

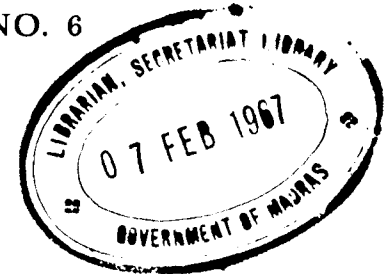


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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME V-PART VI-NO. 6

GUJARAT



VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH

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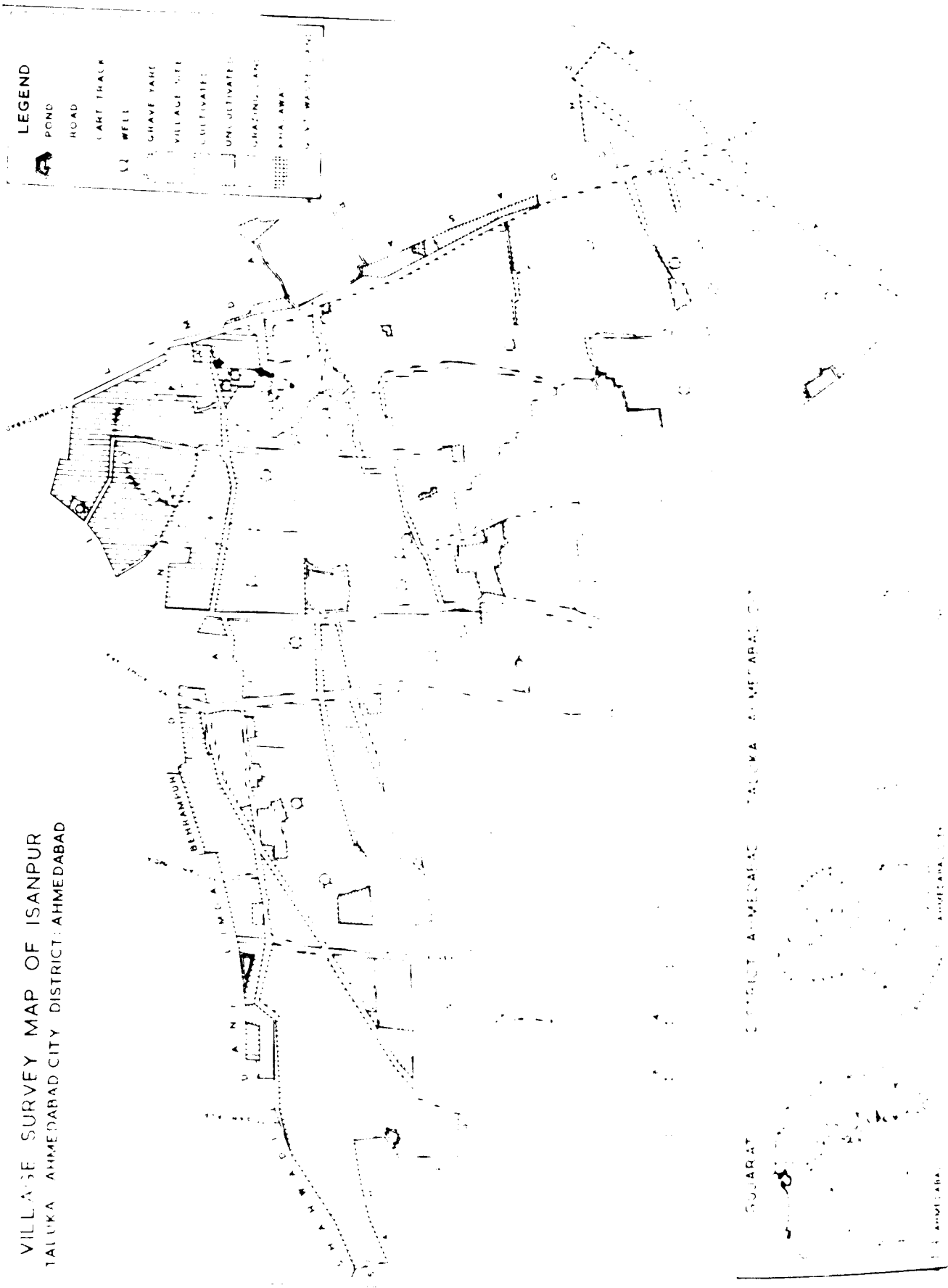
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TALUKA : AHMEDABAD CITY

R. K. TRIVEDI

Superintendent of Census Operations, Gujarat

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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, 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 centralization 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 conclusions', 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 changes. 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

NEW DELHI,
July 30, 1964.

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 Appendices I and II to the Monograph on village Pachhatardi, mahal Bhanvad, district Jamnagar.

ASOK MITRA,
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

Village Survey Monograph on Isanpur is the sixth in the series of Socio-economic Survey of Selected Villages.

The development of large metropolitan areas and cities has been a phenomenon of industrial progress. With the expansion of large-scale industries, urban centres rapidly outgrow their original limits and exercise an indelible impact on the surrounding rural areas. The nature and extent of this impact depend on several factors including distance from the city, communications, employment opportunities, educational facilities, etc. Since urbanisation is a vital factor in economic planning, it was for this reason that Isanpur, three miles away from Ahmedabad City, was selected for the conduct of a socio-economic survey.

The purpose of the survey, and the stages by which it progressed have been elucidated by the Registrar General, India, in his Foreword. The village and the household schedules which were canvassed respectively for the village as a whole and for each individual household have been printed in the Village Survey Monograph on Pachhatardi, district Jamnagar, the first in this series, of which the present monograph is the sixth. The special questionnaire which was canvassed to examine more specifically the nature of the urban impact has been printed in the monograph on village Magdalla, district Surat.

This village had the benefit of the visit of Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Office of the Registrar General, India, to whom I am thankful for going through the draft before printing.

AHMEDABAD,
22 September, 1966.

R. K. TRIVEDI,
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Gujarat.

ISANPUR
TALUKA AHMEDABAD
DISTRICT AHMEDABAD

CHAPTER I THE VILLAGE

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BASIS OF SELECTION

ISANPUR, a small village in the Ahmedabad city taluka of the Ahmedabad district, is named after its founder Malik Isan, a noble in the court of Mahmud Begada (1459-1511). Being in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad city, from which it is only 4 miles away, it has been selected for the study of the urban impact made on it by that city.

1.2 LOCATION

Situated only four miles away from Ahmedabad and only one and a half miles away from the extended boundary line of that city, Isanpur is connected with the city by regular trips of the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service buses at intervals of 45 minutes each from early morning to 10-15 p.m. The Bombay-Ahmedabad National Highway No. 8 with which it is connected by a cart track lies only half a mile away from it. The nearest railway station is Maninagar on the Bombay-Viramgam broad-gauge section of the Western Railway, at a distance of only one mile and a quarter. The villages adjoining Isanpur are Ghodasar on the east, Dani Limda on the north and Vatva and Narol on the south. The Chandola lake is on its north at a distance of four furlongs. This lake is embanked with earth and covers an area of 181 acres. It seems that the original plan was to pave the sides with stone but for some reason it was never carried out. It serves as a beautiful picnic spot to the people of Ahmedabad. The river Sabarmati lies at a distance of three miles from the village while the Khari Cut canal, the main source of irrigation, flows close by. The main administrative centre for the villagers is Ahmedabad, which is not only the taluka, subdivisional and district headquarters, but also the State capital since 1st May, 1960. The police station of Kagdapith in Ahmedabad city

under the jurisdiction of which Isanpur lies is only 3 miles distant from it. The post office is at Vatva and there is a daily postal delivery service through the Ghodasar sub-post office about a mile away.

1.3 HISTORY

The village was founded by Nizamulmulik Malik Isan, a noble in the court of Mahmud Begada (1459-1511 A.D.), who had the title of *Imadulmulik*, or 'helpful to the country'. The settlement was named after him, *pur* meaning town. It was one of the many suburbs around the city of Ahmedabad founded by Sultan Ahmed I in 1411. Isanpur was fortified with a wall made of bricks, *chunam* and flour of *udid*. The present ruins of this fort point to the past glory of Isanpur. Its location being between Vatva where there is the mausoleum of saint Burhan-ud-din Kutbe Alam, the father of the famous saint Shah Alam, on the one hand and the suburb of Rasulabad in which stands the well-known mausoleum of the latter, on the other, Shah Alam used to call Isanpur *Karimuttarafain*, i.e., 'blessed from both the sides'. According to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Isanpur was called *Najibuttarafain* or 'beautiful on all sides', and not *Karimuttarafain* as mentioned in *Mirat-i-Sikandari* in which there is a detailed description of the charm and prettiness of Isanpur which is said to have been unsurpassed in beauty by any of the numerous other suburbs of Ahmedabad. The author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* mentions the names of 110 suburbs of Ahmedabad, of which eighty-three were founded under the Ahmedabad Kings, and nineteen under the Mogul Viceroys. Isanpur is one of them, and stands at serial No. 79 of the list of 110 suburbs confirmed by Major Watson to the author of the Gazetteer.¹ It was surrounded by many beautiful gardens. The mango groves now found in the lands of Isanpur are a relic of the many gardens then existing

1. CAMPBELL, JAMES M., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IV, *Ahmedabad*, pp. 327-8, 1879

and, even in the eighteenth century, the village had many mango (*Mangifera indica*) and *rayan* (*Manilkana hexandra*) trees.

Isanpur was one of the 17 *thanas* under the Fouzdar stationed at Firozpur and it was also one of the several posts where duty was assessed and recovered on cloth, yarn, grocery, hides, etc., coming to Ahmedabad from outside.

In 1670, Emperor Aurangzeb granted this village, along with five other villages, for the upkeep of the *roza* or mausoleum of Shah Alam and the maintenance of the Saiyad, instructors and people connected with the mosque near the *roza*, for facilities of travellers and for providing lights, for other charitable purposes and for the maintenance of the children and grandchildren of Shah Alam. The original *sanad* was produced in different courts in 1886 A.D., and several times thereafter, in the latest instance before the Deputy Charity Commissioner, Ahmedabad Region, in 1962. On 22nd July, 1864 a *sanad* was issued by the British Government under the Summary Settlement Act, 1863, by virtue of which the original grant or endowment in respect of Isanpur was continued and confirmed by the British Government. Under this *sanad* Isanpur village was continued in perpetuity by the British Government as the endowment property of the *roza* of Shah Alam but subject to the condition that the managers of the endowment property should continue to be loyal and faithful subjects of the British Government.

There is a bitter feeling in the village against the Inamdar, a descendant of Shah Alam. The villagers doubt the validity of the *sanads* and contend that the *inam* stands abolished under the Inam Abolition legislation. A writ application in this matter is pending in the High Court.

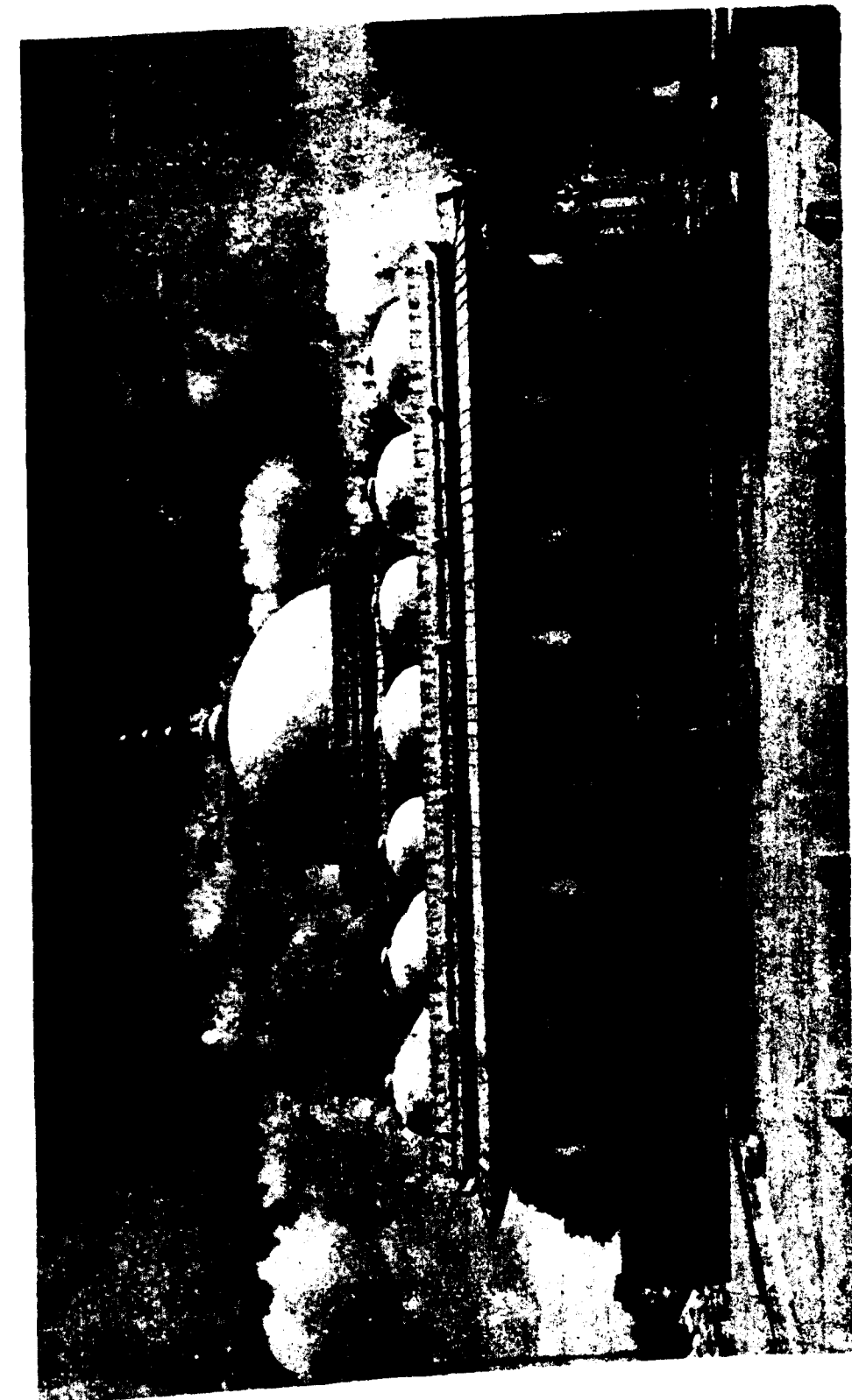
The local inhabitants of Isanpur say that more than 50 years back, in V.S. 1942, (1886 A. D.), the Inamdar tried to enhance the rents, so that their forefathers left the village in protest. After staying away for 2 years, however, they returned as they could not earn their livelihood outside. They add that on their return, the Inamdar compelled them to execute documents admitting that they were his tenants.

Those who had left the village belonged to all communities including Thakardas and Harijans. As the then Patel of the village had sided with the people, the Inamdar had a quarrel with him.

1.4 RASULABAD

One of the old suburbs of Ahmedabad adjacent to Isanpur was Rasulabad which is now a part of the village Dani Linda the old name of which was Sundal Khomodra. The *roza* of the well-known Muslim saint Moham-med Shah Alam situated in S. No. 35 of Dani Linda now forming part of the Ahmedabad city was previously in Rasulabad, founded by saint Shah Alam himself. The inhabitants who first dwelt in Rasulabad were the Saiyads belonging to Shah Alam's family who built residential houses and gardens. The suburb which had a wall around it was prosperous in the times of the Sultans of Gujarat and as it was the residence of a saint it was not disturbed by any one. After the demise of saint Shah Alam in 1475 A.D., there were many feuds and quarrels in Rasulabad and it is said that being aggrieved by strifes, Shah Alam showed himself in a dream to Padmavati, the wife of a Maratha general, and urged for the destruction of the suburb. In 1733 when the Marathas invaded Ahmedabad they ransacked Rasulabad and, in consequence of the plunder, even the valuable library in Rasulabad with numerous useful volumes including some historically important treatises was completely destroyed. Later in 1737-38, the possession of the lands belonging to Saiyads in Rasulabad began to be usurped by the Marathas who were opposed by the Muslims in the city and during the riotous revolts many were wounded on both the sides. The unsatisfactory conditions under which Ahmedabad district groaned on the eve of its passing into the British management in 1817 is described in the account of land administration in Daskroi taluka in 1819 in the District Gazetteer reproduced in Appendix III.

The wall which in the past enclosed Rasulabad now lies in ruins, but the *roza* of Shah Alam which stood since 1531-32 A.D., and still stands within the second and inner gate, in



SHAH ALAM ROZA

the same manner as the palace of a ruling chief stands within an enclosing fort-wall, reminds one of the fact that it was Shah Alam who founded Rasulabad and that if it was looted and damaged by the Marathas it was as the sequel of the feuds and quarrels into which its inhabitants subsequently plunged themselves.

I.5 SHAH ALAM

The name of the famous saint Shah Alam was Mohanmed and he was the son of Saiyad Burhan-ud-din Kutbe Alam whose mausoleum is in Vatva, adjacent to Isanpur in the south. Saiyad Mohammed was born on 18th January, 1415. He was very fond of acquiring religious and spiritual knowledge from the childhood and after acquiring it first from saint Barakulla who was at Hajipura outside the Delhi Gate and then from the famous saint Shaikh Ahmed Khatu Ganj Baksh who lies entombed at Sarkhej he became a spiritual guide and instructor from the early age of seventeen. He succeeded his father Kutbe Alam as his *khalifa* and had numerous disciples among whom Sultan Mahmud Begada was one. In fact, he wielded considerable influence in the royal court. He is known as Shah Alam as this was the title intended by God to be given to him as disclosed to him in dream by Prophet Mohammed. He performed many miracles and died on 21st October, 1475 at the age of 63. As he used to live in Rasulabad, his tomb, and mausoleum were built after his death in that suburb. His progeny is called Shahi Saiyads while the children of his other brothers are known at Kutbiya Saiyads. He had five sons and four daughters. He is even now revered much in Gujarat and the Hijri month of Jamadiul Akhar in which he died and in which Urs fair is held at his tomb is popularly called the month of Shah Alam.

I.6 SHAH ALAM ROZA

After the death of saint Shah Alam in 1475 A.D., a beautiful mausoleum was raised over his tomb in about 1531-41 by Tajkhan Nariali a nobleman of the court of Sultan Bahadurshah. Near this *roza*, a huge mosque, a water *hauz* or reservoir, another beautiful *roza* of Saiyad Maqbul-e-Alam, sixth in succession to Shah Alam,

a *jamatkhana* or assembly hall, and some other buildings were constructed at different times. All these along with two grave yards, one for males and the other for females, are enclosed within a lofty bastioned wall and taken together are popularly known as 'Shah Alam Roza'. In the north, the enclosure has two handsome stone gateways, one within and about a furlong away from the other. Within the second or inner gate there is, on the left, an assembly hall built by Sultan Muzaffer III (1561-1572). In the centre of the inner enclosure there is the tomb of Shah Alam. "It is of very pleasing design and has much of the special character of the buildings of that time. Early in the seventeenth century Asaf Khan, the brother of the famous Nur Jahan ornamented the dome with gold and precious stones". The floor of the tomb is inlaid with black and white marble, the doors are of open cut brass work and the frame in which the doors are set is of pure marble beautifully carved and pierced. The tomb itself is enclosed by an inner wall of pierced stone. The outer wall in the north is of stone trellis work of the most varied design. The mosque on the west of the tomb was built by Mohammed Saleh Badakhshi, with minarets at each end begun by Nizabatkhan and finished in 1620 by Saif Khan. The minarets were much damaged by the earthquake in 1819 but were subsequently repaired in 1863. The mosque, pleasing in outline, has much of the Muslim form of construction found in other parts of India and hardly belongs to the special Ahmedabad style. There is a beautiful *hauz* to the east of the mosque. To the south of the mosque there is what is popularly called the *roza* of Kadame Rasul which is on a plan similar to that of the chief mausoleum and is the burial place of some members of Shah Alam's family. One of the tombs in this mausoleum is that of Saiyad Mohammed Maqbule Alam, the Sajjadanashin 6th in succession to Shah Alam. On this tomb are the footprints of Prophet Mohammed, which were received from one of his nobles by Emperor Jehangir who was an admirer of Saiyad Mohammed and who had presented the footprints to him. These footprints were affixed to the tomb above the heart of Saiyad Mohammed when he died. As stated in *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement* these

footprints differ somewhat from the Prophet's footprints brought to Ahmedabad in 938 A. H. in the reign of Emperor Akbar by Saiyad Abu Turab and the exact date when they were brought here is also not known.

The *roza* of Shah Alam is preserved by Government as a protected monument, as it occupies an important place in the ancient monuments of Ahmedabad on account of its beautiful architecture. The *jali* or trellis work in its walls and doors, which is exquisite, has been so popular that there was a time when the *atlas* cloth of Ahmedabad fetched a better price if it had the designs of *Shalam-ni-jali*.

I.7 PHYSICAL ASPECTS

The village stands on a flat plain with an aggregate area of 1,118 acres or 1.75 square miles. The lands of the village are principally *kyari* lands suitable for growing paddy and wheat crops.

A revenue map of the village as well as a sketch map of the village site is given as the frontispiece.

Rainfall is not recorded at Isanpur. Ahmedabad, which is close by, had 48.95 inches of rain on an average during the eleven years from 1951 to 1961. The rainy season generally begins in the later part of June and lasts up to the end of September. In the cold season (November-February) the temperature falls considerably and the cold, especially with a dry north-east wind, seems very severe. From March until the rains begin, the wind, turning to the west, is hot during the day time. February to June are usually the healthiest months and October is the most sickly as miasmatic fevers are then common.

I.8 FLORA AND FAUNA

Like the rest of the Ahmedabad district, Isanpur has no forests and is bare of timber. The trees found in the area are mango (*Mangifera indica*), *rayan*, (*Manilkara hexandra*), *mahuda* (*Bassia latifolia*), *limbo* (*Azadirachta indica*), *piplo*, (*Ficus religiosa*), *bordi* (*Zizyphus jujuba*), *kher* (*Acacia catechu*) and *babul* (*Acacia arabica*).

The chief domestic animals in the village are oxen, cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats, horses and asses.

I.9 SIZE AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

At the time of the survey, Isanpur had 180 households and a population of 897, of whom 471 were males and 426 females. Isanpur is one of the smaller villages of the taluka which has an average population of 2,113 per village. Out of the 26 inhabited villages that cluster around the city and comprise Ahmedabad city taluka, Isanpur ranks only seventeenth in size. The density of the population works out at 433 per sq. mile as against 356 for the rural areas of the whole taluka. The average size of the household in the village is a little over 4 members.

I.10 SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The striking feature of the settlement pattern of the village is the universality of the linear clusters of houses. Straight rows of houses are built one behind another, most of them running from north to south. A row may contain up to ten houses adjoining each other, so that neighbours share the common walls between them. The entrance to the house is generally in the east or the west, the linear construction permitting ventilation only in two directions. Even in the case of new constructions the linear pattern is not given up.

The road leading to the village from Ahmedabad passes on to Vatva by the eastern boundary of the village. The approach road to the village branches off from it in the north-east corner where the beautiful mosque cannot fail to attract attention. Also situated here at the cross roads are a shade bearing tree, the bus stand and the temple of Veral Mata. The village is built almost entirely on the south of the approach road from which several lanes lead to the different localities. Most of the lanes run north to south along the rows of the houses. These lanes are *kutchi* tracks and get muddy in the monsoon. Public lighting is provided by lamp-posts raised in street corners. There are several open spaces among these clusters the chief of which is Mandvi Chowk in the heart of the village.

The village site is divided among the three prominent castes by a fairly clear demarcation. The eastern half of the village is inhabited by

Patidars and the western by Thakardas. The localities or houses of these castes do not inter-mingle with the sole exception of two Thakarda houses built in a Patidar locality. The Harijans or the Scheduled Castes who include Bhangi, Vankar and Chamadia live in the south-east corner of the village. The remaining castes, which have very few households each, are sprinkled over various localities excepting the Harijan Vas. There is a tendency among them to live somewhat away from the centre of the village, while Ravalias and Bharwads reside on the village periphery. The expansion of the residential area is taking place towards the north and north-east near the approach road where new constructions are coming up.

The *chora* and the Panchayat Office which also houses the Balmandir are near the Mandvi Chowk. The primary school is on one side of the village. The village shops are scattered in different localities while the private dispensary is near an entrance of the village from the approach road. A flour mill has been set up in a corner of the residential area. While Ramji Mandir is situated near the Panchayat Ghar, the three Mataji temples are outside the residential area. The drinking water wells and a few shade-bearing trees are scattered in different localities. There are two wells for Harijans one of which is for the Bhangi Vas. There is a pond in the south-east corner of the village with the village burning *ghat* on its bank. Two ancient monuments, viz., the small mosque and the Jethabhai step-well are situated just to the south of this pond.

Isanpur has thus some characteristic features of a typical village of this area as can be seen from the description of an average Gujarat village contained in the District Gazetteer and printed in Appendix III.

I.11 COMMUNICATIONS

Isanpur is linked with Ahmedabad city which is the taluka as well as the district headquarters with a *kutchi* road. Buses of the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service ply at intervals of forty-five minutes up-till 10-15 p.m.

between Isanpur and Ahmedabad. There is a cart-road connecting Isanpur with the Bombay-Ahmedabad National Highway No. 8 which passes at a distance of half a mile. The nearest railway station is Maninagar on the Ahmedabad-Bombay broad gauge section, at a distance of one and a quarter miles. The post office is at Vatva, one and a half miles away, and there is daily postal delivery through the Ghodasar sub-post office about a mile away. Telegraph facility is available at Vatva railway station on the broad gauge line mentioned above, with which it is also connected by the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport buses.

Between 1936 and 1951, there was a bus service managed by a private agency, when only 12 trips were made everyday by buses between Ahmedabad and Isanpur. The State Transport buses made only six trips per day during the period 1951 to 1956. From 1956 onwards, the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Services arranges a trip every forty-five minutes on account of the construction of an approach road to Vatva, joining the Ahmedabad-Bombay National Highway at Shah Alam Roza.

I.12 PUBLIC PLACES AND AMENITIES

Since October 1960, the village is covered by the Pre-National Extension Service Development Block, Ahmedabad, which has been converted from PES to Stage I since April 1962. The Panchayat Ghar was, however, built before the Development Block came into existence. The Panchayat Ghar is also used for the Balwadi or pre-primary class. There is a Gram Sevika attached to the Balwadi.

There is also a primary school teaching up to Standard IV. The nearest high school is in Maninagar, one mile away. The village has a two-storeyed building known as the *chora* of Isanpur which is used as the camping ground for marriage parties. There is only one private allopathic dispensary which is attended by one doctor coming daily from Ahmedabad for about two hours in the morning. There is no other dispensary. The nearest hospital is the L. G. Hospital at Maninagar, one and a half miles

away, while the veterinary hospital is at Prem Darwaja, Ahmedabad, at a distance of about 6 miles. The village has four drinking water wells. There is a separate well for the Harijans near their *vas* or locality. The wells are all covered and the mouth of each well is a foot or two higher than the cement-platform below it, which is itself three feet above the ground-level. The Khari Cut canal flowing close by the village is the main source of irrigation. Isanpur was electrified by the electric grid system two years before the survey. The village panchayat has provided twenty electric lamp-posts for street lighting, and has constructed a recreation centre. It also repairs roads, maintains *safai* in the village and disinfects the drinking water in the wells. The village is included in the area of operation of the Vatva Multi-purpose Society established in 1938.

There are three temples, one dedicated to Lord Shiva, another to Radha Vallabh and the third to Verai Mata. There are two mosques and a step-well in the village which are protected monuments. They are described below.

I.13 MONUMENTS IN ISANPUR

Just to the south of the Chandola lake there is, in the outskirts of Isanpur, a mosque known as the big mosque of Isanpur. It measures 59' x 34' and at the west end there is an oblong court surrounded by a corridor with the tomb of Malik Isan, the founder of Isanpur, situated opposite to it. The entire court, raised on a platform, has outer gateway porches on the east and the north, approached by a flight of steps. The facade has three pointed arch openings, the middle one of which is crisped rising higher than the side wings which are plainly trabeate. The central opening has three small arches instead of a big one, the middle arch resembling a Jaipuri arch and having many circles. The appearance of the facade is thus very beautiful. The central dome has a neatly curved interior surface and a pendant hanging from its apex.

Along with the three open sides on the north, the east and the south, the aggregate

area of the raised rectangular supporting the entire structure is 138' x 107'. The form and construction of this mosque are different from those of other mosques in Ahmedabad and its suburbs but it resembles to some extent Dasturkhan's mosque in Astodia Chakla. Though it has no *minars* nor any carvings, its appearance and construction are quite attractive.

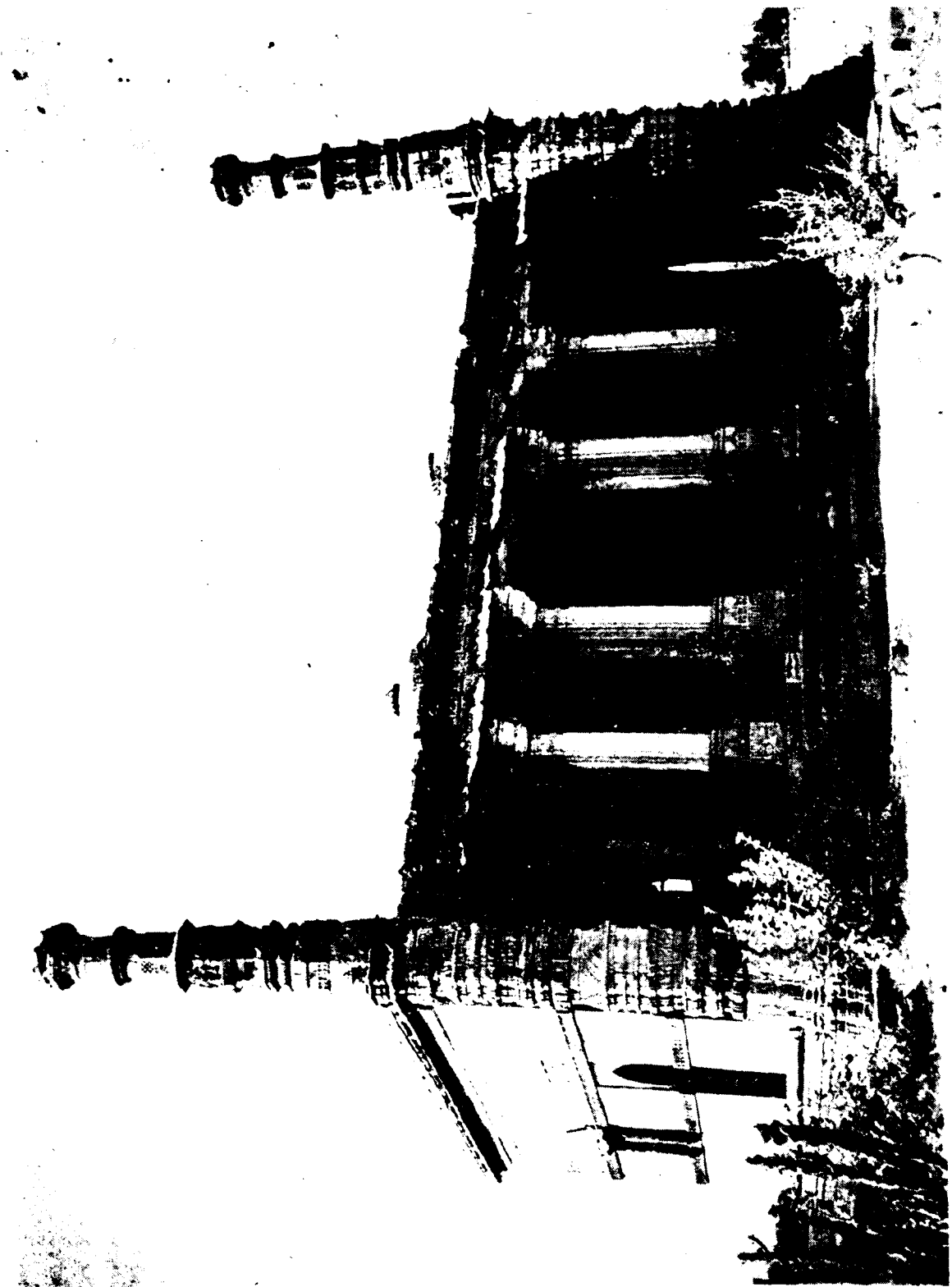
The tomb of the builder Malik Isan suggests that the mosque was built in the time of Sultan Mahmud Begada (1459-1511 A.D.). It belongs to the first quarter of the 16th century A.D.

There is another smaller stone mosque (1500-1515 A.D.) known as Rani's mosque, Bawa Ali's mosque or Gumti mosque which measures 43' x 26' according to outward measurement of its walls. It is situated near the step-well known as Jethabhai's step-well. It has no pillars inside except only four in the facade the projecting capitals of which support the eaves. There are three domes on the roof neatly curved inside. It has two thin minarets at the two ends. The carvings rise up to 27 feet from the ground.

The Jethabhai's step-well near this mosque is also a protected monument. The first floor beneath the ground level is reached by a flight of twenty-one steps. It is said that there are two more such floors underneath which remain submerged in the monsoon. There are ten to fifteen niches in the walls of the step-well, some of them containing old dilapidated idols. The steps lead to a well at the end of the passage. There is a water trough by the side of the well which was formerly filled by the village people. For the past decade, however, the well including the trough is entirely in disuse.

I.14 ADMINISTRATIVE AND WELFARE INSTITUTIONS

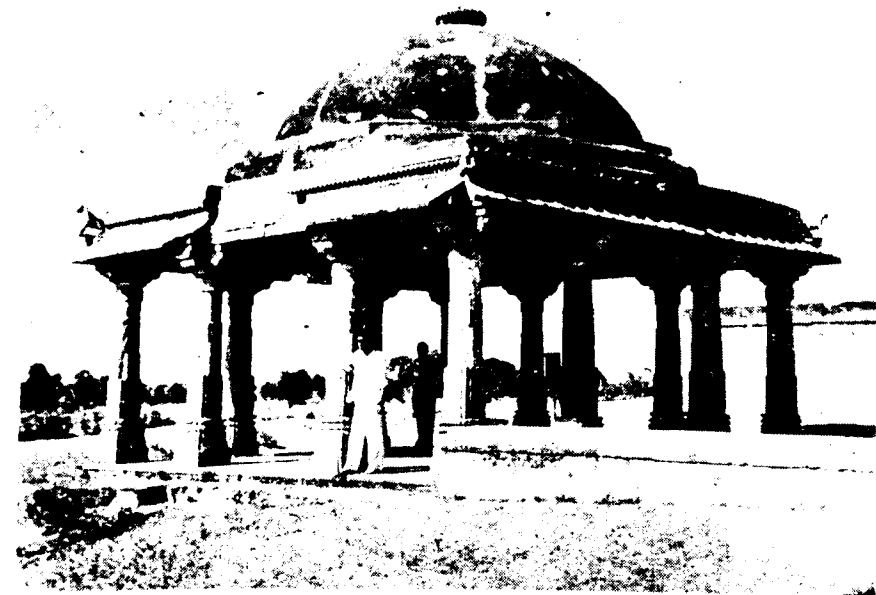
A village panchayat was established in the village on 25th March, 1958. There is in the village a Talati appointed by Government. He maintains the Record of Rights and collects irrigation dues. The Inamdar has his own Talati who collects the dues of the Inamdar from the inferior holders. There is a hereditary



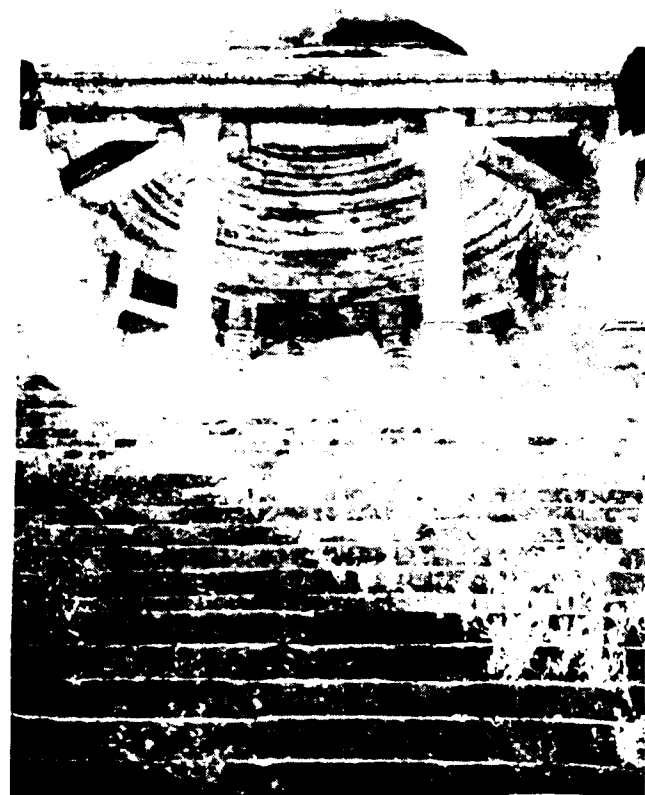
Rani Masjid, Isanpur



Maharab in Rani's Mosque



Jethabhai's Vav (step-well)



1. Dome at the entrance

2. Inner side of the dome with a flight of steps

Patel appointed by the Government and the Inamdar also appoints his own Patel who is not hereditary. The Inamdar's Talati is an outsider while his Patel belongs to the village. The Patel assists the Talati in the collection of revenue, keeps the collections in safe custody and arranges the remittance of the amounts collected to the taluka treasury or to the Inamdar as the case may be. The Patel appointed by Government, assisted by the Talati, if necessary, maintains the Birth and Death Register. The Talati of the Inamdar prepares his own *pahanipatrak* or crop register while the Government Talati prepares the Government *pahanipatrak*.

I.15 MARKET

Ahmedabad city is the nearest market at which the agricultural produce of the village, viz., wheat, gram, *bajri*, and *jowar* fodder is sold. In the case of paddy which is the main agricultural produce of the village, traders from Ahmedabad come to the village with trucks and purchase it at the village. Propinquity of the city, coupled with easily approachable market there, has induced the agriculturists to grow vegetables like ladies' fingers, *gowar*, *kareli*, tomatoes, brinjals, etc., and also flowers.



Carvings of mythological Gods in Jethabhai's step well



CHAPTER II
THE PEOPLE

A—Ethnic Composition

II.1 CASTES

ISANPUR is a multi-ethnic village, having 25 castes, the most important among whom are Thakarda, comprising over one-third of the population, Patidar, comprising one-fifth and the Scheduled Caste of Vankar, forming one-tenth. The other castes, which claim smaller

numbers, include Brahmin, Bania and Garasia, artisan castes like Soni, Panchal, Darjee, Suthar and Kumbhar and service performers like Bajania, Hajam, Targala and Barot. The rest include Harijans or Scheduled Castes of Bhangi, Chamar and Garoda. Besides Hinduism, two other religions, viz., Jainism and Islam are also represented in the village. The details of the castewise population are as under.

STATEMENT I
Population by castes

Religion	Name of the community with castes/sub-castes	No. of households	Percentage to total	Total population			Percentage of col. 5 to total population
				Persons	Males	Females	
HINDU	Thakarda	60	33.33	264	131	133	35.68
	Leva Patidar	36	20.00	149	81	68	20.14
	Bharwad	8	4.44	40	24	16	5.40
	Ravalia	6	3.33	20	6	14	2.70
	Brahmin	5	2.77	21	10	11	2.84
	Bajania	3	1.67	15	10	5	2.03
	Valand	3	1.67	14	5	9	1.89
	Targala	3	1.67	14	8	6	1.89
	Barot	3	1.67	13	8	5	1.76
	Bania	3	1.67	11	6	5	1.43
	Soni	3	1.67	9	4	5	1.22
	Gosai Bawa	2	1.11	18	10	8	2.43
	Panchal (Luhar)	1	0.56	4	2	2	0.54
	Madrasa	1	0.56	3	2	1	0.41
	Garasia	1	0.56	3	2	1	0.41
	Darjee	1	0.55	3	1	2	0.40
	Gola-rana	1	0.55	2	1	1	0.27
	Suthar	1	0.56	2	1	1	0.27
	Kumbhar	1	0.55	2	1	1	0.27
MUSLIM	Muslim	4	2.22	14	6	8	1.89
JAIN	Bania	1	0.56	3	2	1	0.40
Scheduled Castes							
HINDU	Vankar	22	12.22	70	37	33	9.46
	Bhangi	7	3.89	32	16	16	4.32
	Chamar	2	1.11	7	4	3	0.95
	Garoda (Harijan Brahmin)	2	1.11	7	5	2	0.95
Total		180	100.00	740	383	357	100.00

Though originally a Patidar village having 70 Patel families, Isanpur now has more Thakarda families. It is said that about 50 years ago many Patidar families disappeared because of some calamity. The largest caste of Thakarda having 60 households claims 264 persons or 35.68 per cent of the village population. Patidars, ranking next with 36 households, number 149 or 20.14 per cent while 22 households with 70 persons or 9.46 per cent of the population belong to Vankar caste. The original settlers at the village includes three Patidar, two Thakarda and one Vankar families. Other castes having 5 or more households each are Bharwad (8), the Scheduled Caste of Bhangi (7), Brahmin (5) and Ravalia (6). There are four families of whom one follows the Jain faith. The five castes of Bajania, Valand, Targala, Barot and Soni have three households each. The two families belong to each of Gosai and the Scheduled Castes of Garoda and Chamar. The remaining seven Hindu castes claim only one household each. They are Panchal, Garasia, Darjee, Gola, Suthar and Kumbhar besides one Madrasa family. There are four Muslim households of whom one is Saiyad and two Malek.

The two main castes of the village, namely, Thakarda and Patidar, make up more than half or 55.82 per cent of the villagers. Among the remaining Non-Scheduled Castes, Brahmin, Bania and Garasia jointly claim 5.13 per cent. The artisan castes of Soni, Panchal, Darjee, Suthar and Kumbhar together claim 2.70 per cent. Others, higher than the backward classes, include Bharwad, Valand and Barot, who account for 9.05 per cent, while Ravalia, Bajania, Targala, Bawa and Gola, who were included in backward classes form 9.32 per cent of the total population. The four Muslims are only 1.89 per cent. The four Scheduled Castes of Vankar, Garoda, Bhangi and Chamar jointly account for 16.08 per cent. The solitary household from South India is only a temporary sojourner here.

1. Annual Administration Report for the year 1956-57, Backward Class Department, Government of Bombay, pp. 110-112, 1960
2. MUKERJEE, SAIYAN V., Census of India 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I-Report, pp. 445-447
3. For more details about Kolis, see the Village Survey, Monograph on Magdalla, Surat district, the second in the present series

II.2 THAKARDA

A sub-caste of Kolis, Thakardas are found mostly in Central and Northern Gujarat. About Kolis, the 1931 Census report of the former Baroda State says,² "Some writers speak of them as aboriginals of the plain or civilized Bhils; others find them so little unlike Rajputs as to lead to the conclusion that Kolis and Rajputs are in the main of the same stock. Bhils and Kolis of Eastern Gujarat are as hard to distinguish as are the Kolis and Rajput of Western Gujarat.....Even now intermarriage goes on between the daughters of Talabda Kolis and the sons of Rajputs and the distinction between a Rajput and a Koli is one of rank than of race." In Central Gujarat, all sections of Kolis except Patanvadias are known as Dheralas. Many Kolis formerly used to live as robbers. They have now taken to agriculture, livestock, etc., in which, however, they are inferior to Kanbis. They are mostly non-vegetarians. They worship various goddesses, and follow sects like Bijpanth, Swaminarayan, Kabir and Ramanandi. They generally follow village exogamy. Divorce, polygamy, widow remarriage and levirate are allowed by custom among them. Matters pertaining to marriage, etc., are settled by the caste *panch*.³

The word Thakarda is derived from *thakor*, a title of respect meaning a chieftain, and the members of this caste in Isanpur prefer to be called Thakors. Thakardas are so named because of their half-Rajput descent. They rank lower than the sections of Koli Patelia and Talabda. "The Thakarda or Pagi, holding a distinctly inferior position, proclaims his baser blood in every line of his features. The 'Thakarda' or more properly 'Thakore' name is also appropriated by the higher families amongst the Chunvalias." Thus the term Thakarda is somewhat vague. The bulk of Thakardas "are low type, half aboriginal and thriftless. They are known as Pagis."

Most of the Thakardis of Isanpur are engaged in agriculture, livestock and labour.

II.3 PATIDARS

Patidars are the best agriculturists of the area. Indeed, they constitute 'a bold peasantry, their country's pride' in this region. They are also called Patels. The section inhabiting Isanpur is Leva. 'Patidar' generally denotes a shareholder in the village lands, and is, therefore, adopted as a honorific term by landlords, while ordinary cultivators are called Kanbis. Claiming to have descended from Kshatriyas, they are believed to be Gurjars who came from the Punjab. Kanbis allow widow remarriage, which Patidars, after the fashion of higher castes, do not permit. The other section of Kadwas interdine but do not intermarry with Leva. The traditions of *kulinism* hold great sway in the caste, those of certain villages or 'circles' being considered superior to others, so that they would not give their daughters to others but would not object to taking their daughters provided a substantial dowry is forthcoming. Mukerjee remarks, "The Patidar name has now practically lost its tenurial significance and is generally affected by all Lewas, especially the socially conscious section in Central Gujarat. In South Gujarat and Kathiawad, the Lewas residing there are content to call themselves Kanbis."¹

Patidars are a very enterprising caste, even outside agriculture, and have settled in large numbers in Africa and many other parts of the world. Patidars of Isanpur are mainly agriculturists and livestock holders.

II.4 BRAHMINS, BANIAS AND GARASIA

The word 'Brahmin' is derived from Sanskrit *brahman*, and signifies those engaged in the spiritual pursuit of realising the Supreme Being. Supposed to have been created from the mouth of the Supreme Being, they were the spiritual leaders and the intelligentsia of the Aryan society. They were the religious preceptors and priests to the laity. Though traditionally divided into 84 sub-castes, the Bombay Gazetteer recognises 79, while Enthoven

lists as many as 93. The 5 Brahmin families of Isanpur comprise 21 members who form 2.84 per cent of the total inhabitants. They represent four sub-castes Nagar (1), Audichya (2), Modh (1) and Shrimali (1). Most of them serve in Ahmedabad in Government and other offices, a textile mill, etc.

Banias (from the Gujarati Vania) correspond to Vaishyas, the third class of the Manu system. Traders and merchants by tradition, they are a clever, practical and amenable people. They are generally grouped together with Brahmins among the higher castes. Through their *mahajan* or guild system they evolved a stable social organisation and had an effective voice in society. Of the numerous sections of Banias, those found in Isanpur are Khadyta with two families, and Modi with one; while one Shrimali Visa household belongs to the Jain faith. The occupations followed are Government service or petty business, and the Jain householder serves in a goldsmith's establishment.

The Garasia is a Rajput of the Jadeja clan. The term Garasia is derived from *gras* meaning a morsel and indicates persons who are granted land as a permanent means of livelihood. Garasias are mostly Rajputs who are divided into numerous clans. Jadejas are mostly found in Kutch and Northern Saurashtra where they migrated from Sind to escape oppression by Sumras between 11th and 14th centuries. Their clan name, which means 'of Jada', was adopted in about 1350 A.D. after their chief, Jam Jada of Thatta. They are generally sturdy and well-built and of an independent temperament but thrifless and proud. They belong to Vaishnava sect but believe in Ashapura as their tutelary goddess. They are an exogamous clan, permitting marriage in other Rajput clans. The only Jadeja household of Isanpur settled there one generation ago. It does not hold any land and derives income from service in a textile mill and miscellaneous labour.

II.5 ARTISAN CASTES

Of the five artisan castes, Sonis or goldsmiths claim the largest numbers. There are

three Soni families having nine members. Generally found in towns and large villages, they are divided in eight main divisions, of whom Shrimali is the largest. Two families belong to this section, and the third is of Adara sub-caste. Some of the Sonis claim a partly Brahmin descent, while Shrimali Sonis, are said to have come down from Shrimali Banias. They are vegetarians and teetotallers. By tradition they have the reputation of embezzling some of the gold given to them for preparing ornaments and mixing baser metals in its place. They enjoy a high social status, and rank next to Banias. Some sections among them allow divorce and widow remarriage. The Sonis of Isanpur worship Swaminarayan and goddess Ambaji. They practise exogamy within the village but marry within their *gol* or group of 15 villages. Two of the three households serve in goldsmiths' shops while the third is a primary school teacher.

The remaining artisan castes have only one family each. The Panchal family settled at Isanpur only fifteen years ago. Panchal is a subsection of the caste of Luhar, from Sanskrit *lohkar* meaning iron-smith. Luhars consider themselves to be descendents of Pithvo, created by Parvati out of the dust on Lord Shiva's back, to prepare weapons required for fighting the demons Andhkar and Dhundhakar. Panchals claim to have been originally Brahmins, but degraded as they took up blacksmithy as their profession. Luhars are generally vegetarians. In villages they have a fixed custom, and get paid in kind in the shape of foodgrains at harvest time for mending the tools of agriculturists. Near relations are generally avoided in marriage. Their priests are Brahmins known as Luhar-gors. The Panchal settled in Isanpur is a worshipper of goddess Chamunda. He has taken up service in a textile mill.

The Darjee householder has not given up his traditional profession of tailoring. Darjees, also called Merai and Sai from *sui* or needle, have twelve endogamous divisions which do not interdine. Those of Isanpur belong to Zalawadi section, originally belonging to Zalawad now constituting Surendranagar district. They migrated from Bhoika in that district to Isanpur two years

ago. Darjees are assigned a middling status in the social hierarchy. Formerly they used to work as trumpeters at marriage processions but have now given up that work as humiliating. Widow remarriage, and in some places divorce are allowed.

The Darjee householder of Isanpur is a worshipper of Mataji. He continues in his father's occupation of tailoring but occasionally also goes for service to Ahmedabad, if available.

Suthars are the traditional carpenters, deriving their name from Sanskrit *sutradhar*, meaning the holder of the thread which marks the course of the saw. They are found in all parts of the State. Of the six divisions of Suthars, the household staying in Isanpur belongs to Mevada. Claiming descent from Vishwakarma, the architect of gods, the Mevadas take a middle position among the divisions of Suthars, and are well-known for their skill in wood carving. Suthars do not differ much from other sections of the population like Banias, Patidars, etc., in appearance and dress. They are generally thrifty and sober. Mevadas put on the sacred thread. Their marriage customs are not appreciably different from those of Banias and Kanbis. Mevadas do not permit widow remarriage, polygamy and divorce. The Suthar of Isanpur practises the traditional occupation of carpentry over and above some agriculture. He is a worshipper of Vishwakarma.

The caste-name of Kumbhars is derived from Sanskrit *kumbhkar*, meaning the maker of water-pots. They are found in most of the towns and villages. They are also called Prajapatis and Ozas. The caste has nine subdivisions. While marriage between near relations is not allowed, widows are permitted to remarry. Their priests are Brahmins. They burn their dead and perform *shraddha*. The Kumbhar householder in Isanpur follows the caste occupation of pottery.

II.6 BHARWAD, VALAND AND BAROT

Bharwad

There are eight Bharwad families accounting for 40 persons or 5.40 per cent of the total population of the village. They form the fourth largest caste in the village. Bharwads are shepherds by occupation. They believe that they

1. MUKERJEE, SATYA V., *Census of India 1931*, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I-Report p. 448

originally belonged to the Meher caste to which Nand, the foster-father of Shri Krishna belonged and that they came down from their original habitat in Gokul Vridavan to Mevad and later spread into Gujarat. They have good relations with Rabari, another caste of cattle-breeders, with whom they interdine but do not intermarry. They are generally vegetarians. They make a living from livestock products and also weave woollen blankets. Most of them worship Mataji. They strictly follow the customs of collective marriages which are arranged once in 12 or 15 years in the month of Vaishakh. Says Mukerjee, "The richest Bharvad among those who wish to get their daughters married, buys the ground where the marriages are to be celebrated. This is necessary because the ground cannot be used, a second time for the same purpose. It is kept as pasture and an ornamental wooden post, called the marriage pillar, is set up on it and preserved to show that the ground has been used for marriages."¹ There is no or little ceremony at the marriage, at which either a Brahmin or a Darjee or, failing both, a member of the bride's family officiates. Polygamy and widow remarriage are permitted in the caste, junior levirate being strictly followed. Divorce is permitted. Bharvads burn their dead, and perform *shraddha* with caste dinner on the 12th day. Those residing in Isanpur worship Gagarad Mata at her shrine on an *otta* in their locality. They earn their livelihood from cattle-breeding.

Valand

Valands or barbers have various other names like Hajam, Gainjo, Nai, Rat, etc. The caste has seven main sections, of whom Limachia (i.e., Nimachia from Neemuch) staying in Isanpur, are considered the highest. These sections do not intermarry or interdine except that most of them accept food from Limachias, who claim to have descended from a group of defeated Rajputs who fled to Patan for protection to their goddess Limachia. From there they moved to Champaner and later spread throughout Gujarat. Barbers by profession, they also work in agriculture in villages. By tradition

their men-folk sometimes practised bone-setting, minor surgery, etc., while their women-folk worked as midwives. They also render certain traditional services to landed classes like Patidars, by working as torch bearers, carriers of invitations for marriage, etc. They are proverbially a talkative, boastful and pretentious caste. Their priests are Brahmins. They permit divorce and widow remarriage as also junior levirate which, however, is not compulsory. The Valand families of Isanpur worship Limachia Mata, Mahadev and Shrinathji. Besides hair-cutting, they are engaged in agricultural labour, while one householder works as a clerk in a Government office.

Barot

There are three Barot households in the village. Barots are also called Brahmabhatts. They wear the sacred thread. Those belonging to the same *shakha* or branch are not permitted to marry among themselves. Besides the principal subsections of Brahmabhatts, six other sub-castes are found among them, who neither interdine nor intermarry. Brahmabhatts form the highest of all the divisions of the caste. Their marriage ceremonies resemble those of Kanbis. The right of divorce is given to the husband but not to the wife. Brahmabhatts do not permit widow remarriage though some other sub-castes allow it. In the past female infanticide was common among the higher sections. Barots are vegetarians. They bear a honorific title of Rao. As bards and heralds, they performed various specialised functions especially in the Rajput society. They have created and preserved considerable folk literature, recording historical events. As recounters they also entertained royal courts, while they also instigated the soldiers in the battle field to fight at their best. Barots also worked as genealogists, maintaining records about the events in the families of their clientele. Barots also gave securities for the performance of the terms of treaties between princes. They were also known for their *traga*, i.e., compulsion by shedding blood, either one's own or of a relative and cursing the offender with the wrath of heaven. Most of their

hereditary occupations have now been given up for other sundry pursuits. Barots of Isanpur worship goddesses Ambaji and Kalika and are employed as labourers and mill-hands.

II.7 BACKWARD CLASSES

There are six households of Ravalias also called Jogis. They like to call themselves Raval which they adopt as their surname. Ravalias on Ahmedabad side are divided into five subsections of whom those inhabiting Isanpur belong to Makvani. These sections are endogamous though they eat together. They are generally vegetarians. They maintain sheep and donkeys and work as carriers and labourers. There is also a tradition of legging, and it is considered a meritorious act to give cooked food to Ravalia beggars, who sometimes divide the localities of the town among the caste members for begging regularly. They allow divorce and widow remarriage, and practise junior levirate. The Ravalias of Isanpur are engaged in occupations like agricultural and miscellaneous labour, livestock and service in textile mills. One householder also works as drummer while an old widow lives on begging. They worship deities like Chamunda, Lakshmi, Shankar, Hanuman, etc. The caste of Bajania which claims three households in Isanpur is also classified as a backward class. Their original occupation was entertaining people by acrobatics with drum beating, etc. The families in Isanpur are generally engaged as labourers in agriculture, construction and transport.

Targalas of whom only three families inhabit Isanpur are a unique caste concentrated in north Gujarat traditionally engaged in folk-drama. Since olden times they have not only provided cheap and simple entertainment to villagers right at their doors, but also kept alive rich traditions of folklore, folk-drama, and folk-poetry. This traditional occupation is still pursued by the Targalas of Isanpur who also have the subsidiary occupation of miscellaneous labour performed by their women-folk. An interesting legend describes the origin of Targalas who are also called Bhavayas from *bhavai* meaning folk-drama. They claim descent from Asit, an Audich Brahmin of Unjha in Mehsana district. It is said that in

order to save a Kanbi girl from molestation by Muslim invaders, he represented that she was related to him, to prove which he had to dine with her. As a result, however, he was excommunicated by Brahmins and later married the Kanbi girl. He took up singing and dancing as his profession. Even now Kanbis pay Targalas regularly for services performed. During the fair season they tour the countryside in groups and return home for cultivation during monsoon. They perform in the open at night, and collect contributions at the end of their halt in a village. The caste has given some of the best actors to the Gujarati stage. Their customs and ceremonies do not vary appreciably from those of Kanbis. Descendants of collateral males on the father's side are not permitted to marry, but for those on the mother's side three degrees are prohibited. Divorce is permitted on payment of a fine. They worship goddesses like Bahucharaji and Mahakali.

Gosais, also called Atits and Bawa constitute another small backward class in Isanpur. The section of Dash-nam Gosai, Shaiva by faith, is further divided into ten subsections of whom Giris are found in Isanpur. They add *gar* (from Giri, their clan name) to their own name as Keshavgar, Chimangar, etc. They do not put on the sacred thread and permit widow remarriage. They also worship goddesses like Khodiar and are engaged in temple worship and motor driving.

The only remaining backward class family of the village belongs to the Gola caste. Their other caste name is Rana, which they sometimes adopt as their surnames. They believe that originally they were Rajputs but in order to save themselves from persecution by Parashuram, they posed as *golas* or slaves. They are rice pounders by tradition. They are vegetarians and were used to drunken excesses. They are generally not held in high regard by other castes. They prohibit marriages among near relations or those having identical surnames. Junior levirate is permitted but not compulsory. The family inhabiting Isanpur worships Ashapuri Mata and is engaged in selling vegetables.

1. MUKERJEE, SATYA V., *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XIX, Baroda, Part I-Report, p. 427

II.8 SCHEDULED CASTES

Of the four Scheduled Castes found in the village Vankar, claiming 22 households and 70 persons, is the largest. Accounting for 9.46 per cent of the village population, it ranks third by its size among all castes. Claiming to be descendants of Kshatriyas who posed as impure castes to save themselves from the wrath of Parashuram, they are also known as Dhed. Most of the families of Isanpur bear the Rajput surname of Parmar. They are non-vegetarians. Garoda Brahmins, of whom there are two families in the village, are their priests. They permit polygamy, divorce and widow remarriage by custom. Junior levirate is generally preferred. They usually inter the dead body due to poverty. After observing impurity for 11 days, the *shraddha* ceremony is performed. Vankars of Isanpur worship Rama, Ganapati, Krishna, Mahadev, Ambaji, Bhavani, Lakshmi, Hanuman and Ramdevji, a sainted Rajput hero of Rajasthan. The occupations they pursue include agriculture, livestock, service in factories, transport or municipality and miscellaneous labour, but not handloom weaving, which was their traditional occupation.

The next biggest Scheduled Caste of Bhangis has 7 households with 32 members, forming 4.32 per cent of the population. It is considered the lowest even by other Harijan castes, who are defiled by the touch of Bhangis.

Bhangis, who are scavengers by profession, derive their caste name from their other occupation of splitting bamboos for basketry work. They believe themselves to have descended from a Brahmin sage who took away and buried a dog that died in an assembly of Brahmins. Those of Isanpur have the Rajput surname of Vaghela. Though lowest in the caste hierarchy, caste Hindus show greater kindness to them than to Dheds. Giving alms to them at the time of an eclipse is considered particularly meritorious as it is supposed to free the sun or moon from Rahu, the evil planet which swallows them causing the eclipse. They permit polygamy, divorce and widow remarriage, and junior levirate is common in the caste. Their priests are either Garoda Brahmins or some of

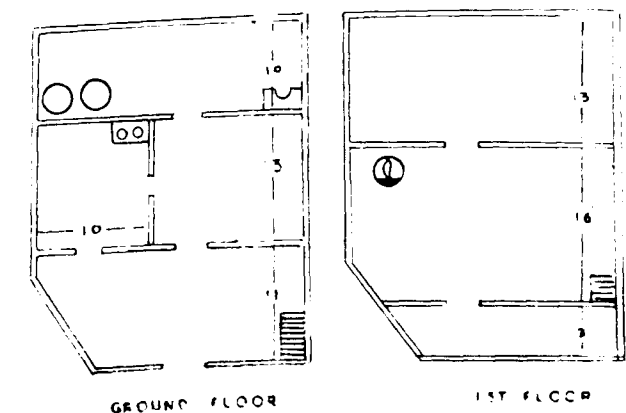
their own caste-fellows. They are non-vegetarians. Bhangis of Isanpur worship Rama, Shiva, Krishna, Mataji and Ramdev Pir, and work as scavengers and peons in Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation and also are engaged as miscellaneous labourers.

Chamars and Garodas are the smallest Scheduled Castes having two households with seven members each. Chamars take their caste name from *charma* meaning skin, as they are traditional flayers and tanners. They are found all over Gujarat under different names like Chamadia, Khalpa, etc. They have Rajput surnames like Parmar and Makvana. It is believed that they descend from Rajputs who took up unclean profession. In North Gujarat they are generally ranked below Dhed. In villages they also prepare leather articles like buckets, bags, ropes, etc., besides tanning and currying of hides. They are non-vegetarians and the extremely poor section among them does not have scruples to eat carrion. The dead body is buried among Chamars. The two families in Isanpur worship Bhavani Mata and Shri Krishna and are engaged in agricultural and other labour.

Garodas, also called Garos or Harijan Brahmins, are priests of Harijans. They, therefore, occupy a position of significance in the Harijan society. They believe that they are descendants of Brahmins degraded by serving the unclean castes. They bear surnames like Dave, Pandya, etc. Like Brahmins among caste Hindus, they perform a variety of functions for the Scheduled Castes. They officiate at their marriage and death, work as astrologers, draw up horoscopes, and read religious books. Some of them also give medical advice to their *yajmans*. Many even work as tailors and barbers to Harijans, who are sometimes denied such services by the professional artisan castes. They believe that the religious leadership and guidance, service and assistance offered by them have prevented a large section of Harijans from conversion to other religions. At the same time there is a feeling among them that while their clients, among whom are agriculturists and craftsman, have given up unclean occupations, begging, and such other degrading activities



DISTRICT: AHMEDABAD
TALUKA: CITY TALUKA
VILLAGE: ISANPUR
OWNER: MADHUBHAI LALLUBHAI PATEL
LOCATION OF HOUSEHOLD:
KITCHEN FIRE PLACE
WATER PLACE
GRAIN STORAGE

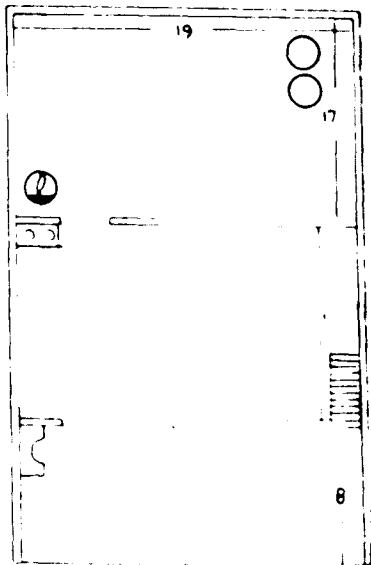


A modern structure of bricks and cement



DISTRICT AHMEDABAD
TALUKA CITY TALUKA
VILLAGE ISANPUR
OWNER KANTILAL FULCHAN PANCHAL

① LOCATION OF HOUSEHOLD GOD
② " " KITCHEN FIRE
③ " " WATER PLACE
④ " " GRAIN STORAGE



House of an average cultivator

and taken to new industries and professions, sometimes with Government assistance, they themselves have remained backward, dependent upon alms and charity. They bury their dead and perform *shraddha*. They permit divorce and widow remarriage. The Garoda households of Isanpur worship Shanker, Shri Rama and Hanuman. The occupations followed by them include tailoring, service in mill, agricultural labour, service as peon in the municipality and officiating as priest to Harijans.

B—House Type and Material Equipments

II.9 HOUSE TYPE

Housing conditions in Isanpur amply show the urban impact of the city and the fair economic condition of the villagers. Houses are generally *pucca* structures except among Scheduled Castes and very poor among backward classes. Houses of Patidars have brick walls with cement plaster and roofs of corrugated iron sheets, while some have cement concrete roofs also. Houses are generally well ventilated. Among Thakardas and even some of the Harijans, the walls are made of brick pieces and mud, while the roofs are covered by *deshi* tiles. Except in the Patidar caste, many of the houses are dark, dingy, illventilated and low roofed. The following statement distributes the households according to building material of the wall and the roof.

STATEMENT II
Building material

Material	No. of households	Percentage
1	2	3
A—WALL MATERIAL		
Total	180	100.00
1 Bricks and mud	119	66.11
2 Bricks, mud and cement	40	22.22
3 Bricks and mortar	7	3.89
4 Bricks, mortar and cement	4	2.22
5 Mud	5	2.78
6 Grass	3	1.67
7 Wood	1	0.56
8 Wood and leaves	1	0.55
B—ROOF MATERIAL		
1 Iron sheets	81	45.00
2 Iron sheets and <i>deshi</i> tiles	55	30.56
3 <i>Deshi</i> tiles	31	17.22
4 Concrete	7	3.89
5 Thatched	6	3.33

The almost universal use of bricks can be seen from the fact that 170 out of 180 or 94.44 per cent of the households have their residences built with bricks combined with mud, mortar or cement. Thus bricks are the basic material used in construction. This, together with the total absence of stone is in consonance with the common practice in central Gujarat where stone is scarce and there is sufficient clay suitable for brick-making. Only five households live in houses of grass, wood and leaves and the exclusive use of mud is confined only to five other families. No households of higher castes like Brahmin, Bania and Patidar have houses made of grass, leaves or mud. The three families with grass and two with wood and leaves walls belong to Bajania, Bharwad, Valand and Thakarda castes. Mud is exclusively used by 5 families of Thakarda, Ravalia, Chamar and Bharwad. A fair proportion of households, namely, 44 or 24.44 per cent have used cement, while seven others constituting 3.89 per cent have used mortar. The use of these durable substances and particularly of a modern material like cement shows the relatively better condition of housing in this village as compared to many other villages which are outside the pale of urban influences.

Like bricks in walls, iron sheets are the most popular material used in roofs. Three-fourths or 136 (75.56 per cent) of the 180 households live in houses covered with corrugated iron sheet, while 7 or 3.89 per cent have concrete roofs. A fairly large number, viz., 86 households have roofs of *deshi* tiles, out of whom 55 have kept tiles over iron sheets and the remaining 31 or 17.22 per cent have used only tiles. The comparatively superior condition of the villagers in the matter of housing is again brought out by the fact that only six households have thatched roofs. Patidars dominate the households staying under concrete roofs with only two Thakarda families in the same category. At the other end, thatched roofs are the lot of six families of Ravalia, Bajania, Bharwad and Thakarda castes. The total absence of Mangalore tiles is another common characteristic of the area where they are very sparsely used.

In respect of building materials Isanpur more closely conforms to the urban rather than to the rural pattern found in Ahmedabad district. Walls of bricks claim 25.9 per cent of houses in the villages of Ahmedabad district and 89.4 per cent in urban areas, as compared to 94.44 per cent in Isanpur. Similarly, in the case of roof material the percentages for corrugated iron sheets and concrete and stone slabs for villages in the district are 16.0 and 2.1 respectively. The superior position in respect of these two categories (75.56 and 3.89 per cent) enjoyed by Isanpur testifies to the impact of urban influences on the village life exerted by the neighbouring city of Ahmedabad.

The proportion of households living in rented houses is fairly large, numbering 50 or 27.78 per cent of the total while one has obtained free accommodation. The remaining 129 families live in their own houses. Rents vary from Rs. 18 to Rs. 250 per year, while the value of houses ranges from Rs. 250 to Rs. 10,000. The following statement distributes households according to residential accommodation available. With a total of 363 rooms, there are on an average about two persons per room in the village. The rooms are fairly large, the average area per room

being 20.14 sq. yds. There is no house without a regular room. While the number of households with one room is the largest, namely, 71 or 39.45 per cent, those with two rooms form an almost equal number of 67 or 37.22 per cent. Thus 76.67 per cent of the households and 70.27 per cent of the population stay in houses with one or two rooms. Among the rest, 41 families use 3 to 5 rooms, while one family has the maximum of 6 rooms at its disposal. Out of the 180 households, 54 or 30 per cent have a separate room for the kitchen. They also have the facility of ventilation in it. The largest number of families having a separate kitchen is claimed by Patidars, 21 of whom have this facility, followed by Thakardas with 14. For storage purposes, only 24 families have a cup-board in the kitchen. Only 34 households have some provision—mostly an open drain—for draining used water from the kitchen. In some cases it is collected outside in a *kundi* or cesspool. The most common fuels are dung cakes and firewood which are used by 161 and 151 households respectively. Kerosene and coal are used by relatively fewer households numbering 25 and 19 respectively. Only two houses in the village have latrines and a few more have bath rooms.

STATEMENT III

Households according to number of rooms used

House holds	Rooms	Persons	No. regular room		One room		Two rooms		Three rooms		Four rooms		Five rooms		More than five rooms	
			No. of house- holds	No. of persons	No. of house- holds	No. of persons	No. of house- holds	No. of persons	No. of house- holds	No. of persons	No. of house- holds	No. of persons	No. of house- holds	No. of persons	No. of house- holds	No. of persons
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
180	363	740	..	..	71	250	67	270	18	93	17	83	6	37	1	7
					(39.45)	(33.78)	(37.22)	(36.49)	(10.00)	(12.57)	(9.44)	(11.22)	(3.33)	(5.00)	(0.56)	(0.94)

NOTE:

Figures in brackets show percentage to total households/persons

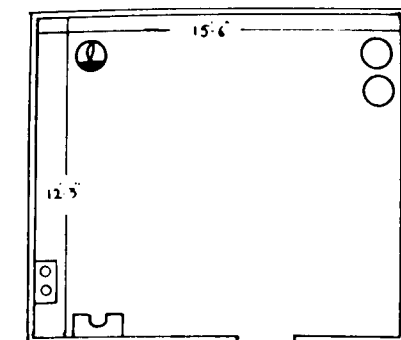
While a majority of 157 or 87.22 per cent have no storey at all, 23 or 12.78 per cent of the families have single-storeyed houses. There is only one two-storeyed building in the village which is known as Chora of Isanpur. It is not

a residential house but used as a camping place by visitors including marriage parties.

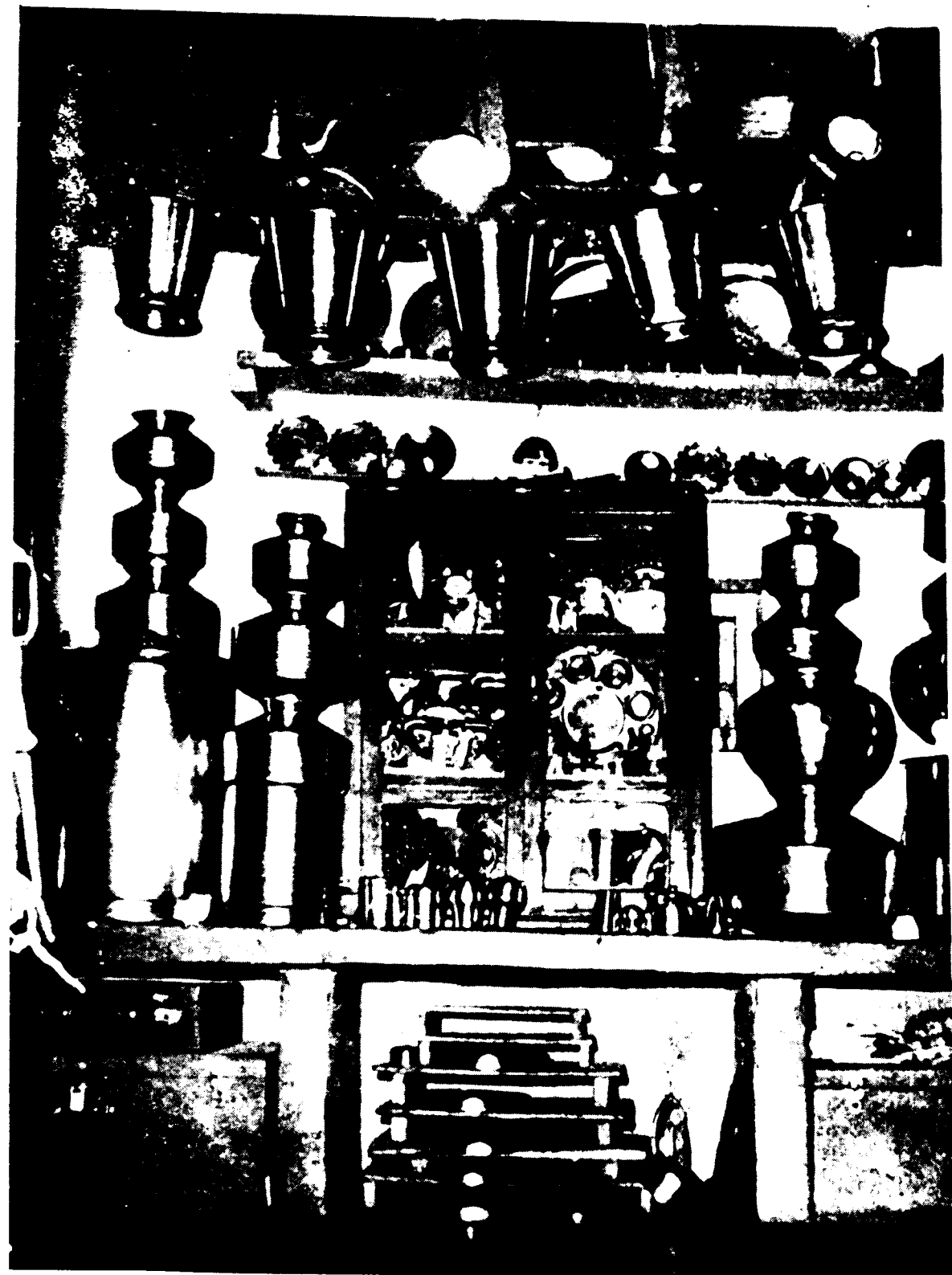
Fifty-five households have poor facility of natural light in their houses, while 125 or 69.44



DISTRICT	AHMEDABAD
TALUKA	CITY TALUKA
VILLAGE	ISANPUR
OWNER	MAYJI DHARA BHARVAD
LOCATION	OF HOUSEHOLD
GOD	
FIRE	
PLACE	
GRAIN	
STORAGE	



House of a shepherd



Interior of a Patidar's house

BETWEEN PAGES 16-17



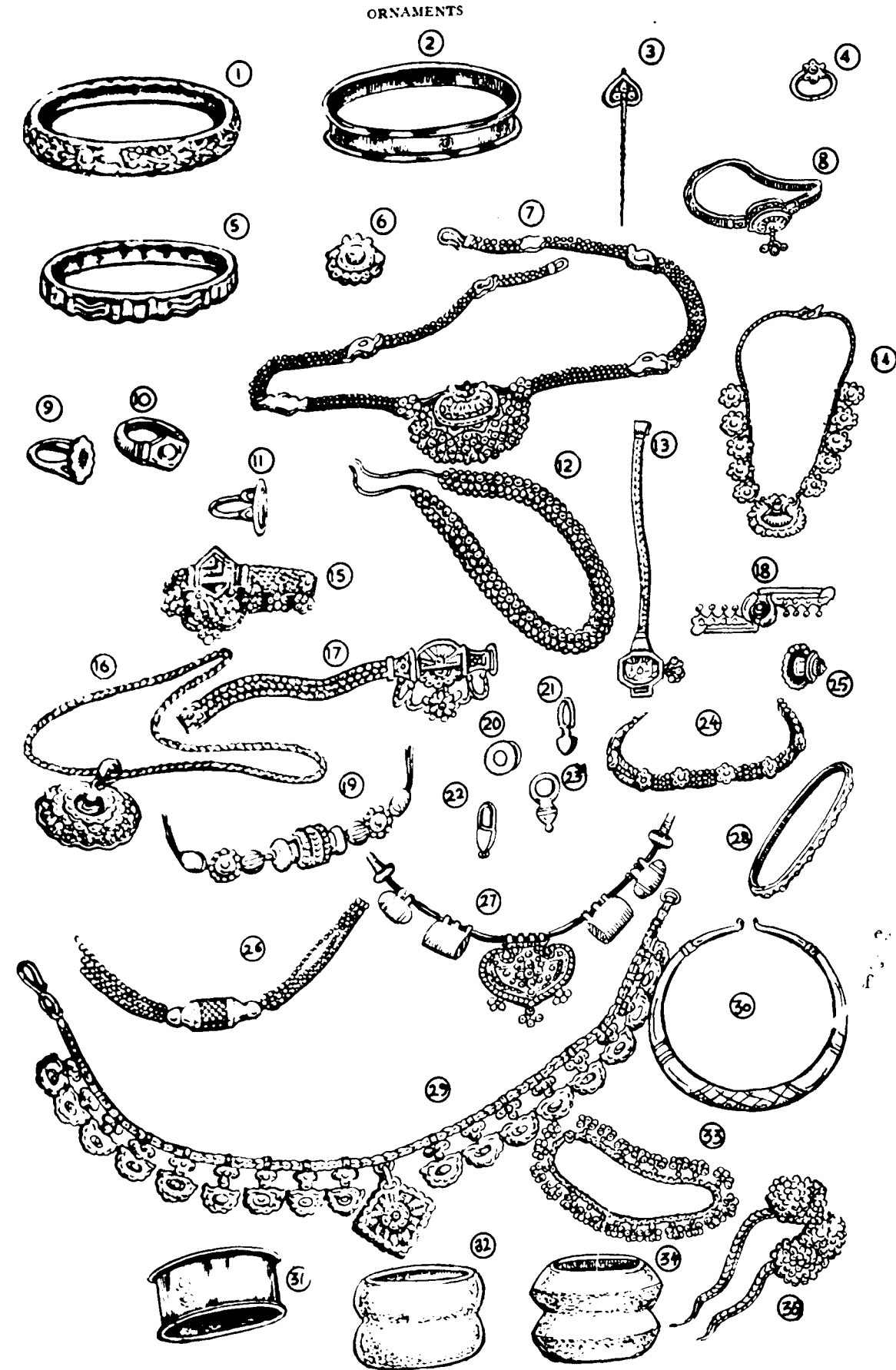
Ladies in traditional and modern attire

BETWEEN PAGES 16-17



Bharwad cattle breeders

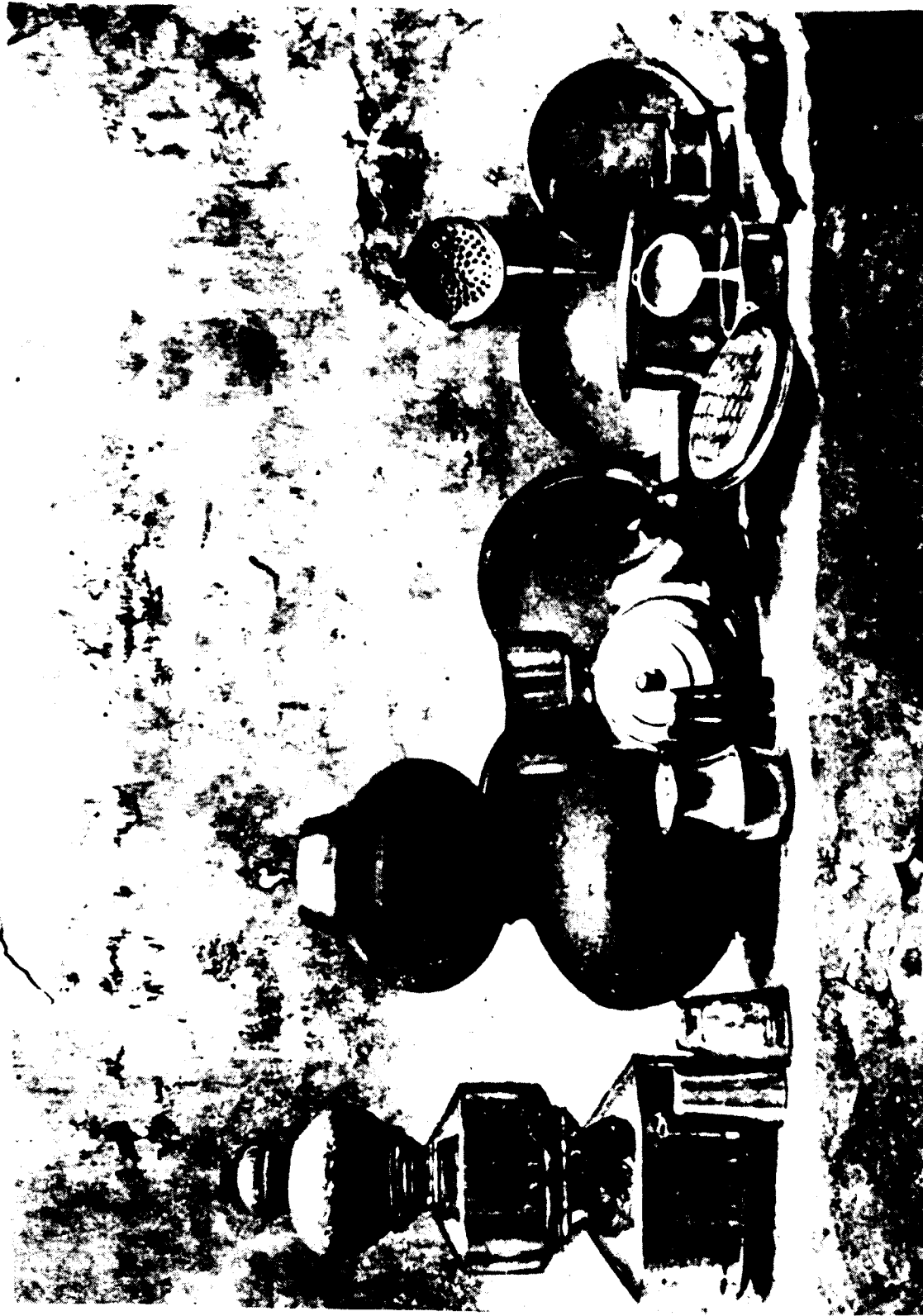
BETWEEN PAGES 16-17



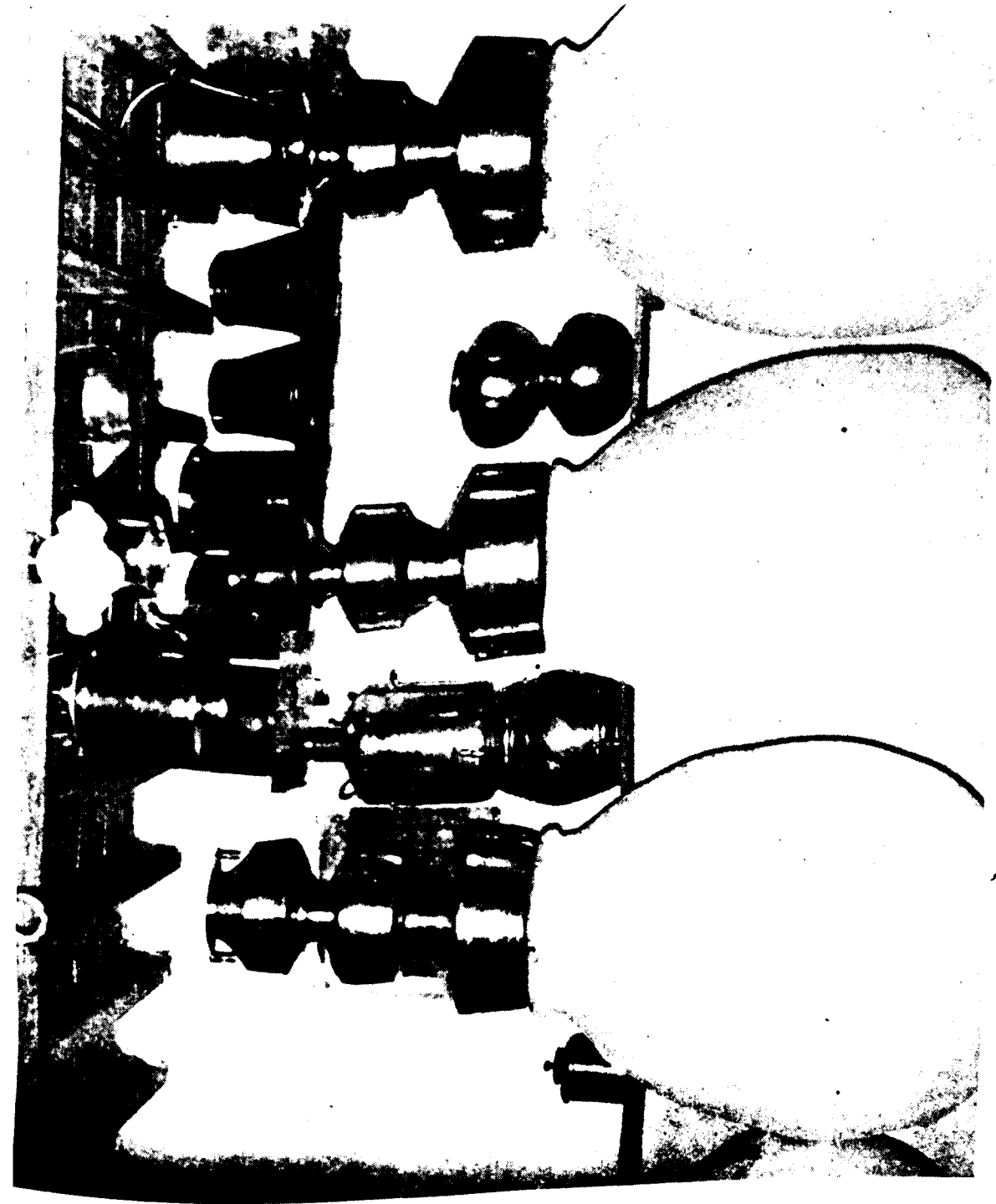
ORNAMENTS

BANGLES : 1, 28, Bangdi (gold); 2, 31 Chudi (Ivory); 5 Patla (gold); 13 Ponchi; 32, 34 Baloya; 35 Kandiya (glass beads).
 NECKLACE : 7, 14, 29, Har; 12 Bormala; 16 Achhodo or doro;
 LOCKETS : 8; 15, 17, Locket; 24 Pato; 30 Kadu.
 EARRINGS : 6, 25 Kap; 20, 21, 22, 23, Kadi or ear-rings.
 RINGS : 4, 9, 10, 11 Vinti or rings. OTHERS : 3, Chandlo, 18 Sari pin.

BETWEEN PAGES 16-17



Utensils



Earthen receptacles and metal wares

per cent claim moderate to good accessibility of sun-light. There is no systematic or underground drainage in the village, and 63 households (35 per cent) have open drainage for disposal of waste water, while 8 (4.44 per cent) have *dattans* or underground cesspools in their houses. The *dattan* is prepared by lowering into a 10 feet deep pit a large earthen *kothi* six feet high and four feet in diameter which is covered up. The present condition of the houses was reported bad for only 14 houses, while 46 of the households had their houses in good condition. The remaining 120 households constituting a majority of 2/3rds of the total had them in moderate condition. Cattle are generally kept near the residential area. Out of the 92 households possessing livestock, 41 or less than half of the households kept their livestock at a distance from the residential area. The rest kept them either inside or near the house. As many as 44 families stated that they keep the animals inside the residential area during day time. Patidars usually have separate cattle sheds. Thakardas and Harijans keep their bullocks in their living room to prevent theft as they are considered more valuable. Other animals like buffaloes, cows, etc., are kept in the adjoining open place known as *vada*.

The villagers are not slow to take advantage of modern facilities available to them. Since the village is served by the electric grid system, 30 houses have availed of domestic connections for lighting. The rest of the families use *khadias* or crude kerosene lamps made of tin or hurricane lanterns. The old method of lighting by earthen lamps is totally banished.

Construction of a house is generally undertaken in the summer from June to July. At the commencement of the work, *khat muhurta* or foundation ceremony is performed. The southern direction is generally avoided as inauspicious for placing the front-door. Construction work is entrusted to carpenters and masons from Ahmedabad city. All building materials except bricks are also brought from Ahmedabad.

It is noteworthy that houses of Bhangis are in fairly good condition, neat and clean. One of the Bhangi families has two houses one of which is used for sleeping. Another one has

door-frames with carved designs in wood purchased second-hand in the city and decorated with golden paper foil cast away by manufacturers after perforating them for preparing labels. The reason for the Bhangi houses being in relatively good condition is that they have a steady income from service in the city.

On the whole, the housing position in Isanpur can be said to be quite good in comparison to the conditions normally prevailing in villages. The urban influences are clearly seen in the new buildings which are coming up in the village. Immediately after the present survey a businessman from Ahmedabad who runs a rice and flour mill in the city, purchased land and built a chawl having a dozen rooms. This type of investment is a result of overcrowding and difficult housing conditions in the city, and convenient transport links with the city near-by.

II.10 DRESS

In matters of dress, the village people cannot be distinguished in any way from town dwellers. The male attire generally consists of *dhoti*, shirt or *paheran* and Gandhi cap. Young boys put on knickers, while the youth also puts on pyjama or trousers and bush-shirts. Women-folk wear blouse, petticoat and *sari*. Girls put on frock or blouse and skirt, while those of the backward sections of the village put on blouse, petticoat and *odhni*. The village being situated in the neighbourhood of one of the greatest centres of textile industry in the country, the dress is, as can be expected, made of mill cloth.

The services of a washerman are availed of by 30 households constituting one-sixth of the total. Except those in the lowest income groups earning up to Rs. 480 per year, some of the households in each of the remaining income ranges from 481 upwards, give their clothes to washermen. The families that avail of the washerman's services include 18 Patidar families, 3 Brahmin and Thakarda each, 2 Barot and 1 each from Gosai, Valand and Vankar castes.

Villagers put on footwear purchased from Ahmedabad. While men wear shoes, women generally put on *sapats*, slippers or *chappals*.

II.11 ORNAMENTS

Ornaments of Patidars are of superior types as compared to those of Thakardas. While the former put on golden ornaments, women of Thakarda, Harijan and other castes use heavy silver ornaments.

Ornaments of women include *loliya*, *vedhla*, *kap*, *vali*, *kundal*, and other earrings in the ear and *chuni*, *ravo* and *cali* in the nose. Ornaments worn in the neck are *har*, *doro*, *hamsdi*, *kanthi*, necklace, *achhodo*, *bormala*, and chain. *Kada*, ivory *balaiya*, bangles, *kadlan*, locket, *patla* and rings adorn the hands while *chhada*, *sanklan*, *jhanjhar* and *langer* are worn on feet.

While males wore fewer ornaments than females, there are quite a few varieties reported as being worn by men. They include rings on fingers, *kadu*, *kadla* on arms, *doro*, *achhodo*, *madaliyu*, *kanthi* and chain around the neck, *marchi* in the ear and *kandoro* on the waist. These ornaments are mostly urban in design. In all 72 families were reported as having no ornaments at all. Ornaments worth Rs. 77,517 were owned by 108 families, giving an average of Rs. 717.75 per household.

II.12 HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

The following statement lists the articles of furniture used by the villagers.

STATEMENT IV

Furniture

Article 1	No. of households		No. of articles 4
	Possessing 2	Using for the first time in past 5 years 3	
FURNITURE			
Cot	172	1	515
Palang	3	..	3
Shelf	106	1	228
Chair	29	2	45
Table	6	2	9
Stool	8	2	11
Pat	8	..	8
Bench	6	..	9
Cup-board	2	..	2
Carpet	48	6	68
Mirror	119	3	133
Wall-clock	9	1	9
Alarm-clock	4	2	4
MODERN ARTICLES			
Hurricane lamp	82	2	88
Torch light	34	4	36
Petromax	4	..	4
Primus stove	51	26	53
Bicycle	36	23	37
Radio set	8	7	8
Electric fan	1	1	1

The most common household furniture includes cots, shelves and mirrors. Practically all the households have cots while 3 have bigger *palangs* or bedsteads. 29 households use chairs, while 6 use tables also; 8 use stools and 14 *pats* and benches. Carpets are used by 48 households and a cup-board by two. Nine households possess wall-clocks while 4 have time-pieces. Some of these articles were acquired by a few families for the first time during the past five years.

Modern amenities are availed of in fair quantities. Articles like radio sets, primus stoves, bicycles, etc., are possessed by a large number of families, which shows that the villagers are not slow in imitating city-dwellers by adopting modern instruments for lighting, household fuel and transport. It is also to be noted that only two of the 82 households using hurricane lantern and only five out of 34 using torch-lights acquired them for the first time in the last five years. The rest had acquired them much earlier. On the other hand, costlier items like primus stoves, bicycles and radio sets were acquired in very large proportions only during the past quinquennium. An electric fan has also been brought to the village for the first time during that period.

The extensive use of furniture and other articles is brought out by the following figures.

STATEMENT V

Households using furniture

No. of articles	Households possessing
FURNITURE	
Nil	2
1	10
2	25
3	26
4	24
5	93
OTHER MODERN ARTICLES	
Nil	65
1	54
2	27
3	18
4	12
5	4
Total	180

Most of the households thus use more than four articles of furniture. There are only 2 families having none. One or more of the modern articles listed above are used by a large majority of 115 or 63.89 per cent, while the remaining 65 families do entirely without them.

The old method of storing foodgrains and agricultural products in *kothis* or big earthen jars still persists in a large number of households. These *kothis* are 6 to 7 feet high and 3 to 4 feet in diameter. They are not locally made because the required type of clay is not available. They are brought from outside potters who specialise in this work. Progressive cultivators have, however, started using large cylindrical iron containers called *nalas*. The traditional mode of preservation of paddy is by adding *neem* leaves and ashes. But a few cultivators have also started using gammexane. Cow-dung cakes and wood are the main fuel used by the villagers, while the more advanced sections use coal and kerosene.

Not all the families in the village use soap. 54 households, distributed over all the income ranges except the lowest one of below Rs. 250 per year, use soap for washing or bathing. Mosquito-nets are used by 38 households covering all the income ranges excepting Rs. 361 to 480 per year. Here again the largest users are Patidars, among whom 21 families use them.

II.13 Food

Usually three meals are taken in a day. Only 59 or 32.78 per cent of the families take meals twice a day and only four more than thrice. It is seen that those who work in the city or do some regular service take two meals, one in the morning between 10 and 11 and the other in the evening between 7 and 8 p.m. Those who work in the village can conveniently take three meals, one in the morning between 8 and 10, the noon meal between 12 and 2 p.m., and the evening meal between 7 and 8 p.m. The staple food consists of cereals like *bajri*, wheat and rice. The pulses most common in use are *moong*, *tur* and gram *dal*. Vegetables, milk and spices are also used. Except Patels, only a few families of Thakarda and Harijan castes

consume pure *ghee*. In marriage and other ceremonial feasts, vegetable *ghee* has taken the place of pure *ghee*.

Only 9 out of 180 or 5 per cent of the households are non-vegetarian, the rest being strictly vegetarian. Besides Muslims and one Madrasi household, the non-vegetarians include two families each of Thakarda and Bhangi castes and one Chamar household. Only two families in the village, one Thakarda and one Bhangi reported that no drink was prohibited in their families. The remaining 178 families do not permit the use of liquor.

C—Customs and Practices

II.14 MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Besides the social customs and ceremonies regarding birth, marriage and death among the important castes of the village which are described later, certain opinions and attitudes of each household regarding marriage were studied in detail. The results show that all the households have a marked preference for marriage within the same caste. Only 8 households are prepared to permit marriage in some other caste. One of them is a Muslim family which does not object to marriage in any other caste. Of the remaining 7, one household each of Leva Patidar, Brahmin and Bania permits marriage only among some higher castes. The remaining four households, one each from the above three castes and one of Panchal caste do not mind marriage relations with any other caste. No intercaste marriage has, however, been found to have taken place in any of the families. As a rule, the people do not marry their children within the village. While 14 families preferred marriage within the same village, almost all the households showed preference also for some near-by village. 152 households did not have any objection to enter into marriage relations with distant villages. All the 180 households, however, insist on conventional forms of marriage and only four cases have been noted to favour some type of unconventional marriage. The relatives involved in such marriages are looked upon with indifference and rarely with approbation. Regarding changes recently brought about in the Hindu law

regarding marriage, only 6 households are aware of the provisions regarding divorce, etc., but as many as 161 or 92 per cent are in the know of the prohibition of bigamy. The age at marriage of boys is usually 15 to 20 years and of girls 14 to 18.

II.15 MARRIAGE EXPENSES

In order to study the position of the expenses

on marriage, an inquiry was made into the expenditure incurred by each household at the latest marriage in the family. 59 households did not report any marriage at all. 25 other households could not state the expenditure incurred by them on this account. The details tabulated for the remaining 96 households are as follows.

STATEMENT VI

Expenses on marriage at the last marriage

													(in Rs.)
No. of households having no marriage	No. of households having marriage of				Expenses incurred on different items								Total (cols. 6 + 8 + 10 + 12)
	Self	Son	Daughter	Others (specify)	Cash payment	Per- centage to total	Orna- ments	Per- centage to total	Clothes	Per- centage to total	Miscellaneous	Per- centage to total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
59	71	21	20	3 Brothers 4 Sisters 2 Cousin	5,460	3.75	28,730	19.73	25,850	17.76	85,560	58.76	145,600

The total amount spent on 96 marriages was Rs. 145,600 or Rs. 1,516 per household. The cash payments amounting to Rs. 5,460 formed 3.75 per cent of the total, ornaments Rs. 28,730 or 19.73 per cent, and clothes Rs. 25,850 or 17.76 per cent. Other miscellaneous items claimed the largest share of Rs. 85,560 or 56.76 per cent of the total. Rs. 1,230 were spent on an average after the marriage of a boy and Rs. 1,015 after that of a girl. The following are the corresponding averages among the important castes.

Average expenditure per marriage of

	Any type Rs.	Boy Rs.	Girl Rs.
Patidar	2,590	2,443	4,800
Thakarda	761	700	880
Scheduled Castes	907	915	887

Marriage is thus an expensive affair for Patidars, especially for the bride's father, a couple of thousands being spent in the normal course. Some other advanced castes like Banias also spend large sums after marriage. Thakardas, by contrast, spend even less than Harijans.

Indeed, the *khanda-vidhi* followed by some of them eliminates much expenditure on taking out and feeding a *jan* or marriage party.

II.16 DOWRY

Payment of some dowry in marriage is favoured by 111 or 61.67 per cent of the families, the remaining 69 or 38.33 per cent being against the custom. The amount of dowry varies from less than Rs. 100 in the case of 6 families to more than Rs. 3,000 favoured by 4. A majority of 91 families, however, is for a dowry of Rs. 100 to 500. Others, permitting even higher dowries are 3 households allowing up to Rs. 1,000, 1 up to Rs. 1,500, and 3 up to Rs. 2,000. In the opinion of three households, the amount should depend on the financial condition of the family. Thus a fair number of 10 or 6.11 per cent are agreeable to the payment of substantial dowries of over Rs. 500.

II.17 CEREMONIES AND RITUALS

The social customs and ceremonies pertaining to birth, marriage and death followed and performed in Isanpur represent a type common to Central Gujarat. Those of the most important

castes of the village that were among the first settlers, viz., Patidar, Thakarda and Harijans are described hereunder in detail. The practices of artisan castes broadly follow the pattern of Patidars, while those of backward classes do not differ widely from Thakardas.

II.18 PATIDARS

(a) Birth

Patidar women observe the monthly period for five days when they abstain from their normal household duties. The *simant* ceremony locally called *khob-bharvo* or lap-filling ceremony is performed during the first pregnancy. At that time *rakhdi* or a protective knot is tied on the expectant mother's wrist. This ceremony is followed more as a tradition rather than any deep-rooted belief in its necessity, because omission to perform it invites derision by others. The pregnant woman is advised to take rest and simple diet avoiding heavy foods which are difficult to digest. She is treated by the family members with consideration and heavy physical work is not taken from her. For the first two or three deliveries she goes to her father's place. The confinement generally takes place in a maternity hospital and especially so if the case is complicated. On the sixth day after birth, *chhatthi* ceremony is performed. No special significance attaches to the naming ceremony. Relatives coming to see the child for the first time or to fondle it as it is called in local parlance, gives some present of a frock, or toy according to their relationship. When the first boy is born in family, it is customary to get *halardu* or lullaby sung by Bhavayas who come from the city. They are pleased with some payment in cash and kind.

(b) Marriage Customs

In very old times child marriages were quite frequent. The custom, however, has been given up long ago. A difference of at least one to two years is kept between the ages of the boy and the girl. The absence of child marriage and a small difference between the ages of boy and girl is a result of the urban influence of Ahmedabad city. There are no love marriages. About widow remarriage, the caste adopts a peculiar

position. Widowers can marry widows belonging to other villages, but widows from the village are not allowed to remarry. There is no custom of levirate. Polygamy is not normally allowed, but in the case of a childless marriage, a man is allowed a second wife. Divorce is not permitted and generally there are no instances of desertion.

The selection of the match rests with the parents whose will prevails over those of the children. The parents also consult their relations. The proposal comes from the girl's side. The age at marriage is between 10 and 16 years. Before agreeing to the match, the parties give consideration to the family, reputation, occupation, and financial conditions of the opposite party and the age, education, looks and qualities of the match. Marriage within the same family is prohibited.

Marriage relations are generally confined to a *gol* or circle of 16 villages situated in Ahmedabad district, known as *dashkoshi* or encompassed within a radius of 10 *kos* or 20 miles. However, if a girl is to be married to some other *gol* which is considered to be higher than the *gol* of Isanpur like Aslali, Bareja, Dehgam, etc., a substantial amount has to be paid as *paithan* or dowry. As a result, a girl is married outside the *gol* only if the parents can afford a large *paithan*. No such instance has, however, taken place in Isanpur.

(c) Marriage Ceremony

If the boy's family accepts the proposal mooted by the girl's side, an auspicious date is fixed for the formal betrothal, called the *chandla* ceremony. On that day a Brahmin priest and a *gainja* or barber of the girl's party proceed to the boy's house with an amount of Rs. 5, 7 or 11 and a coconut to be given to the boy's parents as a token of a formal proposal. The relatives who assemble are given *gur* and *dhana* and the betrothal is formally announced. No cash payments are customary at that time. After betrothal, the boy and the girl are sometimes invited for dinner by their in-laws and given some presents on auspicious and festive occasions. For example, when the girl undertakes the *goryo* austerities, she is given a pair of clothes by her fiancé's parents. The betrothal is broken only

if there is some compelling cause, which is rare.

The date of the wedding is fixed by the priests at the convenience of both the parties. Fifteen to thirty days prior to the wedding, an auspicious writing of the proposed marriage date is made by the priest at the girl's house. Printed *kankotris* or marriage invitations are sent out to all relatives.

The preparations for the marriage include the erection of the *mandap*, installation and worship of Lord Ganesh and *grah-shanti*. Preparation are also made for the marriage procession. The house is freshly painted or whitewashed and festoons of *asopalav* are tied up at all entrance. Relatives are feasted for two days. During the last four or five days before marriage, women sing marriage songs. Turmeric paste is applied to the bridegroom who also performs *puja*. The marriage procession with the bridegroom dressed in silken clothes and flower-garlands starts from his place and goes round the main streets of the village. The number of persons to be included in the *jan* or the party of the bridegroom is previously agreed upon by both the parties. The marriage procession and *jan* consist exclusively of males, no women being allowed to join them.

The preparations at the bride's place follow more or less the same pattern. The *manek-stambh* ceremony takes place before erecting the *mandap*, one, three or five days before the wedding. The ceremony called *varadh bharvun* is performed by women members of the family who go out in a procession, singing songs and accompanied by the drummer, to fetch *beda* or large earthen pots required at the time of wedding for different purposes like *grah-shanti*, *chori*, and for storing drinking water. The procession is generally taken out in the evening. It proceeds to the house of the Kumbhar (potter), who gives them the required number of pots, and then to the village tank or well from where it fetches drinking water in these pots as well as some clay to be used for preparing the small altar for the *vivah homa* or the marriage sacrifice.

In olden times, the *jan* was welcomed by the *samayia* or reception. This custom is now given up and only a formal welcome is accorded with the beating of drums at the halting place of the

jan. Arrangements are made by the bride's father for the comforts of the bridegroom's party at its camp. The wedding generally takes place at the time of *goraj* or dusk in the evening, or at night. When the bridegroom arrives from his camp to the *mandap* with his relatives, he is welcomed at the entrance by his mother-in-law who wards off evil by waving replicas of *pestle*, churning rod, yoke and plough round his head. This is called *fonkhvun*. After the bridegroom, dressed in *peheran* and *dhoti* or a suit, takes his seat in the marriage booth and performs *puja*, the bride is brought in by her maternal uncle (mother's brother) and seated opposite the bridegroom. At that time the *mandap* is crowded with relatives of both the sides. The women-folk sit round the marriage booth and sing marriage songs, while the elders and men-folk of both parties sit in the *mandap*. The *ansar* or the best man remains with the bridegroom assisting him whenever necessary. In former days, the bride was required to keep a long veil which is now done away with, but she has to cover her head with the *sari*. The priest conducts the ceremony in Sanskrit and performs *hastamalap* or joining the hands after *puja*. The bride and the bridegroom are then seated side by side. After a while they take four ceremonial rounds of the sacred fire in which *ghee* and other sacrificial articles are offered. The *kanyadan* ceremony is performed after *hastamalap* when the parents, uncles, brothers, and other elderly relations of the bride give gifts of *kanyadan* according to their capacity and relationship. It is customary for the bridegroom's parents to give ornaments worth Rs. 251 to the bride at the time of marriage. But those who can afford also give more. The father of the bride gives her ornaments of 25 to 30 tolas. Of the ornaments of 25 to 30 tolas given to the bride, 10 tolas of silver ornaments comprising silver anklets and waist band are given. The rest of the ornaments are of gold. This, however, varies according to the economic condition of the householder. For the *chori* ceremony, the couple have to sit in a square on each corner of which a pile of seven pots is erected. Earthen pots formerly being used in the *chori* are now replaced by fashionable stainless steel vessels hired

from the city. The marriage ceremony ends with supplication to Lord Ganesh. The newly-weds then play games like tying and untying knots of kerchief. Thereafter the couple partake of the feast arranged by the girl's father. On the day of the marriage the boy and the girl are not required to undergo a fast, but are given an auspicious dinner of *kansar*.

The *jan* is hosted for a day. On the next day when the bride goes with the bridegroom's party to her new home, she is given utensils, clothes and ornaments by her parents. Thus the subsequent *anu* ceremony for fetching the bride to the husband's place is not postponed to a later date as the marriage age has now been advanced.

The custom of giving *matli* or earthen pot containing sweets is prevalent among Patidars. At the time of the marriage the father of the bridegroom gives Rs. 51 of *fui-matli* to the *fui* or girl's father's sister. After the marriage the aunt, adding some amount of her own to the amount received, sends a large pot of brass or stainless steel to the bridegroom's place. The pot is filled with sweets like *magaj* or *ladus*. Bride's mother's brother also sends a similar *matli* according to his capacity to the bridegroom, after the marriage, which is called *mosal-matli*. Sweets are sent by the bride's father to her husband's house on the occasion of Divali and *Aluna Vrat* every year.

When the marriage party returns, the bride bows to Lord Ganesh at her new home. Formerly it was incumbent upon the girl to keep veil in the presence of her father-in-law, elder brother-in-law and other men-folk older than her husband.

(d) Death

When a person is seen breathing his last, a *tulsi* leaf with drops of water of the holy Ganga are placed in his mouth. He is asked if he has any last wish to be conveyed. For religious merits, alms are given at his hands. No scriptures are read at the time. The relatives and caste fellows gather together and place the dead body over a bier made of bamboo chips, take it to the crematorium on the river side. If a child of less than five years dies, it

is buried. The dead body is wrapped in a *dhoti*. The name of Rama is taken on the way to the crematorium and *ladus* are thrown to dogs. Women-folk follow the procession up to the outskirts of the village. The funeral pyre is made of *neem* or *babul* wood. The dead body is bathed with water and the head is generally kept in the southern direction. The fire is first applied by the son or other nearest relative. The members of the funeral procession return only after the pyre is completely burnt. Unburnt pieces of bones called *phul* or 'flowers' are picked up from the ashes and consigned to the waters of a holy river like the Narmada, Saraswati or Ganga. After returning home, members of the funeral party take a purifying bath. Loud crying and weeping by women continues for 12 days. *Rajiya* or dirges are sung after the death of a young person. They are not sung on the death of an old man. These dirges are sung with heavy beating of breasts by women standing in a group in the open space near the house. Sung in a sorrowful chorus, they create a very pathetic atmosphere and are accompanied by loud mourning and weeping. If the deceased is survived by a widow, her bangles are broken on the 10th day on the bank of a river or near a well. If she is over 30 years old, her head is shaved clean. The obsequious ceremonies known as *saravavun* take place on the 10th and 11th days and *pindas* or oblations are offered to the departed soul on the 12th, 13th and 14th days. Brahmins are given alms according to one's capacity. Mourning is observed for one year especially in the case of a young death. During this period ornaments and good clothes are generally avoided.

II.19 THAKARDAS

(a) Birth

Among Thakardas, only about one-fourth of the women observe certain restrictions during pregnancy. They do not cook or touch other persons. But she is allowed to eat from brass dishes and to work in the field.

The lap-filling ceremony takes place in the sixth month of pregnancy. Relatives on her parents' side are invited to her husband's house for the ceremony. They give her a pair of

clothes, a ring, *kadu*, *anguthi*, and such other ornaments. A *mindhol* or emetic nut and strings of flowers are tied on her wrist. These ceremonies are performed in accordance with old tradition and if her parents do not take part in it, their reputation suffers. A pregnant woman generally avoids sour foods, but there are no other strict prohibitions. She is not made to do any heavy work. The first delivery is customarily at her parental home, but the subsequent ones take place at her husband's house. A midwife belonging to their own community is generally called in. But, if necessary, a *dai* of any other community may also be called. She is given a *sadlo* and foodgrains in remuneration. Normally the elderly women of the family also attend on the occasion. If there is some difficulty, household remedies are tried by giving the woman a solution of *gur* in water, or *ajma* water, etc. But if the difficulty persists, she is at once admitted to hospital in the near-by city of Ahmedabad. The birth of a boy is an occasion of joy and is celebrated by distributing *gur*, sugar-candy, etc., among relatives. This is not done in the case of a girl being born. The *chhatthi* ceremony is observed on the 6th day after birth. On this day the baby is made to wear a frock and *lapsi* is distributed. No ceremony is necessary for naming the child. Near relatives like sister, aunts, sisters-in-law, etc., when they came to see the child, bring clothes like frock, cap, kerchief, *odhni*, etc., for the child. In return they are given some present like a *sadlo* or other dress material.

(b) Marriage Customs

The custom of child marriage was prevalent formerly; but now the proportion of child marriages has become very small. The difference in the ages of the boy and the girl ranges from two to five years. The avoidance of child marriages is, to some extent, due to the law prohibiting such marriages. Love marriages are not customary. A widow can freely remarry. Her relatives arrange for a match after taking her consent. Normally a widow is married to a widower. The children of the first marriage are brought up by the relatives of the deceased husband. Divorce is permitted. Junior levirate

is customary, but not compulsory. In old times polygamy was prevalent and a man could have as many wives as he desired. Now, however, after the enactment of law prohibiting bigamy, a second wife is not taken save in exceptional circumstances. Polyandry is not permitted. Marriage by elopement and desertion by the husband do not take place.

The selection of the match rests completely with the parents and elderly relations. The boy and the girl have no voice in the matter. The proposal first comes directly from the parents of the girl who do not employ a priest or other middleman for the purpose. Marriages generally take place at the age of 16 to 20 years. In selecting the match, special consideration is given to the reputation of the family of the father as well as the mother of the match, their nature, land and other property, etc. Care is taken to avoid a boy or a girl with some physical defect. *Kul* or family and property generally command a greater consideration than other factors. Marriage within the same *kul* is not permitted, for example, a Parmar family will not establish marriage relation with another Parmar. Marriage with offspring of near relations like aunts, uncles, etc., is not permitted. Thakardas avoid fetching a bride from a village in which a girl from their family is married.

(c) Marriage Ceremony

The proposal for betrothal comes from the parents of the girl after which the parents of the bridegroom go to see the bride and her house. The match is fixed up after that. For the formal betrothal, the parents of the boy send to those of the girl Rs. 1½ and a coconut. The girl is given *gur* in a coconut shell and an *odhni*. A few near relatives are invited to dinner and *gur* is distributed among others. The girl and the boy are not allowed to meet each other till marriage, nor are they invited at each other's place. But on festivals like *goryo*, the bridegroom's parents send to the bride sweets and ornaments like *kadla*, *hansdi*, etc. If the families disagree, the engagement is broken. The date of the marriage is fixed generally according to the convenience of both the parties. They gather together at the bridegroom's house and fix the

date by calling a priest who finds out a suitable *muhurt*. This is done about a week or a fortnight before the date of wedding. *Kankotris* or marriage invitations are not printed, but hand-written and sent around with the barber or the priest. After the date of wedding is decided upon, women sing marriage songs every evening, while relatives discuss the preparations for the marriage over a cup of tea. The marriage songs generally depict the greatness of the family. The *mandap* is erected and relatives invite the bridegroom for dinner at their place, and give him some cash by way of *chandla* or gift. The house is whitewashed, adorned with wall-paintings, and festoons are tied at the entrances. No elaborate preparations are required for the feasts to be given, because generally they consist of *lapsi*, rice, *dal*, vegetables, etc. Among Thakardas the marriage can be performed in two ways called *khanda vidhi* and *jan vidhi*, as among Rajputs. The families which are financially well-off go in for *jan vidhi* by taking out a *jan* with the bridegroom who personally takes part in the *hastamelap* ceremony, as contrasted with *khanda vidhi* in which the bridegroom sends a *khandu* or sword instead. The wedding in the latter case is performed with the *khandu* symbolising the bridegroom and the bride, after returning to the bridegroom's house with the *khandu*, the rites of *mangal-fera* or the sacred rounds without which a Hindu marriage is incomplete are performed. Performance of *grah-shanti* is compulsory in *jan vidhi* but not in *khanda vidhi*. In the case of *jan vidhi*, near relatives, that is, families of uncles and aunts, sisters, sons-in-law, etc., are invited to join the *jan*. Relatives are fed before the *jan* starts.

Turmeric paste is applied to the bridegroom's body two days before the *jan* starts, and worship of Ganpati and the family goddess is performed, followed by the ceremony of *gotraj*. The *jan* generally rides in carts or *mafia*, that is, chariots. Good omens are seen before starting. The bridegroom is dressed in his best. He generally puts on either a *paheeran* or coat, *dhoti*, *fento* or turban, socks and shoes. He wears a golden chain in his neck, rings on his fingers, a wrist-watch on his wrist and *bedi* on his feet, and keeps a dagger and a handkerchief in his hand.

As at the bridegroom's house, marriage songs are sung at the bride's place after the wedding date is fixed. Similar preparations as at the bridegroom's are also made at hers. Additional preparations are made for the halting place and dinners for the *jan*. After the marriage date is fixed, *manek-stambh* is erected with the help of a Brahmin priest. The *pandal* is usually a simple one and erected after selecting an auspicious *muhurt*. On the same day Lord Ganesh is installed and worshipped. The custom of *varadh* is not followed. Turmeric paste is applied to the bride for two days. The *jan* and the bride's own relatives are feasted in the evening on the arrival of the *jan* and on the next morning. The bride and the bridegroom take *falahaar* with sweets on the day of marriage before the ceremony takes place.

When the *jan* arrives at the village, it is received at the outskirts of the village by the relatives of the bride accompanied by the priest, the barber and the drummers. The members of the party are given water sweetened with *gur*. The *jan* is then lodged at the *dharmashala* from where the bridegroom is later on taken to the house of a relative where he would be more comfortable. The party is given two meals and tea at the proper time. The wedding always takes place in the dead of the night between 11 and midnight, sometimes extending up to 10 o'clock in the next morning. According to the usual Hindu customs, the bridegroom and the bride are seated on *bajaths* in the marriage booth. When the bridegroom arrives, he is received by his mother-in-law or *kakiji*, that is, the bride's father's brother's wife. She holds in her hands a lamp called *namandivo* placed in a sieve and a *dhoti* is kept over the shoulder. She first makes a *kumkum chandla* on the forehead of the bridegroom and then performs *ponkhvun* ceremony. When the bride is brought to the marriage booth, she is dressed in *majiyun* or *sadlo*, a petticoat with *batmogra* design and a blouse with pink *gota* design. A *mod* or chaplet is placed on her head on which the *odhni* is draped. She also puts on all the ornaments meant for the occasion. While the bridegroom sits on a *bajath*, she uses a *manchi*. The bridegroom accompanied by the *anvar* or the best man

who remains at his beck and call. The bridegroom has to keep *maun* or observe silence, while the bride has to veil her face. The Brahmin recites the *mantras* in Sanskrit and performs the *hastamelap* ceremony. Thereafter the couple takes the four ceremonial rounds called *fera* of the sacred fire in which *ghee* is sacrificed in the enclosure called *chori* having earthen pots at each of its four corners. The newly weds are given an auspicious meal of *kansar* in the *chori*, where the *kanyadan* is also given. The parents of the boy give Rs. 251 at the time of marriage to the parents of the bride who give her ornaments, some cash, a buffalo, a cow, etc., in *kanyadan* or as marriage gift. The marriage ceremony ends with this ritual.

The *jan* is hosted for two days and a night and feasted two meals of *lapsi*, *ladu*, etc. On the day following the wedding, the *jan* is given a farewell in an auspicious *muhurt*. The bride also accompanies the *jan*. At this time, clothes and ornaments, household articles like utensils, mattresses, *bajath*, etc., are given by the bride's father. At the bridegroom's place, the couple on arrival is received with *ponkhun* ceremony. They then play with coins before the deity installed for *gotraj*. Also the bride is given some foodgrains in her lap which she is made to toss about. The bride keeps a veil before all the elderly male relatives and, for a few days also before elderly ladies. The *midhols* are untied before the *gotraj* and *naivedya* is offered to the family goddess.

(d) Death

No religious ceremony is performed at the time of death. Only foodgrains are thrown to birds and grass given to cows. Milk is distributed among children. A few Thakardas burn the dead body while the rest bury it. Children below three years of age are buried. Relatives and neighbours are called to join the funeral procession. The dead body is bathed and carried to the crematorium on a bamboo bier as among other Hindus with shouts of *Ram bolo Ram*. Coconuts, *ghee*, *gur* and some flour are taken to the crematorium and *ladus* are thrown to the dogs. At the time of cremation, the head is invariably kept in the north and the pyre is

lighted by the nearest relative. The funeral party returns home after the pyre is completely consumed. On the next day unburnt bones are picked up and later on consigned to a holy river like the Narmada or Saraswati. In the case of burial, it takes place near the crematorium on the bank of the village tank. A waist-deep pit is dug and the body is laid in it with the head in the north. After the funeral party returns, the males wash their mouths and bid *Ram Ram* before returning to their homes.

Weeping and grieving go on for 12 days. A Valand woman breaks the bangles of a widow who is then made to change her dress. The *saravun* ceremony takes place on the 11th day after death. On the 12th day *pattar puravavun* and on the 13th *uthantara* take place. If the family can afford it, the 13th day is observed by giving a caste dinner. But this is not obligatory. Generally the Ravalia is given food for 12 days.

The *shraddha* of the dead person is performed in the dark half of the month of Bhadrapad. It is believed that by this ceremony, the departed soul attains salvation. Mourning is observed for six months during which time the family avoids gay clothes, feasts and festivities.

II.20 VANKAR

Among the Scheduled Castes, the social customs of Vankars have been examined below as it is the most numerous in the village.

(a) Birth

Not all women of Vankar caste observe restrictions during the period of menses. Generally, however, women abstain from cooking during these days. When the first pregnancy is several months advanced, the lap-filling ceremony is performed. The religious ceremony is conducted by a Garoda priest and the woman is gifted a pair of clothes. Failure to perform the ceremony damages the prestige of the family. There are no particular restrictions imposed on the pregnant woman excepting that heavy work is considered harmful to her. The first delivery takes place at her parental home and the rest at her husband's place. A woman of the same caste acts as a midwife and is given a *sadlo* in gift. The women of the family also attend on

the occasion. If there is any difficulty the patient is taken to a doctor in the near-by city. After the delivery is safely over, *naivedya* is offered to the family goddess. The birth of a boy, which is a matter of a greater joy than that of a girl, is announced by beating a *thali* or metal dish, while that of a girl by beating a winnowing fan. Goddess *chhatthi* who writes the destiny of the newly born is worshipped on the sixth day and the child is adorned in a new frock. The name of the baby is got selected by the priest who is paid Rs. 5 or so according to one's conditions. Near relatives like sister, niece, aunt, etc., give gifts of clothes and small ornaments to the baby.

(b) Marriage Customs

Child marriages which were fairly common in former days have mostly been given up as a result of legislation prohibiting them. Though old people still believe in child marriage, the younger generation is increasingly in favour of adult marriages. A difference of two years is kept in the ages of the boy and the girl. Marriages are generally arranged within a group of 52 villages.

There is no objection to divorce and widow remarriage which can be freely resorted to by the widow who is generally married to a widower. The relations of the former marriage have the rights of guardianship over the children, but if there are no such relations, the widow takes them with her to her new home. Junior levirate is customary but optional. Formerly there was no restriction on the number of wives a man could have. Marriages by elopement are not common and are generally looked down upon. Cases of desertion are rare.

It is the right of the parents and elders to select the match. The proposal may come from either party. The priest is mostly employed as a middleman to fix the terms of payments, etc. The age of marriage is between 16 to 20 years, the bride being 2 to 3 years younger than the bridegroom. Factors which count in selecting the match are age, appearance of the boy and the girl, and property and status of the family of the father and the mother. Of

late some importance is being attached to education also.

(c) Marriage Ceremonies

The betrothal is finalised by both the parties getting together, when the girl's father gives Re. 1 to the boy's father. *Gur* is distributed among caste-fellows. No dinner is given at this time. If severe differences arise, it is permissible to break the engagement.

The date of the wedding is fixed by the Brahmin priest looking to the convenience of both the parties, about a fortnight before hand. Marriage invitations are then sent out and after the *mandap* is erected, women of the caste assemble to sing marriage songs at night. The invitees to the marriage include the families of aunts, uncles, brothers-in-law, sisters, etc. No dinner is given at the bridegroom's place before the *jan* starts. The house is whitewashed and musical records and the radio are played. Marriage songs are sung about two days before the marriage. They include some social criticism of the opposite party. For two three days prior to the marriage, turmeric paste is applied to the bridegroom who worships Lord Ganesh five times in all. The bridegroom, proceeding to the bride's place with a party of about 25 to 35 persons, is dressed in a new shirt, jacket, trousers, embroidered Kashmiri cap, etc. A wrist-watch and rings are the ornaments he generally puts on. A knife is stuck in the coconut which he carries. Females do not join the marriage party. The father of the bridegroom gives to the parents of the bride Rs. 450 which go to meet the marriage expenses.

The preparations at the place of the bride include, besides erection of the pandal, preparations for dinner. The *manek-stambh* is erected a couple of days before the wedding in an auspicious *muhurt*. The ceremony is conducted by a priest chanting *mantras*. Lord Ganesh is also installed and worshipped. From this day onwards the bride is anointed with turmeric paste. When the *jan* arrives it is received ceremonially at the outskirts of the village with ladies carrying *gagars* or large pots on their heads. After the reception, the *jan* is taken to the pandal where they are seated on mattresses.

The *jan* is given a dinner of *lapsi* or *shiro* after which other relatives are also feasted.

The wedding generally takes place in the evening. At the time of the arrival, the bridegroom is welcomed by the mother of the bride with a *kumkum chandla* and flowers. The bride is brought to the marriage booth at the time of the *hastamelap*. The bride and the bridegroom are seated on a mattress, the girl being seated on the left of the groom. Ladies who sit around the marriage booth sing marriage songs, while the *anavar* always remains near the bridegroom in case his help is needed by him. The bridegroom is required to observe silence and the bride to veil her face. The ceremony is conducted by the Harijan priest in Gujarati. In the *chori*, constructed with earthen pots at its four corners, the couple take the four ceremonial rounds. The wedding comes to an end with the couple feeding each other with *kansar* after which they are taken to the camp of the *jan*. The *jan* halts for two days during which it is feasted with *lapsi* and *shiro* and departs on the third day. While bidding farewell to the *jan*, *gulal* is sprinkled on the party in the *mandap* and it is seen off at the outskirts of the village. The bride is also sent with the party.

On arrival at the bridegroom's house, the couple is received by the mother, whereafter they are made to play some game like finding a ring in a vessel full of butter-milk, etc. The bride keeps a veil before all the elders of her husband. In the end *naivedya* is offered to the family goddess.

The parents of the girl sometimes do not give clothes, ornaments, etc., to her at the time of the marriage, but at the time of her *simant* during the first pregnancy, when she is given Rs. 250 worth of ornaments including a gold *kadu*, bangles, anklets, and a pair of clothes.

The *anu* ceremony takes place when the girl comes to stay with her husband. The elders of the bridegroom's family go to the girl's house for fetching her when they are given a dinner by her father. They are also given Rs. 50 to purchase clothes for her. There is no custom of sending *malli* among Harijans.

(d) Death

No religious ceremony takes place at the time of death, but only grains are given in alms and cows fed with grass. The dead body is generally interred near the burning *ghat* on the village tank. A waist-deep grave is dug from north to south. The dead body is carried on a bamboo bier speaking aloud the name of Rama as in other communities. The funeral party consists of family members and relations. It takes with it a hoe and a shovel for digging the grave, a coconut and some flowers. Women follow the procession only up to the outskirts of the village. The widow is bathed at a well and made to wear black clothes. Her bangles are broken. The dead body is bathed before being taken to the cemetery. The head is kept in the north. No ceremony is performed near the grave excepting lighting of a lamp. On return the mourners wash the mouth and weep loudly. Alms are given on the third day after death when all the men in the family get a clean shave at the end of *sutak* or period of impurity. Weeping and wailing go on for 13 days. The *saravaran* ceremony is performed with a caste dinner only by some families as it is not obligatory. A Harijan Brahmin is given clothes, fruits and dinners. Mourning lasts for 15 days during which festive food and clothes are avoided and the family members do not stir out unless badly necessary.

CHAPTER III ECONOMY

A—Economic Activity

III.1 GENERAL

THE ECONOMY of the village is many-side. While agriculture plays an important part in it, other occupations, some of them rendered possible by the proximity of Ahmedabad city, also play a significant role. The impact of the city, on which several families depend for their livelihood, is felt in various aspects of the economic pattern obtaining in the village. This urban impact strengthens and is strengthened by the close bonds that the village has with the city.

III.2 WORKERS

According to the Census count of 1961, workers number 337 or 37.57 per cent of the population, while the remaining 560 or 62.43 per cent are non-workers. About half of the males, numbering 235 or 49.89 per cent, are workers. The corresponding percentage for the 102 female workers is 23.94. In respect of the proportion of working population, Isanpur takes a middle position between the rural and urban averages for the State as brought out by the following figures.

STATEMENT VII

		Percentage of workers		
		Persons	Males	Females
Gujarat	R	44.96	55.29	34.15
	U	29.88	48.37	9.24
Ahmedabad district	R	39.19	53.75	23.58
	U	31.36	51.45	6.73
Ahmedabad city taluka	R	37.33	54.33	17.86
	U	31.12	51.70	5.53
Isanpur	R	37.57	49.89	23.94

The proportion of the working force in the total population is generally higher in rural than in urban areas. In Ahmedabad city taluka,

where the urban population largely predominates the rural, the proportion of workers is comparatively lower in the villages as compared to rural areas of the district and the State. Isanpur in this respect falls in line with the taluka average. Comparatively less males are economically active in the village (49.89 per cent) than in the rural areas of the taluka, district or the State. As against this, the ratio of female participation in economic activity in Isanpur is higher than in the rural areas of the taluka and the district.

III.3 AGE DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of workers according to age groups is examined in the subjoined statement.

STATEMENT VIII

Workers by age group

Age group	Population			Workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All ages	897	471	426	337	235	102
0-14	354	203	151	1	1	..
15-34	302	137	165	187	118	69
35-59	187	108	79	140	107	33
60 and over	54	23	31	9	9	..

There is only one worker in the youngest age group 0-14 who is engaged in agricultural labour. In the working age group 15-59, there are 327 workers (225 males; 102 females) who constitute two-thirds or 66.87 per cent of the population (489) in the working ages. All but one male in the age bracket 35 to 59 are economically active, as against 33 or 41.77 per cent out of 79 females. Among old persons above 60 years of age there are only nine male workers forming 3.91 per cent of the total male population in the group, which has not a single worker among females.

III.4 INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES

The relative importance of the different economic activities like agriculture, manufacture,

other services, etc., is brought out by the subjoined statement which distributes workers according to industrial categories.

STATEMENT IX

Workers by sex and industrial category

Category	Number			Percentage		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Total	337	235	102	100.00	100.00	100.00
As cultivator	58	58	..	17.21	24.68	..
As agricultural labourer	132	56	76	39.17	23.83	74.51
In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchards and allied activities	..	..	..	..	..	..
At household industry	47	37	10	13.96	15.75	9.80
In manufacturing other than household industry	34	34	..	10.09	14.47	..
In construction	2	2	..	0.59	0.85	..
In trade and commerce	17	7	10	5.04	2.93	9.80
In transport, storage and communications	8	8	..	2.37	3.40	..
In other services	39	33	6	11.57	14.04	5.89

III.5 AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

The statement reproduced above shows that while agriculture is the most important activity, non-agricultural pursuits are no less significant for the village. Agriculture claims 190 or 56.38 per cent of the total workers either as cultivators or agricultural labourers, as against 147 or 43.62 per cent claimed by other industrial categories. The proportion of agricultural workers in Isanpur is much smaller than that in the rural areas of Gujarat (81.45 per cent), or Ahmedabad district (72.96 per cent), but larger than the average of the villages of Ahmedabad city taluka (26.71 per cent).

There is, however, one marked difference in the composition of the agricultural workers in Isanpur, in that less than one-third of the agriculturists work on land owned or held by them, whereas the remaining large majority has to work as labourers on lands belonging to others. Cultivators constitute 30.53 per cent of the total agricultural workers included in the first two categories as against 69.47 per cent

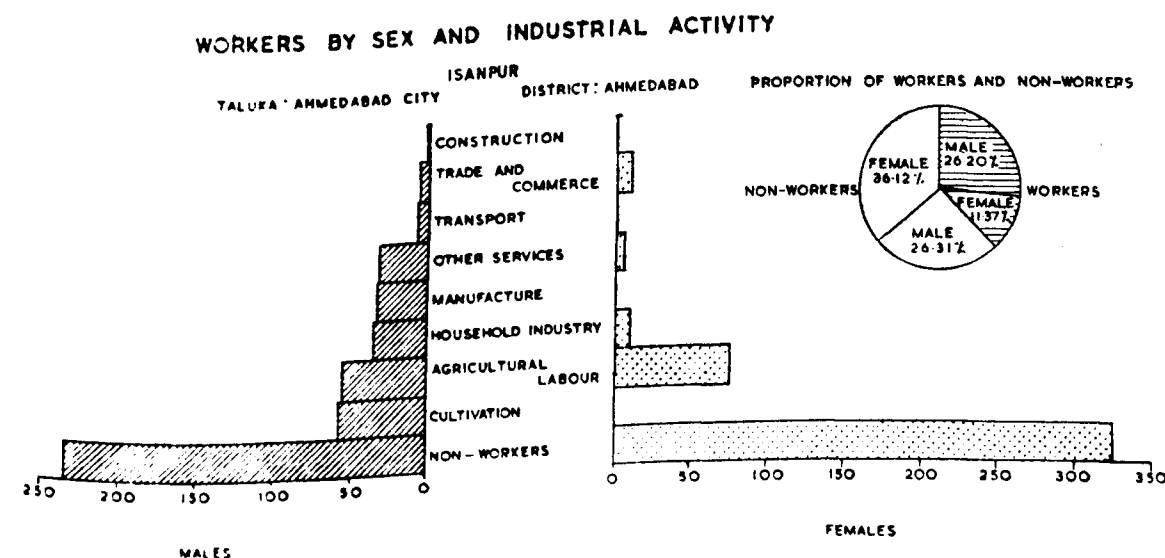
who are agricultural labourers. The higher proportion of agricultural workers in the total agricultural workers is in sharp contrast to larger ratios returned by cultivators in the State, district and taluka. As will be seen later the agriculturists of this village are at a disadvantage in respect of the ownership of their land because of the *inami* tenure of lands granted in *inam* to the religious institutions.

III.6 NON-AGRICULTURAL CATEGORIES

Among the remaining 7 categories the most important categories are household industry and manufacture besides other services. Household industry which includes livestock and other small industries practised in the village like tailoring, pottery, etc., claim 47 or 13.96 per cent of the workers, of whom 37 are males and 10 females. Manufacturing industries, chief among which is the textile industry of Ahmedabad, provide employment to 34 workers all of whom are males. They constitute 10.09 per cent of all workers and 14.47 per cent of male workers. Various occupations like Government and

municipal services, miscellaneous labour, hair-cutting, priesthood, etc., are grouped under the ninth category of 'other services' in which 39 persons constituting 11.57 per cent of the workers are engaged. They include 6 females. As for the rest, 'trade and commerce' claims 17 workers or 5.04 per cent of the total. The remaining

three categories do not employ any women. Transport which includes services in the postal department and motor transport employs 8 workers, construction employs 2. No worker has been returned in Category III quarrying, mining, etc.



The occupational pattern which emerges from the above statistics thus highlights the two most important facets of the village economy. Firstly the villagers suffer from a handicap as regards their interest in the lands they cultivate. Since they are working on lands alienated to the Inamdar, they cannot enjoy full occupancy rights, which is bound to affect adversely the prosperity of agriculture. In the next place the large number of workers engaged in manufacture and other services which offer employment in the city of Ahmedabad close by indicates the measure in which the village is dependent upon the city in the economic sphere. This is only to be expected with an industrial city the size of Ahmedabad is situated adjacent to the village. The large metropolis attracts numerous immigrants from areas far and near, including other States. Not only do villagers of Isanpur avail of the employment opportunities in the city, but several families who have migrated from other areas for service in the city have also

settled in Isanpur on account of the difficult housing position in Ahmedabad. It is for these reasons that the non-agricultural pursuits claim many more workers in Isanpur (43.62 per cent) than the general average found in the rural areas of the State (17.55 per cent) or district (27.04 per cent).

III.7 NON-WORKERS

A large section of the population comprising 560 persons or 62.43 per cent of the total are economically inactive. They include half the males numbering 236 or 51.11 per cent and a larger majority of 324 or 76.06 per cent of the females. Isanpur thus has a proportion of non-workers which equals that in the villages of the City taluka (62.67). However, it has fewer non-workers among women than the rural areas of the taluka as a whole (82.14 per cent).

The Statement X on the next page examines the age distribution of the non-workers.

STATEMENT X

Non-workers by age group

Age group	Total population			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-14	354	203	151	353	202	151
15-34	302	137	165	115	19	96
35-59	187	108	79	47	1	46
60 and over	54	23	31	45	14	31
Total	897	471	426	560	236	324

The largest number of non-workers is found in the youngest age group 0-14 which accounts for 353 or 63.04 per cent of the total non-

workers, followed by the next higher bracket 15-34 with 115 or 20.54 per cent. The proportion of the non-working population is almost the same for the last two age groups 35-59 (8.39 per cent) and 60 and over (8.03 per cent). In the working age group 15-59, which has a perfectly balanced sex ratio, there are only 20 male non-workers as against 142 females. All the older females aged 60 and over are economically inactive, while among males the category has only 9 out of a total of 23.

III.8 ACTIVITIES OF NON-WORKERS

An inquiry made by Census 1961 into the activities pursued by the non-workers yielded the following results.

STATEMENT XI

Non-workers by age and nature of activity

Age group	Total non-workers			Full-time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Retired persons not employed again, rentiers, persons living on agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend or other persons of independent means	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
All ages	560	236	324	83	29	..	138	145	157	8	..
0-14	353	202	151	71	28	..	7	131	116	..	..
15-34	115	19	96	12	1	..	95	7	..	..	..
35-59	47	1	46	..	..	..	30	1	16	..	..
60 and over	45	14	31	..	..	..	6	6	25	8	..

Out of 560 non-workers, 112 are students, constituting exactly one-fifth of the non-workers and 12.49 per cent of the total population. Among children below 15 years of age, 99 or 28.05 per cent go to school while among young persons in the age group 15 to 34, there are 13 or 11.30 per cent engaged in studies. There is a glaring disparity between the two sexes in respect of schooling which is availed of by 35.17 per cent of the male non-workers in contrast with the 8.95 per cent of their female counterparts. A comparison with larger territorial units shows that Isanpur has proportionately more students among the

non-workers than the rural areas of the State (17.52 per cent), district (18.66) and also the taluka (18.09). It, however, does not reach the urban level for the State (26.97 per cent). Since more and more numbers among the young non-workers are likely to depend on the city for their livelihood in future, the need for their being better equipped by education for the occupations available there is quite obvious. In this context, the proportion of children receiving schooling appears inadequate indeed.

Persons engaged in household duties number 138, all females, forming 42.59 per cent of the

total females of the village and 24.64 per cent of the population. However, it is the dependents who are the most numerous (302 or 53.93 per cent) accounting for more than half of the non-workers. The working age group has 24 dependents—8 males and 16 females. 8 persons—all males—live a retired life and have not to work for their livelihood. They are a bare 1.43 per cent of the non-workers.

B—Occupational Pattern

III.9 OCCUPATIONAL COMBINATION

The occupational pattern of Isanpur presents a very diversified picture. Agriculture is the most important single occupation of the village as it contributes about half of the total income of the village and provides employment to practically the largest number of families among all the occupations. The other important occupations, as seen earlier, are agricultural labour, livestock, manufacturing, and various service occupations grouped together in 'other services'. Household industries like tailoring, pottery, carpentry and preparing hair-oil, shop-keeping and occupations like driver, cleaner, postman, plying horse carriage and service in the telegraph department are the other important occupations of the village. An analysis of the occupational pattern shows that a large majority of the families does not depend on one occupation only. Taking advantage of the employment possibilities in the city, they pursue various occupations in convenient combinations. Only 48 out of 180 or 26.67 per cent of the households pursue a single occupation each. Of the remaining, 90 or one half of the total follow two occupations, 37 or 20.56 per cent follow three occupations and 5 or 2.78 per cent pursue as many as five occupations each.

The details of the combinations of the occupations followed by the families of Isanpur are shown in Table VI in Appendix I.

The combination of various occupations brings out the complementary nature of some of them. Cultivation and livestock generally go together aided by each other. In all 85 families are engaged in agriculture as owners or lessees and 61 in agricultural labour singly or

in combination with one or more other occupations. These two occupations are followed exclusively by only 9 and 2 families respectively. The remaining families also have some other side activity which supplements their income. Similarly those engaged in livestock alone account for 6 families, whereas the remaining 80 combine it with other occupations, but mostly with agriculture. Half of the 6 households engaged in household industry are dependent solely on it. Some of the household industries like pottery and tailoring, business activities like dealing in grocery, estate agency, etc., and motor driving are occupations which are followed singly apart from a few included in other services. The rest of the occupations are pursued in various combinations showing the variegated aspects of the village economy. Among the important occupations other than those mentioned above, 31 families derive income from service in manufacturing industries, mainly textile mills in Ahmedabad city. Communications claim 4 families and other services including miscellaneous labour 69.

While agriculture, agricultural labour and livestock are generally combined by the villagers elsewhere also, the nearness to the city facilitates the people of Isanpur to combine various other occupations as well.

III.10 OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

The occupational mobility observed in the village is quite fair, especially in the case of households who have changed their fathers' occupations. In all 53 householders have changed their predecessor's occupation, only 4 of them being compelled to do so by force of circumstances. The reasons advanced for the change were either better prospects available elsewhere or the new occupation being more to a person's liking. Some had also to take up a new avocation as service was not available in the field in which the father was employed. A couple of households gave up agriculture as the holding was not economic or paying, while a couple of others changed over from agriculture to other occupations, because it involved hard labour and was difficult to pursue.

Households who would prefer their sons to take up the same occupations as their father number 43. They include 18 cultivators, 4 cattle-breeders, 13 persons in services and a few others. The remaining who wish their children to take up different occupations prefer more

lucrative service, business, and other activities.

III.11 TYPE OF OCCUPATIONS

The folloing statement distributes households according to primary, secondary and tertiary occupations.

STATEMENT XII

Distribution of households by occupation

Occupation	Total No. of households	Percentage to total No. of households	Total No. of persons gainfully employed	Average No. of persons gainfully employed per household	Total annual income (in Rs.)	Percentage to total income
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Primary . . .	95	52.78	133	1.41	132,737	53.16
Secondary . . .	29	16.11	48	1.65	47,606	19.07
Tertiary . . .	56	31.11	92	1.67	69,347	27.77
Total . . .	180	100.00	273	1.52	249,690	100.00

A little over half of the households numbering 95 are engaged in primary pursuits, while 29 households depend on secondary occupations including the industrial establishments in the city and a few households in manufacturing household industries. The number of households in the tertiary sector is quite large, namely, 56 accounting for 31.11 per cent of the households. An examination of the distribution of the annual income among these three sectors shows that the primary occupations earned 53.16 per cent of the total annual income, while the secondary and tertiary sectors earned 19.07 and 27.77 per cent respectively.

C—Agriculture

III.12 LAND

The village occupies an area of about 1,100 acres. The basic survey figures usually maintained for surveyed and settled villages are not available for this *inam* village. Isanpur, like some other alienated villages, was excluded from the survey and settlement operations in the taluka. It was later on separately treated and the revenue assessment was fixed according to a report printed in the last century. The report is not now available. The basic data about the village lands are thus not forthcoming. The registers of the

District Inspector or Land Records, which may be presumed to give data coming down from the original survey, give the total area as 1,097 A. 21 G. with the following break-up:

STATEMENT XIII

Area and assessment of land

Type of land	Area A. G.	Assessment in Rs.		
		Land Revenue	Himayat	Akashia
1	2	3	4	5
Total .	1,097-21	4,601.31	1,060.25	800.59
Kharaba (uncultivable)	58-18	..	..	..
Jirayat (dry crop)	500-15	1,742.19	..	..
Juni Kyari (old rice land)	538-28	2,859.12	1,060.25	800.59

Out of the total area of 1,097 A. 21 G. of land, 58 A. 18 G. are classified as *kharaba* or uncultivable constituting 5.30 per cent of the total area. The remaining arable land is almost equally divided into 500 A. 15 G. of *jirayat* or dry crop land and 538 A. 28 G. of *juni kyari* or old rice lands classified as such at the time of the original survey. The dry crop land is assessed at Rs. 1,742.19 giving an average assessment of Rs. 3.48 per acre. Rice land is assessed at a

higher rate of Rs. 5.31 per acre yielding Rs. 2,859.12 or 62.14 per cent of the total land revenue assessment. There is an additional charge of *himayat* or natural water rates assessed for some of the advantageously located lands which get the benefit of sub-soil water. An amount of Rs. 1,060.25 or an average of Rs. 1.97 per acre is charged as *himayat* on the rice lands.

Another charge levied on the rice lands is called *akashia*. It is chargeable to lands favourably situated in such a way that they receive more rain water on account of slope, etc. The total amount of this special rate is Rs. 800.59, i.e., Rs. 1.49 per acre of *kyari* land. The total assessment under all the heads put together thus comes to Rs. 6,462.15.

The village records according to which revenue recoveries are at present made show some variance from the above figures. According to them, the total area of the village is 1,117 A. 35 G. assessed at Rs. 3,108.48 or Rs. 2.78 per acre. However, the whole of the amount assessed does not accrue to the Government as Isanpur is an alienated village given in *inam* to Shah Alam Roza, which enjoys the right to recover the land revenue from the cultivators who are inferior holders of lands. The Government in its turn recovers from the Inamdar Rs. 483.48 as *judi*, leaving Rs. 2,625 to be recovered by him. But the special rates of *himayat* and *akashia* are recovered in full by the Government. The Local Fund Cess, levied at the rate of 3 annas per rupee of land revenue, is also recovered by the Government on behalf of the District Local Board. The total demand of this cess comes to Rs. 590.62.

III.13 LAND TENURE

One of the most important factors affecting the village is that it is an *inam* village. As stated earlier, Isanpur was granted as a religious *inam* for the Roza of Shah Alam at Ahmedabad. Descendants of Shah Alam who are the trustees of the *roza* also manage the *inam* property. The original grant is traced back to Aurangzeb who gave a *sanad* or a deed of grant, alienating the village Isanpur to the descendants of Shah Alam. After the advent of the British in India, the rights in land and *sanad* granted to their owners

by the Government were investigated under the Summary Settlement authorised under Act VII of 1863 and a fresh *sanad* issued on 22nd July, 1864 by the Governor of Bombay on the part of H. M. Queen Victoria as the endowment property of the Roza of Peer Shah Alam on payment of a sum of Rs. 375.00 as quit rent every year. The *inam* was to be held as long as the holders continued loyal and faithful to the Government. A translation of the *sanad* from Aurangzeb and the *sanad* from Queen Victoria are reproduced in Appendix II. At various stages and in various courts of law, the nature of the *inam* has been disputed and the validity of the *sanad* challenged by the cultivators. Their stand was that the grant was in the nature of a personal *inam* which should be abolished according to the recent enactments abolishing all personal *inams*. The Inamdar argued that it is a *devasthan* or religious *inam* which is not yet abolished by *inam* abolition legislation. According to him, Alienation Register maintained by the Government showed the tenure as *devasthan inam* since 1883 A.D. The Assistant Charity Commissioner, Ahmedabad, by his order dated 10th August, 1962 has decided that the *inam* is a religious *inam* and should be registered as a public trust according to the Bombay Public Trust Act, 1950. The dispute does not seem to have ended yet and litigation in this respect still goes on in higher tribunals of law. Originally nine villages were granted in *inam* to the Inamdar. Out of them, six *inams* have been abolished by the Government and now only three remain. The estate was under the management of the Collector on account of the minority of the present Inamdar from 1948 to 1958.

Agriculturists have to suffer privations because of the alienated tenure of the land. They are not full-fledged occupants, but inferior holders. They can neither sell land, nor mortgage it. They cannot, therefore, obtain loans against its security. However, the amount of rent charged for the land by the Inamdar is limited to the land revenue assessment fixed by the Government and he cannot increase it. The actual demand of land revenue is fixed for each year

by the Mamlatdar according to *annawari* or crop condition and is collected by the Inamdar.

It was alleged by the villagers that the Inamdar charges 8 annas for a mutation in the record of rights, i.e., for recognising private sales by the holders over non-agricultural land. But he does not permit mutations for transfers in respect of agricultural lands. The holders, however, effect sales of such land by registered documents. The Inamdar does not take legal action against such transactions apart from issuing legal notices. The Inamdar, however, contends that he does not object to transfers of agricultural lands or their hypothecation for *tagavi* and other advances nor does he charge any fees for the same. He receives compensation only for lands acquired by the Government for public purposes in other villages granted in *inam*.

It is stated by the villagers that the Inamdar derives considerable income from the *inam* villages besides the sizeable income derived from the *roza* itself, particularly at the time of the annual *urs* on the 19th of the Muslim month of Jamadi-us-Sani. It was said that his earnings from recognition of mutations in rights over land were considerable. Besides the regular land revenue which he recovers from the cultivators, he also realises income from waste lands by way of grazing fees for the cattle.

During the time when the estate was under the management of the Collector owing to the minority of the Inamdar, over 100 acres of waste land of Isanpur were given on lease to an association called Rayka Mandal of Rabaris of Ahmedabad for grazing cattle. The village people have also complained that they were not given this land though they were prepared to have it on lease. It was alleged by the villagers as well as on behalf of the Inamdar that the said society was not a genuine association and that it further farmed out some of the lands for profit. The village has no free pasture or grazing ground and the livestock holders are, therefore, at a disadvantage. On the part of the Inamdar it is urged that the Collector should have given vacant possession of this land to him at the time of the release of the estate from management, i.e., in the condition in which it was taken under management. He has, therefore, gone to

the High Court for redress. Meanwhile he does not accept the rent from the lessee. Before the lease was entered into, the yearly auction for grazing facilities in the land is stated to have brought larger amounts even up to Rs. 5,000 depending upon the season. The present lessees have no relations with the villagers. As the grazing lands are situated near the rice lands about 1½ miles from the residential area, the villagers seldom go to that side after the paddy crop has been harvested, thus reducing the possibility of a direct conflict between the villagers and the lessees.

For the purpose of recovery of revenue, the Inamdar employs a Talati who visits the village whenever necessary and prepares a separate *pahanipatruk* or crop register for his use. Till 1946 there was crop share system in the village which is now substituted by cash assessment. The Inamdar has his own *chora* in the village where his share of the crop used to be stored in the past, now being used by his staff as an office.

III.14 RELATIONS WITH THE INAMDAR

The relations of the Inamdar with the cultivators are not happy since long ago. Tenant cultivators who are denied full ownership of the lands feel strongly about this deprivation, because practically all types of other *inams* have been abolished and tenants have been made full occupants of the lands that they till subject to the payment of compensation fixed by Agriculture Lands Tribunals appointed by the Government. Though the present feeling of bitterness is accentuated after the implementation of land reforms abolishing Inamdars and absentee landlordism after the advent of freedom, the relations between Inamdar and the villagers have been embittered for many years past. More than 50 years ago in V. S. 1942 (1886 A. D.) the Inamdar tried to enhance his income by imposing a 'tail tax' of 2 annas per head of cattle even though there was no common grazing ground for the village cattle. A 'tree tax' of Re. 1 per tree was also imposed. A number of cultivators of all communities including Thakardas and Harijans, therefore, left the village to settle elsewhere, but they had to return to the village after two years as they could not earn their

livelihood outside. At that time the Inamdar got them to execute fresh tenancy documents as new tenants on limited terms. As the Patel had helped the villagers at that time, he incurred the displeasure of the Inamdar. The tail tax was then extended to all the *inam* villages, but was protested against only by Vasna village.

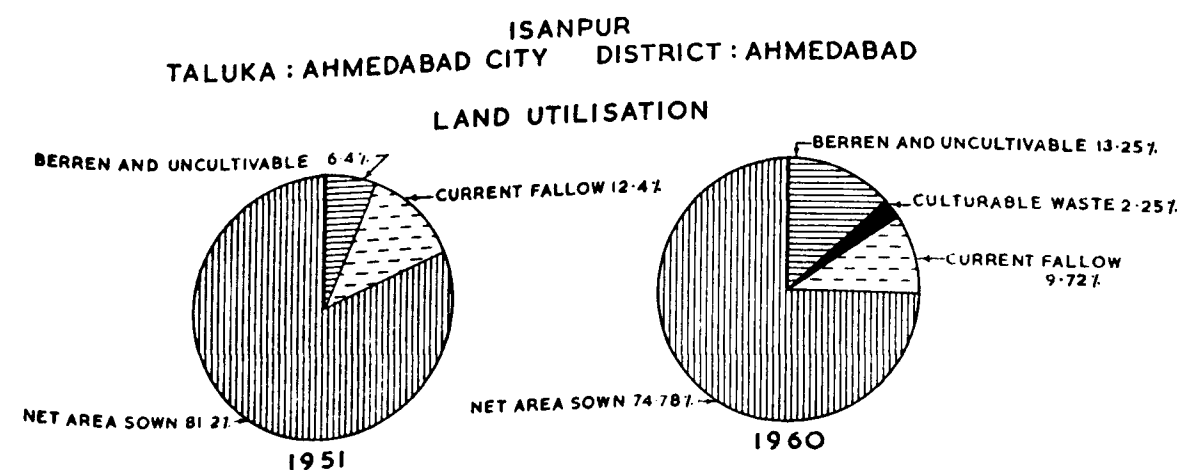
According to the villagers they did not seek redress from the Government against the Inamdar in the past, because the British Government had sympathies for the Inamdar and its officers had good relations with him before Independence. The textile industry of Ahmedabad expanded after the first World War and particularly after 1925. This development contributed to the quarrel with the Inamdar because cultivators who felt that land values would appreciate, were anxious to obtain full ownership rights over their lands. The Inamdar who has no lands under personal cultivation in the village also tried to cultivate some lands of Isanpur by engaging servants. But he was not successful because of the opposition of the villagers.

Thus the villagers find the *inami* tenure to be an impediment to their material progress. The conflict between the Inamdar and the villagers is limited only to the economic and the legal fields, as there is no social contact between the villagers and the Inamdar who resides in Ahmedabad and

has no representative permanently staying in Isanpur. The feeling against the *inami* tenure is more acute among the cultivators led by Patidar land-holders. Other sections of the village are affected by the tenure only indirectly, when someone wants to purchase village site or other waste lands for building a house. As will be seen later, the *inami* nature of the tenure also results in a smaller land revenue grant to the village panchayat. In the field of agriculture where the impact of the alienated tenure is the heaviest, the influence of the Inamdar is, however, waning. The agriculturists cannot be removed from the land as they have been tilling it for generations. They are emboldened by the land reforms in various fields abolishing middlemen between the Government and the tiller of the soil. But their status has so far remained unchanged as they can be brought on par with occupants of Government lands with full proprietary rights only if religious *inams* are also abolished like the various other *inams* that have been done away with by law.

III.15 LAND UTILISATION

The data regarding land utilisation collected at the village show variations in the details though not in the broad picture of lands of the village.



STATEMENT XIV

Land utilisation

Items	1960	
	Area (in acres)	Percentage to total
1	2	3
1 Total geographical area according to village papers	1,118-00	100.00
2 Forest	..	..
3 Barren and uncultivable land	148-00	13.25
4 Land put to non-agricultural use	..	..
5 Culturable waste	25-00	2.25
6 Land under tree-crops and groves	..	..
7 Permanent pastures and grazing groves	..	..
8 Current fallow	109-00	9.72
9 Other fallow land	..	..
10 Net area sown	836-00	74.78
11 Gross cropped area	967-00	86.49

Out of the total area of 1,118 acres, 148 acres or 13.25 per cent are barren and uncultivable. There is culturable waste of 25 acres or 2.25 per cent, while 109 acres or 9.72 per cent remain fallow. Being an *inami* village, Isanpur has no free pastures or grazing lands. The remaining land admeasuring 826 acres or 74.78 per cent is brought under the plough and classified as area sown. There is no land under tree-crops or groves. Allowing for double cropping with the help of irrigation, the gross cropped area comes to 967 acres.

III.16 SIZE OF HOLDINGS

Cultivators of Isanpur hold only about half of the agricultural land of the village. The statement reproduced below shows the size of land-holdings.

STATEMENT XV

Pattern of land-holdings

Size of land-holding (in acres)	No. of households	1960	
		Total area (in acres)	Percentage to total area
1	2	3	4
0 to 0.99	4	1-26	0.33
1 to 1.99	4	5-32	1.18
2 to 2.99	8	20-29	4.21
3 to 3.99	14	46-12	9.40
4 to 4.99	3	12-20	2.54
5 to 9.9	17	112-21	22.85
10 to 14.9	9	107-10	21.77
15 to 24.9	5	104-23	21.23
25 to 49.9	3	81-09	16.49
50 and over	..	..	..
Total	67	492-22	100.00

With 492 A. 22 G. held by 67 households, the average area per holding works out to 7 A. 14 G. About half of the holders numbering 33 out of 67 hold less than 5 acres of land each, while the remaining 34 hold more. The largest number of holdings are within the size class 5 to 9.9 acres claiming 17 household which hold 112 A. 21 G. or 22.85 per cent of the total land under cultivation. Next in order are holdings from 3 to 3.99 acres covering an area of 46 A. 12 G. or 9.40 per cent of the total area. The largest holders are three households having 25 to 49.9 acres accounting for 16.49 per cent of the total area held.

There are 16 households which have leased out all the lands they hold. Three cultivators' families depend solely on land taken on lease from others, while 28 others possess their own lands besides those taken on lease. No house has lost any land by sale or by law owing to tenancy legislation. Apart from land acquired by inheritance, one household has purchased *jirayat* land and 2 households *bagayat* land. 15 households have acquired *jirayat* land and 27 *kyari* land on lease.

III.17 AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

The village is fairly well placed in the matter of agricultural implements as seen from the following statistics.

STATEMENT XVI

Agricultural implements

Agricultural implements	1951	1960
1	2	3
Plough (a) Wooden	42	44
(b) Iron	..	17
Sugar-cane crushers	..	..
Pump sets (for irrigation purpose only)	4	18
Others Carts	8	19

There are 61 ploughs in all in the village which gives a fair average of 8 A. 4 G. of agricultural land per plough. Out of 67 households having some land, 18 have no plough at all, 38 have one plough and 11 have 2 ploughs each. One household without any land under cultivation also has a plough. Not only has the number of ploughs increased in the past decade, but improved types of ploughs have also been brought into use in fair numbers. Besides the traditional wooden plough, two types of improved ploughs are in use, viz., iron plough and 'Baroda hoe'. The iron plough which is owned by well-to-do farmers is useful for wet ploughing. The other one called 'Baroda hoe' introduced more recently is an improvement on the traditional plough in that it can plough three furrows at a time and thus saves time and labour. This type of plough can be drawn easily by ordinary bullocks. It is used for dry farming and many cultivators possess it. This variety is produced in Kalol and Dehgam, about 25 miles away, from where it is purchased by the cultivators. It is also prepared in Ahmedabad but is less durable and more costly than the product of Kalol and Dehgam, and therefore, not preferred by farmers. Its cost, Rs. 25 in 1951, has risen to Rs. 35 to 40 in 1960. There are 104 bullocks and the average land cultivated per pair of bullocks comes to 9 A. 19 G. The number of ploughs and the draught cattle are thus commensurate with the area cultivated. There has been a phenomenal rise in the number of pumping sets for irrigation from 4 in 1951 to 18 in 1960. They help the taking of paddy

crops and also cultivation of vegetables. There are 19 carts which are used mostly for transport of produce. A recent improvement in the carts is the fitting of rubber tyres for smoother and easier transport. Such a cart costs Rs. 400 including labour, second-hand tyres, tubes, etc. Wooden wheels would bring down the cost to Rs. 250. Cultivators having no carts of their own borrow others' by mutual cooperation, and not on hire.

III.18 CROP PATTERN

The cropping pattern of Isanpur is dominated by food crops. The most important crops grown in the village are wheat, paddy and *jowar*. Two crops are taken in a year—*kharif* in the monsoon and *rabi* in the winter. The area irrigated is almost double the area un-irrigated. The details of the area under each crop for the year 1959-60 are given below.

STATEMENT XVII

Crop pattern

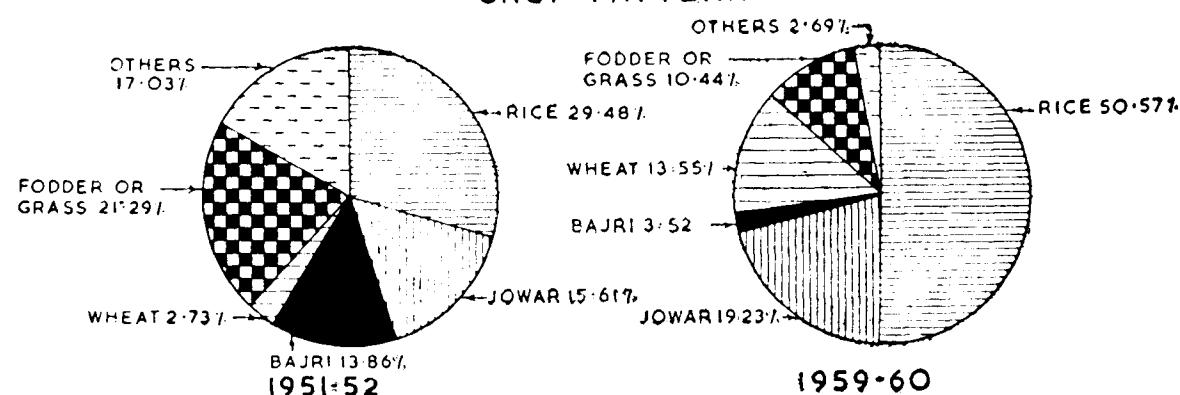
Name of the crop	1959-60			
	Area irrigated	Area un-irrigated	Total area	Percentage to total area
1	2	3	4	5
A—RABI				
1 Wheat	131-00	..	131-00	13.55
Sub-total .	131-00	..	131-00	13-55
B—KHARIF (SINGLE)				
1 Groundnut	..	6-00	6-00	0.62
2 Rice	482-00	7-00	489-00	50.57
3 Bajri	..	34-00	34-00	3.52
4 Jowar	..	186-00	186-00	19.23
5 Bavto	..	..	..	..
6 Pulses	..	11-00	11-00	1.14
7 Vegetable	2-00	..	2-00	0.21
8 Til	..	..	..	..
9 Cotton	..	7-00	7-00	0.72
10 Fruits	..	..	..	..
Sub-total	615-00	251-00	866-00	76.01
C—OTHER CROPS				
1 Grass	21-00	80-00	101-00	10.44
Gross cropped area	636-00	331-00	967-00	86.45

A little over half of the area, i.e., 489 acres or 50.57 per cent is occupied by paddy. The next in importance is *jowar* with 186 acres or 19.23 per cent and wheat with 131 acres or 13.55 per cent. One-tenth of the total area or 101 acres is under grass. Pulses and vegetables and flowers are also grown, the area under the latter varying considerably with the availability of water. Though commercial crops like ground-

nut and cotton claim an insignificant portion of 1.34 per cent of the total area under the plough, paddy and wheat may as well be considered money crops because of the high prices they command now. From the Household Schedules it is seen that the yield per acre during this comparatively lean year was 10-23 B.mds. of *jowar*, 24-32 B.mds. of paddy and 6-24 B.mds. of wheat.

ISANPUR
TALUKA : AHMEDABAD CITY DISTRICT : AHMEDABAD

CROP PATTERN



III.19 IRRIGATION

The village is comparatively well-placed in the matter of irrigation. Over the past decade the number of *pucca* wells has increased from 41 to 44 and the number of machine pumps for irrigation from 4 to 18. There are half-a-dozen tanks inside or round about the village from which the fields on their banks are irrigated. The Public Works Department canal, a part of the Khari Cut Canal system also passes by the village. During 1960-61, canal waters irrigated 163 A. 8 G. of land in Isanpur—16 A. 30 G. in the *rabi* and 146 A. 18 G. in the *kharif* season.

Isanpur has since long been a beneficiary of this irrigation system. Formerly some rice cultivation was done on Chandola tank from the supply brought by excavating a channel

from the Muthia Vehla having a catchment area of about 24 sq. miles and flowing for a short period during the monsoon. To supply water to the Chandola tank a cut $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long was taken from the Khari river with a diversion weir at Raipur 12 miles north of Ahmedabad to meet the *nalla* a little upwards of Naroda village in 1879-80. This cut is, therefore, known as Khari Cut Canal. It is 16 miles long, consisting of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles of artificial cut, $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Muthia Nalla and 3 miles of old Chandola feeder. During the great famine called Chhappanio in V. S. 1956 or 1900 A. D., many minor channels were excavated for expanding irrigation on this system.

The area under this irrigation scheme, which benefits the three talukas of Dehgam, Daskroi and Ahmedabad city of Ahmedabad

strict, goes on increasing every year and rice of very good quality is grown in the command area. The intensity of irrigation is also very high. Bokh reservoir and Karol Dam having a storage capacity of 700 M. Cft. also act as storage reservoir for Khari Cut Canal system in addition to the flow in the river Khari. The existing sources are not sufficient to cope up with the increasing demand for water. On completion of the Lathmati Reservoir Project now under construction, the supply of water will be assured to about 26,000 acres under this scheme. But as the present capacity of Khari Cut Canal is not capable of drawing the discharge required for irrigating 26,000 acres, it was decided to remodel the Khari Cut Canal system. The project of remodelling this system has also been approved by the Government in January 1965 and the work is in progress. Details of the costs and the technical aspects of the project are given below.

	Old project	Remodelling project
1 Cost of construction	Rs. 610,329	Rs. 2,741,000
2 Catchment area	310 sq. miles	310 sq. miles
3 Area to be irrigated	16,000 acres	26,000 acres
4 Type of weir	203 ft. long and 5'-6" high with falling wooden shutters and needles	The height of the weir is to be raised by about 2 ft. in the remodelling project
5 Discharge of canal	1 Sec. I—350 Cusecs 2 Sec. II—350 Cusecs 3 Sec. III—260 Cusecs 4 Sec. IV—186 Cusecs	590 Cusecs 286 Cusecs 260 and 126 Cusecs 16 miles
6 Length of main canal	16 miles	

For obtaining canal waters, farmers are required to submit applications by the end of June for the *kharif* season and the end of February for the *rabi* to the respective sectional offices of the Public Works Department which are then sanctioned by the Deputy Engineer and passes are issued to the cultivators. The rotation of supplying water is fixed according to the availability of water and number of

applications sanctioned. If the available supply is insufficient to meet the total demand, the cultivators are persuaded to reduce a portion of their demand, which they do by collective consultations, aided by Government officers where necessary. According to the schedule of distribution thus agreed upon, water is supplied to pass-holders in rotation. Demand statements or irrigation charges are prepared for the season as per the water rate sanctioned and sent to the Revenue Department for realisation. The irrigation rates are Rs. 18 per acre for paddy and Rs. 5 for *bajri* and *jowar* in the *kharif* season and Rs. 15 for wheat and Rs. 13 for other crops in the *rabi* season.

III.20 CROP CALENDAR

Most of the crops grown in Isanpur are *kharif* or monsoon crops. They include paddy, millets, pulses like *tur* and *moong* and vegetables. The main *rabi* crops are wheat and gram. The Statement XVIII of crop calendar shows operations carried out in different months for each of these important crops.

For the monsoon crops ploughing is generally done in the months of June and July, though a nominal beginning is made on the auspicious day of Akhatrij on Vaishakh Sud 3 in May. Ploughing is to be repeated a couple of times because the land is such that baser grasses and weeds spring up very quickly, and have to be uprooted completely before sowing operations are undertaken early in August. Weeding and manuring operations are carried out during August and September and harvesting and threshing in November. Then starts the season for *rabi* or winter crops which are sown in December and harvested in March. No summer crop is taken. After the idle months of April and May the yearly cycle again commences in June.

III.21 AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

Mostly traditional practices are followed in agriculture. All the operations of sowing, weeding, manuring, reaping and threshing are carried out by manual labour helped only by animal power. Irrigation is by canal or well water, the latter being lifted by machine pumps.

STATEMENT XVIII

Crop calendar

Months	Kharif crops				Rabi crops	
	Paddy	Bajri and jowar	Tur and moong	Vegetables	Wheat	Gram
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vaishakh (May)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jyeshtha (June)	Ploughing	..	..	..	..	..
Ashadh (July)	Ploughing	Ploughing and sowing	Ploughing and sowing	Ploughing and sowing	..	..
Shravan (August)	Sowing and trans- planting	Weeding	Weeding	Weeding	..	..
Bhadrapad (September)	Manuring	..	..	..	..	..
Ashvin (October)	..	Harvesting and threshing	..	..	..	..
Kartik (November)	Harvesting and threshing	..	Harvesting and threshing	..	Ploughing	Ploughing
Margashirsh (December)	..	..	..	..	Sowing	Sowing
Paush (January)	..	..	..	..	Weeding	..
Magh (February)	..	..	..	..	Watering	..
Phalgun (March)	..	..	..	..	Harvesting and threshing	Harvesting and threshing
Chaitra (April)	..	..	..	..	..	..

Insecticides are not used. For protection from birds and animals, a watchman called *toyo* is employed, who, with the help of a sling and stones, drives away the intruders. The details of practices in the case of each important crop are related below.

(a) Paddy

The types of paddy growing in the village are *basmati*, *jirasa* and *kamod*. Paddy being a *kharif* crop the preparatory ploughing by a wooden plough is undertaken in the month of Jyeshtha (June). After about a fortnight of ploughing, the sowing takes place in a separate

plot called *dharuvadia* where *dharu* or seedlings are raised. The crop is watered by rain and canal waters. Another field which is filled with water and ploughed is kept ready for sowing the seedlings. In the month of Shravan (August) the seedlings which have grown in the *dharuvadia* are transplanted to the field. A distance of 8 to 9 inches is kept between two seedlings. The manures used and their proportion are the same as in the case of wheat. Bhadrapad (September) is the time for manuring. Many people also use *shan* or hemp as green manure. For this purpose hemp is grown earlier and the plants are felled and allowed to rot in the field

which is then ploughed without removing the plants. This is called *shan-no-padvas*. No weeding operations are necessary for the paddy crop. Between July and November the crop is irrigated four to five times with canal water.

After the plant grows to a height of 2½ to 3 feet, labourers are employed for harvesting in the month of Kartik (November). Three days after crop cutting, the stalks are taken to the threshing floor. Here the *loria* of paddy are beaten by labourers on a *pat* or bench which is 4'x3' and with four legs two feet high. This results in the paddy coming out of the corn, after winnowing which the crop is brought home. The leaves and straw serve as cattle fodder. About 10 seers of seeds are required for one acre of seedlings while the yield is about 50 maunds per acre.

Much labour is required for the rice crop, as seen from the quantum per acre mentioned below.

20 Labourers to transplant the seedlings in the field including 6 for taking out the seedlings

2 Labourers for preparing the *palas* or making of *kyaris*

20 Labourers for crop cutting including 6 labourers for threshing and 2 for winnowing.

The daily wages paid to the labourers are: Rs. 2 per day for transplanting, 5 seers of paddy for harvesting, 10 seers of paddy for threshing.

(b) Wheat

Two types of wheat are sown—No. 252 and *chandushi*. Wheat is a *rabi* crop for which the initial ploughing is done with a wooden plough in the month of Kartik (November). Sowing is done with the help of a seed-drill in Margashirsh (December). The distance between the furrows is only a couple of inches. Wheat is not sown as a mixed crop. Manuring operations are carried out in Paush (January) when manures like superphosphate, uria, groundnut oil cake, etc., are used. About five maunds of manure are used per acre. The manures are obtained from the cooperative

society at Vatva. The crop is watered seven to nine times in Paush to Phalgun, that is, January to March. Irrigation is by lift-irrigation from a well worked with machine. Weeding operations take place in January. The crop is ready for harvesting in the month of Phalgun (March) when the plants are two and half to three feet tall. After harvesting, the crop is allowed to dry in the threshing floor in the field itself for three days. Thereafter the ears of corn are threshed by bullocks made to walk over them. After winnowing the grains, the produce is brought home in carts and stored in big earthen jars. About 2½ maunds of seeds are required for one acre while the yield comes to 30 to 35 maunds.

Sixteen labourers are required for harvesting per acre, including six labourers for taking the crop to the threshing floor, and six for thrashing and winnowing. A labourer is paid Re. 1 daily besides the noon meal and works from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

(c) Bajri

For *bajri* which is *kharif* crop, the land is first ploughed in July. Sowing starts two or three days after ploughing with the help of a *chaval* (*fatko-orni*) or seed-drill with four bamboo pipes through which the seed is sown in the furrows which are kept one foot apart. *bajri* is generally raised as a mixed crop with *moong* and *tur*. The crop is neither manured nor irrigated and depends solely on rains. The plant grows five to six feet high by October when it is harvested. Four days after crop cutting, bundles of the stalks are tied up and taken to the thrashing floor. Within a week the ears of corn are cut off with the sickle by labourers and then the grains are separated by making oxen walk over them. The grains are then separated by winnowing. Ten seers of seeds are required for sowing an acre of land, while the yield is 15 to 17 maunds.

The labour required for one acre is 16 labourers for harvesting including 4 for tying bundles and 4 for carrying them to the threshing floor and the rest for cutting the ears from the stalk. The remuneration of the labourer is Re. 1 per day.

(d) *Jowar*

Jowar is not grown for grains but only for fodder. It is a monsoon crop like *bajri* and the two types commonly sown are *kamarparu* (*utavali*) and *malvan* (C 10-2). Ploughing is done in July and the seed is sown in the same way as *bajri*. *Jowar* is not sown as a mixed crop. The crop is neither manured nor irrigated. When the plants are about four feet high, they are harvested in October, without allowing ears to grow on the plants. Four days after harvesting bundles are tied up and stored away. About 2½ maunds of seeds are required for one acre which yields 500 to 600 bundles of fodder.

(e) *Gram*

Gram is a winter crop not mixed with any other crop. After sowing the field in November, the seed is planted by hand at intervals of three inches or so. No implements are used for this purpose. No manuring, weeding and irrigation operation are carried out in the case of this crop which matures only with the moisture of the soil. After the plants grow to about two feet height, they are harvested in March. Four days after the harvest, the crop is taken to the threshing floor where the grains are separated from the pods by bullocks made to walk on them. The chaff is thrown away.

Half a maund of seeds are required for one acre, the yield being 12 to 15 *kutch*a or local maunds of about 40 lbs. The labour requirements for one acre are 8 labourers for crop cutting, 4 for threshing and 4 for winnowing. Every labourer is given five seers of gram per day as remuneration.

(f) *Tur and Moong*

These are sown as mixed crops with *bajri* in the monsoon. After ploughing the land in July, the sowing operation is carried out within a couple of days. The seed-drill is used for this operation, the distance between the furrows being one foot. The *tur* plants rise up to four to five feet and *moong* two or three feet. The crop is not irrigated. A *rapdi* or a small *karab*, that is, a harrow is used for weeding. The crop

is harvested in November and two to three days thereafter it is taken to the thrashing floor. The dry stalks of *tur* are beaten like paddy on the *pat* and separated from the chaff by winnowing. *Moong*, however, is threshed under the feet of oxen. The seeds required per acre of land are 8 seers of *moong* and 10 seers of *tur*, while the yield is 15 to 20 maunds in either case. The labour charges are Re. 1 per day while the requirements of labourers per acre are 8 labourers for crop cutting, 4 for taking the stalks to the threshing floor and 4 for beating and winnowing.

(g) *Vegetables*

Among vegetables the main ones are *guvar* and *bhinda*. Two types of *guvar* sown are *suvala* and *telia*. The seeds are sown with the help of a drill after ploughing land in July. The distance between the two furrows is one foot. *Guvar* is grown as a single crop. No manures are used. When the plant is about three to four feet high, the pods are picked up with the help of labourers. About six seers of seeds are sown in an acre yielding 24 *kutch*a maunds of pods. Two labourers can pick up one maund of pods within an hour for which they are paid 4 annas apiece.

Bhinda or lady's fingers grown belong to the 'nylon' variety. Seeds are sown in July with the help of a drill as in the case of *jowar* and the distance between the furrows is also one foot. No manures are used. The plant rises to a height of about 2 feet and the fruit is picked up in October. 10 seers of seeds are required per acre while the yield comes to about 20 maunds. The charges and the out-turn of labourers is the same as in the case of *guvar*.

III.22 RECIPROCAL AID AND ADVICE

Only 10 households borrow agricultural implements at the time of cultivation and 7 take help of neighbours in sowing and harvesting operations. Only 2 farmers took advice of the Agricultural Department regarding the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. Neither of them, however, acted upon it.

III.23 AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The total agricultural produce is given in

the statement that follows with the break-up of details regarding household consumption and quantity available for sale.

STATEMENT XIX

Agricultural produce

Name of the products	Annual quantity produced (in B.mds.)	Received from others	Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households (in B.mds.)	Total annual quantity available for sale (in B.mds.)	Given to others
1	2	3	4	5	6
Jowar and guvar	48-00	..	48-00	..	..
Wheat	758-20	25-00	341-20	370-00	72-00
Jowar	90-00	..	2-20	70-00	17-20
Bajri	203-00	8-00	84-20	84-20	42-00
Paddy	6,971-00	150-00	1,528-20	4,812-20	780-00
Wheat, gram	602-00	7-20	462-20	84-20	62-20
Gram	20-00	..	15-00	5-00	..
Tuver	20-00	..	10-00	..	10-00
Grass bundles	46,650 bundles	200	36,750 bundles	8,200 bundles	1,900 bundles
Vegetables	641-00	..	56-00	565-15	19-25
Flower	Rs. 3,350 income				
Palla	Rs. 580 income				

During the year under survey, which was a comparatively lean year for Isanpur, 8,712-20 B.mds. of foodgrains, 641 B.mds. of vegetables and 46,650 grass bundles were produced besides flowers worth Rs. 3,350 and green fodder worth Rs. 580. While gram, *tur*, etc., are mostly sown for consumption, surplus of wheat and paddy is sold away. Vegetables are grown mainly for sale. After accounting for stocks given to others or received from others, the quantity available for sale included 5,426-20

B.mds. or 62.28 per cent of the grains produced, 565-15 B.mds. of vegetables and 8,200 grass bundles. Crops are sold directly to merchants in the city and not through middlemen. The producers' and the retail prices for the commodities are given in Table V in Appendix I.

III.24 AGRICULTURAL EXPENDITURE

The total outlay on agriculture during the year under survey was to the tune of Rs. 53,859 under various heads as detailed below.

STATEMENT XX

Cost of inputs of agriculture

Items of inputs	Expenditure in			Percentage to total expenditure
	Cash (Rs.)	Kind (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)	
1	2	3	4	5
A Seeds	2,797.00	4,988.00	7,785.00	14.45
B Manures	1,352.00	2,920.00	4,272.00	7.93
C Farm implements	4,509.00	230.00	4,739.00	8.80
D Water charges	2,995.50	70.00	3,065.50	5.69
E Chemical fertilisers	3,739.00	..	3,739.00	6.95
F Cost of labour (casual)	14,934.00	2,617.50	17,551.50	32.59
G Cost of labour (permanent)	6,208.00	680.00	6,888.00	12.79
H Land revenue	2,774.00	..	2,774.00	5.15
I Any other	3,045.00	..	3,045.00	5.65
Total	42,353.50	11,505.50	53,859.00	100.00

The largest share of inputs was appropriated by labour which accounted for 45.48 per cent of the total cost of inputs. An amount of Rs. 17,551.50 or 32.59 per cent was spent after casual labour and Rs. 6,888 or 12.79 per cent after permanent labour. Rs. 7,785 or 14.45 per cent were spent after seeds and Rs. 4,272 or 7.93 per cent after manures. Farm implements appropriated Rs. 4,739 or 8.80 per cent and water charges Rs. 3,065.50 or 5.69 per cent. The total amount spent after manures and fertilisers came to Rs. 8,011 or 14.88 per cent being next in importance to labour. Under this head are included manures costing Rs. 4,272 or 7.93 and chemical fertilisers worth Rs. 3,739 or 6.95 per cent. A share equal to 5.15 per cent was paid by way of land revenue. An analysis of the inputs shows paucity of labour in the families of the agriculturists which is made

good by hiring labourers either for short terms or on a permanent basis. It also shows a progressive outlook in agriculture resulting in a fair outlay after manures and irrigation.

III.25 AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Generally there is a scarcity of labour in the busy agricultural seasons in the months of July and August and November and December, when the ploughing, sowing and reaping operations are in full swing. Labour is scarce particularly during planting and harvesting seasons of paddy every year. About 200 agricultural labourers from the villages of Charad, Ratanpur, Barmu-wada and Bahiyal of Dehgam taluka in Ahmedabad district and Kapadvanj taluka in Kaira district come to Isanpur during this period. The prevailing wages for agricultural labour are given below.

STATEMENT XXI

Wages of agricultural labourers

Type of operations	Wages per day, 1951						Wages per day, 1960					
	In cash (Rs. P.)		In kind (in kutchra seers)		Total		In cash (Rs. P.)		In kind (in kutchra seers)		Total	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Paddy					Rs. P.	Rs. P.					Rs. P.	Rs. P.
(a) Planting	1.50	1.00	..	..	1.50	1.00	2.00	1.50	..	..	2.00	1.50
(b) Cutting	..	..	5	5	5 Srs.	5 Srs.	..	..	5	5	5 Srs.	5 Srs.
2 Wheat	0.75	0.50	..	..	0.75	0.50	1.00	0.75	..	..	1.00	0.75
3 Bajri	..	..	5	5	5 Srs.	5 Srs.	..	..	5	5	5 Srs.	5 Srs.

NOTE:

1 Seer=40 tolas, a little over a lb.

Over the past ten years there has been an increase of 25 to 50 Ps. per day which corresponds to about 33 per cent increase.

III.26 MANURE

Farmers use both cow-dung and chemical fertilisers for manuring their crops. The prices of manure prevailing in 1951 and 1960 are given in Statement XXII.

While cow-dung is available in the village itself, chemical fertilisers are bought from the cooperative society at Vatva.

STATEMENT XXII

Manure prices

Type of manure	Unit	1951	1960
1	2	3	4
(a) Cow-dung	Cart load	Rs. 2.50	Rs. 5
(b) Chemical fertilisers			
(i) Ammonium Sulphate	Bag of 110 pounds	Rs. 19	Rs. 19
(ii) Super Phosphate	Bag of 110 pounds	Rs. 17	Rs. 17
(iii) Uria	Bag of 110 pounds	Rs. 44	Rs. 44

III.27 AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND INVESTMENT

Finances required to be borrowed for agricultural operations come from Vatva Multi-purpose Cooperative Society, relatives and

money-lenders. A total amount of over a lakh of rupees has been invested in agriculture over the past decade, as can be seen from the statement that follows.

STATEMENT XXIII

Credit for agriculture and investment

Purpose of borrowing	Agricultural credit				Investment				
	No. of households	Amount borrowed	Source	Rate of interest (per cent)	Investment during the previous year	If by borrowed money		If by own resources	Investment during the last 10 years
						Amount (in Rs.)	Source	amount (in Rs.)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Purchase of land	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,000
Farm house	..	..	..	..	1,800	..	..	1,800	4,400
Construction of wells	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,050
Irrigation equipments	9	3,100	Relatives	Unspecified	3,100	3,100	Relatives	..	21,400
Implements	..	..	..	..	2,396	..	..	2,396	23,960
Bullocks	5	2,660	Cooperative society	6½	4,760	2,160	Society	2,600	33,660
					2,600	800	Money-lender	1,800	6,800
					930	..	Relatives	930	26,750
Fencing/Bunding/Levelling any other	21	13,860	Cooperative society, Money-lender and Relatives	6½	340	25	Money-lender	315	1,905
					285	..	..	285	1,000
Total	35	19,620			16,211	6,085		10,126	131,925

While the cooperative society charged interest at 6½ per cent annually, the indigenous money-lender charged more. In 1951 he used to charge 2 P. per rupee per month, which works out to 24 per cent per year. The rate was halved by 1960, but is still very high in comparison with cooperative credit. The investment made during the year preceding the survey amounted to Rs. 16,211 out of which Rs. 10,126 or 62.46 per cent was met by the agriculturists from their own resources, while the remaining amount accounting to 37.54 per cent of the total investment was made by borrowing from relatives, cooperative societies and money-lenders. Investments during this period were made in farm houses, irrigation equipments, implements and bullocks besides

other miscellaneous purposes.

The total investment in agriculture during the past ten years came to Rs. 131,925. The largest share of these investments is claimed by bullocks which appropriate Rs. 67,210 or 50.95 per cent of the total investment. This is followed by implements which involved an investment of Rs. 23,960 or 18.16 per cent and irrigation equipments accounting for Rs. 21,400 or 16.22 per cent. Rs. 7,000 were spent for purchase of land, Rs. 5,050 for construction of wells and Rs. 4,400 for farm houses. A sizeable investment after draught cattle and irrigation shows the enterprising nature of the agriculturists who have learnt to profit by investments in agriculture.

III.28 COOPERATION

The cooperative society which serves Isanpur makes a healthy contribution to progressive agriculture. Having no separate society, the village is covered by the Vatva Multipurpose Service Cooperative Society Ltd., which functions for the four villages of Vatva, Isanpur, Ghodasar and Trikampura situated within a five miles' radius from the headquarters. The cooperative movement came to the village a quarter of a century ago with the formation of the society on the 9th February, 1940, when it had four members from Isanpur. The number rose to 26 in 1960-61, and to 57 or 8.56 per cent out of a total of 666 members in June 1965. The membership is open to any person resident in the area of its operation who is not a lunatic or a drunkard. The main objective of the society is to provide short term loans to its members for the requirements mainly for agriculture. Towards this end, it advances short term loans for purchase of fertilisers, manure, seeds, etc., in cash or kind as required by cultivators. Medium term loans advanced for purchase of bullocks, are repayable by three yearly instalments. Interest is charged at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Another important function is marketing of the produce of members. In cases of loanees this has an added advantage of timely recovery of the advances by the society besides assuring a fair price to the producer. The society also runs a fair price shop of controlled items like foodgrains as well as other daily requirements of the people like pulses, tea, soap, etc.

The report of the society for the year 1960-61 shows that it is a progressive society with expanding business. The number of members went up from 487 to 507 during that year. The share capital at the end of the year was Rs. 40,720 with the Government share of Rs. 10,000. The Government has also advanced Rs. 15,000 as loan and Rs. 5,000 as subsidy for a godown. Members' deposits amounted to Rs. 35,467.64. A sum of Rs. 144,090.41 was given as loans to members during the year for paddy cultivation and the advances outstanding at the end of the year total Rs. 144,337.29 for the paddy scheme and

Rs. 9,475.37 for other purposes. The efficiency of the management is reflected in the recovery of a sizeable amount of Rs. 152,739.07 as repayment of loans. Out of 22 members with outstanding advances, legal steps had to be taken against 5 for recovery. The fair price shop at Vatva made purchases worth Rs. 39,103.39 and sales to the tune of Rs. 37,467.83. The society supplied 114 tons of ammonium sulphate and 74 tons of super phosphate to agriculturists for intensive cultivation of paddy in 2,000 acres of land. For other *kharif* crops, it distributed 20 tons of ammonium sulphate, 2 tons of uria and 16 tons sulphate nitrate. It earned a commission of Rs. 2,738.91 from the sale of fertilisers. In the field of marketing it sold 22,655 *kutcha* maunds of paddy at Rs. 181,240 out of which it received a commission of Rs. 707.99 at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ anna per *kutcha* maund. The total turnover of the society during the year amounted to Rs. 1,005,102.73, while the net profit was Rs. 6,591.83. A dividend of 6 per cent was distributed in 1960-61 which has since 1962 been raised to 9 per cent.

The monthly meetings of the managing committee are well attended, except in the busy agricultural season in the monsoon. However, only about one-fourth of the total members attend the annual general meeting held in September-October, again because of their preoccupation with agricultural operations. In the cooperative movement Vatva leads the other three villages in the purview of the society. Among the 11 members of managing committee who include men from Brahmin, Patidar, Thakarda and Harijan castes, there is only one member from each of the three villages, while the rest of them belong to Vatva. Isanpur is represented by a leading member of the Patidar community. The society advanced Rs. 15,000 to members from Isanpur in 1960-61. By the end of 1964 the advances in Isanpur rose to Rs. 20,000 mostly for agricultural expenditure on short term basis.

There is also another Milk Producers' Cooperative Society in Vatva but the participation in it of Isanpur is limited only to two members.

D—Livestock

III.29 NUMBER AND VALUE OF LIVESTOCK

Half of the households of the village numbering 91 out of 180 own livestock. The total number of livestock is 341, the break-up of which is as follows.

STATEMENT XXIV
Livestock

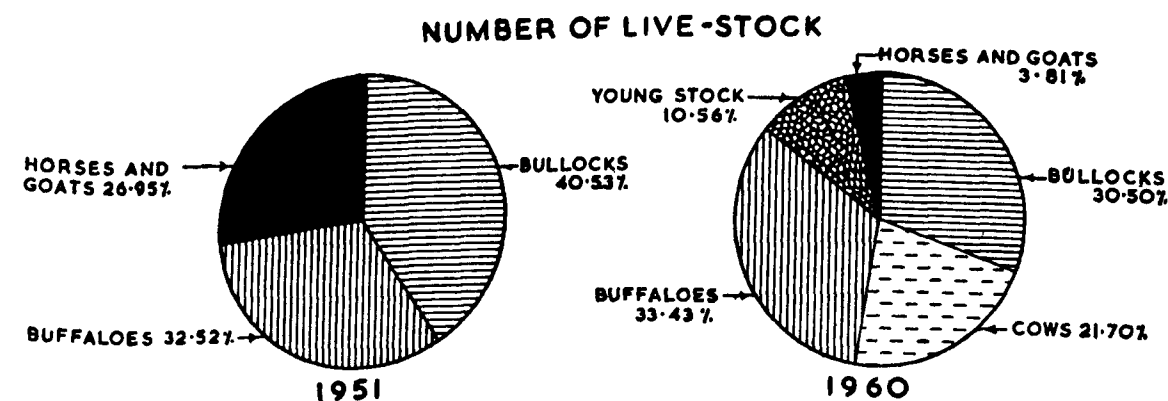
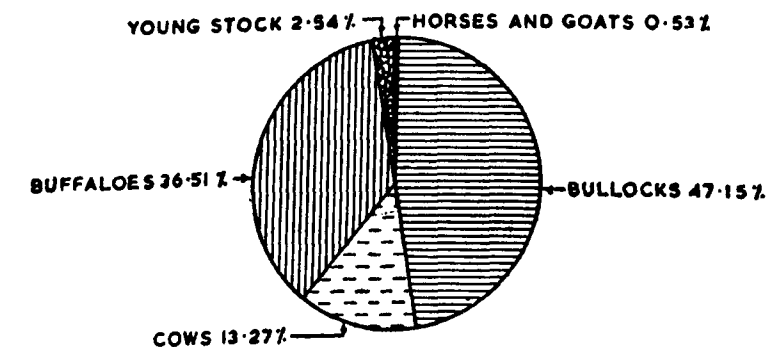
Livestock	Number
(A) Cows and bullocks	190
1 Bullocks	104
2 Cows	74
3 Young-stock	12
(B) Buffaloes	138
1 She-buffaloes	114
2 Young-stock	24
(C) Others	13
1 Goats	12
2 Horse	1
Total	341

Bullocks supply the required animal power for agriculture including transport by carts. They are the beasts of burden of the village. Buffaloes are preferred to cows for milk as can

be seen by an excess of 40 over that of cows. This preference is quite common in Central Gujarat. The villagers dispose of he-buffaloes by sending them to the *panjrapole* near Vastrapur, a neighbouring village as they are not utilised for any purpose. Over the past 10 years the number of livestock is seen to be declining as is apparent from the following statement.

STATEMENT XXV
Number of livestock, 1951, 1955-56 and 1960

	1955-56	1960		
			Percent- age increase (+) or decrease (-) over	
Livestock	1951 Num- ber	No.	ase (-)	No. 1951
1 Cows and bullocks	182	143	-21.43	190
2 Buffaloes	146	151	+5.48	138
3 Goats	121	163	+34.71	12
4 Horse	..	..	..	1
Total	449	460	+13.58	341

ISANPUR
TALUKA : AHMEDABAD CITY DISTRICT : AHMEDABAD
VALUE OF LIVE-STOCK 1960

The number of cows and bullocks show a decrease of 21.43 per cent in the quinquennium 1951-56 and an increase of 4.39 per cent bringing the total to a little over 1951 total. Buffaloes on the other hand have registered a small decline of 5.48 per cent in 1960 over the 1951 total. However, most of the change found in the numbers of livestock is due to the heavy depletion in the number of goats from 121 in 1951 and 163 in 1955-56 to a mere dozen in 1960, or a loss of 90.08 per cent in the past decade. On the whole the livestock population of the village which has increased by 13.58 per cent from 449 in 1951 to 460 in 1951-56 has come down to 341 and registered a decrease of 24.05 per cent over the past decade.

The following statement shows the number of households owning the various types of livestock with their value.

STATEMENT XXVI

Livestock and their value, 1960

Livestock	No. of households with livestock	Total No. of livestock	Value of the livestock (in Rs.)	Value per head of livestock
1	2	3	4	5
Bullocks . .	60	104	48,290	464
Cows . .	34	74	13,595	183
Buffaloes . .	53	114	37,396	328
Young-stock .	28	36	2,605	72
Others (specify)				
Horse . .	1	1	250	250
Goats . .	5	12	282	23
Total . .	91	341	102,418	..

60 households own 104 bullocks, as against 67 holding land. Even these 60 households do not each have a pair of bullocks which is the minimum required for agricultural operations. The average agricultural land per pair of bullocks works out to 9 A. 19 G. Bullocks constitute the bulk of the value of livestock forming 47.15 per cent of the total. Cultivators who purchase bullocks from the cattle market at Ahmedabad have to pay very high prices for them, which have increased by about Rs. 300 per bullock over the past decade as shown by the following details.

	1951 Rs.	1961 Rs.
Superior . .	1,500	1,800
Medium . .	950	1,200
Inferior . .	350	650

Next in importance are buffaloes both in numbers as well as value as they are prized for their rich milk which finds a ready market in the village and the city near-by. They are mostly kept by Patidar and other land-holders, while cows are generally reared by Bharwad cattle-breeders. Goats by their very small numbers are not of much significance but are reared by some Bharwad families as it does not involve any significant outlay.

III.30 LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

Livestock is a useful supplementary occupation which yields a fair amount of income to the villagers. The annual production and sale of livestock products are as follows.

STATEMENT XXVII

Annual production and sale of livestock products

Name of the livestock products	Quantity produced (in B.mds.)	Value of quantity produced (in Rs.)	Quantity sold (in B.mds.)	Value of quantity sold (in Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5
Milk . .	2,742-1	45,082.37	2,231-15	36,627.62
Ghee . .	7-30	1,860.00	..	..
Poultry . .	..	..	..	..
Others (specify)				
Dung cakes 100,110 (nos.)		765.00	18,015-00	140.00
Manure 392-20		1,191.00	22.00	102.00
Total . .		48,898.37		36,869.62

Most of the milk produced in the village is sold away. Out of 2,742 maunds of milk, as much as 2,231 maunds are sold away, leaving behind only 510 maunds or 20.67 per cent of the total produce for consumption. In terms of money the price realised was Rs. 36,627.62. A very small quantity of ghee is produced which goes entirely towards home consumption, none of it being sold away. A small income of Rs. 242 is also realised from the sale of dung cakes and manures both of which are primarily used by the livestock holders themselves, only small quantities in surplus being sold away.

III.31 EXPENDITURE ON LIVESTOCK

The maintenance of livestock costs Rs. 42,126 the break-up of which is given below.

STATEMENT XXVIII

Expenditure on livestock

Type	Expenditure in			Percentage to total expenditure
	Cash Rs.	Kind (in Rs.)	Total Rs.	
1	2	3	4	5
Grass bundles . .	8,502	9,545	18,047	42.84
Other feed . .	23,504	575	24,079	57.16
Total expenditure	32,006	10,120	42,126	100.00

Being an *inami* village, Isanpur has no free pasture lands. Cattle graze in the monsoon in the open waste land near the pond, which is not adequate. They, therefore, depend on stall feeding. More than half of the grass fodder required is grown by the villagers as can be seen from the fact that more than half of the expenditure on this item is incurred in kind rather than in cash. Grass accounts for 42.84 per cent of the total expenditure on livestock as against Rs. 24,079 or 57.16 per cent spent on other feeds and concentrates, most of which are purchased in the market. The total expenditure on livestock amounting to Rs. 42,126 includes expenditure on unproductive animals as well as bullocks which contribute to the agricultural income but do not furnish any livestock products directly. As a result the surplus of the value of livestock products over expenditure appears to be quite small amounting to Rs. 6,782.

E—Other Occupations

III.32 AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

In all 64 families are engaged in agricultural labour with or without other occupations. As already seen, there is a paucity of labour especially in the busy agricultural seasons of transplanting paddy and harvesting of crops which operations must be completed in a short time.

Agricultural labour is, therefore, taken up mostly as a subsidiary source of income not only by agriculturists' families having some spare labour, but also by others of Thakarda and Harijan castes having no lands of their own.

III.33 MANUFACTURE

But the most important occupation outside agriculture is service in the cotton textile industry at Ahmedabad. 27 families including one in textile printing derive income from this source. These are mostly unskilled or semi-skilled occupations as the lack of education and training forces the workers to work as labourers. Though the earnings from this industry are next only to agriculture as compared to other economic activities, mill labour does not command as much prestige as agriculture. In fact it was looked down upon by the Patidars who even now pursue it only in the last resort. Thakardas, Scheduled Castes and immigrant classes for whom agriculture is not feasible, have no such compunctions and make sizeable income out of it. Three householders have found employment in goldsmith's shops. Traditional industries like tailoring (3 families), pottery (1) and carpentry (1) are carried out on household basis.

III.34 OTHERS

There are three shops in the village dealing in the daily necessities of the villagers. There is a tea shop also. One householder works as an agent in real estate business. A couple of workers are employed in business in the city. In the field of transport, 3 workers serve as drivers and cleaners in motor transport and two are employed in the Posts and Telegraphs department. One person plies a horse-carriage. Various occupations included in other services provide income to 77 families, mostly through service in the city. Clerical and menial work in Government, semi-Government and municipal offices, claims a significant share of 17 families in this field, though the largest number of 39 families are engaged in miscellaneous labour. Nine families earn some income from property, three from *bhavai*-playing (folk drama) and one each as a teacher, *pujari*, priest, barber and drummer.

F—Economic Condition**III.35 INDEBTEDNESS**

Out of the 180 households as many as 136 or a majority of 75.55 per cent are in debt. The total amount of debt outstanding at the time of the survey was Rs. 127,968, which gives an average debt of Rs. 710 for the total 180 households or Rs. 940 per every indebted household. The following statement shows the causes for which and the sources from which money was borrowed.

STATEMENT XXIX
Indebtedness by cause and source
of borrowing

Cause	Amount of debt (in Rs.)	No. of households in debt	Percentage of debt due to this cause to total amount of debt
1	2	3	4
(a) Current farm expenses	11,460	18	8.96
(b) Improvement of land	5,000	1	3.91
(c) Purchase of tools and implements	5,300	4	4.14
(d) Purchase of bullocks	4,280	8	3.34
(e) Marriage and other ceremonies	30,843	32	24.10
(f) Medicines	1,176	6	0.92
(g) Home consumption	27,657	72	21.61
(h) Others (specify)	42,252	65	33.02
Total	127,968	206	100.00

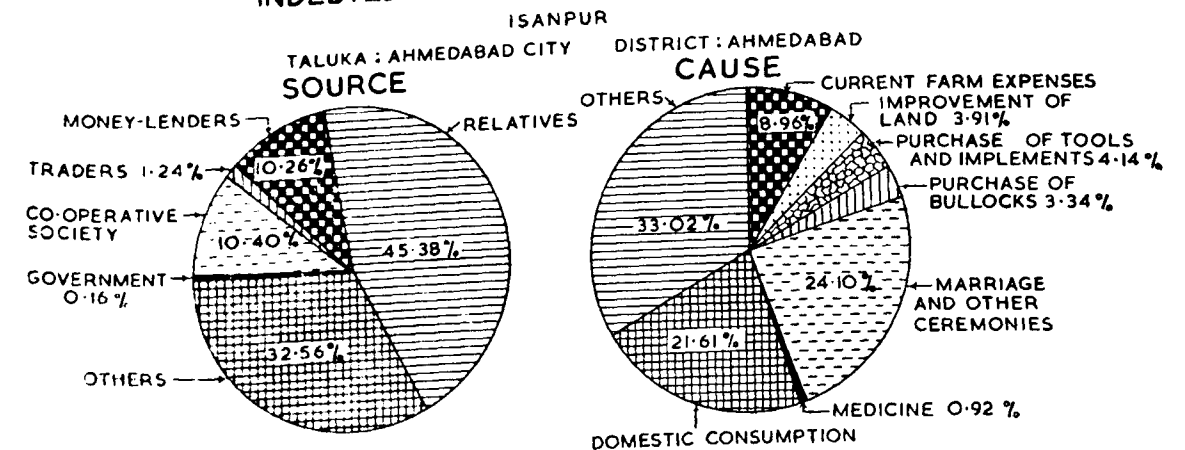
Source	Amount of debt (in Rs.)	No. of households	Percentage of debt due to this source to total amount of debt
1	2	3	4
(a) Government	200	1	0.16
(b) Cooperative society	13,310	19	10.40
(c) Money-lenders	13,128	17	10.26
(d) Trader	1,590	6	1.24
(e) Relative	58,078	61	45.38
(f) Others (specify)	41,662	87	32.56
Total	127,968	191	100.00

The indebted households—136

Apart from the miscellaneous causes for which debts are incurred, the largest amount o

Rs. 30,843 or 24.1 per cent of the debt was borrowed for marriage and other ceremonies. This cause also claimed the second largest number of families (32) among all the causes considered. This fact highlights the hold of tradition on the social life of the village which requires large sums to be spent on social occasions. Next in importance in amount is home consumption for which cause Rs. 27,657 or 21.61 per cent of the total debts were borrowed by the highest number of families (72). Rs. 11,460 or 8.96 per cent of the total were borrowed by 18 households for current farm expenses and smaller sums were borrowed for agricultural improvements. If we examine the extent of indebtedness from the point of view of productivity, we find that Rs. 26,040 or 20.35 per cent were borrowed for productive purposes either by way of seasonal finances or for improvement in land or purchase of implements, bullocks, etc. In contrast, much larger amounts were borrowed for ceremonies and functions and home consumption and health.

Coming to the sources of credit, it is found that the most important source is relatives who advanced loans to 61 families to the tune of Rs. 58,078 or 45.38 per cent of the total. The next important source is the cooperative society which contributed Rs. 13,310 or 10.40 per cent and exceeded by a small margin the loans from money-lenders who have advanced 10.26 per cent of the total debts. The Government and traders do not contribute a significant share to these debts. On the whole, it can be said that the cooperative movement is coming into its own in this field and provides a valuable alternative source of credit to the villagers which would not leave them to the mercy of usurious money-lenders. The distribution of houses according to the number of causes for which and sources from which debts were incurred shows that while 80 families borrowed for a single purpose and 46 for two purposes each, 7 households incurred debts for three causes each and three households for four or more causes. Out of 136 indebted households, a large majority of 84 borrowed from a single source, while 49 borrowed from two sources and three families from three sources.

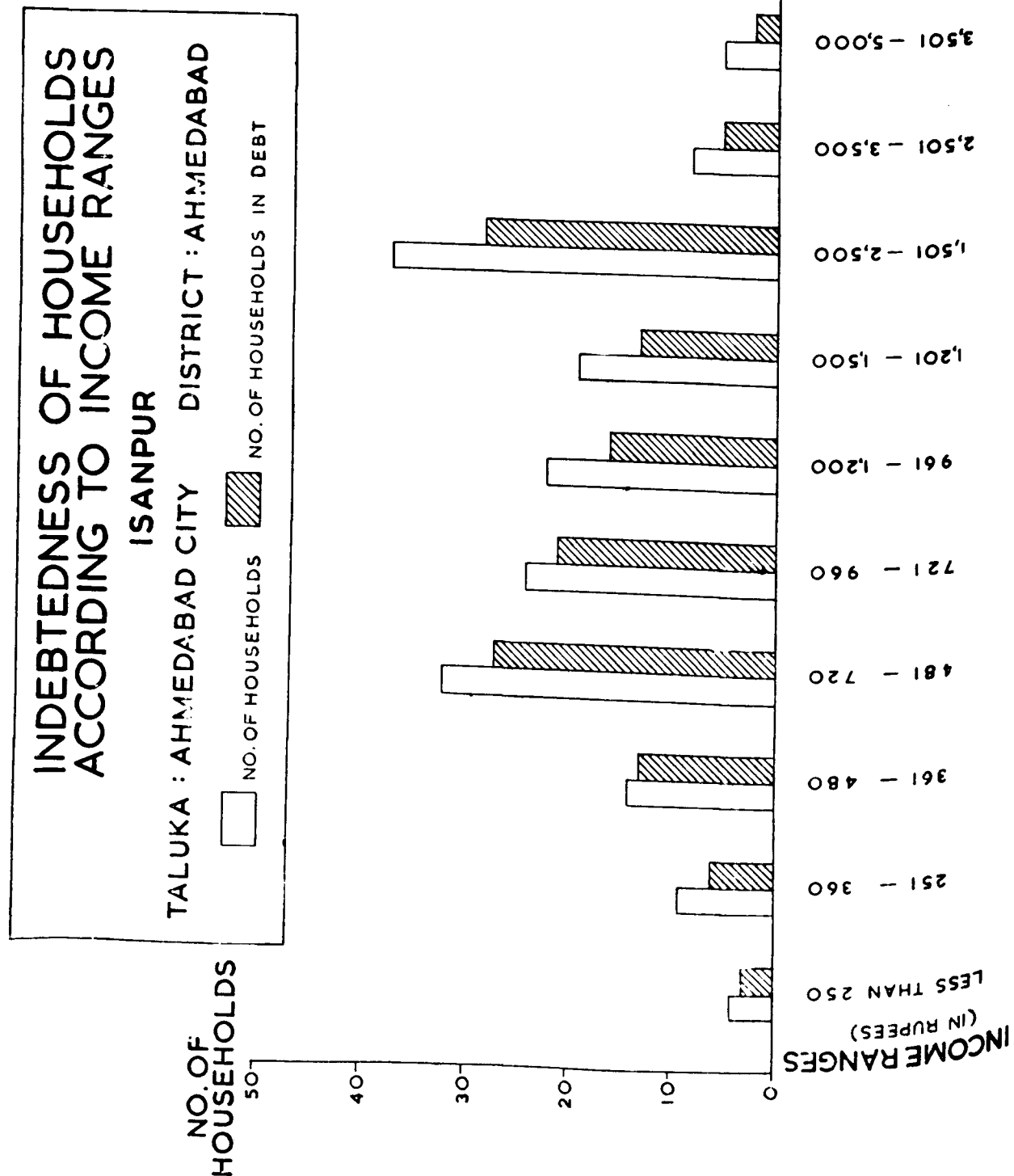
INDEBTEDNESS BY SOURCE AND CAUSE

III.36 INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS
The statement reproduced below shows that the

indebted households are distributed among all the income ranges.

STATEMENT XXX
Indebtedness by income groups

Income range (in Rs.)	Total No. of households	No. of households in debt	Amount of debt (in Rs.)	Percentage of indebted households to total households	Percentage of households to total indebted households	Average indebtedness per household in debt (in Rs.)	Average indebtedness per household (in Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Less than 250	4	3	1,328	75.00	2.21	442	332
251 to 360	9	6	3,402	66.67	4.41	567	378
361 to 480	14	13	13,563	92.86	9.56	1,043	968
481 to 720	32	27	14,714	84.38	19.85	544	460
721 to 960	24	21	16,453	87.50	15.44	783	685
961 to 1,200	22	16	17,946	72.73	11.76	1,121	815
1,201 to 1,500	19	13	12,283	68.42	9.56	944	646
1,501 to 2,500	37	28	31,390	75.68	20.59	1,121	848
2,501 to 3,500	8	5	7,489	62.50	3.68	1,497	936
3,501 to 5,000	5	2	3,973	40.00	1.47	1,986	794
Above 5,000	6	2	5,427	33.33	1.47	2,713	904
Total	180	136	127,968	75.56	100.00	940	710



The largest amount of debts are incurred by families in the income range 1,501 to 2,500 which claims the highest number of total as well as indebted households among all the ranges. Out of 37 households in this range, 28 or 75.68 per cent are indebted to the tune of Rs. 31,390 or 24.53 per cent of the total debts. These families constitute one-fifth or 20.59 per cent of the total indebted households, followed by 27 indebted households in the income range 481 to 720 constituting 19.85 per cent of the families in debt. In this range, 84.38 per cent of the total households are indebted. The smallest per cent of indebted households in any income range is 33.33 per cent in the income range of more than Rs. 5,000 followed by the next lower income bracket of Rs. 3,501 to Rs. 5,000 in which 40 per cent of the households are encumbered by debts. There is thus a concentration

of indebted households within five middle income groups ranging from Rs. 481 to 2,500. However, the average indebtedness per household is high in the higher income groups. The average amount of debt per indebted household is the highest in the top-most income group, amounting to Rs. 2,713 followed by the group next below with Rs. 1,986. The smallest debts are incurred by the lowest income group earning less than Rs. 250, the average amount of debt for them being Rs. 442 for the indebted households and Rs. 332 for the total households.

III.37 ASSETS

The total financial assets apart from land and livestock possessed by the households in Isanpur are valued at Rs. 412,213. The types of assets owned together with their value are as shown in the following statement.

STATEMENT XXXI

Financial assets

Number of households according to value and type of assets

Total No. of households having different type of assets	Loans in money		Grain loans		Valuables (gold, silver, jewellery)		No. of households own- ing	No. and value of houses owned		Investment in coopera- tive societies		Bank deposits		Other investments		Total value Rs.
	No. of house- holds	Value Rs.	No. of house- holds	Value Rs.	No. of house- holds	Value Rs.		No. of houses	Value Rs.	No. of house- holds	Value Rs.	No. of house- holds	Value Rs.	No. of house- holds	Value Rs.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
139	2	1,400	..	..	108	77,517	129	166	291,000	28	4,493	8	23,828	12	13,975	412,213

Together with the livestock valued at Rs. 102,418, the total assets of the village are to the tune of Rs. 514,631 excluding land. This works out to an average of Rs. 2,859 per household including livestock and Rs. 2,290 without. The most important asset is the house. As seen earlier houses are generally in good condition and *pucca* built. Valued at Rs. 291,000, they account for 70.59 per cent of the assets, with valuables possessed by 108 households coming next with Rs. 77,517 or 18.81 per cent of the total. Investments occupy a significant part in the financial condition of the people. Generally at a lower level in rural areas, the investments in Isanpur total Rs. 42,296 or 10.26 per cent of the financial assets. Of these the largest share

of Rs. 23,828 is in the form of bank deposits and Rs. 4,493 are invested in the cooperative sector. The remaining investments aggregate Rs. 13,975. Besides, loans in money to the tune of Rs. 1,400 are also included in the assets. The financial assets and the investment pattern of the households of Isanpur show a preference on the part of the villagers for remunerative investment in banks, cooperative societies, etc., besides houses of better quality. This may well be due to the close contacts of the villagers with the city, where many of them find their means of livelihood. These contacts, no doubt, influence their thoughts about acquiring assets and making investments out of savings. It is also significant that the value of assets including

livestock is more than four times the total indebtedness at the time of the survey and almost double the annual net income as recorded in the survey. This shows a fairly stable economic condition.

III.38 INCOME

The total annual income of all the households in the village comes to Rs. 249,690 which works out to an average of Rs. 1,337 per household and Rs. 337 *per capita*. This amount represents the net income after deducting the expenditure on agricultural inputs and maintenance of livestock from the gross income from agriculture and livestock. The subjoined statement distributes the households in 11 income ranges.

STATEMENT XXXII

Distribution of households according to income ranges

Income Range (in Rs.)	Number of house- holds	Percent- age to total	Percent- age Income to total (in Rs.) income
1	2	3	4
Less than 250	4	2.22	705
251 to 360	9	5.00	2,726
361 to 480	14	7.78	5,613
481 to 720	32	17.78	19,733
721 to 960	24	13.33	20,674
961 to 1,200	22	12.22	23,684
1,201 to 1,500	19	10.56	26,109
1,501 to 2,500	37	20.56	70,929
2,501 to 3,500	8	4.44	22,541
3,501 to 5,000	5	2.78	20,782
Above 5,000	6	3.33	36,194
Total	180	100.00	249,690

Out of 180 households, 65 or 36.11 per cent earn more than the average income of the village, while the remaining 115 or 63.89 per cent of them earn below the general average. The largest number of households are in the income range Rs. 1,501 to 2,500 per year, which claims 37 or 20.56 per cent of the households and accounts for Rs. 70,929 or 28.41 per cent of the total annual earnings of the village. This is followed by the range of Rs. 481 to 720, having 32 or 17.78 per cent of the households, followed next by the range Rs. 721 to 960 with 24 or 13.33 per cent. The lowest income group

earning less than Rs. 250 a year includes 4 households, among which the lowest income recorded is 125. At the other end the biggest earners earning more than Rs. 5,000 each are six families belonging to the Patidar caste. The largest income earned by any family is Rs. 8,156 per year.

III.39 SOURCES OF INCOME

Exactly one-half of the total annual income is earned from land and the other half from sources other than land as seen from the statement that follows.

STATEMENT XXXIII

Income from different sources

Source	No. of households	Income (in Rs.)	Percentage to total
1	2	3	4
A—Income from land	132	124,845	50.00
1 Owned but leased	17	7,789	3.11
2 Owned but cultivated	62	84,184	33.72
3 Taken on rent	31	18,338	7.35
4 Wages earned by works on field	64	14,534	5.82
B—Income from other than land	159	124,845	50.00
1 Salary and wages earned inside the village	53	20,824	8.34
2 Salary and wages earned outside the village	79	92,876	37.20
3 From property inside the village	79	10,145	4.06
4 From property outside the village	1	1,000	0.40
Total	180	249,690	100.00

Land yields a net income of Rs. 124,845, a bulk of which comes from land owned and cultivated which yields Rs. 84,184 or 33.72 per cent of the total income of the village. Together with land which is owned but leased and land taken on rent, the income from land owned and rented accounts for 44.18 per cent of the total annual income as against Rs. 14,534 or 5.82 per cent earned by agricultural labour. Most of the income from sources other than land comes from salary and wages. Of these Rs. 20,824 or 8.34 per cent are earned within the village

in contrast with Rs. 92,876 or 37.20 per cent from outside the village. The contribution which Ahmedabad city makes directly to the economy of the village can be seen from the fact that it disburses more than one-third of the annual income of the village. For the rest, property inside the village yields Rs. 10,145 or 4.06 per

cent and property outside the village a bare thousand constituting 0.4 per cent of the total.

III.40 INCOME ACCORDING TO TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS

The levels of income found in the primary, secondary and tertiary occupations are brought out by the following statement.

STATEMENT XXXIV

Annual income by types of occupation

Occupation of households	Total No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	Annual income and households in the range of							
			Less than Rs. 250		Rs. 251 to 360		Rs. 361 to 480		Rs. 481 to 720	
			No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Primary	95	132,737	3	505	7	2,086	12	4,843	19	11,760
Secondary	29	47,606	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	675
Tertiary	56	69,347	1	200	2	640	2	770	12	7,298
Total	180	249,690	4	705	9	2,726	14	5,613	32	19,733

Annual income and households in the range of-contd.

Occupation of house-holds	Rs. 721-960		Rs. 961-1,200		Rs. 1,201-1,500		Rs. 1,501-2,500		Rs. 2,501-3,500		Rs. 3,501-5,000		Above Rs. 5,000	
	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.	No. of house-holds	Income in Rs.
1	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Primary	13	11,043	9	9,035	7	9,548	12	23,678	4	11,181	3	12,864	6	36,194
Secondary	4	3,720	3	3,509	5	6,873	14	27,009	2	5,820	..	..	..	..
Tertiary	7	5,911	10	11,140	7	9,688	11	20,242	2	5,540	2	7,918	..	..
Total	24	20,674	22	23,684	19	26,109	37	70,929	8	22,541	5	20,782	6	36,194

Primary occupations which claim the highest number of households, namely, 95 or more than half of the total, have some families in each of the income range. It is significant that all the 6 households in the highest income bracket are found in this category. Families of agriculturists with large holdings earn sizeable incomes from farming aided by irrigation and a large urban market for their products which include vegetables and flowers besides foodgrains. The next group of secondary occupations consists of mostly of small craftsmen operating in the village or workers employed in industrial establishments in the city. These families take a middle position in the income ranges. While they are

above the three lowest income ranges up to Rs. 480 per year, they are also confined to a ceiling lower than the primary and tertiary occupations and do not have any family earning more than Rs. 3,500 per year. The tertiary occupations, like the primary, have a wide range of incomes showing that some of the pursuits followed are more paying. This category, however, has no families in the highest income group above Rs. 5,000 which is monopolised by the primary sector.

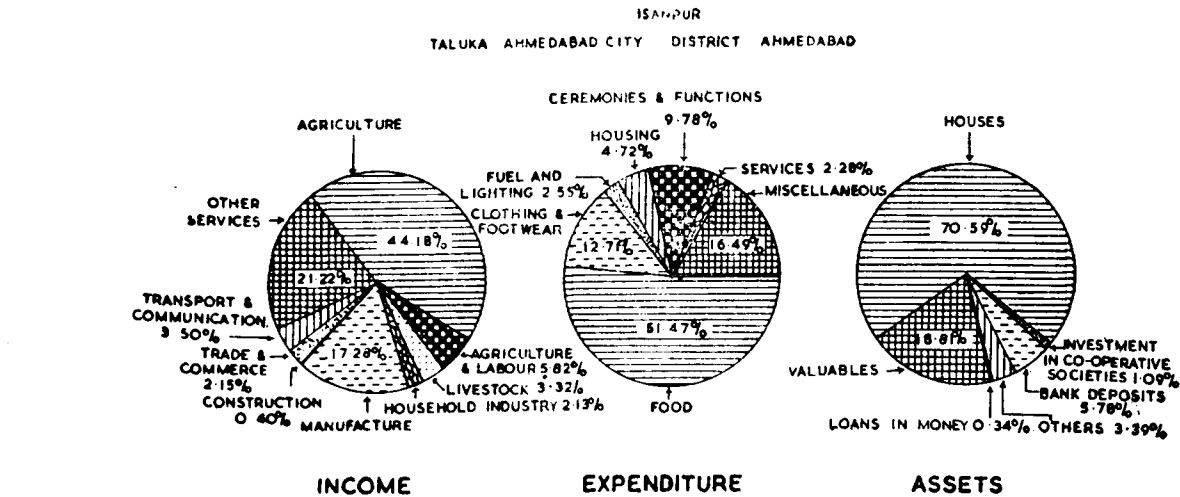
III.41 INCOME FROM DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

The statement that follows shows the income from different occupations followed by the village people.

STATEMENT XXXV

Income from different occupations

Source of income	No. of households	No. of persons	Amount (in Rs.)	Percentage to total	Per household (in Rs.)	Per capita (in Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I—Agriculture	82	365	110,311	44.18	1,345.26	302.22
II—Agricultural labour	64	252	14,534	5.82	227.09	57.67
III—Livestock	86	406	8,278	3.32	96.26	20.39
IV—Household Industry	6	14	5,320	2.13	886.67	380.00
Tailoring	3	9	2,940	1.18	980.00	326.67
Preparing hair-oil	1	1	1,200	0.48	1,200.00	1,200.00
Pottery	1	2	700	0.28	700.00	350.00
Carpentry	1	2	480	0.19	480.00	240.00
V—Manufacturing	31	151	43,146	17.28	1,391.81	285.74
Service in textile mill	26	136	38,566	15.45	1,483.31	283.57
Service in goldsmithy	3	9	3,420	1.37	1,140.00	380.00
Service in factory	1	3	600	0.24	600.00	200.00
Service in textile printing	1	3	560	0.22	560.00	186.67
VI—Construction	2	9	1,000	0.40	500.00	111.11
VII—Trade and Commerce	5	15	5,380	2.15	1,076.00	358.67
Estate agent	1	2	1,600	0.64	1,600.00	800.00
Grocer	1	6	1,200	0.48	1,200.00	200.00
Others	3	7	2,580	1.03	860.00	368.57
VIII—Transport and Communications	6	25	8,740	3.50	1,456.67	349.60
Driver	2	7	3,900	1.56	1,950.00	557.14
Service in Telegraph Department	1	2	2,400	0.96	2,400.00	1,200.00
Cleaner in State Transport	1	4	1,000	0.40	1,000.00	250.00
Postman	1	8	900	0.36	900.00	112.50
Plying horse-carriage	1	4	540	0.22	540.00	135.00
IX—Other Services	77	304	52,981	21.22	688.82	173.46
Clerk	7	35	13,445	5.38	1,920.71	384.14
Municipal servants	10	44	12,430	4.98	1,243.00	282.50
Income from property	9	36	2,867	1.15	318.56	79.64
Bhavai player	3	14	2,240	0.90	746.67	160.00
Teacher	1	3	1,980	0.79	1,980.00	660.00
Barber	1	5	1,600	0.64	1,600.00	320.00
Gram sevika	1	2	1,200	0.49	1,200.00	600.00
Drummer	1	2	750	0.30	750.00	375.00
Temple pujari	1	13	450	0.18	450.00	34.62
Priest	1	3	300	0.12	300.00	100.00
Miscellaneous labourers	39	139	14,114	5.65	361.90	101.54
Others	3	8	1,695	0.64	535.00	200.63
Total	180	740	249,690	100.00	1,387.17	337.42



Income from agriculture aggregates Rs. 110,311 or 44.18 per cent of the total annual income, while agricultural labour yields Rs. 14,534 or 5.82 per cent. Apart from other services which include a number of miscellaneous service occupations, the most important other activity for the village is manufacture which brings in Rs. 43,146 or 17.28 per cent of the annual earnings. All the households in this field subsist on services as employees. Out of the 31 households in this category as many as 27 work in textile factories including textile printing. It accounts for Rs. 39,126 or 15.67 per cent of the total income. Ahmedabad, one of the largest centres of the cotton textile industry in the country, by some called the Manchester of India, cannot fail to attract a large number of workers from close neighbours like Isanpur. Next in order, closely following each other are transport and communications, livestock, trade and commerce and household industry. Of the 6 households under transport and communications, only one operates privately by plying a horse-carriage, the rest of the households depending on some kind of services in transport and communication industries. All these occupations jointly contribute 3.50 per cent of the village income. Livestock earns 3.32 per cent of the yearly income of the village, distributed among 86 families. Trade and commerce yielding 2.15 per cent include among others an estate agent and a grocer, while household industries pursued by 6 families earn Rs. 5,320

or 2.13 per cent from avocations like tailoring, carpentry, pottery, etc. The residuary group of other services include a variety of occupations some of which are again dependent on the city. Government, semi-Government and municipal services in the capacity of clerks, menial workers, etc., account for 10.36 per cent of the total income. Other occupations included under the head are those of teachers, gram sevikas, bhavaiya, pujari, drummers, barbers, etc. In all, other services contribute a significant 21.22 per cent share to the income of the village.

III.42 EXPENDITURE PATTERN

The total annual expenditure of the households on various heads of the family budget comes to Rs. 301,271 or Rs. 1,674 per household and Rs. 407 per capita. A little over half of this expenditure is incurred on food as can be seen from the following statement.

STATEMENT XXXVI
Expenditure Pattern

Item	Amount in Rs.	Percentage to total
1	2	3
Food	155,077	51.47
Clothing and footwear	38,294	12.71
Fuel and lighting	7,685	2.55
Housing	14,223	4.72
Ceremonies and functions	29,463	9.78
Services	6,872	2.28
Miscellaneous	49,657	16.49
Total	301,271	100.00

The expenditure under each of the heads is examined in further details in Table VIII in Appendix I. The spending habits of the people show several points of significance, some of which show the effects of the proximity of the city. About half the amount (51.47 per cent) is spent on food. Expenditure on clothing and footwear which too are items of necessity claim 12.71 per cent. The outlay on fuel and lighting is fairly high, amounting to Rs. 7,685 or 2.55 per cent. Kerosene claims most of its expenditure, in addition to which the modern facility of electricity which is easily available to the village shares Rs. 1,427 or 0.47 per cent.

Expenditure on housing is also considerable and totals up to Rs. 14,223 or 4.7 per cent. It includes not only Rs. 9,680 or 3.21 per cent spent on house repairing but a sizeable sum of Rs. 4,543 or 1.51 per cent after house rent. This shows that those of the village people who can afford, like their urban counterparts go in for repairs of their well-built houses at considerable cost. Immigrant households serving in the city and staying in the village are responsible for the expenditure on house rent, which is normally quite low in rural settlements. Ceremonies and functions claim almost one-tenth or 9.78 per cent of the total outlay showing a tradition of expensive practices at times of marriage, death and other social events. Such traditions are fairly common in the landed gentry elsewhere also. The share of services accounting for 2.28 per cent of the household expenditure also shows an element of orthodoxy which sustains *jajmani* relationships even though some of the personal services are availed of from the city also. In the residuary bracket of miscellaneous expenditure the largest share goes to addictions like tobacco, *pan*, tea, etc., which appropriate 4.69 per cent. Expenditure on travelling claiming 4.45 per cent is also significant, part of it being necessitated by the daily or frequent transport to the city for work, study, purchases and other purposes. Besides, social factors augment the amount under this head. Since the important castes of Patidar, Thakarda and Vankar belong to endogamous *gols* or circles of a number of

villages having common caste *panches*, and since some of the castes actually prefer to marry outside the village, social purposes often necessitate journeys facilitated by communications like railway and bus services. Medicine appropriates 2.53 per cent of the total expenditure indicating the readiness with which the villagers take resort to medical treatment rather than depend on superstition or nature to cure their ills. A small amount of Rs. 865 or 0.29 per cent is spent on litigation also.

Table VII in Appendix I examines the expenditure pattern and the family budget of households engaged in primary, secondary and tertiary occupations. The statistics given in it show that the primary sector spends more on food than secondary and tertiary, the last one spending the smallest amount on this account. The same pattern obtains in clothing, footwear and housing. Households in secondary and tertiary occupations, however, spend more on electricity than those in primary. A larger expenditure by the average household in the primary sector on ceremonies and functions than those in the other two sectors point to the conservative traditions of land-holders. Similarly, they also spend more on services, some of which are obtained on *jajmani* basis.

Out of 180 households, one household has a perfectly balanced budget. Among the rest only 54 or 30 per cent have a surplus at the end of the year, while 125 or 69.44 per cent have a deficit budget. Households with excess of expenditure over income are more numerous than those with an annual surplus in each of the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. Families with an annual deficit constitute 56.80, 16.00, and 27.20 per cent of the total deficit households respectively. The surplus is generally utilised to pay old debts or saved for social ceremonies and functions which use out accumulated savings. A few families invest their amount in small savings or in ornaments. Deficit is mostly met with by new debts and in some cases by remittance. Out of an amount of Rs. 83,590 of deficit in the household budget, Rs. 41,421 or 49.55 per cent was met with by new debts and Rs. 17,307 by remittance.

G—Urban Impact

III.43 EMPLOYMENT IN THE CITY

As has been remarked earlier, the village relies heavily on Ahmedabad city in the economic field, as it contributes a significant share of its total annual income. Besides other aspects of urban impact like expenditure and investment pattern, occupational variation, etc., already covered above, a few others were specially examined with a view to assess the influences of the metropolis to which the village is subjected. The most important of these are the employment opportunities offered by the city. Out of a population of 740 persons, 70 or 9.46 per cent work in Ahmedabad. They belong to 63 or 35.00 per cent of the total households. They continue to live in the village either because it is their native place or it is cheaper to stay there. Of these 63 households, 27 have rented dwellings in the village. The village is free from the heavy congestion found in the city, where residential accommodation is scarce and costly. The following statement gives the break-up of the workers in the different industrial pursuits in the city.

STATEMENT XXXVII

Workers in different activities in the city

Activity	No. of workers
Total	70
MANUFACTURE	
(i) Factories	30
(ii) Others	4
Trading establishments	3
Construction labour	1
Motor transport	3
Postman	1
OTHERS	
(i) Clerks	8
(ii) Teacher	1
(iii) Menial workers	13
(iv) Miscellaneous labour	3
(v) Other services	3

The most popular economic activity is service in textile mills of which there are many in

Ahmedabad. Out of the 30 factory hands constituting 42.86 per cent of the total city workers, 28 serve in textile mills and 1 in a textile printing works. Other convenient occupations are menial work as peons in offices or as municipal sweepers, or in clerical service. Service in shops and motor transport attracts a few while a limited number goes in for other employments like postman, teacher, etc. A few make their living as labourers.

Apart from factories, the most important sectors providing employment are the Municipal Corporation of Ahmedabad, which employs 12 persons or 17.14 per cent of the city workers, mostly as menials, and the Government which has in its service 9 or 12.86 per cent of the workers. The remaining 17 workers are distributed in various private pursuits.

A detailed study of the workers employed in the city brings out some interesting facts, about the castes which resort to the city for employment, their age groups, literacy, etc. The Statement XXXVIII on the next page examines the first two points.

The largest number (18) of workers are from Thakarda caste, constituting 25.71 per cent of the total workers in the city. They are followed by Bhangi with 8 workers and Vankar with 7. Patidars who are the landed aristocracy of the village, generally look down upon mill labour, and take it up only as the last resort. Therefore, their dependence on the city is less pronounced than that of Thakardas and Scheduled Castes. For the rest, it is seen that many of the castes of the village seek employment in the city. Service in the metropolis is neither the privilege nor the refuge of particular castes. Nor is it monopolised by particular age groups. While the age group 20-39 claims 56 or 80.00 per cent of those working in the city, all the remaining groups claim a few workers each, except 15-19 which has none. The largest number of workers are claimed by the group 35-39 which accounts for 18 or 25.71 per cent of the city workers. The groups 20-24 and 30-34 have 13 each, closely followed by 25-29 with 12. The oldest and the youngest brackets have the fewest workers. All but three of these workers are males. Of the three females aged 30 to 39,

STATEMENT XXXVIII

Workers in the city by caste and age

Caste	Households			No. of workers in the age-group								
	Total	With workers in the city	Workers in the city									
				10-14	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Total	172	63	70	2	13	12	13	18	4	3	4	1
1 Thakarda	60	17	18	1	5	3	3	3	..	2	1	..
2 Leva Patidar	36	6	6	..	..	..	1	4	..	1	..	..
3 Bharwad	8	3	3	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
4 Brahmin	5	4	5	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	..
5 Ravalia	6	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
6 Hindu Bania	3	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bajania	3	2	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
8 Valand (Barber)	3	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
9 Barot	3	3	4	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
10 Soni	3	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
11 Gosai Bawa	2	2	3	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
12 Panchal	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
13 Madrasi	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
14 Garasia	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
15 Darjee	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
16 Jain Bania	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Muslim	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
18 Vankar (Scheduled Caste)	22	7	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
19 Bhangi (Scheduled Caste)	7	6	8	..	1	..	1	1	2	..	2	1
20 Garoda (Scheduled Caste)	2	2	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..

NOTE :

- Age group 15-19 having no workers is omitted.
- The castes Targala, Gola-rana, Suthar, Prajapati and Chamar having no workers are omitted.

two belong to Bhangi and one to Vankar caste. Thus no non-Scheduled Caste female goes to the city for work.

The subjoined statement shows the levels of literacy and education of the workers and the income earned by them.

STATEMENT XXXIX

Workers in the city by occupation and literacy with income

Occupation	No. of workers	Educational level					Income (in Rs.)
		Illiterates	Literates without educational standard	Primary	Secondary	Matric and above	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total	70	19	8	30	12	1	85,701
MANUFACTURE							
1 Service in textile mill	28	12	3	9	4	..	37,486
2 Service in factory	1	1	..	..	..	..	600
3 Service in printing textile	1	1	..	..	..	..	360
4 Goldsmith	3	..	2	1	..	..	3,420
5 Tailor	1	..	..	1	..	..	500
CONSTRUCTION							
6 Construction labour	1	1	..	..	..	..	500
TRADE AND COMMERCE							
7 Trade and Commerce	3	..	1	2	..	..	4,420
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS							
8 Driver and cleaner in motor transport	3	..	1	2	..	..	4,900
9 Postman	1	..	..	1	..	..	900
OTHERS							
10 Clerks	8	..	..	..	8	..	13,584
11 Teacher	1	..	..	..	..	1	2,261
12 Peons	5	..	..	5	..	..	5,190
13 Sweepers	8	..	1	7	..	..	8,320
14 Miscellaneous labourers	3	3	..	..	..	..	2,150
15 Other services	3	1	..	2	..	..	1,110

Out of 70 persons working in the city, 19 or 27.14 per cent are illiterate. As many as 30 or 42.86 per cent have passed the primary level, and 12 or 17.14 per cent secondary while only one person is in the category matriculation and above. The remaining 8 can only read and write and have not attained any further qualification. The matriculate is a teacher while those having secondary education are doing either clerical work or serving in textile mills.

The latter claim the largest number (9) of the literates in the primary level, as they claim the largest share of workers in the city. It is significant that most of the remaining literates in this class (12) are peons or sweepers. Indeed, all the peons and sweepers are literate having attained the primary level with the exception of one more literate sweeper. The spread of literacy among manual workers shows the increased interest in literacy among salaried

workers in the city. Illiterate workers are found only in textile mills and other factories, labour and some other petty occupations.

III.44 INCOME FROM THE CITY

The total income of these workers comes to Rs. 85,701. The city thus contributes 34.32 per cent of the total income of the village, indicating one of the most potent aspects of urban impact on the village, viz., of heavy economic dependence. The individual incomes vary from Rs. 2,400 per annum earned from service in the Telegraphs Department to Rs. 150 by casual menial service in a restaurant. On an average, a city worker earns Rs. 1,224 annually, the earnings of the average household being Rs. 1,360. Since practically all the earnings are from service as employees, it is to be noted that the income from the city is fairly steady and not fluctuating or seasonal.

The relative importance of the different sectors which contribute to the village income is examined in the statement that follows.

STATEMENT XL

Income from the city

Services	Workers	Income in Rs.)	Percentage
1	2	3	4
Factories . . .	30	38,446	44.86
Government . . .	9	13,484	15.73
Municipality . . .	12	13,070	15.25
Semi-Government (University, State Transport) . . .	2	3,240	3.78
Others . . .	17	17,461	20.38
Total . . .	70	85,701	100.00

The largest share of Rs. 38,446 is claimed by manufacturing industry, chief of which is textile spinning, weaving and printing which disburses Rs. 37,846 or 44.16 per cent of the total income from the city and 15.16 per cent of the aggregate income of the village. The Government and the Municipal Corporation of Ahmedabad make significant contributions of Rs. 13,484 or 15.73 per cent and Rs. 13,070 or 15.25 per cent respectively. A few semi-Government organisations like the University and the

State Road Transport Corporation contribute Rs. 3,240 or 3.78 per cent while the remaining Rs. 17,461 or 20.38 per cent come from several other fields grouped together like trade and commerce, occupation, small industry and labour.

III.45 LAND VALUES

Another significant contribution of the city in the economic field is by appreciation in the values of land. While only three households holding non-agricultural and one agricultural land), 17 households reported that the value of their land has gone up considerably in the recent years due to the nearness of the metropolis. The increase in land values ranges from 20 to 30 per cent in 10 cases, while in the remaining it is as steep as 50 to 75 per cent.

III.46 PURCHASES FROM THE CITY

A majority of the households numbering 97 make their purchases both from the city and the village, while as many as 40 households or 22.22 per cent of the total depend exclusively on the city for the purpose as against two on the city for the purpose as against two buying their requirements entirely from the village. The commodities mostly purchased from the city include pulses and oils, while for cereals and *ghee*, are purchased locally. For requirements of utensils, cloth cosmetics, footwear and furniture the village is almost entirely dependent upon Ahmedabad.

Among the more modern articles, the use of which has been commented upon earlier, are bicycle, primus stoves, radio sets, petromax lamps, etc. The Statement XLI on the next page shows that they are increasingly purchased from the city year after year.

While articles like bicycles and primus stoves have been in fairly common use before 1955 the remaining articles like electric fan, glassware, stainless steel utensils, etc., are becoming more popular recently.

III.47 SALE OF VILLAGE PRODUCTS

Apart from the considerable direct income from the city earned by workers serving there, another source of income from it is the sale of

STATEMENT XLI

Type of special purchases from city

Name of the item purchased from the city	No. of households with purchase of	Year of purchase with number of items								Remarks
		1954 and before	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	10	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Bicycle . . .	36	12	2	6	2	6	3	6	1 household with two cycles	
Primus . . .	51	21	6	6	2	7	5	6	2 households with two stoves	
Radio . . .	8	1	..	1	..	4	1	1	..	
Petromax . . .	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Wrist-watch . . .	13	3	1	2	3	3	1	..	..	
Wall-clock . . .	9	3	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	
Pocket-watch . . .	3	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	
Alarm-clock . . .	4	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	
Electric-fan . . .	1	..	..	..	..	..	12	15	..	
Glassware . . .	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	
Steel cup-board . . .	1	..	..	..	..	12	15	..	..	
Stainless steel utensils . . .	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	

products of the village. 47 households sell their commodities, mostly agricultural and livestock products, in the city as well as in the village. While 7 households confine their sales to the city, only 2 sell exclusively in the village.

Popular items grown especially for selling in the city are vegetables grown by 18 households and flowers grown by 11. One household each sells paddy, *tur*, and milk while 2 households grow green fodder for sale in the city.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

A—Demographic Data

IV.1 POPULATION

THE POPULATION of Isanpur has registered an increase of 31.72 per cent over the decade 1951, as seen from the following statistics brought out by the decennial censuses.

STATEMENT XLII

Increase in population

	Persons	Males	Females
1951 Census	681	341	340
1961 Census	897	471	426
Percentage increase	31.72	38.12	25.29

The population of the village has grown at a much faster rate than the rural ratio for the State (24.90 per cent) or even for the Ahmedabad district (24.39 per cent) and Ahmedabad City taluka (22.83 per cent) in which it is situated. Indeed, it is much nearer the percentage increase in population in the urban areas in the State (32.94). Corresponding areas in the taluka and the district have grown by even more than 37 per cent. In this feature, therefore, the village resembles urban rather than rural areas. The growth rate for males (38.12 per cent) is much higher than that for females (25.29 per cent). A large margin by which the male ratio exceeds the female ratio is another feature that the village shares with urban areas of the State as distinct from rural tracts.

IV.2 AGE STRUCTURE

The statement that follows compares the age structure of the population according to the two censuses.

STATEMENT XLIII
Age structure, 1951 and 1961

Age group	1951 Census		1961 Census	
	Persons	Percentage to total	Persons	Percentage to total
1	2	3	4	5
0-4	82	12.04	138	15.38
5-9	68	9.99	143	15.94
10-14	73	10.72	73	8.14
15-44	366	53.74	408	45.49
45-59	65	9.54	81	9.03
60+	27	3.97	54	6.02
Total	681	100.00	897	100.00

There has been a significant increase of 6. per cent in the youthful population of the group 0-14 from 32.75 per cent in 1951 to 39.46 per cent in 1961. The proportion of old persons aged 60 years or more has likewise gone from 3.97 per cent to 6.02 per cent. The percentage of the working age population in the bracket 15-59 has correspondingly decreased from 8.76 per cent to 54.52 per cent. The age distribution of the present population for either sex is examined below.

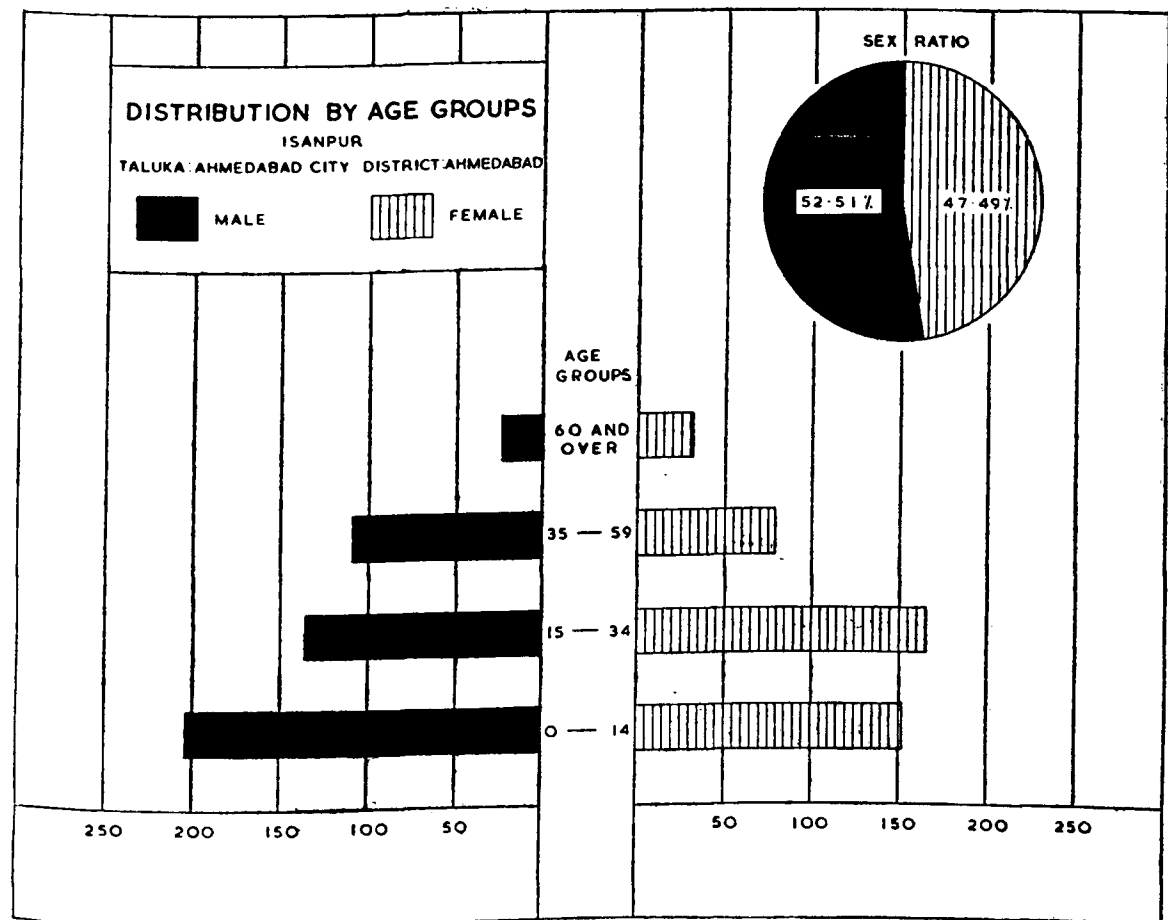
STATEMENT XLIV
Population by age and sex, 1961

Age group	Persons		Males		Females	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0-4	138	15.38	84	17.84	54	12.6
5-9	143	15.94	79	16.77	64	15.0
10-14	73	8.14	40	8.49	33	7.7
15-44	408	45.49	199	42.25	209	49.0
45-59	81	9.03	46	9.77	35	8.2
60+	54	6.02	23	4.88	31	7.2
Total	897	100.00	471	100.00	426	100.0

Children and young boys and girls up to 15 years old comprise about two-fifths or 39

per cent of the population, and old persons 6.02 per cent. More than half or 54.52 per cent of the villagers are in the working age group 15-59. Males exceed females in all groups except 15-44 and 60 and over. But the large excess of males over females is mostly accounted for by the younger age groups of 0-14 years. While there is only one more male than females in the working age group 15-59 and 8 more females than males in the older population, there are

52 more boys than girls below 15. The distribution in age groups for either sex shows that the youthful section below 15 claims a greater portion of males (43.10 per cent) than of females (35.45 per cent), while in the remaining sections the females have higher ratios. 52.02 per cent of the males are in working age bracket as against 57.27 per cent females. The older group claims 4.88 per cent males as contrasted with 7.28 per cent females.



IV.3 SEX RATIO

With 471 males and 426 females the sex ratio, i.e., females per 1,000 males is 904. The following statistics give a comparative idea about the sex ratio in the State as a whole as well as in Ahmedabad district and Ahmedabad City taluka of which Isanpur forms part.

	Sex ratio	
	Rural	Urban
Gujarat	956	896
Ahmedabad district	933	816
Ahmedabad City taluka	873	804
Isanpur	904	..

Considering the State as a whole, Isanpur is closer to the urban areas than the rural in respect of the sex ratio, in which males considerably outnumber females. In Ahmedabad district, Isanpur takes a middle position between urban and rural conditions. It has, however, a larger sex ratio than the rural as well as urban areas

of Ahmedabad City taluka which has a preponderance of urban population.

IV.4 MARITAL STATUS

The statement that follows examines the distribution of population by age and marital status according to 1961 Census.

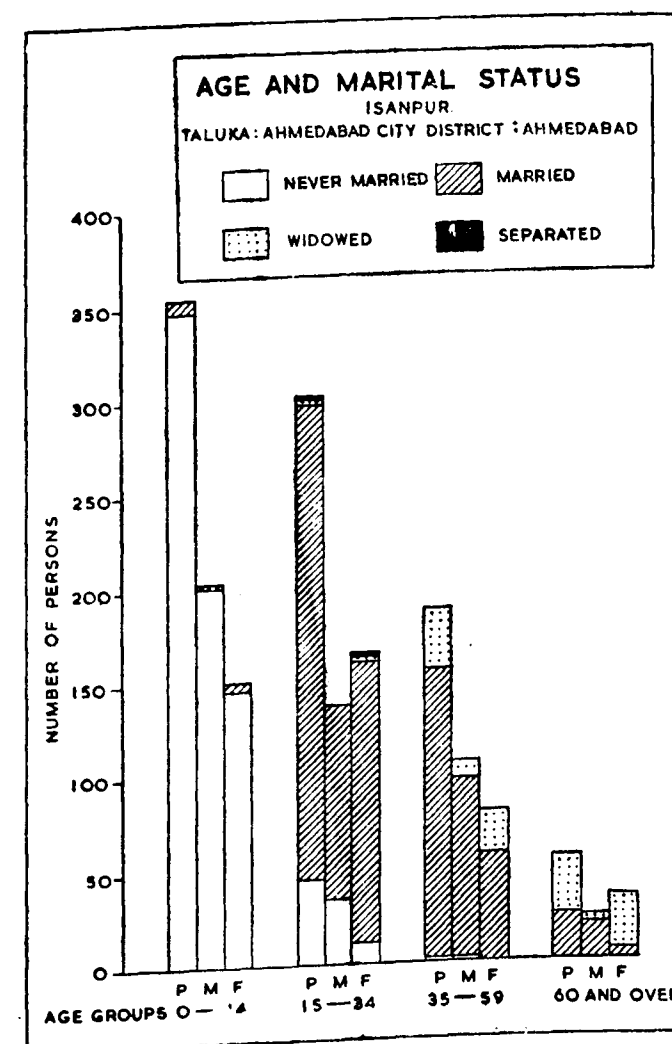
STATEMENT XLV

Population according to age and marital status, 1961

Age group	Total		Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
0-9	163	118	163	118	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	40	33	38	28	2	5	..	..	..	..
15-19	27	37	21	10	6	26	..	..	..	1
20-24	34	36	6	1	28	33	..	1	..	1
25-29	37	43	7	..	30	42	..	1	..	..
30-34	39	49	..	..	39	48	..	1	..	..
35-39	35	29	..	..	34	26	1	3	..	..
40-44	27	15	1	..	24	11	2	4	..	..
45-49	26	12	..	..	23	9	3	3	..	..
50-54	9	9	..	..	7	5	2	4	..	..
55-59	11	14	..	..	9	5	2	9	..	..
60 and over	23	31	..	..	19	5	4	26	..	..
All ages	471	426	236	157	221	215	14	52	..	2

Out of the total population of 897 souls, 393 or 43.81 per cent are never married, 436 or 48.61 per cent married, 66 or 7.36 per cent widowed and 2 or 0.22 per cent divorced or separated. While all children aged nine and below were considered unmarried in the census tabulation, 7 persons—2 boys and 5 girls—in the group 10-14 are married. They constitute 9.59 per cent of the total population of the group. In other words, 5.00 per cent of the boys and 15.15 per cent of the girls in this group have already been married. This points to child marriages practised in contravention of law to be

on the wane. In the next age group 15-19 also, 32 out of 64 are married and one divorced. Thus 22.22 per cent males and 72.97 per cent females are 'ever married'. The marriage age has thus remained low in many cases. Barring a single female in the group 20-24, not a single woman above 19 has remained unmarried. Among males, only 6 out of 34 have remained single in the group 20-24 and 7 out of 37 in the bracket 25-29. With the sole exception of a man in the age group 40-44, no male has remained unmarried beyond 29 years of age.



The proportion of widowed persons is fairly large especially among females of whom 52 or 12.21 per cent are widowed as against 14 or 2.97 per cent males. One-fifth of the widows, ten in number, are in the age groups 20 to 44. There is no widower below 35 years of age. There are no divorced or separated persons among males. This category claims only one female each in the age groups 20-24 and 25-29.

B—Health

IV.5 VITAL STATISTICS

The birth and death registers, maintained by the village officials yield the following data for the decade 1951-60.

STATEMENT XLVI

Births and deaths, 1951-60

	Births	Deaths	Survivals
1951	33	13	20
1952	21	18	3
1953	25	9	16
1954	20	14	6
1955	31	7	24
1956	17	11	6
1957	21	14	7
1958	20	11	9
1959	19	9	10
1960	26	11	15
Total	233	117	116

These figures do not establish any definite trends in births and deaths statistics. The survivals

numbering 116 do not account for the intercensal increase of 216 persons in the population. Some of the increase may be due to migration, as 40 families have settled in Isanpur during the present generation only. But the wide divergence in birth and death figures from year to year raises doubts about their veracity, pointing to possible defects in registration of these vital events. As it is, the mean birth, death and survival rates (per thousand), calculated on the average of the 1951 and 1961 populations, are as follows.

Birth	29.53
Death	14.83
Survival	14.70

The birth and death rates are higher than the corresponding rates for the rural areas of the State, which are 27.54, and 12.13 respectively. The survival rate of Isanpur is, however, lower than the State average of 15.41. In respect of the mean growth rate, as seen from the census figures, which would include the effects of migration also, the village with a rate of 27.38 compares favourably with the rural areas of the State registering a rate of 25.65.

IV.6 FERTILITY

Data compiled about births to all the still married women in the village give the following results.

STATEMENT XLVII

Births to still married women

Households with still married women	No. of still married women	Births during last 12 months					Births before last 12 months			Total (Cols. 7+10)
		Males	Females	Alive	Dead	Total (Cols. 5+6)	Alive	Dead	Total (Cols. 8+9)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
145	177	15	15	26	4	30	307	130	437	467

The parity of male and female births during the year preceding survey is noteworthy. But one year is too short a period for drawing conclusions, and a large excess of males (203) over females (151) in the age group 0-14 would seem to point in an opposite direction to a preponderance of male births. Out of the 30 babies born in the past year, 4 or 13.33 per cent died as against 26 or 86.67 per cent who survived the first year of their life. Of the 437 births before this period of one year, 130 or 29.75 per cent of the persons are dead and 307 or 70.25 per cent have survived. On the aggregate, 134 out of 467 (28.69 per cent) persons born to these women have expired, leaving 333 or 71.31 per cent survivals. The number of births to a still married woman works out to a low average of 2.64. The following statement distributes the still married women according to age groups and shows the number of children born to them.

STATEMENT XLVIII

Still married women with children

Age group	Still married women			No. of children
	Having no child	Having child	Total	
1	2	3	4	5
0-14	3	..	3	..
15-17	8	..	8	13
18-20	16	8	24	37
21-24	5	19	24	61
25-27	1	21	22	51
28-30	5	17	22	111
31-35	4	28	32	63
36-40	1	13	14	60
41-45	..	11	11	29
46-50	2	5	7	42
51 and over	3	7	10	467
Total	48	129	177	

Out of 177 still married women, 48 or 27.12 per cent have no children. If women below 18 are not considered as some of them are married

too young, the proportion of childless women above 17 years of age is 28.92 per cent as against 71.08 per cent having children. The

subjoined statement shows the number of children according to the mother's age at birth and birth order.

STATEMENT XLIX

Number of children according to mother's age at birth

Birth order	Age distribution										Total births
	15 to 17	18 to 20	21 to 24	25 to 27	28 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	41 to 45	46 and over	11	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	129
First child	23	57	31	10	4	3	..	1	..	..	102
Second child	3	25	51	10	8	4	1	..	..	..	81
Third child	..	6	25	28	13	7	2	..	..	..	58
Fourth child	..	1	12	15	14	10	4	2	..	..	37
Fifth child	..	..	3	7	11	12	3	1	..	..	27
Sixth child	..	..	1	2	5	11	4	4	..	..	14
Seventh child	..	..	..	..	2	5	4	3	..	..	10
Eighth child	..	..	..	..	1	3	3	1	2	..	6
Ninth child	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	1	1	..	3
Tenth child	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Eleventh child	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	26	89	123	72	58	56	27	13	3	467	

Out of 129 first births, only 23 took place during the mother's age group 15-17 as against 57 when the mother was aged 18 to 20. First births become rare after the age of 24. Out of 102 second births, only three were to mothers between 15 and 17 years of age, and 25 to those in the group 18-20. In the case of third births, the largest number of 28 took place when the mother's age at birth was 25 to 27 years.

About two-thirds (66.39 per cent) or 310 out of 467 children were born before the mothers reached 28 years of age. The maximum number of births, viz., 123 took place when the mother's age was between 21 and 24 years. The largest number of children to a woman is 10, there being three women in this category. There are 24 women having 6 to 9 children each.

IV.7 HEALTH AND MEDICAL TREATMENT

Some of the habits of the people which have a bearing on their health like the use of mosquito-nets, soap, etc., have already been discussed earlier.

Out of the 180 households, 152 take bath daily. The remaining 28 that bathe irregularly once, twice or thrice a week say that they are not habituated to a regular bath, that there is no time and that children do not take bath regularly. But at the root of all these appears to be ignorance about hygiene. However, the consciousness about the importance of vaccination is quite fair. All the children in 118 or 65.56 per cent of the families and some children in 10 others have been vaccinated. No children have been vaccinated in 52 households, 50 of which have no children below ten years of age.

An inquiry into the serious diseases which visited the village shows that there has been no epidemic during the past decade. The few cases of serious diseases which were reported are as under.

Tuberculosis	2
Typhoid	1
Asthma	1
Suwa	2
Small-pox	10

17 more cases of serious illness were also reported, 11 of which were identified only as fever, while the rest were unspecified.

As can be expected in a village subject to heavy urban impact, and having a dispensary run by a doctor from the city, a large majority of the households resorts to allopathy for cure of their ailments. More than two-thirds of the households, 135 in number, consult doctors, while 28 more also resort to *vaidyas* and religious cures over and above allopathy. In the 5 households that take the services of *vaidyas*, some other religious cures are also being practised outside. One householder relies exclusively on superstitious cures.

IV.8 FAMILY PLANNING

With the largest city in the State only a couple of miles away, it is rather surprising to find that only 49 or 27.22 per cent of the families are aware about the methods of preventing conception by deliberate means. Out of these only 37 are in favour of such practices and only 14 know about the existence of the family planning centres in the area. The reasons for approbation of family planning are that it improves economic condition by checking the population, preserves the health of women and makes for a better standard of living. The dislike of this reform stems mainly from religious beliefs which consider them sinful, and ignorance or instinctive dislike of it as an unnatural practice. The number of children, it is felt by some, should be left to fate.

In spite of this apparent apathy towards family planning, it is significant that ten women of different families had already undergone the operation for sterilization by the end of 1962. With the exception of one Thakarda woman, all belonged to the Patidar caste. They belong to Isanpur and are not recent immigrants. They are agriculturists and their families are not very educated. The persuasion for the measure generally comes from doctors in maternity homes in the city to which Patidar women generally and Thakarda rarely resort. Further,

some of them are also prompted by the examples of their relatives in the city who go in for such operations.

C—Literacy and Education

IV.9 LITERACY

Out of the population of 897, literates number 296 and constitute one-third or 33 per cent. The remaining 601 or 67 per cent are illiterate. The progress of literacy over the past decade can be seen from the following figures regarding percentage of literacy.

Percentage of literacy

	Persons	Males	Females
1951 Census . . .	17.77	26.69	8.82
1961 Census . . .	33.00	43.95	20.89

The proportion of literates thus increased by 15.23 per cent from 17.77 per cent to 33 per cent in 1961, the absolute increase in the number of literates being 175 from 121 to 296 (144.63 per cent). Both male and female literacy have made sizeable progress. As can be expected, the present level of literacy in the village is much higher than the average for the rural areas of the State (24.09 per cent) and Ahmedabad district (27.20 per cent), and slightly better than the general average for the villages in the Ahmedabad City taluka which stands at 30.83 per cent. In this respect, Isanpur typifies the village areas of the City taluka. While it is more advanced than the villages in the district and the State, it does not reach up to the level of urban areas. A comparison with Magdalla, another village selected for the study of urban impact in the vicinity of Surat shows that Isanpur falls widely short of the level of literacy of 55.7 per cent registered there.¹ The reason seems to be that Isanpur is inhabited by a large number of backward class and Scheduled Caste people.

IV.10 LITERACY BY AGE GROUPS

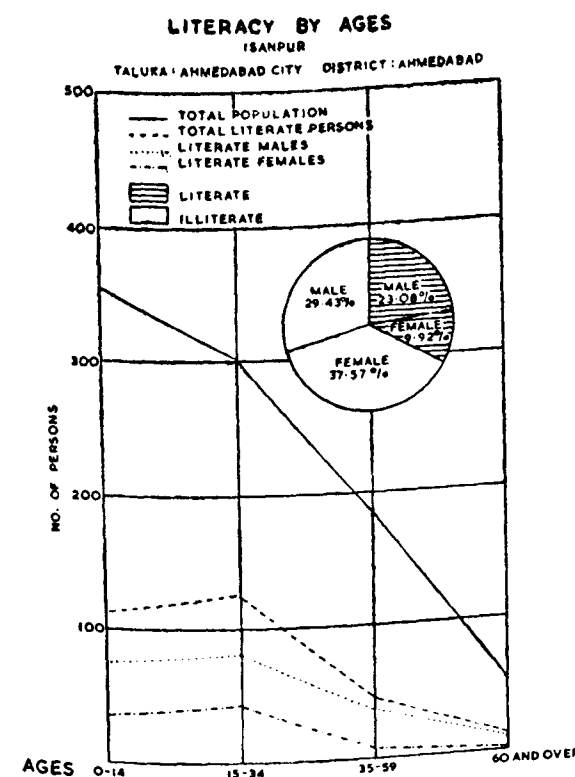
The Statement L on the next page examines the distribution of literates in different age groups according to Census 1961.

LITERACY BY AGE GROUPS

STATEMENT L

Literacy by age groups

Age group	Total population			Literate			Percentage of literate to total		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All ages	897	471	426	296	207	89	33.00	43.95	20.89
0-4	138	84	54	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9	143	79	64	66	45	21	46.15	56.96	32.81
10-14	73	40	33	46	31	15	63.01	77.50	45.45
15-19	64	27	37	28	17	11	43.75	62.96	29.73
20-24	70	34	36	35	25	10	50.00	73.53	27.78
25-29	80	37	43	35	23	12	43.75	62.16	27.91
30-34	88	39	49	27	17	10	30.68	43.58	20.41
35-44	106	62	44	28	21	7	26.41	33.87	15.91
45-59	81	46	35	18	17	1	22.22	36.96	2.86
60+	54	23	31	13	11	2	24.07	47.83	6.45



Children below 5 years of age have been treated as illiterate according to the census. The highest numbers of literates are claimed by the age groups 5-9 and 10-14, which together claim 112 or 37.84 per cent of the total

literates. The individual percentages of literacy for these two groups are 47.15 and 63.01 respectively. Among the remaining groups the percentage of literacy is the highest in the age group 20-24 half the numbers of which can read and write. The ratios go on declining in the higher brackets. The higher percentages of literates in the lower age groups indicate an increasing interest being taken of late in this field by the villagers.

IV.11 LEVELS OF EDUCATION

The Statement LI shows that education generally stops at the primary level.

Out of 296 literates, 110 or 37.16 per cent have not attained any educational level, but can only read and write, while 176 or 59.46 per cent have passed the primary stage. This shows that most of the children sent to school finish some grades of primary education. 10 persons, all of them males, are in the category of matriculation and above. They constitute 1.11 per cent of the total population and 3.38 of the literates. No female has gone beyond the primary level. The only graduate found during the survey was an M.Sc. who was an outsider who served in the city and hired a house in the village. None belonging to Isanpur has acquired a university degree.

1. Census of India 1961, Vol. V, Gujarat, Part VI, No. 2, Village Survey Monograph of Village Magdalla, p. 47, 1964

STATEMENT LI

Literates by educational levels

Age group	Total		Literate without educational level		Primary or junior basic		Matriculation and above	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All ages	207	89	65	45	132	44	10	..
0-4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9	45	21	34	17	11	4	..	..
10-14	31	15	7	8	24	7	..	..
15-19	17	11	..	2	17	9	..	..
20-24	25	10	2	3	20	7	3	..
25-29	23	12	6	5	14	7	3	..
30-34	17	10	4	5	12	5	1	..
35-44	21	7	6	3	12	4	3	..
45-59	17	1	5	1	12	..	..	..
60 and over	11	2	1	1	10	1	..	..

IV.12 EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The primary school in the village teaching up to the 4th standard is run by the District School Board. Attendance at the school has doubled over the past decade as seen from the following figures.

	Boys	Girls	Total
1951-52	18	15	33
1960-61	43	17	60

While there has been a considerable increase in the number of boys, that of girls is only nominal. An increasing number of students go to Vatva or Ahmedabad city for higher education. The nearest high school is in the city, one mile away. Twenty students from Isanpur attend it. One boy attends the Swaminarayan Arts and Science College in Ahmedabad. Three matriculates residing in the village serve in the city, out of whom two are Patels and one Vankar. Despite the existence of a large number of high schools and colleges located at Ahmedabad which is so easy of approach, the village people do not seem to take sufficient advantage of them.

A noteworthy advance in the field of pre-primary education is the establishment of a Balwadi in 1956 at the instance of the District Social Welfare Board. It is in charge of the Gram Sevika in charge of the village who comes daily from her village Narol situated near-by. It shares a centrally situated building with the Village Panchayat Office. About 45 children from all communities, aged 3 to 6 years attend the Balwadi. Patels and Harijans send relatively more children, while Thakardas send less in proportion to their population. Children below seven who are not sent to the Balwadi are generally taken with them to the fields by their parents who go out in the morning and work there all day, because there are no arrangements to look after the children at home outside the Balwadi hours which are from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. No fees are charged. There is no arrangement to fetch the children to the Balwadi. The parents send them on their own, though in the beginning the Gram Sevika may go to call a child newly enrolled. Children are given some refreshment everyday like *chana-kurmura*, ground nut and sometimes *puri*, etc. The Balwadi has some utensils and a primus stove for preparing

refreshments. The Balwadi, formerly run by the Social Welfare Board, is now managed by the Ahmedabad District Mahila Mandal, the local members of which look after the management. The village contributes Rs. 500 towards its expenses, the rest being borne by the Mahila Mandal with the help of Government grants. The village contribution is paid in a lump sum and is collected from the village people according to their mite. The leaders of the village,

especially the Sarpanch, the Patel, etc., make the collections.

D—Settlement of households and family structure

IV.13 SETTLEMENT OF HOUSEHOLDS

A point of strong resemblance of the village with growing urban areas is the heavy immigration it has experienced especially during the past decennium, as clarified by the statement that follows.

STATEMENT LII

Settlement history of households

Caste	Total No. of households	Number of households settled				
		Before 5 generations	Between 4-5 generations	Between 2-3 generations	1 generation ago	Present generation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total	180	116	1	12	11	40
1 Thakarda .	60	46	1	4	5	4
2 Leva Patidar .	36	29	..	2	2	3
3 Bharwad .	8	3	..	3	1	1
4 Ravalia .	6	3	..	..	1	2
5 Brahmin .	5	..	..	..	..	5
6 Bajania .	3	..	..	..	..	3
7 Valand .	3	1	..	..	..	2
8 Targala .	3	..	..	..	..	3
9 Barot .	3	..	..	..	..	3
10 Bania .	3	..	..	..	..	3
11 Soni .	3	..	..	..	..	3
12 Gosai Bawa .	2	..	..	1	1	..
13 Panchal (Luhar) .	1	..	..	..	..	1
14 Madrasi .	1	..	..	1	..	..
15 Garasia .	1	..	..	..	..	1
16 Darjee .	1	..	..	..	..	1
17 Gola-Rana .	1	..	..	..	..	1
18 Suthar .	1	1	..	..	..	..
19 Kumbhar .	1	3	..	..	..	1
20 Muslim .	4	1	..	..	..	..
21 Jain Bania .	1	21	..	..	1	..
22 Vankar .	22	7	..	..	..	..
23 Bhangi .	7	7	..	..	..	..
24 Chamar .	2	..	..	1	..	1
25 Garoda .	2	..	..	..	..	2

Out of 180 households in all, as many as 40 or 22.22 per cent have moved to the village only during the present generation. With 154 persons—88 males and 66 females—they constitute 20.81 per cent of the total population. The outside element recently migrated to Isanpur is thus quite pronounced. Among the rest, 11 or

6.11 per cent of the families settled in Isanpur one generation ago and 12 or 6.67 per cent two to three generations earlier. One family came before four or five generations. The remaining 116 or 64.44 per cent of the households have been inhabiting the village for more than the past five generations. Apart from

Patidar, Thakarda and Vankar castes which are among the oldest settlers in the village, some families of eight other castes have also been living in Isanpur for over five generations and include all the families of Jain, Suthar, Kumbhar and Bhangi castes among them. Among the newcomers, all the households of the 11 castes mentioned below have settled in Isanpur only during the present generation.

Brahmin	Bania	Darjee
Bajania	Soni	Gola
Targala	Panchal	Garoda
Barot	Madras	

The 26 families of these castes constitute 65 per cent of the households that migrated to Isanpur during the present generation. None of these latter families has taken up agriculture as its main occupation. The main attraction for them is the textile industry as well as Government or municipal service in the city. A few are engaged in industries like goldsmithy, tailoring, etc., while the remaining generally resorted to some petty business, services, or miscellaneous labour. This occupational pattern of the recent immigrants points to the fact that it is mostly due to the nearness of Isanpur to the city that these families have come to live in this village. In the case of several families some of their relatives or caste-fellows were already residing in the village. Many of the immigrant Thakarda families who predominate among the new settlers in the last two generations, belong to this category. They come mostly from Sabarkantha and Mehsana districts,

and Dehgam taluka of Ahmedabad district. Such families start with agricultural labour and, if they can accumulate some savings, purchase land later on. In the alternative, they work in the textile mills in contrast with Patidars who do not go to mills in equal numbers.

This flow of immigration is sharply contrasted with the meagre proportion of emigrants. Only two families have migrated from Isanpur in the past decade to seek better prospects elsewhere as they did not have sufficient land for profitable cultivation in Isanpur and the family occupation thus provided inadequate income. One of them moved to Bombay. Both the families bifurcated from the same Barot household of Isanpur.

Isanpur has thus received many more immigrants than emigrants it has sent out. In fact, a sizeable portion of the intercensal increase in its population is due to in-migration. This is a characteristic which is always pronounced in growing cities attracting more and more persons in search of livelihood. Isanpur, situated so close to the metropolis of Ahmedabad, is easily within the pale of the urban influence of this type. The residents of Isanpur do not have to settle in the city, where they can easily go everyday for work. For Isanpur, therefore, the stream of migration remains one-sided as in the case of the city.

IV.14 SIZE OF THE FAMILY

The average family of Isanpur consists of about four persons. The following statement distributes the households in the village into various sizes.

STATEMENT LIII
Size of the household

Size	No. of households	Percentage to total number of households	Total population			Percentage to total population
			Persons	Males	Females	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Single member	14	7.78	14	3	11	1.89
2-3 members	66	36.67	166	86	80	22.43
4-6 members	78	43.33	375	197	178	50.68
7-9 members	19	10.55	151	76	75	20.41
10 and over	3	1.67	34	21	13	4.59
Total	180	100.00	740	383	357	

The largest number of households is claimed by the medium size of 4 to 6 members, with 78 or 43.33 per cent. The next largest group is of small families having 2 to 3 members, claiming 66 or 36.67 per cent of the households. Single member households number 14 and constitute 7.78 per cent. In the larger sizes, 19 households have 7 to 9 members each, and account for 10.55 per cent of the households, while very large families of 10 persons or more number 3 and comprise 1.67 per cent.

As to the persons comprising these households, slightly over one half or 50.68 per cent live in medium households. 180 or 24.32 per cent live in small households of 1 to 3 members, while large families constituting more than 6 members, cover 185 persons or 25 per cent of the population. While Patidars and Thakardas conform to the general pattern of having the largest number of families in the medium size (19 and 26 respectively), followed by the small size (13 and 23 respectively), Vankars deviate from it with more households in the small size (16) than in the medium (7). Large families

comprising 7 to 9 members are found among Thakardas (11), Ravalia (1), Bharwad (2), Patidar (3), and Bhangi (2). Only one family of more than 10 persons is found in each of the castes Brahmin, Patidar and Gosai.

Smallness of the average family and a fair number of single member and small families are characteristics of Isanpur which are largely due to nearness to the city. Such families are generally of outsiders who come to the city from distant parts in search of livelihood, but owing to the difficult housing conditions there, hire residential accommodation in the village. The small size of the family is not due to permanent migration of workers to the city. The absence of such migration has been noticed earlier.

IV.15 FAMILY STRUCTURE

More than two-thirds of the families are simple families as brought out by the following statement distributing households by caste and nature of families.

STATEMENT LIV
Households by caste and nature of family

Caste	Total No. of households	Type of families living in the household			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	180	124	26	30	..
1 Thakarda	60	39	7	14	..
2 Leva Patidar	36	29	5	2	..
3 Bharwad	8	6	1	1	..
4 Brahmin	5	3	1	1	..
5 Ravalia	6	4	1	1	..
6 Bania	3	3	..	..	..
7 Bajania	3	2	1	..	..
8 Valand	3	3	..	..	..
9 Targala	3	2	..	1	..
10 Barot	3	3	..	..	..
11 Soni	2	1	..	1	..
12 Gosai Bawa	1	..	1	..	..
13 Panchal	1	1	..	..	..
14 Madras	1	..	1	..	..
15 Garasia	1	1	..	..	..
16 Darjee	1	..	1	..	..
17 Gola-Rana	1	1	..	..	..
18 Suthar	1	1	..	..	..
19 Kumbhar	1	1	..	..	..
20 Jain Bania	4	4	..	..	..
21 Muslim	22	11	5	6	..
22 Vankar	7	4	2	1	..
23 Bhangi	2	1	..	1	..
24 Chamar	2	2	..	..	..
Garoda	..	..	..	..	..

A husband and wife with unmarried children constitute a simple family, while a married couple with unmarried children and brothers and sisters and/or one of the parents are taken to be an intermediate family. A joint family denotes a married couple living with married sons, daughters, brothers or sisters.

As many as 124 or 68.89 per cent of the families are simple covering 443 or 59.87 per cent of the total population. Joint families accounting for 16.67 per cent of the families and having 178 or 24.05 per cent of the population come next in order followed by intermediate families which form 14.44 per cent of the families claiming 119 or 16.08 per cent of the total inhabitants. All the families of the following castes are simple families.

Bania	Darjee	Madras
Targala	Suthar	Muslim
Soni	Prajapati	Garoda

The largest number of joint families, namely, 14 out of 30, is found among Thakardas. Patidars have 2 joint families and Vankars 6. The other castes which have one joint family each are Brahmin, Bharwad, Ravalia, Valand, Barot, Gosai, Bhangi and Chamar.

IV.16 INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY

People are by and large quite orthodox about the mode of inheritance of property which follows the traditional Hindu law. While all the 180 households normally divide their property among their sons, only 7 divide it among unmarried daughters and 3 among married daughters side by side with the sons. A large majority of 146 households also include widows among heirs of the family property. A departure from these normal family customs was preferred by 26 households which were in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons. The householders concerned belonged to all age groups, five aged more than 50, six each in the groups 41 to 50 and 31 to 40, 8 in the group 21 to 30 and one younger than 21. It seems that the ideas of the people regarding inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons have not undergone any appreciable change over the past half a century.

E—Religious Beliefs and Festivals

IV.17 RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Of the three religions followed in Isanpur, Hinduism claims 175 families comprising a population of 723 or 97.71 per cent of the total. There are four Muslim families with 14 members or 1.89 per cent of the population. The solitary Jain family of the village claims a minute 0.4 per cent of the population.

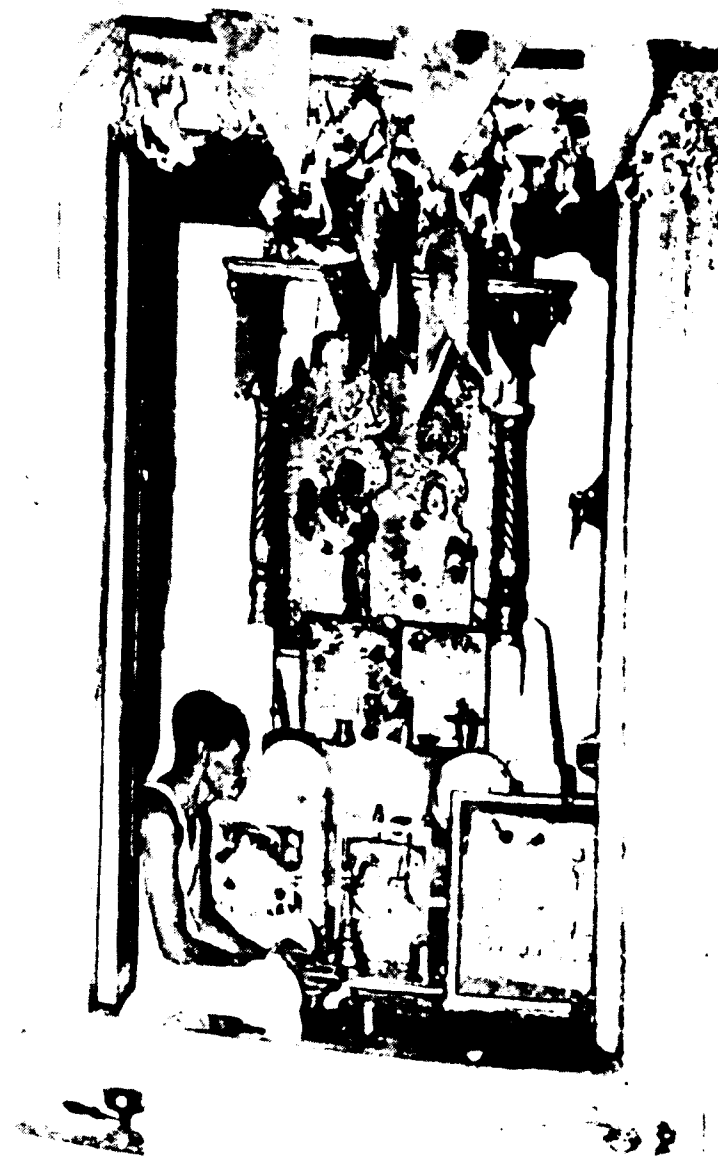
As many as 123 families, constituting a majority of 70.28 per cent of the Hindus keep household deities for worship. They are mostly worshippers of Mataji in her numerous forms like Verai Mata enshrined at the village, Kalika, Bahucharaji, Khodiyar, Chamunda, Bhavani, Lakshmi, Ashapuri and Limbai. As against 66 families worshipping Mother Goddess at home, 50 households worship Shri Krishna including his other forms like Ranchhodji. Worshippers of Shiva include 11 households and those of Rama 9. Some families have other deities like Ganpati, Hanuman, Kartik Swami, the son of Lord Shiva, and Vishwakarma, the architect of Gods, revered as a tutelary God by artisan castes like Suthars and Luhars. Saints like Ramdev Pir, a Rajput hero from Marwar and Sai Baba, a saint of Maharashtra, are worshipped by a few families.

Households observing some regular fasts number 80, practically all of which observe them on religious grounds with the exception of a couple of them observing on other grounds. The occasions thus observed by fasts give the following interesting picture.

Occasions	No. of households
Saturday	23
Monday	9
Tuesday	1
Friday	9
Sunday	3
Agjarash	27
Punam	26
Navratri	4
Shivratri	2
Gokul Ashtami	2
Adhik Mas	1
Paryushana	1
Roza in the month of Ramzan	2



Mahadev Temple outside the village



Interior of Radha Vallabh temple

A weekly fast or missing a meal on a day dedicated to a particular planet or a deity seems to be a favourite occasion for a fast, the most popular being Saturday dedicated to the planet *Shani* or Saturn and to the deity Hanuman. *Agiarash* or the 11th of the lunar fortnight and *punam* or the full-moon day are also propitious for fasting. Navratri, dedicated to Mother Goddess, Shivratri to Lord Shiva and Gokul Ashatmi to Lord Krishna are other occasions when fasting is prescribed by the scriptures. The intercalary month called *adhik mas* occurring at the interval of about 3 years, is considered particularly suitable for earning religious merit by austerities. Paryushana is the most important austerity as well as festival of Jains, while for Muslims observing fasts during the month of Ramzan is compulsory.

IV.18 TEMPLES

There are three temples in the village besides a few smaller shrines worshipped by a particular family or caste. The Vaishnavite temple of Radhavallabh is situated in the heart of the village near the Mandvi Chowk. The idols of Radha and Krishna were installed in the temple on Sunday, Paush Vad 5, V.S. 1966, or Shake 1831, i.e., 1909 A.D. Besides the idol, the temple has a picture of Rama, Lakshman and Sita, and another of Varahi Mata. The structure of the shrine is like a house rather than a temple. Since there was no temple in the village, the people purchased a house belonging to a Patidar who died without an heir and installed the idols in it. The inner sanctum of the temple has carved doors plated with German silver.

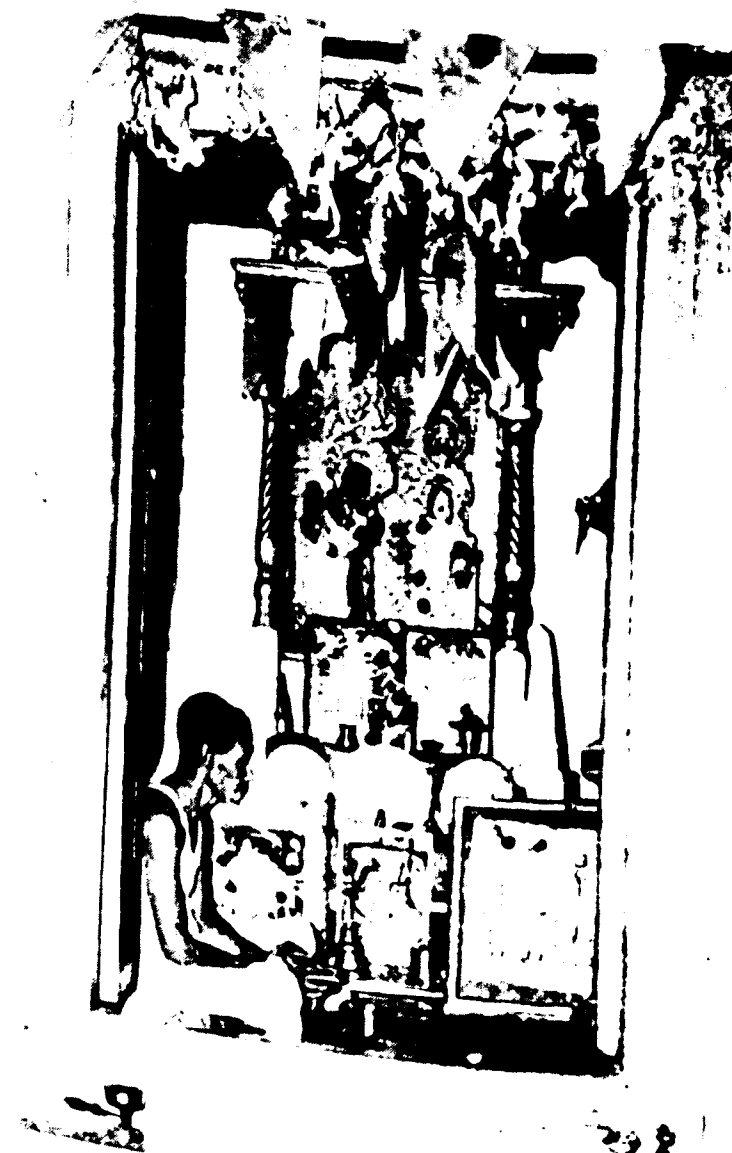
The temple is managed by the Leva Patidar community of the village. The *pujari*, originally belonging to Dungarpur district of Rajasthan has settled in Isanpur for the past 30 years. He performs the *puja* also at Verai Mata temple and cleans both the temples. He has been given residential quarters on the first storey of Radhavallabh temple. As remuneration for his services at both the temples, he is given two *kutch* maunds of paddy every year by 32 Patidar households, which works out to about Rs. 615 per year. No cash remuneration is given, but he also works

as a family priest and performs *katha*, *abhishek*, and such other religious ceremonies including marriage ceremony as he may be requested to conduct. He also goes to the city for similar purposes, if invited. The *dakshina* received for performing these ceremonies forms a sort of side income for him.

Worship with *arti* is performed at Radhavallabh temple twice everyday at 6-30 a.m. and 7-30 p.m. About 8 to 10 people come for *darshan* every morning regularly while the evening *arti* attracts 20 to 30 youngsters. At the conclusion of the *arti* in the evening *prasad* consisting of sugarcandy, plantains, etc., is distributed to all the devotees present. At noon, the *pujari* always offers to the deity the dish which he prepares for the day and thereafter takes his meal. About 5 to 6 *vighas* of land have been earmarked and managed by the Patidar community for the benefit of the temple. The produce of the land is expended towards repairs and celebration of festivals.

The other two temples are situated outside the residential area. That of Verai Mata, a corrupted name of Varahi Mata, is as old as the village itself. The shrine situated by the side of the approach road to the village has no idol; but only the *angi* or plate symbolic of the goddess. This temple is also managed by the Leva Patidar community of the village which arranges for repairs as may be necessary and the annual whitewash of the temple before Navratri. *Puja* is regularly offered by the *pujari* of the Radhavallabh temple every morning at 7-30 a.m. with a bathing ceremony and lighting of a lamp before the goddess. People from the village as well as the city who keep a vow for the health of their children perform worship of the goddess, offering a coconut. For the benefit of the temple about three *vighas* of paddy land have been earmarked by the Patidars who utilise its produce in repairs and other expenditure over the temple. The *pujari* does not get any separate remuneration for worship at this temple, but earns about Rs. 25 or so offered by devotees during the Navratri festival.

The third temple is a Mahadev temple which has two *lingas* of Mahakaleshwer and Dholeshwer Mahadev. The *shivalinga* of Mahakaleshwer



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is believed to be *swayambhu*, or self-created whereas the other one is installed by the devotees. Besides the *shivalingas*, there is an idol of goddess Parvati, the consort of Lord Shiva, and *pothio* or *nandi*, the carrier of Lord Shiva. There is a metal replica of *nagdevata* or the hooded cobra, an adornment of Lord Shiva. Situated just outside the village, the temple was built at the time of settlement of the village. This temple is also managed by the Patidar community. The *pujari* of this temple, a Gosai by caste, hails from a village in the neighbouring Daskroi taluka of Ahmedabad district. He migrated to Isanpur about 30 years ago when he took up the *puja* of the Mahadev temple. The villagers have assigned about four *vighas* of land for this temple and the *pujari* who cultivates this land does not receive any cash remuneration but takes the produce as his remuneration. He is also given a house in the village. *Puja* along with *snan* and *arti* are performed every morning at 6 o'clock and *dhup* and *arti* at 6-30 in the evening.

Besides these three temples, there is a small temple in one of the fields near the approach road. It belongs to the family goddess of one of the Patidar families. There are also a couple of small shrines of Mataji belonging to the Bharwad and Harijan communities and generally resorted to only by these communities for making offerings.

The religious life of the village is marked by certain factors which are noteworthy. The Patidars, the leading community of the village, worship all the three main deities of the Hindu pantheon, namely, Krishna, Shiva and Mataji. The temples of these three, which are the only important ones in the village belong to and are looked after by this community. Most of their votaries are also drawn from Patidars who have devoted the use of some of their lands for the benefit and upkeep of the temples, though devotees from other communities also visit the temples for *darshan* on festive days. Other deities having small shrines are revered only by small sections of the village people, and do not require any arrangements for management and upkeep. The Thakardas, the largest caste in the village, have no shrine of their own.

IV.19 MOSQUES

The Moti Masjid meaning the large mosque is not well maintained. There are only four Muslim households in the village and this large and beautiful mosque is not used by them. The local caretaker of the mosque stays in a corner for the past ten years. He belongs to Kolhapur in Maharashtra. He is not formally appointed by any one to look after the mosque; but says that he started staying there out of religious sentiment finding the mosque in a sad condition. He does not get any remuneration and for livelihood he paddles bangles in near-by villages like Vatva, Narol, etc. Formerly there was a *hauz* and a well near the mosque which are now filled up. There are two tombs in the central court which are stated by the caretaker to be the *chillas* in memory of Hassan and Husain, the martyrs of Karbala. However, one of them is the tomb of Isan Malek according to the District Gazetteer. No *urs* takes place here. There is no *mimber* in the mosque nor any prayer carpets. There is no *bangi* and no *maulvi*. If some devotee turns up, he may offer *namaz* if he so desires.

The other mosque, called Hussaini Masjid, has some beautiful carvings in stone. In front of the mosque there is a *dargah* of a descendant of Kutbe Alam, the father of Shah Alam. No *urs* is celebrated here also. The caretaker, belonging to Chalisgaon in east Khandesh district of Maharashtra State, who migrated to the village via Ahmednagar district in Maharashtra and Ajmer in Rajasthan, settled in Isanpur 8 years ago. He stays alone and subsists on charity. Sometimes he begs alms in Ahmedabad city. He calls the *bangs* five times a day at 5-30 in the morning, 2 o'clock in the afternoon and 5-30, 7-30 and 8-15 in the evening. The mosque has prayer carpets and a copy of the Quran donated by a publisher in Ahmedabad city.

IV.20 FESTIVALS

The most important festival for Isanpur is Verai Matani Mandvi celebrated on Ashvin Sud 14 (October), which marks the culmination of the Navratri or festival of nine nights celebrated from Ashvin Sud 1 to 9 at the Verai

Mata temple. A small fair is also held on that day. Navratri, the main festival dedicated to the Mother Goddess, is the only occasion celebrated at the shrine of Verai Mata. Special worship is offered to the goddess for the nine days of Navratri, a *ghee* lamp is kept continuously burning before the goddess who is bedecked in an *angi* or decoration of flower sheets and garlands.

Men and women sing *garbas* at night in the open *chowk*. A *havan* is performed on Havanash-tami, Ashvin Sud 8. Ashvin Sud 13 is a busy day for the whole village. The streets and squares are decorated by arches of *asopalav* or evergreen leaves with coconuts and earthen pots tied on the *torans*. *Naivedya* prepared at seven houses is offered to the goddess. The *mandvi*, a structure 8 to 10 feet high, is prepared during the day for the climactic function which takes place at night. This is in keeping with the general tradition followed during Navratri all over Gujarat, according to which some such structure with earthen lamps placed on it is kept in a public square and men and women perform *garba*, the well-known folk-dance of Gujarat, around it till late every night during the festival. It is also customary at some places to carry *mandvi* in a procession at the conclusion of the festival. However, the uniqueness of the celebration at Isanpur lies in the fact that people of all castes actively participate in the celebrations by some contribution according to long-standing tradition. The festival is thus celebrated by the full cooperation of the entire village. A big wooden *bajath* or low stool is brought from the *mukhi* or headman who belongs to the Patidar caste. Twelve bamboos are brought from the temple. Harijans bring nine *khajuri* or date-palm leaves, *vaduai* or the hanging roots of banyan tree, and green branches of *gundi* tree. The bamboos are tied to the four legs of the *bajath*, providing the frame for the *mandvi* which is completed with other bamboo chips, sugar-cane, *khajuri* leaves, etc. Flowers of *hajarigal* or merigold supplied by local farmers are then pinned on the pointed *khajuri* leaves, and garlands are tied round the *mandvi*. One and a quarter *kutcha* maunds of flowers are thus used in the decoration. The *mandvi* is then illuminated

with 112 oil lamps lighted in *kodiyan* or earthen lamps supplied by local potters. They are arranged on the four sides of the *mandvi* and a *ghee* lamp is lighted at the top in the centre. Oil and *ghee* for the lamps are supplied by the local Bania shop-keeper. An unripe mango is tied in the centre of the *mandvi*. The uniqueness of this practice lies in the fact that this is not the season of mangoes, as mango trees which bear fruits in this season are rare. There is no such tree in Isanpur itself or in any of the near-by villages. However, some devotee or other invariably sends a mango to adorn the *mandvi*, which may arrive at the last moment. Never in living memory has a *mandvi* gone without a green mango. Women sing *garbas* round the *mandvi* for the whole night to the accompaniment of *dhol* or drum of the local Ravalia. In early morning at five o'clock, *arti* is performed, after which the *mandvi* is placed on his head by the *mukhi* and taken in a procession, with the participants singing devotional songs to the Mataji temple, about half a mile from the *mandvi chowk* in the village. After placing the *mandvi* near the temple, the participants worship Mataji and then disperse. It is the hereditary privilege of the *mukhi* to bear the *mandvi* on his head to the temple. Surprisingly, no other man, however, able-bodied he may be, is able to carry it on his head. It was reported that when the *mandvi* was placed on the head of a relative to provide some rest to the *mukhi*, the former could not march forward and the procession moved on only after the *mukhi* took over. It is said that, even if the *mukhi* is not well on the day of the festival, he generally recovers sufficient strength to discharge this obligation. This particular function traditionally devolves on the successor of the *mukhi* along with his office. Every year the festival is celebrated in this peculiar manner since long. Nearly three to four thousand persons congregate on this occasion including many visitors from Ahmedabad who are hosted by the villagers. A small fair attended mostly by Hindus, takes place on the outskirts of the village on this occasion. A few stalls of eatables, tea, and toys are put up by hawkers by the roadside near the Verai Mata temple and the big mosque on the approach road to the village.

For the temple of Radhavallabh, four festivals are the most important. On the New Year day on Kartik Sud 1, the *annakut* or collection of all varieties of food dishes that can practicably be prepared is offered to the deity from the grain that is being harvested at the temple. The villagers go to the temple for having *darshan* of the *arti* of the God with the *annakut* arranged before him. Next comes the *salgiri* or birthday, i.e., the anniversary of installation of the deities. It falls on Paush Vad 5 in January. All the villagers assemble at the temple which is illuminated with lights in the evening. Since this is a festival for the whole village, the people totally abstain from work throughout the day. Ploughing is not done, the village flour-mill is closed, no milk is vended, and those going for service to the city also observe a holiday. Every family enjoys a feast at home, and goes for *darshan* at the time of *arti*. *Bhajans* are also sung near the temple. Janmashtami, the greatest Vaishnav festival is celebrated on Shravan Vad 8 in August as the birthday of Lord Krishna. The temple is illuminated with lights on this occasion. People assemble at the temple in the evening and wait there till midnight when the birth of the god is celebrated and the infant Krishna is rocked in a cradle. After worshipping and *arti* the devotees disperse. The last important festival in the year is Jal-jhilani Eakadashi celebrated on Bhadrapad Sud 11 in September. On this day the Lalji Maharaj, a small idol of the child Krishna is taken out in the morning in a procession to the village tank in the outskirt of the settlement. The idol is bathed there and after performance of *puja* and *arti*, the procession returns. On the way back, the Lord is adored at the houses of votaries who desire to receive the deity at their homes. About 100 or 150 villagers join the procession which is led by a *bhajan mandli*.

Shravan is the holiest month for the Mahadev temple where *bili* (*Aegle marmelos*) leaves are offered to the God throughout the month besides the normal worship. On the midnight of Mahashivratri on Magh Vad 13, the greatest festival of the Shaivas, *mahapuja* is performed when the villagers flock to the temple for *darshan*.

Sometimes some devotees arrange for a special *puja* at the temple on other occasions.

Besides these celebrations in temples and public places, festivals like Janmashtami and Mahashivratri are also celebrated by individual households by fasts succeeded by feasts. The most important other festivals celebrated by Hindus with much gaiety are Divali, the festival of lights on Ashvin Vad *amavasya* and the New Year Day on Kartik Sud 1 in October-November according to the Vikram Era with the year beginning in Kartik. Makara Sankranti on 14th January is another festival celebrated by householders by giving alms to Brahmins and by children by flying kites. Holi is celebrated on Phalgun Sud 15 in March with a bonfire and colour-spraying. Balev or Naliyeri Purnima on Shravan Sud 15 in August and Dassera on Ashvin Sud 10 in October are also important festive occasions. Paryushana is the biggest festival for Jains occurring in Shravan-Bhadrapad (August-September), while Muharram on the 10th of Muharram, the first month of the Hijri Era and the Ramzan and Bakri Ids are festive occasions for Muslims. The national festival most enthusiastically observed is the Republic Day on 26th January.

A study of the festivals of the village brings out the close relationships of the various sections of the public with one another exhibited in the oneness with which they participate in and enjoy the celebrations.

F—Social Organisation

IV.21 CASTE PANCH

While caste *panches* exist for several of the castes in Isanpur functioning jointly with other villages, only 69 out of 180 or 38.33 per cent of the households acknowledged the usefulness of these institutions. They include 10 families of Patidars, 29 of Thakardas and 17 of Vankars. A few of the Ravalis, Bharwad, Gosai, Valand, Barot and Panchal castes and one Muslim family also believe in the usefulness of caste *panches*. Families of the remaining castes have no use for them. The reason advanced for favouring caste *panches* were that they are useful in settling caste disputes, solving social problems and maintaining a congenial atmosphere in the society.

All the three castes originally settled in Isanpur have their own caste *panches* in common with several other villages included in a *gol* or circle within which their marriage relations and many other social relationships are confined. The Patidars have a caste *panch* for 16 villages each of which has three representatives on it elected informally by the members of the caste in the village. The *panch* meets twice or thrice a year, the most convenient time being the marriage season in winter or summer. The main function of the *panch* is to solve disputes regarding betrothal, marriage, etc. The party who breaks an engagement is fined Rs. 151. A person who gives his daughter in marriage outside the *gol* is fined Rs. 1,001. The marriage of a boy outside the *gol* is not punished but a fine of Rs. 501 is inflicted if a bride is accepted from another caste. Sometimes a *panch* also arbitrate in disputes regarding partition and inheritance of property. It also decides the number of persons to be fed on the occasion of marriage or death.

The funds for the *panch* come partly from voluntary contributions and donations. Scholarships are given from the funds to the extent of half of the fees to students who score a second class and full fees to first class students. The *panch* also runs hostel in Ahmedabad for students of the caste.

The *panch* of Thakardas covers 12 villages including Isanpur. Each village is represented by two to four members, Isanpur having three. The *panch* settles disputes mostly of social nature like differences of opinion regarding marriage customs, etc. In disputes regarding inheritance of property, it offers arbitration if approached by the parties. If one of the parties to a marriage is adjudged at default, it is fined Rs. 151 to 201. The *panch* is called by the complainant who has to serve a simple dinner and tea to the members. If a marriage takes place outside the *gol*, it is generally punishable with a fine. No such instances, however, have occurred upto now. Since it has not been necessary to call the *panch* for the past 50 years, the effectiveness of the *panch* cannot be determined precisely.

Among Vankars the caste *panch* covers 52 villages deputing two to three members each on

it. In the case of a major dispute, the *panch* of all the 52 villages is called. Otherwise, minor disputes are dealt with by a smaller committee of 25 villages. Besides solving social disputes, the *panch* also gives its ruling about social reforms, introducing new customs and doing away with old ones. For example, it prohibits singing of objectionable songs at the time of marriage.

If the parents of the girl terminate her engagement, they are made to pay Rs. 601 to the boy's parents. For a similar default the boy's father has to pay Rs. 125 to the girl's. If a man takes a second wife, he has to give Rs. 1,001 to the father of the first wife. If a man wants an immediate divorce, he obtains it by paying Rs. 100 to 500 to his father-in-law. Such private arrangements are, however, not favoured by the *panch* whose function it is to decide such cases. It fines the boy's parents Rs. 51 to 301 for a divorce.

Having a bride from outside the *gol* of 52 villages is not an offence, but marrying a daughter outside it entails a fine of Rs. 51 to 101. The *panch* also decides the expenses of obsequious ceremonies like giving a caste dinner after the death of an old person. It also levies a fine of Rs. 10, if any member of the caste is found drinking liquor. This provision has been introduced in the wake of prohibition. If any member of the caste calls Bhavayas other than those from the village Gamdi bound with them in *jajmani* relationships, the caste *panch* fines the defaulter Rs. 10. The party to a dispute approaching the *panch* has to bear expenses for dinner and tea for the members. It has not, however, been invited to solve any dispute in the village during the past 10 years.

A Yuvak Mandal or Youth Club of the 52 villages of the *gol* has been established since 1963 with its office at Isanpur to which the chairman belongs. It collects contributions and donations from families of the caste. From these funds, text-books and stationery are supplied to middle and high school students belonging to the caste.

IV.22 JAJMANI RELATIONS

Jajmani relations form an aspect of the village organisation which shows the interplay of relationships among the communities in the socio-economic life of the village. They involve participant castes into abiding relationships either as the performer or the receiver of the services. Some of the important *jajmani* relationships in the village are described below. They are found to be most common among the land-holders and original settlers of the village, namely, Patidars and Thakardas. The immigrants also avail of the services of the local artisan class in their social functions and do not draw them from their original village.

In the religious field *jajmani* relationships subsist between Brahmin priests on the one hand and Patidars and Thakardas on the other. The Brahmin priest of these two communities of Isanpur is also the temple priest of Radhavallabh and Verai Mata temples. He does not serve any other community. Formerly a Brahmin belonging to Prantij in the neighbouring Sabarkantha district used to work as the priest in the village. When he left the village on his own 30 years ago, the villagers called the present priest who belongs to Rajasthan. Thus the relationship is not hereditary; and if there are differences between the priest and his *jajmans*, another priest can be resorted to. The priest conducts the religious ceremony at the time of *khat-muhurt* or laying the foundation stone of a house, wedding, *simant*, naming the child, and obsequious ceremonies. He also performs special worship when required to do so by his constituents. For example, he recites the *Bhagvat* and *Ramayana*, conducts the Satyanarayan Puja, officiates at Navchandi or other *havans* to propitiate Mother Goddess. If more Brahmins are required to assist in such ceremonies, he calls them from Ahmedabad. While the priest is paid annually for the traditional services rendered to his constituents over and above the worship at the temples; for the special ceremonies and worship stated above, he is generally given *dakshina* according to the capacity of the householder.

On the days of Uttarayana (14th January) and Baley on Shravan Sud *pujima* (August) he

visits his *jajmans* who give him some foodgrains like wheat or rice and some *dakshina*. On the latter festival which is also the day of Raksha-bandhan, the Brahmin visits Patidar and Thakarda families and ties *rakhi* on the wrist of his clients, for which he is given some *dakshina*. In the month of Shravan, he reads the *Ramayana* or *Bhagvat* in the Radhavallabh temple, and women devotees who assemble there to hear the epics or *puranas* give him some *dakshina* either in cash or in the form of foodgrains. He receives *sidhu* or uncooked food materials from his clients on the day of *shraddha* of departed family members. Since he would not accept food at the hands of Patidars and Thakardas; he prepares food from the *sidhu* at his own place, throws *kag-das* or offering to the crows and enjoys the dinner to satisfy the departed souls. The priest also performs special *puja* and *abhishhek* at the Mahadev temple of the village and recites *chandipath* with special worship at Verai Mata temple during Navratri. The priest is also the astrologer to his *jajmans*. He interprets their horoscopes, tells their fortunes, and selects auspicious *muhurts* for weddings and such other ceremonies according to the movements of the planets.

In the Patidar community the priest of the girl's family, along with the *gainja* or barber, goes to the boy's family for betrothal which is called the ceremony of *chandla*. The boy's parents give him some *dakshina*. Similarly, when the bridegroom's relatives go to the bride's place for fixing the marriage date, they are accompanied by their priest. The *muhurt* is selected by both the sides assisted by their individual priests. Each party gives *dakshina* to the priest of the other party.

Another *jajmani* relationship of importance subsists between the Hajam or *gainja* on the one side and Patidars and Thakardas on the other. The *gainja* who was formerly rendering services to the villagers was given about 7 *vigahs* of land for his maintenance. He also used to perform miscellaneous menial duties of a messenger, etc., for visiting Government officials. After his death without leaving any issue the land is allowed to be kept by his widow, but another Hajam was brought in by the villagers

for obtaining traditional services. The *gainja* does not render services to the Scheduled Castes who have one of their own. For the usual services of hair-cutting, he is given *varsund* or yearly remuneration in kind of two maunds for every adult man and one maund for every boy in the family. Nowadays many people also patronise barbers in the city near by. The *jajmani* relationships of the Hajam are also not hereditary and are maintained only as long as both the parties are agreeable. His services are not confined to hair-cutting only. He makes himself useful to his clients as a handy-man during marriage and other social occasions. For example, the *gainja* of each party to a marriage sits near the boy or the girl at the time of *hasta melap*, ready to perform any task that may be necessary. Each one gets *dakshina* individually. At the time of *mandap muhurt*, community dinner, etc., he goes round to call relatives and members of the caste. When marriage invitations are to be sent out to all the sixteen villages of the *gol* of Patidars, it is his duty to carry them. When the party of the bridegroom arrives at the outskirt of the village of the bride and when it reaches the *mandap*, he acts as the torchbearer. The *gainja* of each party receives from his *jajman* five seers of oil for this duty, out of which the unused balance remains with him.

The women of this caste also render some traditional services to their *jajmans*. After childbirth it is her duty to massage and bathor the child and the mother everyday for a month or so. If the delivery takes place in a hospital, these services are given after the patient is brought home. By way of remuneration she receives foodgrains as well as some amount in cash.

The Ravalia community has limited *jajmani* relationships with the rest of the village. On auspicious occasions Ravalias work as drummers for which they are paid in cash. Formerly Patidars used to have *vahivanchas* or keepers of family records from the Barot caste. The custom, however, was stopped half a century ago.

Artisans like Kumbhars or potters or Suthar or carpenters also perform services for Patidars as well as Thakardas on *jajmani* basis. The former supplies the requirements of their consti-

tents in the shape of water-pots, small earthenware and *kodiya* of small earthen lamps. These articles are supplied at the time of Divali in return of foodgrains given according to the capacity of the recipient family. In the past, he supplied the 28 clay pots tied at the four corners of the marriage *chori*—7 on each corner—taking them back after the ceremony was over. Nowadays, however, people go in for fashionable *choris* of German silver hired from the city. The potter also supplies *Ganesh-matii* to be used for the installation of Ganesh before the marriage. He supplies seven *bedas* for *varadh* to his Patidar clients as also *gagarbeda* for the *gotraj* ceremony at the time of *grah-shanti*.

The carpenter who prepares all agricultural tools also prepares *manek-sihambh* at the time of marriage. He repairs old agricultural implements for which he is given annually two maunds of foodgrains per pair of bullocks. New tools and implements are charged full price in cash.

The remaining case of *jajmani* relationship among caste Hindus is of Bhavayas who come from the neighbouring city once every year to perform *bhavai* or folk-plays in honour of Mother Goddess. Every householder hosts the party of Bhavayas by turn and also pays some cash amount according to his capacity at the end of the tour. On the birth of the first boy in the family, it is customary to get *halardun* or lullaby sung by Bhavayas. The *dakshina* paid for the services is Rs. 11 and sometimes also a small ornament like a ring in addition to a pair of clothes for a woman. This custom is more or less compulsory among Patidars. The Bhavayas of Thakardas, who perform the same functions on indentical terms, come from Shobhasan in Mehsana district.

The Scheduled Castes have *jajmani* relationships with outsiders. The four *gors* or priests of Vankar and Chamar castes, who belong to one family of Vatva near-by, have distributed the Harijan households of Isanpur among themselves. They do not serve Bhangis. Unlike those of Patidars and Thakardas, the Harijan priests are hereditary and not easily removable, though uptil now no cause has arisen for discontent against them. The functions of the priests are similar to those in the higher castes. They perform

all religious ceremonies including obsequious rites. They name the new-born children and tie *raksha* to their *jajmans* on the day of Balev. They conduct the *hastamelap* ceremony at the wedding. They also perform the special worship of Satyanarayan Puja if so desired, when they are given a feast by the *jajman*. They do not perform *shraddha* ceremony. They are not given any fixed annual payments but some *dakshina* for individual ceremonies according to the capacity and the willingness of the clients. For example, Rs. 12.50 are paid for the marriage of the first daughter and Rs. 6.25 for marriages of other daughters. The boy's father does not pay anything as a matter of right to his priest, since no ceremonies are to be performed on his part; but he generally pleases him with some *dakshina*.

The local Hajams in the village do not serve the Scheduled Castes. Their *gainja* comes from Kochrab-Paldi in Ahmedabad city. He serves both Vankars and Chamars like their priests. Each house taking his service gives him one maund of foodgrains per year. Though employed for the past 30 years, his services are not hereditary and he can be changed, if necessary. He does not perform many other functions apart from hair-cutting as in the Patidar caste. At the time of marriage, he prepares *hukkas* (hubble-bubbles) and *chalams* or pipes for the guests besides shaving and hair-cutting, for which he is paid in cash.

There is no *dai* among Harijans, but one Thakarda woman gives her services, if called in. She is not paid any remuneration but only a *sari*, if a boy is born. Vankars also have *jajmani* relations with Bhavayas of the Turi caste from village Gamdi in the near-by taluka of Daskroi, who visit Isanpur twice or thrice in a year and perform *bhavai*. Singing of *halardun* is not customary among Harijans. These Bhavayas are also the *vahivanchas* of Vankars for limited purposes. They record births only of boys in the *jajman* families, for which the father gives Rs. 10, while families related to him pay Re. 1 each to the Bhavayas. Births of girls are not recorded. Harijans have also another *vahivancha*, a Charan belonging to

Ahmedabad, who maintains family records for them. As, however, his fees are as high as Rs. 200 per visit, he comes only at intervals of 10 to 15 years when all the households of the caste collect subscriptions to defray the expenses.

The Kumbhar also gives traditional services to Vankars. On Divali he gives one or two earthen pots, earthen lamps, etc., to each household and at the time of marriage gives an additional earthen pot for the *gotraj* ceremony. He is generally given 10 to 20 seers of foodgrains per year and a *sari* at the time of marriage. Formerly the Suthar also repaired agricultural implements of Harijans for a yearly payment in kind of two maunds of foodgrains per family. But of late all repair work is get done on payment of cash, on account of the rise in prices.

IV.23 UNTOUCHABILITY

Urban influences working on Isanpur have not been successful in liberalising the attitude of the people towards untouchability. Only 25 or 17.48 per cent of the households visit temples which are visited by all castes including untouchables. Members of 86 households go to temples from which untouchables are excluded, while 35 families visit temples visited only by their caste-fellows. Only 29 households allow untouchables to visit their houses a couple of times during a month, but almost daily during the agricultural season when the untouchables work as agricultural labourers. Such visits do not promote social equality, because they are mostly for business purposes like making purchases or giving work to the tailor and sometimes only for begging alms. Only one household permitted a Harijan to visit it out of friendship.

In spite of all the efforts of Government and social agencies to do away with untouchability for the past so many decades, the picture that emerges is not heartening. This is in spite of the fact that as many as 128 or 89.51 per cent of the households of caste Hindus and Jains are aware that untouchability in any form has been prohibited by law.

G—Panchayat and Community Development

IV.24 VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

The village panchayat was established in the village on 25th March, 1958 with seven seats of which one was reserved for women and one for the Scheduled Castes. Since no elections were held till the time of the survey, all the members nominated by Government at the time of the establishment of the panchayat were functioning except the woman member who had resigned. A majority consisting of four members belonged to the Patidar caste including one lady on one of the two reserved seats for women. One of the remaining two seats was occupied by a Thakardas and a Harijan, the latter filling a place earmarked for Scheduled Castes. All the members were literates having passed at least four primary standards. All the members were agriculturists by occupation except the woman member who attended to household work.

The panchayat shares its office building with the Balwadi. The main sources of income are the land revenue grant given by the Government, a house tax and the income from the cattle pound which is under panchayat management. The

Government gives a grant equal to 30 per cent of the land revenue realised from the village. But since Isanpur is an alienated village, land revenue is recovered by the Inamdar from whom the Government receives only Rs. 1,105.18 annually. As a result, the amount of land revenue grant to the panchayat is a meagre Rs. 484. As in *khalsa* villages, the panchayat has not been given possession of village properties like pasture lands, trees, *chora*, etc., which belong to the Inamdar. The resources tapped by the panchayat itself are the house tax and shop tax which yield an annual income of Rs. 2,360.23. The house tax is levied at the rate of 37 Ps. per Rs. 100 value of the house and the shop tax at Rs. 3 per shop. The main functions performed by the panchayat are (1) street lighting by installing twenty electric lamp posts, (2) construction of the Balwadi building and the recreation centre, (3) repairs of village roads, (4) disinfection and repairs of drinking water wells, (5) village *safai* and sanitation, and (6) village improvement in general.

The following statement shows the annual income and expenditure of the panchayat for the year 1960-61.

STATEMENT LV

Income and expenditure of the panchayat, 1960-61

Income			Expenditure		
Item		Amount in Rs.	Item		Amount in Rs.
1		2	3		4
Opening balance	.	433.72	Salary of establishment	.	60.00
House tax	.	286.43	Office contingency	.	208.68
Land revenue grant	.	484.00	Repairs to tank	.	80.00
Cattle pound fines	.	294.84	Repairs to well	.	100.00
Miscellaneous	.	4.25	Repairs to roads	.	160.00
Total	.	1,503.24	Approach roads	.	59.00
			Street lighting	.	586.00
			Social welfare	.	100.00
			Cattle pound	.	1.84
			Miscellaneous	.	90.00
			Closing balance	.	57.72
			Total	.	1,503.24

Out of a total income of Rs. 1,069.52, the income from house tax amounted to Rs. 286.43 accounting for 26.78 per cent of the total income. This represents the funds raised by the people by their own efforts. The Government land revenue grant was Rs. 484 or 45.25 per cent of the total income. The remaining share of the income was realised mainly from cattle pound. On the expenditure side Rs. 268.68 or 18.59 per cent of the total expenditure were spent on establishment and contingencies, Rs. 586 on public lighting, Rs. 399 on repairs of tanks, wells, roads, etc., and a further sum of Rs. 100 under the head social welfare. The activities of the panchayat are thus strictly limited by paucity of funds. However, it is heartening to see that of late the panchayat has made vigorous efforts to raise its income by public contribution and donation and a more efficient recovery of tax. By 1964-65 the panchayat was able to raise an annual income of Rs. 12,623.09 and spent Rs. 13,046.08 during that year, most of the expenditure being incurred on a water works and repairs to public buildings entrusted to the panchayat. This healthy tendency is perceived from the yearly account of the panchayat for 1964-65 printed in Table XVI in Appendix I

While the village panchayat has thus been doing some useful work in Isanpur, not all the houses can tell the period of the existence of the panchayat correctly. In all 158 out of 180 families knew the exact period, while the remaining, most of whom were outsiders or migrants, could not. A large number of households numbering 117 is convinced that there has been definite improvement in the village after the establishment of the panchayat. The remaining 63 households feel that there has been neither improvement nor harm. But no family thinks that it has in any way been harmful.

IV.25 BLOCK DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

The village is covered by Pre-National Extension Service Block established in October, 1960, and converted into Stage I since April, 1962. It had not undertaken any activities in

the village till the time of the survey, but was reported that the village was being considered for the establishment of a primary health centre. While all except 9 of the households were aware of its existence, only 2 households had taken advice of the Block agency for improved agricultural practices, but even they did not implement it.

IV.26 COOPERATION

As stated earlier, the village is covered by a Multi-purpose Cooperative Society of Vatva, having 26 members from Isanpur, who belong to the castes of Patidar (14), Thakarda (7), Vankar (3) and Panchal and Suthar (1 each). One of the Patidar members represents Isanpur on the managing committee of the society. Two Patidar households are also members of a Milk Producers' Society. The advantages of the society as stated by the members are that cheap credit is available and that fertilisers can be had on credit from the society. No specific reasons are given for not becoming members of cooperative societies by the remaining families. The two members of the Milk Producers' Society did not report any benefit received from the society.

The extent of mutual cooperation among the families of agriculturists is not large. Only 7 families carry out some of the agricultural operations by mutual cooperation for want of sufficient agricultural implements or labourers in the family. They are enabled to pursue their avocation of agriculture because of the economy involved in this type of cooperation. Only 6 families were in favour of pooling land for cooperative farming as it would be economic, especially for small land-holders and because of the helpfulness and convenience due to collective farming. The remaining families would have nothing to do with cooperative farming, because they thought it was not likely to succeed owing to the impossibility of so many people having agreed views about agricultural practices. They felt that in a collective or cooperative venture no one would work heartily. Because of such reasons they bore a general dislike for cooperative farming.

H—Urban Influences

IV.27 VISITS TO THE CITY

Urban influences of the city of Ahmedabad on village Isanpur work mainly through personal contacts of the villagers with the city which is only a couple of miles away and linked by a regular bus service. The people have very close contacts with the city on which there is a heavy reliance in the economic field as seen earlier. As many as 70 persons from Isanpur work in the city, while 14 others visit it daily for education and training. Because of such a thick relationship, the frequency of the visits of the villagers to the city is quite high. Members of 76 households proceed to the city regularly for various purposes including work, study, training, etc. Other 96 households frequent the city fairly often. The close bonds that the villagers have with the city are illustrated by practically all the households thus frequenting the city, as against only 8 households that visit it very rarely. Even for the single purpose of entertainment, members of 69 households or more than one-third of the families frequent the city for cinema and other programmes. The frequency of such visits ranges from once a week in five families to twice a year in four families. Most of the remaining families visit the city once or twice a month and in a few cases once in three to four months.

No benefits are received from the municipal corporation of the city. While the bus service run by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation is availed of by most of the visitors, increasing

numbers (33) now rely on the bicycle for their regular journeys to the city. The cart, which was formerly the principal mode of transport, is still largely used for transport of commodities in bulk.

IV.28 MEMBERSHIP OF ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CITY

No one from Isanpur participates in any cooperative society in the city. Six persons have enrolled themselves as members in professional associations in the city, 5 of them in the Municipal Servants' Union and one in the State Transport Workers' Union. No household has taken any loan for professional use from any institutions in the city.

IV.29 SOCIAL AWARENESS

For people living in such close proximity to a large city, Isanpurites do not exhibit sufficient keenness or curiosity about current events. Only 9 families read newspapers and listen to radio broadcasts besides 19 others who only read the newspapers and one family listening exclusively to radio broadcasts. Out of the 28 households reading newspapers, 5 get their papers from the city.

The range of information about some essential and basic matters is also not as wide as may be expected. Only 148 families could report correctly the names of the District Local Board, Panchayat, and thana, taluka and district headquarters. The remaining 32 households were ignorant about them. The principal rivers flowing through the district were known to 156 families, 24 families being unaware of them.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

V.1 GENERAL

A REVIEW of the life of Isanpur highlights the various interesting features of the social and economic factors operative in the village. Because of a large number of castes inhabiting the village, some of them having migrated in the recent past and because of the variegated economic pursuits followed by the villagers, the life of Isanpur has many facets besides the urban impact directly or indirectly exerted by the city of Ahmedabad over this small settlement just outside its periphery.

V.2 SOCIAL LIFE

In the social sphere the three original castes of Patidar, Thakarda and Vankar which settled first in the village still hold their own *vis-a-vis* the immigrants. In fact, some of the immigrant families also belong to these castes. But new settlers of other castes in the village do not participate actively in the social life of the village as the original settlers do. Indeed some of the immigrants have settled there only for expediency, as the village offers accommodation sufficiently near the city where they earn their bread. The immigrant families are again comparatively small in size and do not play any significant role in the traditional social relationships in the village. On the other hand, the original castes still maintain some of the *jajmani* relationships, that are a part of long-standing tradition for them. No doubt the bonds of *jajmani* system are not so stiff to-day as they used to be in the past. But the very fact that they still largely subsist indicate that the caste hierarchy has not still disintegrated.

An interesting feature of the social life of the village is the dominance of Patidars in the village not in numbers but in several other important respects. Their numbers have, in fact, diminished since the time when they once flourished

in Isanpur, and the largest numbers are now claimed by Thakardas. Nevertheless, Patidars enjoy an easy superiority being more advanced and more literate. They have larger assets and in various fields of life they dominate in the leadership of the village. Against the Inamdar and in many other walks of life they speak with one voice and the rest of the classes toe their line. They take a leading interest in the affairs of the village which is shared in a large measure by agriculturists.

Another feature is a fairly orthodox approach to social relationships found among the dominant castes. Both in Patidars and in Thakardas there is a tendency to cling to old customs in respects of marriage and other ceremonies and social occasions. *Jajmani* relationships are still not done away with even though services of all types are easily available in the city near-by. The expenditure on ceremonies is quite sizable indicating the hold of customs on the spending habits of the people. Caste *panches* though not frequently called for resolving disputes are still functioning and levying fines for breaches of caste rules. Coupled with this orthodoxy there is the backwardness of some of the communities especially of the backward classes and Scheduled Castes which is reflected in their lack of literacy, absence of social awareness, etc. This orthodoxy and backwardness on the part of a section of the population impede sufficient development on the social plane.

Because of this orthodoxy and backwardness on the part of large sections of the villagers, urban contacts have not influenced their social customs and manners, and there is a tendency to follow age old traditions rather than to give them up. However, the closeness of the city is not without its effect. The frequency of visits to the city, not only on the part of daily commuters for work or study but also by others for purchases, amusement and recreation,

influence their ideas about wants and comforts. In the result we find furniture and other modern articles being widely used. For entertainment the city is the sole refuge of the villagers except an occasional performance of *bhavai* at the village. A large number of women having submitted themselves to sterilisation as a means of limiting the size of the family is another significant aspect of the urban impact. The reason for the sizable extent of in-migration can also be attributed to the nearness to the city which attracts ever-growing numbers in search of bread. Association with trade unions and other organisations, though not marked at present, has nevertheless potentialities of wider influences in the future.

V.3 ECONOMIC LIFE

The economy of the village is no less diversified than the social life. There is a wide variety of occupations from the traditional pursuits like agriculture, livestock, and services to work in textile industry, motor transport, and Government and municipal services on the other. While the former are village based, the latter are available only in the city, necessitating daily migration to the metropolis, which not only gives a significant share of the village earnings, but also determines the type of occupation, the place of work, etc. It provides the workers with totally different environments from those in the village. Nor is this a new or recent development. Ahmedabad is an old historical city, renowned for its industry including textiles long before the advent of machinery. A village so close to the city as Isanpur, cannot remain immune to its impact, which it has received in full measure in the economic field. Even those who do not work in the city are not isolated from it. They make most of their purchases and sell most of their surplus produce there. Thus there are many who derive their income from transactions in the city though not from regular work there. Perishable articles like milk, vegetables and flowers find a ready market at Ahmedabad. The urban impact is also discernible in the investment pattern of savings which are deposited in banks. The importance

given to houses as a valuable asset is another instance to the point. The spending habits of the people also show a striking resemblance to city-dwellers. The large expenditure on housing, including construction and repairs and sizable outlay on house rent, are distinctly urban characteristics. Similar features are medical services and travelling facilities which are availed of in a fair measure by the villagers like their urban counterparts.

V.4 CONFLICT WITH INAMDAR

An important aspect of the village life is the conflict with the Inamdar. Though not violent, it is always smouldering in the background of the socio-economic life of the village. With the fair solidarity of the people and the physical absence of the Inamdar or his representative in the village, the discord is more marked in the economic field, especially among the agricultural classes. The dispute has no possibility of solution as long as the fact of *inam* remains, which is a matter of Government policy and legislation, while the rights of the various parties under the existing circumstances are for the law to decide. It is interesting that the vocal element among the agriculturists contends the rights of the Inamdar boldly and raises legal issues. The effect of vicinity to a city where expert legal advice is available is no doubt a factor in this conflict, which is relevant to the present enquiry as one of the aspects of the urban impact on the village.

V.5 FELT NEEDS OF THE VILLAGE

In the economic field the need of establishing small industries is keenly felt owing to scarcity of agricultural land. Because of the electric grid system serving the village, small industries can easily be started there. Among other facilities needed at the village are a cattle trough, water works, school building and public latrines. In the cultural field, the long felt need of a recreation centre was on the way to fulfilment since the panchayat had started the construction of a recreation centre under a Social Welfare Board scheme at the time of the present survey.

V.6 THE FUTURE

The physical proximity of the village to the ever-growing metropolis indicates progressively closer links between the two in the future. The process of assimilation of neighbouring villages in Ahmedabad city is fairly well established. The municipal limits have been progressively extended to more and more villages, till the Municipal Corporation has now engulfed a number of revenue villages of the Ahmedabad City taluka lying on its periphery. The latest

extension of its limits has brought the settlement within a mile and a half of the corporation boundary. The process of urbanisation will be considerably accelerated if the landholders acquire at some future date, complete occupancy rights over their lands. In fine, from the way in which Ahmedabad is growing especially in recent times, the complete amalgamation of the village, which is virtually a suburb now, into the great metropolis seems only a question of time.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TABLE I

Rainfall at Ahmedabad

Year	Average rainfall (in Cms.)	Year	Average rainfall (in Cms.)	Year	Average rainfall (in Cms.)	Year	Average rainfall (in Cms.)
1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
1951	14.26	1954	43.93	1957	19.24	1960	46.99
1952	27.70	1955	42.36	1958	81.00	1961	77.09
1953	27.31	1956	23.97	1959	134.65		

TABLE II

Maximum, minimum and mean temperature at Ahmedabad

(in Centigrade)

Year	January			February			March			April			May			June		
	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1956	32.2	8.9	20.55	37.2	8.3	22.75	36.7	19.4	28.05	40.6	23.3	31.95	41.7	26.7	34.2	37.8	27.2	32.5
1957	27.6	11.2	19.4	29.4	10.6	20.0	33.5	17.3	25.4	38.7	22.7	30.7	40.2	25.8	33.0	38.3	26.9	32.6
1958	30.1	14.5	21.9	31.5	14.2	22.6	36.6	20.3	28.4	40.2	25.7	32.7	41.9	27.5	34.2	38.9	28.1	32.9
1959	28.5	12.3	20.4	31.1	14.0	22.5	37.3	19.2	28.3	39.8	24.0	31.9	42.0	27.5	34.7	38.4	27.2	32.8

Year	July			August			September			October			November			December		
	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean
1	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
1956	30.6	24.4	27.5	30.6	24.4	27.5	32.8	23.9	28.35	32.2	20.0	26.1	31.1	15.0	23.05	28.9	12.2	20.55
1957	34.4	26.4	30.4	33.0	25.0	29.0	35.2	23.9	29.5	36.8	21.3	29.1	34.2	18.7	26.5	30.4	14.0	22.2
1958	32.3	26.4	28.9	33.0	25.9	28.6	30.4	24.6	26.9	32.9	22.1	26.9	32.5	16.8	24.1	29.9	14.4	21.4
1959	30.5	25.2	27.9	29.7	25.0	27.3	30.3	24.4	27.3	32.5	22.5	27.5	31.5	16.7	24.1	29.4	13.1	21.3

Source :
1. District Statistical Abstract, Ahmedabad district, 1957-58, 1958-59 and 1959-60
2. Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Gujarat, Ahmedabad

TABLE III

Name of articles 1	Where worn 2	Ornaments 3	Weight (Tola) 4	Approximate price (Rs.) 5
FEMALES				
Ful . . .	In the braid . . .	Gold . . .	up to 1	25-50
		Silver . . .	up to 2	5-25
Kokarva . . .	Ears . . .	Gold . . .	1	100-125
Kap . . .	Ears . . .	Gold . . .	1-1	25-50
Vedla . . .	Ears . . .	Gold . . .	1-1	30-125
		Silver . . .	1-1	2-5
Loliya . . .	Ears . . .	Gold . . .	1-1	30-75
		Silver . . .	1-1	2-4
Vali . . .	Ears . . .	Gold . . .	1	25
Chuni . . .	Nose . . .	Gold . . .	1	25
Ravo . . .	Nose . . .	Gold . . .	up to 1	5-50
Kanto . . .	Nose . . .	Gold . . .	up to 1	30
		Silver . . .	up to 1	3
Har . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	4	400-600
Kanthi . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-250
Bormala . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-250
Hansdi . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-250
Doro . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-600
		Silver . . .	3-6	25-40
Necklace . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-600
Locket . . .	Upper arm . . .	Gold . . .	2-7	250-1,000
		Silver . . .	10-70	10-70
Kadu . . .	Upper arm . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-500
		Silver . . .	4-8	15-25
Bangdi . . .	Wrists . . .	Gold . . .	4	400-600
		Silver . . .	4	20-30
Chudi . . .	Wrists . . .	Gold . . .	1	100-125
Patla . . .	Wrists . . .	Gold . . .	4-6	200-750
Ponchi . . .	Wrists . . .	Gold . . .	4	200-500
Ghodo . . .	Finger . . .	Gold . . .	up to 1	50-100
Kalla . . .	Ankles . . .	Silver . . .	8-12	25-50
Chhada . . .	Ankles . . .	Silver . . .	8-12	25-40
Langer . . .	Ankles . . .	Silver . . .	8-12	15-25
Jhanjhar . . .	Ankles . . .	Silver . . .	8-12	12-25
Sankala . . .	Ankles . . .	Silver . . .	8-12	15-25
Bedi . . .	Ankles . . .	Silver . . .	8-10	25-40
MALES				
Kandoro . . .	Waist . . .	Silver . . .	8-12	25-40
Ser . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-600
Earring . . .	Ears . . .	Gold . . .	1	15-25
		Silver . . .	1-1	10
Buttons . . .	In the shirt . . .	Gold . . .	up to 1	25-100
		Silver . . .	up to 1	5-10
COMMON				
Marchi . . .	Ears . . .	Gold . . .	1-1	30-75
		Silver . . .	1-1	2-4
Achhodo . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	2-4	200-600
Madaliyu . . .	Neck . . .	Gold . . .	1	25
		Silver . . .	1	3-8
Vinti Ring ¹⁾ . . .	Finger . . .	Gold . . .	1	25-50
		Silver . . .	1-1	5-10

TABLE IV

Workers classified by sex, broad age groups and occupations

Workers															
Population				Total workers			Occupation I As cultivator			Occupation II As agricultural labourer			Occupation III In mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations, orchards and allied activity		
Age group	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
0-14	354	203	151	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
15-34	302	137	165	187	118	69	18	18	..	84	33	51	..	..	..
35-59	187	108	79	140	107	33	36	36	..	44	19	25	..	..	..
60 and over	54	23	31	9	9	..	4	4	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
Total	897	471	426	337	235	102	58	58	..	132	56	76	..	..	..

Age group	Occupation IV At house- hold industry			Occupation V In manu- facturing other than household industry			Occupation VI In construction			Occupation VII In trade and commerce			Occupation VIII In transport, storage and communications			Occupation IX In other services		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
0-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-34	31	21	10	17	17	..	..	..	..	6	2	4	6	6	..	25	21	4
35-59	16	16	..	17	17	..	2	2	..	9	3	6	2	2	..	14	12	2
60 and over	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	47	37	10	34	34	..	2	2	..	17	7	10	8	8	..	39	33	6

TABLE V

Commodity prices

		(in Rs. per B.md.)			
		Producer's price		Retail price	
Commodity 1		1951 2	1960 3	1951 4	1960 5
(a) AGRICULTURE					
1 Wheat . . .		22	17	28	20
2 Paddy . . .		16	16.50	20	20
3 Bajri . . .		12	15	14	16
4 Channa . . .		14	18	16	20
(b) ANIMAL HUSBANDRY PRODUCTS					
1 Milk . . .		14	20	16	25
2 Ghee . . .		140	200	180	240

TABLE VI

Gross and net income from various economic activities

Occupation 1	No. of house- holds 2	Per- sons 3	Gross income (in Rs.)			Net income (in Rs.)		
			Total 4	Per house- hold 5	Per capita 6	Total 7	Per house- hold 8	Per capita 9
<i>One Occupation</i>	48	148	60,603	1,262.56	409.48	51,850	1,079.79	350.20
Agriculture	9	18	10,570	1,174.44	587.22	7,297	810.78	405.39
Agriculture labour	2	5	860	430.00	172.00	860	430.00	172.00
Livestock	6	23	8,857	1,476.17	385.09	3,357	559.50	145.96
Household industry (Pottery, tailoring and pre- paring hair-oil)	3	6	3,100	1,033.33	516.67	3,100	1,033.33	516.67
Manufacturing (Service in textile mill and goldsmithy)	10	36	13,632	1,363.20	378.67	13,632	1,363.20	378.67
Trade and commerce (Grocer, estate agent and others)	5	15	5,380	1,076.00	358.67	5,380	1,076.00	358.67
Transport (Driver)	2	7	3,900	1,950.00	557.14	3,900	1,950.00	557.14
Other services	11	38	14,304	1,300.36	376.42	14,304	1,300.36	376.42
<i>Two Occupations</i>	90	412	190,407	2,115.63	462.15	132,436	1,471.51	321.45
Agriculture and livestock	39	210	129,370	3,317.18	616.05	73,169	1,876.13	348.42
Agriculture and agriculture labour	1	3	525	525.00	175.00	415	415.00	138.33
Agriculture labour and livestock	1	2	389	389.00	194.50	389	389.00	194.50
Agriculture and other services	5	15	3,840	768.00	256.00	3,740	748.00	249.33
Agriculture labour and other services	26	95	20,254	779.00	213.20	20,254	779.00	213.20
Agriculture and manufacturing	1	4	1,916	1,916.00	479.00	1,916	1,916.00	479.00
Agriculture labour and manufacturing	5	30	9,254	1,850.80	308.47	9,254	1,850.80	308.47
Livestock and manufacturing	5	23	9,351	1,870.20	406.57	7,791	1,558.20	338.74
Agriculture labour and construction	2	9	1,250	625.00	138.89	1,250	625.00	138.89
Manufacturing and household industry	1	4	2,100	2,100.00	525.00	2,100	2,100.00	525.00
Manufacturing and other services	1	3	1,600	1,600.00	533.33	1,600	1,600.00	533.33
Household industry and communication	1	2	3,540	3,540.00	1,770.00	3,540	3,540.00	1,770.00
Other services	2	12	7,018	3,509.00	584.83	7,018	3,509.00	584.83
<i>Three Occupations</i>	37	151	85,910	2,321.89	568.94	58,776	1,588.54	389.25
Agriculture, agriculture labour and livestock	8	28	10,225	1,278.13	365.18	6,055	756.88	216.25
Agriculture, livestock and household industry	1	2	4,290	4,290.00	2,145.00	1,423	1,423.00	711.50
Agriculture, livestock and manufacturing	4	20	12,959	3,239.75	647.95	9,221	2,305.25	461.05
Agriculture, livestock and transport	1	4	3,045	3,045.00	761.25	2,187	2,187.00	546.75
Agriculture, agriculture labour and other services	2	6	3,476	1,738.00	579.33	3,291	1,645.50	548.50
Agriculture, livestock and other services	9	42	38,324	4,258.22	912.48	24,259	2,695.44	577.60
Agriculture labour, livestock and manufacturing	2	10	3,462	1,731.00	346.20	2,934	1,467.00	293.40
Agriculture labour, livestock and other services	6	17	4,809	801.50	282.88	4,086	681.00	240.35
Agriculture labour, manufacturing and other services	1	13	3,080	3,080.00	236.92	3,080	3,080.00	236.92
Agriculture labour and other services	3	9	2,240	746.67	248.89	2,240	746.67	248.89
<i>Four Occupations</i>	5	29	8,755	1,751.00	391.90	6,648	1,329.60	229.24
Agriculture, agriculture labour, livestock and manufacturing	1	8	2,835	2,835.00	354.38	2,117	2,117.00	264.63
Agriculture, agriculture labour, livestock and transport	1	4	1,920	1,920.00	480.00	1,531	1,531.00	382.75
Agriculture, agriculture labour, livestock and other services	1	5	904	904.00	180.80	296	296.00	59.20
Agriculture and other services	1	4	1,360	1,360.00	340.00	1,244	1,244.00	311.00
Livestock, communication and other services	1	8	1,736	1,736.00	217.00	1,460	1,460.00	182.50
Total	180	740	345,675	1,920.42	467.13	249,690	1,387.17	337.42

TABLE VII

Expenditure pattern of households

Occupation	No. of households	Total No. of members in the households	Expenditure on food		Expenditure on clothing and footwear		Expenditure on fuel and lighting		Expenditure on housing		Expenditure on ceremonies and functions		Expenditure on services	
			Expenditure (in Rs.)	Expenditure per household	Expenditure (in Rs.)	Expenditure per household	Expenditure (in Rs.)	Expenditure per household	Expenditure (in Rs.)	Expenditure per household	Expenditure (in Rs.)	Expenditure per household	Expenditure (in Rs.)	Expenditure per household
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Primary	95	308	89,670	944	23,085	243	3,380	35	9,163	96	17,301	182	4,294	45
Secondary	29	142	27,232	939	6,911	238	1,670	57	2,047	70	3,596	124	1,176	40
Tertiary	56	210	38,175	682	8,298	148	2,635	47	3,013	54	8,566	153	1,402	25
Total	180	740	155,077	861	38,294	213	7,685	42	14,223	79	29,463	163	6,872	38

Occupation	Miscellaneous annual expenditure		Total annual expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of expenditure on food to total expenditure	Percentage of expenditure on miscellaneous items (col. 16) to total expenditure	Total annual income (in Rs.)	No. of households		If surplus how it is disposed off (Describe)	If deficit, ways to meet deficit			
	Expenditure (in Rs.)	Expenditure per household					With surplus budget	With deficit budget		New debts	Remittance	Sale or assets	Other ways
1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Primary	30,347	319	177,240	50.52	17.14	132,737	23	71	To pay old debts, small savings, social functions	29,415	13,287	..	21,928
Secondary	8,382	289	51,014	53.38	16.43	47,606	9	20	In savings, old debts, cash, in social functions, in ornaments	3,308	1,865	..	955
Tertiary	10,928	195	73,017	52.28	14.96	69,347	22	34	In cash, in social work, in old debt	8,698	2,155	..	1,979
Total	49,657	275	301,271	51.47	16.48	249,690	54	125	..	41,421	17,307	..	24,862

NOTE :

One household in the primary sector has a balanced budget.

TABLE VIII

Expenditure pattern according to different items of expenditure

Items	Amount (in Rs.)	Percentage to total	Percentage to sub-total
1	2	3	4
1 EXPENDITURE ON FOOD			
(a) Cereals	74,600	24.76	48.11
(b) Pulses	13,291	4.41	8.57
(c) Spices and salt	4,863	1.61	3.14
(d) Vegetables	10,231	3.40	6.60
(e) Milk and milk products	27,268	9.05	17.58
(f) Sugar, gur, etc.	24,308	8.07	15.67
(g) Meat, fish, etc.	516	0.17	0.33
<i>Total expenditure on food</i>	155,077	51.47	100.00
2 EXPENDITURE ON CLOTHING AND FOOTWEAR			
<i>Total Expenditure on Clothing and Footwear</i>	38,294	12.71	100.00
3 EXPENDITURE ON FUEL AND LIGHTING			
(a) Fuel	2,551	0.85	33.19
(b) Kerosene	3,707	1.23	48.24
(c) Electricity	1,427	0.47	18.57
<i>Total expenditure on fuel and lighting</i>	7,685	2.55	100.00
4 EXPENDITURE ON HOUSING			
(a) House rent	4,543	1.51	31.94
(b) House repairing	9,680	3.21	68.06
<i>Total expenditure on housing</i>	14,223	4.72	100.00
5 EXPENDITURE ON CEREMONIES AND FUNCTIONS			
<i>Total Expenditure on Ceremonies and Functions</i>	29,463	9.78	100.00
6 EXPENDITURE ON SERVICES			
(a) Washerman	959	0.32	13.96
(b) Barber	2,651	0.88	38.58
(c) Brahmin	1,205	0.40	17.53
(d) Others	2,057	0.68	29.93
<i>Total expenditure on services</i>	6,872	2.28	100.00
7 MISCELLANEOUS ANNUAL EXPENDITURE			
(a) Travelling	13,400	4.45	26.99
(b) Tobacco, pan, drinks, etc.	14,122	4.69	28.44
(c) Medicines	7,631	2.53	15.37
(d) Education	2,892	0.96	5.82
(e) Litigation	865	0.29	1.74
(f) Others	10,747	3.57	21.64
<i>Total miscellaneous expenditure</i>	49,657	16.49	100.00
Total	301,271	100.00	..

TABLE IX

Annual expenditure according to occupation and income range

		Income range											
		Less than Rs. 250			Rs. 251 to Rs. 360			Rs. 361 to Rs. 480			Rs. 481 to Rs. 720		
		No. of house- holds	Total annual expen- diture	Average expen- diture per house- hold	No. of house- holds	Total annual expen- diture	Average expen- diture per house- hold	No. of house- holds	Total annual expen- diture	Average expen- diture per house- hold	No. of house- holds	Total annual expen- diture	Average expen- diture per house- hold
Occupation	Items of expenditure	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Primary	Food	3	891	297	7	2,208	315	12	7,931	661	19	12,560	661
	Clothing and footwear	3	150	50	6	348	58	12	1,530	127	19	3,057	160
	Fuel and lighting	3	31	10	3	48	16	11	264	24	13	301	23
	Housing	..	..	..	4	86	21	7	61	9	15	2,954	143
	Ceremonies and functions	3	75	25	4	126	31	10	570	57	17	2,540	363
	Services	..	..	..	3	54	18	10	314	31	16	412	26
	Miscellaneous	2	212	106	7	248	34	12	1,654	138	19	3,189	167
	Total	3	1,359	454	7	3,118	445	12	12,324	1,027	19	25,013	1,316
Secondary	Food	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	609	609
	Clothing and footwear	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	115	115
	Fuel and lighting	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8	8
	Housing	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	84	84
	Ceremonies and functions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	50	50
	Services	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	12	12
	Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	80	80
	Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	958	958
Tertiary	Food	1	258	258	2	573	286	2	470	235	12	5,916	493
	Clothing and footwear	1	20	20	1	90	90	2	135	67	12	1,185	98
	Fuel and lighting	..	..	..	1	18	18	2	116	58	7	141	20
	Housing	..	..	..	2	87	43	2	108	54	10	533	53
	Ceremonies and functions	1	25	25	2	1,775	887	1	75	75	6	1,726	287
	Services	..	..	..	1	15	15	1	4	4	9	121	13
	Miscellaneous	1	30	30	2	70	35	2	60	30	12	1,005	83
	Total	1	333	333	2	2,628	1,314	2	968	484	12	10,627	885

TABLE IX-*contd.*Annual expenditure according to occupation and income range-*contd.*

		Income range											
		Rs. 721 to Rs. 960			Rs. 961 to Rs. 1,200			Rs. 1,201 to Rs. 1,500			Rs. 1,501 to Rs. 2,500		
Occupation	Items of expenditure	No. of households	Total annual expenditure	Average expenditure per household	No. of households	Total annual expenditure	Average expenditure per household	No. of households	Total annual expenditure	Average expenditure per household	No. of households	Total annual expenditure	Average expenditure per household
1	2	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Primary	Food	13	11,089	853	9	8,270	919	7	7,685	1,097	12	14,005	1,167
	Clothing and footwear	13	2,725	209	9	2,045	227	7	1,685	240	12	3,390	282
	Fuel and lighting	12	496	41	6	158	26	6	138	23	12	472	39
	Housing	5	55	11	4	63	16	4	92	23	6	85	14
	Ceremonies and functions	12	2,405	200	8	3,130	391	6	420	70	11	3,680	334
	Services	12	555	46	7	395	56	7	302	43	12	753	62
	Miscellaneous	13	2,501	192	9	2,085	231	7	1,827	261	12	4,373	364
	Total	13	19,826	1,525	9	16,146	1,794	7	12,149	1,736	12	26,758	2,229
Secondary	Food	4	2,103	525	3	2,088	696	5	4,354	870	14	14,647	1,046
	Clothing and footwear	4	450	112	3	560	186	5	1,105	221	14	3,856	275
	Fuel and lighting	4	178	44	1	16	16	4	170	42	11	1,214	110
	Housing	4	504	126	2	90	45	3	147	49	13	1,222	94
	Ceremonies and functions	3	200	66	3	500	166	5	280	56	12	2,441	203
	Services	4	50	12	3	51	17	5	90	18	14	888	63
	Miscellaneous	4	445	111	3	648	216	5	1,193	238	14	5,202	371
	Total	4	3,930	982	3	3,953	1,317	5	7,339	1,468	14	29,470	2,105
Tertiary	Food	7	4,164	595	10	7,038	703	7	5,278	754	11	10,038	912
	Clothing and footwear	7	828	118	10	1,510	151	7	1,120	160	11	1,885	171
	Fuel and lighting	5	150	30	10	553	55	6	412	69	11	726	66
	Housing	7	344	49	7	463	66	4	234	58	9	665	74
	Ceremonies and functions	7	2,180	311	9	470	52	6	475	79	9	1,615	179
	Services	7	122	17	9	330	36	7	234	33	10	380	38
	Miscellaneous	7	1,195	170	10	1,548	154	7	1,204	172	11	4,095	372
	Total	7	8,983	1,283	10	11,912	1,191	7	8,957	1,279	11	19,404	1,761

TABLE IX-*contd.*Annual expenditure according to occupation and income range-*contd.*

Occupation 1	Items of expenditure 2	Income range								
		Rs. 2,501 to Rs. 3,500			Rs. 3,501 to Rs. 5,000			Above Rs. 5,000		
		No. of house- holds	Total annual expen- diture	Average expenditure per household	No. of house- holds	Total annual expen- diture	Average expenditure per household	No. of house- holds	Total annual expen- diture	Average expenditure per household
		27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
Primary	Food	4	6,219	1,554	3	6,160	2,053	6	12,652	2,108
	Clothing and footwear	4	2,340	585	3	1,350	450	6	4,465	744
	Fuel and lighting	4	221	55	3	251	84	6	1,000	166
	Housing	1	12	12	3	2,130	710	2	3,625	1,813
	Ceremonies and functions	3	720	240	3	1,525	508	6	2,110	352
	Services	4	260	65	3	391	130	6	858	143
	Miscellaneous	4	2,195	549	3	4,997	1,666	6	7,066	1,177
	Total	4	11,967	2,992	3	16,804	5,601	6	31,776	5,463
Secondary	Food	2	3,431	1,715	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Clothing and footwear	2	825	412	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Fuel and lighting	2	84	42	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Housing	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Ceremonies and functions	1	125	125	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Services	2	85	42	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Miscellaneous	2	814	407	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total	2	5,364	2,807	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tertiary	Food	2	2,067	1,033	2	2,373	1,186	..	..	..
	Clothing and footwear	2	460	230	2	1,065	532	..	..	..
	Fuel and lighting	2	229	114	2	290	145	..	..	..
	Housing	2	279	139	2	300	150	..	..	..
	Ceremonies and functions	2	190	95	2	35	17	..	..	..
	Services	2	136	68	2	60	30	..	..	..
	Miscellaneous	2	1,016	508	2	705	352	..	..	..
	Total	2	4,377	2,188	2	4,828	2,414	..	..	..

TABLE X

Income, expenditure, indebtedness and assets by occupation

Occupation	Income			Expenditure			Indebtedness			Assets		
	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Income (in Rs.)	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Expen- diture (in Rs.)	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Debt (in Rs.)	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Assets (in Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Primary	95 (52.77)	388 (52.43)	132,737 (53.16)	95 (52.77)	388 (52.43)	177,240 (58.83)	77 (56.62)	326 (57.50)	104,425 (81.60)	87 (58.78)	362 (58.29)	415,344 (81.35)
Secondary	29 (16.11)	142 (19.19)	47,606 (19.07)	29 (16.11)	142 (19.19)	51,014 (16.93)	21 (15.44)	105 (18.52)	7,272 (5.68)	20 (13.51)	105 (16.91)	22,240 (4.36)
Tertiary	56 (31.12)	210 (28.38)	69,347 (27.77)	56 (31.12)	210 (28.38)	73,017 (24.24)	38 (27.94)	136 (23.98)	16,271 (12.72)	41 (27.71)	154 (24.80)	72,947 (14.29)
Total	180 (100.00)	740 (100.00)	249,690 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	740 (100.00)	301,271 (100.00)	136 (100.00)	567 (100.00)	127,968 (100.00)	148 (100.00)	621 (100.00)	510,531 (100.00)

NOTE:

Figures in brackets indicate percentages to the total.

TABLE XI

Average income, expenditure, indebtedness and assets by occupation

Occupation	Income		Expenditure		Indebtedness		Assets	
	Per household	Per capita	Per household	Per capita	Per household	Per capita	Per household	Per capita
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Primary	1,397	342	1,866	457	1,099	269	4,372	1,070
Secondary	1,642	322	1,759	359	251	51	767	157
Tertiary	1,238	330	1,304	348	290	77	1,303	347
Total	1,387	337	1,674	407	711	173	2,836	690

(in Rs.)

TABLE XII

Income, expenditure, indebtedness and assets by caste

Caste	Income			Expenditure			Indebtedness			Assets		
	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Income (in Rs.)	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Expen- diture (in Rs.)	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Debt (in Rs.)	No. of house- holds	No. of members	Assets (in Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Thakarda	60	264	60,431	60	264	87,966	52	237	38,660	51	230	89,923
2 Leva Patidar	36	149	82,519	36	149	99,060	26	110	50,629	34	146	292,133
3 Bharwad	8	40	9,164	8	40	11,953	7	35	2,638	8	40	23,525
4 Ravalia	6	20	6,140	6	20	5,733	2	7	185	6	20	6,172
5 Brahmin	5	21	13,138	5	21	11,236	3	9	1,500	5	21	16,213
6 Bajania	3	15	1,950	3	15	1,789	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Valand	3	14	3,766	3	14	4,358	3	14	907	2	9	4,800
8 Targala	3	14	2,500	3	14	2,899	3	14	1,299	3	14	1,050
9 Barot	3	13	4,412	3	13	5,710	2	8	2,850	..	..	..
10 Hindu Bania	3	11	3,580	3	11	3,840	2	5	200	1	3	1,065
11 Soni	3	9	4,440	3	9	3,697	1	2	160	1	3	800
12 Gosai Bawa	2	18	5,180	2	18	5,614	2	18	345	2	18	4,500
13 Luhar	1	4	2,160	1	4	2,222	1	4	600	..	..	..
14 Madrasi	1	3	1,500	1	3	1,558	1	3	60	..	..	..
15 Garasia	1	3	1,378	1	3	1,213	..	..	..	1	3	400
16 Darjee	1	3	1,200	1	3	1,256	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gola-Rana	1	2	1,080	1	2	1,098	1	2	18	..	..	..
18 Suthar	1	2	1,423	1	2	1,500	1	2	5,377	1	2	4,500
19 Kumbhar	1	2	700	1	2	782	1	2	100	1	2	250
20 Jain	1	3	960	1	3	1,064	1	3	104	..	..	..
21 Muslim	4	14	2,847	4	14	2,955	3	11	354	2	6	825
22 Vankar	22	70	24,857	22	70	28,612	18	58	18,293	22	70	56,280
23 Bhangi	7	32	10,090	7	32	9,658	3	13	814	5	24	11,670
24 Chamar	2	7	1,175	2	7	2,790	2	7	1,875	2	7	900
25 Garoda	2	7	3,100	2	7	2,708	1	3	1,000	1	3	25
Total	180	740	249,690	180	740	301,271	136	567	127,968	148	621	515,031

TABLE XIII

Average income, expenditure, indebtedness and assets by caste

Caste	Income		Expenditure		Indebtedness		Assets	
	Per household	Per capita	Per household	Per capita	Per household	Per capita	Per household	Per capita
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Thakarda . . .	1,007.18	228.91	1,466.10	333.20	743.46	163.12	1,763.20	390.97
2 Leva Patidar . . .	2,292.19	553.82	2,751.67	664.83	1,947.27	460.26	8,592.15	2,000.91
3 Bharwad . . .	1,145.50	229.10	1,194.13	298.83	376.86	75.37	2,940.63	588.13
4 Ravalia . . .	1,023.33	307.00	955.50	286.65	92.50	26.43	1,028.67	308.60
5 Brahmin . . .	2,627.60	625.62	2,247.20	535.05	500.00	166.67	3,242.63	772.06
6 Bajania . . .	650.00	130.00	596.33	119.27	..	..	..	..
7 Valand . . .	1,255.33	269.00	1,452.67	311.29	302.33	64.79	2,100.00	533.33
8 Targala . . .	833.33	178.57	966.33	207.07	433.00	92.79	350.00	75.00
9 Barot . . .	1,470.67	339.38	1,903.33	439.23	1,425.00	356.25	..	..
10 Hindu Bania . . .	1,193.33	325.45	1,280.00	349.09	100.00	40.00	1,065.00	355.00
11 Soni . . .	1,480.00	493.33	1,232.33	410.78	160.00	80.00	800.00	266.67
12 Gosai Bawa . . .	2,590.00	287.78	2,807.00	311.89	172.50	19.17	2,250.00	250.00
13 Luhar . . .	2,160.00	540.00	2,222.00	555.50	600.00	150.00	..	..
14 Madrasi . . .	1,500.00	500.00	1,558.00	519.33	60.00	20.00	..	..
15 Garasia . . .	1,378.00	459.33	1,213.00	404.33	..	..	400.00	133.33
16 Darjee . . .	1,200.00	400.00	1,256.00	418.67	..	..	..	..
17 Gola-Rana . . .	1,080.00	540.00	1,098.00	549.00	18.00	9.00	..	..
18 Suthar . . .	1,423.00	711.50	1,500.00	750.00	5,377.00	2,688.50	4,500.00	2,250.00
19 Kumbhar . . .	700.00	350.00	782.00	391.00	100.00	50.00	250.00	125.00
20 Jain . . .	960.00	320.00	1,064.00	354.67	104.00	34.67	..	..
21 Muslim . . .	711.75	203.36	738.75	211.07	118.00	32.18	412.50	137.50
22 Vankar . . .	1,129.86	355.10	1,300.55	408.74	1,016.28	315.40	2,558.18	804.00
23 Bhangi . . .	1,441.43	315.31	1,379.71	301.81	271.33	62.62	2,334.00	486.25
24 Chamar . . .	587.50	167.86	1,395.00	398.57	937.50	267.86	450.00	128.57
25 Garoda . . .	1,550.00	442.86	1,354.00	386.86	1,000.00	333.33	25.00	8.33
Total . . .	1,387.17	337.42	1,673.73	407.12	940.94	225.69	3,479.94	829.36

TABLE XIV

Type of purchasing from village and city

No. of house-holds purchasing from the village	No. of house-holds purchasing from the city	No. of house-holds purchasing from both city and village	Type of commodity purchased																Furniture	
			Cereals		Pulses		Oils		Ghee		Cloth		Utensils		Cosmetics		Shoes		City	Vill- age
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	94	1
2	40	97	26	94	73	53	85	44	46	68	131	3	96	1	92	1	129	5		

TABLE XV

Views on untouchability

Total No. of households	No. of households who visit temples that are visited by		Only by persons of their caste and religion	No. of households who know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited by law	No. of households where untouchables are allowed to visit the house		
	All including untouchables	All excluding untouchables			No. of such households	Frequency of visit	Reasons for visiting the house
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
180	25	86	35	128	29	About twice a month	As agricultural labourer; for purchases; to give cloth for stitching; for panchayat work, for begging; for guidance; as a friend

TABLE XVI

Income and expenditure of the panchayat, 1964-65

Income		Expenditure	
Item	Amount in Rs.	Item	Amount in Rs.
Opening balance	1,674.76	Salary of establishment	172.50
House tax	2,627.87	Office contingencies	91.51
Shop tax	10.00	Street lighting	617.83
Cattle pound	513.50	Development works	390.00
Donations and public contributions	6,497.00	Water works	9,500.62
Land revenue grant	146.00	Repairs to public buildings handed over to panchayat	2,000.00
Contribution for development works	645.67	Cattle pound	120.00
Others	2,183.05	Others	153.62
Total	14,297.85	Total expenditure	13,046.08
		Balance	1,251.77
		Total	14,297.85

TABLE XVII

General particulars about the cooperative societies that serve the village

Type of society	Name	Area of operation	Date of registration	General meeting held during the year		Members		Qualification of membership
				Date	No. of members attending	Total	No. from the village	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Multi-purpose Cooperative Society	The Vatva Multi-purpose Service Cooperative Society Ltd.	Five miles radius from the head-quarters (Vatva)	9-2-1940	10-9-61	Not available	507	26	1 Residence in area of operation 2 Should not be insane or drunkard
		1 Vatva						
		2 Isanpur						
		3 Ghodasar						
		4 Trikampura						

Nature of Operation	Aid from Government	Extent of business according to last audit report 1960-61	Loss or profit according to last audit report 1960-61	Dividend if any given	General note on its role including whether all sections of the population are attracted, what are its problems, etc.	Composition of board of management 1960-61				Meeting of the board of management held during last year
						Officials	Non-officials	Sche- duled	Sche- duled	
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1 Credit loans	1 Rs. 10,000 Share capital	Rs. 1,005,102.73	Rs. 6,591.83 profit	6%	All sections of agriculturists participate. Other take advantage of fair price shop.	2	..	..	9	April 6 May 9 June 7 July 4 August 3 September 3 October 2 November 5 December 9 January 6 February 11 March 11
2 Supply of fertilisers										
3 Seeds marketing of produce	2 Rs. 15,000 loan and Rs. 5,000 subsidy for godown				Efficient management and expanding activities.					
4 Fair price shop										

TABLE XVIII

Frequency of visits to the city and means of transport used

Total No. of households	No. of members of the family going to the city regularly for education and training	No. of households getting newspapers, periodicals from the city (Give Nos.)	No. of households visiting the city				Means of transport used for visiting the city				
			Regularly	Occasionally	Rarely	Not visiting at all	Owned means of communications		A.M. T.S. Bus	Railway	Others (Specify)
							No. of households	Means of communication			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
180	14	5	76	96	6	2	33	Cycles	3	..	..
							1	Cart			

TABLE XIX

General information about village in the vicinity of the towns

Total No. of households	No. of the village	Distance of the village from the city	Conveyances available to go to the city (Describe)	No. of houses in the village which are let out to outsiders working in the city	Nature of benefits received from the Municipality or the city of any charitable institution in the village (Describe)	No. of professional persons from the city having business premises in the village				No. of family members visiting cinema or cultural programme in the city	Frequency of such visits in the city
						Doctors	Pleaders	men	Agents		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
180	210	3 miles	A.M.T.S. (Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service)	27	Nil	1	..	..	..	69	5—Once a week 60—Once or twice a month to once in three to four months 4—Twice a year

TABLE XX

General awareness

Total No. of households	Number of households				Members who have joined cooperative society
	Reading daily newspaper	Listening to broadcasts	Reading newspapers and listening to broadcasts		
1	2	3	4		5
180	19	1	9		26

APPENDIX II

(A) Sanad from Aurangzeb to Shah Alam

(Translation of a mandate in Persian written on a hand-made paper)

(a) Kutbe Alam (i.e. Chief of the world).
Shah Alam
may his tomb
be sanctified.
He (i.e. God) is the Creator.
Jafarkhan
a slave (i.e.
servant of
Shah Alamgir).

The officer in charge of the present and future affairs the Jahagirrdare and Karorias of the City of Ahmedabad, Pargannah Haveli, etc., under the said Suba should know the following :-
In accordance with the exalted mandate, of the king who in an asylum of pardon.....
Syed Mohmmmed son of (b).....Mir
Syed Jafar was appointed Sajjada Nashin and was made Muttavalli of the holy Mausoleum of the saint who is a leader of the wise.....
(b).....and of the six entire villages and eighty Bighas and seventeen Biswas of land (as measured) by Elahi Gaj appertaining to the said pargannah of Haveli which were granted to and settled upon him solely and without any outsider's interest (therein) by way of (d) Madad-Mash for himself and his children and grand children and for the maintenance of the Syed, instructors, people connected with the Mosque, Seekers after knowledge and for (the provisions of) matting and lights and for help to the travellers and for (such) other charitable purposes. Now the said Sayed was again favoured with an interview of the king (b)... when he most humbly submitted that by virtue of a previous

mandate his son was appointed Mutavalli (c) and Sajjada Nashin of the said Mausoleum and that he hoped that another mandate would be issued and the Madad-mash (d) that stood in his (own) name would be granted (i.e. transferred to the name of) his said son. Now in accordance with the Royal mandate.... (b).... issued on the 14th of the Ramzan in the 11th year of the reign....Syed Jalal....(b).... was made Shajjada Nashin and Mutavalli and the entire villages and the said lands appertaining to the said Pargannah of Haveli etc. were settled upon him, his dependents and children solely and without any outsider's interest (therein). Therefore in accordance with the Royal mandate.. (b)... be it known as follows:— The said Syed Jalal should be looked upon and recognised as permanent Sajjada (c) Nashin and Mutavalli of the holy Mausoleum...(b)...and assistance should be rendered to him in regard to Nazar (i.e. off-rings) (x) Langer and in all other affairs appertaining to the office of Sajjada Nashin and Mutavalliship and he should be considered to be the absolute Sajjada Nashin and Mutavalli and none should be recognised as the co-Mutavalli of the said Syed (Jalal). It is incumbent upon the people to respect him and to act according to the holy mandate....(e).... (the officers should not meddle with and interferes in the affairs of the subjects and inhabitants of the villages and they should render service to him. Further 20 Bighas of land (known as) Kasam Khan's Chah (i.e. Well) which is granted to.... (b)....the said Jalal should be taken as standing in the name of syed Jalal still. If there be anything (i.e. documents) at another place

- (a) portion illegible in the original.
- (b) Here follows a long series of appellations indicative of high respects in a figurative language.
- (c) The sitter on praying carpet, usually applied to the spiritual superior of a mosque or religious endowment as distinct from the Mutavalli or secular superior & manager although the two officers are not unfrequently united in the same person; also any religious asetic of the Mahomedan faith.
- (d) A land granted in perpetuity under the Royal seal. Grant of means of subsistence in general; also assignment of revenue for the support of learned or religious Mahomedans or of benevolent institutions by the Government.
- (x) Vitrals distributed amongst Fakirs; Alms, an alms-house, a public kitchen (kept by the Government or a great man) for the poor and indigent people.
- (e) Portion illegible in the original.

the same should not be relied upon. These are to be considered as urgent instructions in this behalf written on the 27th of Shawwal in the 11th year of our reign.

(The text of what follows is written on the back of the original).

Particulars of grant to the Sajjada (c) Nashin and Mutavalli Syed Jalal son of(b).... Syed Mohomed in accordance with the exalted.. Mandate.....

6 Whole villages
80 Bighas and 17 Biswas.

For the expense of the holy Mausoleum and for the maintenance of the Syed, instructors, peoples connected with the mosque and for travellers and for (the provision of) lights and for (such) other charitable purposes and by way of Madad Mash for the children and grand children of Kutbul Akt-abh..(f) and for the children and grand-children of the deceased Syed Mahomed..(b)..who was appointed Mutavalli and now....(b)....(for) Syed Jalal son of Syed Mahomed who has been appointed (Mutavalli)

4 Entire villages.
For the expense of the said Mausoleum within Haveli, Ahmedabad.
3 entire villages
10 Bighas and 17 Biswas.

In the name of the remaining sons, children and grand children of the deceased Syed in the village of Bana (?)..under the jurisdiction of the pargannah of Mundah (?)

H. I. M's High court, Bombay.
Translator's office,
30-6-1924.
T. No. 890
F. S. 11.

(f) Some space is left blank here as name of a saint is usually written at the top of the document.

Land		As regards nine hundred (?) Bighas of land out of the area of that village different orders have been issued in the name of the sons of Syed Hasan and others.
Village		
3.		
(e)	(e)	
Basua	Aishpur	
(e)	(e)	
Sarsa	10 Bighas	
(b)	17 Biswas	

900 Bighas
Syed.
Sons of Syed Hasan.
300 Bighas
Sons of Syed Ahmed.
300 Bighas
Sons of Syed Naqi (?)
300 Bighas

(d)
Madad-mash that was previously in the name of Syed Mahomed is at present granted in the name of Syed Jalal son of the above named together with the sons and dependants.

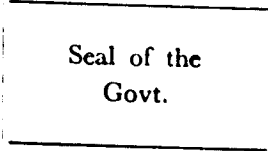
Two villages
70 Bighas of land.

Land
for garden
from the Pargannah of Haveli Ahmedabad.
Villages
Two villages.
Basna (?) the greater
under the jurisdiction of the pargannah of..(e)...

(e)
One village
.....
one village 70
(The text of what follows is written in the right hand side margin in the original)
Written on the 27th of Shawwal
in the 11 year

A true translation
Sd/-M. Y. Hakim
Translator, High Court, Bombay.

(B) Sanad from Queen Victoria to Shah Alam's family



Sd/-Illegible

No. 103 of 1864.

This Sanad is issued on the part of Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, *Queen of Great Britain and Ireland*, and of the *Colonies and Dependencies* thereof, by Command, and under the Signature of His Excellency the Honourable Sir Henry Bartle Edward Feere, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Governor of the Presidency of Bombay in Council, to the effect that, whereas certain land described below has been brought under the Summary Settlement authorised by Act. No. VII of 1863 of the Bombay Legislative Council, it is hereby declared that

the said land, subject (in addition to Sulammee or other payment which may have been hitherto levied or which may have been fixed under Section IV and V of the said Act) to the payment to Government of an annual quit-rent of Rupees 375-0-0. Three hundred and seventy five shall be continued for ever by the British Government as the endowment property of the Roja of Peer Shah Alam situated within the bounds of the village of Daneelimbada, Talooka Daskrohie, Zilla Ahmedabad, without increase of the said quit-rent but on the condition that the managers thereof shall continue loyal and faithful subjects of the British Government.

Collectorate, Talooka, and Village	Name	Field No.	Measurement	Full assessment	Of which is paid to Government	Fixed quit- rent now imposed under the summary Settlement	Total of annual payment to Government
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ahmedabad Daskrohie Isanpoor	Roja of Peer Shah Alam	Whole Village	1903 Veeghas & 4 Vassa equal to about 1118 acres and 20 guntha	3108-7-8	108-7-8	375-0-0	483-7-8 Four hundred red & eighty- three seven annas & eight pies

Dated this twenty second day of July.....in the year one thousand Eight hundred and sixty four

APPENDIX III
EXTRACTS
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency
Vol. IV
Ahmedabad

By JAMES M. CAMPBELL
1879

A. Pages 45-46 regarding Village

x x x x x x

The following description of a Gujarat village is taken from an account by Mr. W.C. Pedder, of the Bombay Civil Service : 'All lands whatever in Gujarat, as throughout the inhabited parts of India, are divided into portions varying in area from two hundred or three hundred to several thousand acres, each of which is appropriated to a single village or town, 'Parish' in the ordinary acceptation of the term, denotes accurately enough one of these territorial divisions. The whole population of the parish, a practice which doubtless dates from old times of insecurity, live together in the village itself, which is generally situated near the centre of the area. There are sometimes hamlets, subsidiary to large villages, but isolated dwellings are never met with, except in one or two of the southern districts of Gujarat, where the farm servants occasionally live in huts upon the farm itself. The village containing from 100 or less to 2,000 or 3,000 inhabitants, is always built beside a tank or large embarked pond, shaded by noble trees among which is a temple of the local god. On one side of the tank and in front of the village is an open space where the cattle assemble to be watered in the morning and evening, and here is usually a deep chambered well, with a long flight of stone steps leading to the water. Some such wells, built by the charity of rich Hindus, are beautifully ornamented with sculpture, and have cost as much as £ 10,000. Here also at nightfall, on earthen seats round the stem of an aged tree, the village elders assemble to smoke the *huka* and talk

over their simple topics. The village itself is occasionally surrounded by an earthen wall, but more commonly by a thick cactus hedge, and even this defence is now often wanting. At the entrance are the huts of the sweepers, one of whose duties it is to guide travellers, and on the outskirts of the village live, each in their separate quarters, the different classes of low-caste labourers. Their huts are sometimes wretched enough, yet often, and increasingly so of late years, they inhabit decent cottages of one story, built of unbaked brick and tile.'

'In the middle of the village live the yeomen, the owners and cultivators of the lands. Their houses with walls of brick and tiled roofs are usually built two or even three stories high, round court-yards opening with a gate to the street, in which the cattle are shut up for the night. Sometimes one house with its offices is large enough to form such a court-yard, but more often three or more houses have one yard in common. They front upon the court, and the door, windows, and balconies are generally ornamented with the delicate wood carving for which Gujarat is famous. The sides or ends towards the street present a blank wall, often covered with stucco, and adorned with frescoes, barbarous indeed in design, but brilliantly coloured, and not wanting in spirit. A house of this sort, well supplied with the simple furniture and utensils of Hindu housekeeping, is of a class above the hovel of an Irish Cottier, or even the cottage of an English agricultural labourer.'

B. Page 154 regarding Land Administration Daskroi 1819

The central Daskroi lands, though to a less extent than the outlying parts of the district, had suffered from misrule. The city of Ahmedabad and its neighbourhood were in a most disturbed state. Every night there were attempts at robbery and the country round was infested with bands of plunderers, both mounted and on foot. The population was scanty, and more than a half of the Government arable land was

waste.* Though no sudden improvement could be looked for, much relief was given by putting a stop to the old system of hired revenue securities, *manotidars*, and instead of hired securities, letting one respectable man or village be security for another. By this change the people were almost entirely freed from the burden of providing security.

C. Pages 161-162 regarding Land Administration Survey 1820-1826, Daskroi

The lands included in the 146 Daskroi villages, surveyed between 1820 and 1822, were with the exception of a barren salt tract in the south-west, rich and well tilled. The spaces round the city were given up to vegetables. In the south were very fine rice villages, and to the east large fruit-tree groves and stretches of high tillage. Order was well established. The Kolis, belonging to the Talabda tribe, were quiet and easily managed, willing to till to the best of their knowledge and means. There were no chiefs or large landlords. The alienated area, including eleven villages, was 38.84 per cent of the whole arable land. Of

the 135 Government villages, 117 were occupied, and though the sites of the other eighteen were unoccupied, their lands were tilled. Except two held sharehold, all were managed simply. Of the whole area of arable land 58.24 per cent was under tillage, and on an average to each square mile were sixty-three houses, 207 souls, 156 horned cattle, twenty-two ploughs and seven carts. The average net revenue per acre was Rs. 3—Rs. 4-8-0. The villages were large and the house tilled, three-fourths of them brick-built. But the people had lately passed through a sever strain, and were 'miserably dependent' on money lenders.

The original system of assessment is said to have been crop-division, one-third to Government and two-thirds to the cultivator. Then Todar Mal (1590), without entirely doing away crop-division, brought in a money acre-rate, *bighoti* fixed partly on the kind of soil, partly on the crop. The Marathas (1755-1817) showed little respect either to the crop-share or the acre-rate system. Holding the village headman responsible for the whole rental, they left them to distribute the amount as they chose. Partly from the unsettled state of the country, partly from the heaviness of the Maratha demand, all definite system in collecting the revenue ceased. The crop-share remained in some villages, acre-rates were in force in others, in a third group

crop-shares and acre-rates were mixed, and in a fourth the revenue was chiefly collected in *cesses*. When the district came under English management (1817), as nothing was known of their resources, villages were on two or three year leases offered to the highest bidder. The headmen unwilling to give up their management bid high, and the speculators, satisfied that the villages had hidden resources, bid against them. In their rivalry sums far beyond the fair village rentals were offered. The result was much pressure and complaint. The lease system was given up and in its stead money acre-rates were introduced. But the change was brought in gradually, and at the time of survey the forms of assessment were most varied.

*East India Papers. III. 672; the figures were 59,030 *bighas* tilled, 68,038 waste. Twenty villages near Ahmedabad had houses but no people, their lands were tilled by the servants of city Varnas, Mr. Williamson, 31st August 1819.

APPENDIX IV

Folk-Songs

१. (मंगळ फेरा वखते पाटीदारोमां गवातुं गीत)

पहेला पहेला मंगळीया वरतावो रे,
पहेले मंगळ शा शाना रे दान अपाय रे ?
पहेले मंगळ भूमिना दान अपाय रे.

बीजा रे बीजा मंगळीया वरतावो रे,
बीजा रे मंगळ शाना रे दान अपाय रे ?
बीजा रे मंगळ गायोना दान अपाय रे.

त्रीजा रे त्रीजा मंगळीया वरतावो रे,
त्रीजा रे मंगळ शाना रे दान अपाय रे ?
त्रीजे रे मंगळ मोनाना दान अपाय रे.

चोथा रे चोथा मंगळीया वरतावो रे,
चोथा रे मंगळ शाना रे दान अपाय रे ?
चोथे रे मंगळ कन्याना दान अपाय रे.

1. (Sung at the time of the four auspicious rounds in the marriage ceremony among Patidars)

First, take the first auspicious round,
At the first round, what is the gift given ?
At the first round, land is donated.

Second, take the second auspicious round,
At the second round, what is the gift given ?
At the second round, cows are donated.

Third, take the third auspicious round,
At the third round, what is the gift given ?
At the third round, gold is donated.

Fourth, take the fourth auspicious round,
At the fourth round, what is the gift given ?
At the fourth round, the bride is given away.

२. (कन्याने पधरावे त्याचे पाटीदारोमां गवातुं गीत)

एक भर रे जोवनीयामां बेटां इन्दिराबेन, दादाअे हसीने बोलावीयां,
 एक काळो ते वर ना जोशो हो दादा, काळो ते कुटुंब लग्नावगे.
 एक भर रे जोवनीयामां बेटां इन्दिराबेन, माताअे हसीने बोलावीयां,
 एक गोरों ते वर ना जोशो हो माता, गोराने नीच लग्नये लागशे.
 एक भर रे जोवनीयामां बेटां इन्दिराबेन, काकाअे हसीने बोलावीयां,
 एक ऊंचो ते वर ना जोशो हो काका, ऊंचो ते नीचा तोरण मोडशे.
 एक भर रे जोवनीयामां बेटां इन्दिराबेन, बीराअे हसीने बोलावीयां,
 एक नीचां ते वर ना जोशो हो बीरा, नीचाने नीच टेनये लागशे.
 एक भर रे जोवनीयामां बेटां इन्दिराबेन, बेनीअे हसीने बोलावीयां,
 एक केडे पातळीयो ते मखड ग्रामळीयो ते मारी बेनीअे वसणीयां.

2. (Sung at the time when the bride is brought to the marriage booth among Patidars)

In her blooming youth, sits Indiraben,
 smilingly called by the grandfather
Do not choose for her a dark husband, Oh grandfather !
A dark man disgraces the family.

In her blooming youth, sits Indiraben,
 smilingly called by the mother
Do not choose for her a fair husband, Oh mother !
A fair person is always subjected to evil eyes.

In her blooming youth, sits Indiraben,
 smilingly called by the uncle
Do not choose for her a tall husband, Oh uncle !
A tall person breaks the low festoons.

In her blooming youth, sits Indiraben,
 smilingly called by the brother
Do not choose for her a short husband, Oh brother !
A short person always stumbles.

In her blooming youth, sits Indiraben,
 smilingly called by the sister
A slim-waisted and a dark-faced bridegroom is lauded by the sister.

३. (कन्याने पधरावे त्यारे पाटीदारोमां गवातुं गीत)

आ तीरे चांदलीओ ऊग्यो, मारी बेन !
 सरोवरे अजवाळा थया, मारी बेन !
 इसनपुरमां चांदलीओ ऊग्यो, मारी बेन !
 दहेगाम गाममां अजवाळा थयां, मारी बेन !
 पिताजे शोध्युं ते साचुं, मारी बेन !
 माता परणावे त्यां परणो, मारी बेन !
 बीराजे गणेश बेसाडया, मारी बेन !
 भाभीजे गणेश वधाव्या, मारी बेन !
 काकाजे कुटुंब तेडाव्युं, मारी बेन !
 काकीजे स्वागत कीधुं मारी बेन !
 मामाजे पाटे उतराव्या, मारी बेन !
 मामी ते मांडवे म्हाल्यां, मारी बेन !
 बहेनीजे सैयरे तेडावी, मारी बेन !
 बनेवी मांडवे नाच्यां, मारी बेन !

3. (Sung at the time when the bride is brought to the marriage booth among Patidars)

On this bank the moon has risen, my sister !
The light shines on the lake, my sister !
In Isanpur the moon has risen, my sister !
In Dehgam town there is light, my sister !
What father has selected is for the good, my sister !
Marry where the mother marries you, my sister !
The brother installs Ganesh, my sister !
The sister-in-law propitiates Ganesh, my sister !
The uncle has invited all members of the family, my sister !
The aunt welcomes them, my sister !
The maternal uncle seats you on the *pat*, my sister !
The aunt enjoys in the *pendal*, my sister !
The sister has invited all friends, my sister !
The brother-in-law dances in the *pendal*, my sister !

૪. (હસ્તમેલાપ વચ્ચે પાટીદારોમાં ગવાતું ગીત)

હેતે કન્યાનો હસ્ત જાલો, વરરાજા ! - ટેક.
 મળાવી ગણાવી તમને સોંપ્યાં, વરરાજા !
 સોઠ વરસના અમે કર્યાં, વરરાજા !
 સત્તરમાં વરસે તમને સોંપ્યાં, વરરાજા !
 તમારે વિશ્વાસે તમને સોંપ્યાં, વરરાજા !
 કોઈનો વિશ્વાસ નોતો આવતો, વરરાજા !
 ટાઢ તડકાની સ્વર લેજો, વરરાજા !
 મૂઝ્યા તરસ્યાની સ્વર લેજો, વરરાજા !

4. (Sung at the time of hasta-melap among Patidars)

Hold with love the hand of the bride, Oh bridegroom ! —Refrain.
 After educating and training her, she is entrusted to you, Oh bridegroom !
 We nurtured her for sixteen years, Oh bridegroom !
 In the seventeenth year she is entrusted to you, Oh bridegroom ! —Refrain.
 With faith in you, she is entrusted to you, Oh bridegroom !
 We trusted none else, Oh bridegroom !
 Look after her during ups and downs of life, Oh bridegroom !
 Look to her hunger and thirst, Oh bridegroom ! —Refrain.

૫. (રાજીઆનું ગીત)

હાય હાય રે ! તમારા પિત્તલીયા લોટા,
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે દાતણની વેઠા;
 હાય હાય રે ! દાતણ શું કરું રે ? જીવ જમડાએ લીધો !
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે તાંબા તે કુંડીઓ,
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે જીલણની વેઠા;
 હાય હાય રે ! જીલણ શું જીલું રે ? જીવ જમડાએ લીધો !
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે રાંધી રસોડાઓ,
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે ભોજનની વેઠા;
 હાય હાય રે ! ભોજન શું જમું રે ? જીવ જમડાએ લીધો !
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે પાનનાં બીડાં,
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે મુઠવાસની વેઠા;
 હાય હાય રે ! મુઠવાસ શું કરું રે ? જીવ જમડાએ લીધો !
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારી ચીંટીએ છે માઠા,
 હાય હાય રે ! તમારે મજવાની વેઠા;
 હાય હાય રે ! માઠા શું મજું રે ? જીવ જમડાએ લીધો !

5. (Dirge sung while the women beat their breasts and weep)

Alas ! (here are) your brass pots,
 Alas ! it's time for you for brushing teeth;
 Alas ! how can I brush my teeth?
 That my life is taken by Yama!
 Alas ! (here are) your copper basins,
 Alas ! it's time for your bath;
 Alas ! how can I bathe?
 That my life is taken by Yama!
 Alas ! for you the food is cooked,
 Alas ! it's time for your dinner;
 Alas ! how can I eat?
 That my life is taken by Yama!
 Alas ! (here are) your betel leaves,
 Alas ! it's time for your mukhvas;
 Alas ! how can I take mukhvas?
 That my life is taken by Yama!
 Alas ! your rosary hangs on the peg,
 Alas ! it's time for you for prayer;
 Alas ! how can I tell the rosary?
 That my life is taken by Yama!

APPENDIX IV

६. (मंगलफेरा वखते हरिजनोमां गवातुं गीत)

पहेलुं मंगळ वरतायुं तयारे खुब खलीवरमांय रे.
 रातुं ते शुं रे वखाणीए, खुब खलीवरमांय रे.
 रातो सूरज बहु तपे, राती ते वरनी मोर,
 रातो राधाबाईनो चूडलो, शोभतो बारमास
 तेमां ते शुं रे वखाणीए, वधावीओ वर राय रे. टेक
 बीजुं ते मंगळ वरतायुं, धोळुं ते शुं रे वखाणीए ?
 धोळी पुरुष माये पाघडी, धोळी ते बळदनो इलोरीओ
 धोळो सरोवर हंस, धोळो लोण कपास रे. टेक
 त्रीजुं ते मंगळ वरतायुं, लीलुं ते शुं रे वखाणीए ?
 लीलो ते पांजर पोपट, लीलो वननो मोर रे
 लीलो राधाबाईनो कंचळो, लीली नागर बेल रे. टेक
 चोथुं ते मंगळ वरतायुं, काळुं ते शुं रे वखाणीए ?
 काळो ते हाथी झूलतो, काळो ते वननो काग
 काळो ते राधाबाईनो चोटलो, वाहन छूटयो नाग रे. टेक

6. (Sung among Harijans at the time of mangal-fera)

At the first *mangal*, there is joy unbounded.
 What is it that is praiseworthy among the red things? There is joy unbounded.
 The red Sun shines hot, red is the bridegroom's crest,
 Red is Radhabai's *chudi*, which adorns her all the twelve months !
 What else is praiseworthy in these things? The bridegroom is welcomed —Refrain.
 At the second *mangal*, what is it that is praiseworthy among the white things?
 White is the turban on man's head, white the cover on the bullock,
 White is the swan on the lake, white like salt is cotton ! —Refrain.
 At the third *mangal*, what is it that is praiseworthy among the green things ?
 Green is the parrot in the cage, green the peacock in the jungle,
 Green is the blouse of Radhabai, green the betel plant ! —Refrain.
 At the fourth *mangal*, what is it that is praiseworthy among the black things ?
 Black is the swinging elephant, black the crow of the forest,
 Black is Radhabai's braid of hair, black the pursuing serpent ! —Refrain.

७. (मरण प्रसंगे हरिजनोमां गवातुं गीत)

ओतरमांथी आव्या दावादार, बीजळीए चंद्रमाने ऊर्व्यो रे.

भाई दोशीडा हाट उघाडां मेल, मारे वोरवा रुडा जामला,
 जामलानां कोण करावे मूल, होंसीला रमणभाई वही गया.
 ओतरमांथी०

भाई सोनीडा तारां हाट उघाडां मेल, मारे वोरवा रुडा गंठोडा,
 गंठोडानां कोण करावे मूल, होंसीला रमणभाई वही गया.
 ओतरमांथी०

भाई माळीडा हाट उघाडां मेल, मारे वोरवा रे खूपला,
 खूपलीआनां कोण करावे मूल, होंसीला रमणभाई वही गया.
 ओतरमांथी०

7. (Dirge sung among Harijans after death)

The claimant has come from the north, the lighting has faded the moon ! —Refrain.
 O clothier ! open your shop, I want to buy beautiful robes;
 Who will now value the robes, that ardent Ramanbhai is gone ? —Refrain.
 O goldsmith ! open your shop, I want to buy ear ornaments;
 Who will now value the ornaments, that ardent Ramanbhai is gone ?
 O florist ! open your shop, I want to buy a flower chaplet;
 Who will now value the flower chaplet, that ardent Ramanbhai is gone ? —Refrain.

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

A

<i>Abhishek</i>	. Sprinkling or pouring water or milk over a deity accompanied by chanting of <i>mantras</i>
<i>Achhodo</i>	. A chain worn in the neck
<i>Adhik mas</i>	. The intercalary month
<i>Agarash</i>	. The 11th day of the lunar fortnight
<i>Ajma</i>	. Parsley
<i>Akashia</i>	. Rates chargeable to the favourably situated lands receiving more rain water due to slope, etc.
<i>Aluna Vrat</i>	. An austere observance for women during which salt is avoided
<i>Amavasya</i>	. The new moon day
<i>Angi</i>	. A decorative coat or covering placed on the idol
<i>Anguthi</i>	. A ring; a thimble
<i>Annakuta</i>	. An array of all possible varieties of food preparations, vegetables and fruits offered to a deity
<i>Annasvari</i>	. Crop estimation in terms of annas to a rupee
<i>Anu</i>	. Usually the first occasion after marriage when a married girl goes to her husband's house
<i>Anwar</i>	. The best man who remains with the bridegroom assisting him whenever necessary
<i>Arti</i>	. Ceremony of waving a lamp before an idol; the lamp so waved
<i>Asopalav</i>	. <i>Polyalthia longifolia</i> tree

B

<i>Babul</i>	. <i>Acacia arabica</i> tree
<i>Bagayat</i>	. Garden land
<i>Bajath</i>	. A low stool
<i>Bajri</i>	. Millet
<i>Balaiya</i>	. A bracelet
<i>Bang</i>	. The Muslim call to prayer
<i>Bangi</i>	. The man who shouts the <i>bang</i>
<i>Batmora</i>	. A species of jasmine plant and its flower; a double daisy; a variety of <i>Jasminum sambac</i>
<i>Bedi</i>	. A pair of large water pots
<i>Bedi</i>	. A type of anklet
<i>Bhajan</i>	. A devotional song
<i>Bhajan mandal</i>	. A group of votaries singing <i>bhajans</i>
<i>Bhatai</i>	. Folk-drama
<i>Bhanda</i>	. Lady's finger
<i>Bighati</i>	. Land Revenue paid in cash
<i>Bih</i>	. <i>Albizia lebbek</i> tree
<i>Borli</i>	. <i>Quercus jaini</i> tree
<i>Bormali</i>	. A type of necklace

C

<i>Chalam</i>	. A pipe
<i>Chana</i>	. Gram
<i>Chandla</i>	. A round mark on the forehead
<i>Chappals</i>	. Sandals
<i>Chhada</i>	. Anklets
<i>Chhatthi</i>	. The sixth day after birth, when the goddess of destiny writes the fate of the new born babe
<i>Chhillu</i>	. A shrine of a Muslim saint
<i>Chora</i>	. Village <i>chandi</i> or building used as Talati's office as well as rest house
<i>Chori</i>	. Square enclosure bedecked with pillars with earthen pots on four sides where the wedding couple take ceremonial rounds of the holy fire
<i>Chouk</i>	. A square
<i>Chunam</i>	. Lime
<i>Chuni</i>	. A nose pin

D

<i>Dai</i>	. A midwife
<i>Dakshina</i>	. Alms given to a Brahmin priest
<i>Dal</i>	. Pulse
<i>Dargah</i>	. A tomb of a Muslim saint
<i>Darshan</i>	. Glimpse (of deity) with reverence and prayer
<i>Dashkoshi</i>	. Encompassed in 10 <i>kos</i> or 20 miles
<i>Dattan</i>	. An underground cesspool
<i>Deshi</i>	. Indigenous, country-made
<i>Devasthan</i>	. A place of worship
<i>Dhana</i>	. <i>Coriandrum sativum</i> ; Coriander seeds
<i>Dharmashala</i>	. A public rest-house
<i>Dharu</i>	. Seedlings
<i>Dharuvadia</i>	. A separate plot for raising seedlings for transplantation
<i>Dhol</i>	. A drum
<i>Dhoti</i>	. Nether garment of Hindu males
<i>Dhup</i>	. Incense; frankincense
<i>Doro</i>	. A chain worn in the neck

F

<i>Falahar</i>	. A slight repast of fruits; a restricted diet of fruits and some non-cereal items allowed while fasting
<i>Fento</i>	. A turban
<i>Fui</i>	. Father's sister

G

<i>Gagar</i>	. A water-pot
<i>Gainja</i>	. A barber
<i>Garba</i>	. A well-known folk-dance of Gujarat

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS-contd.

G-contd.

<i>Ghat</i>	. An embankment with steps on the side of a river or tank, leading to the water
<i>Ghee</i>	. Clarified butter
<i>Gol</i>	. A group or circle
<i>Gola</i>	. A slave
<i>Goraj</i>	. Dust thrown up by cows while returning home after grazing; evening time; dusk
<i>Goryo</i>	. An austerity for young girls
<i>Gota</i>	. A nosegay; marigold flower
<i>Gotraj</i>	. Literally born of the same sept; ceremony for the propitiation of the souls of deceased fore-fathers
<i>Govar</i>	. A kind of bean; <i>Cyamopsis psoralioides</i>
<i>Grah-shanti</i>	. Ceremony for propitiation of planets
<i>Gulal</i>	. A crimson powder used on occasions of joy; prepared by mixing <i>katchura</i> with powdered wood of <i>patanga</i>
<i>Gundi</i>	. A kind of tree; <i>Cordia augustifolia</i>
<i>Gur</i>	. Molasses, jaggery

H

<i>Hajarigal</i>	. Marigold flowers
<i>Halardu</i>	. A lullaby
<i>Hansdi</i>	. A neck ornament
<i>Har</i>	. A necklace
<i>Hastamelap</i>	. Joining the hands in marriage
<i>Hauz</i>	. A reservoir
<i>Havan</i>	. A sacrifice
<i>Himayat</i>	. Natural water rates assessed for the advantageously located lands
<i>Huka</i>	. A hubble-bubble; a long-steamed pipe

I

<i>Inam</i>	. Land granted by Government free of revenue or at concessional rate
<i>Inamdar</i>	. A person holding <i>inam</i> land

J

<i>Jajmani</i>	. Customary relationship either as the receiver or performer of the services
<i>Jali</i>	. Trellis work
<i>Jamat khana</i>	. An assembly hall
<i>Jan</i>	. The marriage party accompanying the bridegroom
<i>Jhanjhar</i>	. Anklets with tiny bells
<i>Jirayat</i>	. Dry crop land
<i>Juni</i>	. Old

K

<i>Kada</i>	. An armlet
<i>Kadla</i>	. Silver ornament worn on hand

K-contd.

<i>Kadlan</i>	. Silver ornament worn on hand
<i>Kadu</i>	. Bracelet
<i>Kag-vas</i>	. Offering food to the crows as an oblation to the <i>pitris</i> or departed ancestors
<i>Kakiji</i>	. Wife's uncle's wife
<i>Kandoro</i>	. A waist-band
<i>Kankotri</i>	. A marriage invitation
<i>Kansar</i>	. Sweet preparation of wheat, <i>ghee</i> and <i>gur</i>
<i>Kanthi</i>	. A chain worn on the neck
<i>Kanyadan</i>	. Giving away of the bride in marriage
<i>Kap</i>	. A stud-like ornament worn in the lobe of the ear
<i>Kareli</i>	. The squirting cucumber, <i>Momordica charantia</i>
<i>Katha</i>	. A mythological legend; a religious discourse
<i>Khadia</i>	. A kerosene lamp made of tin
<i>Khajuri</i>	. Date palm tree, <i>Phoenix sylvestris</i>
<i>Khalifa</i>	. Muslim religious and secular head; a representative thereof
<i>Khalsa</i>	. Land held directly from Government of which the State is the sole proprietor
<i>Khandu</i>	. A sword, a form of marriage where bridegroom is absent and is represented by his sword
<i>Kharaba</i>	. Uncultivable fallow land
<i>Khari</i>	. Saline
<i>Kharif</i>	. The monsoon crop
<i>Khat muhurta</i>	. The foundation ceremony
<i>Kher</i>	. <i>Acacia catechu</i> tree
<i>Kholobharvo</i>	. The pre-natal lap-filling ceremony, <i>Simant</i>
<i>Kodiyar</i>	. Earthen lamps
<i>Kos</i>	. Two miles
<i>Kotli</i>	. A big earthen jar
<i>Kul</i>	. Family
<i>Kundal</i>	. Earrings
<i>Kundi</i>	. A cesspool
<i>Kurmura</i>	. Puffed rice
<i>Kutchu</i>	. Raw; of dried mud; make-shift
<i>Kyari</i>	. Rice land

L

<i>Ladu</i>	. A sweet ball
<i>Langer</i>	. An anklet
<i>Lapsi</i>	. Sweet preparation of wheat flour
<i>Limbdo</i>	. <i>Azadirachta indica</i> tree
<i>Linga</i>	. Emblem of Lord Shiva
<i>Loliya</i>	. A type of earring
<i>Loria</i>	. Ear heads of paddy

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS-*contd.*

M

<i>Madaliyu</i>	. . .	An amulet
<i>Mafa</i>	. . .	A chariot
<i>Magaj</i>	. . .	A kind of sweet made of gram flour
<i>Mahajan</i>	. . .	A guild
<i>Mahapuja</i>	. . .	Ceremonial worship performed on special occasions
<i>Muhuda</i>	. . .	<i>Bassia latifolia</i> tree
<i>Manchi</i>	. . .	A low stool
<i>Mandap</i>	. . .	Pandal
<i>Mandvi</i>	. . .	A wooden frame or structure with lamps
<i>Manek-stambh</i>	. . .	Ceremony of planting a small pillaret of wood symbolically called <i>Manikya stambha</i> (Pillar carved from ruby) which heralds the commencement of marriage celebrations
<i>Mangal-fera</i>	. . .	Ceremonial rounds by the bride and groom around the sacred fire
<i>Mantra</i>	. . .	An incantation; verse in praise of a deity
<i>Marchi</i>	. . .	A small ornament worn on the ear
<i>Matli</i>	. . .	An earthen pot
<i>Maulvi</i>	. . .	A Muslim scholar
<i>Maun</i>	. . .	Silence
<i>Mindhol</i>	. . .	The emetic nut
<i>Mod</i>	. . .	A chaplet
<i>Moong</i>	. . .	<i>Phaseolus mungo</i> ; green gram
<i>Mosal</i>	. . .	The mother's father's or brother's house
<i>Muhurt</i>	. . .	An auspicious moment
<i>Mukhi</i>	. . .	A headman

N

<i>Nagdevata</i>	. . .	The serpent god
<i>Naivedya</i>	. . .	An offering of eatables to the idol
<i>Nala</i>	. . .	A large cylindrical container
<i>Nalla</i>	. . .	A water course
<i>Namaz</i>	. . .	Prayers offered by Muslims
<i>Namandivo</i>	. . .	Lamp Carried by bridgroom's mother
<i>Nandi</i>	. . .	The bull, the carrier of Lord Shiva
<i>Navratri</i>	. . .	The festival of nine nights celebrated from Ashvin Sud 1 to 9
<i>Neem</i>	. . .	<i>Azadirachta indica</i> tree

O

<i>Odhani</i>	. . .	A short <i>sari</i>
<i>Otta</i>	. . .	A raised platform

P

<i>Paheeran</i>	. . .	Loose upper garment like a shirt
<i>Paithan</i>	. . .	Dowry
<i>Palang</i>	. . .	A bedstead

P-*contd.*

<i>Pan</i>	. . .	Betel leaf
<i>Panch</i>	. . .	Executive body of the village Panchayat or caste
<i>Pahanpatrak</i>	. . .	Crop register
<i>Pat</i>	. . .	A large sized bench
<i>Patta</i>	. . .	Large bangles
<i>Phul</i>	. . .	Flowers
<i>Pinda</i>	. . .	An oblation
<i>Piplo</i>	. . .	<i>Ficus religiosa</i> tree
<i>Ponkhvun</i>	. . .	To receive or welcome the bride-groom on arrival at the wedding booth
<i>Pothio</i>	. . .	See <i>Nandi</i>
<i>Prasad</i>	. . .	Offering to deity later on distributed among worshippers
<i>Pucca</i>	. . .	Ripe; solidly built; durable
<i>Puja</i>	. . .	Ceremonial worship
<i>Pujari</i>	. . .	The temple priest
<i>Punam</i>	. . .	The full-moon day
<i>Pur</i>	. . .	A town
<i>Puri</i>	. . .	Bun

R

<i>Rabi</i> or <i>Ravi</i>	. . .	The winter crop
<i>Rajiya</i>	. . .	A dirge
<i>Rakhdi</i>	. . .	A protective knot
<i>Rakhi</i>	. . .	<i>Rakhdi</i>
<i>Raksha</i>	. . .	<i>Rakhdi</i>
<i>Rapdi</i> or <i>Karab</i>	. . .	Hoe
<i>Ravo</i>	. . .	A nose-pin
<i>Rayan</i>	. . .	<i>Manilkana hexandra</i> tree
<i>Roza</i>	. . .	A mausoleum

S

<i>Sadlo</i>	. . .	A <i>sari</i>
<i>Safai</i>	. . .	Sanitation
<i>Salgiri</i>	. . .	Birthday
<i>Samayia</i>	. . .	Reception
<i>Sanad</i>	. . .	A document of title issued by Government
<i>Sanklan</i>	. . .	Anklets
<i>Sapat</i>	. . .	Slippers
<i>Saratatun</i>	. . .	Obsequious ceremony
<i>Sari</i>	. . .	Hindu woman's chief garment draped round the body
<i>Shakha</i>	. . .	A branch
<i>Shan</i>	. . .	Hemp
<i>Shiro</i>	. . .	A sweet preparation of wheat, <i>ghes</i> and sugar or <i>gur</i>
<i>Shraddha</i>	. . .	Obsequies; a ceremony performed for the salvation of the dead
<i>Sidhu</i>	. . .	Uncooked food material given to a priest
<i>Simant</i>	. . .	Ceremony performed after the first conception

GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS-*concl.*S-*contd.*

<i>Snan</i>	. . .	A bath
<i>Sui</i>	. . .	A needle
<i>Sutak</i>	. . .	Period of impurity after birth or death
<i>Swayambhu</i>	. . .	Self created

T

<i>Tagavi</i>	. . .	Agricultural loans advanced by Government
<i>Thakor</i>	. . .	A little of respect meaning a chieftain
<i>Thali</i>	. . .	A metal dish
<i>Thana</i>	. . .	An administrative unit; a subdivision of a district
<i>Toran</i>	. . .	Festoon
<i>Toyo</i>	. . .	A watchman
<i>Traga</i>	. . .	Compulsion brought by shedding blood or by an act self-immolation
<i>Tulsi</i>	. . .	The basil plant; <i>ocimum sanctum</i>
<i>Tur</i>	. . .	Pigeon pea, <i>Cajanus indicus</i>

U

<i>Udid</i>	. . .	Kidney bean; <i>Phaseolus radiatus</i>
<i>Urs</i>	. . .	The celebration of death anniversary of a Muslim saint at his shrine
<i>Uthantara</i>	. . .	Obsequious ceremony

V

<i>Vada</i>	. . .	An open enclosure adjoining the house
<i>Vadovai</i>	. . .	The hanging branches of a banyan tree
<i>Vahivancha</i>	. . .	A keeper of family records
<i>Vaidya</i>	. . .	An aurvedic physician
<i>Vali</i>	. . .	A nose ring or earring
<i>Varsund</i>	. . .	Yearly remuneration for services rendered by village artisans and others

<i>Vas</i>	. . .	A locality
<i>Vedhla</i>	. . .	A finger ring
<i>Vighas</i>	. . .	A square measure equal to 4/7ths of an acre

<i>Vivah homa</i>	. . .	The marriage sacrifice
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Y

<i>Yajman</i>	. . .	A host
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Minerva Book Shop, The Mall
The New Book Depot 79, The Mall

SINNAR—

Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India, Sinnar
(Nasik) (R)

Government of India Kitah Mahal,
Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House,
New Delhi
Government of India Book Depot,
8 Hastings Street, Calcutta

} For local sales

List of Agents-contd.

SHILLONG—

The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Government, B. D.
Chapla Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 (R)

SONEPAT—

United Book Agency

SRINAGAR—

The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road

SURAT—

Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road

TIRUCHIRPALLI—

Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur
S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose
Road
Palamiappa Bros. (R)

TRIVANDRUM—

International Book Depot, Main Road
Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 (R)

TUTICORIN—

Shri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C, French Chapal Road (R)

UDAIPUR—

Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole (R)
Book Centre, Maharana, Bhopal Consumers, Co-op.
Society Ltd. (R)

UJJAIN—

Manek Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate (R)

VARANASI—

Students Friends & Co., Lanka (R)
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir
Road, P. B. 8
Glob Book Centre (R)
Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka
B.H.U. Book Depot (R)

VELLORE—

A. Venkatasubhan, Law Booksellers

VIJAYAWADA—

The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet (R)

VISAKHAPATNAM—

Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building
Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road
The Secy. Andhra University, General Co-op. Stores
Ltd. (R)

VIZIANAGRAM—

Sarda & Co. (R)

WARDHA—

Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market

High Commissioner for India in London, India
House, London, W. C. 2

List of Agents-concld.

Railway Book-stall holders

S/S. A. H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad

Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner

Higginbothams & Co., Ltd., Mount Road, Madras

M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Private Ltd., Mathura Road,
New Delhi

Foreign

S/S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal)
S/S. Aktie Bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel,
Fredsgatan-2 Box 1656, Stockholm-16, (Sweden)

Reise-und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenberg-
stra 21, Stuttgart No. 11245, Stuttgart den (Germany West)
Shri Iswar Subramanyam 452, Reversite Driv Apt. 6, New
York, 27 N W Y

The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansions, 49, The
Mall, Lahore (Pakistan)

(On S & R Basis)

The Head Clerk, Govt. Book Depot, Ahmedabad

The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Kapileshwar Road,
Belgaum

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar
The Asstt. Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo
Ground No. 1, Jodhpur

The Officer I/C., Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur

The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India,
Ministry of Mines & Fuel, Nagpur

The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad
(Gujarat)

The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road,
Poona

Government Printing & Stationery, Rajkot

The Officer I/C., Extension Centre, Industrial Estate,
Kokar, Ranchi

The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna,
Surat

The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 27,
Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1

The Registrar of Companies, Kerala, 50, Feet Road,
Ernakulam

The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda,
Hyderabad

Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura,
Shillong

Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri
Gate Extension, New Delhi

The Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh,
Link Road, Jullundur City

Registrar of Companies, Bihar, Jammal Road, Patna-1

Registrar of Companies, Raj, & Ajmer; Shri Kamta Prasad
House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur

The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Building, 6 Linghi
Chetty Street, P. B. 159

The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West
Cott. Bldg. P. B. 334, Kanpur

The Registrar of Companies, Everest 100, Marine Drive,
Bombay

The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore
The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad

Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Candhi, Cuttack

The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat
Samachar Building, Ahmedabad

Publication Division, Sales Depot, North Block, New Delhi
The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries,
New Delhi

The Officer I/C., University Employment Bureau, Lucknow

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Malda

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria,
24 Parganas

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali
Nagar, P. O. Burnipur

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Chrontanning Extension Centre,
Tangra 33, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46

Officer I/C., S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, (Footwear), Calcutta

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt. (A.P.)

Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua

Dy. Director Incharge, S.I.S.I., C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa,
Panjim

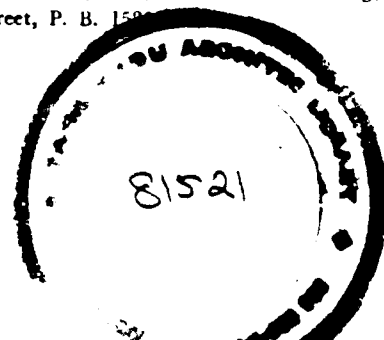
The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal
Bhavan, Mornia

The Officer I/C., State Information Centre, Hyderabad

The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry

The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana
Saubha (P. B. 271) Bangalore



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