12	3	5	5	1	..	1	7	105
2. Agricultural labour ..	30	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	11	45
3. Boat-rowing ..	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	55
4. Farm service ..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

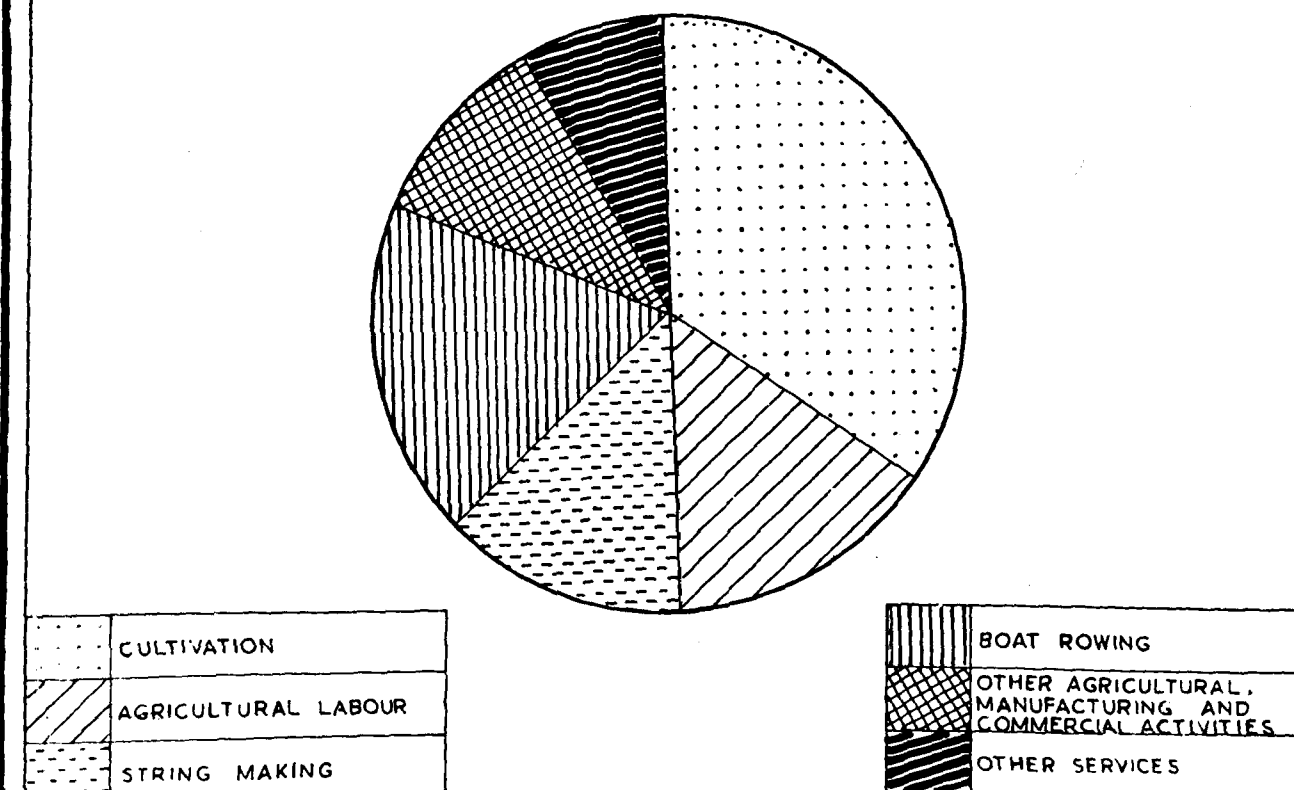
Thus out of 299 persons in the working force of the village, 35 per cent were engaged in cultivation, 15 per cent in agricultural labour, 18.4 per cent in boat-rowing, 13.3 per cent in string-making and the remaining 18.3 per cent were engaged in the remaining 14 occupations. It is predominantly an agriculturist village with boat-rowing and string-making as the other important occupations. All the 40 persons engaged in rope making are females of the Jatava community. Similarly all the 55 persons engaged in boat-rowing are males belonging to the Dheenwar or Mallah community. Out of the 45 agricultural labourers, 44 are males — 30 persons or 67 per cent being Jatava by caste. Out of the 105 cultivators, 94 persons or 89.5 per cent are males. They consist of 52 Jatavas, 13 Dheenwars, 12 Rohars, 6 Brahmins, 5 Sainis, 5 Gadariyas, 5 Rangarhs, 3 Bishnois, 2 Dhobis, one Jogi and one Vaishya. Two Dheenwars are engaged in fishing in addition to their principal occupations of boat-rowing and cultivation.

All the persons engaged as barbers, washermen, weavers and tailors are Muslims. The village has its artisans, shopkeepers, tailors, weavers, barbers, sweepers, etc. according to its necessity.

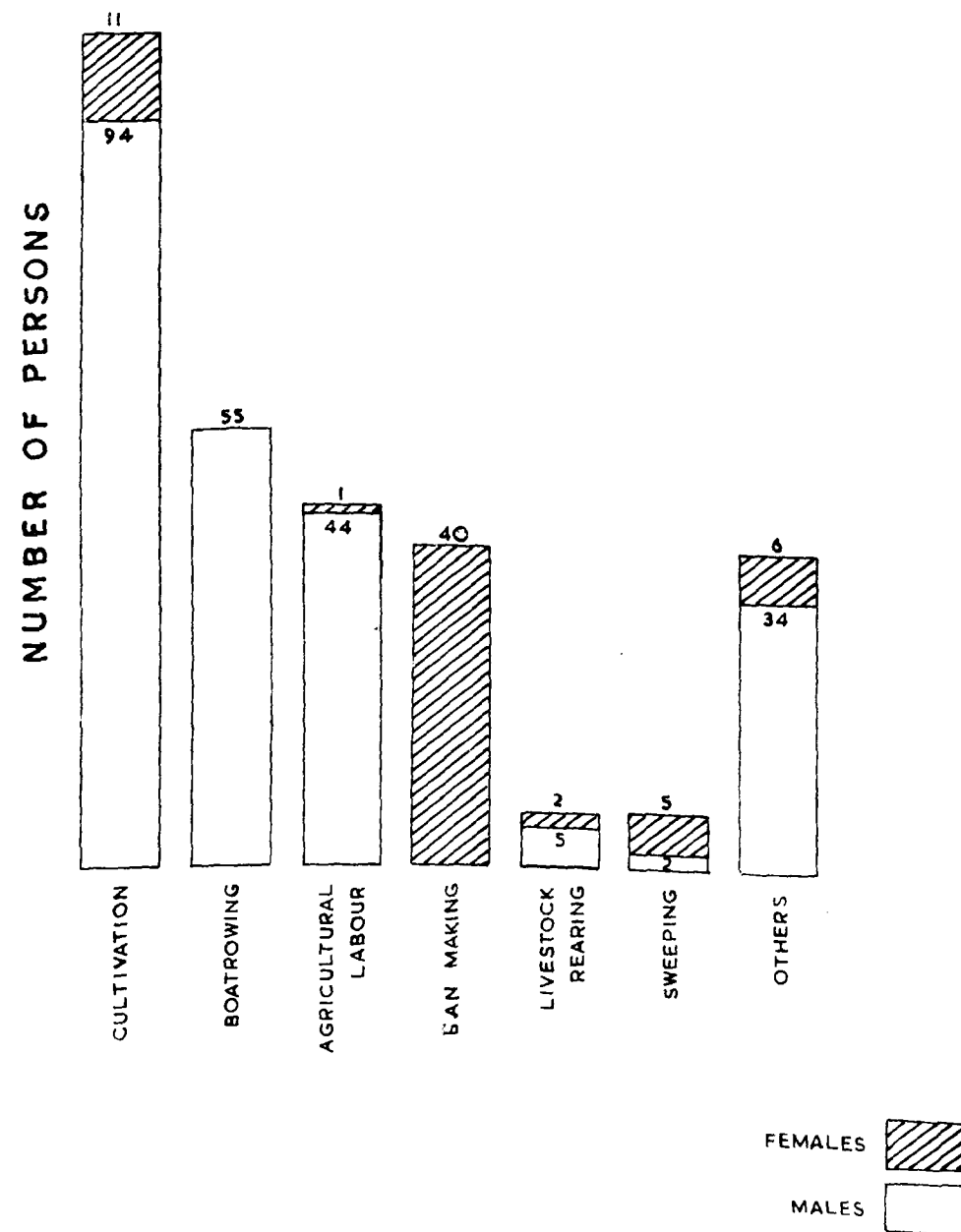
NUMBER OF WORKERS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUPS



OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN



WORKERS BY SEX & OCCUPATION



D. S. LAL

Occupation	Jatava	Dheenwar	Barhai	Brahmin	Rohar	Bishnoi	Saini	Gadariya	Jogi	Bhangi	Vaishya	Muslim	Total
5. Grocery	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
6. Domestic service	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
7. Halwai	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
8. Livestock rearing	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	7
9. String-making	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
10. Weaving	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6
11. Tailoring	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
12. Peon and watchman	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	5
13. Washerman	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
14. Barber	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
15. Sweeper	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	7
16. Carpenter	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
17. Chatai-making	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
18. Mill service	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	127	78	7	6	12	4	8	5	3	10	1	38	299

Out of 127 Jatava workers, 52 persons are in cultivation, 40 persons in string-making and 30 persons in agricultural labour, while out of 78 Dheenwar workers, 55 persons are engaged in boat-rowing and 13 persons in cultivation — the other occupations being farm service, grocery shop, domestic service, *halwai*, livestock rearing, *chatai*-making and chowkidari.

Change in Traditional Occupations

Table no. 3.2 provides a clear picture of the changes in the traditional occupations of various communities/castes. Among the Jatavas, cultivation, agricultural labour and string-making are the traditional occupations. Four Jatavas are engaged in livestock rearing and one in domestic service.

The traditional occupation of the Dheenwars is boat-rowing, in which 55 of them are engaged. In addition, 13 Dheenwars are engaged in cultivation, one in farm service, one in domestic service, one in livestock rearing, two in *chatai*-making, three as grocers, one as *halwai* and one as a watchman.

The Brahmins, Rohars, Gadariyas, and Vaishya are all engaged in cultivation only. In this village the Gadariyas do not rear sheep as in some other villages. The traditional occupation of the Jogis was the collection of alms but it has been given up in favour of cultivation and

service as watchman and peon. The only Vaishya in the village is engaged in agriculture. His father is a military officer. In Pakistan he was engaged in business but now he has taken to cultivation.

The Barhais are following their traditional occupation (carpentry)—six in the village and one in the sugar mill.

Out of the 10 Bhangi workers, seven are engaged as sweepers, two as watchmen and one as an agricultural labourer. Similarly, out of 4 Bishnoi workers, three are engaged in agriculture and the one who runs a grocery shop has migrated to this village about 3 years back from a neighbouring village. Out of the eight Saini workers, five are cultivators and three are agricultural labourers.

Out of the total Muslim population of 38 persons, seven persons are engaged in cultivation, eleven as agricultural labourers, six as weavers, five as barbers, three each as tailors and washermen, two in livestock rearing and one as a domestic servant. Weaving is not a profitable occupation and hence out of 15 workers of the weaver households, only six are working weavers while out of the remaining nine, two have become tailors, five agricultural labourers and one each is engaged in domestic service and livestock rearing.

Out of the 10 workers belonging to the Muslim Dhobi community, only three were found following the traditional occupation of washing clothes, while out of the remaining seven workers, four were agricultural labourers, two were cultivators and one was engaged in livestock rearing.

Out of the three workers belonging to the Muslim tailor community, one is working as a tailor whereas two have become agricultural labourers.

The barbers are sticking to their traditional occupation of hair-cutting.

Occupation Mobility—Nature of Aspirations

All the 146 heads of households were asked to indicate the nature of their aspirations in regard to the occupations to be followed by their sons.

Out of 58 households engaged in cultivation, 50 households want their sons to be cultivators, five households want their sons to enter service and one wants him to be a doctor. Most of the agricultural labourers want to be cultivators. The two weavers who have become tailors want to revert as weavers. Out of 35 households engaged in boat-rowing, 13 households want their sons to stick to this occupation while 14 households want to shift to cultivation and one to business. Households in the other occupations are more or less satisfied with their present occupation and are not, therefore, keen for a change.

Subsidiary Occupations

A study of subsidiary occupations among the Dheenwars and Jatavas was made. Among the Dheenwars the following subsidiary occupations are followed :—

Subsidiary Occupation	Number of Persons (all males) in the Occupation
1. Agricultural labour	14
2. Cultivation	11
3. Boat-rowing	8
4. Milk selling	1
5. Fishing	2
6. Grocery shop	1
7. Vegetable hawking	1
8. Contractor of forests	1
9. Motor engine driver	1

Thus agricultural labour, cultivation and boat-rowing are the most common subsidiary occupations being followed by the Dheenwars.

Among the Jatavas, the following subsidiary occupations are followed :—

Subsidiary Occupation	Number of Persons in the Occupation
1. Agricultural labour	5
2. Cultivation	3
3. Transport	2
4. Forest contractor	1
5. Musician	1
6. Rope-making	2

The small number of persons having subsidiary occupations is an index of the better economic condition of the Jatavas in this village.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the main occupation of the residents of this village, as 105 persons — 94 males and 11 females — out of the total of 299 workers were found engaged in cultivation as their main occupation and another 45 persons were found dependent on agriculture as labourers. In addition, some persons were found engaged in cultivation and agricultural labour as their secondary occupations.

The following table indicates the age-groups of workers in cultivation :—

TABLE NO. 3.3

Showing Workers in Cultivation classified by Sex and Age-groups

Age-group	Cultivation			Agricultural Labour		
	Number of Workers			Number of Workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	105	94	11	45	44	1
0—14	2	2	—	5	5	—
15—34	58	51	7	27	27	—
35—59	34	30	4	11	10	1
60 years and over	11	11	—	2	2	—

The number of female agricultural labourers is insignificant. In cultivation, only 10.5 per

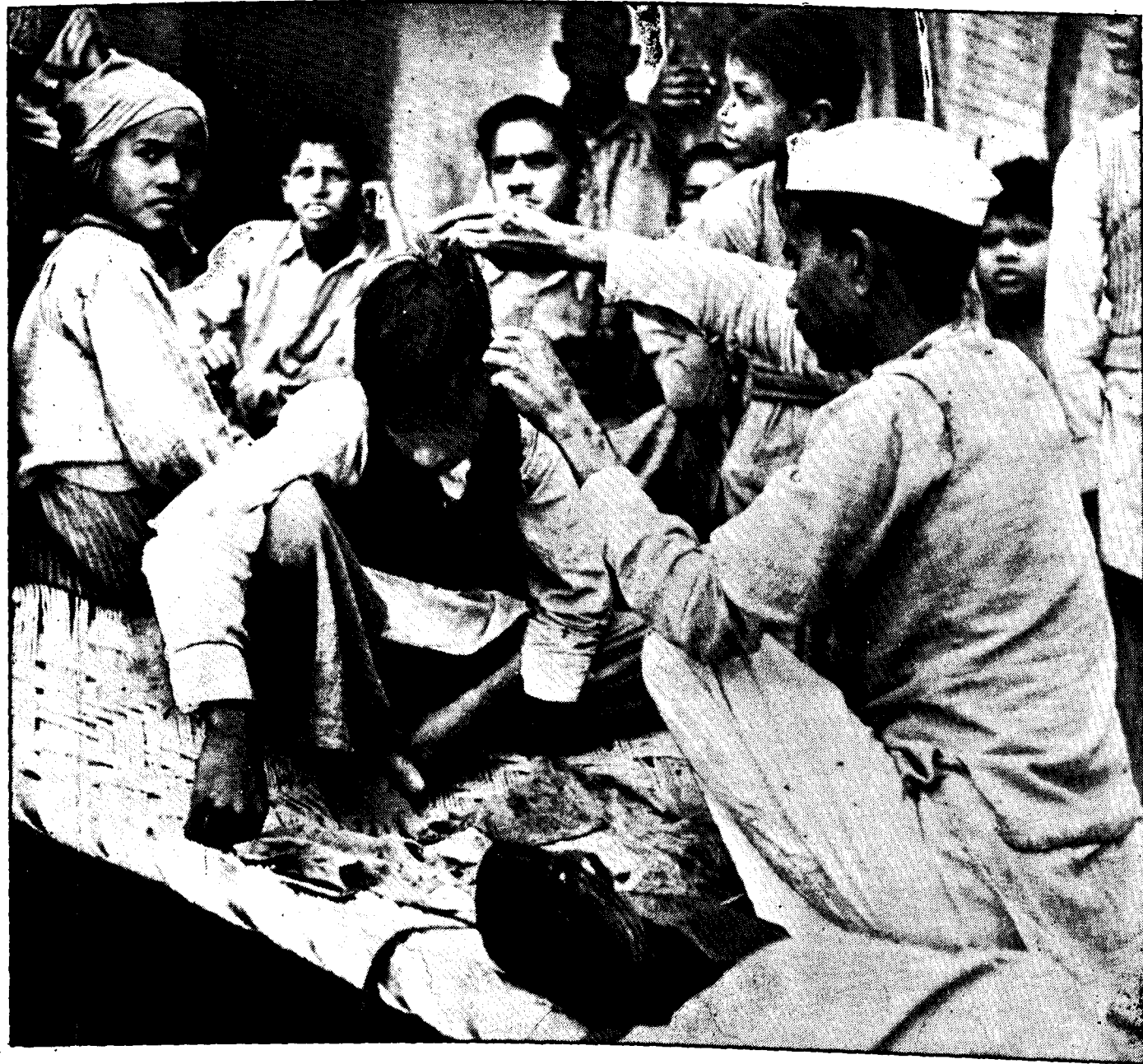
PLATE No. 13



The village carpenter busy in repairing some agricultural implements

— PHOTO BY RAMESH

PLATE No. 14



The village barber at work

— PHOTO BY RAMESH

cent workers are females. The number of workers in the age-group 0-14 years is small.

Floods and Soil

The village is unfortunately situated in the *khadar* of river Ganga and hence the land is liable to inundation every year. 'As a result of floods and erosion some of the fertile land is transformed into barren sand. River Malin, which divides the village and its hamlet Brahmapuri, also contributes its mite to the loss caused to standing crops and fertility of the soil. The deposits left behind by the rivers "when the waters recede after the annual floods differ with the nature of inundation: a strong current will carry away all but the heavier particles of sand, while a stream of less violence is beneficial in its action, as the mud settles gently with the result that the flooded ground is covered with a fertile layer of the richest loam." A large tract of land remains uncultivated in consequence. For example, during the year 1960-61, out of a total area of 2,695 acres as much as 2,068 acres or about 77 per cent of the land remained uncultivated. Similarly in 1958-59, 2,191 acres were not cultivated and in 1957-58, 2,176 acres remained uncultivated.

Nature of Soil

The natural soils of this village fall into four main divisions. "The first of these is *bhur* or sandy soil, in which the proportion of loam is extremely small: it is naturally of a very inferior description and only produces indifferent crops of the coarser grains. Next comes *bhur-sawai*, or sandy loam, in which sand still predominates; this is far superior to mere *bhur*, yielding fair crops of wheat, barley and sugarcane. The true loam is here known as *sawai*, a term equivalent to the *rausli* of the northern Doab and the *dumat* of other parts. Its very name denotes its exceptional fertility, and in appearance it is a light and friable soil; it is capable of producing every kind of crop, but is usually reserved for the more valuable staples, its fertility being enhanced by almost all the available supply of water and manure. Clay, known by the common name of *matiyar*, is highly productive in

seasons of suitable moisture, but in times of drought it becomes so stiff as to be quite unworkable. It is sown with all varieties of crops, but the greater portion is devoted to rice cultivation."

According to the Settlement Volume, the soil of the village is classified as follows:—

TABLE NO. 3.4

Showing Soil Classification and Rent

Class of Soil	Standard Rent		Statutory Rent	
	Rs. as.		Rs. as.	
1. Bara	10	5	10	15
2. Gochra I ..	6	14	7	6
3. Gochra II ..	3	8	3	12
4. Siwai I ..	5	14	6	5
5. Siwai II ..	3	3	3	5
6. Bhur I ..	2	6	2	8
7. Matiyar II ..	1	15	2	2
8. Khadar II ..	2	15	3	3
9. Khadar III ..	2	12	1	13

Bara, *Gochra I* and *Siwai I* are the best soils in the village. The land lying above the annual flood line is a good block of fair loam soil, except on the eastern side where it is sandy. In the *khadar* area there is a little cultivation on the middle northern side and on the south. The remainder of the area has a soil of poor quality and is covered with *bela* grass. The village is below average for *khadar*.

Irrigation

There are no means of irrigation in this village. Agriculture has to bank upon the vagaries of the rain god. With a little initiative and investment, water could be lifted from the two rivers Ganga and Malin and made available for cultivation, or a tube-well could have been installed in the village.

System of Land Tenure

At the time of the 10th Settlement in 1867, the zamindars of the village were Jawahar Lal and Kunji Lal, sons of Chuuni Lal Mahajan, a resident of village Mandawar. The total area of the village was 3,060 bighas and 15 biswas—386 bighas and 5 biswas of *ahtamali* land and 2,674 bighas and 10 biswas of *bila-ahtamali* land—with a total

land revenue of Rs.797/8/- (632/8/- for *ahtamali* and Rs.165 for *bila-ahtamali*) and customary payments of Rs.39/12/- and Rs.43/8/- as *Rasoom Patwari* and *Rasoom Nambardari* respectively.

The details of the land were as follows :—

1. <i>Ahtamali Land</i>		Bighas	Biswas
(a) Cultivated land	..	235	7
(b) Cultivable waste	..	74	11
(c) Barren	..	76	7
Total	..	386	5
2. <i>Bila-Ahtamali Land</i>		Bighas	Biswas
(a) Cultivated land	..	181	10
(b) Cultivable waste	..	1,698	6
(c) Barren	..	794	14
Total	..	2,674	10
GRAND TOTAL		3,060	15

Thus only 14 per cent of the area of the village was under cultivation.

Payment of rent was generally made in kind by the tenant to the zamindar who deposited the land revenue in the treasury. Out of the gross produce of one maund, the zamindar used to get 21 seers as rent and the cultivator the remaining 19 seers. Cash rents were charged for sugarcane @ Rs.10/8 per bigha, for *pairi* (sugarcane) @ Rs.5/4 per bigha, for *bari* (cotton) @ Rs.4/8 per bigha and for *chari* (fodder) @ Rs.3 per bigha. In addition Re.-/1/6 per rupee was to be paid as the expense of collection of rent.

The amount spent by the *Nambardar* on *Nat*, *Badi*, charity, repair of boundary pillars etc. was realised by him from the cultivators. He also realised a tax of 8 as. per *kargha* (loom) from the weavers. The entire income from *beend* and *poola* accrued to the zamindar. It was known as *sayar* income. All the trees growing naturally belonged to the zamindar. The tenants could fell trees in their holdings with the permission of the zamindar for agricultural implements only.

Houses could be constructed only with the permission of the zamindar. No grazing dues

were to be paid. Compost dumps of non-agriculturists were the property of the zamindar. Carcasses were to be removed by the village *Chamar* who was expected to supply *nari* and *santa* free to the cultivators. One maund of grain per household was to be paid by the cultivators to the carpenters and blacksmiths for the services rendered by them.

Sanitation of the village was the responsibility of the zamindar. There was only one *pukka* well in the village for drinking water. An area of 10 bighas and 17 biswas was irrigated from river *Malin* but none from river *Ganga*.

In 1359 Fasli (1951-1952 A.D.) the following types of tenants were found :—

	Acres
1. Sir	16
2. <i>Khudkasht</i>	305
3. Occupiers without consent	1
4. Grantees	2
5. Ex-proprietary tenants	2
6. Occupancy tenants	45
7. Hereditary tenants	1,171
Total	1,542

U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950

With the dawn of political freedom, the State government decided to do away with the much-maligned Zamindari system which was established by the British for reasons of expediency and administrative convenience. It was strongly felt "that without a radical change in the existing land system no co-ordinated plan of rural reconstruction can be undertaken to ensure agricultural efficiency and increased food production, to raise the standard of living of rural masses and to give opportunities for the full development of the peasants' personality." The new system was expected to restore to the cultivator "the rights and the freedom which were his and to the village community the supremacy which it exercised over all the elements of village life."

The U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950 provided for the acquisition of intermediaries' rights on payment of compen-

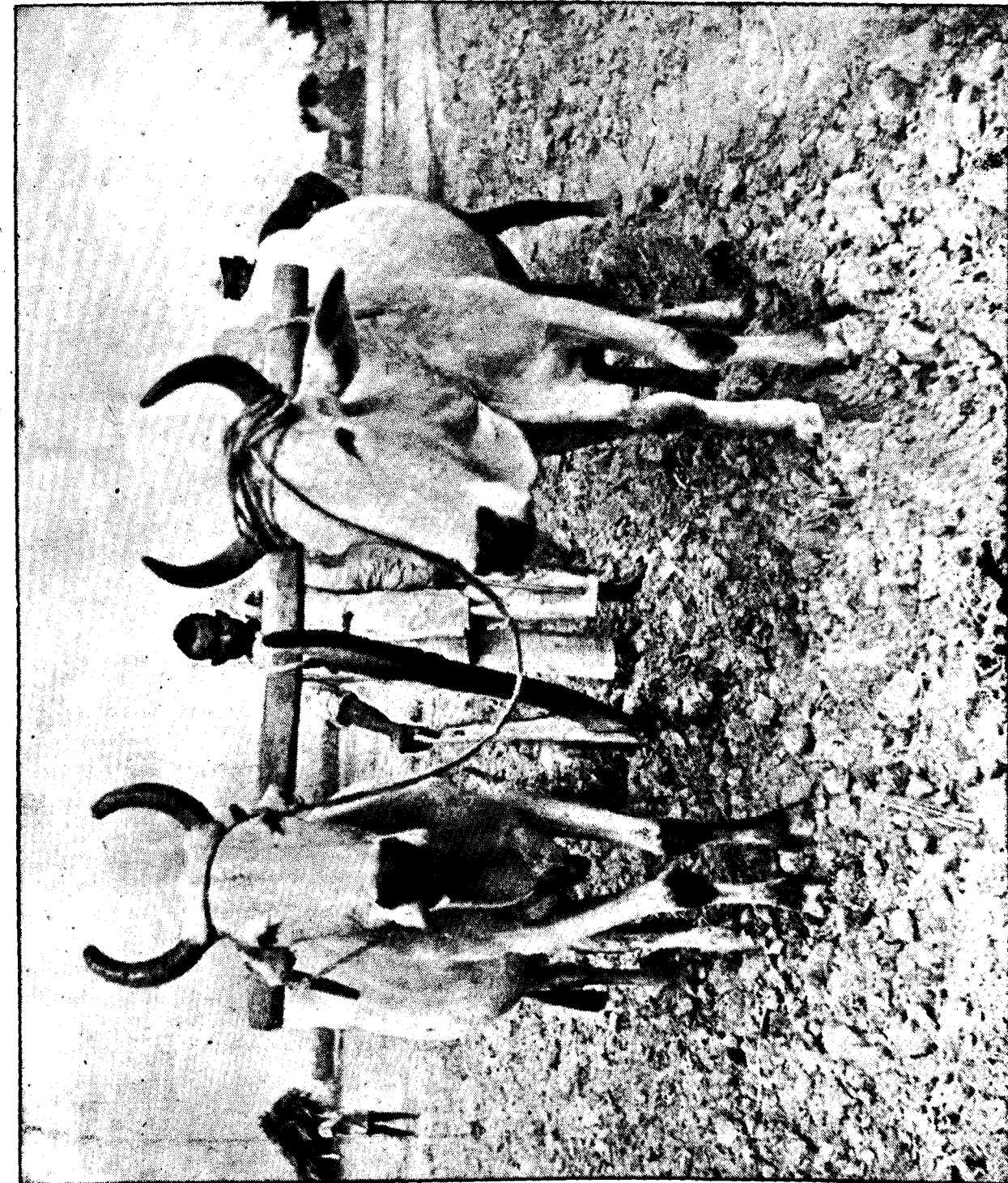


PLATE No. 15

Ploughing the fields
— PHOTO BY RANESH



A heavy wood roller used for making the ploughed fields even
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

sation at 8 times of their net assets. The tenants were asked to make voluntary contributions of 10 times their rent—this would provide finance for the speedy abolition of zamindari, check inflation and utilise the peasants' savings for a productive purpose. The tenants who made this contribution were called *Bhumidhars* and were entitled to transferable rights in their holdings and paid land revenue 50 per cent of their existing rent.

The bewildering variety of land tenures was substituted by a simple and uniform scheme of two main forms of land tenure. The intermediaries in respect of their *Sir*, *Khudkasht* and groves were classed as *Bhumidhars*. So did also the tenants who paid an amount equal to 10 times their rent. The remaining tenants were called *Sirdars* with permanent and heritable rights in land, the right to use their land for any purpose connected with agriculture, horticulture or animal husbandry, and to make any improvements.

A minor form of land tenure called *Asami* which applied to but a small number of men included non-occupancy tenants of land in which stable rights could not be given, such as tracts of shifting or unstable cultivation, and persons to whom land would be let in future by *Bhumidhars* or *Sirdars* who were incapable of cultivating the land themselves. To prevent the re-emergence of the landlord-tenant system it was considered necessary to restrict the right of letting in the case of *Bhumidhars* as well as *Sirdars* only to disabled persons, such as minors, widows and persons suffering from physical or mental infirmity.

The general body of tenants of *Sir*, to whom hereditary rights could not accrue, and of the sub-tenants were given security of tenure for a period of 5 years after which they could, on payment of 15 times the hereditary rate or the rent of their tenant-in-chief, acquire *Bhumidhari* rights.

All lands of common utility, such as *abadi* sites, pathways, wastelands, forests, fisheries, public wells, tanks and water channels vested in the village community or the Gaon Samaj consisting of all the residents of the village as well

as *pahikasht* cultivators. The Gaon Panchayat acting on behalf of the village community was entrusted with wide powers of land management. This measure, which made the village a small republic and a co-operative community, was intended to facilitate economic and social development and to encourage the growth of responsibility and community spirit.

After the abolition of zamindari, the system of land tenure was simplified. At the time of survey the area of land under various land tenures was as follows:—

TABLE NO. 3.5

Showing Area of Land under various Land Tenures

Tenure	Area Acres	Percentage
Bhumidhari ..	620	23
Sirdari ..	534	20
Asami ..	73	3
Gaon Samaj land ..	1,468	54
Total ..	2,695	100

The tenants have to pay less rent now, since the intermediary has been eliminated. They are no longer subject to the tyranny of the zamindar. They are free to bring about any improvement on their land. They feel inspired and work harder.

Land Utilisation

It has already been pointed out that in 1960-61, 77 per cent of the total area of the village remained uncultivated, whereas 80.7 per cent and 81 per cent of the total area could not be cultivated in 1957 and 1958 respectively, just because this high percentage of land was not fit for cultivation. In most of the area within the flood line only *beend*, *poola*, *moonj* and *jhau* suburbs grow. Wherever thick layers of *pank* or alluvium are left on the sandy track by the receding river in successive years, the land is reclaimed and brought under cultivation. It is, however, a risky investment because the *kharij* crop might be flooded any time.

Size Of Holdings

An important aspect of land utilisation is the average size of holdings in a village. The holdings are continually sub-divided on every succession, in accordance with the existing laws of inheritance. As a result of this continued process some of the holdings become too small to support the holders and their families. Hence the cultivator has either to acquire fresh land or to further reduce his standard of living. If he does neither, he will have to run into debt and ultimately join the rank of landless labourers.

The following table shows the number of plots in the different size ranges :—

TABLE NO. 3.6
Showing Number of Plots under Different Size Ranges

Size of Plot	Number of Plots	Percentage
Bighas		
0—1	310	44.3
1—5	348	49.71
5—10	15	2.14
10—15	5	0.71
15—20	3	0.43
20 and over	19	2.71

Evidently, as many as 310 plots out of a total of 700 plots are less than one bigha each in area. In fact, 94.01 per cent of the plots fall in the range of 0-5 bighas. The number of plots in the range of 10-20 bighas is only 8, whereas 19 plots have an area of 20 bighas each or more. Most of the big plots are simply wasteland. The small size of holdings leads to uneconomic cultivation which is being followed only as a mode of life and not as a profitable concern by the majority of the cultivators.

The small holdings of cultivators are rarely in a compact block but are made up of small fields scattered all over the village. "Each heir invariably demands his share of each item of the property, his share in every kind of soil, of every well, tank, house, grass and pasture land, of roads and paths, and even of individual trees. The disadvantages are obvious. The nearer

fields are apt to be over-worked and the remote once neglected. It involves waste of labour in moving manure, implements and water to a distance. Waste of land in providing boundaries, and waste of time in going to and fro between the fields. It facilitates damage by theft and cattle trespass; makes the use of labour-saving machinery difficult and it restrains cultivators from attempting improvements."*

Harvest

Only *kharif* and *rabi* crops are grown in the village. No *zaid* crops are raised. The crops sown in rains with the commencement of monsoon in June and reaped towards the end of October are called *kharif* crops. They require much water for their growth and are, therefore, sown as soon as the monsoon rain commences. The *rabi* crops follow the *kharif* crops and are generally harvested in April.

The main *kharif* crops are sugarcane, paddy, maize, cotton, *bajra*, *jowar-chari*, *sawan*, *sanai*, *dhaincha*, etc. and the main *rabi* crops are wheat, barley, gram and *sarson*. Of the two important crops, *kharif* or autumn harvest assumes the more prominent position, largely exceeding the *rabi* or spring crop in point of area covered. In the *fasli* year 1359, the *kharif* crops were sown over 820 acres and the *rabi* crops over 671 acres. In the *fasli* year 1368, the *kharif* crops were sown over 347 acres and the *rabi* crops over 270 acres. Thus, in both the *fasli* years under study the *kharif* crops covered about 55 per cent of the total area harvested.

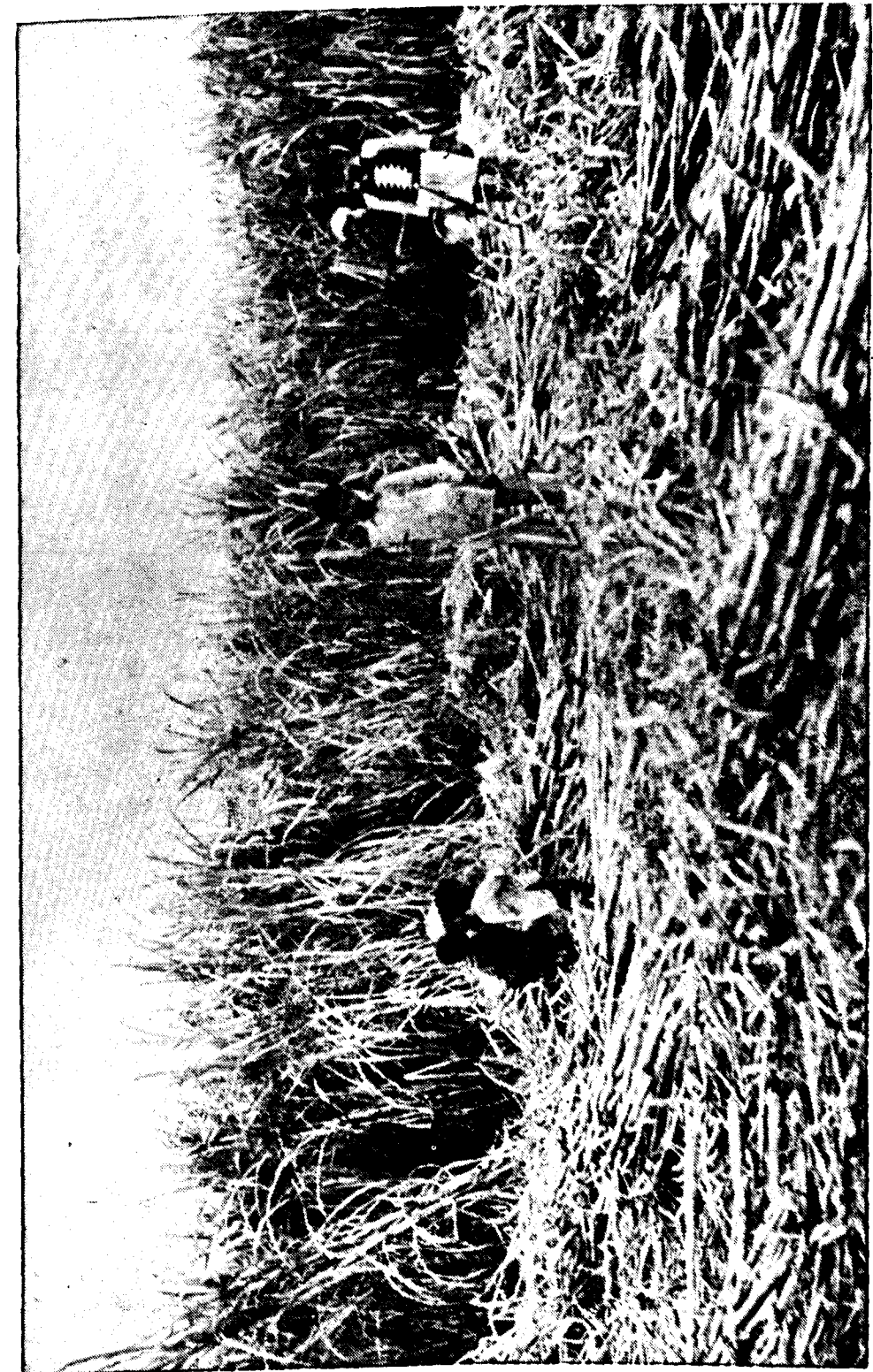
The total area sown during the year 1359 F was 1491 acres but it was reduced to 617 acres during the year 1368 F because a large area usually put under cultivation was washed away by the rivers Ganga and Malin.

Double-Cropping

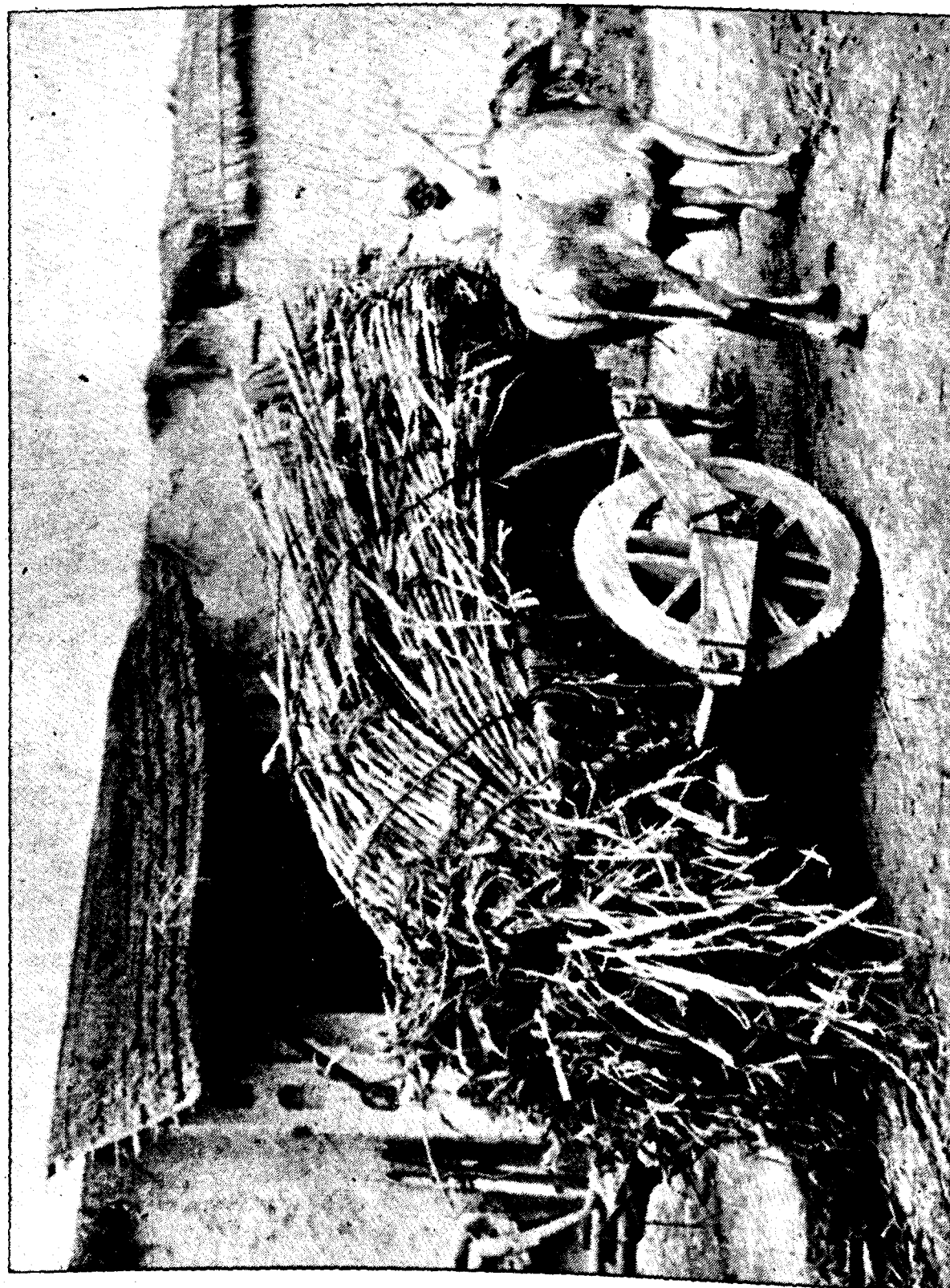
During the year 1359 F an area of 463 acres was double-cropped but in the year 1368 F it was reduced to 90 acres only.

*Turner, A.C. : *Census Report of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* 1931, Vol. XVIII, Part I, page 47.

PLATE No. 17



Harvesting the sugarcane crop
— PHOTO BY RAMESH



A bullock cart carrying sugarcane
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

Sugarcane

Among the various *kharif* crops the most important crop is sugarcane, which occupied 264 acres or 32.19 per cent of the *kharif* area during 1359 F and 214 acres or 61.70 per cent during 1368 F. Sugarcane is becoming popular because it is a cash crop. The area under this crop during the last five years was as follows:—

Fasli Year	Area in acres
1364	289
1365	139
1366	138
1367	206
1368	214

The crop occupies the ground for the whole year. The cost of cultivation is also high because of intensive manuring, as many as twenty ploughings before planting and constant weeding and digging in the earlier stages. Even then the average profit is quite attractive.

Generally sugarcane of type no. 245, 527 and 456 is produced in the village. Most of the sugarcane is purchased by the sugar mill at Bijnor. It is conveniently delivered at the weighing centre of the mill at Kuti from where it is transported by the mill trucks. Sugarcane which cannot be sold away to the mill is purchased by an outside businessman who turns it into *rab* by fixing crusher and pan locally.

Paddy

Next to sugarcane comes paddy, another crop of some value. In the year 1359 F paddy was sown over an area of 445 acres or 54.27 per cent of area cultivated during *kharif* season. In the year 1368 F paddy occupied only 60 acres or 17.29 per cent of the total area under *kharif* crop. Much of the paddy growing area has been washed away by the river Ganga. The area under this crop during the last five years was as follows:—

Fasli Year	Area in acres
1364	56
1365	95
1366	166
1367	56
1368	60

Thus the paddy crop reached its pinnacle of 166 acres in 1366 F during which year a large

paddy growing area was eroded. Adequate water is not available for this crop and hence the Japanese method of paddy cultivation has not been adopted by the local cultivators. Instead of transplantation, seeds are sown in the furrows created by the plough. *Munji* paddy of an inferior quality is produced in this village.

Other Kharif Crops

A little maize is also produced in the village. *Bajra* and cotton are not produced in the village any longer. During 1359 F cotton was sown over six acres and *bajra* over 10 acres.

In 1368 F *dhaincha* and *sanai* were grown over 38 acres for being used as a green manure. Formerly these crops were not raised. *Satan* and *gowar chari* are also grown to some extent.

Wheat

In the *rabi*, the most important crop is wheat. In 1359 F wheat was sown over 13 acres only but the area increased to 164 acres in 1368 F. Thus from 1.9 per cent the area under wheat has gone up to 60.7 per cent of the total acreage in *rabi*. The area under wheat during the last 5 years has been as follows:—

Fasli Year	Acreage
1364	174
1365	123
1366	108
1367	Not known.
1368	164

Wheat thrives in conditions exactly the reverse of those suited for rice. Hence it is grown on land where rice does not grow. In this village wheat of type nos. 718 and 591 is grown by some of the farmers. The traditional method of wheat cultivation is followed.

Other Rabi Crops

The area under other *rabi* crops during the last five years has been as follows:—

Fasli Year	Acreage		
	Gujar	Bajhar	Barley
1364	29	23	23
1365	34	45	45
1366	53	25	45
1367	Not known		
1368	9	36	26

Gujai is a mixture of wheat and barley whereas *baijhar* is a mixture of wheat and gram. In this village, gram is not grown at all.

Manure

Usually compost manure prepared from refuse dumps in the traditional manner is used in this village. Some persons have started using green manure such as *dhaincha* and *sanai* to some extent only. In the *fasli* year 1368 *dhaincha* was sown over 34 acres for being utilised as green manure. Also *sanai* was sown over an area of four acres for this very purpose. During the last year only 35 bags of chemical fertilizers were used for the wheat crop and another 30 bags were used for the sugarcane crop. Chemical fertilizers in the sugarcane crop are being used at the instance of the Cane Society. The villagers do not seem to have been fully convinced of the utility of chemical fertilizers. Non-availability of water in a regulated manner is another reason of the farmers not using chemical fertilizers.

Crop Diseases and Pests

Sugarcane is attacked by *kanswa*, *sukha rog* and *chempa*. The disease known as *kanswa* catches the cane plant in its infancy. It starts at the root of the plant which becomes yellow and dried-up. Only four cultivators were reported to have used some insecticides for holding this disease in check with roughly 75 per cent success. *Sukha rog* is a sort of epidemic for the sugarcane plants which, when affected, become red and dried-up. If the plants so affected are not sorted out and weeded, other plants also get the infection. No cure is known for this disease. The disease known as *chempa* starts from the uppermost part of the plant which becomes a bit yellow and its juice becomes salty. No cure for this disease is known to the cultivators.

The pest commonly attacking the paddy crop is known as *gundhi* or *sarwara*. When there is a drought for sometime the *gundhi* bug appears just like a swarm of locusts and within a day

or two sucks out the milk of the plant and its fruit just when it is at the threshold of maturity. The five per cent B. H. C. solution for the prevention of this disease is not used by the villagers.

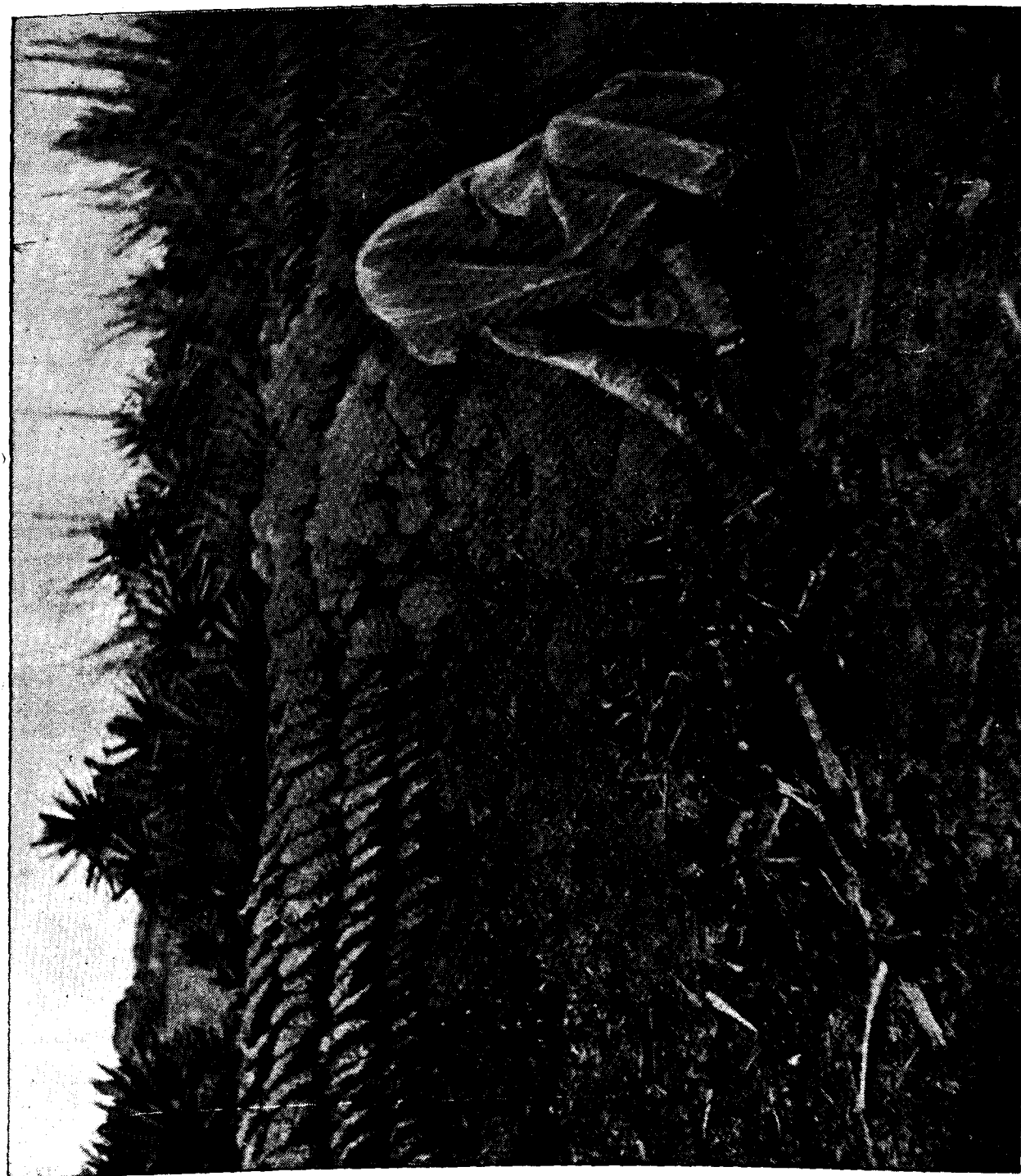
The wheat crop is generally affected by the disease known as *girwa*. If there is more rain during the winter season the crop becomes yellow and the produce falls down. The poet Ghagh has said :—

'Neeche aus aur uper badarai,
Kahai Ghagh girwa aye'.

If there is plenty of dew and rain, *girwa* sets in. *Kajana* is yet another disease affecting the wheat crop. When the crop is attacked by this disease, the ears of wheat become black. No preventive or curative measures are known to the cultivators.

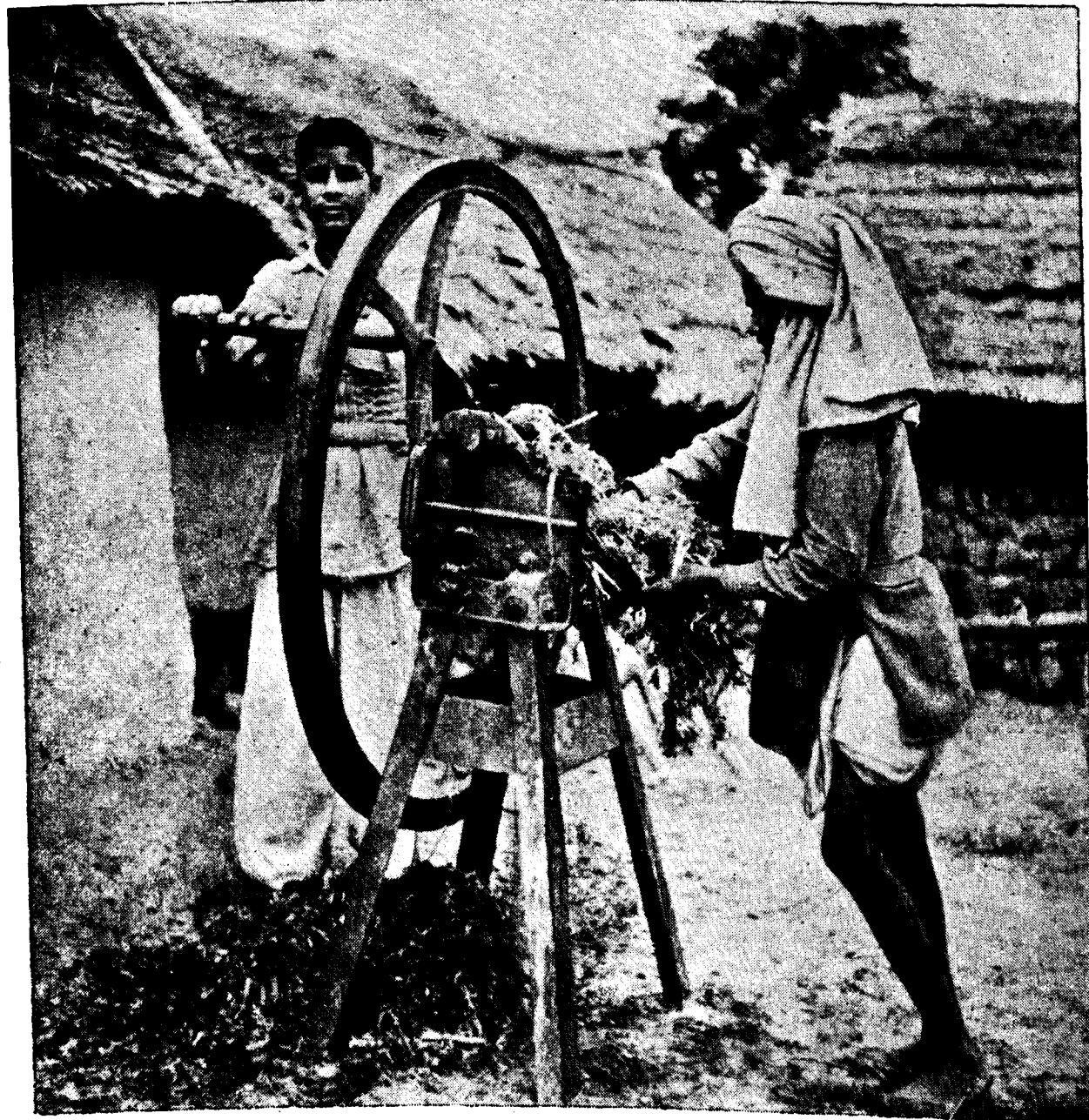
Agricultural Implements

Except for one cultivator who is using a tractor and other modern types of implements, all the cultivators are using indigenous ploughs and other implements. Twenty cultivators were found using the iron plough. The indigenous plough which costs about Rs.15.00 only is prepared by the village carpenter. Similarly the *patela* or clod-breaker costs an equal amount and is prepared locally. The *lakkhar*, which is a big and heavy roller made of wood and is rolled across the fields by a pair of bullocks for breaking big clods and for making the surface of fields even, costs about Rs.200. Only the richer farmers can purchase it. Besides this, the yoke, spades, sickles, *khurpis*, hand *gandas* and other implements are used by all cultivators. Some of them were found in possession of chaff-cutters. Almost every well-to-do cultivator has a bullock cart. About half a dozen bullock carts with pneumatic tyre wheels are being used in the village. They go more smoothly and put a smaller strain on the bullocks as compared to the traditional bullock cart with wooden wheels.



An old woman busy in preparing dung cakes — PHOTO BY RAMESH

PLATE No. 20



Cutting grass by a chaff-cutter

— PHOTO BY RAMESH

Crop Yield

The average yield of the important crops as pointed out by the cultivators is given below:—

TABLE NO. 3.7

Showing Average Yield

Crop	Seed per Acre (Seers)	Produce per Acre (Mds.)
1. Wheat	35—40	15
2. Barley	35—40	18
3. Paddy	30	20—24
4. Sugarcane	..	1,000

Thus the yield is normal — neither high nor low.

The following figures indicate the total annual produce of various crops in the village as returned by the residents of the village at the time of survey:—

TABLE NO. 3.8

Showing Quantity Produced and Sold

Name of Product	Annual Quantity produced	Total consumed by Producer	Quantity sold
1. Paddy	772 mds.	670 mds.	102 mds.
2. Maize	26 "	26 "	..
3. Millets	20 "	20 "	..
4. Sugarcane	76,500 "	1,500 "	75,000 "
5. Vegetables	Rs. 135	Rs. 65	Rs. 70
6. Wheat	1,572 mds.	800 mds.	772 mds.
7. Bajjhar	13 "	13 "	..
8. Wheat and gram	60 "	60 "	..
9. Barley	320 "	275 "	45 "
10. Barley and gram	340 "	280 "	60 "
11. Masur	10 "	10 "	..
12. Fruits	75 "	60 "	15 "

Thus during the year 1368 F the village sold 75,000 maunds of sugarcane, 102 maunds of paddy, 772 maunds of wheat, 45 maunds of barley, 60 maunds of barley and gram, 15 maunds of fruits, and vegetables valued at Rs.70.

Marketing

Sugarcane for the mill is supplied at the weighing centre Kuti within the village area. The

payment is made by the mill to the Cane Society which makes the payment to the individual cultivators in due course. Whatever sugarcane is left is sold to an outside businessman at Kuti against cash payment.

Surplus grain and other produce are taken to Bijnor or Mandawar for sale.

There is no Co-operative Marketing Society in the village.

Sources of Finance

There is no Co-operative Credit Society for the village. Hence in time of need money has to be borrowed from traditional money-lenders from Moradabad, popularly known as *Soodiyas* (from Urdu *sood*, meaning interest). They advance money on easy terms and realise Rs.11 for every Rs.10 advanced within one year, in monthly instalments of Re.1. They visit the village almost every month, realising the arrears and advancing fresh money.

Organisation of Man Power

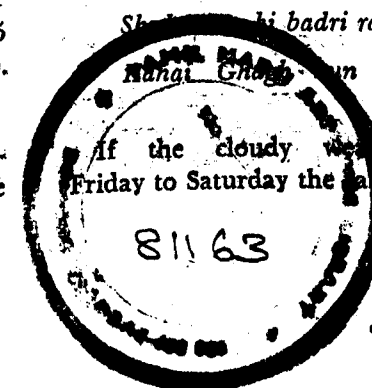
The agricultural operations are generally performed by the adult males assisted by the younger males sometimes. Females of the Jatava community usually extend a helping hand to the males. Women of the higher castes do not work in agriculture. Out of 105 persons engaged in agriculture, only 11 or 10.05 per cent are females—7 of them being in the 15—34 years age-group and 4 in the 35—59 years age-group. Similarly out of 45 agricultural labourers only one is a woman.

Proverbs relating to Agricultural Operations and Seasons

It is common belief that a crop should be sown on Wednesday and harvested on Tuesday. Some sayings of the poet Ghagh pertaining to rain were known to the villagers, e.g.,

Sh... badri rahi Shanichar chhaye
Manghi Ghagh... bin barse
nahi jai

If the cloudy weather continues from Friday to Saturday the rains will be sure. Some



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of the other popular sayings are reproduced below:—

(1) *Kal se pani garm hai chiryan nahawe*
dhur

Anda lai chinti charhai to warsha bharpur

If water is hot, birds are having a dust bath and ants are found carrying their eggs, it is a sure indication of heavy rains.

(2) *Asarh ki neend kisan ko khoway*

Chor ko khoway khansi

If a cultivator sleeps away his time in the month of *Asarh* he is ruined just as the thief is ruined by cough, thereby indicating that the cultivator should be more laborious during the month of *Asarh*.

(3) *Asarh ki bigari Asarh men sudharay*

It may take complete one year to recoup the loss caused by idleness in the month of *Asarh*.

(4) *Jitna gehra joto khait*

Beej pare achha phal day

Deep ploughing of the field gives a good crop.

(5) *Kachcha khait na jote koi*

Nahi beej na ankure hoi

If a field is not properly ploughed the seed would not grow up.

(6) *Dhan pan ukhera tino pani ke chaira*

The cultivation of paddy, sugarcane and betel needs lot of water.

(7) *Meh para suyo naj bhara kuyo*

If there is rain after a few days of the sowing of crops it is an indication of bumper crops.

(8) *Chana adhpaka jau paka gehun latka kate*

Gram should be harvested when it is half ripe, barley should be harvested when it is ripe and wheat should be harvested when it is over-ripe and dry.

(9) *Bhoola phire kisan katik mange meh*

Rain during the month of *Kartik* is considered harmful.

While setting fire to the *Holi* pyre, if the wind is blowing towards north-east the crop is expected to be good whereas if it blows towards south it is expected to be bad. Similarly, if the weather on *Basant Panchmi* day is cloudy it is an indication of bad days for the crop.

Livestock

The drought cattle play an important part in the agricultural economy of the village. They are in fact treated as important members of the household. Among the Hindus there is a great sentimental attachment for the livestock especially the cow, called mother, and her progeny.

Only 73 households own drought bullocks their total number being 208. One unit of 2 bullocks has to plough about 6 acres of land. The strain on cattle is not consequently heavy. All the bullocks are of ordinary indigenous breed. There are no arrangements for improvement in the breed of the bullocks except for a bull of improved variety maintained by the *Panchayat*.

Out of the 146 households, only 27 households own 33 milch cattle. The milk supply in the village is apparently poor. There are 307 other types of cattle. Two *Bhangi* households have domesticated 15 pigs. The nearest Veterinary Assistant Surgeon is stationed at *Mandawar*.

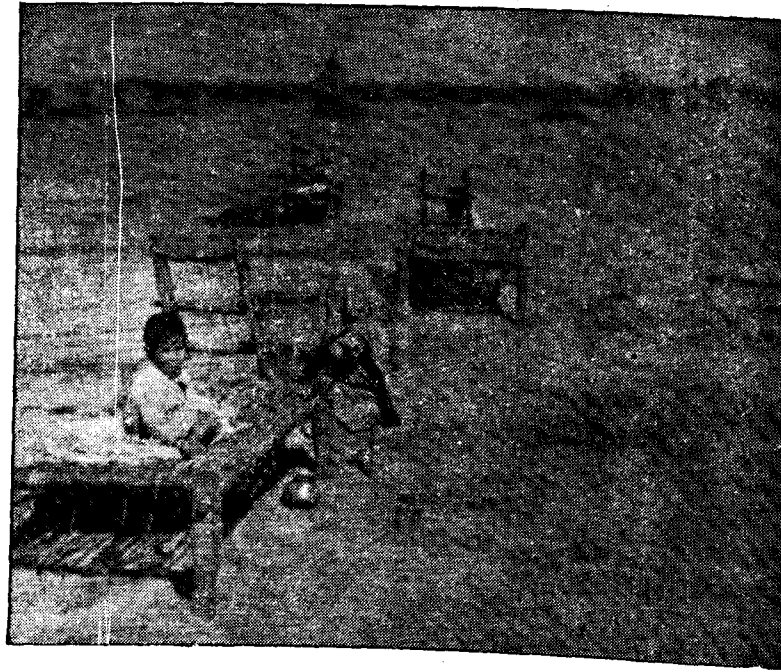
Fish is found in abundance in rivers *Ganga* and *Lahpi* but none in *Malin*. Four *Dheenwar*, viz., *Chhotey*, *Ram Karan*, *Nathu* and *Kripal* are generally engaged in fishing as a subsidiary occupation. The most busy period for fishing is during winter. Water in the river is dirty during the rainy season and hence no fishing is possible. Besides, it is not free from risk.

Fishing is done only during the dark fortnight with the help of a 6-cell torch and a spear locally called *taint*. Three persons start on a small boat called *daungi* in the early hours of the night. The two assistants are generally paid @ Rs.2.25 per night. The fisherman directs the

PLATE No. 21



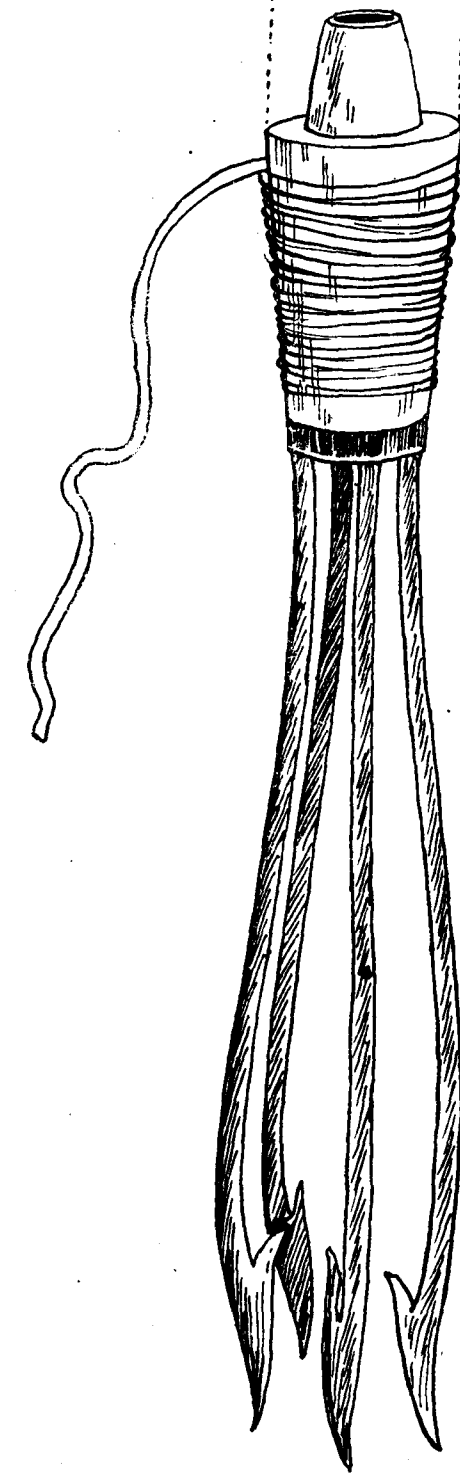
A woman busy in weaving chatai
— PHOTO BY RAMESH



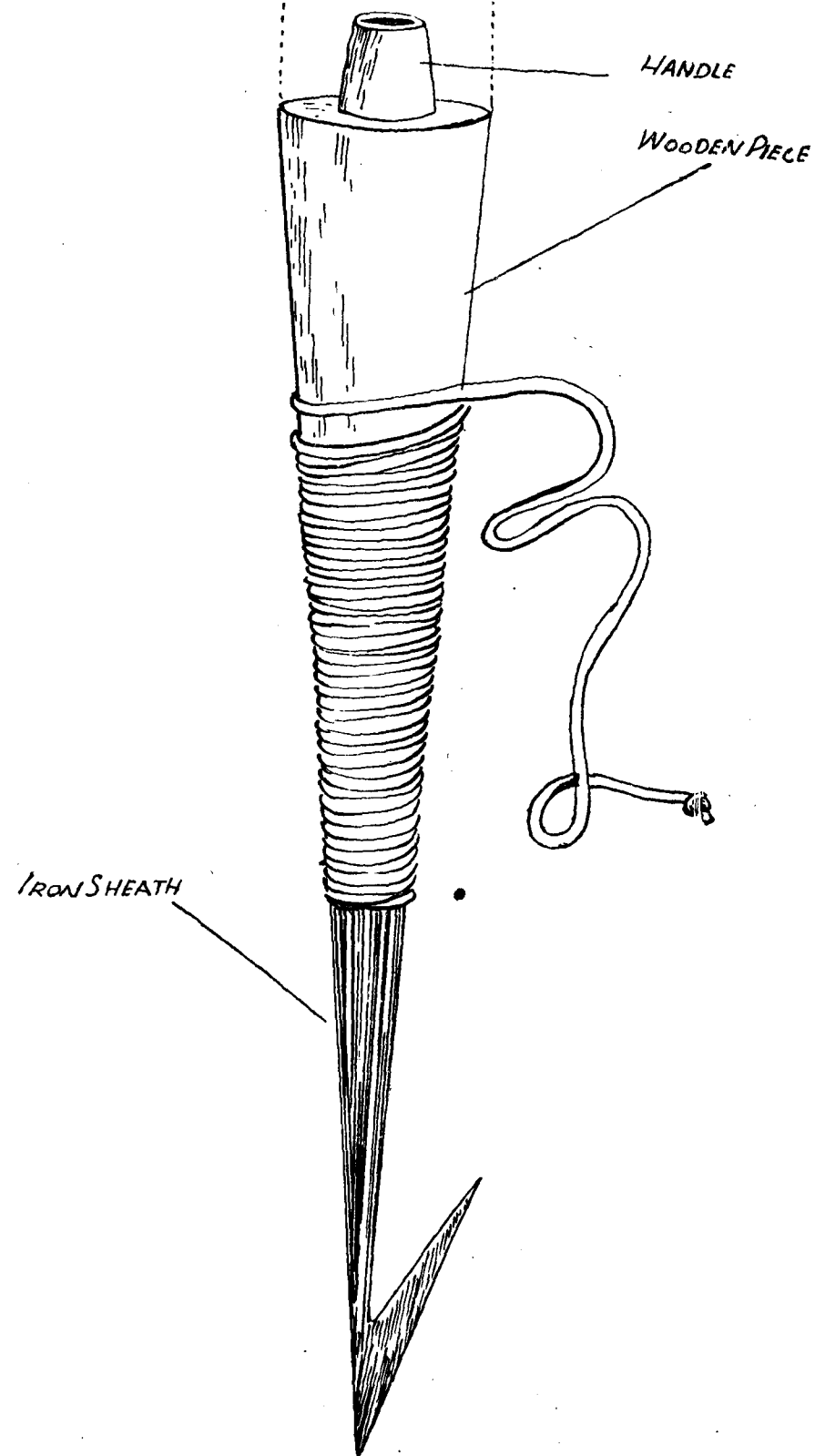
A veiled Jatava woman busy in making bhabhar string (ban) with the help of charkhi on a field
— PHOTO BY RAMESH



The village basket-maker of Dheenwar caste who does this work in leisure time
— PHOTO BY RAMESH



Taint (multi-pronged spear) used for fishing
— PHOTO BY RAMESH



Taint (spear) used for crocodile hunting

strong torchlight in the water. The fish under water are dazed. Feeling attracted towards the flood of light they come to the surface to be attacked by the multi-pronged spear of the fisherman. Fishing nets are not used. The catch varies from 30 seers to 60 seers per night. The varieties generally found are locally known as *kirar* or *singhara*, *lanchi*, *goonch*, *rahu*, *sauhal* etc. The fish are sold in the village to contractors from Bijnor or Mandawar. The sale price varies between Re.1 per seer in winter and 50 naya Paise per seer in summer. During the four months of winter, the average income from fishing is between Rs.150 and Rs.200 per month.

Village Industries

String (*ban*) making, weaving and *chatai* making are the main industries followed in the village. *Moonj*, out of which *ban* or strings are prepared on a *charkhi*, is available in abundance in the vicinity of the village at a cheap price. All the 40 workers in string-making industry are females of the Jatava community — 27 of them being in the age-group 35—59 years. They are engaged in this industry for about 4 months of winter only. On an average, they are able to earn about Rs.20 per month from this industry. The *ban* is sold in the weekly markets or at Bijnor and Mandawar. No special tools or equipments are required except for a *charkhi* for winding the strings. It requires very ordinary skill and hence no training is required.

As regards weaving, only six males are engaged in this industry. They prepare *garha* or *gazi* (coarse khaddar cloth) on their indigenous *kargha*. *Dotais* for being spread on cots are also manufactured. The skill is traditional. None of the workers has received any technical training in the art. As already pointed out, some of the weavers have adopted other occupations after being thrown out of this unprofitable industry.

Only two males of the Dheenwar community are engaged in *chatai*-making in their spare time. *Patera* grass, the raw material used in the process, is available in plenty in the village. The *chatais* are sold in weekly village markets.

Boat Rowing.

Boat rowing is an important occupation of this village. This occupation is followed by 55 Dheenwar or Mallah males of 35 households — 6 in the age-group 0—14 years, 28 in the age-group 15—34 years, 17 in the age-group 35—59 years and 4 in the age-group 60 years and over. In all 196 persons are dependant on this source of livelihood. During the period when there is no bridge of boats across Ganga, they ply boats on the Raoli ferry as employees of the P. W. D. contractor while during the summer and winter seasons more than half the Mallahs migrate to Rishikesh and Hardwar for boat-rowing and collecting timber sleepers which are flown in the waters of Ganga from the upper course by contractors. Some of the Dheenwar households have adequate land under cultivation but they too sometimes work in this profession for supplementing their income.

The monthly income of the 35 households from boat-rowing was reported as follows:—

Income	Number of Households
Less than Rs. 25	..
Rs. 26—50	25
Rs. 51—75	3
Rs. 76—100	2
Rs. 101 and over	3

Other Occupations

Other workers in the village are 3 tailors, 6 carpenters, 1 *halwai*, 4 grocers, 3 washermen, 5 barbers and 7 sweepers. They generally work for this village. One person is engaged in basket-making as a subsidiary occupation in his spare time.

Non-workers

Out of the 795 persons in the village only 299 are workers and the remaining 496 persons are non-workers. Thus 62.3 per cent of the population was found dependant upon 37.7 per cent of the population. The following table shows

the non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity:—

TABLE NO. 3.9

Showing Non-workers by Sex, Age-groups and activity

	All Ages			0—14		15—34		35—59		60 & over	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Total	496	191	305	181	171	3	71	3	48	4	15
2. Non-workers											
2. Full-time Students	26	19	7	16	7	3	..	..	..	..	..
3. Household Duties	134	..	134	..	8	..	71	..	48	..	7
4. Dependants	325	169	156	165	156	..	..	3	..	1	..
5. Retired Persons, Rentiers etc.	11	3	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	8

Thus 65.5 per cent of the non-workers consist of dependants, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled and 27 per cent of the non-workers consist of females engaged only in household duties.

Indebtedness

The following table shows the extent of indebtedness in the village at the time of survey:—

TABLE NO. 3.10

Showing Indebtedness

Income group	Households		Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Debt	
	Total	In Debt		Per Household in Debt	Total
Rs.				Rs.	Rs.
25 & below	5	39	51.31	165.54	6,456
26—50	76	10	47.61	250.50	2,505
51—75	21	7	43.75	380.00	2,660
76—100	16	13	46.43	523.07	6,800
Over 100	28	..	..	..	..
ALL GROUPS	146	69	47.26	266.97	18,421

Out of 146 households, 69 households or 47.26 per cent were found in debt. The highest percentage of households in debt is in the income group of Rs.26—50. The amount of average indebtedness per household increases with the increase in income. Debt is incurred in connection with cultivation, purchase of land, performance of marriage, illness and to some extent day-to-day domestic expenditure.

The debt is generally obtained from the *soodiyas* whose *munims* come periodically to the village for advancing money or realising the

instalments. Loans are also advanced by some well-to-do families in the village. The rate of interest is quite high. Bullocks are sometimes purchased on loan from *beoparies* (traders) dealing in livestock. No interest is charged by them. The amount of interest is naturally included in the price.

Income and Expenditure

The margin of error in the figures of income and expenditure is greater because due to various reasons people do not feel inclined to tell their correct income and expenditure. In preparing the following table which shows the income-range of households by occupation and number of members, the households have been classified by the main occupation of the household as a whole, even though income of all members of the household, whether engaged in the main occupation or in some other vocation, has been added up for computing the income of a household:—

TABLE NO. 3.11

Showing Households by Occupation, Income and Number of Members

Occupation	Number of		Households by Monthly Income				
	Households	Members	Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 76—100	Rs. 101 & over
Cultivation	58	349	1	16	7	11	23
Agricultural Labourer	25	129	1	16	4	2	2
Farm service	1	7	..	..	1	..	..
Weaving	5	19	..	5	..	1	1

Occupation	Number of		Households by Monthly Income				
	Households	Members	Less than Rs. 25	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 76—100	Rs. 101 & over
Tailoring	3	12	..	3	..	..	..
Carpentry	5	28	..	2	3	..	..
Grocer shop	1	1	1	..	..	..	..
Boat-rowing	35	196	..	25	5	2	3
Watchman	1	3	..	1	..	..	..
Washerman	2	8	..	2	..	..	..
Barber	4	22	..	4	..	..	..
Sweeper	2	16	..	..	1	1	..
Domestic servant	2	2	2	..	..	..	..
Gainfully unemployed	2	3	..	2	..	..	..

Cultivation and boat-rowing are naturally the most paying occupations. To determine the expenditure pattern, the budgets of a number of families were studied. The budgets of the 5 persons which are of a representative character are discussed here:—

(1) A cultivator named Mangal, Dheenwar by caste, with an average income of Rs.80 per mensem.

(2) A cultivator named Saunath Singh, Brahmin by caste, with an average income of Rs.154 per mensem.

(3) A boatsman named Chotey Singh, Dheenwar by caste, with an average income of Rs.225 per mensem.

(4) A carpenter named Mahavir Singh with an average income of Rs.78.25 per mensem.

(5) A Bhangi named Banarsi Dass with an average income of Rs.86 per mensem.

The household of Mangal consists of 9 members, seven of them being above 12 years of age and the remaining two below 12 years. He is a cultivator, his son aged 16 years is a boatsman and his son aged 14 years does animal rearing. His average monthly income is Rs.80 per mensem. His expenditure was as follows:—

Items	Expenditure Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses ..	37.00

2. Milk ..	24.00
3. Ghee and oil ..	8.50
4. Other food items ..	14.50
5. Fuel and light ..	4.00
6. Clothing and footwear ..	14.00
7. Other items ..	4.00
Total ..	106.00

Thus the expenditure on food items is about 79 per cent. There is no expenditure on education. The budget is deficit by Rs.26. The expenditure on milk is apparently beyond his means. Other expenses are quite balanced. Instead of heading into debt, he should curtail his expenditure and save something for the rainy day.

Saunath Singh is a Brahmin cultivator. He has a wife, three sons aged 13 years, 8 years and 4 years and a daughter aged 10 years. The eldest son was a student of Junior High School and the daughter was studying in the primary classes. Cultivation is the only means of livelihood, the average monthly income being Rs.154. The household has 10 acres of land under cultivation. He owns a well-built pukka house, on the construction of which three brothers spent about Rs.18,000. The standard of his living as compared with other households is quite high. He has worked as Pradhan of the Gaon Panchayat up to January 1961. He continues to be an influential village leader. His expenditure was as follows:—

Items	Expenditure Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses ..	31.00
2. Milk ..	24.00
3. Ghee and oil ..	13.50
4. Other food items ..	24.87
5. Fuel and light ..	5.63
6. Clothing and footwear ..	10.00
7. Other items ..	18.50
8. Litigation ..	20.00
Total ..	147.50

There is a surplus of Rs.6.50 in the budget. The household spent 73.23 per cent of the total expenditure on food items only. Some amount was spent on education as well. The expenditure on clothing and footwear was comparatively

less. The household is vegetarian. An amount of Rs.20 was spent on litigation. This is not however a usual feature of the household.

Chhotey Singh is a boatsman with an average monthly income of Rs.225 of the household. The family has 10 members out of whom five were below 12 years of age. There were three earners in the family, two boatsmen and one cultivator. The expenditure pattern of the household was as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	64.50
2. Milk	30.00
3. Ghee and oil	27.50
4. Other food items	23.81
5. Fuel and light	5.62
6. Clothing and footwear	40.00
7. Other items	12.50
Total	203.93

Out of the total expenditure, 72 per cent is being spent on food items and the remaining 28 per cent on non-food items. There is a saving of Rs.21.07 for the rainy day. A very little amount is spent on education and tea. On the whole it is a balanced budget.

Mahavir Barhai has an average income of Rs.78.25 per mensem, including the earnings of his young son who casually works as a machine assistant in the sugar mill. There are six persons in his family, only one being below 12 years of age. His expenditure pattern was reported as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	50.00
2. Milk	3.25
3. Ghee and oil	3.00
4. Other food items	20.18
5. Fuel and light	6.88

6. Clothing and footwear	16.00
7. Other items	1.00
Total	100.31

Out of the total expenditure, 76.19 per cent expenditure was on food items and 23.81 per cent on non-food items. There is a deficit of Rs.22.06 in his budget. Mahavir remained ill quite long. Hence he had to spend on medicines. As a consequence of his illness his income also went down considerably.

Banarsi Dass is a sweeper with an average monthly income of Rs.86. There are 8 members in his joint family, two of them being below 12 years of age. There are 4 earning members, working as watchmen or sweepers. Pig-rearing is also done.

His family budget was of the following pattern :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	37.50
2. Milk	2.00
3. Ghee and oil	3.00
4. Other food items	18.63
5. Fuel and light	5.50
6. Clothing and footwear	10.50
7. Other items	5.61
Total	82.74

There is a saving of Rs.3.26 per mensem. The expenditure on food items is 73.84 per cent and that on non-food items 26.16 per cent. The household has a debt of Rs.400 incurred in connection with his own marriage.

Thus the main items of expenditure were the food items. The expenditure on non-food items was very low. They find it difficult to have the necessities of life. They cannot naturally afford to have the comforts or luxuries of life.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Brief Review of Population

During the survey in the middle of 1961, the population of village Raoli was 795 persons. According to the Pargana Register maintained in the tahsil, the population of this village at the time of Census of 1921 was 453 persons. It went up to 773 persons in 1941, but went down to 719 persons in 1951. Thus during a period of 40 years the population has increased by about 75 per cent.

Density

The area of the revenue village including its hamlet Brahmapuri, which has not been surveyed, is 2,695 acres and the population of this village and the unit according to the 1961 Census figures is 984 persons. Thus the density of population per square mile is 234 persons for the village including the hamlet, as compared to 638 persons per square mile which is the density of population for the district according to the 1961 Census Final Population Totals. The village is apparently sparsely populated.

Sex Ratio

The population of the village consists of 425 males and 370 females. The latter thus constitute 46.5 per cent of the total number of inhabitants as compared with the 46.6 per cent figure for the district. As pointed out in the Gazetteer of District Bijnor, in 1853 females formed 45.7 per cent of the population, the figure rising to 46.3 in 1872, to 46.9 in 1881 and to 47.8 in 1891 and 1901. The reason for the inequality remains a matter for speculation.

Among the Hindus, out of a total population of 683 persons, 368 or 53.9 per cent are males and 315 or 46.1 per cent are females while among the Muslims out of a total population of 112 persons, 57 or 50.9 per cent are

males and 55 persons or 49.1 per cent are females. Thus among the Hindus the sex ratio is more uneven as compared to the sex ratio among the Muslims. According to the Gazetteer also which was published in 1907, in the district, females among Muslims were found comparatively more numerous than among Hindus. This variation was found in 1872 also when the proportion of females to the entire Hindu population was 45.6 per cent and the corresponding figure for Muslim females was 47.9 per cent.

The disparity in the sex ratio in the village is almost at par with that in the district. Also the variation in the sex ratio among the Hindus and Muslims, being at least as old as 1872, needs no explanation or investigation. Generally speaking the female infants receive much less attention and care as compared to the male infants, with the consequent higher infant mortality rate among them. Secondly, due to lack of proper maternity facilities, the death of many a mother occurs during the natal or neonatal period. Lastly, due to some unknown reasons, the number of males born is generally greater than the number of females.

Births and Deaths

The record of births and deaths used to be maintained by the village chowkidar up to 1947 but thereafter this duty was entrusted to the Gaon Sabha, as laid down in the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act. Since the village people do not realise the value of vital statistics, some of the births and deaths are liable to escape registration out of sheer negligence. Such omissions were liable to occur previously also when the figures were recorded by the village chowkidar.

According to the entries in the register maintained by the Gaon Sabha the following births

and deaths took place during the last four years (January 1 to December 31) :-

TABLE NO. 4.1

Showing Births and Deaths

Year	Number of Persons						Net increase		
	Born			Dead					
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1958	33	21	12	12	4	8	21	17	4
1959	23	12	11	6	6	..	17	6	11
1960	26	17	9	7	5	2	19	12	7
1961	31	18	13	19	5	14	12	13	-1
Total	113	68	45	44	20	24	69	48	21

The following conclusions are evident from the above figures :-

(a) The number of males born exceeded the number of females.

(b) The number of females who died exceeded the number of males.

(c) The net increase in the number of males, i.e., 48 exceeded the increase in the number of females, i.e., 21.

Causes of Death

The following figures indicate the general causes of death as recorded in the Register of Births and Deaths :-

TABLE NO. 4.2
Showing Causes of Death

Year	Total deaths	Fever	Typhoid	Small pox	Other causes
1958	12	7	1	..	4
1959	6	6	..	..	..
1960	7	3	1	3	..
1961	19	7	12	..	..
Total	44	23	14	3	4

Thus typhoid and fever are the main causes of death. Due to the proximity of the rivers, there has been a prevalence of mosquitoes and malaria in the village. The recent periodical spray of D. D. T. under the malaria eradication scheme has to some extent reduced the incidence of malaria. Also vaccination has considerably safeguarded people against small pox.

In 1960, small pox took a toll of three lives, all males, aged 25 years, 12 years and 3 years. Due to poverty, the general standard of nutrition is poor as a result of which vitality of the population is low.

Medical Aid

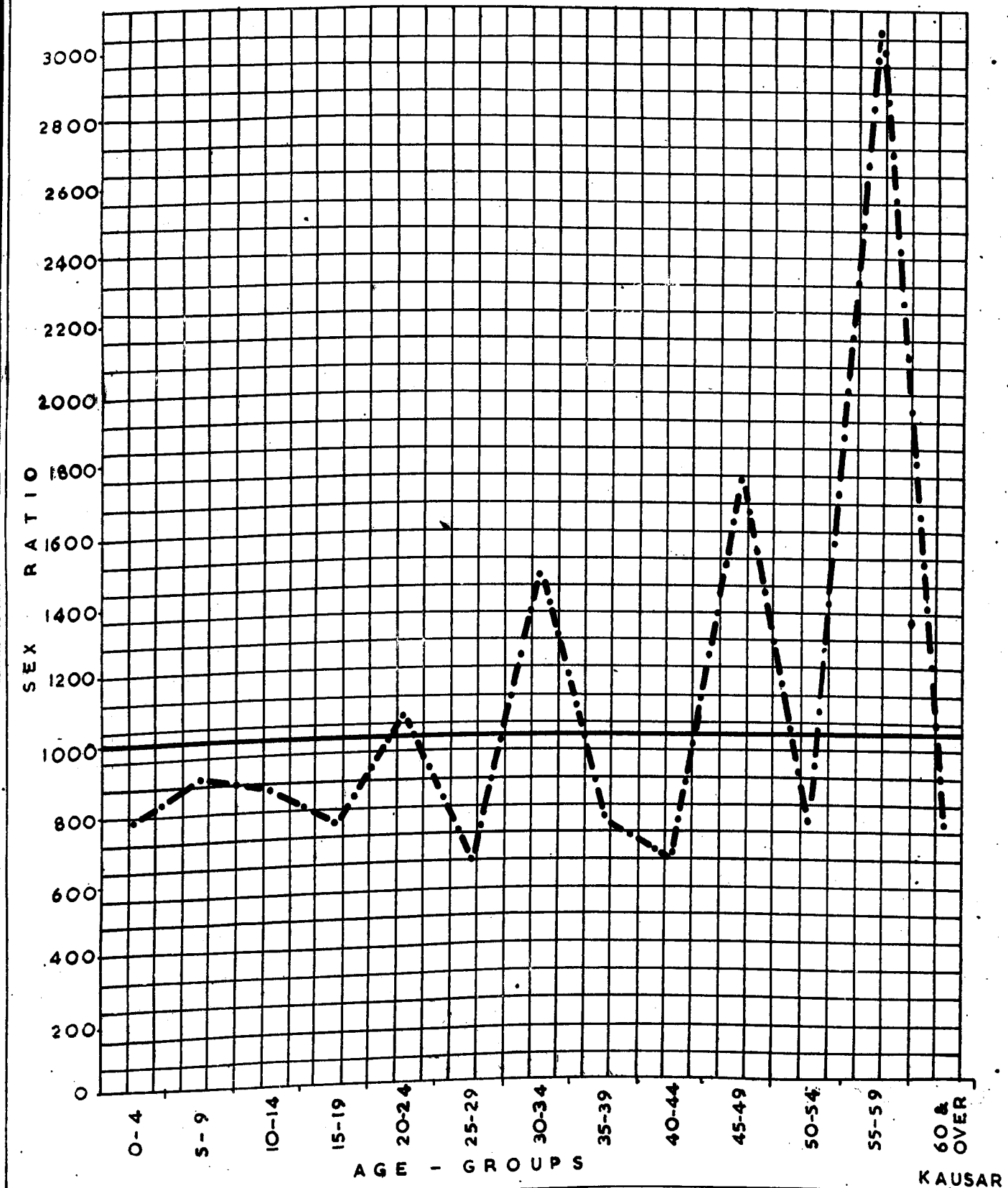
Medical facilities are almost non-existent in the village. There is no qualified *vaid*, hakim or doctor in the village. Ordinarily they consult a hakim, who practices the Unani system of medicines and resides in village Mandawar at a distance of about three miles from the village. In serious cases the patient is either shifted to the Civil Hospital at Bijnor or a private doctor is called in from Bijnor. Treatment by a private doctor is a costly affair.

Maternity cases are ordinarily conducted by unqualified and untrained *dai* belonging to the Jatava community. No case is ordinarily conducted by a trained midwife or doctor. The *dai* is ill-equipped for her profession. She has little knowledge of medicines and whatever she knows she has learnt by trial and error while handling maternity cases. In spite of what she is, she has to be called in because there is no better substitute available in the village. She is thus a necessary evil presiding at the destiny of a number of pregnant mothers and infants.

Sanitation and Drainage

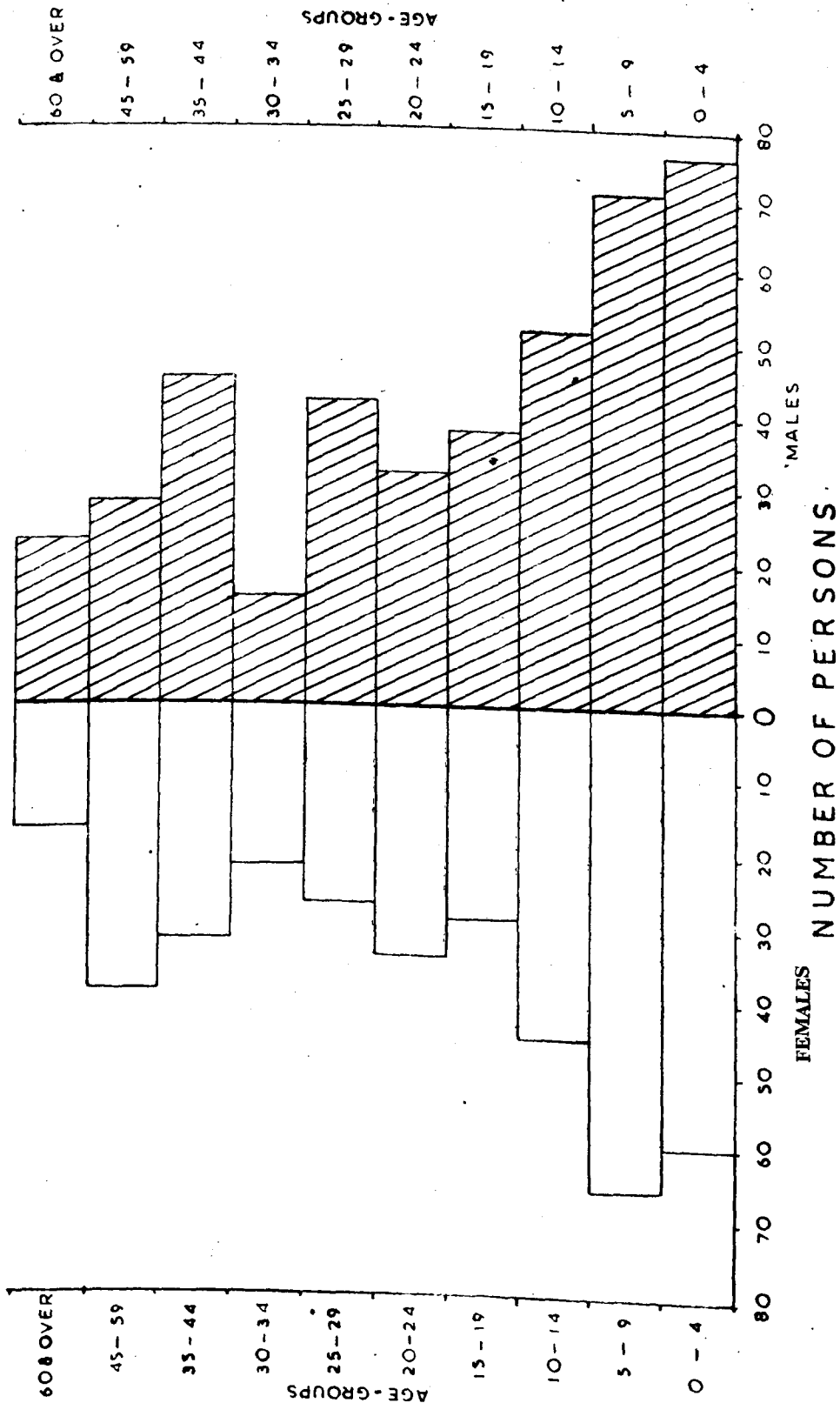
The proximity of the two rivers Ganga and Malin has proved quite helpful for the sanitation of the village. There is no water-logging in the village. The Gaon Sabha has converted 600 yards of *kachcha* interior lanes of the village into pukka constructions, leaving behind only 200 yards of *kachcha* lanes. Thus most of the lanes being pukka, they are neat and clean. Most of the houses do not have any ventilators or windows for light and fresh air. There are no built-up latrines in the village and the fields nearing the *abadi* site are utilised for answering the call of nature. The refuse dumps are also located near the *abadi* site with the result that the atmosphere becomes quite insanitary, especially during the rains. In most of the houses the cattle shed is situated near the living rooms.

GRAPH SHOWING NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES AT DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS



KAUSAR

POPULATION BY SEX & AGE-GROUPS



The houses are ill-ventilated and poorly lighted. At the time of cooking, smoke spreads freely to all the rooms of the house. On account of poverty, too, most of the persons cannot afford to be neat and clean. Since the people are not properly educated, the mental background for a sanitary atmosphere is lacking.

Population by Age-groups

The following table gives a distribution of the population according to age-groups :-

TABLE NO. 4.3

Showing Population by Age-groups

Age-groups (Years)	Total Population		
	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages ..	795	425	370
0-4 ..	136	77	59
5-9 ..	139	73	66
10-14 ..	97	52	45
15-19 ..	67	38	29
20-24 ..	66	32	34
25-29 ..	69	42	27
30-34 ..	37	15	22
35-39 ..	44	25	19
40-44 ..	33	20	13
45-49 ..	22	8	14
50-54 ..	28	16	12
55-59 ..	17	4	13
60 and over ..	40	23	17

Thus 372 persons or 46.79 per cent of the total population belong to the age-group 0-14 years, 338 persons or 42.52 per cent of the total population belong to the age-group 15-49 years and the remaining 85 persons or 10.69 per cent of the total population belong to the age-group 50 years and over. The proportion of population in the age-group 0-14 years (46.79 per cent) is more than twice that in the age-group 50 and over and hence the population is markedly progressive just like the population of the State.

Marital Status

The following table shows the marital status of the population in the various age-groups :-

TABLE NO. 4.4

Showing Marital Status according to Age-groups

Age-groups (Years)	Never married		Married		Widowed		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	P	M F
All Ages	249	177	157	162	19	31	795	425 370
0-14	202	170	..	..	..	..	372	202 170
15-19	30	7	8	22	..	..	67	38 29
20-24	8	..	24	34	..	..	66	32 34
25-29	5	..	36	27	1	..	69	42 27
30-34	1	..	13	22	1	..	37	15 22
35-39	..	..	25	18	..	1	44	25 19
40-44	1	..	17	11	2	2	33	20 13
45-49	..	..	8	11	..	3	22	8 14
50-54	..	..	13	6	3	6	28	16 12
55-59	..	..	2	7	2	6	17	4 13
60 and over	2	..	11	4	10	13	40	23 17

As is evident, out of 795 persons, 426, i.e., 53.6 per cent were never married, 319, i.e., 40.2 per cent are still-married and 50 persons, i.e., 6.2 per cent are widowed. The relatively high percentage of unmarried persons is due to the fact that about 47 per cent of the population of the village is within the age-group 0-14 years. Up to the age of 14 years no one is married whereas in the age-group 15-19 years 37 persons are never married and only 30 persons are married. This indicates that child marriages are on the decline in this village. Secondly, the number of unmarried persons in the age-groups 20-24 years and 25-29 years is 8 persons and 5 persons respectively. This indicates that most of the persons get married by the age of 24 years. As a rule marriages are not delayed beyond this age.

Out of the 425 males, 37.4 per cent are married, 4.7 per cent are widowers and 57.9 per cent are unmarried. Similarly out of the 370 females in the village, 43.2 per cent are married, 8.1 per cent are widows and 48.7 per cent are unmarried.

The following table shows the percentage of married persons within the different age-groups :-

TABLE NO. 4.5

Showing Percentage of Married Persons by Age-groups

Age-groups (Years)	Number of Persons	Number of Persons married	Percentage of married Persons
10-14 ..	97	..	..
15-19 ..	67	30	44.8
20-24 ..	66	58	87.8
25-29 ..	69	63	91.3
30-34 ..	37	35	94.5
35-39 ..	44	43	97.7
40-44 ..	33	28	84.8
45-49 ..	22	19	86.3
50 and over	85	43	50.5

According to the above figures, the percentage of married persons in the age-groups 25-29 years, 30-34 years, and 35-39 years is the highest. The reason is obvious.

Age at Marriage

Marriages are performed according to the convenience of the parents and the availability of the groom, age of the spouse not being a major consideration. The following table shows the age at marriage of all the ever-married persons in the village :-

TABLE NO. 4.6

Showing the Age of Marriage

Age at Marriage (Years)	Number of ever-married Persons		Number of ever-married Persons whose Marriage took place after 1955	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
5 ..	..	1	..	..
7 ..	..	1	..	..
8 ..	..	..	..	..
9 ..	..	4	..	..
10 ..	4	9	..	..
11 ..	2	11	..	..
12 ..	3	13	..	1
13 ..	7	24	..	1
14 ..	4	34	..	5
15 ..	19	38	..	4

16 ..	18	24	3	5
17 ..	13	15	3	3
18 ..	36	3	6	2
19 ..	8	5	3	3
20 ..	39	7	7	4
21 ..	4	1	2	1
22 ..	5	..	2	..
23 ..	3	2	2	1
24 ..	2	..	2	..
25 ..	6	..	1	..
28 ..	2	1	..	..
30 ..	..	..	1	..
32 ..	1	..	1	..
Total ..	176	193	33	30

Out of 176 ever-married males 70 or 39.8 per cent were married before attaining the age of 18 years and out of 193 ever-married females 97 or 50.3 per cent were married before attaining the age of 15 years. Thus early marriages have been quite common in the village.

In 1955, the Hindu Marriage Act was enforced. In this village 33 males and 30 females were married after the enforcement of this Act. Out of the 33 males, 6 or 18.2 per cent were married before 18 years of age whereas out of the 30 females 7 or 23.3 per cent were married before 15 years of age, that is, in contravention of the provision of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. The percentage of early marriage has however decreased but the factor responsible for the decrease is not the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. People in general are neither aware of its provisions nor do they care to know about these so long as the penal provisions remain unextended to them in actual practice.

Literacy and Education

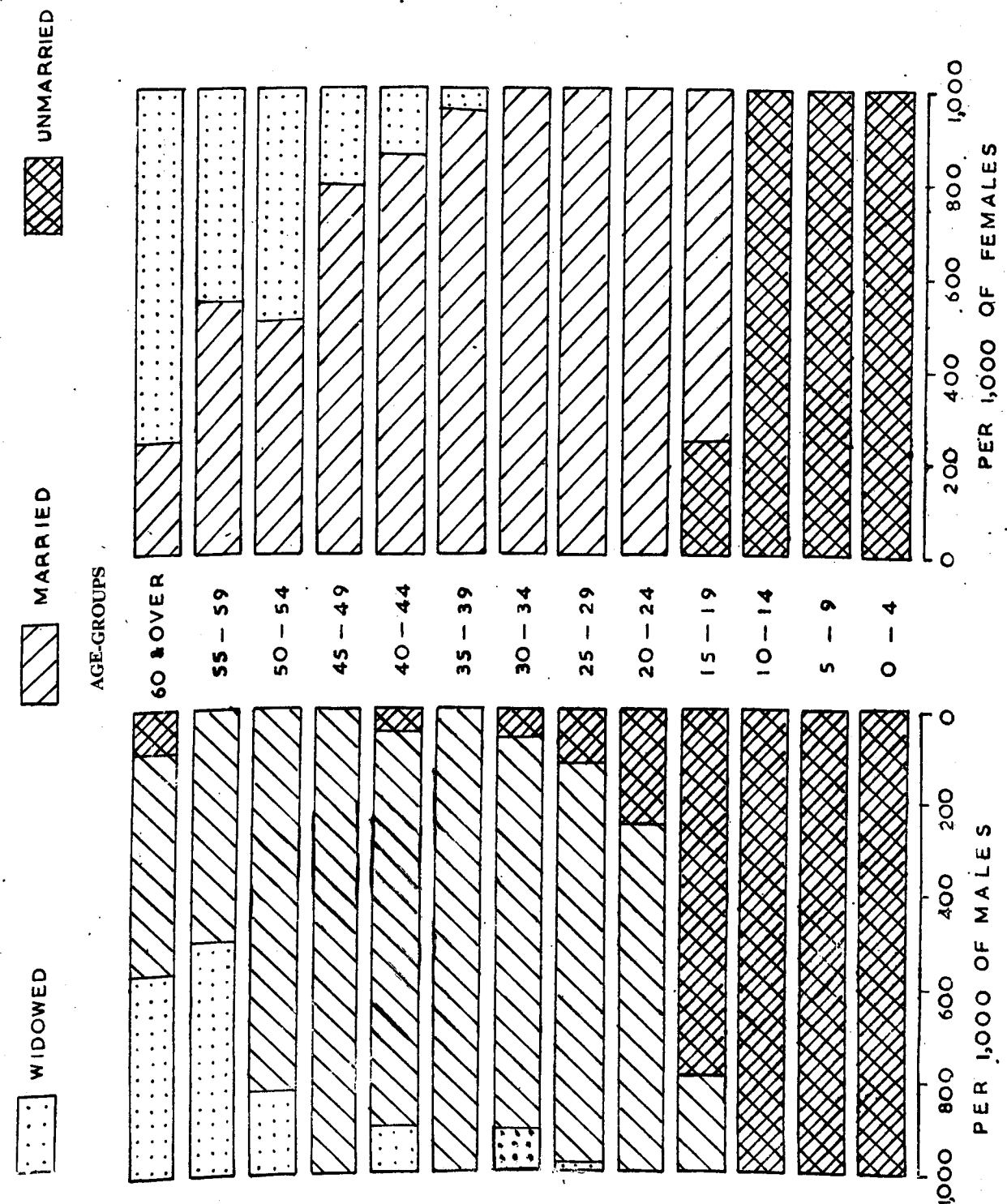
The following table indicates the position of literacy and education in the village :-

TABLE NO. 4.7

Showing Literacy and Education

Age-groups (Years)	Illiterate	Literate				Total
		Pri- mary Basic	Junior High School	High School mediate	Inter- mediate Literate	
0-14	343	29	..	..	..	29
15-34	208	23	3	4	1	31
35-59	129	13	2	..	..	15
60 and over	38	2	..	..	..	2
Total ..	718	67	5	4	1	77

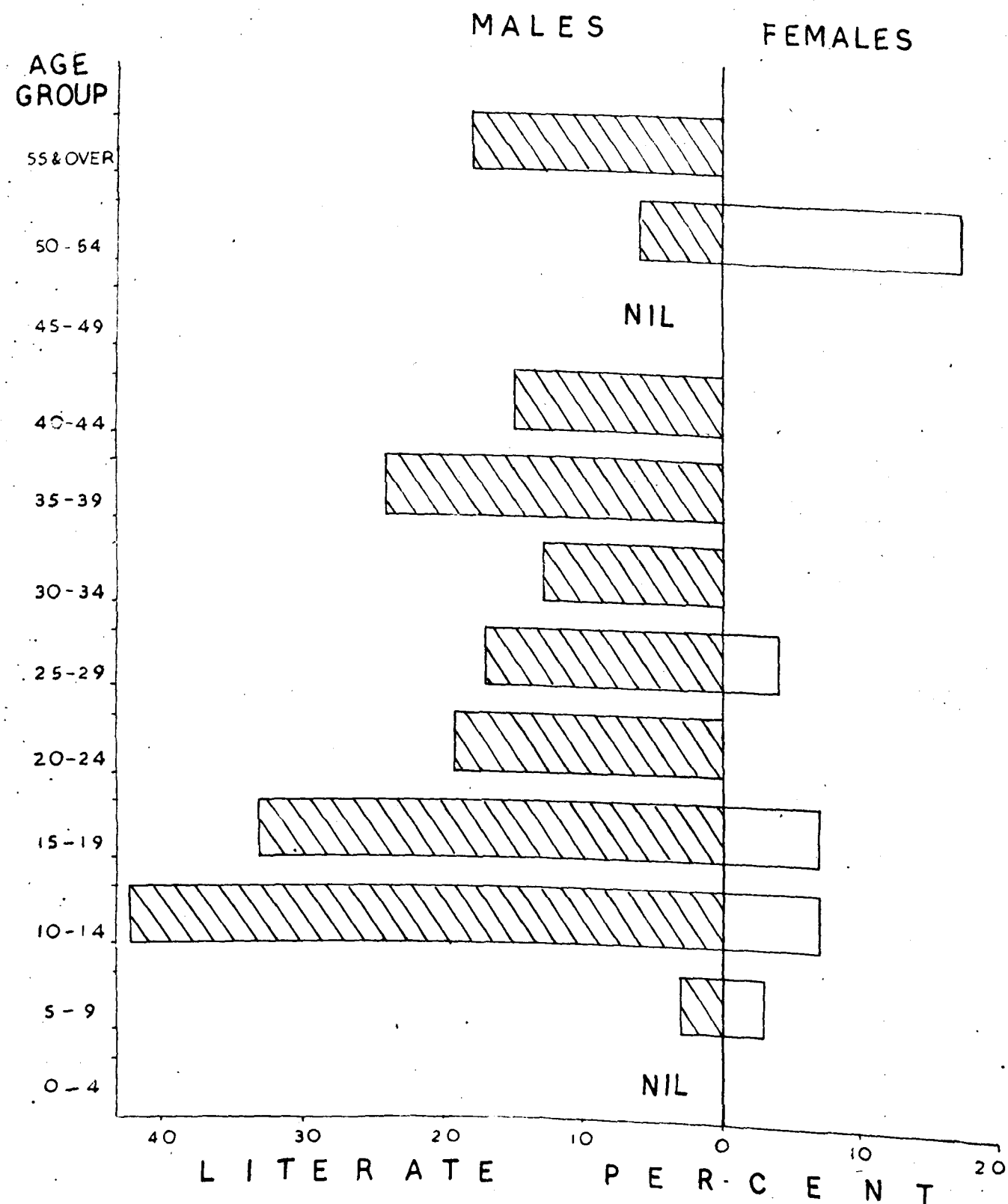
PROPORTION OF UNMARRIED, MARRIED & WIDOWED PER 1,000 OF EACH AGE-GROUP BY SEX



PER 1,000 OF MALES

PER 1,000 OF FEMALES

PERCENTAGE OF LITERATES BY SEX & AGE-GROUPS



Thus out of the total population, 90.3 per cent are illiterate whereas only 9.7 per cent are literate. The percentage of literacy among males is 14.3 whereas among the females it is only 4.3. Also 10 per cent of the Hindu population is literate whereas only 3.5 per cent of the Muslim population is literate. A further split-up indicates that literacy figures were highest among the Brahmins, out of whom 53.3 per cent were found literate and educated. Within the Brahmin community 75 per cent of the males and 28.8 per cent of the females are literate. Not a single person is literate among Gadariyas, Dhobis, Nais and Rangarhs.

There is only one person (an emigrant from West Pakistan) who has passed his Intermediate Examination and only 4 persons have passed the High School Examination. This indicates that the number of persons studying up to High School and beyond is very small. This is partly due to lack of educational facilities in the village and the high expenses involved in sending a boy outside for education.

In the age-group 5-14 years, out of a total number of 236 persons only 29 persons were found literate which gives a percentage of 12.3 for this age-group. There are 239 persons in the age-group 15-34 years. Out of them 31 persons are literate, which gives a literacy percentage of 13 for this age-group. A comparative study of these two age-groups shows that within the younger generation the increase in the literacy percentage is not marked. Whatever may be the reasons, literacy and education are being neglected in this village. With the establishment of a Junior High School by the Kanwa Sanskritik Shiksha Prasara Samiti in this village, literacy is expected to go up.

Family Structure

Family plays an important role in the socio-economic life of the Indian village community. It is a dominant force of social control, economic progress and ritual performance. By tradition, a joint family system has been prevalent in the Indian society. In a joint family, the presence of parents is a great uniting factor among their children in spite of their individual idiosyncracies. The parents manage the house-

hold affairs till the sons grow and attain maturity of judgment. Their behests are respected and carried out by the younger generation. With the growing age of parents, the younger generation is left free to manage the household affairs with the casual guidance and advice of the parents. The death of the parents, generally sets in the process of disintegration of the joint family. Distribution of ancestral property, unequal earnings of the various brothers or disproportionate expansion of their families and the uncompromising attitude of the women-folk start the rift and ultimately lead to disintegration.

In village Raoli, out of 146 households, 78 (53 per cent) were simple, consisting of a husband, wife and unmarried children, 24 (16 per cent) were intermediate consisting of a married couple, unmarried brothers and sisters, and one of the parents, and 28 (19 per cent) were joint, consisting of a married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters.

Intra-family Relationship

The relations within the family are generally cordial. The word of the parents is final. A few days after the marriage of a son, the atmosphere begins to change in some cases especially when the new wife is of a dominating or intriguing nature. In very rare cases the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law have absolutely harmonious relations. The mother feels that the son has been snatched from her by the daughter-in-law, that her control over him has consequently diminished and that his affection for her is vanishing. Fault finding with almost every action of the daughter-in-law starts. The youngish pranks that might be fun for the new couple are points of irritation for the mother-in-law.

As a rule, however, the elders in the house are respected. Every woman observes purdah not only from the father-in-law and his brothers or her husband's elder brother but also from other persons in the village. She is the recipient of affection in return.

The relations outside the family are usually formal. The relatives who are scattered in

distant villages meet only at ceremonial occasions such as marriage or death and casually in a fair or exhibition. Some members of families connected by marital ties naturally meet oftener.

Inheritance of Property

No special customs determine the inheritance of property. The succession to property among the Hindus is governed by the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 and by the Muslim law among the Mohammedans. The devolution of tenancy rights is governed by the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950.

Leisure and Recreation

There are no sources of recreation in the village. Fairs and festivals at intervals provide a relief from the drudgery of life. Playing cards during the slack season is another pastime. Also men and women both indulge in gossiping about in small groups whenever they find some time to do so. All sorts of topics are discussed and commented upon. Whenever there is scope of any scandal, tongues start wagging soon. If there is nothing to talk about, story telling or narration of events in the past life is indulged in.

The males are used to smoking on a large scale. Even children pick up this habit quickly from the father. At the gossip session or social meets, the hookah keeps the menfolk busy who have a pull at it turn by turn. It promotes brotherhood and maintains affinity among members of a caste. Some womenfolk also smoke their small hookahs.

A game of *kabaddi* or *gulli danda* is another source of recreation for the younger generation. Sometimes they go to the cinema-house at Bijnor.

Religious Institutions

The village has a small ill-kept temple of Lord Shiva. It is an unimpressive small structure raised by the village landlord about 100 years ago. It has a small bamboo gate. People do not gather there for worship very often. It

is only on important festivals that the deity is worshipped. The temple is not properly looked after which betrays a lack of active participation in religious activities by the Hindus. There is no mosque or church in the village.

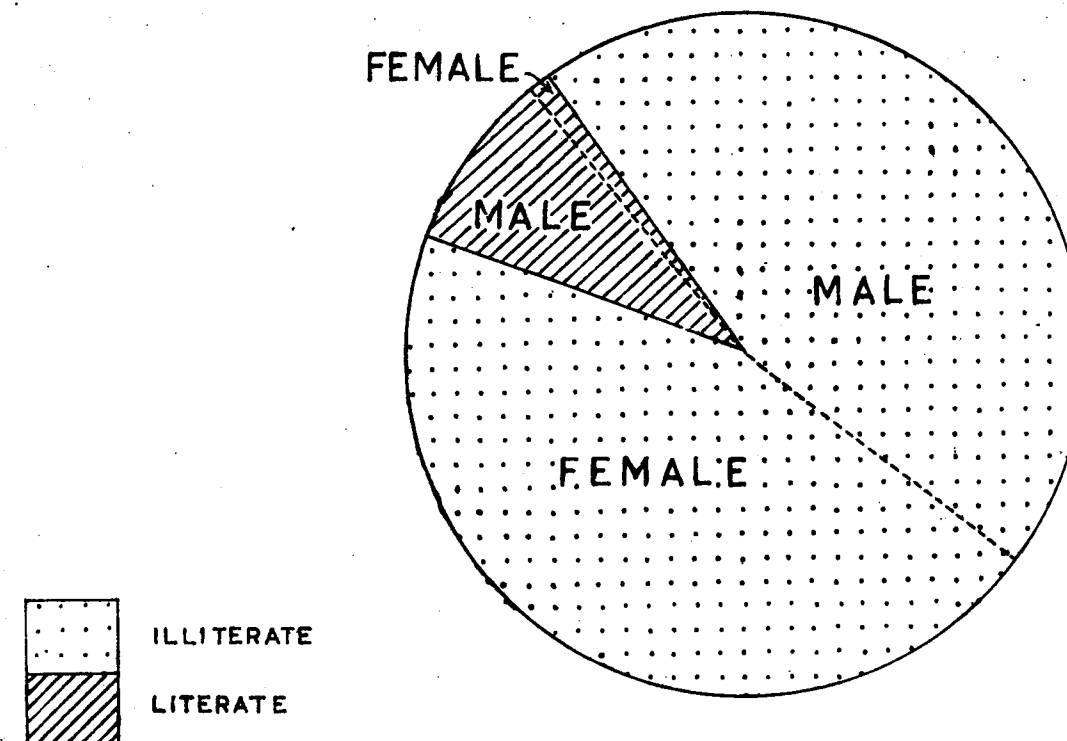
Fairs

Ganga *Ashnan* fairs are held at Raoli on the occasions of Makar Sankrant and Kartik Sudi 15th; the Dasehra fair is held on Jeth Sudi 10th. Each of these fairs is attended by about 2,500 persons from various places. For the last 3 years the Kanwa Sanskritik Shiksha Prasar Samiti has been taking an active part in the organisation of these fairs.

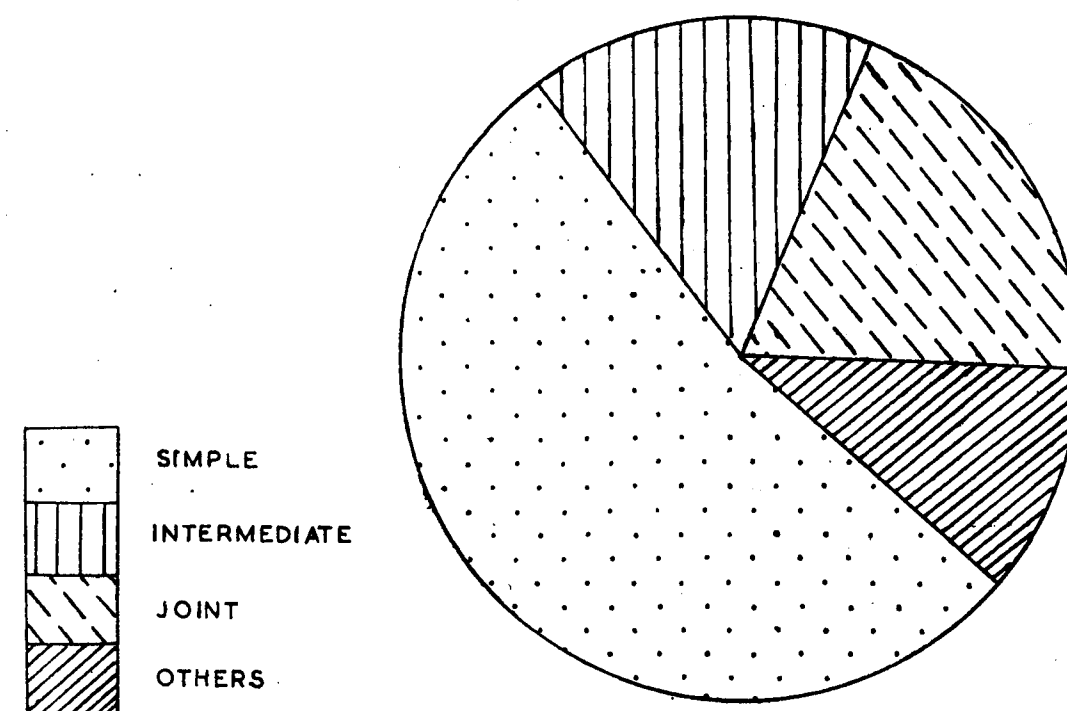
Another fair largely attended by the residents of this village is the fair of Chhari Zahir Diwan at Mohammedpur Deomal on Chait Sudi 9th. The prevalent story about Zahir Diwan appeared quite interesting. It is said that about 500 years ago, a Raja named Johar Singh of Chauhan clan ruled Bagarh in Marwar. He did not have an issue from any of his queens Bachal and Kachal who were real sisters. Guru Gorakhnath who happened to pass that way, blessed queen Kachal with a gift of twin males. Queen Bachal also asked for blessings from the Guru, who felt a bit enraged because Queen Kachal had concealed the blessings from her sister. He not only gave the blessings of a son to the younger queen, but also added that her only son would kill the twins born of Kachal. The son of Bachal was named as Guga or Zahir Diwan and the twins born of Kachal were named as Jai Singh and Jagat Singh. After the death of the Raja, Guga was enthroned, which resulted in enmity with his two brothers. In a battle, which ensued, the twin brothers were killed by Zahir Diwan. He was severely reprimanded by his mother for having murdered his brothers. Thereupon he relinquished his throne and had himself buried alive.

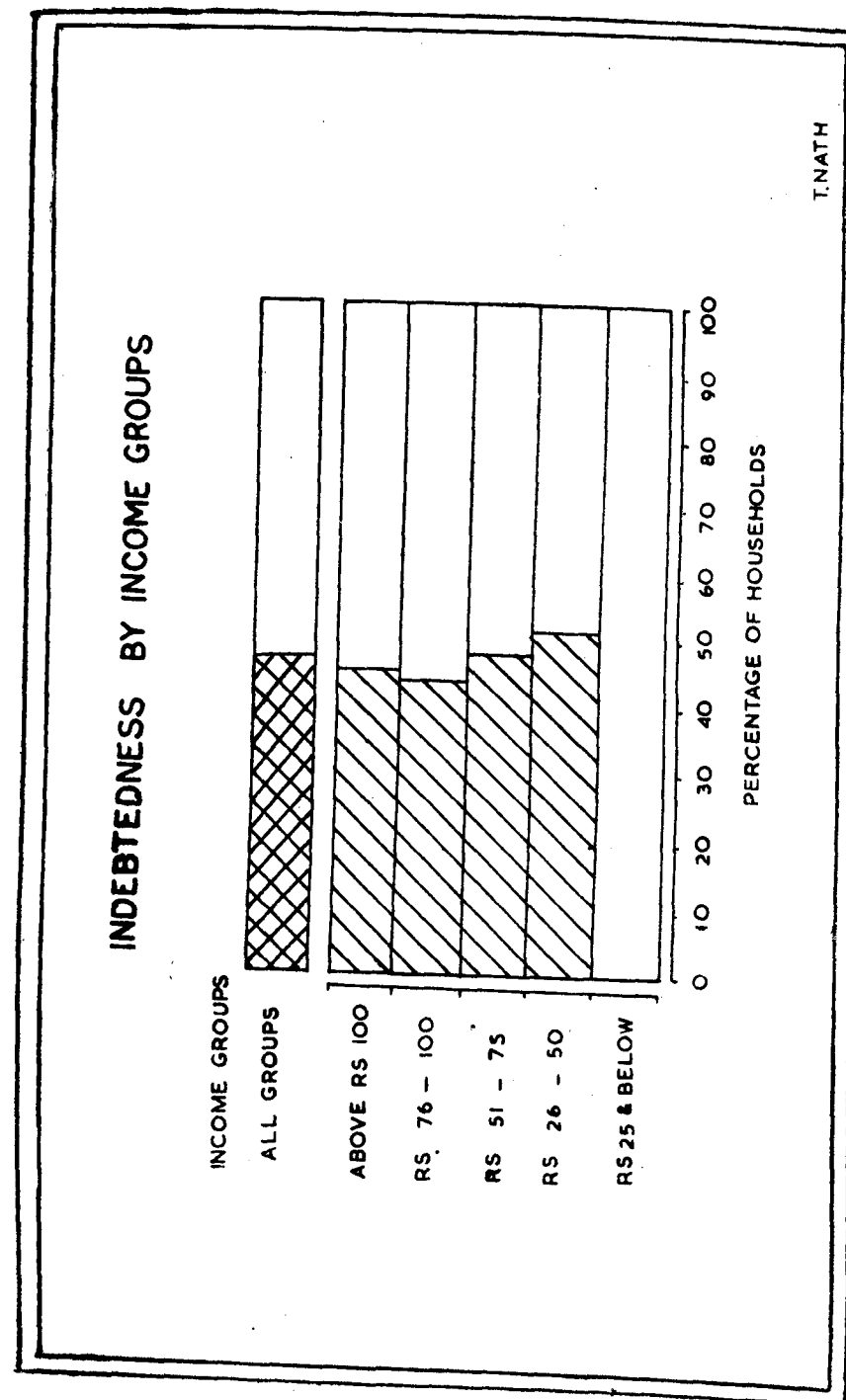
He has come to be worshipped by Hindus and Muslims alike. Hindus worship him as Zahir Diwan or as Guga Bir (Guga the Brave). Muslims assert that he was a Muslim, probably because he had buried himself, and have altered his name to Guga Pir or Saint Guga. As

EDUCATION BY SEX



NATURE OF FAMILIES





the *mela*, Zahir Diwan is worshipped for a promise made in an hour of emergency.

Festivals

In spite of poverty, India is a land of feasts, fasts and festivals. Fairs and festivals provide a natural relief from the commonplace and monotonous life of the villages and serve as interludes full of joy and mirth.

The Hindu festivals are spread almost evenly over the whole year. According to the western calendar, the Hindu months which determine the dates of the festivals would be as follows :—

Hindi Month	Corresponding English Months
Magha ..	January/February
Phalgun ..	February/March
Chaitra ..	March/April
Vaisakha ..	April/May
Jyeshtha ..	May/June
Ashadha ..	June/July
Sravana ..	July/August
Bhadrapada ..	August/September
Asvin ..	September/October
Kartika ..	October/November
Margashirsha ..	November/December
Pausya ..	December/January

The following Hindu festivals are commonly observed in the village :—

Tij

Tij falls on the 3rd day of Sudi Sravana. It is essentially a festival of girls and womenfolk. With the advent of this festival, the cycle of important Hindu festivals begins, concluding with Holi. This festival comes during the rainy season, when the monsoon rains have finally set in and the scorching heat of the sun has been replaced by currents of cool air. It is green around. The villagers are happy and gay. The festival expresses this mood of gaiety and good spirits. Swings are hung on strong branches of scattered trees in such a manner that two women can sit on two swings, facing each other and placing their feet, with stretched legs on the opposite swing. Other women stand

behind them and push the swings while some others are busy singing songs in groups.

Silono or Raksha Bandhan

This festival falls on the full moon day of the month of Sravana, eleven days after Tij. This is essentially a festival for annually renewing the pledge of the brother for protecting his sister. On this day a *rakhi* or wrist-band of coloured thread is tied by the sister round the wrist of her brothers or cousins, the latter giving her some money as a token of affection and regard.

Bhadrapada Dauj

It is a festival of offerings to Budha Babu. On this day some flowers and edibles like *gul-gulas* are offered to the deity.

Janam Ashtami

This is an important festival of Hindus celebrated as the anniversary of Lord Krishna's birth. It falls on the 8th lunar day in the dark fortnight of the month of Bhadrapada. Fasting is observed till midnight. Devotional songs are recited and sweets are distributed in some houses to celebrate the birth of Lord Krishna.

Dasehra

Dasehra falls on the tenth day following the moonless Amavas day in Asvin (September-October). It is one of the most important festivals of Hindus. It is celebrated to mark the conquest of Lord Rama over the demon King Ravana. On this day a sister places some seedlings of barley on the right ears of her brother and a wet *roli* (red oxide) mark on his forehead, receiving some money in return.

Karva Chauth

This festival falls nine days after Dasehra. The Hindu wife observes a fast throughout the day and breaks it at the appearance of moon at about 9.30 p.m., after offering *arghya* (water from a *karva* or small earthen pot) to the moon. This is a very important festival observed by all Hindu wives and is observed for ensuring the safety and prosperity of their husbands.

Ahoi Ashtami

This festival falls on the fifth day of Karva Chauth and is celebrated for ensuring the safety and prosperity of the sons. Fast is observed by all mothers having sons. It is broken after offering *arghya* to the moon. During the day a painting is made on the wall by the fasting mother, showing seven sons, their seven wives, a woman offering *arghya* to the moon and a couple of crane birds. This is also a very important festival.

Diwali

The festival of lights is one of the major festivals of Hindus. It is attributed to the gay and merry celebrations on the occasion of the return of Rama after his conquest over Ravana. It falls on the Amavas day in Kartika (November). The rainy season is over and hence all the houses require cleaning. A new coat of whitewash or clay wash is applied to the walls of the house. Everything is cleaned and polished. The cultivators are busy in harvesting the *kharif* crops and sowing the *rabi* crops. The weather is cool and woollen clothes are taken out for wearing. At about 8 p.m. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is worshipped. Earthen lamps are lighted and placed all over the village inside the houses, on the tops of the houses where the roof is not thatched, in the cattle-sheds and on the carts and *chabutras*. There is a rejoicing around. Fireworks, crackers and *phuljharis* are used by some children. *Khil* (puffed rice) and *batasas* (ordinary sweet) are taken by all. Special dishes are prepared in every house. It is also a custom to leave a light burning all night in the house at the place of Lakshmi puja and also to leave the doors open so that the goddess could come in to bless the household. Nowadays the main entrance to the house is not left open for fear of thieves. A little gambling is also indulged in by some people. The common belief is that if one wins on this night, one will remain prosperous throughout the year.

Govardhan Puja

On the following day of Diwali, Govardhan

puja is performed. A big heap of cow dung is worshipped apparently because cow dung (*gobar*) is wealth (*dhan*), since it is used as fuel in the house, as a manure in the fields as well as for purification purposes. Cows are also worshipped in the night. They are decorated by placing multi-colour marks on their bodies.

Bhaiya Dooj

On the day following Govardhan puja, Bhaiya Dooj is celebrated. The brothers come to sisters, who put a *tika* mark on their forehead, receiving some gifts and money as a token of affection. The sisters remain on fast till the ceremony is observed.

Basant Panchami

This festival falls on the fifth day of Sudi Magh at a time when the fields are full of yellow flowers and spring season is at its height. On this day people don yellow coloured clothes. Also a pole with a yellow flag is fixed at the place where Holi pyre is to be burnt. Some firewood is also collected and placed there for the Holi festival, thereby giving an indication of the arrival of Holi.

Holi

This festival is very popular and widespread having a particular appeal for the lower castes and the younger age-group. It falls on the 15th day of Sudi Phalguna (February-March). The Holi pyre is worshipped by the womenfolk with their children. Thereafter, it is burnt sometime in the night—the auspicious time to be fixed by the pandit after looking into the almanac known as *patra*. Barley stems are put into the Holi fire to test whether the crop is ripe. Special food such as *halva* and *poori* is prepared in all Hindu houses. On the following day coloured water is thrown and *gulal* (a preparation of red oxide) is rubbed by people into each other's faces. This is known as *phag* day. There is lot of merry-making, shrieking and laughter around. Persons of all ages and all castes participate freely in this celebration. They embrace each other out of affection. The occasion is celebrated with equal gusto by the females.

Festivals of Muslims

The main festivals of Muslims are Moharram, Id-ul-Fitar and Id-uz-Zuha. The Moharram festival is full of mourning and is celebrated on the 10th day of the Moharram month in memory of Hazrat Imam Husain who gave his life fighting for the cause of his religion. Id-ul-Fitar falls on the first day after the expiry of the 30 days of fasting during the Ramzan period. Vermicelli and rice are the main items of food prepared on this day. At about midday the Muslim population of this village goes to Idgah near village Mandawar for offering prayers or *numaz*.

Id-uz-Zuha is celebrated in memory of Hazrat Ibrahim Khalil Ullah, who had offered to sacrifice his son as his dearest possession for pleasing God. He-goats and rams are sacrificed on this day. As on Id-ul-Fitar, on this day also people gather at Idgah for offering prayers.

Beliefs and Superstitions

In one form or the other, beliefs and superstitions are so mingled in the life of our countrymen that not to say of the uneducated, the educated persons even are firm believers thereof. The people of this village are, therefore, no exception. Comparatively the womenfolk believe in superstitions more than the menfolk.

While starting on a journey it is inauspicious if some one sneezes, or a person with empty vessels is met or a cat crosses the way from left to right or a one-eyed person comes across. The meeting of a person with filled-up vessels or seeing a magpie on the right hand are considered auspicious. Similarly, while going in the west direction Sunday and Friday are considered inauspicious, while going to the north, Wednesday is inauspicious, for the east direction Monday and Saturday are inauspicious whereas for going to the south, Thursday is inauspicious. Also, commencing a journey on the 1st and 16th day of the Saka calendar month and on Wednesday is avoided. It is a common belief that the evil effects of starting on a journey on an inauspicious day can be warded off to some extent if before commencing the journey

one takes betel on Sunday, sees his face in the mirror on Monday, takes a little *gur* on Tuesday, consumes some *dhania* seeds on Wednesday, takes rape and mustard seeds on Thursday, curd on Friday and ginger on Saturday. This belief is summed up in the following Hindi couplet reproduced in Roman :—

"Ravi ko pan, Som ko darpan, Mangal gur ka kare jo arpan, Budhey dhania, Biphey rai, Shukra kahe mohe dahi suhai, Shani kahe jo adrakh paon, kamahu hoi jeete ghar laun."

Also it is an ill omen if some one asks the destination of the prospective traveller while he commences his journey. Similarly it is considered inauspicious if just after getting up from one's bed the first person whom one sees happens to be an oil-man or *teli*. The sight of a Bhangi is considered auspicious. Digging of earth for any purpose on a Tuesday is forbidden.

Some people avoid killing of a snake during the month of Ashadha. It is considered positively inauspicious if a snake is killed by the shear of the plough at the time of ploughing. To ward off its evil effects, the ploughman ought to give alms in the form of grain and cloth. A cot is not prepared or woven on Tuesday.

There are some beliefs and superstitions relating to sickness and epidemics. For example, calling in of a hakim, *vaid* or doctor for examining the sick on a Thursday is avoided. In case of serious illness giving alms in the form of cash, barley and other grains is expected to bring some relief. Similarly when a patient is on death bed, Ramayan or Gita is recited by his bedside. If the recovery of a patient is delayed, or when it is a serious disease, offering of puja and a *nishan* (banner sacred to the gods) is vouched in favour of the popular deity, known as the Zahir Diwan (Minister Apparent), provided the patient is cured.

The foregoing study of the fairs and festivals and beliefs and superstitions of the villagers shows that their faith in the supernatural is more or less unshaken, in spite of all the reformist doctrines; with the spread of education and

the contact with the urban population, no doubt a slight change in attitudes is visible.

The fairs and festivals provide an occasion for strengthening and reaffirmation of the family ties and the village and clan solidarity. On these occasions, people feel a slight relief from the humdrum and monotonous life of the village. Besides this, they get an occasion for thinking of the Almighty.

Village Organisation

Numerically the Jatavas and the Dheenwars constitute the dominant castes in the village. Economically too, the Jatavas are quite well-off. But the Brahmins constitute the brain-trust of the village life of Raoli, in spite of their small number. Pandit Saunath Singh worked as Pradhan of the Gaon Sabha from 1956 to 1961. He was supported by the Jatavas and Muslims and was opposed by the Dheenwars, Rohars, Sainis, Gadariyas and others. The groupism created at the time of elections, however, diminished and the tension almost disappeared in course of time.

During the period of Sri Saunath Singh's chairmanship, the Gaon Samaj leased out about 23 bighas of land to residents of another village. The chairman naturally became unpopular. He felt the pulse of the electorate and in 1961 election, instead of contesting himself, set up Sri Chhotey Singh Dheenwar as his candidate against Sri Baljit Singh Rohar, for the office of Pradhan. Sri Chhotey Singh was actively supported by Pandit Saunath Singh, the Dheenwars, half of the Muslims, about half of the Jatavas and some more persons, whereas Sri Baljit Singh was supported by the Rohars, about half of the Jatavas and the remaining population. Sri Baljit Singh lost by 13 votes. The Gaon Sabha has 15 members — 6 Jatavas, 5 Dheenwars, 1 Brahmin, 1 Barhai and 2 Muslims. All the members except one Jatava belong to the party of the Pradhan.

Sri Chhotey Singh, the present Pradhan, has not received any education and is a man of ordinary means whereas Sri Saunath Singh is educated up to Vernacular Middle and is a well-to-do and influential person. He continues to

wield adequate influence in the village organisation.

As a result of post-election tension, some criminal cases sprang up between the parties but in course of time the atmosphere of strained feelings disappeared and the cases were compromised. Now the parties on the whole co-operate with each other in the promotion of general welfare of the village, even though the participation of the defeated group is not whole-hearted. Generally speaking, the atmosphere in the village has a general hue of amicable cordiality.

The richest and most educated person in the village is Sri K. C. Rai, an immigrant from West Pakistan. He has studied up to the Intermediate standard. He has reclaimed a large tract of land and is a progressive farmer, using a tractor and other improved implements in cultivation. He has a motor-cycle too. He does not mix much with the villagers nor do they care for him.

Inter-caste Relationship

Within the Hindu society, caste is an important factor in the life of a person. Hence every caste at the lower rung of the social ladder makes an attempt to get a step upward. For example, the Dheenwars claim to be Kashyap Rajputs, the Gadariyas claim to be Saini Kshatriya and the Barhais claim to be Dhiman Brahmins. Such claims sometimes create inter-caste tensions, especially when the caste claiming a higher status in society has an efficient organisation. For example, the Brahmins do not take *kachcha* food at the house of the Barhais. With a view to asserting their own superiority, the Barhais do not take any kind of food prepared by a Brahmin. This attitude of the two communities has not, however, given rise to any problem on the socio-economic side.

The Brahmins and the Rohars do not take unfried food prepared by other castes. The Brahmins do not go to the house of the Bhangis and the Jatavas. No Hindu takes food prepared by a Muslim, with the exception of the Bhangis.

The Jatavas and the Bhangis belong to the Scheduled Castes. They cannot therefore mix with other communities nor can they ordinarily have water from the same hand pump. Their children can, however, study in the same school and sit in the same class room.

Article 17 of the Constitution of India has abolished untouchability and has forbidden its practice in any form. According to the Untouchability (Offences) Act, the practice of untouchability is a cognisable offence. The U. P. Temple Entry (Declaration of Rights) Act was enforced in 1956. With the spread of education and change in socio-economic conditions, too, the attitude of the high castes towards the Scheduled Castes has undergone a slight change towards integration. The Scheduled Castes are no more afraid of expressing their resentment over the treatment received by them at the hands of the higher castes. They are also changing their ways of life, e.g., they try to keep themselves and their houses neat and clean, or they are giving up unclean occupations like keeping of pigs or flaying of carcasses. On the other hand the average high caste Hindu has relaxed his attitude of strict aloofness from the untouchables. For example, on being touched by a Jatava, a Brahmin would not now take a purificatory bath even with ordinary water. Strict exclusion of the untouchables from the village *mandir* is not insisted upon.

Untouchability, being an old institution, has taken very deep roots in the warp and woof of the Indian society. Unfortunately, the crux of the problem is that untouchability is practised by the untouchables even among themselves. The Jatavas look down upon the Bhangis because the latter follow an unclean occupation. They do not take food or water from the hands of a Bhangi nor do they mix with them socially.

On the whole, the relations between the various castes are quite cordial. There is generally no occasion for an inter-caste dissension of a lasting nature.

Inter-hamlet Relationship

Brahmapuri, a hamlet of this village, is situ-

ated on this side of River Malin. This hamlet and other neighbouring villages are visited by the residents of this village casually. A caste ceremony, a market or a fair provide opportunities to the village people for meeting each other. There are no dissensions or rivalries among the residents of various villages or hamlet.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

The following organs of democratic decentralisation are functioning in the village :—

- (1) Gaon Panchayat
- (2) Nyaya Panchayat
- (3) Gaon Samaj
- (4) Caste Panchayat
- (5) Informal Panchayat

Gaon Panchayat

The village panchayats were established in the State under the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947. The underlying idea behind the establishment of panchayats was to establish and develop a sort of Local Self-Government in the rural areas of the State so that people could have a training in village administration and development and thus ameliorate their condition without depending too much on Government agencies by revitalizing the village corporate life and instilling in the hearts of the people a spirit of self-reliance and joint endeavour. Similarly, Nyaya Panchayats have been established to serve as local tribunals for settling the disputes of the villagers to a great extent through an agency fully conversant with the local conditions, without going through the elaborate and complicated procedure in the city courts.

According to the provisions of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, it is the duty of every Gaon Panchayat, so far as its funds allow, to make reasonable provision within its jurisdiction for :—

- (a) construction, repair, maintenance, cleaning and lighting of public streets;
- (b) medical relief;
- (c) sanitation and taking curative and preventive measures to remove and to stop the spread of an epidemic;

(d) upkeep, protection and supervision of buildings or other property which may belong to the Gaon Sabha or which may be transferred to it for management;

(e) registering births and deaths and marriages and maintenance of the registers mentioned in section 9 of the Act;

(f) removal of encroachments on public streets, public places and property vested in the Gaon Sabha;

(g) regulating places for the disposal of dead bodies and carcasses and of other offensive matter;

(h) regulation of *melas* and *hats* within its area, except those managed by the State Government or the District Board (now Antarim Zila Parishad) and without prejudice to the provisions of the U. P. Melas Act, 1938;

(i) establishing and maintaining primary schools for boys and girls;

(j) establishment, management and care of common grazing grounds and land for the common benefit of the persons residing within its jurisdiction;

(k) construction, repairs and maintenance of public wells, tanks and ponds for the supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes and regulating sources of water supply for drinking purposes;

(l) regulating the construction of a new building or the extension or alteration of any existing building;

(m) assisting the development of agriculture, commerce and industry;

(n) rendering assistance in extinguishing fire and protecting life and property when fire occurs;

(o) the administration of civil and criminal justice;

(p) the maintenance of records relating to cattle census, population census and other statistics as may be prescribed;

(q) maternity and child welfare;

(r) allotment of places for storing manure and for tanning and curing of hides;

(s) fulfilling any other obligations imposed by the Act or any other law on the Gaon Sabha;

(t) the maintenance and control of class I and Kaiser-i-Hind Forest, wasteland (*benap*), water channels and drinking places.

A Gaon Sabha consists of all adults, i.e., persons who have attained the age of 21 years, ordinarily residing within the area of the Sabha. A person who is not a citizen of India or who is evidently of unsound mind cannot be a member of the Gaon Sabha. A member of the Gaon Sabha is disqualified for being chosen, nominated or appointed to, and for holding any office in the Gaon Sabha or the Gaon Panchayat or the Nyaya Panchayat, if he:—

(a) holds any office of profit under a State Government or Central Government or a local authority;

(b) is a salaried servant of a Gaon Sabha or a Nyaya Panchayat;

(c) has been dismissed from the service of a State Government or Central Government or a local authority or a Nyaya Panchayat for his misconduct;

(d) is in arrears of any tax, fee or rate due by him to the Gaon Sabha for a period as may be prescribed;

(e) is suffering from leprosy;

(f) is an undischarged insolvent;

(g) has been convicted of any offence involving moral turpitude;

(h) has been sentenced to imprisonment for a term exceeding six months for contravention of any order made under the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act, 1946, or the U. P. Control of Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act, 1947;

(i) has been bound down under section 109 or 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898;

(j) is convicted of an election offence;

(k) is convicted under the Removal of Social Disabilities Act.

The disqualifications mentioned at (c), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j) and (k) above may be removed by the State Government.

The Panchayat Secretary prepares a register of the members of the Gaon Sabha. Whenever a general election is to be held, the District Magistrate, under directions from the Director of Elections, calls upon all the constituencies of a Gaon Sabha to elect a Pradhan and the members of the Gaon Sabha on a date to be fixed by the Director of Elections. The District Magistrate fixes the date, place and hour of making nominations, of scrutiny of nominations, of preliminary withdrawal of candidature and of the actual poll.

Since the enforcement of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act there have been three elections in this State. The last election was held in January 1961. Previously the voting was done by show of hands, but now this practice has been discontinued in the case of the election of the Pradhan and voting for this post is done by secret ballot papers. The election of members continues to be by show of hands.

Village Raoli also has got its own Gaon Sabha and Panchayat. It falls within the jurisdiction of Nyaya Panchayat Mohammedpur Deomal. During the elections held in January 1961, 15 members headed by one Pradhan were elected to Gaon Panchayat, which is the executive body of the Gaon Sabha. Out of these members, the Pradhan and five members belong to the Dheenwar community, six members to the Jatava community, one member to the Brahmin community, one member to the Barhai community and two members to the Muslim community. The previous Pradhan Pandit Saunath Singh was an influential and well-to-do Brahmin, educated up to Vernacular Middle. The present Pradhan, Sri Chhotey Singh is an illiterate Dheenwar, set up by Sri Saunath Singh.

Ever since the establishment of Panchayat in this village the only work done for the amelioration of the lot of the people consists of pavement of 600 yards of lanes with pukka bricks and installation of a hand pump in the village for the use of the public. The Gaon Pan-

chayat has a scanty income as would be evident from the following income statement for the period April 1, 1960 to March 31, 1961:—

Source of Income	Amount
	Rs. nP.
1. Levy of taxes	217.17
2. Government Grant for pukka pavements	420.00
3. Contract for skinning of carcasses	25.00
4. Interest on Post Office Saving Deposits	27.16
5. Receipt from Personal Ledger Account	25.00
Total	714.33

Besides the above, an amount of Rs.748.84 nP. is lying in deposit with the Post Office. The following figures indicate the expenditure incurred by the Gaon Panchayat during the financial year ending March 31, 1961:—

Item of Expenditure	Amount
	Rs. nP.
1. Personal Ledger Account ..	42.70
2. Postage ..	2.13
3. Pay of peon ..	52.92
4. <i>Pragati</i> (Magazine) ..	4.50
5. Secretary's T. A. ..	24.00
6. Stationery ..	1.37
7. Hand pump ..	169.87
8. Bricks ..	100.00
Total	397.49

Two members of the Gaon Sabha, Sri Phool Singh and Sri Abdul Ghani from this village, are working as Panches in the Nyaya Panchayat Mohammedpur Deomal. They were nominated by the District Magistrate. During the last one year there were no criminal cases in this village. There were four civil suits, out of which two were decreed and two were compromised.

The achievements of the Gaon Panchayat are poor. The members of Gaon Sabha do not take an active interest in the development of the village. The elections by show of hands have

created factions and mutual enmity amongst the population. Members of the defeated party do not actively co-operate with the majority party in the Planning and Development work. Incidentally, this village lies only within a Shadow Block.

Gaon Samaj

With the abolition of zamindari after the enforcement of the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950, all lands of common utility such as *abadi* sites, pathways, wastelands, forests, fisheries, public wells, tanks and water channels vested in the village community or the Gaon Samaj consisting of all the residents of the village as well as *pahikasht* cultivators. The Gaon Panchayat acting on behalf of the village community was entrusted with wide powers of land management.

Out of the land that has vested in the Gaon Samaj, a large percentage consists of *banjar* land because the village is situated in the vicinity of three rivers—Ganga, Malin and Lahpi. The extent of cultivable land is small. At the time of survey, 100 bighas and 6 biswas of land was found having been let out by the Gaon Samaj to the *Asamis*, who have been paying Rs.238.63 nP. as rent to the Gaon Samaj. In 1368 *Fasli*, the Gaon Samaj let out 2 bighas of land at a rent of Rs.3.62 to Chhotey Jatava and another 4 bighas and 13 biswas at a rent of Rs.12.50 to Sri Sant Ram carpenter. The income from rent from *Asamis* has therefore gone up to Rs.254.75 in 1369 *Fasli*.

In the year 1954, the Gaon Samaj transferred 100 bighas of land to the Bhoodan Yagna Committee but this land was situated at a distance of about 2½ miles from the village and was infested with *beend* and *poola*, which rendered it uncultivable. Hence no one was willing to get it allotted in his name. The land has been transferred back to the Gaon Samaj last year.

Similarly one Sri Kishan Chand transferred 8 bighas 7 biswas of land to the Bhoodan Yagna Committee but it was all covered with water and hence could not have been allotted to any one. It has been transferred to the Gaon Samaj in 1368 *Fasli*.

The following table shows the details of Gaon Samaj land held by its *asamis*, as entered in the *Khatauni* of the village:—

TABLE NO. 4.7

Showing Gaon Samaj Land and *Asamis*

Name of Allottee	Caste	Area of Land allotted (Acres)	Area of other Land in Cultivation (Acres)
1. Mukandi	Jatava	2.19	0.50
2. Jhabba	"	0.16	0.94
3. Dhyan Singh	"	2.03	6.66
4. Budroo	"	3.20	19.12
5. Budhoo Singh	"	1.09	..
6. Sunda	"	0.49	1.36
7. Durga	"	1.62	..
8. Pancha	"	1.56	1.13
9. Jharhia, son of Beeran	"	2.31	1.65
10. Lachhman	"	1.56	1.12
11. Natho	"	1.75	4.31
12. Jharhia, son of Niadar	"	0.46	6.63
13. Garib	"	0.48	1.31
14. Smt. Badamo	"	5.28	4.81
15. Punua Singh	"	1.75	7.13
16. Jhalban Singh	"	2.12	1.12
17. Litar	"	2.40	..
18. Uddey	"	3.50	4.13
19. Mangat	"	0.68	0.85
20. Badaloo	"	0.46	1.46

It was also reported that 51 bighas of Gaon Samaj land was illegally occupied by some landless workers. Eviction proceedings under section 209 of the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act were started in the court of the Sub-Divisional Officer.

Caste Panchayat

Among the higher castes the caste panchayats do not function. In this village the panchayats of Jatava and Dheenwar communities only were found functioning. The Jatava caste panchayat consists of the following five members:—

Name	Age	Occupation	Since when holding the Office
1. Chet Ram	55 Years	Cultivation	30 Years
2. Nathu Singh	45	"	10 "
3. Nathu	55	"	30 "
4. Dilla	53	"	12 "
5. Budhu Singh	60	"	20 "

No case was referred to the panchayat for decision during the period of reference.

The Dheenwar caste panchayat consists of the following five members:—

Name	Age	Occupation	Since when holding Office
1. Gangaram	40 Years	Boat-rowing	8 Years
2. Harbans	45	"	10 "
3. Nathu	55	"	20 "
4. Bharta	50	Mill worker	15 "
5. Naubat	55	Boat-rowing	25 "

Two interesting cases that came up before the caste panchayat have already been discussed earlier.

Ordinarily cases of social offence, such as kidnapping, rape, adultery etc. and quarrels connected with betrothal, marriage and divorce are heard by the caste panchayat. The prestige of the panchayats is, however, dwindling fast. Everyone would like to have a verdict from a

Name of Allottee	Caste	Area of Land allotted (Acres)	Area of other Land in Cultivation (Acres)
21. Kanhaiya	Jatava	1.75	9.20
22. Kanha	"	2.50	15.89
23. Suraja	Kahar	0.93	0.72
24. Bhagwana	"	1.15	2.41
25. Chhotey	"	1.25	1.56
26. Abdul Wahid	"	4.12	..
27. Harbansa	"	0.72	3.62
28. Pruteen	"	0.46	2.00
29. Harbansa, son of Pratap	"	2.96	..
30. Ghaseeta	"	1.00	4.26
31. Gola	"	0.46	1.25
32. Mani Ram	"	0.88	..
33. Kishan Chand	Vaish or Bishnoi	1.00	(Sold)
34. Laik Ram	"	4.12	..
35. Nabba	Muslim Dhobi	1.44	2.19
36. Smt. Hashmi	"	0.62	..
37. Ishwar Chand	Jogi	0.16	1.84
38. Ram Kishan	"	0.16	1.97
39. Niadar, son of Chhajoo	Muslim Nai	0.85	2.10
40. Shabbir	Muslim Darzi	1.56	..
41. Abdul Rahman	Muslim Julaha	3.12	..
42. Bharat Lall	Brahmin	3.20	10.37
43. Ram Lall	Gadariya	0.81	..
44. Mukh Ram	Saini	0.71	0.73
45. Sant Ram	Barhai	2.85	1.33

The above land is under cultivation. The landless allottees brought the land under cultivation with the help of other cultivators after borrowing some money. The Gaon Samaj has also donated 60 bighas of land to the Kanwa Sanskritik Shiksha Prasara Samiti.

Income of Gaon Samaj

The following income accrued to the Gaon Samaj during the years 1366 *Fasli* to 1369 *Fasli*:—

TABLE NO. 4.8

Showing Income of Gaon Samaj

Item	Income in			
	1366F. Rs.	1367F. Rs.	1368F. Rs.	1369F. Rs.
(a) Rent from <i>Asamis</i>	238.63	238.63	238.63	254.75
(b) Malin Ghat	6.50			
(c) Fish Contract	20.00	20.00	20.00	Not auctioned
(d) <i>Beend</i> and <i>Poola</i>	800.00	730.00	580.00	
Total	1,065.13	988.63	838.63	254.75

regular court, provided he has the means and money.

Informal Panchayat

The informal village panchayat consists of the following 11 members of various castes :—

Name	Caste	Age	Occupation	Since when holding Office
1. Phool Singh	Rohar	36 Years	Cultivation	6 Years
2. Munshi Ram	"	60 "	"	20 "
3. Budhu Singh	Jatava	60 "	"	20 "
4. Punwa Singh	"	45 "	"	15 "
5. Naubat Singh	Dheenwar	55 "	Boat-rowing	20 "
6. Abdul Ghani Darzi	"	60 "	Tailoring	20 "
7. Bharat Lal	Brahmin	56 "	Cultivation	25 "
8. Ganga Ram	Dheenwar	40 "	Boat-rowing	8 "
9. Mukhram	Saini	40 "	Cultivation	15 "
10. Sant Ram	Barhai	30 "	Carpentry	10 "
11. Munnoo Singh	Bishnoi	45 "	Cultivation	12 "

The panchayat sometimes tries to decide ordinary cases by bringing about a compromise so that chances of tension resulting from litigation might be minimized. It was reported that Dilla Singh and Kewal Jatavas had given a beating to Munnoo Singh and Laik Singh Bishnois and Tikam Singh Rohar. A complaint was filed under section 323 I. P. C. by the aggrieved party in the court. The informal panchayat of the village used its good offices in bringing about a compromise between the parties and the complaint was dismissed.

Voluntary Organisations

In this village there are no voluntary organisations such as youth club, library or Mahila

Samiti. There are no arrangements for the social education of the villagers who have however locally formed two parties for reciting songs, *dhola* or *Alha*. There is no common playground in the village. The younger generation enjoys club lifting, wrestling, *kabaddi*, *gulli danda* etc. in the fields. There is no community radio-set. One cultivator possesses a private radio-set.

Educational Institutions

There was no educational institution in the village. Recently the Kanwa Sanskritik Shiksha Prasar Samiti has started a Junior High School in an open grove near the bus stand. A small building for the school is under construction. Some students are also being taught in the same school for Prathma Examination of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi. Students from this village have to wade through the waters of Malin for reaching the school. The attendance is quite thin.

Reform Measures

There is neither a family planning centre in the village or its neighbourhood nor do the people in general realise the necessity of planning their families. The addition of a son to the family is most welcome.

The system of giving dowry has not been affected by the recent legislation regulating dowry. In fact people in general are not aware of the new prohibitory law. Dowry and gifts are given to the daughter according to one's economic condition.

Untouchability is practised in the village in spite of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955. Only 48 per cent of the heads of households were aware of the law prohibiting untouchability. The Jatavas sit on a chair or *moorha* when visiting a Brahmin. Their clothes are also washed by the village *dhobi*. The Balmikis, however, are treated as untouchables.

PLATE No. 26



The newly-constructed village school
— PHOTO BY RAMESH

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study of the various aspects of the social, cultural and economic life of the village leads to the obvious conclusion that it is a backward and undeveloped village inhabited mainly by people like Mallahas and Jatavas. Surrounded as it is by rivers Ganga, Malin and Lahpi it is subject to regular attacks of soil erosion and saturation of land during the season of annual floods. As a consequence, the standing crop is damaged on a mass scale and vast tracts of land remain uncultivated. Out of a total area of 2,695 acres, only 617 acres of land could be brought under cultivation in the year 1968 F. Absolutely nothing has been done to minimise the devastating effects of floods and soil erosion every year. Pukka spurs are apparently too costly but even the plantation of trees on the river banks, which would have worked as a measure against floods, has not been attempted.

In spite of the close vicinity of the two rivers the cultivable land is starved of water. There are no means of irrigation. None of the two rivers has been harnessed for the purpose of irrigation. Also no tube-wells have been constructed. The cultivators are at the sole mercy of the rain-god. Consequently neither sugarcane and paddy, the main crops of the village, can be cultivated according to improved methods, nor can proper use of chemical fertilisers be made. A proper arrangement for conservation of soil and irrigation of land is basically necessary for improvement of productivity.

The sub-division and fragmentation of holdings is yet another factor having an adverse effect on the economy of production. The work of consolidation of holdings has not been taken up in this village. Also big tracts of land are concentrated in a few hands only whereas a number of small and scattered plots are in possession of a number of small cultivators. This unbalanced distribution of land has led to

concentration of a huge percentage of agricultural produce in a few hands.

The activities of the Planning Department have not been extended to this village as yet. The Co-operative Movement is unknown to the people. There is no Co-operative Credit Society or Co-operative Marketing Society for advancing loans to the cultivators or making arrangements for marketing the agricultural produce. The cultivators being poor and unorganised cannot wait and hence their bargaining capacity is weak. Improved varieties of seeds, proper compost manures and chemical fertilisers have not been popularised, except in the case of sugarcane, through the agency of the Co-operative Cane Society. The average production per acre is sub-normal, the total produce of the village being quite low due to floods and erosion every year. Consequently agriculture is not a source of profit to most of the cultivators. With them, it is only a mode of living at the most. The children of the village in general present a naked picture of stark poverty writ equally large on the rugged and prematurely aging faces of the elders.

The income from boat-rowing as a profession is naturally limited. Only a few households are engaged in fishing and that too, as a secondary occupation. Fishing can be developed as a paying profession for a large number of Dheenwars. A Co-operative Fishermen's Society can put fishing on an organised and sound footing. Similarly the *ban*-making industry, which at present engages only some Jatava families for four months or so, can be developed as an important industry. These industries when developed and organised, can provide employment to the overflowing population which at present has a tendency to stick to the ancestral occupations in the village, thereby increasing the pressure on land and other limited resources of the village. There are no opportunities for educa-

tion or technical training and hence the population has a stay-at-home attitude towards life. There is no resident of this village working on any good post outside and hence there is no possibility of the younger generation being attracted outside. They simply dissipate their energies in the stagnant pool that the village is.

With the political and consequential socio-economic changes all over India, some changes have no doubt crept in this village also on some fronts. Having seen three Panchayat and Assembly elections, the population has grown politically conscious. Instead of submitting meekly they have learnt to assert; they are no longer afraid of the bureaucracy but freely complain to the highest authorities to get their grievances redressed. The officials too give a patient hearing to what they say. Due weight is attached to the *vox populi*. No one is allowed to have his own way.

As a result of urban contacts, the way of dress and living is also undergoing a change. Sari, bodice, petticoat, *shilwar*, half-pant, pull-over etc. are, for example, being used increasingly by the younger generation.

As regards cultivation, green manures, chemical fertilisers and improved seeds are no doubt used but only to a limited extent. One farmer uses tractors and other farming machinery as well whereas some farmers use the improved type of iron plough. With most of the cultivators the change in the methods of farming is almost negligible. On account of the rise in the prices of sugarcane, wheat and paddy, the cultivators have been able to earn more with almost the same efforts. They are, therefore, better off to-day than when they were ten years before. In fact, during the last ten years, 84 households have cleared off a debt of

Rs.30,405. With the abolition of Zamindari system, a new spirit has been infused in the tenantry. They breathe in an air of freedom. They have to pay less rent. They are free from the tyranny of the Zamindar. They feel that the land they cultivate is their own. They have an incentive to make permanent improvement on land.

With the opening of a Junior High School by the Kanwa Sanskritik Shiksha Prasar Samiti, it is expected that the percentage of literacy in this village will go up. The importance of this village as the site of Kanwa Ashram has also lately increased. With the construction of a suitable memorial to Maharishi Kanwa, Shakuntala and Bharat it might become a pilgrimage centre.

The social values too have been changing. The lower castes have been trying hard to go a rung higher in the social ladder. Only the Bhangis are treated as untouchables, even though their children can study in the same school. The Jatavas are offered a seat when they visit the higher caste. This change has taken place obviously due to the better economic condition of this community and their large number. Due to economic reasons, the Brahmins, too, cannot afford to remain very orthodox. There may be casual bickerings and differences of opinion but on the whole there is an atmosphere of goodwill and co-operation prevailing in the village.

No doubt the wind of change has been blowing but the velocity is slow. The general population continues to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water". It is only a concentrated effort on the part of the Planning and Development Department that might bring about some redemption to the village and remove its poverty and backwardness.

TABLES

TABLE I

Area, Houses and Population

Area in		Density per square mile	Number of Houses	Number of Households	Population		
Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
2,695.00	1,090.65	234	144	146	795	425	370

TABLE II

Population by Age-group

Total of all Ages			0-4		5-9		10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-44		45-59		60 and above	
Persons	Males	Females	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
795	425	370	77	59	73	66	52	45	38	29	32	34	42	27	15	22	45	32	28	39	23	17

TABLE III

Size and Composition of Households

Total Number of Households	Single Member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10 Members and over		
	Size of Household			Size of Household			Size of Household			Size of Household			Size of Household		
	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females
146	8	5	3	26	32	36	65	179	154	38	158	134	9	51	43

TABLE IV
Caste and Nature of the Family

Caste	Total Number of Households	Type of Families living in the Household			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Brahmin	5	1	1	3	..
Bhanggi	2	..	..	2	..
Barhai	6	2	2	1	1
Dheenwar (Mallah)	42	29	2	8	3
Gadariya	3	1	2	..	..
Jogi	2	2	..	..	..
Jatava	49	26	9	8	6
Rohar	5	..	2	3	..
Saini	4	1	2	..	1
Vaishya	5	3	..	..	2
Muslim	23	13	4	3	3
Total	146	78	24	28	16

Simple family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children.
Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brothers, sisters and one of the parents.
Joint family consists of married couple with married sons, daughters or with married brothers, sisters.
'Others' refers to single members or unmarried brothers and sisters or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

TABLE V
Population classified by Religions, Castes and Sub-castes

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Population		
			Persons	Males	Females
Hinduism	Jatava		269	141	128
	Bhanggi		16	11	5
	Dheenwar	Mallah	240	131	109
	Barhai		29	15	14
	Brahmin	Gaur	30	16	14
	Rohar		35	17	18
	Bishnoi		11	8	3
	Saini		24	13	11
	Jogi		8	3	5
	Gadariya		18	12	6
	Vaishya	Agarwal	3	1	2
	Islam	Sunni	39	20	19
		Ansari	26	13	13
		Dhobi	22	11	11
		Nai	8	5	3
		Darzi	17	8	9
		Rangarh	795	425	370
Total			795	425	370

TABLE VI
Age and Marital Status

Age-group	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Ages	795	425	370	249	177	157	162	19	31
0-4	136	77	59	77	59	..	..	..	..
5-9	139	73	66	73	66	..	..	..	..
10-14	97	52	45	52	45	..	..	..	..
15-19	67	38	29	30	7	8	22	..	..
20-24	66	32	34	8	..	24	34	..	..
25-29	69	42	27	5	..	36	27	1	..
30-34	37	15	22	1	..	13	22	1	..
35-39	44	25	19	..	..	25	18	..	1
40-44	33	20	13	1	..	17	11	2	2
45-49	22	8	14	..	..	8	11	..	3
50-54	28	16	12	..	..	13	6	3	6
55-59	17	4	13	..	..	2	7	2	6
60 and over	40	23	17	2	..	11	4	10	13

TABLE VII

Age-group	Education																				
	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate without educational standard			Primary or Basic			High School			Intermediate			Any other qualifications		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	795	425	370	718	358	360	21	18	3	46	42	4	4	2	2	1	1	..	5	4	1
0-4	136	77	59	136	77	59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9	139	73	66	135	71	64	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	97	52	45	72	30	42	9	8	1	16	14	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	67	38	29	52	25	27	4	4	..	6	6	..	3	2	1	..	..	..	2	1	1
20-24	66	32	34	60	26	34	..	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
25-29	69	42	27	61	35	26	2	2	..	5	5	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
30-34	37	15	22	35	13	22	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
35-39	44	25	19	38	19	19	2	2	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
40-44	33	20	13	30	17	13	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45-49	22	8	14	22	8	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50-54	28	16	12	25	15	10	..	..	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55-59	17	4	13	14	1	13	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
60 and over	40	23	17	38	21	17	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE VIII

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and broad Age-groups

Age-group	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	795	425	370	299	234	65	496	191	305
0-14	372	200	172	20	19	1	352	181	171
15-34	239	128	111	165	125	40	74	3	71
35-59	144	74	70	93	71	22	51	3	48
60 and over	40	23	17	21	19	2	19	4	15

TABLE IX

Workers classified by Sex, broad Age-groups and Occupation

Age-group	Cultivation			Agricultural Labour			Rearing of Livestock			Farm Service			String Making			Chatai Making			Weaving		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Ages	105	94	11	45	44	1	7	5	2	1	1	..	40	..	40	2	..	2	6	6	..
0-14	2	2	..	5	5	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-34	58	51	7	27	27	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-59	34	30	4	11	10	1	1	1	..	1	1	..	27	..	27	..	..	..	5	5	..
60 and over	11	11	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	13	2	..	2	1	1	..

Age-group	Tailoring			Carpentry			Halwai			Sugar Service			Retail sale of Grocery			Boat-rowing			Peon and Watchman			Washer-man			Barber			Sweeper			Domestic Servant			
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F				
All Ages	3	3	..	6	6	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	4	4	..	55	55	..	5	5	..	3	1	2	5	5	..	7	2	5	3	1	2	
0—14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
15-34	1	1	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	28	28	..	3	3	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	
35—59	1	1	..	2	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	17	17	..	1	1	..	2	2	2	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	
60 and over	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	2	..	3	1	2	..	..	2	2

TABLE X

Households by Number of Rooms and by Number of Persons Occupying

Total Number of Households	Total Number of Rooms	Total Number of Family members	Households with no regular room	Households with one room	Households with two rooms	Households with three rooms	Households with four rooms	Households with five rooms	Households with more than five rooms
No. of Households	No. of Family members	No. of Households	No. of Family members	No. of Households	No. of Family members	No. of Households	No. of Family members	No. of Households	No. of Family members
146	259	795	..	63	271	59	359	21	144
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	7
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	11
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3

TABLE XI

Livestock including Fishery

Caste	Milch Cattle		Draught Bull		Others		Pig		Fisheries	
	No. of households owning	Total No.	No. of households owning	Total No.	No. of households owning	Total No.	No. of households owning	Total No.	No. of families rearing fish	No. of families selling fish
Brahmin	3	4	5	14	5	24	..	..	..	..
Bhangi	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	15	..	..
Barhai	..	..	5	17	4	6	..	..	..	..
Dheenwar (Mallah)	4	4	14	34	22	56	..	..	..	2
Gadariya	1	1	3	7	3	8	..	..	..	..
Jogi	..	..	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..
Jatava	9	12	31	82	38	115	..	..	..	..
Rohar	4	4	5	25	25	40	..	..	..	..
Saini	..	..	3	6	2	6	..	..	..	..
Vaishya	1	3	3	11	3	8	..	..	..	..
Muslim	5	5	3	9	15	43	..	..	..	..
Total	27	33	73	208	118	307	2	15	..	2

TABLE XII

Agricultural Produce of Cultivation run by the Households and its Disposal

Name of Product	Paddy	Maize	Sawan or small Millet	Sugar Cane	Wheat	Wheat and Gram	Wheat and Barley	Barley	Barley and Gram	Masur	Fruits	Vegetable (value in Rs.)
(1) Annual quantity produced (Mds.)	772	26	20	76,500	1,572	13	60	320	340	10	75	135
(2) Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households (Mds.)	670	26	20	1,500	800	13	60	275	280	10	60	65
(3) Total annual quantity available for sale (Mds.)	102	..	..	75,000	772	..	..	45	60	..	15	70

TABLE XIII

Indebtedness

Income Group	Total No. of Households	No. of Households in debt	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Average indebtedness per household in debt	Total Debt
Rs. 25 and below	5	..	..	..	..
Rs. 26 to 50	76	39	51.31	Rs. 165.54	Rs. 6,456
Rs. 51 to 75	21	10	47.62	Rs. 250.50	Rs. 2,505
Rs. 76 to 100	16	7	43.75	Rs. 380.00	Rs. 2,660
Rs. 101 and above	28	13	45.43	Rs. 523.07	Rs. 6,800
All Groups	146	69	47.26	Rs. 266.97	Rs. 18,421

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GLOSSARY

<i>Local Word</i>	<i>English Synonym</i>
Abadi ..	.. Population
Amavas ..	.. Fifteenth day of the dark fortnight
Asami ..	.. Sub-tenant
Ashnan ..	.. Bath
Ashram ..	.. Hermitage
Badi ..	.. Dark fortnight of the month
Bajra ..	.. A millet (<i>Pennisetum typhoides</i>)
Banian ..	.. Under-shirt
Barat ..	.. Marriage party
Bari ..	.. Cotton crop
Basant Panchami ..	.. A Hindu festival
Batasha ..	.. Ordinary sweet
Beend ..	.. A kind of grass
Bhangi ..	.. Sweeper
Bigha ..	.. Land measurement equivalent to 0.57 acre
Biswa ..	.. Twentieth part of a Bigha
Biswansi ..	.. Twentieth part of a Biswa
Chabutra ..	.. Platform
Charkhi ..	.. Spinning wheel
Chari ..	.. fodder
Chatai ..	.. Mat
Chempa ..	.. A crop disease
Chhuaras ..	.. Dry dates
Chhati ..	.. A purification ceremony performed 6 days after the birth
Dai ..	.. A village midwife
Daman ..	.. A female garment
Darwaza ..	.. Door
Daungi ..	.. Small boat
Dhaincha ..	.. Green manure (<i>Sesbania aculeata</i>)
Dhania ..	.. Coriander
Dholak ..	.. A musical instrument
Dumat ..	.. A kind of soil

Local Word	English Synonym
Fasli ..	Agricultural year
Faqir ..	Beggar
Gandasa ..	An agricultural implement used for cutting fodder
Garha or Gazi ..	Khaddar cloth
Gauna ..	Second marriage
Grih Pravesh ..	Occupation of a new house
Girwa ..	A crop disease
Gochra ..	A kind of soil
Goonch ..	A kind of fish
Gundhi ..	A crop pest (<i>Leptocorhiza vericornis</i>)
Halwai ..	Confectioner
Idgah ..	A place of prayer used by Muslims
Jal Pravah ..	Immersion of a dead body in river
Jarrah ..	An indigenous surgeon
Jhau ..	A wild shrub
Jowar ..	A millet (<i>Sorghum Sp.</i>)
Kachcha ..	(1) Unfried food (2) House built of sun-dried clay bricks or mud
Kajana ..	A crop disease
Kamiz ..	Shirt
Kans ..	A kind of thatch grass
Kanswa ..	A crop disease
Kargha ..	Loom
Kartika ..	Hindu calendar month
Khadar ..	Low-lying area of a river or ravines
Kharif ..	Autumn harvest
Khil ..	Puffed rice
Khurpi ..	Scythe
Kirar ..	A type of fish
Kurta ..	A type of shirt
Lagan ..	Ceremony connected with marriage
Lahanga ..	A female dress
Lakkar ..	A roller of wood
Lanchi ..	A type of fish
Mandap ..	Canopy
Mantra ..	Sanskrit verses
Matiyar ..	A kind of soil
Mehtar ..	Alimony

Local Word	English Synonym
Moonj ..	A kind of thatch grass
Moorha ..	A type of chair
Mulla ..	A Muslim priest
Mundan ..	A ceremony in which the head of a child is shaved
Nai ..	Barber
Nambardar ..	A village Zamindar responsible for collection of land revenue
Namkaran ..	Christening of the child
Neem ..	Margosa tree
Nikah ..	Muslim marriage ceremony
Nishan ..	Banner sacred to the gods
Numaz ..	Muslim way of prayer
Orhani ..	A sort of scarf used by females as a head-gear
Pairi ..	Second and subsequent crop of sugarcane
Patela ..	Clod breaker
Patera ..	A kind of grass
Patwari ..	A revenue official
Patra ..	Low wooden seat
Peepal ..	A tree (sacred to the Hindus)
Phera ..	The circumambulation of holy fire
Pitra Paksh ..	A fortnight sacred to the ancestor dead
Phuljhari ..	A type of cracker
Puja ..	Worship
Rab ..	A product of sugarcane
Rabi ..	Spring crop
Rahu ..	A variety of fish (<i>Labeo rohita</i>)
Rakhi ..	A sacred thread tied on the brother's wrist by the sister
Ramayana ..	A holy book of Hindus
Rausli ..	A type of soil
Safa ..	Turban
Sanai ..	Green manure (<i>Crotalaria juncea</i>)
Sarson ..	Mustard
Sarwara ..	A crop pest
Sauhal ..	A variety of fish
Sawan ..	Small millet (<i>Echinochloa frumentacea</i>)
Sawai ..	1½ times
Shilwar ..	A female garment

*Local Word**English Synonym*

Shradh	..	..	A ceremony performed by Hindus every year during the fortnight sacred to the dead ancestors
Sirdar	..	..	A kind of landholder
Singhara	..	..	A variety of fish
Soodia	..	..	Person engaged in lending money against interest
Sukharog	..	..	A crop disease
Tahmad	..	..	A male garment, generally worn by Muslims
Tika	..	..	A mark on the forehead with red oxide or turmeric
Vaid	..	..	An ayurvedic physician
Varshi	..	..	A ceremony performed by Hindus after a year of death
Yagopavit	..	..	Sacred thread
Zaid	..	..	Summer harvest
Zamindar	..	..	Landlord

List of Villages selected for Study in Uttar Pradesh

Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
1. Uttarkashi	Dunda	Birpur	44
2. Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla	45
		Darkot	25
		Thapli	55
3. Garhwal	Pauri	Bijepur	51
4. Almora	Ranikhet		
5. Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafinagar <i>urf</i> Raoli	161
		Mughalpura	175
6. Budaun	Bisauli	Mirzapur Behta	110
	Budaun	Kachla Pukhta	21
7. Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani Begum	8
		Barkhan	198
8. Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira	174
9. Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura	118
		Chapnu	332
		Sarari	224
10. Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar	98
		Bilaspur	22
11. Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli	71
12. Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru	122
13. Agra	Kheragarh	Beri Chahar	104
	Etmadpur	Chawli	47
	Bah	Pidhaura	109
14. Etah	Jalesar	Baghai	91
15. Etawah	Etawah	Udi	34
	Auraiya	Ayana	14
16. Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj	17
17. Allahabad	Soraon	Sarai Kesho <i>urf</i> Bagi	216
		Kalyanpur	24
	Phulpur	Bhadkar Uparhar	151
	Rath	Qasba Khera	4
18. Hamirpur	Naraini	Akbarpur	2
19. Banda	Nighasan	Belapersua	122
20. Kheri		Bankati	492
		Lodhauri	301
		Rakehti	301
		Kanduni	354
21. Sitapur	Biswan	Suganagar Domri	383
22. Gonda	Balrampur	Rajderwa Tharu	312

Name of District	Name of Tahsil	Name of Village	Revenue Number
23. Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Gadia	124
		Dadra	20
24. Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin	42
25. Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumbha Dih	364
	Ghosi	Surhan	87
		Pakri Buzurg	444
26. Ghazipur	Ghazipur	Para	64
27. Varanasi	Varanasi	Lohta	123
		Mehndiganj	248
28. Mirzapur	Robertsganj	Mitapur	104
		Gidhia	36
		Parsoi	70

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