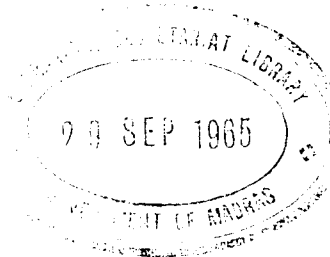


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M Ā N D I

Socio - Economic Study of Rural Folk

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Editor

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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.

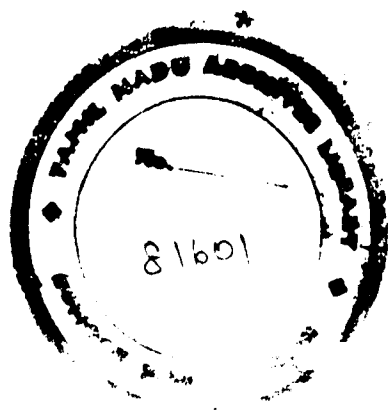
Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast 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



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B. M. Bhanot, G. I. Press

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, moveable and immoveable 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 change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole

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field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

Asok Mitra,
Registrar General, India.

NEW DELHI,
July 30, 1964.

P R E F A C E

In keeping with the old Indian Census tradition of carrying out socio-economic studies, the Registrar General, India, desired that each State and Union Territory should carry out studies of a few selected villages and furnish 'the dry bones of village statistics with flesh and blood accounts of social structure and social change'. Village Mandi was one of the 15 villages finally selected for such a study.

Village Mandi is a fair sized village inhabiting 935 persons, but one of the remotest and physically isolated villages of Delhi. Situated on a rocky ridge in the extreme south of Delhi and surrounded by a number of low hills and long troughs, it lies on the Delhi-Punjab border. The adjoining village Gwalpahari (a brethren village) belonging to the people of the same gotra as of village Mandi, 200 metres away lies in the Punjab State. The tracks joining the village with neighbouring villages and with Mehrauli and Gurgaon in Punjab are solitary and inaccessible even by a cart. Further, the village has been notorious as being the home of thieves, cattle lifters and illicit distillers. The Gujars, known for their seclusionist attitudes, covetous desire for 'cattle lifting' and for their unadaptability with the 'march of civilization' represent the dominant caste in the village, accounting for over 80 per cent of the total village population. All these peculiarities of the village prompted us to take it up for a special study.

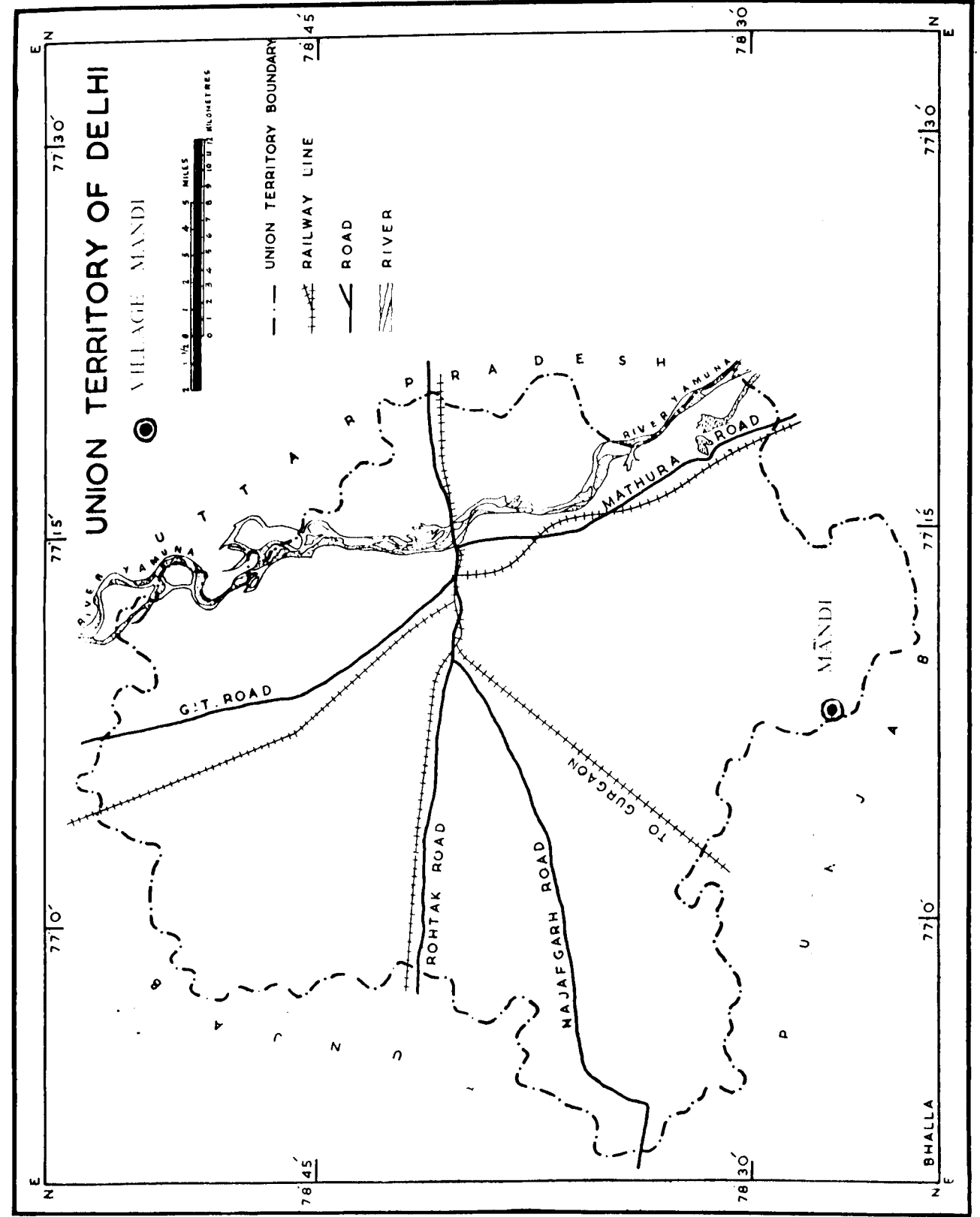
The present study highlights a number of significant facts and clears a host of wrong notions. The village economic and social life is apparently moving away from the state of stagnation. The anti-social practices of the villagers are on the wane. The most commonly feared probability that one may be robbed of all his belongings if he dare by-pass the village track alone, is now no more than a myth. The villagers of today are hospitable and accommodating. Many of them have taken to milk-selling and service occupations in Delhi city. Nonetheless, backwardness persists in the village in a number of important aspects of rural life. Agricultural practices and tools and implements used are essentially traditional and outmoded. Female education is conspicuous by its absence. Scepticism to allopathic treatment and family planning is deep rooted. Witch-craft and other beliefs and practices still dominate the villagers' life.

The survey of the village was started in July 1962; the field investigation was conducted by Shri K. C. Nautiyal. First and final drafts of the report were also prepared by him. Field experiences were of a mixed nature. In the first instance the villagers were very much suspicious about the purpose of the survey. Some thought that the survey was with a view to impose tax on cattle wealth and land; some others when asked about the number of houses owned and year of construction, feared that the purpose was of demolish their structure erected without submitting proper plans under the Delhi Municipal Corporation bye-laws. However, reliability of information was improved by establishing personal contacts with the households before taking up the field work.

Before closing I must express my heart felt gratitude to Shri Asok Mitra, I.C.S., Registrar General, India and Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty in the Office of the Registrar General, India, whose patient and unfailing guidance and advices have been of immense help to us in the preparation of this monograph. I am also indebted to Shri N. Das Gupta, Assistant Manager, Government of India Press, Minto Road, New Delhi whose personal interest in the matter enabled us to bring out the report without any delay. His treatment was in every way sympathetic and cooperative and I wish others could follow his example.

Delhi,
25th May, 1964.

BALDEV RAJ.



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On way to the village



An aerial view of the village



Troughs which so far provided hdy- holes to illicit distillers and outlaws

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

VILLAGE MANDI, a medium sized Gujar village, is one of the remotest villages in the Union Territory of Delhi. It lies in the south-west of the metropolitan city of Delhi on the Delhi-Punjab border. Gwalpahari, a village in the Punjab State is only about 200 metres away from village Mandi. Its distance from Delhi is 28.2 k.m. and from Gurgaon 14.3 k.m. It is thus nearer Gurgaon (Punjab) than Delhi. Around the village are rocky ridges hiding it completely from a distant view. The sandy soil, the frustrating tracks of 10.2 k.m. joining the village with Mehrauli and of 5.6 k.m. to Yahya Nagar, (both tracks having a minimum of 4.0 k.m. ridgeway refusing admission even to carts) astonishes one about the inducement that attracted the villagers to settle there.

However, malevolent notions about the past of the village seem to solve the paradox. Till recently (early fifties) the village had been very notorious among the neighbouring villages as being the home of thieves, cattle-lifters, illicit liquor distillers and of outlaws. The isolation, ensuring a certain amount of freedom from external interference or at least an escape from it

did assist to a great extent such anti-social activities of the villagers, and formed one of the chief considerations influencing the choice of the village site by them.* A number of informal interviews with the villagers of Yahya Nagar, Jaunapur, Ghatorni, Sultanpur, Fatehpur Beri and with some of the police officials of Mehrauli Police Station confirmed that till recently the practice of stealing the cattle and looting the strangers of all their belongings was quite common. Police officials also seldom used to visit the village in a batch of less than four persons for taking action against the illicit distillers and others, because of the fear that the villagers may even attack them if they are few in number.

Nevertheless, it is significant to note that in the post-independence period, the socio-economic life of the villagers has undergone a significant change. Now it is said that the villagers have not only abandoned some of their traditional anti-social practices and seclusionist attitudes but have linked some of their socio-economic activities with Mehrauli and Delhi city. In this socio-economic study, it is attempted to present an analytical account of the various social and economic aspects of the life of the

*"It appears probable that Gujar's have lived in this part of the country from very remote periods; and they occupied the hills because no one else cared to do so; and because their solitary inaccessible tracks afforded better scope for the Gujar's favourite avocation, cattle-lifting. But though he thus has possessed two qualifications of a Highlander, a hilly home and a covetous desire for other people's cattle, he never seems to have had the love for fighting, and the character for manly independence, which distinguish this class elsewhere. On the contrary, the Gujar has generally been a mean fellow, and it does not appear that he improves much with the march of civilization....." There are many local proverbs in vogue. It is said, "Wisdom is very hard on the Gujar." "Make friendship with a Gujar when all other tribes have ceased to exist." "Solitude is better than a Gujar (for a companion)....."

Ref. (1) *Punjab District Gazetteers*. Vol. V A (Delhi District) 1912, pp. 64-65.

(2) *Imperial Gazetteers of India*, Vol. XI 1906, pp. 226.

villagers as existing at present and to highlight the changes, if any, in the same, especially during the last decade or so.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

The village is physically isolated in the sense that with the exception of tracks there is no pucca road to join it with adjoining villages and the nearest town—Mehrauli. For a common man, there are no other means of transport available from the village either to Mehrauli or to Yahya Nagar, except to trudge down the track and the ridgeways on foot or on a camel's back. The nearest bus service available to the villagers, for all practical purposes, is from Mehrauli. Yahya Nagar and Ghatorni which are 5.6 k.m. and 6.0 k.m. respectively from the village also constitute the bus stops of Private Bus routes for Gurgaon and Delhi, but the villagers seldom make use of these stops. This is partly because the track joining the village with Yahya Nagar and Ghatorni is a round about one, and includes more pieces of irregular ridgeway.

The tracks joining the village with Yahya Nagar, Ghatorni and Mehrauli include a common piece of 3.6 k.m. ridgeway. The ridgeway is made through the rocky ridges facing the north of the village. It has sufficient width to let a cart pass through it. But owing to its irregular surface of stones and gravels and its having steepness over 20° at two places it is not used by carts. Over a major part of the ridgeway, even the cyclists have to drag their bicycles on foot.

Another route that leads to Mehrauli is via Dera and Fatehpur Beri. This route has a smaller piece of track i.e. about 3.8 k.m. and no ridgeway. The rest is metalled road. But this route is purely seasonal. It is not negotiable during the rainy season (as a part of the track remains under water) and during the *rabi* crop.

To Gurgaon (via Wazirabad) or to Mehrauli (via Jaunapur), the villagers normally trudge their way on foot. Catching bus for Mehrauli or Gurgaon from Yahya Nagar or Ghatorni is regarded as a luxury which they can seldom afford.

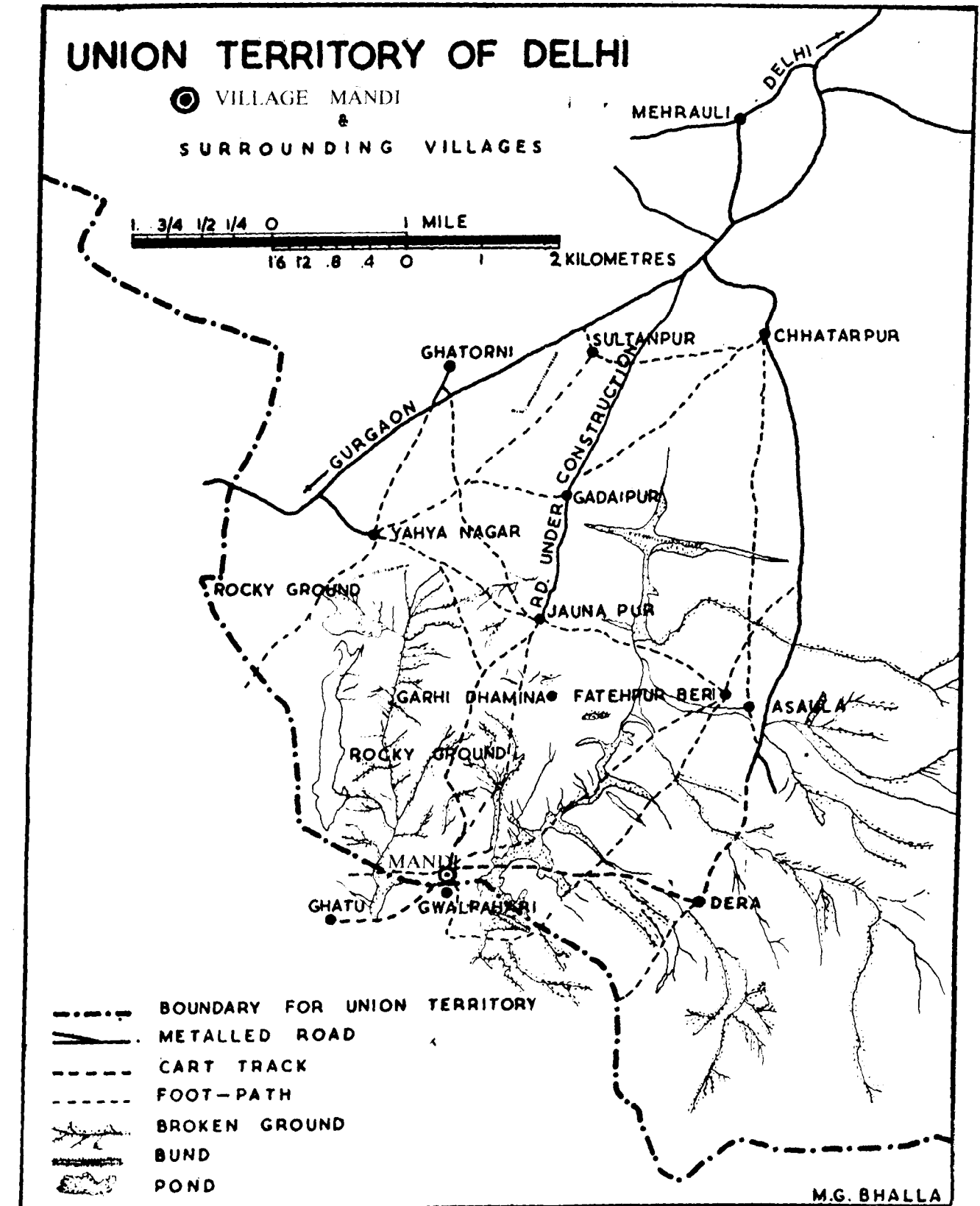
PHYSICAL FEATURES

The village is surrounded by rocky ridges with deposits of mica and hard white stone. In the north-west of the village, there are many deep and narrow

troughs between the ridges and many hiding places which provide shelter for distillation of *desi sharab* (illicit liquor) and other illicit practices. Most of the fields of Mandi are terraced, facing soil erosion during rainy season, thus making or marring the fortunes of the cultivators. The land known as *dehri* facing the east of the village is cultivable only during winter, as it lies under the Gwalpahari rain water escape Bund from the rainy season till the Dussehra festival.

The climate of Mandi, due to its surroundings is slightly different from other villages of the Union Territory of Delhi. Average annual and seasonal rainfall are 24" and 20" respectively. The weather is hot and dusty in summer and cold in winter. The main crops sown in summer season are *bajra* and *jowar* and in winter wheat, gram, barley, sarson (oil seeds) and tara (oil seeds). Vegetables grown in winter season are radish, potato, carrot, etc.

The village has its own jungle fairly enriched with different kinds of trees and vegetation. The most common of these trees and plants are *dhak* (a rich fuel), *peepal* (a sacred plant), *gular*, *kamer*, *joot*, *kikar*, *hees*, *kakera*, *karanda*, *berlie*, *roungh*, *khatai*, *marwi*, *jedharh*, *kair-higota*, *pasandoo*, *chota ber*, *thoharh*, *negphal*, *bambooli*, *kheri*, *katela*, *jawasa* (poison), *kateli*, *dumaya* (medicine for heat stroke), *gokhru* (thorny bush), *aur*, *chiretavata*, *bhurat*, *khajur* (palm), *papri*, *khirna*, *dhau*, *imli*, *seesaun* (also seesam), *barna*, *khironi*, *siras*, *raiton*, *katata*, *majhlu*, *france*, *bekans*, *bakar*, *ullo*, *karwala*, *dhatara* (also *agg dhatara*, poison) *sakh*, *aakh-sand*, *korera*, *loof*, *bhurchata* *jhanjh*, *hulhool*, *pawarh*, *auon*, *khereti*, *bees*, *khapta*, *soti*, *teezphel*, *roohirha*, *faras*, *gulali*, *heesaurha*, *chanlai*, *sais-rungi* (medicine), *kawera*, *khartunwa*, *hari makoy*, *papotan*, *bathwa*, *makraha*, *riya bams*, *bams*, *jhamasa*, *aath gatiya*, *gumbhi*, *sannu* (medicine for boils), *angaas bel*, *fodarh bel*, *amber bel*, *kekora bel*, *giloy ki bel*, *pussar bel*, *chirmatti bel*, *boom bel*, *galtori bel*, *marophali* (medicine for dysentery), *barbanta*, *lahswa kachri*, *hiran khuri*, *harh bel* (medicine for boil), *biram dandi*, *chatri-matri*, *patil*, *karaunt*, *nak-chikni*, *laundus*, *kheep*, *kankanwa*, *narpasi* (medicine used for snake bite), *kaiwali*, *kas*, *begus*, *barn*, *dhila*, *parsam*, *paotan*, *bhabhechi*, *bhachechi*, *arni*, *leel*, *jhoghru*, *leel jhoghru*, *khurand* (medicine with haldi and gur for internal injuries), *jaal*, *khajaal*, *peel*, *kaunch* (a poisonous tree), *pallowfool*,



7

angaar, aam, jaman, sukhdarshau, gwar patti, ban tulsi, mehdi and neem.

Almost every structure in the village has a neem tree. Neem enjoys the privilege of being planted in *baithaks*, houses and *kharaks* (cattle sheds) because it is shady, grows quickly, purifies the air and is supposed to keep away diseases.

Wild animals and birds commonly found in the village jungle are: jackal, fox, wolf, wild cow, sparrow, parrot, partridges (black and grey), *chakoor*, *saras*, owl, bat, *baaz*, vulture, kite, cuckoo and the colourful bird peacock. Among creepers, the village and its surrounding areas are infested with snake (*dumia* kind of snake having two mouths and *jalebi*) and chameleon. Snake-bite in the village is never taken seriously. The best indigenous remedy for snake-bite

is to get the bit portion sucked from a Bhangi and use a medicine prepared from a jungle plant, known by the name of *narpasi*.

The domesticated animals in the village are: cows, buffaloes, goats, bullocks, camels, sheep, hens, pigeons, pigs and dogs. As a convention, pigs are domesticated only by the Bhangis and pigeons by a Muslim household.

Size

The village covers an area of 8.13 sq. kilometres including 0.08 sq. kilometres for village *abadi* (habitation), 3.29 sq. kilometres as under cultivation and a jungle of 4.76 sq. kilometres to inhabit its 182 households with a total population of 953.

TABLE 1.1
Density, Population and Size

Year	Area sq. k.m.	No. of Houses	No. of H. Hs.	Males	Females	Total	Density per sq. k.m.	Avg. size of H. Hs.
1951	8.13	115	115	348	310	658	80.9	5
1962	8.13	203	182	520	415	935	115.0	5.4
%(+/-)		+76.5	+58.2	+49.4	+33.8	+42.0	+43.8	+10.5

Table 1.1 shows that over the last 11 years the total population of the village has gone up by 42.0 per cent and the number of households by 58.2 per cent; thus the average size of households has been reduced by 10.5 per cent. As immigration of population over this period has been negligible*, the increase in population during this period has been chiefly due to internal factors.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

Village Mandi is a cluster of houses and trees in one spot, surrounded by fields and ridges, showing the natural growth of 'vertical unity' among the villagers. In the village all the villagers know each other's day-to-day activities. This knowledge serves the key for their fruitful mutual existence

In the village, though all the residential structures have clustered up haphazardly in one spot, yet each caste has maintained its distinct entity by grouping its residential structures in a specific spot. The residen-

tial structures of the Gujars are divided in 4 *mohallas* according to their *kunba* (patri-lineage). These four *mohallas* are known as Ania, Jogi, Kucha and Bakare. These *mohallas* at the time of our enquiry had 85, 31, 11 and 9 households respectively.

The residential structures of the lower castes over the ridge are not above any of the Gujar's houses. This has been done on purpose so that the refuse and the water from the lower caste houses may not find its way into the Gujar houses and the lower caste people may not have to cross Gujar houses unnecessarily. Residential structures of the Bhangis are in the north of the village, half over the ridge and half over the adjoining fields. The Julahas, also known as Chamar Julahas, have constructed their residential structures towards the east of the village on a piece of land made available to them in 1937 by the Gaon Panchayat. The only Muslim house constructed in 1960 in the south of

*Ref. Table No. IV. 1 showing immigration in the village.
4 C.P.

the land gets harden after channelling the well water through it which sometimes obstructs sprouting of the seeds.

CREMATORIUM (CHIHTA)

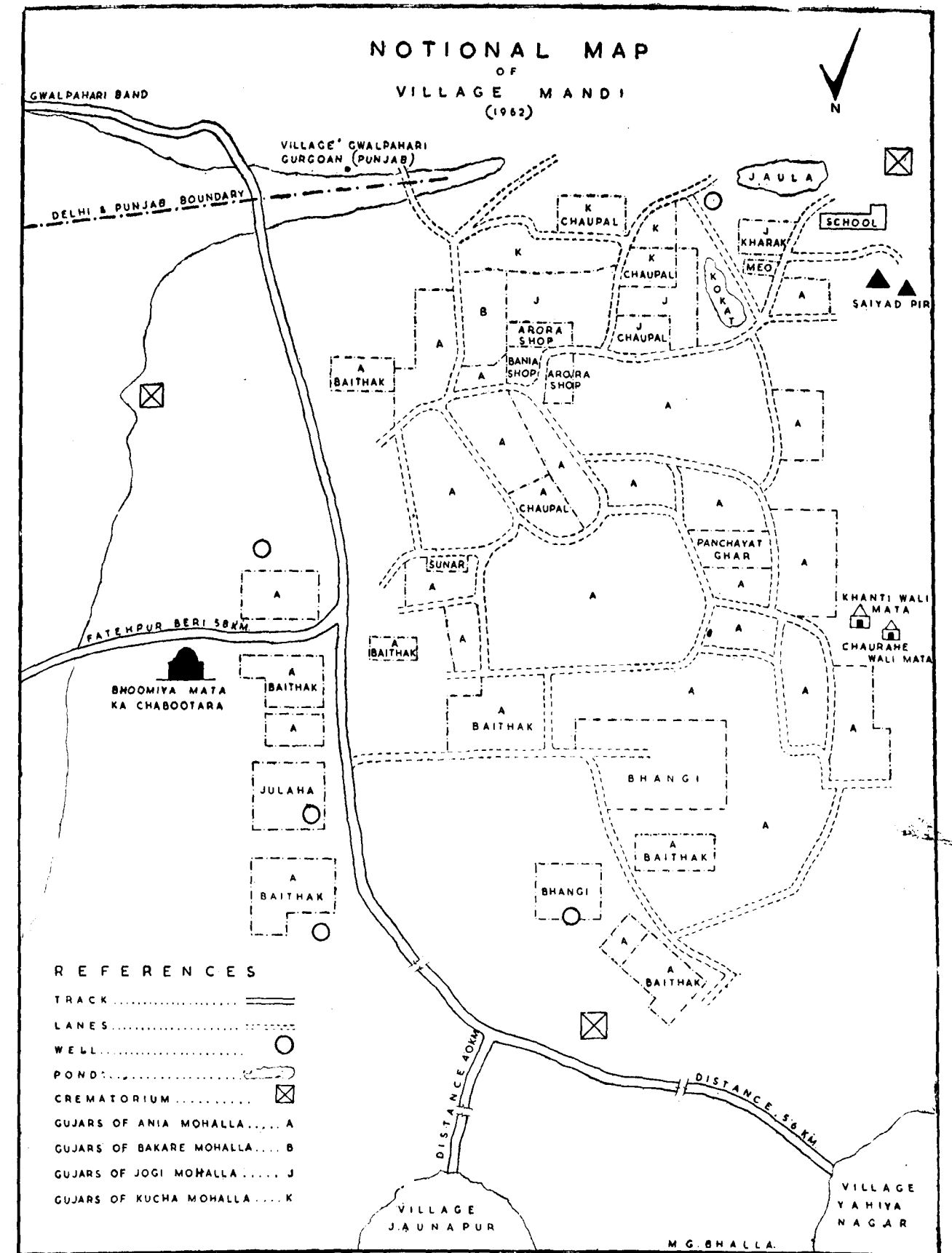
Crematorium in the village is known as *chihta*. There are three crematoriums in the village, one each to cremate the dead bodies of the Gujars and the Julahas and the Bhangis. Crematoriums of the Gujars and the Julahas are near the village habitation, facing the east and the north of the village, respectively. The Bhangis cremate their dead in the south-west of the village in the jungle.

There is no specific burial ground in the village for burying the dead children. They are generally buried in *khals* (deep troughs between the ridges). The dead animals are also thrown in these *khals*, where wild animals and wild birds make a good feast of them.

Owing to the non-availability of any written account of the village history, we had no alternative but to rely upon the informations furnished to us by the villagers themselves. Enquiries made from the old villagers have revealed that this village in olden days (no one in the village could give an approximate date) was a famous grain *mandi* (market) known far and wide for its stability. The fame that this market acquired still exists in the memories of the villagers as even today one finds a number of the villagers murmuring a famous couplet, i.e.

i.e. Mandi needs no bargaining,
Satbari lacks fair dealing,
Chatterpur lacks stable pricing.

It is said that the name Mandi stems from that market (*mandi*). This in a way suggests that in olden days the village was not so isolated. The isolation has been probably a later development caused by the shift in the centres of administration and commerce. But owing to non-availability of historical record, no authentic statement can be made. It is not possible to say categorically whether the village, in olden days, was a site of a famous *mandi* (market) and was closer to the centres of administration and commerce, or otherwise.



The date of the origion of the village, as placed by the villagers, is around 1750 A.D. It is said that one Chander Singh of village Fatehpur Beri was the first Gujar (Tanwar) to choose the village site for habitation, after the death of the only Muslim (known as Ghyasi) living in the village. He originally constructed a *kharak* (enclosure for cattle), but soon after he himself settled there. His younger brother named Likhi also followed suit. But a few years later, Chander Singh again shifted to a new site (Gwalpahari). It is believed that the Gujar of village Mandi are the descendants of Likhi, and the Gujar of village Gwalpahari (Punjab) are the descendants of Chander Singh.

About two generations later, a family of the Bhangis and one of the Julahas from village Dera settled in the village.

Out of 182 households in the village, 144 are Gujar with Tanwar as their *gotra*. They are proud of the fact that their ancestors were the first to rule Delhi, as they assert that they are the descendants of Anangpal Tanwar. According to 'Aine-Akbari' of Abul Fazal, Tanwars ruled Delhi from 372 to 1164 A.D. The fact that the Tanwars were the first to rule Delhi is also supported by the engravings on the 'Harsa Shilalekh' ^(*) found in a well at Mahipuri (now known as Mehrauli), now in the Delhi Museum and on the Iron Pillar known as 'Vishnu Dhawaj' at Mehrauli ^(b). Though most of the villagers were found unaware of their past history, yet almost all of them do remember a couplet, which throws a passing light on their past as well as on their future expectations

किल्ली से दिल्ली हुयी,
तंवर हुआ मचीन ।
किल्ली तो दिल्ली रही,
दिल्ली लई मेम ने छीन ।
एक दिन ऐसा आवेगा,
जब दिल्ली तंवर की होगी ।

i.e. As the nail got loose to be called Dhilli, Tanwar failed in erecting it firmly. The nail remained loose, Foreigners succeeded Delhi to choose, However there shall be a day, When Delhi will belong to the Tanwars.

^(a) देशी हरियानाख्यः पृथ्वीया स्वर्गनिम,
दिल्लीकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोभरंस्ति निर्मितः ।
Harsha Shila-lekha 1327

Ref: Medieval Hindu India by Chintamani

It is likely that with the advance of the Muslims a few of the Tanwars, after being defeated, might have escaped towards the south of Mehrauli. In fact, today, towards the south of Mehrauli there are eight villages (namely, Fatehpur Beri, Asula, Chandan Hola, Dera Mandi, Gwalpahari, Bhati and Chhoti Bhati) belonging to the Tanwar Gujar.

A few words may be added to describe the growth of *mohallas* among the Gujar. As the population of Gujar grew, the joint family system become cumbersome and onerous. It is said that about 150 years ago, the three *budheras* (head ancestors) namely Ania, Kirpa and Bakare, set to divide their ancestral lot among themselves. Subsequently, the descendants of each *budhera* formed their clusters in three respective areas—each cluster being close to one another, yet each clearly demarcated from the others. With the passage of time, as these clusters swelled up, each cluster gained distinctiveness by separate names. For instance, the area or locality inhabiting the descendants of Ania came to be known as Ania *mohalla*, the well demarcated cluster belonging to Kirpa was named as Jogi *mohalla*, and the third cluster was identified by the name of Bakare *mohalla*. It is said that *mohalla* inhabiting the descendants of Kirpa has derived the name Jogi *mohalla* (literally it may be interpreted as a locality inhabiting saints) after the remark of a stranger who once stayed in the village for a few days and observed that the descendants of Kirpa lived like *Jogis* (saints)—for they hardly cared to cover their body with a cloth, slept on bare floor and massaged ash on their bodies to protect themselves from cold.

Kucha *mohalla* has a recent origin. The ancestors of the inhabitants of Kucha *mohalla* belong to village Gwalpahari. About a century ago, they were outcasted from village Gwalphari on a charge of abducting a girl and putting some houses on fire. Their descendants were given asylum in village Mandi. The area (locality), where their descendants live today is known as Kucha *mohalla* (the word 'Kucha' is locally referred as 'to march' or 'to migrate') for their ancestors had once marched off (Kucha) from village Gwalpahari.

^(b) समस्त देहली 1109 (1052 A.D.) अनंगपाल वही
Ref: Iron Pillar, Delhi.

WELFARE AND ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS

There are several welfare and administrative institutions in the village. The more important of them are the Panchayat, a Multi-purpose Cooperative Society, a Primary school, Chaupals and a Bhoomiya or Bhaiyan Mata ka Chabutra. These institutions play a crucial role in moulding the day-to-day socio-economic activities of the villagers.

THE PANCHAYAT

Under the Delhi Panchayat Raj Act, 1954, enforced in October 1959, the village came to have a common Gaon Panchayat with village Dera (3.75 k.m. away from the village) and a Circle Panchayat with its headquarters at village Sultanpur (7.5 k.m. away from the village). The two-tiered set up of the Panchayats as democratic representative bodies, primarily aims at bringing about a process of complete rural rejuvenation at the village level.

The Gaon Panchayat in the village has no separate building of its own. Presently it is housed in Shahamal ki chaupal (one of the oldest chaupals in the village). The chaupal has a pucca rectangular room, with a shady ridge at the highest point of the village and neem tree. It is constructed on the rocky ridge at the highest point of the village and is located more or less in the centre of the village.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK

Since March 1956, the village has been included in Mehrauli Community Development Block. The Gram Sevak (Village Level Worker) is a Block official whose function it is to assist the villagers in keeping pace with the changing dynamics of time. The Gram Sevak serves as a link between the villagers and the Community Development Block. He is supposed to pay weekly visits to the village, guide the villagers about the ways and means of following improved agricultural practices, such as multiple cropping, better seeds, improved agricultural implements, artificial fertilisers, pesticides for plant protection, irrigation and other technocredit facilities, and assist the villagers in availing of these services from the Community Development Block.

THE MANDI MULTIPURPOSE COOPERATIVE (CREDIT) SOCIETY

The society is working since 1957. The only activity it has so far undertaken is to grant loans to its members for the purchase

of cattle, seeds, agricultural implements, craft machines and for sinking irrigation wells. The rate of interest charged by the society is 9.72 per cent. Since 7 March 1960, after closing its accounts with the State Cooperative Bank, Daryaganj, Delhi (about 27.0 k.m. from Mandi) the society has been maintaining its accounts with the Union Cooperative Bank, Mehrauli. Presently, the society's office is housed in one of the rooms of Ramphal Dhan Pal ki Chaupal. Almost all the formal meetings and proceedings of the society are also held there.

DELHI NAGAR-NIGAM PRATHAMIC PATHSHALA, MANDI

In the southern outskirts of the village there is an isolated primary school building, constructed by the District Board in 1948. Since 1959, the school is functioning under the Delhi Municipal Corporation. At present it has 63 students on its roll to attend five primary classes, taken by three teachers.

CHAUPALS

A chaupal in the village is sort of men's sitting or club-house belonging generally to households of the same caste. It is a place where villagers rest and entertain themselves during their leisure hours and discuss their day-to-day topics and problems. On occasions, during night they also gather to enjoy the alluring ragnis and rasiyas.

There are five such chaupals in the village namely Sohan Numberdar ki chaupal, Shahamal ki chaupal, (now Panchayat Ghar), Rampal, Dhanpal ki chaupal, and Kucha walon ki chaupal. All these chaupals are owned by Gujars. Each chaupal has a shady neem tree and a pucca construction. A lota (a drinking pot), a hukka (hubble bubble) and a few cots are the other articles which have life long association with the chaupals.

Shahamal ki chaupal (i.e., chaupal belonging to Shahamal), Sohan Numberdar ki chaupal and Rampal ki chaupal are about 100 years old and each one of them is popular by the name of respective ancestors who took initiative in their construction. Kucha walon ki chaupal i.e., chaupal belonging to Kucha mohalla is about 15 years old. The proper maintenance of a chaupal is a moral responsibility of the direct descendants of the ancestor who had constructed it.

All the chaupals provide free access to a stranger (of the same or equal caste) or the guests of the villagers. Most of the villa-



Males in a Chaupal. Chaupar, playing cards and Hukka provide them a good pastime



gers who do not own private *baithaks* also make use of *chaupals* on auspicious occasions such as marriage, to house the wedding party etc. It is interesting and important to note that to welcome a stranger in a *chaupal* is considered a matter of honour and the stranger is provided with the facilities of bedding and food, free of charge.

BHAIYAN OR BHOMIA MATA KA CHABUTRA
(literally interpreted as the platform of the mother earth).

To meet the villagers' devotional urge, the most common sacred place in the village is known as *Bhaiyan Mata ka Chabutra*. This *chabutra* is a 2' high platform of 6' x 6' area. Villagers believe that the *Bhaiyan Mata* always, without exception, succeeds in granting the wishes of its devotees. The devotees in the village put an earthen lamp on the *Chabutra* and distribute *gur* as a

parsad (sacred alms) in the worship of the Mata.

Once in a year in the month of September, the villagers also celebrate a *punn din* (sacred day for distributing alms) near *Bhaiyan Mata ka Chabutra*. A *langar* (free kitchen) is opened to all, on the voluntary contributions of wheat, ghee, rice and *gur* by the villagers.

Most of the villagers from Mandi also go to Astal, a temple in between Dera and Fatehpur Beri, to pay homage to a *sadhu* (saint or priest) of the temple, also known as *babajee*. Some of the villagers have unequivocal faith in the *babajee's* words. The *babajee* pays regular visits to the village and collects *choon* or *chungta* (donation in kind, commonly wheat-flour). He is also known as a well reputed *vaidya* (Ayurvedic physician) and distributes free Ayurvedic medicines in this and other adjoining villages.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND

THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

IN the present chapter an attempt is made to study and discern. The trend of change, if any, in the caste composition of the village population and in their material and cultural habits as reflected by the possession of the most common household goods

including utensils, furniture etc., their dietary habits, the type of dress and ornaments they wear, the nature of the dwellings they live in and the practices and beliefs they follow during their life cycle i.e., birth, marriage and death.

A. THE PEOPLE

Village Mandi represents a vertical unit of seven castes namely the Gujars, Julahas, Bhangis, Aroras, Baniyas, Sunars and the Muslims (as there is only one Muslim household in the village, caste breakup among the Muslims is not studied and for the sake of convenience the Muslims are being regarded as a caste). The former three castes may be regarded primarily the 'domanial' castes of the village, for they have been living in the village since its very origin and own all the village land. The 'domanial' castes also account for 98.0 per cent of the total households and 97.5 per cent of the total village population. The latter four castes may be classed as the 'immigrant' castes of the village, as they immigrated in the village only in the present generation.

CASTES AND POPULATION

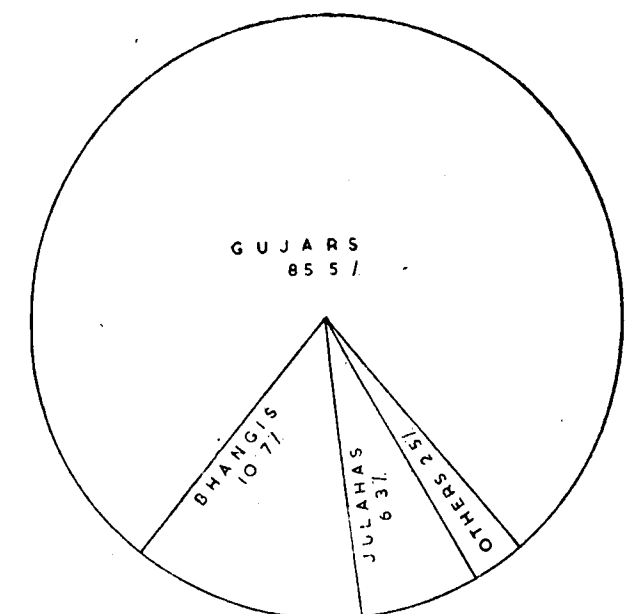


TABLE II.1

Distribution of Population according to Caste, Sex, average Size of Households

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	No. of members		Total	% of the grand total	Average size of Households	Sex ratio females per 1000 males
		Males	Females				
Gujar	145	422	331	753	80.5	5.1	80
Julaha	20	57	43	100	10.7	5.0	43
Bhangi	12	25	33	58	6.3	4.8	132
Sunar	1	3	3	6	0.6	6.0	100
Arora	2	4	..	4	0.4	2.0	..
Baniya	1	1	2	3	0.3	3.0	200
Muslim	1	8	3	11	1.2	11.0	47
TOTAL	182	520	415	935	100.0	5.1	80

The Gujars in the village represent the dominant caste as it forms the largest single group constituting 80.5 per cent of the total population who own 99.1 per cent of the total land under cultivation. The other castes following in order of numerical strength are the Julahas and the Bhangis. The immigrant castes viz., the Baniyas, Aroras, Sunars and the Muslims, taken together, form only 2.5 per cent of the total village population.

The average size of the households for the village as a whole works out to be 5.1 persons. It varies from 2.0 persons per household in case of the Aroras to 11.0 persons in case of the Muslims. It is significant to note that the average size of the households among the 'domanial' castes is more or less uniform as it ranges between 4.8 persons in case of the Bhangis to 5.1 persons in case of the Gujars.

The sex ratio for the village as a whole works out at 80 females per 100 males. Incidentally this is also the sex ratio for the Gujars.

CASTE HIERARCHY AND INTER-CASTE RELATIONS

Each caste in the village has its own distinct social status as represented by the offer and acceptance of food, drinks, *hukka*, and general inter-mixture, such as, sitting on a higher or lower seat etc. *vis-a-vis* other castes. In the following table No. II. 2 for the purpose of analysis the various castes in the village have been grouped according to their social status under three categories

viz., higher, lower and the middle. This classification is only tentative to show the social standing of different castes as it obtains in the village.

TABLE II.2

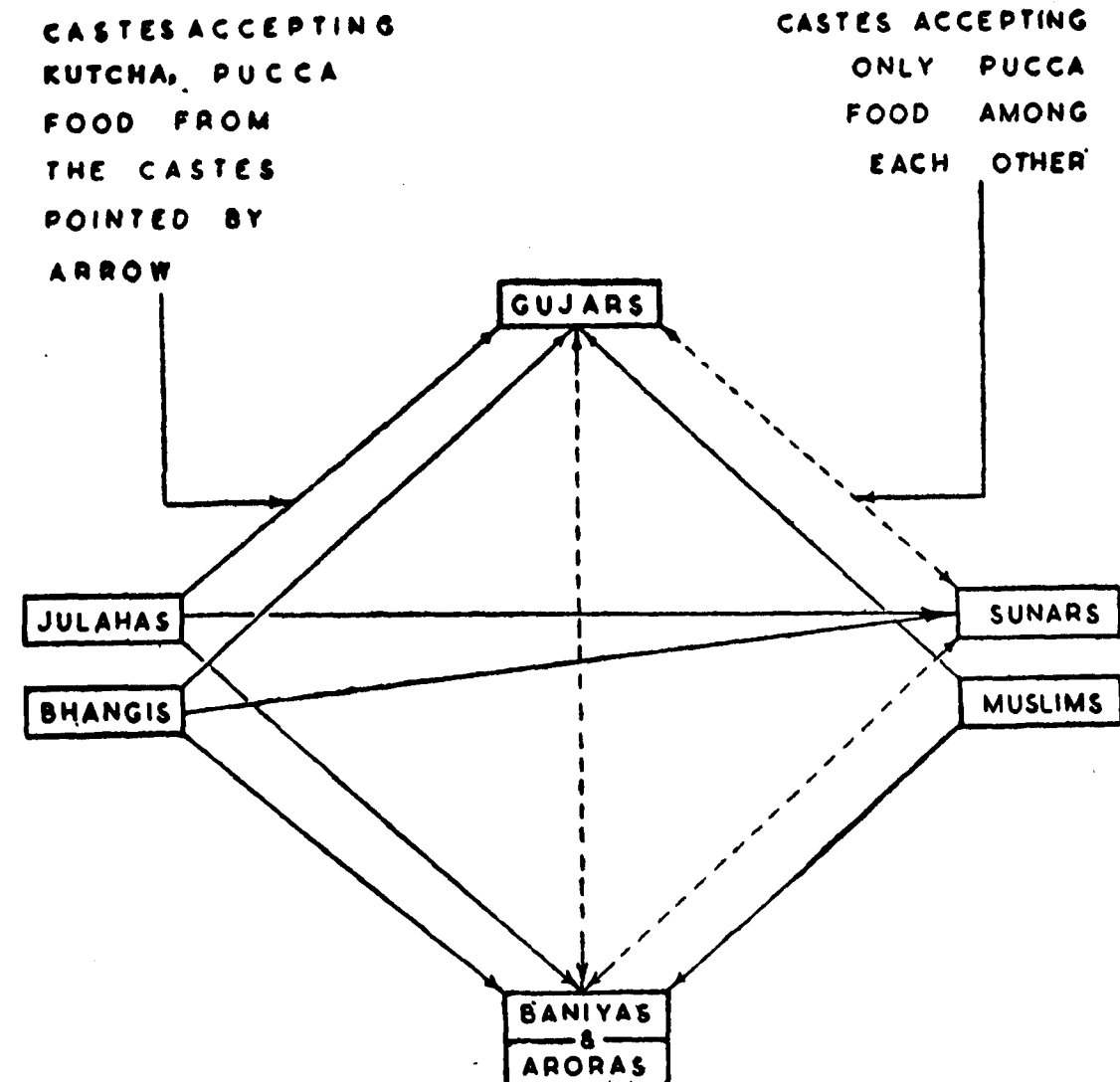
Status-wise Classification of the castes and the Population

Social Status	Caste	No. of H. Hs.	% of the total population
Higher	{ Baniyas Aroras Gujars	{ 1 2 145 }	81.2%
Middle	{ Sunars Muslims	{ 1 1 }	1.8%
Lower	{ Julahas Bhangis	{ 20 12 }	17.0%

The above table shows that according to the status-wise classification of the castes, the Gujars, Baniyas and the Aroras (representing 81.2 per cent of the total population) form the top tier of the three-fold division of the castes in the village and the Sunars and the Muslims constitute the middle tier of the social hierarchy. All the castes in the village consider these two castes viz. the Sunars and the Muslims as possessing a higher social status than the Julahas and the Bhangis, who occupy the lowest place of the caste hierarchy. Even among these two lower castes, the Julahas are considered to have a superior social status than the Bhangis.

INTER-CASTE RELATIONS

(ACCEPTANCE OF FOOD & DRINKS)



The most common feature about inter-caste relations in the village is that amongst the castes inter-caste marriage, dining (*kutch*a food) and smoking the same *hukka* is not permissible. The higher castes neither attend the social observances and ceremonies of the lower castes, nor do they accept anything including water from them, but the *vice versa* is still practised, that is to say, the lower castes will accept everything from the higher castes. Further as regards the

sitting arrangement amongst the different castes in the village, it may be noted that the lower caste group always takes a lower seat before the members of higher castes. For instance, if a lower caste member visits a higher caste household, the higher caste member will never offer him an equal or better seat. But if a higher caste person comes to a lower caste household, the latter is bound to offer him a higher seat.

CASTES AND OCCUPATIONS

The traditional occupation of the Gujars in the village has been the cultivation of land and cattle rearing. The ancestors of the Julahas and the Bhangis have been weavers and scavengers respectively. The Baniyas and the Aroras claim their ancestral occupation as trading and the Sunars as goldsmithy. Prior to Independence, all the castes more or less adhered to their respective traditional occupations. But now, owing to the new form of socio-economic set up, some drifts in the traditional caste occupation of the villagers have taken place. It has been found that over one-fifth of the existing households in the village have left their traditional occupations and taken to non-traditional callings as the latter were found more remunerative.

For instance, the traditional occupation of the Gujars in the village is cultivation of land and cattle rearing*. But a study of the present occupational structure of the Gujars in the village shows that only 78.0 per cent of the Gujar households are following their traditional callings. The rest i.e. 22.0 per cent of the Gujar households have changed

their occupations from agriculture to other occupations : 9 households have reported to have taken to milk-selling, 8 are in service as peons, 7 are casual labourers, 2 are tailors, 1 contractor, 2 clerks, 1 teacher, 1 rehra-driver and 1 shopkeeper.

The Baniyas and the Aroras according to Manu's caste classification belong to the *vai-shya varna*. All of them are still following their traditional occupation i.e. trading and finance.

Among the Julahas and the Bhangis, none of the Julahas in the village is following his traditional occupation of weaving cloth. Owing to the availability of cheap mill-made cloth and lack of market for the coarse hand-woven cloth all the Julahas in the village now depend for their living on daily wage labour.

Among the Bhangis, with the exception of a single household, all are still engaged in their traditional callings as scavengers. Nevertheless, owing to the weakening of the inter-caste rigidities, the Bhangis in the village are now no more keeping up the tradition of singing and dancing as and when called by the higher castes.

B. MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

In the following paragraphs a study of the possession of household goods including some of the new items of furniture like chairs, tables, stools, etc. and of other goods like bicycle, sewing machines, stoves, dry-cell torches and petromax; and certain material habits regarding food and drinks, dress and ornaments, and nature of dwellings of the different castes in the village is undertaken. Further, in order to evaluate the extent of material change that has taken place in village, a comparison has been made with the corresponding data about the acquisition of some of these materials by the villagers during the last five years.

UTENSILS

The most commonly used utensils among all castes in the village are *handia* (an earthen pot for cooking food), *karhawani* (an earthen pot for boiling milk), *gharha* (a pitcher for storing water), *tawa* (iron plate), *chimta* (iron tongs), *khutarwa* (a

wooden pot for keeping bread), *parat*, *thali* (big metal plate), *katori* (a metal cup), glass (of brass) and a *karchi* (a big spoon) made of brass or iron, *doi* (a wooden spoon). *Pateli* or *patila* (a pan of brass or aluminium), *karhai* (frying pan) and *chakla-belan* (a wooden or stone plate and a wooden roller to give bread a desired shape) are seldom used by the villagers except on occasions of social observances and ceremonies for cooking rice, *kheer* (a sweetish mixture of rice and milk) and *puri* (fried bread) etc. Bucket, *bilowni* (an earthen pot for churning curd) and *rai* (a wooden tool for churning curd) are the other common utensils that most of the households keeping milch cattle possess (see plate).

Hearths in the village are known as *angithi*. The most common types of hearths in the village are earthen portable hearths of square shape or of rounded shape (see plate).

*All the Gujars associate themselves with the Kshatriya varna (a class of warriors). They hold that in the past (before the coming of the Muslims) they were the rulers of their own kingdoms. But with the coming of the Muslims they lost their kingdoms to Muslims and scared of their lives they made their way towards the forestry region. There they had their main source of livelihood as cattle rearing (*gochar*) and also by the name of the Gujars.



Utensils most commonly possessed by the village households



Portable hearths (square and round ones) using *uple* (cowdung cakes) as fuel, milk being boiled in an earthen pitcher on the round-shaped portable hearth



Storing utensils inside a *ghar*

FURNITURE

TABLE II.3

Material Culture : Furniture

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	Palang (Bedstead)	Moodha (stool made of reeds)	Chair	Table	Stool	Khatia (cots)
Gujar	145	41	15	6	5	2	421
Julaha	12	..	..	..	..	..	21
Bhangi	20	..	..	1	1	..	10
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Arora	2	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim (Meo)	1	..	..	..	..	1	1
TOTAL	182	41	15	7	6	3	457

A study of Table No. II.3, about the possession of furniture in the village reveals that *khatia* (cot) is the only article of furniture that is possessed by all the households irrespective of their social and economic status. *Palangs* (bedsteads) are

owned only by 41 Gujar households, all received in their respective marriages as part of dowry. The number of households possessing *moodhas*, chairs, tables and stools comes to be fifteen, seven, six and three respectively.

TABLE II.4

Furniture possessed within last five years

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	Palang (Bedstead)	Moodha (Stool made of reeds)	Chair	Table	Stool
Gujar	145	13	8	2	2	2
Julaha	12	..	..	..	..	..
Bhangi	20	..	..	1	1	..
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..
Arora	2	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	13	8	3	3	2

A study of the acquisition of these items of furniture during the last five years shows that most of the new-fledged items of furniture, viz. moodha, chair, table and stool have been acquired by the villagers within the last five years. All these items are possessed by the well-off households in the village.

Other Household Goods

Table No. II.5 shows that only 38.5 per cent of the total households in the village have hurricane lanterns. The dibia (an open-lamp-chimney), still serves as the prime source of lighting the house. Hurricane lanterns are normally used only in the baithaks or when the wind is blowing fast or during the night journeys. Only 13 households in the village own dry cell torches. With the exception of one, all of them are working outside the village.

TABLE II.5
Material culture—Household goods

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	Dibia	Hurricane lantern	Petro-max	Dry cell torch	Kerosene stove	Bicycle	Sewing machine	Khatiya	Harm-nium
Gujar	145	145	63	..	11	1	36	2	145	4
Julaha	12	12	1	..	..	..	2	..	12	..
Bhangi	20	20	3	1	1	1	4	..	20	..
Baniya	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Arora	2	..	2	..	1	..	2	..	2	..
Sunar	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Muslim	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
TOTAL	182	180	70	1	13	2	44	3	182	4

44 households in the village have bicycles. A study of the main reason for possessing bicycles shows that leaving one household, all the rest are keeping bicycles out of sheer necessity, as 28 of them are milk-vendors and use their bicycles for the transportation of milk, 9 are in service outside the village, two are shopkeepers and the rest of the households have purchased bicycles for their

young sons studying in higher classes at Gurgaon or at Yahya Nagar.

Out of the three sewing machines in the village, one is owned by a Gujar household for domestic use and the other two by professional tailors, one a Gujar and the other a Muslim.

TABLE II. 6
Material culture—Household goods Possessed within last Five Years

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	Hurricane lantern	Harm-nium	Dry cell torch	Petro-max	Kerosene stove	Bicycle	Sewing machine
Gujar	145	22	2	9	..	1	11	2
Julaha	12	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Bhangi	20	1	..	1	1	1	11	..
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arora	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	24	2	11	1	2	24	2



Uple (cowdung cakes) being stored in a *batoo* for rainy season

A comparison of the above data with the corresponding data about the acquisition of these goods during the last five years shows that 33.4 per cent of hurricane lanterns, 81.8 per cent of dry cell torches, 31.8 per cent of bicycles, 66.6 per cent of sewing machines and the only petromax in the village were purchased by the villagers during the last five years. This also measures the extent of the material benefit which the villagers have shared with the material progress of the country as a whole.

TABLE II.7

Consumption habits

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	Soap		Mosquito net	Washer- man
		Bathing	Washing		
Gujar	145	32	45	..	20
Julaha	20	7	4	..	..
Bhangi	12	2	9	..	1
Arora	2	..	2	..	1
Baniya	1	..	1	..	..
Sunar	1	..	1	..	..
Muslim	1	..	1	..	..
TOTAL	182	41	63	1	22

Regarding the use of toilet soap and the services of the washerman, Table No. II.7 shows that only 21.4 per cent of the total households in the village use toilet soap and 12.6 per cent of them casually avail the services of a washerman. Here it may be pointed out that 71.8 per cent of the households using toilet soap and 98.6 per cent availing the services of washerman are working outside the village. Further a caste-wise study of above table reveals that the relative percentage of the Bhangi households using toilet and washing soap is much higher than among the Gujars and the Julahas. This is so because the relative proportion of the households in service among the Bhangis is much higher than any other caste in the village.

FUEL

The most common item of fuel in the village is uple (cow-dung cake). As reported by the villagers, the estimated average consumption of uple of an average household (consisting of 5.1 persons) is about 3 quintals per month. Uple in the village are patched by the housewives and children and the dried ones are stored up in batooras (a hut shaped enclosure for storing uple, made of cow-dung itself) (see Block).

Phoos (straw) and wood are the other items of fuel in the village. Kerosene oil is also occasionally used by the two households possessing stoves.

FOOD & DRINKS

Most of the households in the village are vegetarians. The higher castes, namely, the Gujars, Baniyas and the Aroras are the conventional vegetarians, while the Julahas and the Bhangis have become so only in the present generation, possibly on account of the influence of the other castes. Amongst the higher castes only a few Gujars working outside the village in the city take meat stealthily.

The usual items of staple diet of the villagers consist of wheat, gram, barley, bajra and milk. There is hardly any variation in the items of the diet that the villagers take. For instance, *gochani* (wheat mixed with gram) is taken almost throughout the year. However, the variations in the day-to-day items of meals and number of times they take their meals are noticeable from season to season. For instance, during summer and rainy season the main items of their three-times staple diet are: *dalia* (a mixture of wheat, or wheat and gram with milk—a morning breakfast) *chapati* (bread of mixed wheat

and gram flour i.e. *gochani*), *dal*, *sabzi* (pulse chiefly gram and vegetables) *chatni* (sauce) and *rabri* (a mixture of *lassi* with gram and wheat or barley). *Dalia* and *rabri* are considered as light meals that help to increase appetite and one's vigour to face the summer blazing sun and heat waves. *Dalia* forms the item of the normal diet of those who own milch cattle while *rabri* of all the villagers irrespective of the fact whether they own milch cattle or not.

Similarly, the chief items of the winter staple diet are *bajre ki roti* (bread of bajra flour) and *bajre ki khichri* (a saltish hotch-potch) *bajra* and *chane ki roti* (bread of bajra and gram flour) and *sabzi* (*sarson ka saag* and pulse). *Bajra* and gram in the village are regarded as the dry food, consumption of which causes generation of heat in the body. Therefore normally bajra is consumed only during winter season.

A few economically better-off households in the village also include *ghee-sakkar* (unrefined brown sugar-dust mixed with ghee) as an item of their staple diet. But to guests they normally serve *ghee-bura* (refined sugar-dust mixed with ghee).

Other products such as *gulgule*, *churma*, *pude*, *chile* (all are sweet roasted form of bread), *khir* (rice boiled in milk), *ras-ki-khir* (rice boiled in sugar-cane juice), *halwa*, *seera* (liquid form of *halwa*), *gurhyari* (*halwa* without ghee) and green vegetables and potatoes are only cooked on occasions of social observances and ceremonies.

COUNTRY LIQUOR DISTILLATION

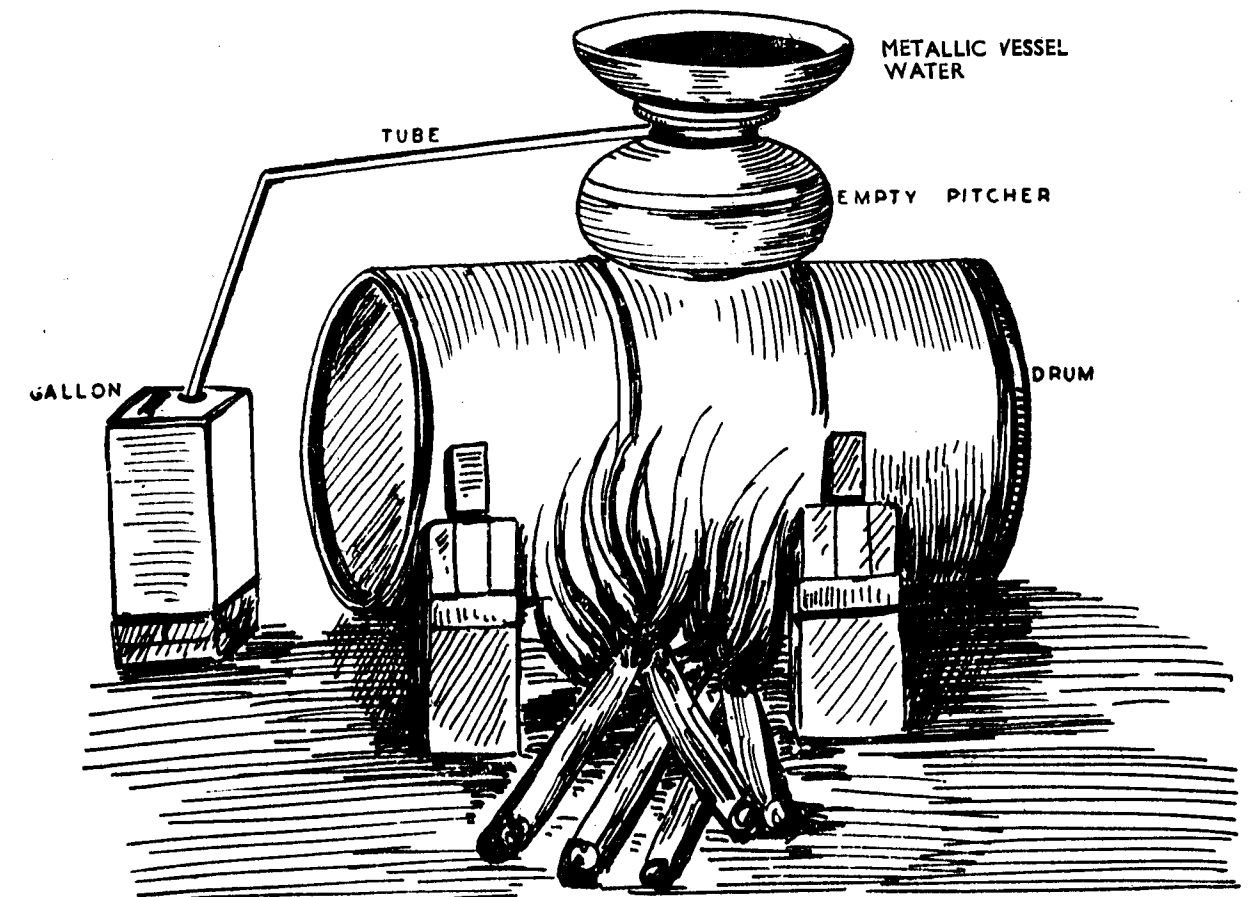
The consumption of intoxicants such as liquor, opium etc. is morally tabooed in the village. But some persons addicted to liquor take it stealthily. In fact an informal query revealed that a few villagers do practise illicit distillation of country liquor in the village. The distillation of liquor is carried on in the village jungle, in the deep narrow troughs, hardly negotiable by a stranger and even by the police party. The

police officials at Mehrauli admit that they are aware of the fact that distillation of illicit country liquor (*desi sharab*) is pursued in the village, yet they have never been in a position to catch the culprits red-handed. It is partly because the villagers do not co-operate with them in their raids, rather they always side with the culprits. As a matter of practice, the distillation of liquor is carried on very cautiously and a careful watch is kept on the surroundings, the strangers etc. A little suspicion on expectation of a visit of police raid party is taken very seriously and full precautionary measures are adopted so as to leave the police with no clues.

A brief note on the technique of distillation, as practised by the villagers, is furnished hereunder:

The method of preparing country liquor locally prevalent is fermentation method. A big drum (having capacity of about 2 quintals) is filled with water (100 litres approximately), 30 to 40 kilograms of *seera* (molasses) or 20 to 25 kilograms of *gur*, *kikar ka kassa* (skins of acacia tree) 4 to 5 kilograms, and 100 to 200 grams of *naushadar* (ammonium chloride). Within 3 to 5 days, the process of fermentation is complete and the *saaroo* (fermented liquid mixture of molasses, skins of *kikar* etc.) starts overflowing the drum. Now, within 10 to 15 days, whenever it is convenient, the fermented liquid is poured into another drum, especially designed for distillation operation. The drum is covered from all sides and placed over a temporary furnace prepared just by suitably placing stones and digging the earth, if necessary. At the centre of the drum there is a *tuti* (a circular hole which can be closed with a screw bolt if desired). An earthen pitcher (*maat* or *ghara*) is fixed around this circular hole with the help of some earthen paste. Near the top end of the pitcher there is a small hole into which a rubber tube, one or two yards long, is fitted. The lid of the pitcher consists of a circular shallow metal plate containing cold water (see figure on page 31).

COUNTRY LIQUOR DISTILLATION



When all the arrangements are complete, the open hearth furnace is put on fire. Wood and cowdung cakes are used as fuel. The liquid inside the drum goes on boiling and the vapours passing through the central hole of the drum and the pitcher strike the cold metallic vessel at the top of the pitcher, get concentrated and with the help of the rubber tube connecting the pitcher and the receiver (bottle or a gallon) are distilled into the receiver. The water of the metallic vessel is changed as and when it gets hot. In this process, about 3 to 4 gallons of liquor are distilled within 4 to 5 hours. It is sold at the rate of Rs. 3 per bottle (24 ounces).

On rare occasions, special kind of liquor is prepared for domestic use. Instead of molasses, *gur* or *shakkar* or sugar and the skins of oranges or other fruits, and barley are mixed with water and kept for fermentation for 15 to 30 days. Use of *naushadar* (ammonium chloride) is avoided. The remaining process of distillation is the same as described above.

TEA

Tea as a regular drink is regarded as a luxury and an evil. It is believed that it makes one's temperament dry and it is an imperialist legacy that the Britishers have left and deliberately taught the Indians to take. One can still hear villagers scornfully murmuring

अंग्रेज चले गये चाय छोड़ गये,

i.e. Britishers have gone but left tea. Deploring, ironically, the mass consumption of tea in the holy land, they also narrate the following couplet:—

रामजी के राज में रावड़ी ।

ब्रह्म जी के में धी ॥

जवाहर लाल के राज में ।

चाय खूब पी ॥

i.e. In the days of Rama, people enjoyed *Rabri*

In the days of Krishna people enjoyed Ghee

In the days of Jawahar Lal, people enjoy tea.

However, though not even a single household in the village is habituated to tea, yet villagers do take tea often as a medicine to cure colds and cough. Usually whenever the villagers take tea it is taken along with gur, sugar is used only for guests.

Hukka (Hubble Bubble)

Hukka occupies a pride of place in the villagers' life. Almost all the households in the village possess hukka. It is not a surprise to see old females smoking hukka, though younger female generation prefer to abstain from it. To the tired, it serves as a relaxation, to the old men and idlers it provides a pastime and to the guests and relatives it is offered as a mark of respect. In the village it presides over all the secret or open conferences of the villagers. Even if one is in a hurry the hukka is offered as a MUST to be smoked with the following words of excuse:—

बात की बात में लग गयो तुक्का ।

काम पीछे पहले पीव हुक्का ॥

i.e. Talks and other works will go on, but let us first smoke hukka.

DRESSES AND ORNAMENTS

White dhoti, white pugri and white kurta form the predominant traditional dress of the male adults (excepting the Muslims) of the village (see Picture). In winter the only additional garment which they wrap round their bodies is the chaddar (a sheet of hand-woven yarn). Woollen blankets and garments are items which only a few well-to-do households can afford.

The new substitutes for the traditional dress of the males in the village such as pyjama, shirt, under-wear, as against dhoti, kurta and langoti respectively are increasingly being used by the younger generation. A few villagers working outside the village and a few students studying in higher classes also wear pants and shirts. The school-going children in the village are increasingly taking to half-pants and shirts, while the non-school going children below five or six years of age still normally move about in the village with only a shirt on. There hardly exist any caste-wise differentiation in the wearing apparel of the

villagers. However, whatsoever difference exists, mostly corresponds to their social and economic status. Socially and economically well-off people put on relatively better quality of garments and have greater variety of clothes for change.

The females in the village do not wear white clothes as that is considered inauspicious. Glittering coloured clothes, especially red, green and yellow, form the main choice of the village womenfolk. Ghagra or lehnga (a sort of skirt of 5 to 25 yards), aungi (brassiere) and chundri or odhani (a long veil to cover the head and the face) constitute the main clothes of the traditional dress of the village women. However the younger generation of females in the village is increasingly getting used to kamiz, salwar and chundri. The traditional dress is worn only by a few newly-married housewives and old females in the village. Three or four housewives belonging to the well-off households who have once or twice lived in cities, also on occasions wear blouse and sari.

On auspicious occasions, such as festivals, going to a fair or some sacred place like Kalkajee, Garmukteshwar etc. or going out in rishtedari (to see relations) the villagers generally wear new garments. On ceremonial occasions the dress of the bride generally consists of pinky silken kamiz and lehnga and an odhni (gear for the head) of linen, and the dress of the groom includes white dhoti, yellow kurta, pinky turban, and a maarh (a pole made of bamboo sticks and silvery papers with a veil of silvery threads) tied to the turban.

The widows use simple dress and avoid the use of gaudily coloured apparel. Though, strictly speaking, they are supposed to wear white clothes, but no such practice is followed as the white clothes get apparently more dirty than the coloured ones.

Footwear

Juti, an unlaced shoe, made locally as per order, is the most common footwear of both the sexes in the village. The only noticeable difference in the female juti is that it usually has some design embroidered with coloured threads or with golden or silver yarn.

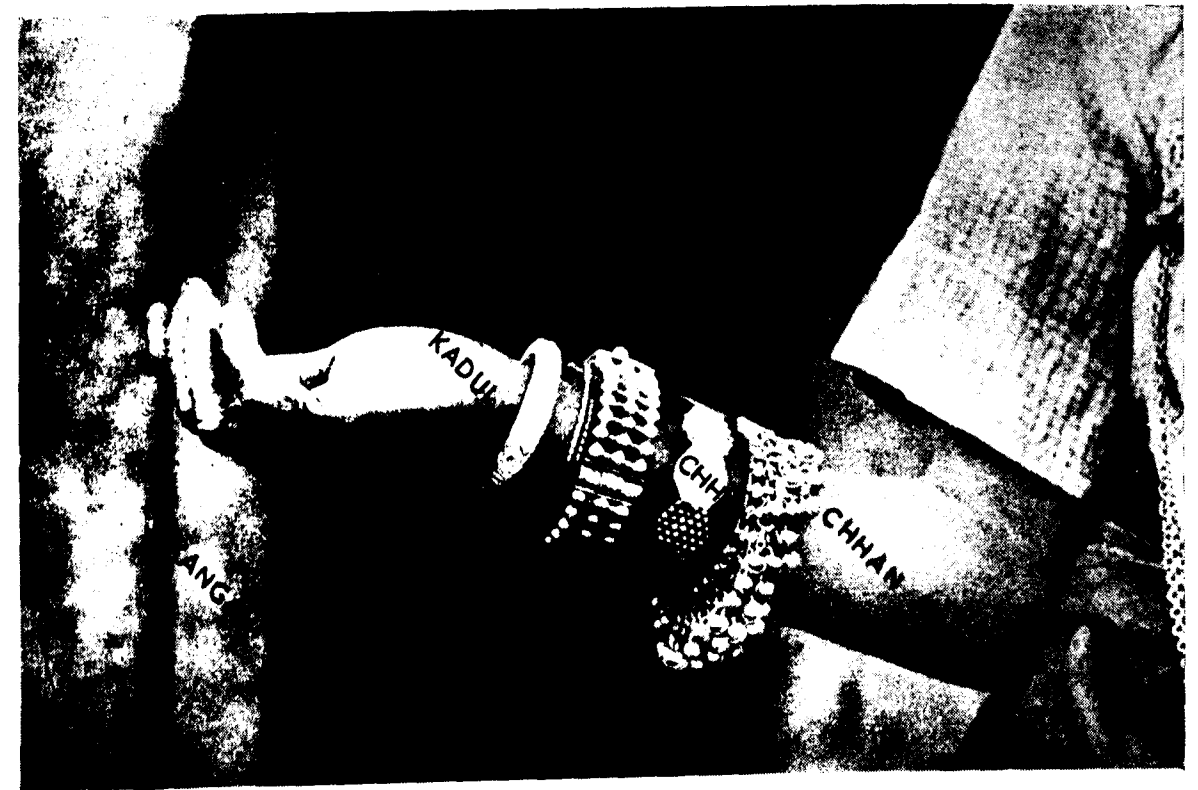
Laced shoes are used only by a few villagers. Almost all of them are working outside the village or are students studying in higher classes. It has been observed that putting laced shoes is considered by the villagers as an expensive luxury; besides



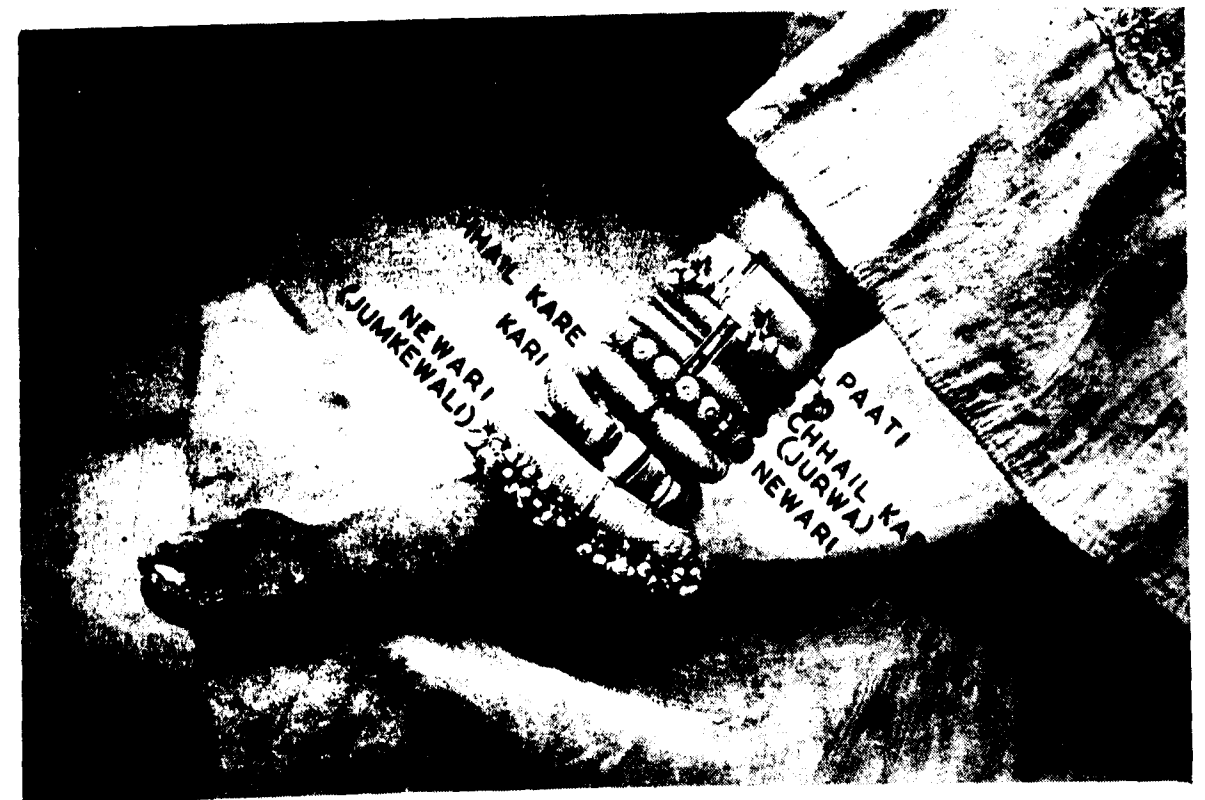
A Gujar in his traditional dress



Ornaments add to female beauty and pride

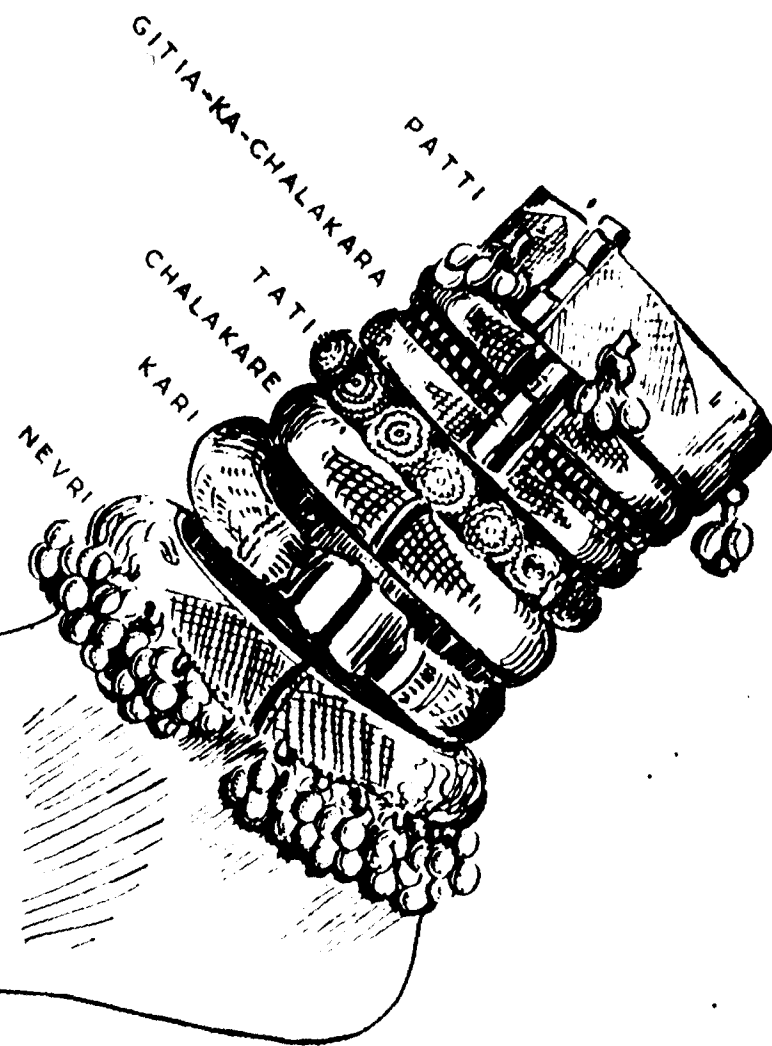
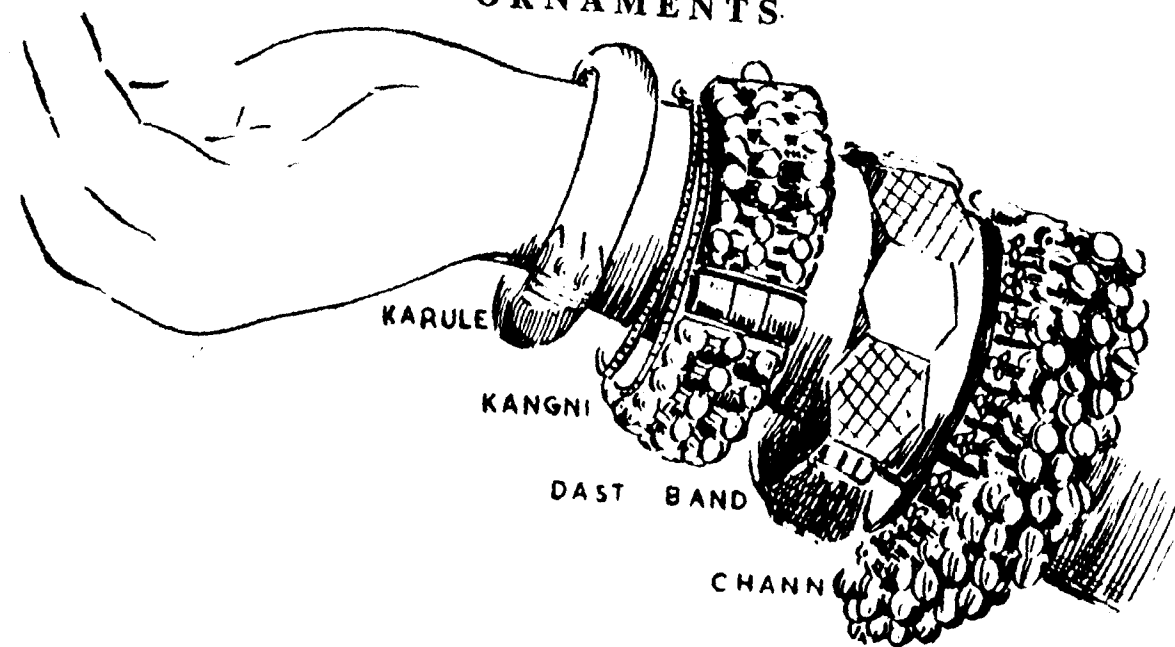


Wrist with ornaments



Lower leg and ornaments

ORNAMENTS



37

these are said to be much less durable than the juti.

Ornaments

Ornaments worn by the village women are illustrious, both quantitatively as well

as qualitatively. They constitute both the *shrinagar* (adornment) of a woman as well as the barometer of her social status in the village (see plate). Following is the list of some of the ornaments worn by the village womenfolk:—

Ornaments		
Part of body	Local Name of the ornament	Description of the ornament
Hair	Faunda	(long ribbons for hair made of a number of black threads. Sometimes also bearing silver or golden yarn work).
Forehead	Teeka	(a rounded ornament for forehead; may be of silver or gold).
Ears	(a) Karanphool (b) Bunde (c) Boojni (d) Dade (e) Jhumke (f) Bali	(rounded ornaments for ears made of silver or gold).
Nose	(a) Laung (b) Nath	(a) a small nose ring made of gold worn in the right wing of the nose. (b) a big nose ring worn in the septum of the nose.
Neck	(a) Hasli (b) Kanthi (c) Galsari (d) Gulband (e) Matarmala (f) Mohar (g) Haar	(a) to (f) rounded ornaments worn around the neck. (g) a long garland made of silver.
Fingers	(a) Mundri	(a) finger ring—may be of gold or silver.
Wrist	(a) Chhan (b) Chhan Kangan (c) Kangan (d) Dustband (e) Kare (f) Hathphool (g) Bazoo (h) Chapkali (i) Bizawate (j) Kadula (k) Pacheli (l) Churi	(a) to (k) bangle-like ornaments made of silver. (l) a light bangle made of silver or brass or copper or glass.
Waist	(a) Tagri	(a) an ornamental belt made of silver.
Foot	(a) Paati (b) Kare (c) Chail Kare (d) Newari	(a) to (d) bangles made of silver for lower legs
Foot fingers	(a) Bichawe	(rings made of silver or foot fingers).

The ornaments of head, ears, nose and neck may be of silver or gold, according to the economic and social standing of the house, but the ornaments of wrist, waist and foot are usually of silver. The old tradition among the lower castes viz., the Julahas and the Bhangis, of wearing zinc ornaments is on the wane. These are being increasingly replaced by silver ornaments. The difference in the types, quality and designs of the ornaments are more according to the social

and economic status of the house, rather than according to the caste.

HOUSE TYPES

The houses in the village are haphazardly constructed without regard for building bye-laws, sanitation or ventilation. For the purpose of analytical study the houses in the village may be studied according to the purpose for which they are constructed or according to the type of building material

used in their construction. Analysing the structures from the former point of view, they may be broadly classified as follows:

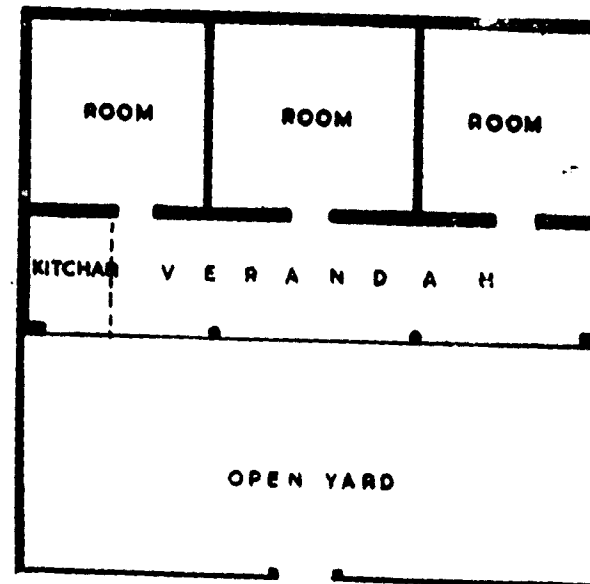
1. *Ghar* (Residential structure).
2. *Baithak* or *Dukaria* (Sitting room).
3. *Kharak* or *Gher* (A separate cattle shed).

4. *Gitwarha* (Cattleshed-cum-sitting room).
5. *Kothi* (a pigsty).

Ghar (Residential structure)

A *ghar* in the village is primarily a place where all the members of the household live and where food is cooked.

A PUCCA GHAR

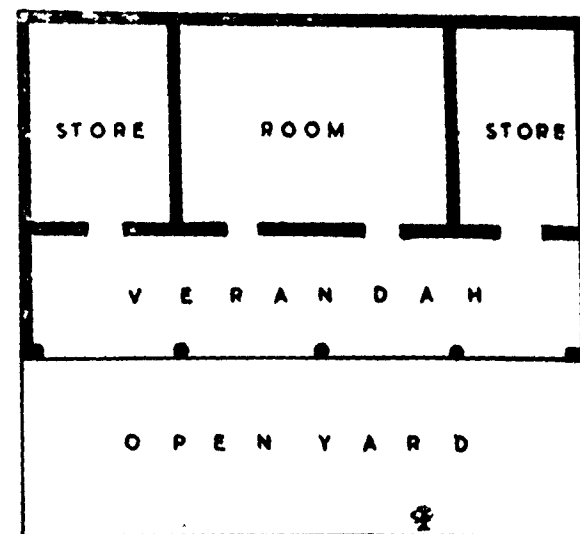


Baithak or *Dukariya* (Sitting room)

Baithak in the village is primarily a *mardana ghar* or a house for males only.

It serves both as a sitting room as well as a sleeping room for the male members of the household, relatives, guests and outsiders.

BAITHAK



PLAN

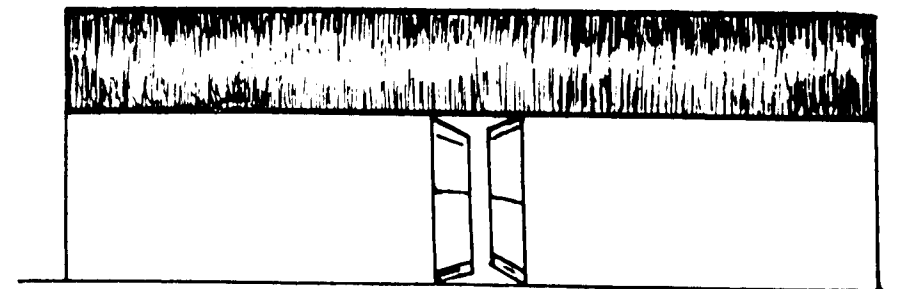


A *baithak* belonging to a well-to-do household in the village

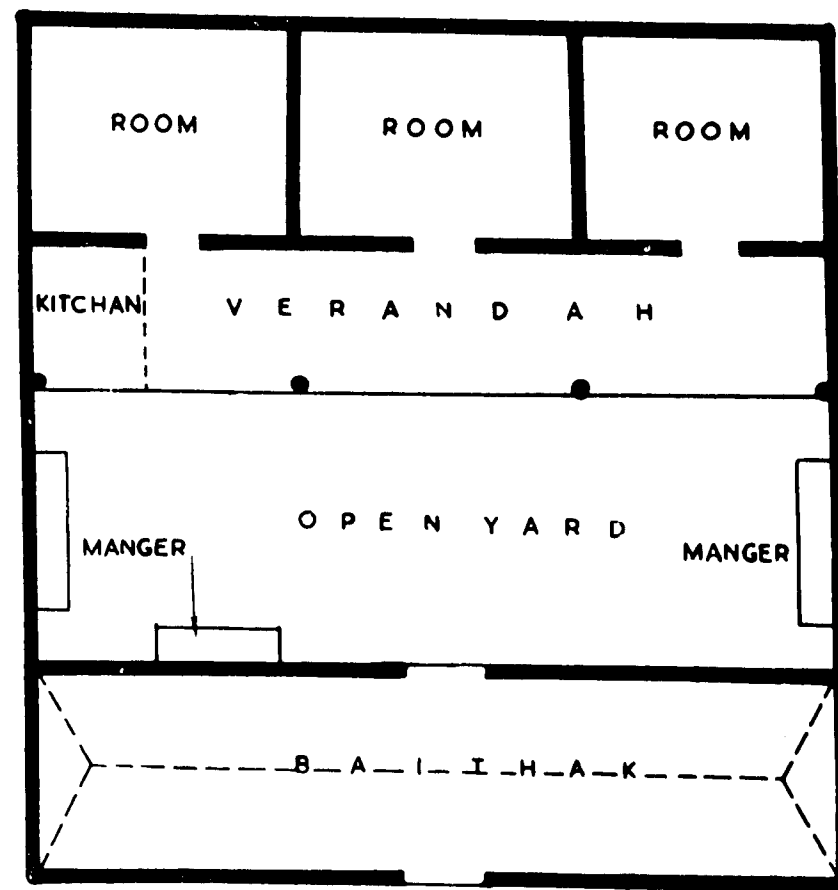


A view of *kharak* (an enclosure for cattle with a cattle shed)

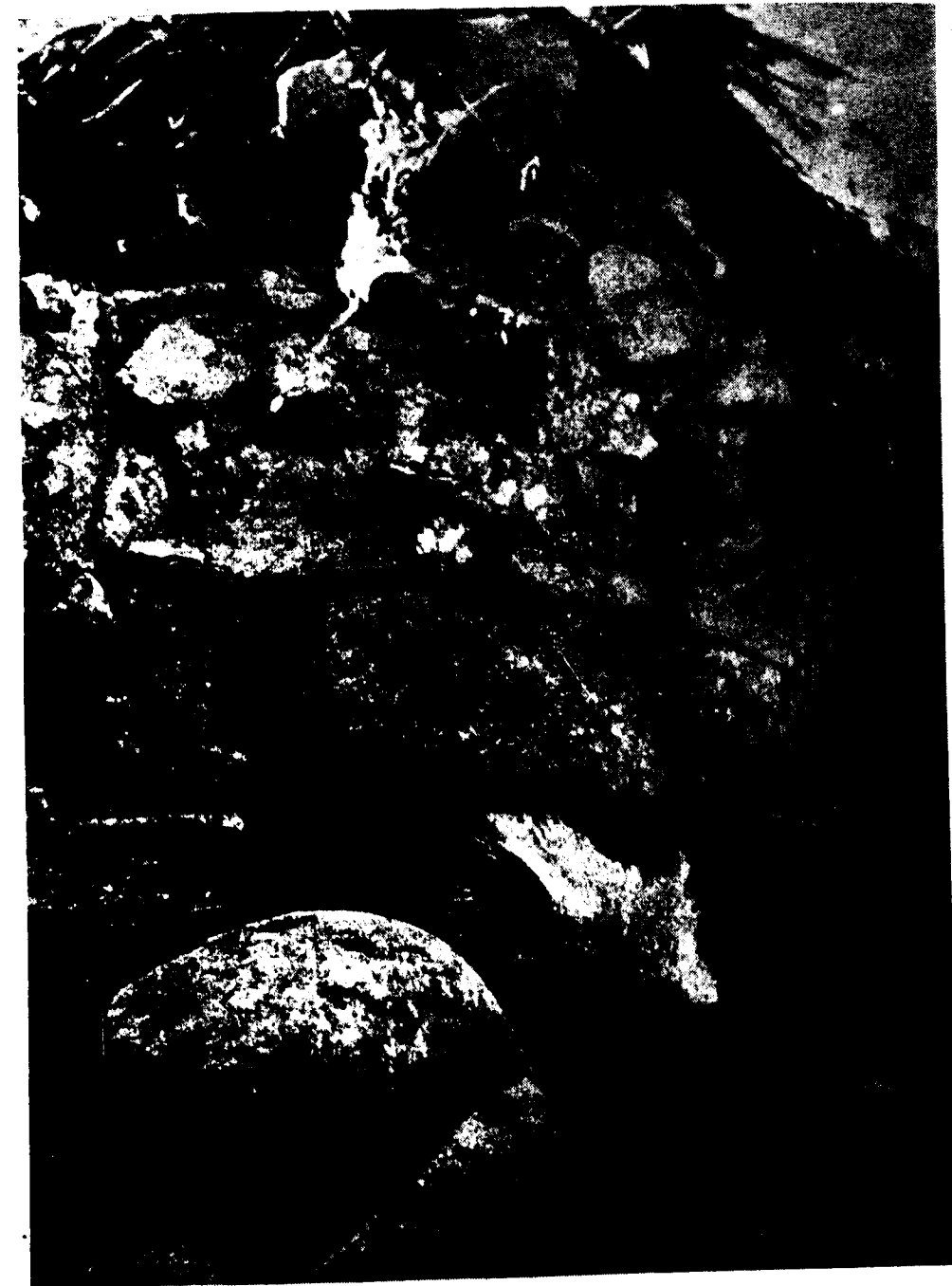
A HOUSE WITH BAITHAK & CATTLE ENCLOSURE



FRONT ELEVATION



PLAN



A pigsty

Only three or four *baithaks* in the village are owned by individual households. Most of the *baithaks* are jointly owned by two or more households (normally brothers or cousins). In case of joint *baithaks*, the cost is equally shared among the members and/or the members get separate rooms or compartments in the *baithak* according to their shares in total cost. Normally *baithaks* are constructed at some distance from the *ghars* i.e. residential structures.

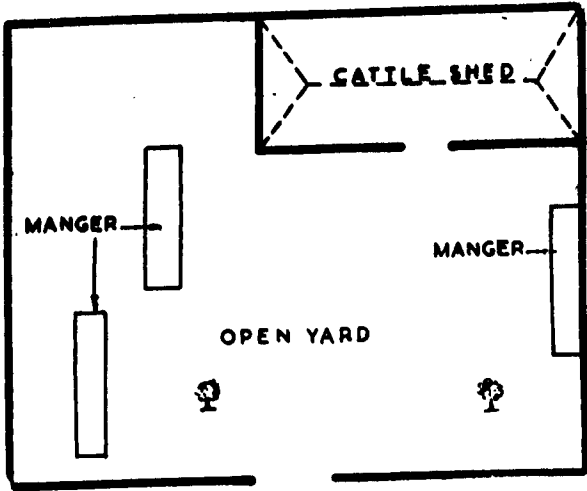
Generally, *baithaks* are better constructed than the *ghars*. Most of them are *pucca* and high-roofed, while the other structures including *ghars* are normally low-roofed. The importance attached to *baithaks* can be further judged by the fact that the only four

hand-pumps and three toilets in the village are all constructed in the *baithaks*.

Kharak or *Gher* (cattle shed)

Kharak is a sort of permanent enclosure with a low-roofed *kutchha* cattle-shed and a *khoor* (a wooden or cemented manger). Only a few households in the village have such cattle-sheds. However in the summer a few villagers do construct a temporary open-air cattle enclosure called *naura*. *Naura* has no other structure except a small *jhuggi* or *jhonpuri* (a hut of wood or bamboo straw, reeds etc.). This hut is so small and low-roofed that it hardly accommodates a cot with four persons sitting on it.

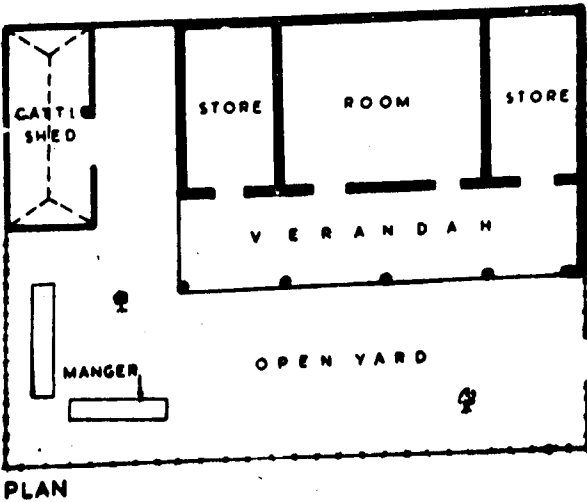
CATTLE SHED



Gitwarha (Sitting room-cum-cattle-shed)
Gitwarha is a sort of agglomerated structure consisting of a *baithak* (sitting room),

a cattle shed, a store for storing fodder (*turha*, *baant* etc.) and agricultural implements.

BAITHAK-CUM-CATTLE SHED



PLAN

Kothi (Pigsty)

Households domesticating pigs possess an additional structure known as *kothi* (pigsty). In the village it is a cave-like structure of mud and stones having a narrow opening with a rubble to perform the role of a door i.e. to let pigs in and out of the pigsty.

Studying the house types from another point of view i.e. the type of material used in their construction, the houses in the village can be grouped under three heads, as follows:—

Kutchha.

Pucca.

Mixed i.e. *Kutchha* & *Pucca*.

Kutchha Structures

Mud, stone, wood or bamboo, straw reeds and *sirkis* etc. form the chief building ingredients of a *kutchha* house in the village. The walls of *kutchha* structures normally have irregular shapes. The material of these consists mainly of mud and stones. Usually unless a wall is too old, stones used in the construction of the walls are not visible to a naked eye as they are thickly plastered with mud. The *kutchha* structures in the village have inclined roofs (*chhappar*). The *chhappar* i.e. the inclined roof, is made of straw, reeds and *sirkis* tied along with bamboos or wooden joists.

Jhuggis or *jhonpris* (huts) in the village may be called as secondary *kutchha* structures. They are normally constructed in fields, have no walls except a wooden stand to bear a thin inclined roof (*chhappar*) made of straw, reeds and *sirkis* tied along with bamboos or wooden joists.

Pucca Structures

The nature of construction of *pucca* structures in the village may be classified as rubble masonry, as rubbles and gravels form the main material used in their construction. The skill, material and labour required are locally available. The rocky ridges surrounding the village provide the stones and the gravels required in the construction of walls and roofs. The clayey lime stone locally known as *kankar* is locally available in nodular form at the banks of the *nalas* and the troughs or ridges etc. It provides the cementing as well as plastering material used in the construction of roof, walls and floors.

From the clayey lime stones, the lime mortar is locally prepared. Firstly, a heap

of clayey lime stones is burnt in a *bhati* (firepit) with the help of wood, cowdung cakes, coal etc. for 2 to 4 months. While constructing the house, the lime mortar used as cement for walls and roofs is indigenously prepared in a *chakki* (mortar mill made of stones, the roller being driven by a pair of bullocks or a camel. See picture on opposite page).

The horizontal roofs of the *pucca* structures in the village are of two types:

- (a) the roofs of *kari* or *silli* (roof of wooden joists and red stone slabs).
- (b) *dat aur pulia ki chhat* (roof of arches, the arches being visible only towards the ceiling of the room).

The walls of the *pucca* houses in the village are made of stones. In the majority of cases the walls are not given lime mortar plaster either from the inner side or from the outer side of the room. However, the open spaces and the pores in between the stones of the walls are lined with the mortar lime. This in local dialect is known as *tip karna*. The inner walls of the rooms are given two coats of mud plaster. The first one is with thick black mud (*kali gar* taken from the village *Johar*) mixed with the small pieces of wheat stems, and the second coat consists of a thin layer of mud mixed with cow-dung.

Almost all the floors of the houses in the village, although constructed on high plinths, are *kutchha*. The floor is made of stones and mud taken out from the *johar* mixed with wheat stems. When it is complete it is given a thin coat of mud and cow-dung (see plate).

The usual material used in white-washing the structure is a thin paste of cow-dung mixed with mud or red clay. Dehradun lime is used only by a few well-to-do households to white-wash the outer walls of their *baithaks* and *ghars*.

TABLE II.8

Distribution of the Houses in the village according to the Age and the Nature of construction

Age of construction	Nature of construction			Total
	Kutchha	Pucca	Mixed	
0—5	2	8	..	10
5—10	3	23	2	28
10—15	8	31	3	42
15—20	19	12	2	33
20—30	39	19	..	58
30 and above	..	32	..	32
TOTAL	71	125	7	203



A kutchha house



A view of a kutchha-pucca house



Lime mortar grinding mill--A camel is driving the grinding stone

As regards the trend of change in type of material used in the construction of houses table No. II.8 shows that there is a definite trend towards the construction of *pucca* houses in the village. It is clear from the above table that out of 125 *pucca* houses in the village 49.6 per cent were constructed

during the last five years, while the respective percentage for *kutcha* houses works out to be only 18.1 per cent. Further regarding the durability of the *kutcha* houses in the village, table No. II.8 suggests that the average life of a *kutcha* house is below 30 years.

TABLE II. 9 (a)
Distribution of Houses according to the Nature of Construction of Rooms

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. of houses	No. of rooms	Av. No. of rooms	Kuccha	Pucca	Mixed	Cattle shed	Popula- tion of each caste	No. "of persons per room	
Gujar	.	145	163	307	2.1	36	122	5	101	753	2.4
Julaha	.	20	20	35	1.7	20	..	..	1	100	2.8
Bhangi	.	12	15	21	1.8	11	3	1	7	58	2.8
Arora	.	2	2	3	1.5	1	..	1	..	4	1.3
Baniya	.	1	1	2	2	1	..	..	..	3	1.5
Muslim	.	1	1	2	2	1	..	..	..	11	5.5
Sunar	.	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	6	6.0
TOTAL	.	182	203	371	2.0	71	125	7	109	935	2.5

A caste-wise study of the possession of *kutcha-pucca* houses in the village reveals that 96.6 per cent of the households belonging to the lower castes namely the Julahas and the Bhangis live in *kutcha* houses [refer table II.9 (a)] as against only 24.8 per cent of the Gujar households inhabiting *kutcha* houses. With the exception of three *pucca* structures belonging to the Bhangis (all in service outside the village) all the

pucca structures in the village belong to the Gujars.

Over one-third of the total households in the village do not have separate cattle-sheds. In summer they keep their cattle in the compound facing the house and during the winter in the *dayoli* or *dayodi* (verandah) of the house itself.

TABLE II. 9 (b)
Distribution of Households with total No. of Rooms and Number of Persons Occupying

Total No. of H. Hs.	Total No. of Members	Total No. of rooms	Av. No. of persons per room	Houses with											
				One room		Two rooms		Three rooms		Four rooms		Five rooms		Six rooms and above	
				No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons	No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons	No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons	No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons	No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons	No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons
182	935	371	2.5	66	261	71	401	25	150	14	86	4	30	2	7

Table II.9(b) shows that the average number of persons per room for the village as a whole is 2.5 with variation limits as 6.0 persons per room among the Sunars and 1.3 persons per room among the Aroras. A study of the Table further brings out the fact that 69.4 per cent of the total village population is having 4.5 persons per room. The respective percentage of the households in the village living in one-room house, two-room house and three or more room house is 36.3 per cent, 39.0 per cent and 24.7 per cent respectively.

The selection of a house-site depends on the nature of the house one is going to construct. For instance, a household wishing to construct a *ghar* (residential structure) would like to have his house in the middle of the village habitation; preferably the site should be at a higher level. A *baithak* or *gitwara* (sitting room-cum-cattle shed) is constructed normally at some distance from the residential structures. A *gher* (cattle shed) is generally constructed at the outskirts of the village habitation... etc.

The terms and conditions of employment of skilled worker (*mistri* or *raaj*) or unskilled worker (*mazdoor*) are arbitrarily settled. Skilled craftsman for construction purposes (constructing *pucca* house) are not available in the village. They are contracted from neighbouring villages viz., Dera, Fatehpur Beri or Jaunapur etc. Unskilled workers are available in the village itself. The *mazdoori* (wages) of skilled workers vary from Rs. 150 to 175 per month, and of unskilled worker from Rs. 45 to 90 per month. Skilled workers are normally males (adults) while unskilled workers are both males as well as females. Wages of females are Rs. 1.50 per day and wages of male unskilled workers are Rs. 2 to 3 per day.

For making *kiwar* (wooden doors) and windows and *almirahs* etc. *khatis* (carpenter) from village Dera or Fatehpur Beri or Chhatarpur etc. are engaged on contract basis. The carpenter has to obtain raw materials (wood, nails etc.) and meet the order on scheduled date. The carpenter charges Rs. 40 to 200 for a pair of doors, depending upon their size and quality. Generally the doors are made of thick wood, preferably *shisham* (*dalbergia sissoo*) or *sal* wood. They bear beautiful carvings of creeping floral motifs (see Plate on page 47). But now there is a tendency to have simple and light doors without featuring any

delicate carvings. Windows and *almirahs* normally do not manifest any carving. These are made simple and plain and are naturally less attractive than doors.

A good house in the village is supposed to have an open compound, *dayoli* (verandah), *sal* (the immediate room facing the verandah) and a *kothi* (a store house for storing cereals). Houses are normally closed from three sides and thus are approachable only from one side. One can have a house with the entrance facing east, west or north, but not south. An entrance of a house facing south is considered inauspicious.

Almost all the houses in the village are ill-ventilated. A room normally has one or two doors, no windows, no ventilators. High ceilings are preferred. The *baithaks* have generally higher ceilings 15 to 20 ft. high, the *ghars* (residential structures) and other structures have relatively low ceiling. All the rooms in a house have *dewats* (a place in the wall for keeping lamps) and *takha* (shelves in the wall for keeping household goods).

The villagers normally do not have separate provision for toilet and latrines in the house. A latrine in the house in the village is conspicuous by its absence. All males or females, young, old or children go out in the fields or in the village jungle to attend their natural calls. Only three well-to-do households in the village have constructed separate toilets in their *baithaks*. Women and young females take bath in *ghars* only, but for men and children there is no such practice.

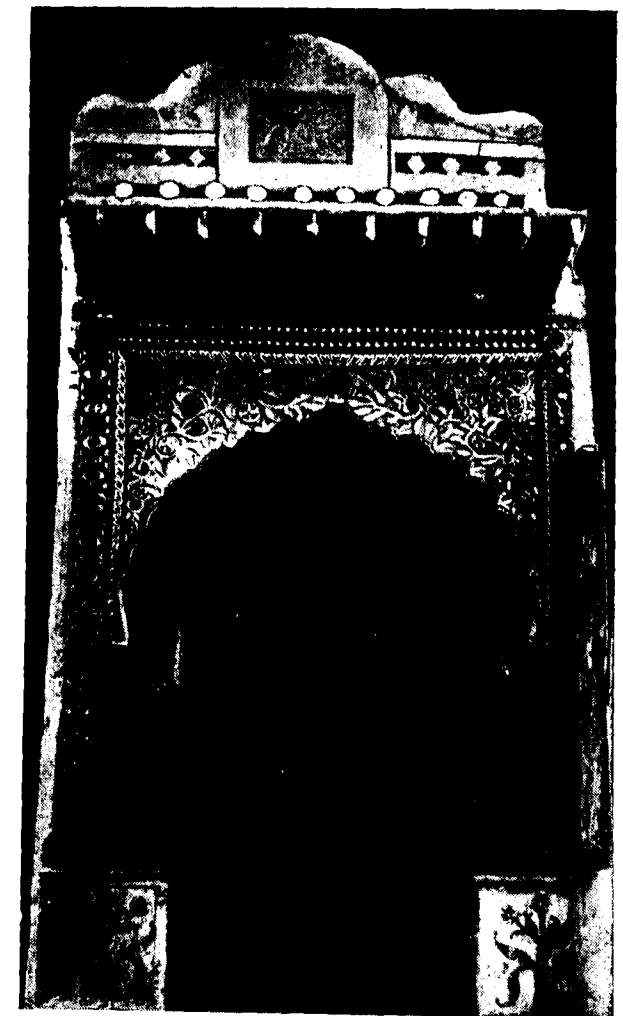
While constructing a *ghar*, or house, little attention is paid to have a specific provision for *rakhanda* (a place for cleaning utensils and throwing refuse etc.). The dirty water runs across making its own way, rendering the earth slushy till it is completely dried up in the natural course of time.

Sanitary conditions and Personal Hygiene

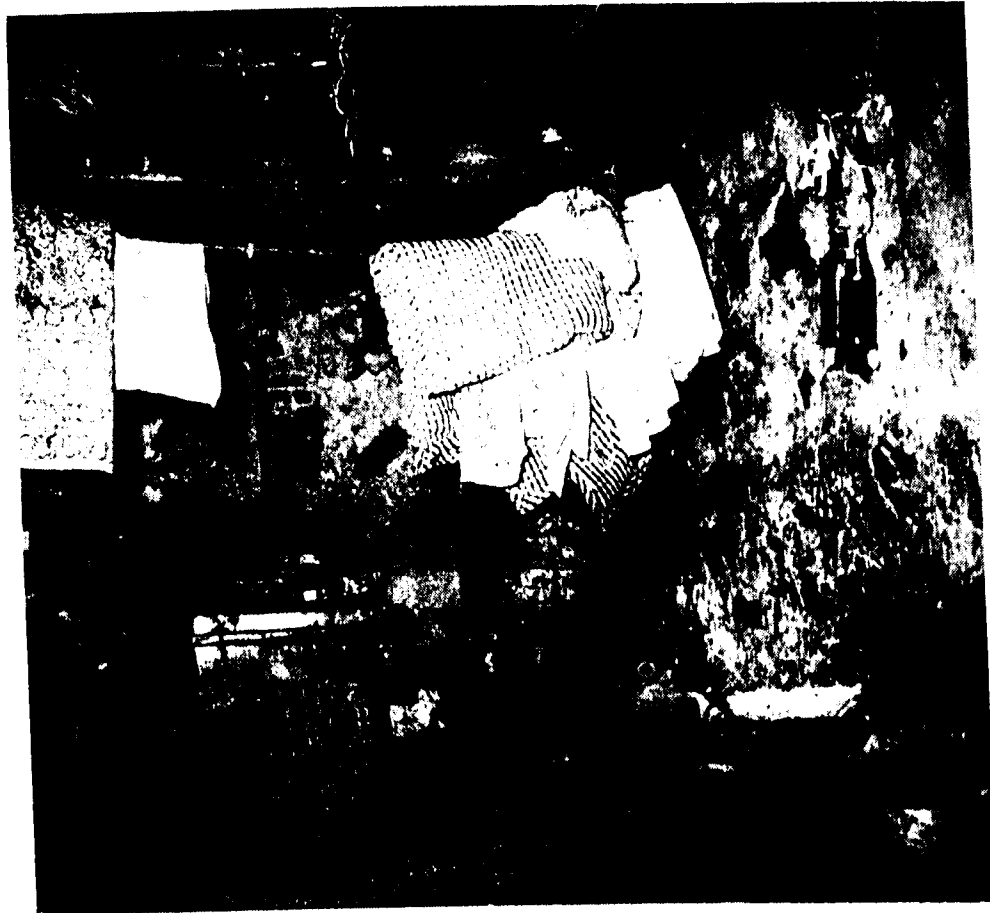
The environmental sanitary conditions in the village are very poor and unhygienic for healthy living. All the streets are *kutchra* (unpaved) and unplanned. Their width varies from 3 to 8 feet in a haphazard fashion. The streets make the way through irregular slopy rocks and big stones rising through the grounds. These (stones and rocks) are not cut to make the way smooth and convenient. One (particularly a stranger) has to step on the rambling stones and rocks very carefully if one



The entrance of a *ghar*



The entrance of a *ghar*



A view of the interior of a *ghar* (residential structure). A room serves the purpose of a store, bedroom and sometime of a kitchen.



A view of the interior of a *ghar*

wishes to reach a house situated on the ridge belt. The chances of one (say a female carrying a pitcher on her head or one carrying fodder for cattle) becoming victim of slopy rocks and rambling stones are worse in the dark night. In the presence of sizeable number of cattle in the village, the streets get filled with cowdung. The infants also defecate in the streets. No proper attention is paid to store refuse in one appropriate place. The villagers generally throw refuse etc. just on the streets. There is no net work of drainage system in the village. Used utensils are washed with cowdung ash or earth. The dirty water left after washing utensils or washing clothes or taking bath, keeps on making its own way till it is dried up by the sun or wind and soaked by earth.

Little attention is paid to personal hygiene. The villagers when they get up early in the morning only wash their face and mouth with water. No care is taken to clean teeth regularly. Very few villagers reported cleaning their teeth with fresh *keekar* twigs or cowdung ash or with ground salt. Generally for cleaning hands after attending to natural calls, cowdung ash or earth is used. Use of soap is made only for washing clothes and while tak-

ing bath. Generally washing soap is used for both purposes i.e. for washing the clothes and for washing the body. Before taking meals (specially in fields) hands are seldom washed properly. Women and children, even during the summer days, do not take bath regularly. They take bath casually, but on festivals and auspicious occasions they do care to take bath. The villagers generally wear dirty clothes. Owing to general shortage of clothes for change and their economic backwardness, same clothes are put on for at least a week or fortnight. The instances of putting clothes until they are worn out without giving them more than three to four washes are not uncommon. However, on auspicious occasions or while going out of the village in *rishtedari* (visiting the in-laws) the villagers wear clean and preferably new clothes.

Men have their hair cut once in one and a half to two months. They shave their beard once in a week or fortnight. Use of a safety razor set is not very common. Services of *Nai* (barber) are obtained frequently from village Gwalpahari in Punjab. Nails are pared very casually. In fact, the villagers stated that there hardly exists any necessity to pare off the nails as their nails are automatically pared off in their routine field and domestic work.

PRACTICES RELATING TO BIRTH, MARRIAGE AND DEATH

BIRTH

A housewife in the village under normal circumstances feels shy to disclose her pregnancy even to her nearest relations including her husband and mother-in-law. But during the first three months of pregnancy, the expectant mother develops irresistible tendencies of distaste and vomiting. This gives a clue to the elderly female members of the family who after completing preliminary inquiries spread the news to others. In case of doubt the village *dai* is consulted.

Pre-natal diet of the mother

Soon after the discovery of pregnancy the diet of the woman is regulated. She stops taking preparation of *gur*, *bajra* and gum. The quantity of milk and ghee in the diet is increased. A pregnant woman is normally given about one seer of milk and 1/8 seer of ghee per day. During the ninth months of pregnancy the consumption of milk and milk products is increased to the extent the woman can digest.

After sixth or seventh month of pregnancy, field work and work involving exertion is avoided. At the end of the seventh month the woman gets a separate room to

live along with her young ones, if any. Here it may be mentioned that during the period of confinement the woman does not go to her parent's house. It is a custom to have the delivery at her husband's place. It is only if her in-laws are not able to afford, that she may go to her parents.

Premature births in the village are known as *satmasa* (birth in the seventh month). Such a child is normally weak and is kept in cotton pads and is given mother's milk through cotton wick. The villagers have reported that such premature births are normally of females not males. The cases of difficult and protracted deliveries are rare. However, if delivery is delayed the fellow women ironically ask the expectant mother if she had ever eaten the leavings of a mare.

The delivery cases in the village are attended to by a village *dai* (untrained midwife). She belongs to the Bhangi caste and attends all the deliveries in the village. The villagers scarcely avail the services of Maternity Hospital at Mehrauli, because of the non-availability of suitable means of communication linking the village with Mehrauli. The charges of the *dai* vary from Re. 1 to 5; i.e., Re. 1 in case of

female birth. The *dai* also gets at least five seers of grains at each birth.

During the delivery the *dai* is assisted by one or two old ladies. Immediately after the child birth the midwife cuts the umbilical cord, leaving about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch of it to be tied with a thread. The umbilical cord, as a convention, in case of female birth is buried in a hole under one of the legs of the cot in which the baby and the mother sleep and in case of male it is buried near the border of the village. The body of the new baby is washed with *batna* (oil and gram flour) by the village *dai*.

In case of male birth on the very day a Pandit is called up, who after consulting the positions of stars at the time of the birth suggests the first alphabets with which the name of the child should begin. The Pandit gets Rs. 1.25 for his services. On the same day *gur* is also distributed as *sirni* (sacred gift). In case of female birth the villagers neither call a Pandit nor do they celebrate other ceremonies. It is because throughout her life a female is regarded as an economic as well as a social liability, whereas a male is considered as an asset to the family and the fore-runner of the family name.

Chhatti Pujan

The sixth day following the birth is known as *chhatti*. On this day a ceremony called *chhatti pujan* is performed. In the morning both the child and the mother are washed with *batna* and are given a bath in warm water. Ganges water mixed with cow urine is sprinkled over the clothes of the mother and the baby. The floor of the house is plastered with a thick paste of clay and cow-dung. In the evening the mother-in-law or the other elderly woman of the family lights a holy fire near the mother's bed. The mother-in-law carries a plate made of *kansi* (alloy of tin, lead and copper). On the plate lie a few grains of rice and barley, turmeric, camphor, and an earthen lamp burning with ghee. Barley, ghee, camphor and woods are thrown into the holy fire, while the mother-in-law and the other ladies sing songs in praise of *Vai-mata* (the goddess of fortune) so that good fortune may come to the boy. A wooden stick called *lathi* and a *halas* (a wooden beam that joins the plough with yoke) if the boy's father is owner cultivator, is placed near the head of the boy. It is believed that keeping *lathi* towards the head of the boy makes him brave and fearless. After *pujan* i.e.

worshipping the *Vai-mata*; *bakhali* (boiled grains of wheat and gram), *halwa* (a sweet preparation of wheat flour) and *gur* are distributed amongst the relations and friends.

The villagers believe that during the sixth night following the birth the '*Vai-mata*' comes and chalks out the fortune of the boy. Therefore throughout the night the female members of the household remain awake (which they refer to as performing '*Jagran*') and keep on singing songs in praise of the '*Vai-mata*' and the boy. The villagers feel that through performing the *jagran* the '*Vai-mata*' may be pleased and thus shall bless the child with a good fortune.

Kuan Pujan (Worshipping Well)

On any of the uneven number of days following the birth, i.e. 7, 9, 11, 13, 21, etc. a *kuan pujan* ceremony is held. Again on this day the child and the mother are washed with *batna* and warm water. They are dressed in new garments. The floor of their room is plastered with cow-dung and clay. The mother of the boy, helped by the elderly village ladies goes to the well. She puts a *karwa* (small earthen pitcher) on her head. A plate of *kansi* (alloy of tin, lead and copper) bearing a few *peepal* leaves, grains of rice and turmeric is carried by her mother-in-law. Ahead of the mother and the womenfolk goes a party of drum beaters, dancers and musicians, all belonging to the *Bhangis*.

At the well the mother-in-law draws a Swastik sign called *saatia* with turmeric. The mother bows at the *saatia*. Then she has three rounds of the well. After completing the 3rd round she takes up the *karwa* of water from her head and throws its water with a gentle bow towards the sun. This marks the end of the formal *kuan pujan* ceremony. On this occasion *bakhali* (boiled gram and wheat), *halwa* (a sweet preparation of wheat flour and ghee) and *gur* is distributed to all the villagers. The party of drum beaters, dancers and musicians gets Rs. 5 to 10 and a few old clothes. A few well-to-do households also open a free kitchen.

The first delivery of the woman in the village is called as *palauthi*. The villagers also celebrate a ceremony known as *Dasu-
than* on the birth of their wished sons. Accordingly on a day suggested by the Pandit, a feast is arranged and a free kitchen may be opened.

Post-natal diet of the mother.

For the first three days following the delivery, the mother gets only $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of warm water of *ajwain* (parsley) and *paat* (a preparation of *gur* and ghee). After the third day she is given *halwa* and *laddu* (balls) of mixed wheat flour, *gur*, coconut, gum, almond, currant, aniseeds, black peppers (excursive of pepper husk) known as *safaid mirach* and dry gingers (all fried in pure ghee). After the sixth day of the post-natal period she is given a liquid saltish preparation of rice and kidney-beans (*moong-ki-dal ki patli khichri*). The normal diet of the mother is restored after two or three months. But, so long as the baby keeps on sucking her milk she does not take things which are either too hot or too cold.

If the mother's milk falls short of the required need of the child, as a measure to increase the supply of milk she takes about 1/16 seers of *jeera* (cummi-seeds) along with cow's or buffalo's milk per day for about a week.

Weaning away a child

A child is allowed to suck its mother's milk so long as the natural flow of the mother's milk does not stop or till the next baby is born. When a child completes three or four months of its age it is given cow's milk diluted with 50 per cent of water. The proportion of water in milk is gradually reduced as the child grows older and gets accustomed to cow's milk. After one year the child is given *moong ki khichri* (a preparation of rice and kidney-beans) and saltish bread baked with ghee.

The habits relating to micturition and defecation are regulated by making the child accustomed to meet natural calls as soon as he wakes up from sleep. In case of trouble and irregularities relating to the child's urine and defecation, the child is given a medicine known as *janam ghuti* along with the mother's milk. *Janam ghuti* is a condensed liquid of parsley, saffron, cummi-seeds, basil, aniseeds, myrobalan etc.

Mundan (First Hair Cut)

The *Mundan* ceremony known as cutting of *latoori* (hair) is normally performed on the new-moon day preferably on the Diwali day. Normally a boy over three years old is taken to a *Nai*. The *Nai* charges Rs. 1.25 for the first hair cut. These hair are gathered in a piece of cloth and are thrown in some pond or river. For throwing the first hair, the villagers normally go to a pond known as *jharla-*

wala johar or to a pond at Astal known as Jheel Khurd. Those villagers who have made a prior vow that they shall get their son's first hair cut at *Babajee's* (saint's) temple at Astal or at Gurgaon Wali Mata, strictly adhere to their respective commitments. Going back on the vow is considered an ill-omen for the boy and the family.

Normally after sixth or seventh year of age a boy is sent to the school. The day when he goes to school he is dressed in new clothes. The teacher who admits him in the school is given Re. 1/- as a gift (*bhent*).

PRACTICES RELATING TO ABORTION AND BARRENNESS

Abortion

Unnatural abortion in the village is regarded as an act against God. Therefore, no one in the village favours abortion as a means to check unwanted offsprings. However, if the villagers become quite sure that the child in the womb has already miscarried, in such a case the woman is given boiled water of carrot seeds as a medicine to get an early relief from unnecessary trouble. Abortion is believed to be too painful to bear. The experienced and old ladies warning that

एक अधूरा और सी बच्चे बराबर 'ek adhura aur sau bachche barabar' i.e. miscarrying of one child is as painful as 100 pregnancies put together, has such a forceful influence upon the villagers that they scarcely dare to practise abortion whatsoever the circumstances may be.

Barrenness

Barrenness is a curse to the village women. Every possible step is taken to do away with it. In case of failure of medical treatment the village women follow a number of practices founded on belief alone. Such practices are known as '*taka*' or '*tuna*'. A few of these are mentioned below.

A barren woman may cut the hair of a child and after burning them she is supposed to eat ashes of those hair. If this is done it is believed that the child whose hair has been cut shall start getting weaker and weaker till he dies and the woman who has done the act may become pregnant.

The other practice is that a barren woman after washing her hair and having a bath, may sprinkle water through her hair on a

child who is sucking the milk of his mother in her lap. If this act is practised it is believed that from the following day the child shall start getting weaker and weaker till he dies and the woman may get pregnant.

MARRIAGE

Before dealing with the ceremonies and practices observed during marriage a few important preceptory conventions followed by the villagers belonging to the majority caste viz. the Gujars, and the other Hindu castes may be mentioned.

Firstly: One must marry within one's caste, but outside one's own gotra, gotra of the mother and the gotra of the father's mother.

Secondly: A marriage must be contracted outside one's own village and also outside the brethren villages (i.e. villages of the same *khap* i.e. belonging to one's own gotra). For instance, village Mandi belongs to Gujars of 'Tanwar gotra'. As such, no Tanwar Gujar can contract a marriage in eight other villages namely, Dera, Fatehpur Beri, Asola, Gwalpahari, Chandan Hola, Bhati and Choti Bhati—all belonging to the Gujars of the same gotra (Tanwar Gujars). Further, out of sheer respect for the Gujars the other castes in village Mandi do not contract marriage in the brethren villages of the dominant caste i.e., the Tanwar Gujars.

Thirdly: Marriage ceremonies do not take place during the period from the *nawami* (ninth) of the second fortnight of Asarh (July) to the '*gyas*' (eleventh) of the second fortnight of Kartik (October-November). This is because the villagers believe that after the *nawami* of the later fortnight of Asarh, *Devas* (gods) go to sleep and they are asleep till the *dasmi* (tenth) of the second fortnight of Kartik. Hence if marriage ceremonies are performed during this period these will be devoid of the blessings of the *Devas*.

A couplet quite popular in the village may be cited to emphasise the importance of contracting marriage ceremonies before the *Devas* go to sleep. The couplet addressed by the bride to the bridegroom runs as follows:—

हंसली मेरी गद्दी धरी है, तन कुन्दन को देर,
Hansli meri ghari dhari hai Tan kundan ko der
दशहरा पहले ले जाईयो, फिर सो जावेंगे देव
Dussehra pahle le jaiyo phir so jawenge Dev

i.e., My ornaments are ready,
What remains is to put these on the body,
Marry me before Dussehra (of Jaith).
For, later the *Devas* shall go to sleep.

Marriage Ceremonies

A marriage is composed of a series of ceremonies. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to undertake step-by-step a study of the ceremonies as actually performed by the villagers belonging to the majority caste.

Selection of the Match

As a convention the boy's parents and relatives do not take the initiative in finding a match and in arranging marriage ceremonies. The search for the match and the necessary negotiations are always initiated by the girl's parents or relatives.

Until recently it was the duty of the girl's family Nai to search a match for the girl. But now it is the parents and the relatives of the girl who undertake the search for a suitable match. As soon as a suitable match is found, the father of the girl invites the boy's father to see the girl and approve the match. The father of the boy accompanied by a few relatives goes to the girl's village for the purpose. In case he approves the match, he offers a *toom* (an ornament preferably for neck) as a token of his approval of the match (as *goodh bharna*), and fixes a date for betrothal (*sagai*) ceremony.

Betrothal (Sagai or Rista)

Generally at the time of *sagai*, the boy is 16 to 18 years old and the girl is 13 to 15 years old. On the day fixed for the *sagai* the father of the girl along with a few near relatives goes to the boy's village. There he puts a *teeka* (i.e. a turmeric mark with a few grains of rice affixed on it) on the boy's forehead and gives him Rs. 1 or 11 or more (the figure always being in odd numbers). In case, the father of the girl is rich he may in addition give rupee one each to all the members of the boy's family. From then onwards no adult from the girl's side shall eat anything from the house of the boy.

Pili chithi or *Biah Nikalna* (a letter of wedding notification)

After a lapse of time, ranging from a month to a year following the betrothal

ceremony, the parents of the girl consult the family Pandit to fix an auspicious day for the wedding. The Pandit consults a *Jantri* (a book about the movements of stars), writes a letter (*pili chithi*), bearing the wedding date and a *swastik* mark of turmeric and ties the letter with a piece of red hand-woven thread known as *nala*. The Nai also gets Rs. 1/- or 2/- from the boy's house as *vidaigi* (a tip to a messenger).

Lagan

A few days before the wedding, a letter known as *lagan-ki-chithi* is prepared by the Pandit of the girl's family. The letter bears the details regarding the wedding ceremonies such as the time at which the wedding party (*barat*) should reach the girl's village, the *mahurat* of *phere* (i.e. the time of *phere*-rounds) and the number of oil baths (*ban*) required to be taken by the would-be groom (*banna*) and the would-be bride (*banni*). Normally the number of oil-baths vary from 3 to 5 in case of *banni* and 5 to 7 in case of the *banna*. These oil-baths are so planned that the last oil-bath of the *banni* must fall on the wedding day and of the *banna* on the day before the wedding.

The *lagan* ceremony is first performed in the *banni's* house by the Pandit. He gives the *lagan-ki-chithi* to the *banni* and asks her to take the *tierh* (a complete dress for the *banna's* mother consisting of a *lehnga* (skirt), *kurta* (shirt), a *patka* (shawl), a pair of *juti* (laceless pump-shoe) and a dress for the *banna*, two yellow pieces of cloths, a coconut and Rs. 21 or more in her lap. Then the Pandit recites some Sanskrit verses, puts a turmeric *swastik* mark on the *lagan-ki-chithi* and a *teeka* on the *banni's* forehead. Thereafter, the *lagan-ki-chithi* and the *tierh* are sent through the Nai to the boy's house. The Pandit gets Rs. 1-25 for his services.

The Nai goes to the *banna's* village and hands over the *lagan-ki-chithi* and the *tierh* to one of the elderly members of the *banna's* family. Here again the Nai is given Rs. 1 or 2 as *vidaigi* (messenger's tip) by the *banna's* relations. The family Pandit reads the *lagan-ki-chithi* in the presence of the family members and the guests. He also performs a *lagan* ceremony similar to the *lagan* ceremony performed in the *banni's* village. Thereafter, the *banna* presents the *tierh* to his mother.

Hald-Hath (Turmeric Hands)

On the evening, previous to the first oil-bath a ceremony known as *hald-hath* is performed by the *banna* and the *banni* in their respective homes. Accordingly, in the evening, the elder brother's wife (*bhabhi*) of the boy and the girl in their own village dips the hands (of *banna* and *banni*) in a paste of turmeric, henna and curd and asks them to put *thapa* (palm prints) of both their hands on the eastern wall of their sleeping room. These prints may also be put on the western or northern walls, but in no case on the southern wall, as the latter is considered inauspicious. Now, the exact place where palm-prints are put, becomes a sacred place of the gods and goddesses. On each evening till the wedding day, both the *banna* and the *banni* bow down before their respective palm-prints after the oil-bath. This ceremony is called *thapa-ke-aage-dhok-marna* (i.e. to bow before the palm-prints).

On the night of the *hald-hath*, the ladies of the family perform a *jagran* or *at jagga* (keeping awake all night) and sing a number of songs. As a convention, from this moment onwards, till the actual wedding is over the *banna* or the *banni* are not allowed to move out of the house except to attend the calls of nature.

Bans or Bawans (Ceremonial Oil-baths)

The oil-baths are taken with a view to make the complexion of the skin brighter and fairer. As a convention, the oil-baths have two phases viz. (a) *tail chadhana* and (b) *tail utarna*.

Tail Chadhana

Except the last oil-bath which is called *tail utarna* all the other oil-baths are called *tail chadhana*. According to the latter the brother's wife (*bhabhi*) or the aunt touches first the feet of the *banna* with a few stems of *doob* (a grass) dipped in gram flour, mustard oil, curd, henna, *til* (sesame), and turmeric, in her both hands. Then she touches the knees, then shoulders and finally the forehead and then she bows down her head slightly. This process as a whole is repeated seven times by the lady who participates in the ceremony. It may be noted that no pregnant woman nor a widow is allowed to perform the ceremony as their presence is considered inauspicious.

After the oil-bath, the *bhabhi* or the aunt applies collyrium around the eyes of the

banna and draws a few lines of turmeric on his face to perform the ceremony known as *marmat chitna*. Thereafter, she puts seven knots of a piece of *nala* around his right hand and finally moves *arati* (a plate with a lamp, burning camphor etc.) around his face. The woman who performs these ceremonies, keeps her hair loose till the accomplishment of the wedding ceremony. This is because the villagers believe that the evil spirits do not dare to come near goddesses who keep their hair loose. After *arti* on each evening of the *banwara* (period of oil-baths) the *banna* bows down before his palm prints. The ladies of the family keep on singing songs till late nights. One of the most common songs sung during these days is given below:—

Text

बन्ना	लादो	जुराब	पड़े	सरदो	।
Banna	laado	jurab	pare	sardi	

बन्ना	लादो	लौकाट	ओर	हरी	ककड़ी	।
Banna	laado	laukat	aur	hari	kakari	

बन्ने	जैसी	ताई	में	नहीं	बनती	।
Banne	jaisi	tai	main	nahin	banti	

जो	में	बनती	तो	जुलम	करती	।
Jo	main	banti	to	julam	karti	

धरती	से	पैर	इधर	धरती	।
Dharti	se	pair	idhar	dharti	

Translation

Oh! the would-be groom get me socks, it is getting cold.

Oh! the would-be groom bring me lukat and cucumber.

If I act as the would-be groom's aunt acts I would then have placed more demands.

And then I would have placed my feet on the other side of the earth (i.e. I would have walked proudly).

Tail Utna

On the last oil-bath, the *tail utarna* ceremony follows a reverse process of applying oil on the body i.e. first the forehead is touched with the stems of *doob* (a kind of grass) dipped in *batna*, then shoulders, then knees and last of all the feet. It is during this bath that the *mama* (mother's brother)

presents *bhat* (a wedding dress—complete or partial one) and *neota* is received.

Neota

A *neota* is a sort of voluntary monetary aid from the guests to the household whose relation is being married. All *neotas* are recorded in a family register known as *bahi*. This amount is a MUST to be paid in double at the time of the marriage of a girl in the giver's family by the persons who accept *neotas* or by his sons.

Wedding Dress

The wedding dress of the *banna* consists of a white *dhota*, a light yellow coloured *kurta*, a yellow shawl (*pila patka*), a pink coloured turban, *sehra* (a veil of silvery threads tied to the turban) and a *maarh* (a pole of bamboo sticks and silvery papers, 9" to 1' long with a circumference of about 13") on the head of the groom and a pair of *juti* (laceless pump-shoes).

The wedding dress of the *banni* includes a silken *lehnga* (skirt) and *kamiz* (shirt), a silken *chundri* (shawl), a *choli* or *aungi* to cover the breasts and a pair of *juti*—all bearing embroidery work of silver or gold threads.

Maindha Pujan

After wearing the wedding dress the *banna* attends *maindha puja* ceremony, performed by the family Pandit. A *maindha* consists of a wooden beam (preferably *halas*—which joins the plough with the yoke) with a flour lamp burning with ghee and a cotton wick placed near the top end of the beam on the wheat stems tied to it with a piece of *nala*. The top end of the beam is covered with a yellow piece of cloth, which also contains a coin, betel-nut and rice with turmeric.

Ghurchari (Horse-ride)

After the end of the *maindha puja* ceremony, the *mama* takes the *banna* on a horse back for a ride around the village shrine. Before the horse ride the *banna's* *bhabi* or aunt puts collyrium around his eyes. Then he goes for a bow before the *Bhocmiya-mata-ka-chabutra* and lastly to the nearest well. There in his right hand he holds an iron rod with a *puri* (fried pan cake) hanging at its end. He throws the *puri* into the well, as it is believed to be a good omen, and keeps the iron rod with him till the



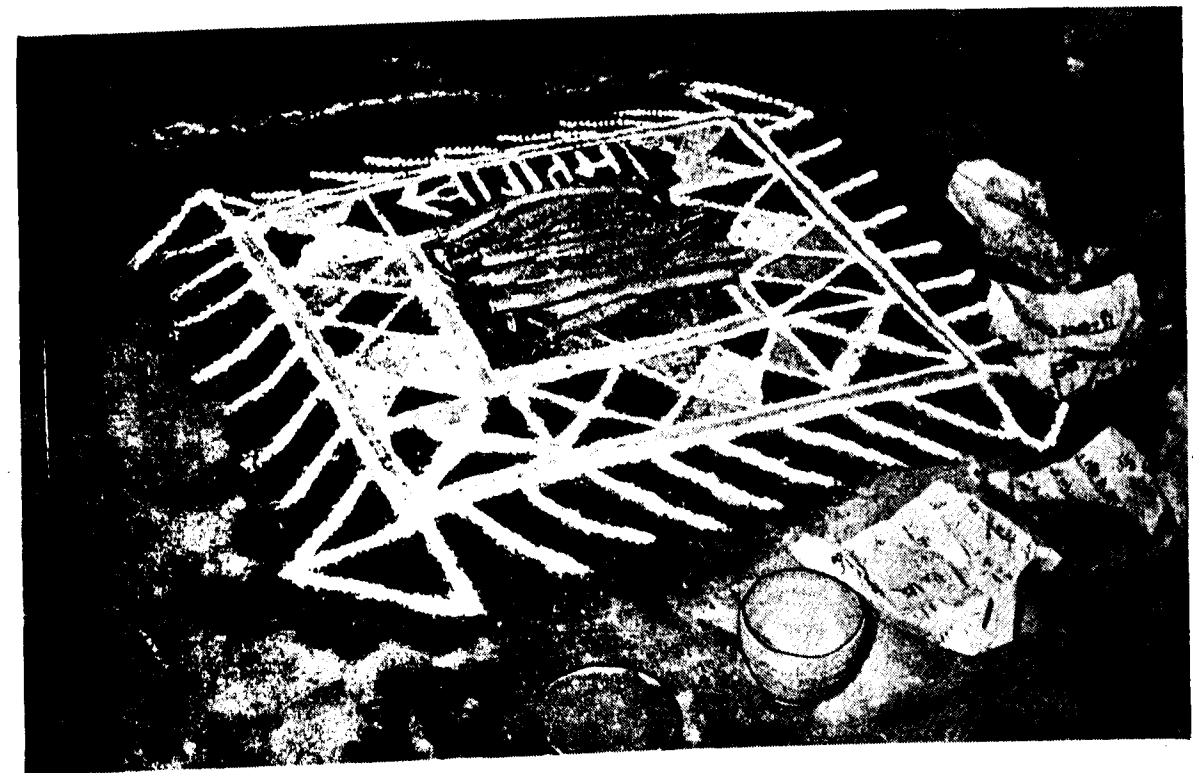
The wedding party accompanied by a band of drum-beaters and musicians starts for the bride's village



Puris (fried pan cakes) being cooked for wedding party



Neotas from relatives and friends are being noted down in the *bahi* (family register)



Havan kund (sacred fire pit) where ritualisation of fire is performed and offerings to fire are made



Mama (mother's brother) taking the bride to the *vedi* (ceremonial place where *phere* ceremony takes place)



The groom and the bride taking *Phera* (ceremonial round) around the *maindha* and *vedi*. In first four rounds the groom is ahead of the bride and in the last three rounds the bride is ahead of the groom



The bride is ahead of the groom in the last three *phas*



Female relations of the bride, sitting in the interior of a room, singing songs concerning the *phere* ceremony



The bride and the bride-groom after *phas* bowing before the *thapa* (palm prints) of the bride

completion of the wedding ceremony, the object being to keep fear and evil spirits away. Thereafter, before proceeding for the banni's village the banna symbolically sucks his mother's milk. This is done with the purpose that the groom may keep in his mind the mother's debt and after entering the worldly life may not forget his duties towards her.

The wedding party (*barat*) consists exclusively of males. It is led by a party of drummers and musicians and the Nai.

Throughout the night of the day on which the *barat* leaves the village, the ladies of the banna's family observe a ceremony known as *khoriya khelna* (खोरिया खेलना). Accordingly, one lady dresses herself as banna and the other one as banni and others join a procession of *barat* along with the beating of *dholki* (सकी) i.e. a drum of small size, and then perform a complete rehearsal of the wedding ceremony in a very light mood. It may be added that observance of *khoriya* is considered as auspicious.

Khait Barothi (Receiving the *barat* at the village outskirts)

At the bride's village in the evening the '*barat*' stops on the outskirts (*Jangle-wasa*) of the village. The Nai is sent to inform the banni's relations of the arrival of the *barat*. The *barat* waits here till some people from the banni's family come to receive and welcome it. In fact, a direct entry of the *barat* in the village is taken as an insult by the village itself and may lead to serious consequences.

Normally, the banni's father, *mama*, uncles and brothers and the family Pandit come to greet the *barat*. The Pandit fixes the *maarn* on the groom's head, applies a *teeka* on his forehead, and gives him a coconut. The banni's father gives the banna Rs. 21 or more (upto Rs. 101). Then the *barat* is taken to a *chaupal* or to a *baithak*.

After the reception of the *barat*, the banna goes to the banni's residence to attend a ceremony known as *barothi*. Accordingly, the banni's sisters move *arati* around the banna's face and put a *teeka* on his forehead and the other ladies sing abusive songs—all insulting the banna. The banni too hidingly throws a few grains of turmeric coloured rice on the *maarn* of the banna.

In the *baithak*, the wedding party is offered sweet water or tea. A few articles which are to be given by the banni's father to his

daughter are also displayed there. These consist of at least seven *tierh* (dresses), some ornaments and seven utensils.

Phere (Rounds around *Maindha*)

The time of actual wedding ceremony known as the time of *lagan* or *muhurat* of *phere*, falls in the evening hours of the day. According to this ceremony, the banni is taken near the *maindha* by her *mama* on his lap (See plate). The banna too comes and sits on the left side of the banni. The relatives of the banna sit on one side of the *maindha* and the relations of the banni on the other. The Pandit recites the marriage vows and performs *hawan* (burning the sacred fire). Thereafter, the Pandit ties up the *patkas* (a shawl like piece of cloth tied around the waist) to the groom and the bride and asks them to have seven rounds of the *maindha* and the ceremonial fire. While the rounds are being taken, the ladies sing a particular song concerning the solemnity of the occasion. The song is given below.

While taking the rounds they sing specific lines for the different rounds i.e.

1st round:

पहला	फेरा	लीजो	दादा	की	पोती ।
<i>Phala</i>	<i>phera</i>	<i>lijo</i>	<i>dada</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>poti</i>

i.e. Have first *phera* (round) Oh! grand daughter of the grandfather.

2nd round:

दूजा	फेरा	लीजो	साउ	की	बेटी ।
<i>Duja</i>	<i>phera</i>	<i>lijo</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>beri</i>

i.e. Take second round Oh! daughter of the father's elder brother.

3rd round:

तीजा	फेरा	लीजो	बाप	की	बेटी ।
<i>Tija</i>	<i>phera</i>	<i>lijo</i>	<i>baap</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>beri</i>

i.e. Take third round Oh! daughter of the father.

4th round:

चौथा	फेरा	लीजो	चाचा	की	भतीजी ।
<i>Chautha</i>	<i>phera</i>	<i>lijo</i>	<i>chacha</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>bhariji</i>

i.e. Take fourth round Oh! niece of the uncle.

5th round:

पांचवा फेरा लीजो मामा की भानजी ।
Panchwa phera lijo mama ki bhanji

i.e. Take fifth round Oh! niece of the maternal uncle.

6th round:

छठा फेरा लीजो भाई की बहन ।
Chhatha phera lijo bhai ki bahan

i.e. Take sixth round Oh! sister of the brother.

7th round:

सातवां फेरा लीजो लाडो हुई पराई ।
Satwan phera lijo lado huyee parayee

i.e. Take the seventh round, the darling belongs to others.

Immediately after the *phere* ceremony, a ceremony similar to *Neota* known as *kanyadan* (gifts for the bride) is held. The guests and relatives of the bride give small amounts of money or present clothes for the *banni*. Here again the father of the bride is under obligation to return twice the amount received at the time of marriage of a girl in the giver's family. The *banna* and the *banni* go to bow down before the hand-prints of the *banni* (*thape ke aage dhok marna*). Later on persistent efforts are put forth by the bride's relations to harass the *banna* and to test his mental faculties. The groom may be asked by the bride's friends, aunts or sisters to coin verses and phrases known as *chhan* (*chhand*) or answer their verses in the form of a reciprocal verse. A few of the most common *chhan* as answered by the *banna* are given below:—

Text

छन पकाऊं छन पकाऊं छन वे धरे पिस्ते ।
Chhan pakaun chhan pakaun chhan pai dhare piste

दूसरा छन जब पकाऊं जब सासू देदे घड़ी ।
Dusra chhan jab pakaun jab sasuu dede ghari

Translation:

I shall coin verse and shall coin verses
There is a pitcher on the *chan*,

Second verse, I shall coin when mother-in-law presents me a watch.

Text:

छन पकाऊं छन पकाऊं छन वे धरे पिस्ते ।
Chhan pakaun chhan pakaun chhan pai dhare piste

आते जाइये बैठते जाइये सबको मेरी नमस्ते ।
Aate jaiyee baithate jaiyee sabko meri namaste

Translation:

I shall coin verse and I shall coin verse
The *chhan* is full of *piste* (dry fruits)

Come and sit and accept my *namaste* (regards).

Vida

After a day or two of the wedding, *vida* ceremony is held. On the day of *vida* in the morning the *Nain* ties the hair of the bride with seven pieces of *nala* (*sirbandi*). As the *barat* starts for the groom's village the bride's father applies a *teeka* on the forehead of the groom and the groom's father and gives the groom Rs. 21 to 51 and to the final *ram-rami* (to bid farewell). The *mama* of the bride takes the bride to a carriage. After the *barat* has proceeded a few yards towards the groom's village the *Nai* calls the groom to see the bride's mother at her house. There a ceremony known as *jua lena* (bear the yoke) is performed. The bride's mother, her *bhabhis*, aunts and other relations receive the groom and show him the articles of *dahej* (dowry). Thereafter, he takes a seat on the *palang* (a big cot). The bride's mother puts a *teeka* on his forehead and gives him Rs. 5 to 7 or more. The other ladies including the bride's *bhabhis*, aunts etc. also put a *teeka* on the groom's forehead and each gives him rupee one. After this, the groom goes back to the *barat* and proceeds for his village.

To the groom's village the bride is accompanied by her younger brother, if any, or by some younger male near relation. On

the very day of the arrival of the bride in the groom's village, the female guests and relatives remove the veil of the bride and each gives the bride rupee one or more as *mukh dikhai* (viewing the face of the bride). On the following day the groom and the bride accompanied by the *bhabhis* and other ladies go to worship the *Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabutra* and to play a game of stick. The groom and the bride bow before the *Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabutra* and then the groom's *bhabhi* gives a stick of a nearby plant to the bride and makes her to beat the groom's back symbolically. The groom also symbolically answers back and beats the bride and the *bhabhi*.

Bat Rokna (blocking the door way) and *Kangna Kholna* (untie the sacred thread knots put around the wrist of the bride and the groom).

Thereafter, the groom's sisters and his *bhabhis* block the way of the groom and the bride and do not permit them to enter the house until he gives each one, the wished amount (cash). This is known as *bat rokna* (blocking the doorway). Then the groom's *bhabhi* performs the *kangna kholna* ceremony. She, in a deep brass plate (*thali* or *parat*) puts *doodh-ki-lassi* (milk mixed with water), a ring and a few coins and asks the bride and the groom to search the ring. When the groom succeeds in searching out the ring, he opens the fist of the bride and puts the ring in her left hand finger. Then with one hand he opens the *kangna* (seven knots of a piece of *nala* tied around the wrist—left wrist of the bride and right wrist of the groom, by their respective *bhabhis* on the first oil-bath) of the bride and gives his other hand to the bride to open his *kangna* with her other hand.

On the next day or a few days later the elder brothers of the bride would come to fetch their sister (bride) back to her parent's village. There she will remain till her *gauna* ceremony is over.

Gauna

After one year or more following the wedding (but in no case during even year following the wedding such as 2, 4, 6 etc.), depending upon the age of the bride, the father of the bride gives a date to the groom to take his wife with him. On the date so fixed the groom accompanied by his father and other relatives comes to the bride's village. Thereafter, staying for a day or two the groom comes back to his village

along with the bride. This time also the father of the bride gives a few *tierh* (dresses) for his daughter and the groom's mother.

This time, the bride stays in the groom's village for about a month. Then she is taken back again by her brothers or near male relations to her parent's village. After a short interval the bride again comes to the groom's village and stays there for a longer period. Thus gradually the marriage is completed in stages.

Karewa or Choori Pehnana (Widow Re-marriage)

Widow re-marriage is permitted in the village among all castes, except the Baniyas and the Aroras. Among the Gujars, Bhangis and the Chamars a widow is permitted to re-marry only if she is young and willing to marry the younger brother of the deceased husband, who must be a consenting party to the marriage proposal. Such a widow marriage is known as *karewa* or '*choori pehnana*'. During widow re-marriage, no formal marriage ceremonies are observed; the widow is dressed in a simple wedding dress in her in-law's house and puts *choori* (bangles) in her both hands and wears a new *chundri* (shawl), presented to her by her would-be husband. A few near relations are also invited to attend the ceremony and thus the marriage is solemnised.

Jhar Phoonk (Un-conventional Marriage)

If it is not possible for the would-be groom and the would-be bride to undergo all the conventional marriage ceremonies (may be owing to poor economic condition or other odd circumstances) their marriage may be solemnised by performing a simple ceremony known as *Jhar phoonk phere*. According to this ceremony, on the wedding day at the time of *lagan* (wedding ceremony—after sunset) the would-be groom along with his near male relations, and the would-be bride accompanied by her near relations, meet at the *sarhad* (border) of the would-be groom's village. There the Pandit solemnises the wedding ceremony (*phere*). After this the groom along with the wedding party and the bride comes back to his village.

In village Mandi there are four instances of such a marriage having been performed. All these have been due to reasons other than economic. One of these instances as reported is described as follows:

Once X's wife died unexpectedly. X was a young man of about 22 years of age at the time of his wife's death. He sought to marry the younger sister of his deceased wife. But unfortunately the betrothal of his wife's sister had already taken place. To repudiate the *sagai* would have meant a serious fight among the parties concerned. The girl's parents were willing to marry their daughter with their son-in-law. Therefore a secret plan was chalked out to solemnise the marriage by performing only the *jhar phoonk phere* ceremony. The Pandit was consulted and on the date (evening) of *lagan* (wedding ceremony) so fixed by the Pandit the would-be bride was fetched at the *sarhad* (border) of the groom's village and *phere* ceremony was performed.

The villagers practice monogamous marriage. Polygamous marriages are only an exception, if one's wife is barren or if one's elder brother has died leaving a very young widow. In such a situation, a younger brother of the deceased may marry the young widow, provided the widow is willing.

Instances of divorce and even of widow remarriages are very rare. If at all there is divorce, it is normally from husband's side and the decision is given by the caste Panchayat. Such divorces are generally on the grounds of adultery and marital infidelity, if proved.

Pre-marital and Extra-marital Sex Relations

Pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations are not tolerated. Such acts are regarded as shameful and disgraceful. These bring bad name to the doer and the family. However, as the boys and girls in the village are married in early age, the instances of pre-marital sex relations are very uncommon. The situation becomes awkward only if a girl gets pregnant (very rare) or the villagers take the matter to the caste Panchayat. The caste Panchayat normally imposes some penalty on the parents concerned. The penalty may be in the form of partial out-casting of families. The marriage of such youngs, particularly females, are arranged in very distant villages.

Extra-marital sex relations are taken rather more seriously. A male may opt to divorce his wife on the grounds of marital infidelity and sex adultery. But if a female finds that her husband is no longer faithful to her and indulges in extra-marital sex relations, she normally prefers to commit

suicide than to resort to divorce or to go to her parent's house.

A brief note on Muslim Marriage Practices

The marriage among the Muslims is more simple. Marriage is possible with any Muslim, except among the blood relations. There is no minimum age for the marriage. It is only a verbal commitment without any particular ceremony. A kind of *sagai* or *mangni* (engagement) takes place merely by an inter-exchange of words or letters (*baat bhejna*)—literally meaning to send words or *rukka bhejna* (i.e. to exchange letters regarding settlement of a marriage). If the girl's parents or relatives wish to formally see the boy and fix the date of marriage, they come to the boy's house and present the boy a set of dress consisting of a shirt, *pyjama*, *sherwani* (a long coat), shoes etc.

Friday is considered as auspicious (*mut-barak*) day for marriage. A marriage can take place in any month except the month of *Ramzan* (month of observing fast) and the month of *Moharram* (the first month of Mohammedan lunar year). The actual marriage ceremony amongst the Muslims is known as *Nikah*. The bridegroom with the wedding party reaches the bride's house. In the evening, the *nikah* is read out by the *sheikh* (Muslim priest) before the bride and the groom and the consent of each is taken. *Nikah* is nothing but a written document prepared by the *sheikh* stating that Mr. X, son of so and so wishes to marry Miss Y, daughter of Z, and Mr. X promises to pay a certain amount as *mohar* (compensation in case of a divorce) to Miss Y. Then there is an interrogation—do you agree? The *nikah* is first read out before the groom and his consent is taken. If the reply is in affirmative, the *sheikh* goes to the bride (sitting in *parda* i.e. curtain) and again reads the *nikah* three times. If the bride too agrees to the *ikrarnama* (terms and conditions laid in *nikah*), the marriage ceremony is completed. The wedding party is given a grand feast on this auspicious occasion.

PRACTICES RELATING TO DEATHS

The dead bodies of children below two years of age are buried. These, wrapped in a red or white piece of cloth are taken to the burial by hand (i.e. the body laying on the hands). The dead above two years of age are cremated. The male ones are wrapped in white sheets (*kafan*) and the female ones in red or red spotted sheets.

All dead bodies taken to crematorium (*chihta*) are carried on an *arthi* (bier). The bier is made of bamboo sticks and with a knit work of a grass called *dab*. As a convention the *arthi* on its way to the crematorium does not stop in between the village *abadi* (habitation), lest the spirit of dead may get the opportunity to attack the village young ones. It is only at the outskirts of the village *abadi* that the *arthi* stops for a while i.e. for 5 to 10 minutes. There the *kaundiyas* (persons carrying the bier) take rest and change their *khandhas* (shoulders). In case the dead body is of an old person, a few grains of corn and coconut pieces are dropped where the *arthi* stops. It is interesting that in case of an old person when the death is imminent, he is asked about the food he wishes to enjoy and then to meditate about God. If the dying person belongs to a well-to-do household *gau dan* (offering of a she-calf) ceremony is performed by the family Pandit.

At the crematorium a pyre of cowdung cakes is prepared. The sheets of cloth lying on the corpse are taken by the Bhangi. The mouth, ears and nose of the corpse are closed with ghee. Then the corpse is placed on the pyre. The fire to light up the pyre is brought by a Bhangi from his house. After having seven rounds of the pyre and sprinkling ghee, barley, sesame, camphor etc. the nearest male relation of the dead sets the pyre on fire.

Thereafter, all the persons (all males) who have been to the crematorium to attend the funeral pyre come back to the house of the dead. For about five minutes they keep silence and pray to God to grant peace to the soul of the dead and a place in heaven. Then they sprinkle water towards their backs and go back to their respective homes only after having a bath and changing their clothes.

A woman having the nearest relations with the dead, throws out a bushel of hay and an empty pitcher somewhere out of the village habitation.

The ashes of the dead called *phool* (bones) are collected on the day following the funeral pyre ceremony of the dead, but in no case on a Saturday. For the time being these bones are hid in some place (outside the village *abadi*). But after a lapse of time depending on the convenience of the dead person's near relations, these bones are immersed in the Ganges at Garhmukteshwar.

Termi or Terwin

In case the dead is more than thirteen years old, on the 13th day following the death the Pandit is called to perform 'termi' ceremony so as to grant peace to the soul of the dead and a place in the heaven. The Pandit may be given a *dhoti*, *kurta* and a pair of *juti*. If the dead belongs to a well-to-do household and the death has been in old age, more than one Pandit may be invited on the 'termi' ceremony. In addition another ceremony known as 'Satarwani' may be performed on the 17th day following the death. According to it a few more Pandits and neighbours may be given a lunch ('*jimana*').

Barsaudi

In case of death of an old person, exactly a year after the death, a 'barsaudi' ceremony is performed. Accordingly a few Pandits and other guests belonging to the same caste may be given a feast (lunch) and a few dresses may be distributed among the poor and the Pandit.

Kanagat

The first fortnight of Asuj (October) is known as the days of *kanagat* (paternal fortnight). During these days the villagers (males) honour their family deads. They offer food (particularly 'kheer'—sweet rice boiled with milk) to crows and give feast to Pandits on the days of the fortnight on which their members died. A few well-to-do households also offer gifts of clothing to their Pandit on this occasion.

OTHER BELIEFS AND PRACTICES*

Agriculture

Fields are not ploughed and bullocks are not put under yoke on the new-moon day called *Amawas*. While ploughing a field if a snake is seen, the ploughing is instantaneously stopped and bullocks are let loose. But in case a snake is hurt with the plough while ploughing a field, it is considered very inauspicious and to the plough a bath is rendered necessary in a sacred river, preferably the Ganges.

The appearance of *dummai* (a snake having two mouths, one each on both of its ends) in a field particularly during the agricultural operations such as ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting, thrashing winnowing etc., is always considered very auspicious as being the sign of good fortune.

*For illness and magical cures, illness and vows invoking ghosts, illness and *jhar phoonk*, animals and magical cures, see chapter IV—DISEASES

Travelling

A journey is never commenced on Saturday as it is considered inauspicious. While starting for some noble work, including going to fields for the first ploughing or sowing or weeding or harvesting etc., meeting a woman carrying empty pitchers on her head or a person having one eye, is regarded as inauspicious. Similarly, sneezing by the person or others just before starting any work and while setting for a journey is considered as a sign of unsuccessful completion of the work or the journey. Therefore, normally in such instances the journey or the work is put off for a while. Crossing one's way by a cat is also treated as a signal for doubtful success in the assignment for which one is going.

Milk or milk preparations (excepting curd) such as *khir*, porridge etc. are never taken immediately before starting for a journey.

Birth

A child born during the first three phases of Mool star is supposed to bring ill-luck for himself and for his parents. A child born with teeth or a tooth is also considered to bring ill-luck to his parents.

Marriage

Light showers just when the *barat* (wedding party) starts for the bride's village or from bride's village to the groom's village, is regarded very much auspicious, as being the sign of the *Deva's* approval to the match. But if it rains heavily, it is believed that the couple being married had a very strong taste for *khurchan* (the semi-burnt part of the food that gets stuck in the bottom of the pot, while it is being cooked).

Deaths

Weeping of jackals or cats or dogs in an unusual tone, particularly during the early morning hours (i.e. between 1 to 4 A.M.) is regarded as a sure sign of death in the village or in some adjoining village.

Rains

Seeing huge swarms of ants shifting their habitation is regarded as a sure sign of heavy rains in the near future. It is also believed that it is possible to stop conti-

nuous heavy rains or hail-storms by placing cooking iron plates in a reverse form at the door way of one's house.

House-building

The date of laying foundation stone and for first formal entrance in the new house is always fixed in consultation with the Pandit. On the day of first entrance, the Pandit performs *havan puja* in the morning; leaves of *peepal* or mango (*aam*) tree are hung on the doorways of the house. On this occasion a feast is also given to neighbours and friends. The Pandit is given Rs. 1-25 for his services.

Normally the houses in the village face east. However, the front of the house may face north, but in no case west.

Eclipse

Solar or lunar eclipse are believed as a consequence of increased sins on the *dharti mata* (mother earth) and as a punishment by God to people for their sins. It is believed that the eclipse results in the outbreak of famines, diseases, floods etc.

During eclipse, the expectant mothers do not come out of their houses. They even do not move; instead they sit firmly in a particular position. It is believed that if an expectant mother does not observe the above practice, her baby may get a deformed body and also may not have good fortune. The children and the persons whose stars are affected by the eclipse abstain from looking towards the eclipse.

Further, during the period of the eclipse, the villagers do not eat anything and when the eclipse is over they first take bath, and wash their utensils and then eat only fresh preparations. As advised by the family Pandit, a few households also give the gifts of their old clothes to the Bhangis and the Chamars.

Earthquake

Regarding earthquake, it is commonly believed that the earth rests on the horns of an ox. When the ox gets tired after keeping the earth on his one horn for a long time, he shifts the earth on his other horn and this causes earthquake. Whenever there is earthquake all the villagers come out of their houses and stand in some open yard. A wound incurred during earthquake is believed as incurable.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

IN this chapter a study of (a) economic resources of the village, (b) the nature of their economic activities, and (c) factors influencing their day-to-day life is under taken.

(A) ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Land and livestock constitute the principal economic assets of the people in the village. It is, therefore, no wonder that land and livestock are adored and considered by them as their eternal parents. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to analyse separately the economics of these assets.

(i) LAND

Pattern of land Utilization

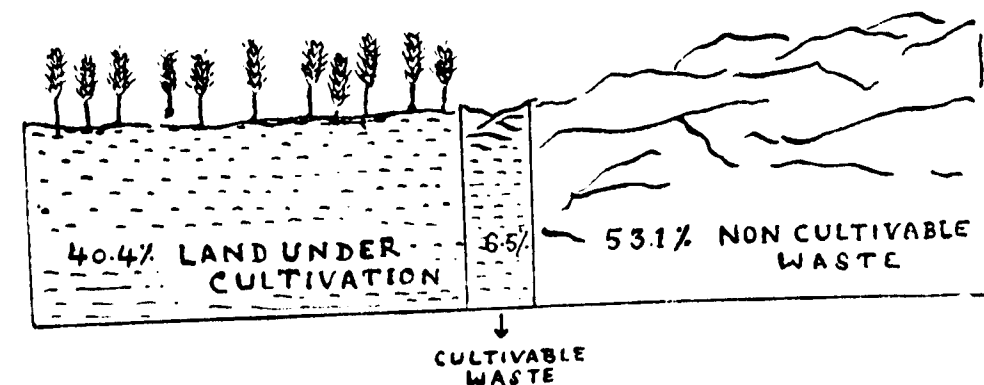
Village Mandi has a total area of 9,569 bighas (one bigha is approximately equal to 1/5 acre). The pattern of land utilisation in the village during 1961-62 is shown by the following table:—

TABLE III
Pattern of land Utilization

Land use	Area	Percentage of the total
(a) Under cultivation	3,863	40.4
(b) Cultivable Waste	622	6.5
(c) Non-Cultivable Waste	5,082	53.1
TOTAL	9,567	100.00

The Table shows that a sizeable portion of the village land (i.e. 53.1 per cent of the total area of the village) represents non-cultivable waste land. Leaving aside the *abadi* site, almost all of it is locally known as the village jungle. The village jungle primarily consists of rocky ridges and troughs. The jungle has sparsely grown bushes and trees, mostly used as fire-wood. The jungle also provides a common pasture land for cattle.

PATTERN OF LAND UTILISATION



40.4 per cent of the total area in the village is under cultivation. The total area under cultivation consists of four types of land known as (a) *Dehri* (low land under rain water), (b) *Khaki* (land on a comparatively higher level), (c) *Bhoorh* (sandy land), and (d) *Kankri* (soil with gravels).

Dehri accounts for about 1/3rd of the total land under cultivation. It is regarded as the most fertile land. During the rainy season, till the beginning of Dussehra festival, it remains under rain-water accumulated by the Gwalpahari rain water escape bund. This bund is locally known as *Jharna*. The crops sown on the *dehri* land are winter crops (i.e. *rabi* crops) mainly wheat and oilseeds.

The rest of the cultivated land accounting for 2/3th of the total cultivated area in the

village consists of what is known as *Khaki*, *Kankari* and *Bhoorh*. *Khaki* type of land grows both the winter crops [i.e. *rabi* crops—mainly barley, gram, bejhar (gram and barley) and *gojra* (wheat and barley)] and summer crops (i.e. *kharif* crops i.e. jowar and bajra). The *Kankari* and *Bhoorh* land normally grows only *kharif* crops and that too when monsoons are favourable.

Crop Pattern

The *rabi* (*asarhi*) and the *kharif* (*savani*) are the two crop seasons in a year. The *rabi* crops in the village include wheat, gram, barley, oilseeds, vegetables and pulses. The *kharif* crops consist of bajra and jowar alone. The following table gives a crop-wise distribution of the cultivated land in the village during 1961-62.

TABLE III. 2

Distribution of cultivated area according to the type of crop sown (1961-62)

Area sown according to the type of crop sown (1961-62)							
No.	Type of crop	Kharif Crop		Rabi Crop		Total (Rabi and Kharif)	
		Bighas	% of the total	Bighas	% of the total	Bighas	% of the total
A. Food crops							
1	Wheat	..	..	1,015	29.0	1,015	23.5
2	Gram	..	..	1,171	33.5	1,171	27.2
3	Barley	..	..	498	14.2	498	11.6
4	Bajra	572	69.1	..	..	572	12.4
5	Jowar	92	11.1	..	..	92	2.2
6	Pulses (Masoor—Arhar)	..	..	87	2.5	87	2.1
7	Vegetables	..	..	45	1.3	45	1.4
SUB TOTAL		664	80.2	2,816	80.5	3,480	80.4
B. Cash Crops							
Oil Seeds		..	..	597	17.1	597	13.8
SUB TOTAL		..	..	597	17.1	597	13.8
C. Others							
Fodder		164	19.8	86	2.3	250	5.8
SUB-TOTAL		164	19.8	86	2.3	250	5.8
Grand Total		828	100.0	3,499	100.0	4,327	100.0

Table No. III.2 shows that during the agricultural year 1961-62 out of the total cultivated land of 3,863 bighas, 21.4 per cent was cultivated during the *kharif* crop season and 90.5 per cent during the *rabi* crop season. Thus during 1961-62 out of the gross total of 7,226 bighas of the cultivated land (total cultivable land available for 2 crop seasons i.e. *rabi* and *kharif*), only 57.3 per cent was cultivated and the rest i.e. 42.7 per cent was left uncultivated. This was partly owing to the practice of keeping land fallow and partly owing to natural factors such as terraced nature of village fields, unfavourable monsoon, lack of alternative irrigation facilities etc.

For instance, during *kharif* crop, as high as over three-fourths of the total cultivable area in the village remains uncultivated. This is primarily because of natural factors such as terraced nature of village fields (which are left fallow partly because of uncertainty of monsoons or rainfalls and partly owing to the practice of keeping land fallow) and non-availability of *dehri* land for *kharif* crops as during the *kharif* crop season almost whole of it (*dehri* land) remains under rain water stored up by the Gwalpahari rain water escape bund. The

table shows that during the *rabi* crop season the absolute proportion of the total cultivable land under cultivation is much higher (i.e. 90.5 per cent of the total cultivable area). This is partly because during the *rabi* crop season the Gwalpahari rain water escape bund allows the rain water to escape and this makes almost the whole of the *dehri* land available for *rabi* cultivation, and partly because unlike the *kharif* crops, the *rabi* crops do not depend entirely on the rainfalls, although the quantity and quality of crops inevitably depend upon the favours of monsoons.

As regards the type of crops grown in the village Table No. III.2 shows that 80.4 per cent of the gross total land under cultivation grows food crops alone. The corresponding percentage of oil seeds (the only cash crop grown in the village) is 13.8 per cent. Among the food crops wheat and gram account for the maximum percentage of the gross cultivated area i.e. 23.5 and 27.2 per cent respectively. The next crop in order of the maximum area under cultivation is bajra, accounting for 11.4 per cent of the gross total area of the cultivated land and 69.1 per cent of the total land cultivated during the *kharif* crop season.

TABLE III. 3

Irrigation Facilities

Source of Irrigation	Area Irrigated by season				Total Rabi & Kharif	
	Rabi		Kharif		Bighas	% of the Total
	Bighas	% of the Total	Bighas	% of the Total		
Well	127	3.6	97	11.7	224	5.2
Rain	3,372	96.4	731	88.3	4,103	94.8
TOTAL	3,499	100	828	100	4,327	100

The above table shows that 94.8 per cent of the total area under cultivation in the village is completely devoid of artificial means of irrigation. Thus on the whole cultivation in the village is highly insecure and

directly depends upon the vagaries of nature. The negligible proportion of land shown under irrigation (i.e. 5.2 per cent of the total gross cultivated land) is irrigated through the persian wheel wells alone.

TABLE III.4

Size and Distribution of Land Holdings

Size Group Bighas	No. of H. Hs.	% of total No. of H. Hs.	Land owned in bighas	% of the total	Average size of family holding
Below 5	5	3.4	9	0.2	1.8
5—10	8	5.5	57	1.4	7.1
10—15	27	18.6	300	7.7	11.1
15—20	17	11.6	265	6.9	15.6
20—30	40	27.5	920	23.8	23.0
30—40	13	8.9	415	10.9	31.9
40—50	17	11.6	707	18.3	41.6
50—75	15	10.3	820	21.2	54.7
75—100	2	1.3	170	4.4	85.0
100 above	2	1.3	200	5.2	100.0
TOTAL	146	100.0	3,863	100.0	26.0

The table shows that 146 households i.e. 80.2 per cent of the total households in the village own land. All these land-owning households taken together account for 3,863 bighas of the cultivated land. This gives the average size of a family holding in the

village as 26.5 bighas (i.e. about 5½ acres). 97.4 per cent of the total land-owning households in the village have land less than 75 bighas each. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the biggest size of a family holding in the village is only 100 bighas.

TABLE III.5

Caste-wise distribution of Land Holdings

Caste	Total No. of H. Hs.	No. of H.Hs. owning land	Land owned in bighas	% of the Total	Average size of land holdings
Gujar	145	136	3,830	99.1	28.2
Julaha	20	9	23	0.6	8.2
Bhangi	12	1	10	0.3	10.0
Arora	2	..	..	..	..
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	146	3,863	100	26.5

A caste-wise study of the distribution of land holdings as shown in table III.5 reveals that almost all the cultivable land (99.1 per

cent of the total) is owned by the Gujars. The average size of a family holding among the Gujars is 28.2 bighas.

Among the rest of the castes, 9 households among the Julahas and one among the Bhangis collectively own 33 bighas of land under cultivation (i.e. on the average 3.3 bighas each). This is the reclaimed cultivable waste land allotted to them by the Gaon Panchayat.

Regarding the trend in the average size

of family holding in the village, table III.6 shows that between 1951 and 1962 the average size of family holding declined by 19.4 per cent. This decline has been primarily due to the comparatively greater increase (65.9 per cent) in the land-owning households as against 33.1 per cent increase in the total cultivated land in the village.

TABLE III.6

Average size of Land Holdings 1951—62

Year	Land owner households	Total cultiva- ted land owned	Avg. size of family hold- ings (bighas)
1951	88	2,903	32.9
1961	146	3,863	26.5

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture in the village is in a backward state. 94.3 per cent of the total gross area under cultivation depends on the vagaries of nature. The quantity of agricultural produce and thus the fate of the peasants depends on the nature of monsoons. Out of the gross total of 4,327 bighas of land under cultivation only 5.2 per cent is irrigated with the help of persian-wheel wells driven by bullocks or a camel. Over four-fifths of the total gross cultivated area is used for growing food crops. 85.3 per cent of the total agricultural output is self-consumed. The agricultural practices relating to the ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting of fields are still primitive and out-moded. Tools and implements used during the agricultural operations are also out-dated. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to study the various agricultural practices as prevailing in the village and also to describe some of the most common tools and implements used by the agriculturists.

Agricultural Practices

Farming practices (i.e. practices relating to ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting and thrashing) in the village vary from crop to crop. For instance, before sowing the seeds, the fields are ploughed a number of times, with the object of rendering the soil soft, to destroy the weeds and also to level the earth. The first ploughing is known as

phar, second one as joot, third one as tais, fourth as ubhar and the last one as boo (sowing seeds). The exact number of ploughing operations before sowing the seeds is mainly determined by the nature of the crop sown and the nature of the land and also upon the capacity of the farmers to afford the ploughing operations.

Normally before sowing *bajra* and *jowar* a field is ploughed twice and for sowing wheat and gram for three to four times, in case of barley for two to three times and for sowing oilseeds for four to five times.

Sowing

Jowar and *bajra* are kharif crops. Both of these are sown during the month of June-July and harvested towards the month of October. The rest of the crops viz. wheat, gram, barley, *bejharh*, *gochani*, *sarson* or *tara* (oilseeds) etc. are rabi crops and are sown during the month of October-November.

Mixed crops sown in the village are wheat and gram (known as *gochani*); wheat and barley (*gojra*); barley and gram (*bejharh*); *jowar* and *bajra*; and oilseeds and wheat. The stalks of *jowar* are normally cut before their harvest is ripe. These stalks serve as green fodder for their draught cattle (working ones) and the milch cattle during lactation.

The quantity of seeds required per crop is given below:—

TABLE III.7'
(SEED AND LAND RATIO (CROP-WISE))

Crops	Qty. of seeds per bigha (Srs)
A. KHARIF	
1. Jowar	2 to 4 seers
2. Bajra	$\frac{1}{2}$ seer $\frac{1}{2}$ seer
B. RABI	
1. Wheat	7 to 9 Seers
2. Gram	4 to 5 Seers
3. Gochani (Wheat mixed with gram the ratio being 2:1)	6 to 8 Seers
4. Barley	5 to 7 Seers
5. Bejharh (Barley and gram the proportion being 1:1)	5 to 6 Seers
6. Gojra (Wheat and barley the ratio being 1:1)	6 to 7 Seers
7. Oil-seeds	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ Seers.

Normally seeds of wheat and oilseed (*sarson* and *tara*) are sown in between the furrows at a regular distance with the help of *orna* also known as *vair* (a seed drill) attached to the plough. But as regards the sowing of barley, gram, *bejharh*, *gochani*, *jowar* and *bajra* there is no such set practice. The seeds of these crops may be sown either with the help of *vair* or may be scattered over the fields with hands.

Oilseeds are sown only in the wheat fields in such a way that in first four to six furrows only oilseeds are sown and in the next 10 to 12 furrows either wheat seeds alone or wheat mixed with *sarson* (the proportion being 10 seers of wheat to $\frac{1}{2}$ seers of oil seeds) are sown. This is done because the oilseed plants grow quicker and taller than wheat plants, and thus during the frosty days of winter these are regarded as useful in protecting the wheat plants from being damaged by frost. In due course of time the scattered oilseed plants sown mixed with wheat are cut down before the time of harvest, primarily for providing fodder to domesticated animals. But oilseeds sown in furrows are normally cut only when the harvest is ripe.

Weeding

A month after sowing, the weeding operations are carried out with a *khurpi* (scraper). The weeding operations are aimed at digging out the harmful weeds,

softening the soil and also adjusting the unnecessary congestion of plants. Number of weeding operations required vary from crop to crop. For instance, in a field where *jowar* is sown no weeding operation is carried out. In case of *bajra* and barley weeding is done only once. But in a field where wheat, gram or oilseeds are sown, weeding is done twice.

During the rabi crop season one significant thing that attracts one's attention is that the villagers till the day of Makar Sankranti (14th January) keep on cutting the upper part (particularly leaves) of the growing plants of gram and oilseeds. Hard and rough parted portions of these plants provide green fodder for their cattle and the tender leaves both of oilseeds and gram are consumed by the villagers as green vegetables. Further chopping of these plants also benefits the plant itself. It results in quicker growth, sprouting of more branches and thus in an increase in the corn bearing capacity of the plant.

Harvesting

Harvesting of the rabi crops begins in the month of March and continues till mid-April. Oilseeds (*sarson* and *tara*) are harvested during the months of Phagun (February-March). Wheat, gram, barley, etc. are harvested in the month of Baisakh (March-April).

Harvesting operations with respect to all the crops are similar. They begin with the cutting of stalks with a *daranti* (sickle) and collecting them into bundles (locally known as *poolies*). Finally these *poolies* are taken to a flat hard open space known as 'pair' for thrashing operations.

Thrashing

In a *pair* after drying the *poolies* for a few days, bullocks and their youngstock are made to trample over these scattered corn-bearing stalks for thrashing the corn. A net made of hemp rope (known as *machuka*) is tied around the bullocks' mouths so as to render them unable to eat the corn. Thrashing the corn in the village is known as *gahai lena*. Then on a windy day with the help of *chhachhiya* (a big plate made of reeds), grains are separated from the husk and thus winnowing operation is performed. This winnowing process is locally known as *barsana*. The remaining small amount of unthrashed corn which cannot be thrashed out by the bullocks is thrashed by the household members with wooden yards called



A camel ploughing a field



Levelling of the ploughed field is being done with *mehra*



A female going to the fields carrying water and food on her head for the menfolk



All (males, females and children) join hands while harvest the crop



During harvesting operations the village ladies relaxing for a while in the fields



Poolis (bundles of corn) being carried to the *pair* (thrashing place) on camels' hunchbacks for thrashing operations





Thrashing being done with bullocks



Winnowing being done with *Chhachhiya* (winnowing)



A view of toongas

moongras. If some amount of unthrashed corn is still left, it is thrashed in stone mortars.

Finally, the thrashed corn is dried in the sun for a day or two. Then after mixing a little amount of ash of cowdung cakes and leaves of *neem* tree (with a view to protect it from pests) the corn is packed in *thekkas* (bags made of hemp or reeds, pasted with a thick layer of mud and cowdung). The *thekkas* are finally stored in a granary known as *kotha*.

The stalks bearing no corn are taken to a spot in the field and their bundles are arranged in a particular form known as *boonga*. The husk and small pieces of stems called *tura* are stored in bags or in a store where animal fodder is kept.

Organisation of Man Power

The females and the children in the village play only a secondary role during the ploughing and sowing operations, but during weeding, harvesting and thrashing operations, they play quite an active part.

Ploughing and sowing is done only by the young or elderly male members of a household. Females only assist the ploughmen in providing them with breakfast in the fields and meeting the other petty needs of the operations, e.g. to bring seeds to the field if it falls short, etc.

During weeding, harvesting and thrashing operations the village women's role is quite important. Weeding operations are mostly carried out by them alone. During harvesting operations, along with the males they cut the stalks with sickles (*daranti*) and carry the bundles of stalks on their heads to the *pair* where thrashing of corn is done.

A cushion of a piece of cloth called *endhi* is placed on their heads so as to endure the roughness of the article carried. This cushion may be a temporary one made of any piece of cloth of a minimum length of one yard or otherwise may be made of a kind of long grass (*moonjh* or *bhabhar*) or wheat stems. During the thrashing operations the females separate the grains from the corn husk. They also thrash the quantity of left-over corn with *moongras* (wooden yards) or in stone mortars.

The children also actively participate in post-sowing agricultural operations. They assist the farmers in driving the bullocks or camel when used for drawing water from the persian wheel well. During the thrashing operations they look after the fields or *pairs* in the afternoon hours when the menfolk leave their work for taking meals and rest.

The animal power also plays an indispensable role in agricultural operations. The bullocks and camels are used for driving the plough (see Plate—Camel driving the plough in *bhoorh* type of land i.e. light soil with just enough clay to allow cultivation), the persian wheel well and also as a means of transportation of *poolis* (bundles of corn stalk) to the *pair*. The bullocks and their youngstocks, sometimes even buffaloes, are used for thrashing the corn.

It will be useful to give a broad idea about the expenditures involved in various agricultural operations and, if possible, to draw a general picture of profitability of different crops produced in the village. To this end, it is necessary to work out some of the basic relation, crop-wise and operation-wise, namely land, labour (No. of man days—required), seeds and yield ratios (see Table III. 8).

TABLE

Crop-wise Agricultural Operations—

Sl. No.	Name of the Crop	Ploughing*1		Sowing*1		Irrigation		Weeding		Harvesting No. of man days per acre
		No. of minimum operations required per acre	No. of man days needed per acre	Qty. of seeds re-quired per acre	No. of man days per acre	No. of times per acre	No. of man days per acre	No. of times per acre	Man days per acre	
2		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Rabi Crop</i>										
1	Wheat . . .	3	4-3 days (Rs. 24 to Rs. 32)	35-45 seers (Rs. 18 to Rs. 24)	1 day (Rs. 8)	2-3 (Rs. 16)	2 days (Rs. 4)	2	10 days (Rs. 16)	5 days (Rs. 8 to Rs. 10)
2	Barley . . .	2	2 days (Rs. 16)	25-35 seers (Rs. 10 to Rs. 14)	1 day (Rs. 8)	..	..	1	5 days (Rs. 8)	5 days (Rs. 8 to Rs. 10)
3	Gram . . .	2	2 days (Rs. 16)	20-25 seers (Rs. 8 to Rs. 10)	1 day (Rs. 8)	..	..	1	5 days (Rs. 8)	5 days (Rs. 8 to Rs. 10)
4	Oil-Seeds . . .	5	5-6 days (Rs. 40 to Rs. 48)	2½-3 seers (Rs. 2 to Rs. 3)	1 day (Rs. 8)	3-4 (Rs. 24 to Rs. 32)	3 days (Rs. 6)	2	10 days (Rs. 8)	5 days (Rs. 8 to Rs. 10)
<i>Kharif Crop</i>										
5	Bajra . . .	1	1 day (Rs. 4)	1-2 seers (Rs. 0.75 to Rs. 1.25)	1 day (Rs. 8)	..	..	1	5 days (Rs. 8)	6 days (Rs. 10)
6	Jowar*4 . . .	2	2 days (Rs. 16)	10-15 seers (Rs. 5 to Rs. 6)	1 day (Rs. 6)	..	..	..	..	..

*1. With a pair of bullocks. A ploughman is hired generally @ Rs. 2.50 per day and a pair of bullocks costs a
 *2. In one acre field, cowdung manure weighing approximately 500 mds. to 800 mds. is spread once in every three years.

*3. Yield varies markedly from year to year, depending upon the nature, monsoon and climate.

*4. Jowar is mainly grown as fodder crop for cattle.

() In brackets approximate cost of each operation is worked out.

III-8

Land, Labour, Seed and Yield Ratios

Thrashing, win- nowing and storing	Miscellaneous			Total		Yield per acre in mds.*2	
No. of man days per acre	Qty. of manu- re*3 per acre in mds.	No. of man days per acre	No. of man days for general supervision of fields	Total man days required in all operations excluding col. 15 per acre	Total expenditure involved per acre in Rs.	Irrigated	Unirrigated
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
10 days with 4 bullocks (Rs. 36 to Rs. 40)	100-150 mds. (Rs. 15 to Rs. 20)	2 days (Rs. 4)	..	32-35 days	Rs. 149 to Rs. 174	20-30 mds. (Rs. 320 to Rs. 480)	18-24 mds. (Rs. 288 to Rs. 384)
8 days (Rs. 28 to Rs. 32)	100-150 mds. (Rs. 15 to Rs. 20)	2 days (Rs. 4)	..	23 days	Rs. 97 to Rs. 112	..	20-25 mds. (Rs. 280 to Rs. 350)
6-8 days (Rs. 20 to Rs. 24)	100-150 mds. (Rs. 15 to Rs. 20)	2 days (Rs. 4)	..	21-24 days	Rs. 86 to Rs. 99	..	10-12 mds. (Rs. 130 to Rs. 180)
8-10 days (Rs. 30 to Rs. 40)	150-200 mds. (Rs. 25 to Rs. 27)	2 days (Rs. 4)	..	34-38 days	Rs. 155 to Rs. 186	10-15 mds. (Rs. 400 to Rs. 600)	8-10 mds. (Rs. 320 to Rs. 400)
6 days (Rs. 24 to Rs. 30)	..	..	..	19 days	Rs. 55 to Rs. 64	..	8-16 mds. (Rs. 112 to Rs. 224)
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

farmer Rs. 5 to 6 per day.

In the following calendar, the various year are grouped monthwise: agricultural practices undertaken during the

TABLE III.3 a
Calendar of Agricultural Practices

Name of the month	Agricultural practices
October	Final preparation of land for sowing wheat, barley and oil-seeds. Towards the close of the month, the sowing of the said crops is undertaken.
November	Sowing of wheat, barley, oil-seeds and mixed crops viz. <i>bejharh</i> and <i>gojra</i> is completed. If desired, first irrigation to wheat crop is given.
December	Weeding operations with respect to all the <i>rabi</i> crops are undertaken.
January	Second irrigation is given to wheat crop. If one's means permit, the top dressing of fertilisers is also undertaken. Weeding operation in wheat fields continues.
February	Last irrigation to wheat crop is given.
March	Harvesting of gram and oil-seeds is undertaken.
April	Harvesting of wheat, barley, and <i>bejharh</i> crops is completed. If possible, thrashing of oil-seeds and gram is performed.
May	Thrashing operations of wheat, barley and <i>bejharh</i> are completed.
June	Ploughing for preparing land for kharif crop (<i>bajra</i> and <i>jowar</i>) and <i>rabi</i> crop (Particularly wheat and oil-seeds) is undertaken.
July	Sowing of kharif crop.
August	Ploughing for <i>rabi</i> crop continues.
September	Harvesting of kharif crop is carried on and sowing of gram (<i>rabi</i> crop) commences.

TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Tools and implements used by the villagers are simple, driven either by man-power or animal power. The most common among them are the plough (*hal*), *mehra* (a leveller), *phawarha* (spade), *khurpi* (a scraper), *dranti* (sickle), *bassola* and *kulhari* (small and bigger one), *gandasa* (a chaff-cutter), *mongra* (a wooden yard) and *chhachh* (a big plate of reeds used for winnowing), etc. The village has no blacksmith and the villagers have to go either to Fatehpur Beri or to Mehrauli for the repair of their implements and to purchase the required implements.

There are thirty-five chaff-cutter machines (driven by hand) in the village. All of them have been procured either from Mehrauli or from Delhi. The village has five bullock-carts, one *rehra* (a cart driven by a horse) and one *kirainchi* (a cart driven by camel).

In the following paragraphs the above cited tools and implements used by the villagers are given in detail.

Hal (Plough)

The plough used by the villager is a wooden one. It is driven by either a pair of bullocks or a camel. A plough driven by a camel is of shorter size than the one driven by a pair of average bullocks.

A plough has four separate parts, viz.,

- (1) *Hal* (a wooden shaft).
- (2) *Halas* (a wooden beam).
- (3) *Panhari* (a wooden frame bearing iron blade).
- (4) *Juaa* (yoke).

A plough is mostly made of wood. It has a *hal* (a wooden shaft) with a handle called *hatheli* or *khunti* to control the direction of the furrows and to apply pressure for deep ploughing. In the lower part of the *hal* a wooden frame called *panhari* is fixed. The *panhari* has an iron blade known as iron *phali*. Just above the fixing point of *panhari*, the *halas*—a wooden beam is fixed in the *hal*. While ploughing, the *halas* is joined with the *juaa* (yoke) with a rope of hemp. The yoke on its both sides has two pieces, of hemp rope to be tied during ploughing around the neck of bullocks.

There are three popular varieties of ploughs used for different specific purposes.

The first one is *nai hal*. This *hal* is only used in sowing and ploughing operations. It

has a small iron *phali* and *panhari*. The other two types of ploughs are named (a) *andiwala hal* and (b) *thadda hal*. The former plough is relatively of smaller size than the latter. It has an iron ring over the *panhari* to make the *panhari* stronger. This plough is normally made for weaker bullocks or new young bullocks called *nariya hillao* which are being trained in the ploughing operations.

Thada hal has longer blade and wider *panhari*. It is regarded superior than the *andiwala hal* as it ploughs deeper.

There is another out-moded form of *nai hal* known as *lotu hal*. Though still believed to be better than *thadda hal* as it ploughs deeper than the latter it is out-dated and not popularly used, the reason being that its construction is more complex and it is not made by the existing craftsmen.

It may be pointed out that the plough used during the sowing operations locally known by the name of *nai hal* has a smaller *panhari* (a wooden frame with iron blade to dig the earth). Most of these ploughs have a provision for dropping seeds between the furrows.

There is another form of *hal* (plough) used for weeding operations. It has a rake for scrapping the weeds. The rake consists of a pointed blade (*kasaula*) made of iron bars.

Vair or Orna

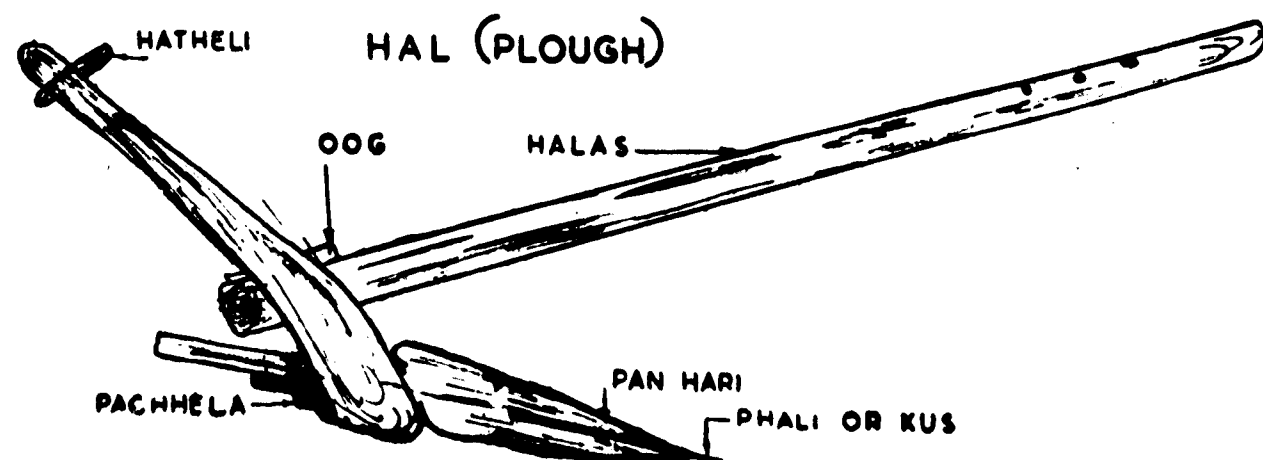
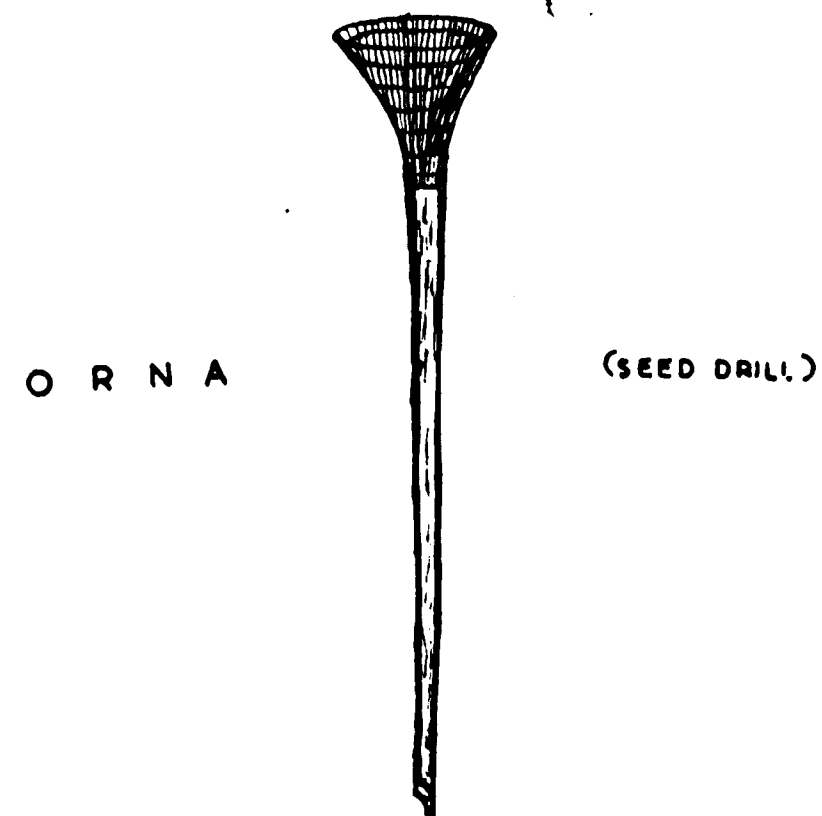
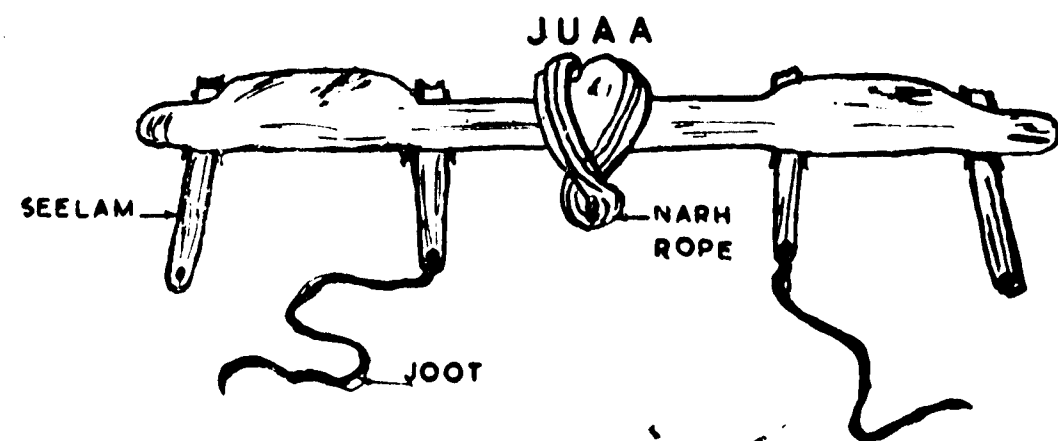
Orna is a seed drill attached to *hal* at the time of sowing of wheat, gochhi, gram, etc. It consists of a wooden or tin pipe fabricated in such a way that its diameter is reduced to half an inch, and is given a small bend at the end so that seeds may ooze out constantly. The upper end of the pipe forms a conical bowl for pouring the seeds at the time of sowing.

Mehra (A Wooden Levelling-rod)

A *mehra* is a wooden roller, 4' to 6' long and 6" to 9" wide. It is used for levelling the field before it is being ploughed. Normally it is driven by a pair of bullocks.

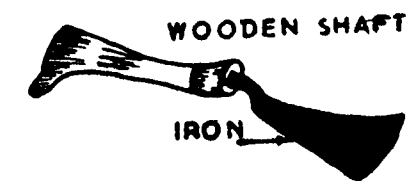
Scraper (Khurpi)

It is a light implement handled by the farmers themselves for scraping the weeds, etc. It has a wooden handle 6" to 8" long and a blade made of an iron sheet.

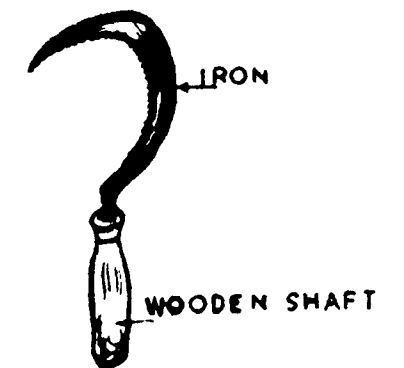


Agriculture: tools and implements

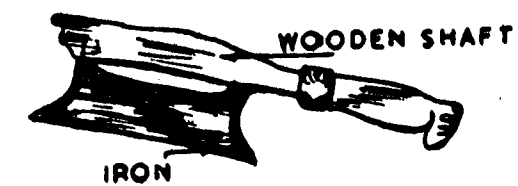
KHURPI (SCRAPER)



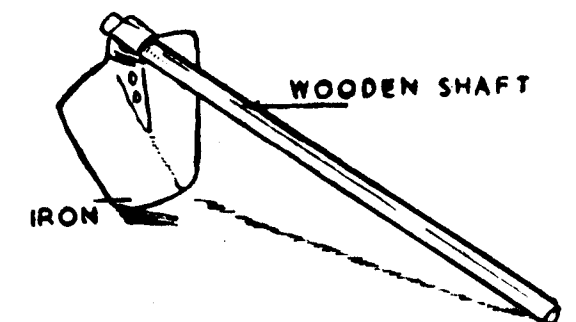
DARANTI (SICKLE)



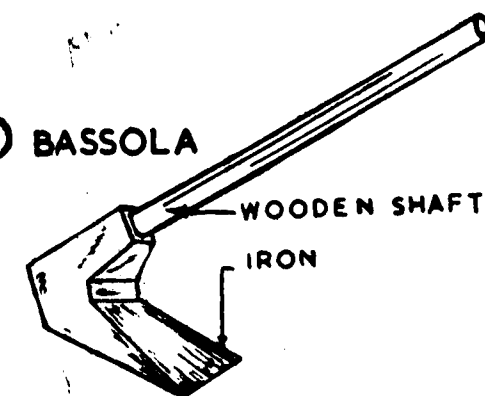
GANDASA (CHAFF CUTTER)



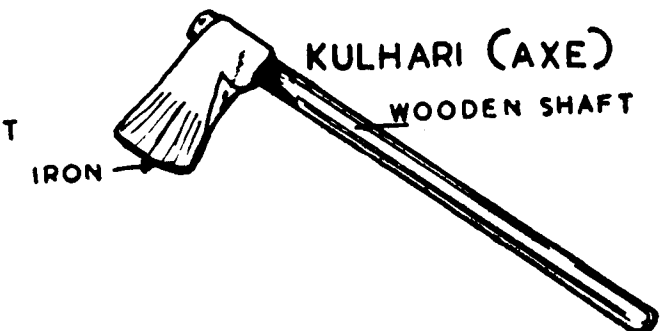
PHAWARA (HOE)



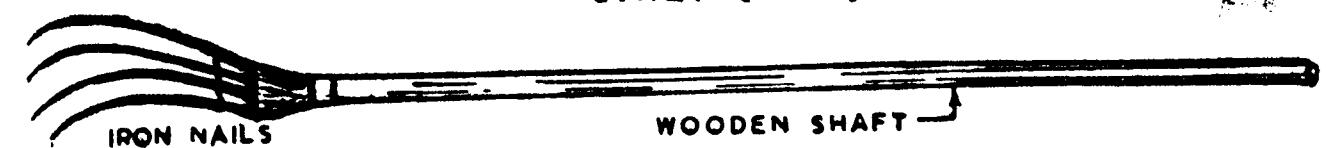
(AXE) BASSOLA



KULHARI (AXE)



JAILY (RAKE)



Agriculture: tools and implements



A village female husking corn



Various kinds of scrapers and sickles—constitute the common possessions of agricultural household



Work is pleasure. The village females over a chaff-cutting machine in a gay mood



A housewife grinding corn in a home-made stone grinding mill

Gandasa (Chaff-Cutter)

It is an implement specially used for minor cutting operations such as separating the corn-bearing parts of the stalks, etc. It has a handle made of wood and an iron blade sharpened to one side of 7" to 10" length.

Daranti (Sickle)

Daranti is used for cutting standing crop and grass. It is made of an iron strip and a wooden shaft attached to it. The iron strip has a semi-circular shape, the inner side being thinner and contains a number of pointed teeth at narrow distance.

Jaily (Rake)

Jaily is used during thrashing operations for turning the stalks of corn and spreading these in a desired form. It is made of an iron strip containing four curved nails each being 9" to 12" long. The iron strip is attached to a long wooden yard.

Axe (Bassola and Kulhari)

There are two kinds of axes in the village. One is known as *bassola* used for delicate and finer cutting operation of wood such as repairing a plough, etc. and the other one known as *kulhari* is a bigger axe used for cutting trees, thick bushes, etc.

Husking and Grinding Implements

Stone or wooden mortar (*okhal*) form the main husking implement in the village. The stone mortars (may be square cut or round or polygon shape) are fixed in the floor. But the wooden mortars are normally portable ones. The cell of the mortar is always round, the mouth of the stone mortar being about 9" to 12" wide and of the wooden being 4" to 6". The pestle used for husking operations is a thick wooden rod known as *musal*. The *musal* is moved by hand alone.

The grinding flour mill (*chakki*) is also made of two flat but round pieces of stones, the upper stone always being lighter than the lower stone. It is always moved by hands.

It may be pointed out that all the work relating to husking and grinding of cereals is normally done by the females alone. This is the reason for all the husking mortars and grinding flour mills (*chakkis*) being found only in the *ghars* and not in any other structure.

LIVESTOCK

Like land, livestock form another important economic asset of the villagers. There-

TABLE III 9
Distribution of Livestock according to Agricultural and Non-agricultural Households

Distribution of Livestock according to Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Households								
Kind of Livestock	No. of Livestock						Total Livestock	% of the Total
	Agriculture Households			Non-Agriculture Households				
	No. of Households	No. of Livestock	% of the Livestock	No. of Households	No. of Livestock	% of the Livestock		
Milch Cattle								
Cow	67	147	13.3	9	14	8.4	161	12.7
Buffalo	91	206	18.7	12	40	24.2	246	19.4
Sheep and Goat	17	284	25.7	5	55	33.3	339	26.7
SUB-TOTAL		637	57.7		109	65.9	746	58.8
Draught Cattle								
Bullock	88	161	14.6	4	9	5.6	170	13.5
Camel	16	16	1.4	1	1	0.6	17	1.3
SUB-TOTAL		177	16.0		10	6.2	187	14.8
Young Stock								
Cow	48	62	5.6	7	8	4.8	70	5.5
Buffalo	57	89	8.1	5	16	9.6	105	8.3
Sheep and Goat	13	126	11.4	2	15	9.0	141	11.1
SUB-TOTAL		277	25.1		39	23.4	316	24.9
Others								
Pig	..	..	..	3	3	2.1	3	0.2
Hen	1	13	1.2	1	4	2.4	17	1.3
SUB-TOTAL	1	13	1.2	..	7	4.5	20	1.5
GRAND TOTAL		1,104	100	..	165	100	1,269	100

TABLE III 10
Livestock Statistics

Caste	Cow			Cow Young			She-Bufferalo			Buffalo Young			Bullock			Camel			Sheep & Goat			Sheep & Goat Young			Pig			Hen		
	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing	Total No.	No. of Hs. Own-ing			
Gujar	73	158	53	68	98	241	60	103	92	170	17	17	21	334	15	141	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2			
Julaha	2	2	2	2	4	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3			
Bhangsi	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..			
Arora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
TOTAL	76	161	55	70	103	246	62	105	92	170	17	17	22	339	15	141	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	5			

fore the common saying in the village that livestock are the bestower of lives to the villagers hardly needs to be emphasised. For instance, bullocks and camels help in ploughing the fields, driving carts and in rolling the persian wheel well etc.; the milch cattle supply milk which is partly consumed as the principal item of their diet and partly sold to supplement their money income. The cow-dung serves a dual purpose of the villagers. It is partly used as a fertilizer in the fields and partly used as principal item of fuel.

Table No. III. 9 shows that out of the total of 1269 livestock in the village, 88.0 per cent are owned by the agricultural households and 12.0 per cent by the non-agricultural households. Further, while over 95 per cent of the agricultural households in the village were owning cattle, the corresponding percentage among the non-agricultural households was only 23.7 per cent. This clearly shows the importance attached to livestock by the agricultural households in the village. In fact, to the agricultural households, livestock are both complementary to their agriculture as well as supplementary to their diet and income. Further, the cost of maintaining cattle by the agricultural households is also to a great extent met from agriculture itself.

Table No. III. 10 shows that 69.3% of the agricultural households own bullocks and 12.6 per cent own camels. Bullocks and camels taken together constitute 14.8% of the total livestock in the village. So far as their services are concerned, both more or less serve similar duties i.e. both are used in ploughing the field, driving persian wheel wells and carts. But camels are mainly used for carrying load or driving persian wheel well, and bullocks are regarded as more suitable for ploughing the fields. Incidentally camels are domesticated only by the well-to-do households in the village, though the recurring cost of maintaining a camel is known to be much lower than maintaining bullocks.

Buffaloes figure as the most prominent cattle, do nesticated by more than half (56.3%) of the total households in the village. The corresponding percentages for bullocks, cows, sheep and goats come to be 50.5%, 41.8%, 12.1% and 9.2% respectively.

58.8% of the total livestock in the village are milch cattle. If we take them along

with their young-stocks, they account for 83.7% of the total livestock in the village. Milk, apart from being an important part of the villagers' staple diet provides an additional source of money income to them. It has been estimated that during the year 1961-62, the total quantity of milk produced in the village was 7233 maunds, out of which the total quantity sold amounted to 4664 maunds. A detailed study of milk as a source of income is undertaken in a later part of this chapter.

A caste-wise distribution of livestock in the village as shown by Table III. 10 reveals that 98.1% of the total livestock are domesticated by the Gujars alone. The Gujars in the village also own 99.3% of cultivated land.

Pigs, considered as the dirtiest of all animals, are reared only by the Bhangis. However, even the Bhangis do not domesticate pigs for the purpose of self-consumption but for sale and as a means to supplement their income.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Livestock rearing, apart from being an economic necessity, provides the villagers a unique sense of social, religious and sentimental satisfaction. Festivals like Govardhan, Amavas, Dev Uthani Gyas are celebrated particularly with the pious objective of enriching the cattle wealth. Cow urine is used on auspicious occasions as an insecticide and a useful and pure liquid. In the present section, the general practices prevailing regarding the domestication of cattle, including buying and selling of cattle, keeping and looking after them and their common diseases and cures, are studied at length.

Milch cattle, viz., cows and buffaloes of Hariyana or Rohtak breed are considered better ones. Generally, the villagers go to Hariyana or Rohtak whenever they have to buy a cow or buffalo. The cost of a cow of Hariyana or Rohtak breed varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 and is expected to give a daily yield of 12 to 15 seers of milk during its best period of lactation. *Desi* (local) cows are also known as *pahari* cows. Their cost ranges from Rs. 200/- to 300/- and the milk yield during their best lactation period is 8 to 10 seers. A buffalo from Punjab (Rohtak and Gurgaon) may cost a villager from Rs. 1000/- to 1500/- with milk yield in the best period being 3 to 4 *dhari* (a *dhari* is equal to 5 seers). The price of *desi* (local)

*Milch cattle are also commonly brought either on credit from the cattle dealer or with money advanced by the milkman—on the security of the cattle head itself. The payment of principal and interest is made in the form of sale of milk to the lender.

buffalo ranges from Rs. 400/- to Rs. 1000/-.* Bullocks from Punjab (Parvaras or Rohtak) are preferred. Their price varies from Rs. 1000/- to 3000/- per pair. *Desi* bullocks (also known as *pahari* bullocks) are available at cheaper price i.e. Rs. 300/- to 800/- per pair. Camels from Punjab or Rajasthan are fetched at the price of Rs. 500/- to Rs. 700/-. Sheep and goats from Rajasthan (Barbari) are liked. The *desi* breed is considered inferior one. Sheep and goats are sold to the customers from Delhi at the rate of Rs. 40 to 45 each. *Desi* pigs reared by the Bhangis are also sold to the customers from Delhi who casually visit the village, at the rate of Rs. 90 to 115 per pig.

The villagers very rarely purchase cattle from fairs, as there are chances of being cheated. While purchasing cattle, they approach their relatives and friends and thus always prefer safe bargaining. Cows or bullocks having one horn upwardly bent and the other horn downwardly bent towards the neck are known as *swarg-patali*, which may literally be interpreted as heaven and infernal region. These are considered inauspicious and no villager shall ever purchase them. Buffaloes, having one eye white and other black are also considered inauspicious. No villager will go in for a jet black buffalo. While purchasing a cattle head full attention is paid to the formation of its body. It is only when no doubt is left, one goes for actual purchase.

The maximum life span of a cow, according to the villagers, is 18 years, of a bullock 15 years and a buffalo 18 to 20 years. A cow or buffalo starts giving milk at the age of 3 to 4 years. Life of cow or buffalo is guessed by the villagers by counting their teeth and counting the rings on the horns of a buffalo. It is understood that no tooth appears till the animal is 2½ years old. The most common correlation between an animal's teeth and its age as understood by the villagers is given below:

No. of teeth	Life Span
Two teeth	2½ to 3 years
Four teeth	4 to 5 years
Six teeth	6 to 7 years
Eight teeth	8 years

It is believed that when all the 8 teeth of an animal come out, its growth stops and it enters into old age. Hence the villagers normally do not purchase animals having more than six teeth.

Breeding and maintenance of livestock

Cattle in the village are ill fed and poor. Fodder supply in the village is short. The

village jungle which also serves as a pasture land for the cattle consists of rocky ridges and troughs and is incapable to grow herbs to meet the bare requirements of green fodder even during the rainy season. The problem of feeding cattle during the rabi crop season (winter season i.e. from October to April) is more acute. The villagers generally dispose of their cattle (cow and buffalo which are not in their milching season) to their relatives in other distant villages in the U.P. and the Punjab. The *khallar* (the milch cattle which are not in their lactation period) or the draught cattle (bullocks) in their slack season i.e. after sowing operations, usually live on grass or spare fodder etc. Even the milch cattle during their lactation period receive different types of fodder when they are *lain* (local term meaning the best milching season) and when they are *bakhari* (when milk yield of cattle starts reducing). *Sani* (mixed fodder and concentrates) and *chari* (green fodder) are given only to draught cattle under heavy work and milch cattle in lactation. Fodder (mixed with concentrates) requirements of a cow vary from 5 to 12 seers. Normally *binola* (cotton seeds) 2½ seers is soaked in water for 6 to 8 hours, *gwar* ½ seer is boiled for about 1 hour and then mixed with *tura* (fodder of corn stalks) about 3 to 4 seers, and *chun* (gram husk or husk of corn) ½ seer and *khal* (oil cakes). The quantity of cotton seeds, oil cakes and corn husk mixed with *tura* is much more in case of a buffalo. Bullocks during ploughing and sowing operations or whenever they are put to heavy work, in addition to concentrates are given oil ½ to one *chhatak* and *gur* ½ seer and *pindas* (balls of cereal food) daily. To improve the appetite, salt, about ½ seer, is given to these cattle once in every week. During the winter season, about ½ seer of *methi* is added in the *sani* (porridge of mixed fodder and concentrates). Cost of fodder and concentrates is given below:

Fodder/Concentrates	Rate
Tura (dry stalks of corn)	Rs. 3.00 per md.
Pool (dry bundles of stalks)	Rs. 3.50 per md.
Binola (cotton seeds)	Rs. 22.00 per md.
Khal—Tara (Oil cakes)	Rs. 17.00 per md.
Khal—Sarson (Oil cakes)	Rs. 14.00 per md.
Methi	Rs. 36.00 per md.
Gowar	Rs. 12.00 per md.

For breeding cows and buffaloes, there is one *Sarkari bijar* (Government bull) and one *jhotta* (he-buffalo) in the village. For development of foetus in pregnant cows or buffaloes, 'productive rationing' consisting

of concentrated feed and mustard oil is given to them. Mustard oil is poured into the mouth of the cattle with a hollow bamboo pipe locally known as *naal* or *bans ki thothri pori*.

A pregnant cow is known as *gyabhan* while the state of pregnancy in case of a buffalo is referred to as *bohna*. The pregnancy period for a cow or buffalo lasts for about nine and a half months. When the time of calving comes, the animal starts sitting and standing abruptly. One or two members of the household attend the animal; as the four legs of the calf appear one member gently pulls out the calf by its four legs. The mother animal just then starts licking the calf with her tongue and thereby cleanses the outer covering. An infant cow youngstock is known as *bachhiya* (she-calf) and bull youngstock is known as *bachhra* (he-calf). The corresponding names for youngstock of buffalo are *katiya* (she-buffalo) and *katra* (he-buffalo).

The first milk yield after calving is known as *khees* (colostrum). It is taken to the local shrine, *Bhoomiya Mata ka Chhatra*, and distributed (after boiling it) among the neighbours and relatives. Sour milk yield of first five or six days is known as *chhaira* (colostrum). It differs from normal milk and is highly laxative.

Miscarriage in case of animals is locally known as *phirna* or *chhan jana* or *tuh jana*. The only way to guess that miscarriage of calf has taken place is that after getting pregnant the animal starts moving in a peculiar fashion (*rambhana*) and gives a still birth.

After calving the animal is given *gur ki auwati* (*gur* boiled in water, mixed with *ghee*, *ajwayan* etc.) It is believed that *gur ki auwati* helps in clearing the stomach of the animal early.

For about three to four weeks, a calf lives on mother's milk alone. Thereafter it starts nibbling grass, *chari* (green fodder) and after seventh or eighth week it is given dry fodder. The calf, when it attains the age of two or three years, is castrated (*badhiya karna*) by the villagers, so that it becomes a bullock. Castration is done with the help of locally prepared wooden tools. While performing castration, four or five adult males gather. Firstly the hind legs of the calf are tied together with a rope. Then the calf is made to lie on the ground and all its legs are tied together so that it may not be able to move and the castration

may be performed conveniently. The scrotal sacs are rubbed with cowdung ash, then with two flat and smoothed wooden pieces (about one yard long and 3" to 4" wide the testes (*jote*) are pressed and thus crushed.

To keep strong and aggressive bullocks under control use of nose string is prevalent. The nose string consists of a small twisted rope. It is passed through the hole punched in the nasal septum and the two ends of the rope are gathered beyond the horns by another piece of strong rope.

The goats and sheep are regarded as 'poor man's cow.' These require as little as one-fifth of feed, one fifth of space and one fifth of cost involved in the domestication of a cow. Goat's milk is considered specially useful for a pregnant woman or a new born baby. It is also taken as medicine by a person who is suffering from pains in joints. A goat kids once in about 8 months. The villagers do not take special care of goats yielding milk. The practice of keeping stalkfed goats or sheep is not followed. Every morning these are set free to graze in the village jungle.

Breeding of camels is not practised by the villagers. The villagers generally purchase young camels (from Rajasthan or Punjab) and dispose them of when they become old. Thorny bushes found in village jungle form the favourite food of the camel. In winter season, special care of camels is taken. Once or twice in a fortnight a special *masala* [mixed preparation of *methi* (fenugreek), *sak*, *phatkari* (alum), *ajwayan* (chummi-seeds) *gur* etc.—used as medicine to keep stomach in order] is added to the routine feed or mixed with the concentrates.

Animal diseases and cures

Whenever a cattle falls ill or is caught by some disease, the villagers first resort to local treatment consisting of rough application of native herbs etc. Services of modern veterinary hospital at Mehrauli or Fatehpur Beri or at Ghitorni are availed of only when local treatment (including witchcraft*) fails. In the following lines some of the more common diseases and local treatments of the same as prevalent in the village are given.

Muh Khur ki bimari (Foot and mouth disease): This is a seasonal and contagious disease. In rainy season, the village cattle frequently make use of dirty rain water stored up in the village ponds. These ponds have no outlet. The villagers also do not take care to maintain proper cleanliness in

*For witchcraft and animal cure, refer Animals and Medical cures Chapter IV.

the pond (such as mixing some medicines etc.). Consequently sooner or later, the cattle fall victim to foot and mouth disease. Whenever, there is outbreak of this disease, the villagers keep their animals (particularly young ones) separate from those who are suffering from it. A cattle suffering from the disease is given about 1/8 seers of mustard oil for about a week and the hoofs (khurs) are washed every morning with *lal dawar* (potash).

Gal ghotu (Hearmoirrhagic Septicemic):

Gal ghotu is a contagious disease. It flares up during the rainy season. It generally proves fatal. The wind pipe in the throat of the animal suddenly swells and causes difficulty in breathing. If no immediate treatment is done, the animal dies within three or four hours. The most common local treatment of the disease consists in spotting the neck of the animal with a red hot iron piece (i.e. *daag lagana*) and also to apply a warm coating of fresh burnt cowdung ash.

Mata (Rinder pest): Rinder-pest generally appears among the cattle in every spring or in winter for about a month. The villagers consult a *babajee* (a saint) who prescribes some local herbs.

Ufara (Tympany): This disease causes swelling up of the stomach. The animal feels very much restless and the disease often proves fatal. The local cure of the disease is to administer boiled mixture of *heeng* (asafoetida), *ajwayan* (chummi-seeds), *methi* (fenugreek), *sonth* (dried ginger), etc. and to apply warm mustard oil on the stomach.

FACTORS INFLUENCING ECONOMIC LIFE

In the Post Independence period the State has taken various measures to bring about a complete reorientation in the static socio-

economic life of the villagers. The more important of these measures viz:

- Land Reforms
- Land Improvement Schemes
- New schemes of Rural finance.

are being studied in the following paragraphs.

LAND REFORMS

The most important Land Reforms measure introduced in the Union Territory of Delhi is the Delhi Land Reforms Act 1954. The Act has as its primary object the abolition of the intermediaries and rentiers known as Zamindars and to establish a direct relation between the actual tiller of the soil and the State. Thus according to the Act all the tenant cultivators cultivating land prior to or since 1952 were given full security of tenure. They were declared the rightful owners of the land provided they accepted the terms and conditions laid down in the Act, such as the payment of a certain amount of compensation to the landowner either in lump-sum or in instalments. The amount of compensation is to be determined by the State according to the type of rights held by the intermediary.

The Land Reforms Act of 1954 also imposes restrictions on the owner cultivators subletting their land or leasing it out on share-cropping basis. The only exceptions allowed are the cases of unmarried women or widows and persons suffering from physical infirmity.

Another provision of the Land Reforms Act 1954 gives the Gaon Panchayat the proprietary rights in all the village common land such as perpetual waste land, pasture and forest land, cremation and burial ground, *abadi* site, pathways, public wells, water channels etc.

Our enquiries concerning the effects of the Land Reforms Act 1954 on the village economy show that as even before the enforcement of the Act the village consisted of petty land holders, therefore, only a few households have been affected by the Land Reforms Act. The above table shows that about four-fifths of the total persons interviewed remained unaffected by the Act. Of the total of 39 households affected 9 have been affected favourably as they gained 85 bighas of land, 16 affected unfavourably include five owner cultivators who lost their lands to their tenant cultivators, and the remaining 11 adversely affected reported that before the enforcement of the Act they were better off as it was possible for them either to take land on crop-sharing basis or to lease out their own land to others on similar basis and thus could devote their time and efforts exclusively either to agricultural or to non-agricultural occupations. Four persons in service and three milk sellers reported that because they have uneconomic land holdings they had to change their primary occupation from owner cultivator to service or milk selling and that as under the Act they are not allowed to let out their land holdings on crop-sharing basis, they are forced to follow owner cultivation as their subsidiary occupation. This suggests us one important theoretical inference. It is likely that because of their preoccupation (other than agriculture), they are not in a position to make optimum use of their lands. Cultivation in such instances may not be as intensive as would have been otherwise. Hence one of the byproducts of land reforms may be slackening agricultural production in such cases. Such inference *prima facie* appears to be true. In most of the cases it has been found that households primarily engaged in other occupations (other than cultivation of land) make better use of their land than their counter-parts who are ex-

clusively engaged in agriculture. Their pre-occupation provides them more or less regular flow of income which if desired is invested in land or utilised for the better use of land such as procuring agricultural tools and implements, manure, etc.

Land Improvement Schemes

Extensive and intensive methods of cultivation form the two broad categories of land improvement schemes. The former includes land reclamation projects and the other quantitative efforts to bring cultivable waste land under the plough and the latter pertain to all the qualitative means designed to increase the fertility of land such as irrigation, soil conservation and afforestation schemes, facilities of improved tools and implements, better seeds and artificial fertilisers etc.

Land Reclamation

According to the Delhi Land Reforms Act 1954 the Gaon Panchayat enjoys the proprietary rights in all the village common lands including the perpetual waste land, pasture and forest land etc. The Delhi Panchayat Raj Act 1954 empowers the Gaon Panchayat to carry out schemes regarding assisting the development of agriculture such as 'reclamation of waste land, bringing waste land under cultivation'. According to the Act the Gaon Panchayat may allot the reclaimed land to needful households either in groups or co-operative farming basis or to individuals.

During 1959, the Gaon Panchayat of the village allotted unclaimed cultivable waste land to all the villagers who were willing to put it under cultivation. All the willing households were allotted one *patta* each (a piece of approximately 10 bighas) at the rate of Rs. 7.50 per *patta* for a period of two years. A few more statistical details regarding the land so reclaimed by the Gaon Panchayat have been furnished in the table given below:

TABLE III 12
Land Reclamation and Development

Caste	No. of Households	Total No. of H. Hs. reported as benefited by the Land Reclamation & Development Schemes		Total reclaimed land under cultivation in bighas
		Total No. of households	Total reclaimed in bighas	
Gujar	145	94	876	750
Julaha	20	9	74	23
Bhangi	12	1	10	10
Arora	2	..	..	..
Baniya	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	104	960	783

TABLE III 11
Effects of Land Reforms Act

Occupation	No. of H. Hs.	Households reported as affected				Not affected or did not reply
		Favourably	Unfavourably	Litigation	Total	
Owner Cultivator	121	9 (gained 85 bighas)	5 (lost 91 bighas)	9	23	99
Tenant Cultivator	1	..	..	..	..	1
Agricultural Labour	2	..	..	..	2	..
Rent Receiver	3	..	1	..	1	2
Casual Labour	29	..	1	2	3	26
Milk Seller	8	..	2	1	3	5
Trader	4	..	..	..	..	4
Service	10	..	4	2	6	4
Rehra Driver	1	..	1	..	1	..
Tailoring	2	..	..	..	..	..
Gold smith	1	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	9	16	14	39	143

The table shows that 57.1% of the total households in the village have benefited from the land reclamation scheme carried out by the Gaon Panchayat. A caste-wise study of the table shows that the absolute benefit of land reclamation has been mopped up by the Gujars as they took 91.2% of the total land reclaimed by the Panchayat. The Bhangis and the Julahas have got only a marginal benefit. The table shows that out of the total of 145 *Gujars* households 94 i.e. 54.8% have benefited by the land reclamation schemes of the Gaon Panchayat. But the corresponding proportion among the Julahas and the Bhangis is only 9 households out of 20 households (i.e. 45.0%) and 1 household out of 12 households (8.3%) respectively.

Further, the table shows that 81.6% of the total reclaimed land has been brought under cultivation and the rest i.e. 18.4% remains yet to be put under cultivation. In fact, it has been reported that bringing of the unclaimed cultivable waste land under cultivation is an expensive affair, costing about Rs. 500/- for a piece of cultivable waste land of 10 bighas. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the proportion of the total reclaimed cultivable waste land put under the plough is lowest among the Julahas. The reason as given by the Julahas themselves is that they were deliberately allotted by the Gaon Panchayat the most inferior pieces of cultivable waste land, the cultivation of which not only involves a lot of labour but also require tools and implements beyond their means.

TABLE III-13
N.E.S. Block

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. aware of existence of N.E.S. Block	No. benefited by N.E.S. Block	No. benefited		
				Get pesticides	Help in seeds and manures	Construction of well
Gujar	145	90	Nil	..	..	..
Julaha	20	..	Nil	..	..	..
Bhangi	12	10	Nil	..	..	..
Arora	2	1	Nil	..	..	..
Baniya	1	1	Nil	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	Nil	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	Nil	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	102	..	..	..	..

TABLE III. 14
N.E.S. Block Nature of Benefit and Awareness about the Functions of the Gram Sevak

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. aware of the function of Gram Sevak	No. that could describe the functions of Gram Sevak			
			Fully Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Could not describe	No. personally benefited
Gujar	145	62	..	17	45	7
Julaha	20	6	..	2	4	..
Bhangi	12	7	..	4	3	1
Arora	2	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	1	1	..	..	1	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	76	..	23	53	8

The qualitative aspects of the land improvement and development schemes sponsored by the Mehrauli Community Development Block has met with only a partial success. The Block Development Office (Mehrauli) supplies the villagers agricultural tools and implements, improved seeds, artificial fertilisers, pesticides etc. at nominal price. A block official known as Gram Sevak or Village Level Worker is supposed to pay weekly visits to the village and give practical demonstration about various means of intensive cultivation and tell the farmers about the technical aspects of up-to-date tools and implements, better seeds, artificial fertilisers, pesticides etc. The data collected by us and analysed in table No. III-13 shows that most of the villagers do not avail of these facilities.

Table No. III-13 shows that 56.0% of the total persons interviewed were not aware whether their village is included in the N.E.S. Block. Amongst the remaining 44.0% i.e. 76 persons who reported as being aware of the fact that their village is included in Mehrauli Community Development Block, 68 reported that none of them has been so far benefited from the services of the Block. Regarding the functions of the Gram Sevak or the village level worker, table III-14 shows that only 12.6% of the total persons interviewed (182) could state that the main function of Gram Sevak is to assist the villagers in agricultural operations. The number of persons who reported that they have been actually benefited from the services of the Gram Sevak in the village comes to 8 only.

Owing to the physical features of the village, such as gravel soil, sandy and irregular fields and uncertain depth of water level (25' to 60') only 5.2% of the total gross cultivated area is irrigated by six persian wheel wells in the village. Of these, three persian wheel wells were sunk during 1951--62.

Regarding soil conservation and afforestation schemes, the village Gaon Panchayat with the aid of Community Development Block has completed contour bunding of over 100 acres of land. Further in order to check soil erosion a scheme for constructing an earthen bund towards the south-west of the village prepared by the Block is under

consideration. The bund shall cost about Rs. 40,000.

Transport and Communication Facilities

Considering the inconveniences and hardships borne by the villagers regarding transport facilities the State has undertaken construction of a pucca road linking the village with Mehrauli via Jaunapur. It is expected that the road will be completed by 1963-64.

Sources of Finance

With the functioning of the Multipurpose Co-operative Credit Society the traditional monopoly of the village money-lender has been greatly undermined. Now the village money-lender only meets the day-to-day consumption and social credit requirements of the villagers, whereas the Multipurpose Cooperative Credit Society supplies the lion's share of the villagers' credit commitments for productive purposes such as purchase of cattle, sewing machines etc.

The rate of interest charged by the village money-lender varies from 12 to 36% depending upon the mutual relations between the lender and the borrower. The rate of interest charged by the Co-operative Society is 9.72%. The society grants loans only to its members for productive purpose alone.

'Taccavi' loan in the village is not popular. It is a Government loan advanced to Bhoomidars alone against the security of their land. It seeks to provide relief to bhoomidars against natural calamities such as floods, famines etc. and to meet the productive credit commitments like purchase of cattle, seeds, tools and implements, fertilisers, pesticides, sinking well etc. The main reason is the complexity of the process involved in granting taccavi loans. The reluctance of the village patwari in meeting the ignorant and illiterate villagers and providing them the required papers related with the grant of 'taccavi loan', adds to their annoyance.

B. LIVELIHOOD CLASSES AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

A livelihood class specifies the sector of economy from which one derives one's means of livelihood, while occupation indicates the nature of work that one is doing in any specified sector of economy.

In the present section of this chapter an attempt is made to study the changes in the livelihood class composition in the village

during 1951 and 1962 and also to give an elaborate account of the existing occupational structure in the village. For the former purpose, data relating to the livelihood classes has been compared and analysed. The classification of livelihood classes followed by us is the same as adopted by the Census Commissioner in 1951.

TABLE III-15
Livelihood Classification of the Population

Livelihood Classes	Figures pertaining to 1962 Socio-economic Survey				Figures pertaining to 1951 Census			
	Males	Females	Total	% age of total	Males	Females	Total	% age of total
Agricultural Classes								
1. Owner Cultivators and their dependents	353	282	635	67.9	278	250	528	80.2
2. Tenant Cultivators and their dependents	3	3	6	0.6	1	2	3	0.5
3. Agricultural Labour and their dependents	2	3	5	0.5	26	7	33	5.0
4. Rent Receivers and their dependents	2	4	6	0.6	4	6	10	1.5
Sub-Total	360	292	652	69.6	309	265	574	87.2
Non-Agricultural Classes								
5. Production other than cultivation and their dependents	102	72	174	18.6	5	2	7	1.1
6. Commerce and their dependents	26	22	48	5.1	3	2	5	0.8
7. Transport and their dependents	3	3	6	0.6	..	..	..	..
8. Miscellaneous and other services and their dependents	29	26	55	6.0	31	41	72	10.9
Sub-Total	160	123	283	30.3	39	45	84	12.8
GRAND TOTAL	520	415	935	100.0	348	310	658	100.0

The above table shows that the proportion of the village population deriving its means of livelihood from the agricultural sector has declined from 87.2% in 1951 to 67.9% in 1962. On the other hand the corresponding figure of the population deriving its means of livelihood from non-agricultural sector has gone up from 12.8% in 1951 to 30.3% in 1962. This clearly shows that the relative importance of agriculture in the village economy during 1951-62 has declined significantly.

In the agricultural sector the respective strength of owner-cultivators and agricul-

tural labour including their dependents has gone down from 80.2% and 5.0% in 1951 to 67.9% and 0.5% respectively in 1962. This is mainly due to the fact that the villagers (particularly the younger generation) have preferred more remunerative non-agricultural callings involving money income to the cultivation of uneconomic family holdings or agricultural labour. Hence, obviously, the percentage of workers engaged in production other than agriculture and commerce (including their dependents) has gone up from 1.1% and 0.8% respectively in 1951 to 18.6% and 5.1% respectively in 1962.

TABLE III-16
Workers and Non-Workers by Sex and Broad Age Group

Age Group	Workers			Non-Workers			Total		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0-14	6* (2.3)	9 (5.4)	15 (3.4)	233 (91.7)	183 (73.5)	416 (82.7)	239 (45.7)	192 (46.3)	431 (46.1)
15-34	149 (56.0)	111 (66.9)	260 (60.2)	9 (3.5)	28 (11.2)	37 (7.3)	158 (30.5)	139 (33.4)	297 (31.8)
35-39	90 (33.8)	46 (27.7)	136 (31.5)	3 (1.3)	27 (10.8)	30 (6.0)	93 (17.9)	73 (17.6)	166 (17.7)
60 & above	21 (7.9)	..	21 (4.8)	9 (3.5)	11 (4.4)	20 (4.0)	30 (5.8)	11 (2.7)	41 (4.4)
Total	266 (100)	166 (100)	432 (100)	254 (100)	249 (100)	503 (100)	520 (100)	415 (100)	935 (100)

(Note : Figures in brackets show percentages.)
*All in the age group 10-14 years.

ECONOMIC STATUS

From the point of view of economic status, according to the classification followed by the Census Commissioner in 1961, the village population as a whole may be divided in two broad categories namely:—

- (a) Workers
(b) Non-workers

The table No. III.16 shows that 46.2% of the total population in the village is of workers and the rest i.e. 53.8% constitutes the non-workers. Thus the ratio of workers to non-workers comes out to be 1:1.2.

The table further shows that in all the age groups except 0-14, male workers outnumber female workers. Female work-

ers in the village only account for 38.4 of the total workers. Amongst the males 93.4% of the total males in the age group of 15 and over are workers. Even in the age group of 60 or over out of the 30 males, 21 were workers, the rest 9 non-workers being physically too weak to work.

Labour Force and Working Force

Labour force is defined as the pool of manpower resources from which the working force is drawn. Labour force in the village thus includes all the persons in the working age-group of 15 to 59 years of age. The working force on the other hand is the sum total of all persons of all age groups who are actually engaged in some economic activity or the other:

TABLE III.17
Labour Force & Working Force

Category	No. of persons		
	Males	Females	Total
Working force (above 15 years of age)	266*	166**	434
Percentage of the total	61.6	38.4	100
Labour Force (15-59 yrs. of age)	251	212	463
Percentage of the total	54.2	45.8	100
Working Force as %age of the Labour Force	106.0	78.3	92.7

*1. Includes 6 male workers in age group of 10-14 and 21 male workers in age group of 60+.

**1. Includes 9 female workers in the age group of 10-14.

The table shows that 49.5 per cent of the total population in the village constitutes the labour force and out of the total labour force of 463 persons, 432 persons represent the total working force. The proportion of females in the total working force is 38.4%. In the age group of 15-59, 95.2 per cent of the total male labour force constitutes the working force, 74.1 per cent of the total female labour force represents the female working force. 4.8 per cent of the total male labour force not included in the working force consists of 6 students, 2 unemployed

and 2 disabled men. 25.9% of the female labour force not included in working force consists of housewives and family workers.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

An occupation indicates the specific nature of work in which one is engaged in any specified sector of economy. In order to study the existing occupational structure in the village, all the workers have been classified according to their economic activity, age and sex.

TABLE III.18
Distribution of Workers according to Age, Sex and Occupation

Occupation	Males					Females					Total (Males and Females)				
	0-14	15-34	35-39	60+	Total	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total
(a) Agricultural Occupations															
1. Owner Cultivator	3	85	69	11	168	9	89	37	..	135	12	174	108	11	303 70.1
2. Tenant Cultivator	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	2 0.5
3. Agricultural Labourer	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2 0.5
4. Rent Receiver	..	1	..	2	3	..	..	2	..	2	..	1	2	2	5 1.1
Sub-Total	3	88	70	13	174	9	89	40	..	138	12	178	111	13	312 72.2
(n) Non-Agricultural Occupations															
5. Service	..	13	5	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	5	..	18 4.2
6. Casual Labour	3	30	11	6	50	..	22	6	..	28	3	52	16	6	78 18.0
7. Trader	..	15	1	2	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	1	2	18 4.2
8. Rehra Driver	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1 0.3
9. Tailor	..	3	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	4 1.0
10. Goldsmith	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1 1.2
Sub-Total	3	61	20	8	92	..	22	6	..	28	3	83	35	8	120 27.8
TOTAL	6	149	90	21	261	21	9	111	46	..	166	15	260	146	432 100
PERCENTAGE	2.3	56.0	38.8	7.9	100	5.4	66.9	27.7	..	..	100	3.5	60.2	31.5	4.8 100

The table shows that agriculture in the village still forms the predominating economic activity of the villagers as it employs 72.2% of the total workers and provides means of livelihood to 69.8% of the total population. Among the agricultural occupations, owner cultivators account for 70.1% of the total workers (in all occupations) in the village. The proportion of village workers (in all occupations) engaged as tenant cultivators, agricultural labourers and rent receivers, works out to be only 0.4%, 0.8%, and 1.8% respectively.

Amongst the non-agricultural occupations, casual labour constitutes the single most dominant group accounting for 18.0 of the total workers in the village and 65.0 of the total workers engaged in non-agricultural occupations. Out of the 78 casual labourers in the village 18 belong to the Gujars and the rest belong to the Julaha and the Bhangis.

TABLE III-19
Service

Occupation	Number of Persons	Caste	Total
1. Programme Organiser . . .	1	Bhangi	1
2. Teacher . . .	1	Gujar	1
3. Electrician . . .	1	"	1
4. Policeman . . .	1	"	1
5. Peon . . .	8	"	8
6. Chowkidar (Watchman) . . .	1	"	1
7. Milk-Vendor . . .	1	"	1
8. Sweeper . . .	3	Bhangi	3
9. Munshi (Clerk) . . .	1	Gujar	1
TOTAL . . .	18		18

Next important group of workers is of those engaged in service occupations and traders, each accounting for 6.7% of the total workers in the village. Table No. III.19 shows that of the total of 18 persons in service, 8 are peons, 3 sweepers, 1 programme organiser in Bharat Sevak Samaj, 1 teacher, 1 chowkidar, 1 milk-vendor and one munshi (clerk). Among the persons in service, three sweepers in Municipal Corporation and one programme organiser in Bharat Savak Samaj are Bhangis and the rest are Gujars.

Out of the 18 persons engaged in commerce or trade, 6 are grocery shopkeepers and the rest milksellers. All the persons engaged in commerce and trade in the village belong to the higher castes, viz., the Baniyas, Aroras and the Gujars.

There are only 2 female workers engaged in agricultural occupations as rent receivers. Both of them are widows with no adult male member to cultivate their land.

Age-wise study of the occupational structure in the village shows that 60.2% of the total workers in the village fall in the age group of 15—34 years. The respective figures for the age group of 35—59 and 60 and over are 31.5% and 4.8% respectively. There are six male workers below 15 years of age. Three of them are owner cultivators and the rest are casual labourers.

Non-workers

The total population of the village consists of 935 persons of which 53.8% are non-workers and 46.2% workers. The Table No. III.20 below gives the distribution of non workers in the village according to age, sex and nature of their activity.

TABLE III-20
Distribution of Non-Workers according to Nature of Activities

Distribution of Non-Workers according to Nature of Activities																								
Non-Workers	Males						Females						Total											
	0-14			15-34			35-59			60+			0-14			15-34			35-59			60+		Total
	0-14	15-34	35-59	0-14	15-34	35-59	0-14	15-34	35-59	0-14	15-34	35-59	0-14	15-34	35-59	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+					
In fants & Children	164	..	..	..	..	..	164	180	..	..	..	..	180	344	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	344		
Students	69	6	..	..	..	..	75	..	..	..	..	..	..	69	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	75		
Housewives and family workers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	28	27	6	64	64	3	28	27	6	64	..	..	..	64		
Unemployed	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2		
Old & Invalid	..	1	3	9	13	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	5	..	1	3	14	18	..	..	..	18		
TOTAL	233	9	3	9	254	183	28	27	11	249	416	37	30	20	503									
Percentage	91.7	3.5	1.3	3.5	100	73.6	11.2	10.8	4.4	100	82.7	7.3	6.0	4.0	100									

TABLE III-21
Subsidiary Occupation (Males)

Primary Occupation	Total Workers		No. of workers with subsidiary occupation in										Total		% of the total engaged in primary pursuits
			Agricultural Occupations			Non-agricultural Occupations									
	No.	%age	Owner Cultivator	Agri-cultural Labourer	Tenant Cultivator	Rent Receiver	Casual Labour	Milk Selling	Service of Sheep & goats	Sale of Pigs	Con-tractor	No.	Per-centage		
(a) Agricultural Group															
Owner Cultivator	168	62.7	..	5	1	..	11	67	1	18	..	1	104	75.4	61.9
Tenant Cultivator	1	0.3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.7	100
Agricultural Labour	2	0.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rent Receiver	5	1.8	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	3	2.1	60.0
Sub-Total	176	65.7	..	5	1	..	11	71	1	18	..	1	108	78.3	61.4
(b) Non-Agricultural Group															
Casual Labour	50	18.6	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	4	..	8	5.8	16.0
Service	18	6.7	5	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	9	6.5	44.4
Milk-selling	12	4.4	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	6.5	75.0
Tailoring	4	1.5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	1.4	50.0
Goldsmithy	1	0.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rehra Driver	1	0.4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.7	100
Shopteeping	6	2.3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.7	13.3
Sub-Total	92	34.3	17	1	2	..	..	5	..	1	4	..	30	21.7	32.6
GRAND TOTAL	268	100	17	6	3	..	11	76	1	19	4	1	138	100	..

Table No. III. 20 shows that 49.5% of the non-workers are females and 50.5% males. Infants and children accounting for 68.4% of the total non-workers constitute the biggest single group of non-workers. The next numerically predominant group is that of students (all males) accounting for 14.9% of the total non-workers. Females strictly limiting their activities to their day-to-day household work form only 12.7% of the total non-working population. The corresponding figures for old and infirm, and unemployed are 3.6% and 0.4% respectively.

The distribution of non-workers by age groups shows that 82.7% of them are in the age group of 0-14; followed by 7.3% in the age group of 15-34; 6.0% in the age group of 35-59; and 4.0 per cent in the age bracket of 60 years and above.

Subsidiary Occupations

The importance of subsidiary occupations in the village as a supplementary means of livelihood can be judged from the fact that 116 out of 268 workers do have some subsidiary occupations or the other. Table III.21 shows that 61.9% of the agricultural workers and 32.6% of the non-agricultural workers are following some or the other subsidiary pursuit. This shows that on the whole more of agricultural workers have subsidiary occupations than the non-agricultural workers.

The table further shows that as a subsidiary occupation, non-agricultural occupations are more popular than agricultural occupations. The proportion of workers engaged in non-agricultural subsidiary pursuits is higher (i.e. 81.2%) than in agricultural subsidiary occupations (18.8%).

Among the subsidiary occupations, milk-selling forms the most predominant one in which 76 out of the total of 138 workers interviewed are engaged. Of this total of 76 workers engaged in milk-selling as their subsidiary pursuit, 93.4% belong to the class of agricultural households. The main reason for this virtual monopoly of milk-selling by the agricultural households is that for them

it is easier to maintain cattle than for the non-agricultural households. The maintenance of cattle for agricultural households does not involve direct money burden, rather it is met from the land itself. But to non-agricultural households maintenance of cattle does involve monetary expenditure.

Out of the 17 workers having owner cultivation as their subsidiary pursuits, 9 are milk-sellers, five are in service, one is a tailor, one a rehra driver and one a grocery shopkeeper. Leaving aside the seven milk-sellers and the persons in service, all others own less than 15 bighas (about 3½ acres) each.

Occupational Mobility

A study of occupational mobility provides a barometer for measuring the changing trend in occupation structure of an economy over a period of time. In the following study of the occupational mobility in the village economy, an attempt has been made to analyse the extent of change in the family line of occupation of the village workers during the last two generations i.e. father to son.

Table No. III.22 shows that about four-fifths of the total workers in the village are following the same occupation as their fathers had. Of the total of 54 workers who gave up their family line of occupation, fathers of 34 were owner cultivators, of 4 were tenant cultivators and of 9 were agricultural labourers. Of these, with the exception of seven workers (13.0%) all the others (87.0%) have taken up non-agricultural occupations. This shows that within the last two generations there has been a significant shift in the occupational structure of the village from agricultural occupations to non-agricultural ones.

The table further shows that among the non-agricultural occupations, service, casual labour and milk-selling constitute the most dominant groups of new lines of occupation. This group accounts for 91.5% of the total workers who have taken one or other non-agricultural occupation.

TABLE III.22

Occupational Mobility (Males)—Nature of Change in Primary Occupation within two generations

Occupational Group	Total workers engaged		No. of workers whose father's occupation was							Total workers changed from father's occupation	
	No.	% of the total	Owner cultivator	Tenant cultivator	Agricultural Labour	Rent Receiver	Casual Labour	Tailor	Shop-keeper	Goldsmithy	Milk selling
Agricultural Group											
Owner Cultivator	168	62.7	168	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tenant Cultivator	1	0.4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100
Agricultural Labour	2	0.8	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	50.0
Rent Receiver	5	1.8	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	100.0
<i>Sub Total</i>	176	65.7	174	1	1	..	..	..	..	7	39.8
											13.0
Non-agricultural Group											
Casual Labour	50	18.6	6	4	6	..	34	..	..	16	32.0
Service	18	6.7	11	..	1	..	6	..	..	18	100
Milk-selling	12	4.4	7	..	2	..	..	..	..	9	75.0
Shopkeeping	6	2.3	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	1	100.0
Tailor	4	1.5	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	50.0
Goldsmithy	1	0.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Rehra Driver	1	0.4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	100.0
<i>Sub-Total</i>	92	34.3	28	4	9	..	40	2	5	1	3
											47
GRAND TOTAL	268	100	202	5	10	..	40	2	5	1	3
											54
											20.1
											100

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TABLE III.23
Occupational Mobility (Males)—Reasons of Change in Occupation

Caste	No. of workers	No. of workers who changed from their fathers' occupation										Total		Occupation	
		(a) Voluntarily		Total		Forced by circumstances						No. of the total	% of the total	Ser-vice	% of the total
		Milk sell- ing	Tenant culti- vator	No.	%	Agri- Lab- our	Milk- sell- ing	Rent Rece- iver	Shop- keep- er	Ser- vice	Tai- lor	Rehra Driver	Casual Labour		
Gujar	225	7	5	1	13	76.5	1	2	5	1	2	2	1	2	16
															51.7
														6	85.7
Julaha	23	..	1	..	1	5.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	9	31.0
														..	..
Bhangi	12	..	3	..	3	17.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	17.3
														1	14.3
Arora	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
														..	..
TOTAL	268	7	9	1	17	100	1	2	5	1	2	2	1	16	30
														100	7
														100	100

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A study of table No. III.23 showing the reason for change in the family line of occupation shows that out of the total of 54 workers who changed from their father's occupation, 30 have been compelled to do so by force of circumstances. All these have been left with little or no land, the case of the five rent receivers being an exception. These five include two widows having no male member and three old bachelors physically and financially unable to carry out agricultural operations smoothly. Of the 16 workers who shifted to casual labour the fathers of seven were owner cultivators, of six, agricultural labourers and of three, tenant cultivators. All these have been forced to change their respective occupations by the implementation of Delhi Land Reforms Act, 1954.

The table also shows that 16 (or 31.5 per cent) of the total workers gave up their fathers' occupation voluntarily and 7 (or 13.0%) owing to their education. With the exception of one, all these workers have shifted either to service or to milk selling.

All the seven workers in the village who changed from their family line of occupation owing to their education are in service; two of them are matriculates and the rest are below middle standard. This clearly shows that among the non-agricultural occupations, service and milk-selling form the popular choice of the workers interested in giving up the traditional family line of occupation.

A caste-wise analysis of the table shows that although the absolute number of workers who shifted from their family line of occupation is higher among the Gujars i.e. 64.0% of the total workers, as against 18.8% among the Julahas and 16.1% among the Bhangis, yet the proportionate relative shift among the lower castes viz., the Julahas and the Bhangis is much more spectacular than among the higher castes. The table shows that whereas 43.5% of the total workers belonging to the Julahas and 75.0% of the total workers belonging to the Bhangis gave up their family occupations, the corresponding figure for the Gujars is only 15.6%.

C. COMMERCE

VILLAGE SHOPS

There are four grocery shops in the village. Two of them are being run by the Aroras and one each by a Baniya and a Gujar. Both the Arora shopkeepers are refugees from West Pakistan and have opened the shops in the village after the partition of 1947. The Baniya in the village is running the shop since 1946 and the Gujar has opened his shop only recently in 1960. Whereas shopkeeping is the primary occupation for the Aroras and the Baniya households, the Gujar has this as his subsidiary occupation.

Both the Aroras have hired two rooms each. One has his family in Gurgaon Refugee Camp and the other at Mehrauli. The Arora shopkeeper whose family is living in Gurgaon procures the shopping supplies from Gurgaon, whereas the other shopkeepers purchase the supply of goods from Mehrauli.

The most common items kept by these shopkeepers are pulses, gram and other cereals, sugar, *bura* (white sugar-powder) and *sakkar* (jaggery), salt, spices, soap, tobacco, *biri*, cigarettes, kerosene oil, *khal* and *bhusi* (oil cakes and gram-husk) etc. In

addition to these a few snacks like fried pulses, parched groundnuts and gram, sweetened macroni etc. also constitute the most common items for sale. None of the shopkeepers keeps any item of stationery. Both the Arora shopkeepers have one helper each. One has a relative with him and the other his son. Both these Arora shops also keep vegetables. According to the Arora shopkeepers, during the last decade there has been some significant change in the nature and extent of requirement of various commodities. The consumptions of sugar, kerosene oil, spices, *biri* and cigarettes have gone up considerably. The practice of keeping vegetables and fruits in the shops is also of recent origin and is really a paying one.

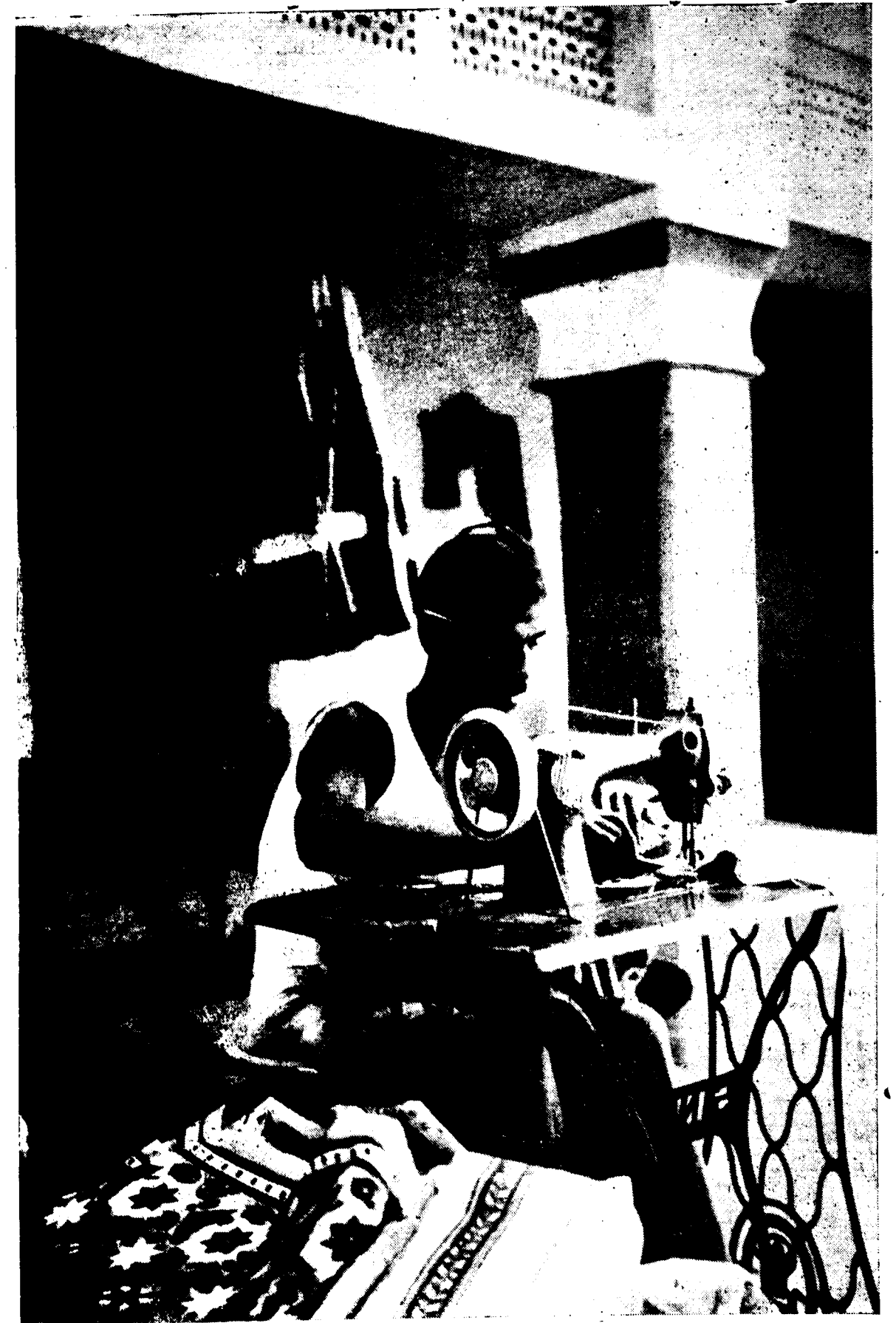
Most of the transactions in these shops are on dicker. For bulk transactions, the villagers normally go to Mehrauli. Normally the children or males in the village take *gochari* (mixed wheat and gram) or *bejharh* (mixed barley and gram) or other cereal to these shops for purchasing the items of their requirements. A detailed study of proportion of barter, loan and cash transactions in one of the most popular shops in the village reveals that during the year 1961-62, as much



A village shop



Milk-vendors leave the village carrying milk in large tin cans on bicycles



A Village Tailor

as 60% of the total business transactions in the shop were in the form of barter, 10 per cent in the form of loan and the rest 30 per cent transactions were in cash. About four years back, the proportion of transaction in barter and loan and cash payment was 65:25:10 respectively.

MILK SELLING

Out of the total of 268 workers, 88 are engaged in milk-selling. Of these 88 workers, 12 workers have milk-selling (including 3 milk-vendors on daily wages—Rs. 2 per trip) as their primary occupation and the rest as their subsidiary occupation. There are in all eight milk-vendors in the village. Five of them collect the milk themselves and carry it on bicycles to Delhi city and in developed areas around Hauz Khas while the other three work on daily wages. Normally those milk-vendors who carry the morning milk do not carry the evening milk, because transportation of milk involves about six to seven hours of strenuous journey for each trip. For instance, during the summer, the milk-vendors collect the morning milk in tin cans at about 1-30 to 2-0 A.M. and leave the village by 2-00 to 2-30 A.M. and return by 9 to 10-30 A.M. Similarly in the evening the milk-vendors take the milk from the village at 1-30 or 2-00 P.M. and return by 7-30 to 8-30 P.M.

During 1961-62, out of the total milk produce of 7233 maunds 4664 i.e. 64.5 per cent was for sale. Thus, total milk which goes out of the village for sale is nearly 13 maunds per day. The average carrying capacity of milk on bicycle by a milk-vendor is about 1½ maunds or milk per trip. As regards the terms of sale of milk by the villagers to the milk-vendors, a year is divided into two periods, viz:

Period	Rate per maund
April to October	Rs. 18 to 20
December to March	Rs. 16 to 18

TRADE IN SHEEP, GOATS, PIGS AND HENS

15 Gujar households in the village rear sheep and goats for the purpose of sale. These are sold to the butchers who occasionally visit the village. The selling price of a goat varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 55 depending upon the quality of the goat. Similarly, depending upon the weight and age of a sheep, the selling price of a sheep varies from Rs. 30 to 80. Households rearing sheep also sell sheep wool to the weavers coming from

adjoining villages. Depending upon the quality and quantity of wool, the rates for sharing sheep wool vary from 0.75nP. to Rs. 1.50 per sheep.

Pigs in the village are domesticated by three Bhangi households for the purpose of sale. The sale price of pigs varies from Rs. 95 to Rs. 115 per pig.

Two Gujar households in the village domesticate hens and sell eggs and chickens. The selling price per egg is 0.19 nP. and that of chickens it varies from Rs. 2 to 4.

TAILORING

4 persons (2 Gujar and 2 Muslims) in the village follow tailoring as their primary pursuit. Whereas the Gujars confine their activities to the village alone, the Muslim tailors mostly undertake work from the neighbouring villages viz. Gwalpahari and Dera. As the Muslims are considered better tailors than the Gujars, most of the well-to-do families in the village and in the villages of Dera and Gwalpahari contract their services for stitching clothes from them for a year. Usually they send for the tailor, who visits their place, brings the cloth for stitching and delivers the clothes when they are made. The households which contract their services usually pay them in kind, mostly in grains which are given to them at the time of harvest. The quantity of grains demanded by the tailors normally depends upon the size and status of the family and the quantum of work expected from the family within the year.

Those households who do not go for the yearly contracts as mentioned above either pay in cash or in kind for whatever cloth they get stitched. They pay the following charges either in cash or in kind for various clothes.

Underwear (kuchha)	0.12 nP
Pyjama	0.37 nP
Baniyan	0.25 nP
Aungi (brassiere)	0.26 nP
Kurta	0.50 nP to 0.75 nP
Lehnga (long skirt)	0.75 nP to 1.50 Rs.

GOLDSMITHY

There is only one goldsmith in the village. The villagers mostly wear silver ornaments. Hence, the goldsmith normally gets silver works to do. He makes various ornaments

used by the village females to adorn their beauty. He works on contract basis. He hardly keeps any variety of ornaments with him to show or to attract the customers. Designs and shapes of ornaments in most of the cases are decided verbally. It is only in rare instances that the customer (villagers) insists for a specific design. The villagers generally go to the goldsmith with silver bars or with old or obsolete silver ornaments. For ordinary ornamentation work, the charges are 0.19 nP. per tola for ordinary work and for special detailed ornamentation work, the charges are 0.25 to 37 nP. per tola. The payment may be made either in cash or in kind.

Tools and appliances used by the village goldsmith for shaping and ornamentation work, are simple and traditional ones. In the following, a list of some necessary tools and appliances used, is given.

1. Katia (iron snippers)
2. Phunkni (mouth blow pipe, made of brass, about 14" long).
3. Jamboor (set of pliers)

4. Sani (wooden vice used for drawing wires of required thickness).
5. Planishing hammers.
6. Swani (draw tongs).
7. A set of files.
8. Jantar or Chauka (small iron blocks).
9. Kalam or chhaini (a set of gravers and chisels).
10. Thappa (a set of impression pens made of steel).
11. A rounded hearth made of clay, fired by cowdung cakes.
12. Diwa (an earthen lamp or a chimney).
13. Crucible cups.
14. Borax saucer.

Pickling solutions (*nikhar*) needed are: sulphuric acid (for silver) and nitric acid (for gold). In soldering operations, borax and ammonium chloride are needed. All these are obtained from Mehrauli.

D. INCOME

In the following section of the present chapter an attempt is made to analyse the

total income of the villagers according to their occupations, caste and source.

TABLE—III-24
Showing monthly income of Households by Occupations

Occupation	Rs. 1—25	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 76—100	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 151—250	Rs. 251 & above
Owner Cultivator	6	9	18	19	23	29	16
Tenant Cultivator	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Agricultural Labour	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Rent Receiver	..	..	2	..	1	..	..
Service	..	1	1	8	5	2	..
Trader	..	2	..	1	3	..	..
Casual Labour	2	26	1	..	..	..	..
Tailoring	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Goldsmithy	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Transport	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
TOTAL	9	42	22	28	33	32	16

The table shows that 54.5% of the total households in village have their monthly incomes below Rs. 101. The income group of Rs. 26—50 per month constitute the biggest single group accounting for 23.1 per cent of the total households in the village.

Occupation-wise study of the table shows

that the majority of the households are engaged in owner cultivation, service and shopkeeping belong to the monthly income group of Rs. 76/- or above. None of the households engaged in tailoring, agricultural labour, casual labour and goldsmithy is earning monthly income exceeding Rs. 75/-.

TABLE III-25
Showing monthly income of households by caste

Caste	Rs. 1—25	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 76—100	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 151—250	Rs. 251 & above
Gujar.	9	13	21	24	30	32	16
Julaha	..	18	1	..	1	..	..
Bhangi	..	8	..	3	1	..	..
Arora	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Baniya	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	9	42	22	28	33	32	16

INCOME OF DIFFERENT CASTES

Table No. III.25 showing the caste-wise monthly income of the villagers, shows that 53.8% of the total Gujar households in the village are earning more than Rs. 100 per month. The corresponding proportion of the households earning more than Rs. 100 per month amongst the other castes is negligible. This shows that the Gujar in the village are economically better off than the other castes.

Among the lower castes viz., the Julahas and the Bhangis, though the Julahas are regarded as belonging to a superior caste than the Bhangis, yet economically they are worse off than the Bhangis. 25.0% of the total Bhangis households earn more than

Rs. 75/- per month, while the corresponding figure for the Julahas is only 5.0%. None among the Baniyas, Muslims, and the Sunars is earning above Rs. 50 per month.

SOURCES OF INCOME

The total population of the village consists of 935 persons. The annual income of the village as a whole for the year 1961-62 works out to be Rs. 2,80,380. This gives us a per capita income as Rs. 299.0 per annum or Rs. 24.9 per month, and Rs. 1,046 as an average annual income per worker. The following table No. III 26 shows the distribution of the total monthly income of the village according to its sources.

TABLE III. 26

Distribution of total monthly income according to source

Sources of Income	No. of H. Ha.	Total monthly income (in Rs.)	% of the total	Average monthly income per household
Agriculture Income	147	11356	48.6	77.2
Agriculture Labour	1	57	0.2	57.0
Service	17	1921	8.2	113.0
Casual Labour	29	1522	6.5	52.5
Shopkeeping	4	294	1.3	73.5
Milk-selling	82	7980	34.1	97.3
Transport	1	125	0.6	125.0
Tailoring	2	65	0.3	32.5
Goldsmithy	1	45	0.2	45.0
TOTAL		23365	100	128.4

The above table shows that quantitatively speaking, agriculture still occupies the most predominant role as it represents the single biggest source of villagers' income. It accounts for 48.6% of the total monthly income of the villagers and about three fourths of the total household derive their income from it. Next to agriculture is milk-selling accounting for 34.2% of the total income of the villagers.

E. INDEBTEDNESS

Out of the total of 182 households in the village, 113 reported as being under debt. The total nominal value of indebtedness in the village amounts to Rs. 1,45,420. This gives us the average indebtedness of Rs. 1,286.9 per indebted household and Rs. 799.0 per household in all castes. The debt is incurred by the villagers for various economic and social needs of life, both for productive purposes such as purchase of cattle, land, seeds, implements, etc; and for meeting unproductive commitments i.e., social observances, domestic expenses, liti-

A qualitative study of the table shows that the households engaged in services have highest average income per household i.e., Rs. 113/- per month. The second place in order of the maximum income yielding source is occupied by milk-selling. Milk selling in the village yields a monthly average income of Rs. 97.3 to 82 households. Agriculture occupies the third place yielding an average of Rs. 77.2 per month.

gation etc. They are taken both in the form of cash as well as in kind. In the absence of precise information regarding the quantum of loan taken by the villagers, in kind and in cash separately, it is not possible to furnish an analytical account of the same. It has been gathered that the villagers generally take loans in kind for meeting their domestic needs and for purchasing cattle. The typical manner of purchasing milch cattle on loan, the amount of which is to be paid by selling milk to the money-lender is rather a popular practice.

TABLE III. 27

Indebtedness by Occupation and Purpose

(in Rs.)

Occupation	Productive Purpose					Unproductive Purpose		
	Purchase of cattle	Purchase of land	Purchase of seeds and implements	Constru- ction of House	Business	Social observances	Domestic expenses & litigation	Repay- ment of loans
Owner Cultivator	27450	..	2000	10670	1000	35350	25200	2000
Tenant Cultivator	500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rent Receiver	..	..	500	700	..	..	300	..
Agricultural Labour	..	..	..	..	..	..	700	..
Service	3500	2000	..	4800	..	1500	..	..
Trader	2750	..	..	2000	1000	..	1000	..
Tailor	..	..	1000	..	..	1500	25000	..
Casual Labour	3300	..	..	2000	..	2600	6400	..
Transporter	1000	..	..	..	..	..	200	..
Goldsmith	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	38500	2000	35000	20170	2000	40950	36300	2000

The table shows that 45.5% of the total debt in the village is incurred for productive purposes and the remaining 54.5% for unproductive purposes. The largest single debt incurred (28.1% of the total debt) is for meeting expenditure on social observances and ceremonies such as marriage, birth and death etc. The next highest item of debt (i.e. 26.4% of the total debt) is taken for purchasing cattle (productive purpose). The amount of debt taken for meeting domestic and litigation expenses accounts for 24.9% of the total indebtedness of the villagers. Among the debts taken for productive purposes, after purchase of cattle come construction of houses and purchasing

seeds, tools and implements etc. each accounting for 13.8% and 2.4% of the total debt respectively.

A study of the total indebtedness according to the occupational groups of the households shows that owner cultivators in the village account for 57.5% of the total households in debt and 71.3% of the total indebtedness in the village. Only 13.7% of the total indebtedness incurred by the owner cultivator represents the debt utilised for productive purposes. The table further shows that the highest proportion of the total indebtedness utilised for productive purposes stems from the households who are in service.

TABLE III. 28
Indebtedness by Caste

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	No. of Households in debt		% of the H.Hs. in the same caste	Total Amount of debt (in Rs.)	% of the total	Average indebtedness per household in debt (in Rs.)	Average of the total households in caste
		No. of H.Hs.	% of the total					
Gujar.	145	89	78.8	61.4	23970	85.2	1393	855
Julaha	20	18	15.9	90.0	11650	8.0	647	582
Bhangi	12	2	1.7	16.6	2800	1.9	1400	233
Arora	2	1	0.9	50	2000	1.4	2000	1000
Baniya	1	1	0.9	100	1000	0.8	1000	1000
Muslim	1	1	0.9	100	2500	1.7	2500	2500
Sunar	1	1	0.9	100	1500	1.0	1000	1000
TOTAL	182	113	100		145420	100	1286.9	799.0

Regarding castewise analysis of the indebtedness in the village, table No. III. 28 shows that 61.4% of the total households among the Gujars are in debt. The table further shows that the Gujars account for 78.8% of the total households in debt, and out of the total amount of indebtedness in the village 85.2% is taken up by the Gujars. Among the Julahas 90.0% of the total Julaha households are in debt. They account for 8.0% of the total indebtedness in the village. The lowest proportion of the households in debt is among the Bhangis. Out of a total of twelve households only 16.6% have taken debt and 87.0% of the

total debt taken by them is for productive purposes.

The maximum proportion of the total debt taken for unproductive purposes such as domestic expenditure, social observances and ceremonies is by the households belonging to the occupational group of casual labour. The table shows that 82.8% of the total households having their occupation as casual labour are in debt and all these taken together account for 9.8% of the total indebtedness in the village; 62.9% of the total debt taken by them is for unproductive purposes.

TABLE III. 29
Income and Indebtedness

Income Group (in Rs.)	Total No. of Households	No. of H. Hs. in debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Total Amount of Indebtedness	Average Indebtedness per H. H. in debt.
I	2	3	4	5	6
1-25	9	6	66.6	7500	1250
26-50	42	27	64.3	21550	798
51-75	19	12	63.1	9660	805
76-100	26	15	57.7	18150	1210
101-150	33	23	69.6	46750	2033
151-250	34	21	61.8	28310	1348
251 and above	19	9	47.3	13500	1500
TOTAL	182	113	62.1	145420	1286

A study of Table No. III. 29 showing the relation between the income and volume of indebtedness shows that in case of the village it is not possible to draw any correlation between these two. However,

the proportion of the total households in debt in the income group of Rs. 251 or above is lowest i.e., 47.3%. The largest proportion of the households in debt belong to the income group of 101-150 where 69.6% of the total households are in debt.

INDEBTEDNESS BY SOURCE

There are four principal sources of credit in the village viz., friends and relatives, money-lenders, taccavi loans and the cooperative society of the village. The total share of these is tabulated in the following table No. III.30.

TABLE III. 30
Indebtedness by Source

Source of money borrowed	No. of Households in debt	Total amount	Percentage
Taccavi	11	13570	9.3
Money-lender	89	41200	28.3
Relatives or friends	76	68000	46.7
Co-operative Society	23	22650	15.6
TOTAL	113	145420	100

The above table shows that relatives and friends form the principal sources of credit, accounting for 46.7% of the total borrowing in the village. The next important source is the money-lender which supplies 28.3% of the total borrowing requirements of the villagers. Thus the money-lender and the relatives and friends together constitute 75.0% of the total borrowing requirements of the villagers. These two sources provide loan to the villagers for productive as well as non-productive purposes. It has been worked out that of the total of Rs. 1,09,200 supplied by these two sources 72.6% was for non-productive purposes i.e. mainly for domestic purposes and litigation etc. The rate of interest charged by these varies from 12.0% to 36.0%, depending upon the mutual

relations and credit worthiness of the borrower. All the loans taken from friends, relatives and money-lenders are on purely personal security of the borrower. Documents (with revenue stamp) are normally prepared if the amount of loan exceeds Rs. 50.

The Co-operative Society and Government (in taccavi loans) grants loans to the members mainly for productive purposes such as sinking well, purchasing cattle, seeds, tools and implements etc. The corresponding proportion of the contribution of the Co-operative Society and the Government to the villagers' borrowing requirements works out to 9.4% and 15.6% of the total indebtedness respectively. The rate of interest charged on taccavi loan is 4.0% and on the loans granted by the Co-operative Society 9.73%.

REPAYMENT OF DEBTS

With low incomes and subsistence level of living, the repayment of debts constitutes a vicious problem to the villagers. In most of the cases they find it difficult even to pay the bare interest on the loans. In fact, they are all aware of the vicious nature of indebtedness. It is very common to hear them murmuring that

जब गाय गार में बंस जाय तो निकले कैसे
jab gai gare main dhas jai to nikle kaise

i.e., if a cow gets in the mid of marsh how it can come out. Similarly to incur debts is to get into marsh and if one gets in, it is impossible for one to be free from the debts. The above truism can be satisfactorily represented by the following table.

TABLE III. 31

Households showing amount of Debt Repaid by Source

Caste	Total No. of H.Hs. under debt	Total No. of households repaid debt	Amount of debt repaid (Rs.)	Sources of Re-payment					
				Owner Cultivator (Rs.)	Tenant Cultivator (Rs.)	Agricultural Labour (Rs.)	Service (Rs.)	Cattle Selling (Rs.)	Milk Selling (Rs.)
Gujar	89	43	10370	6020	100	..	1100	1700	2050
Julaha	18	2	342	..	..	242	..	100	..
Bhangi	2	1	300	..	..	..	..	300	..
Arora	1	1	250	..	..	..	..	..	250
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	113	47	11262	6020	100	242	1100	2100	2050

It is clear from the table that the total amount of debts repaid during 1961-62 works out to be only 7.7% of the total indebtedness in the village. As the rate of interest charged in the village varies from 24% to 36% per annum, the total amount of debts repaid during 1961-62 comes to be only about one-fourth of the total interest burden of the total repayment of debts (Rs. 1,45,420) in the village.

A study of the various sources of repayment reveals that agriculture, milk-selling, cattle-selling and service form the main sources of repayments of debt, each accounting for 53.4%, 18.2%, 18.6% and 9.6% of the total amount of debts repaid respectively.

THE MANDI CO-OPERATIVE MULTIPURPOSE SOCIETY LTD.

The Mandi Co-operative Multipurpose Society was registered with the Registrar of Co-operative Societies on 6th February, 1957. Some of the more important objectives of the society are: (1) to provide credit facilities to members on easy terms, mainly for productive purposes, such as for the purchase of agricultural tools and implements, purchase of bullocks, seeds, manure, storage and marketing of agriculture produce etc., (2) to encourage thrift and saving amongst the villagers, and (3) to foster the co-operative principles.

To become a member of the society a person has to pay Re. 1 as membership fee (non-refundable in any case) and purchase at least one share worth Rs. 50 of the society. At the time of admission, a member has to pay at least Rs. 20 towards the value of share and the rest may be paid in three equal six-monthly instalments. Liability of a member is limited to 5 times the value of the subscribed share. Further, a member is not allowed to hold shares whose

nominal value exceeds Rs. 10,000 or one-fifth of the total share capital actually subscribed, whichever be less.

Loan is given to a member for any necessary purpose, but preference is given to loans taken for productive purposes. All the loans are granted within the maximum credit limit of a member, which is five times the value of shares bought by him or to the maximum credit limit of Rs. 1,000, whichever is less. A member has to furnish two sureties, each standing for the full amount of loan, and both must be the members of the society.

All the business of the society is decided in the meetings of the general body. Presence of one-third members of the society is necessary to form the quorum. The powers of the general body are wide and varied. It can elect, suspend or expel members of the Managing Committee, including the President and the Vice-President. It also fixes the maximum credit limit for each member.

The managing committee of the society consists of five members, one being the President, one Vice-President, one Cashier (paid office-bearer) and two ordinary members i.e., committee members. The financial year of the society commences from 1st July and ends on 30th June of every year.

During the years 1957 to 1962, the co-operative society of the village granted loans amounting to Rs. 18100.00 to its members. The membership of the society during the period rose from 30 to 37 and the share capital from Rs. 2290.00 to 3580.00. The profit of the society jumped from Rs. 52 in 1957 to Rs. 140 in 1962. The achievements, if judged in retrospect, are neither quantitatively spectacular nor qualitatively impressive. The achievements of the society in the past five or six years are mixed with rather paralysing shocks.

TABLE III.32

Co-operative Society Basic Figures 1957-62

(In Rs.)

Year	No. of members	Share capital	Deposits of members	Working capital (assets minus recoverable items)	Loans advanced	Loans recovered	Loans outstanding	Profit(+) or Loss(-)
1956-57	30	2290.00	..	..	8500.00	100.00	8400.00	(+) 52.00
1957-58	14	1200.00	..	..	400.00	2849.00	5951.00	(+) 237.00
1958-59	15	1210.00	..	..	..	619.00	3332.00	(+) 88.00
1959-60	12	1220.00	..	..	950.00	1483.00	4799.00	(-) 77.00
1960-61	15	1220.00	..	..	..	17.00	4782.00	(-) 58.00
1961-62	37	3580.00	..	10876.00	8250.00	4225.00	8807.00	(+) 140.00

The table shows that the functioning of the society since its very inception has been punctuated by general decline in volume of activities till the year 1960-61. The membership of the society fell from 30 in 1956-57 to 15 in 1960-61, the value of share capital during the same period fell from Rs. 2290.00 to Rs. 1220.00. Loans advanced by the society during the year 1958-59 and 1960-61 have been nil. During the years 1959-60 and 1960-61 the society incurred losses amounting to Rs. 77.00 and Rs. 58.00 respectively. It is said that unfortunately the year 1958 and the subsequent years viz. 1959 and 1960 were the years of poor harvest. And during these years, the villagers were not in a position to repay the short-term loan taken for seasonal agricultural operations from the society.

The capital of the society consists of (a) value of shares, (b) deposits of members, (c) loans and deposits from non-members, (d) donation and grants, (e) realisation of profits. Table III.32 shows that the deposits of the members and non-members upto 1961-62 in the capital composition of the society have been nil. This naturally shows that so far the society has not been even able to make the ground for inducing people to be thrifty. As the society has hardly earned even a mere respectable amount of

profit, the question of realisation of profits being used for swelling its capital is out of place.

Regarding the caste composition of the members of the society, one revealing feature is that all the members of the society belong to the Gujars (the dominant caste in the village). They are socially and economically better off than the rest of the villagers. They constitute 26.1 per cent of the total Gujar households and 20.3 per cent of the total households (all castes) in the village. 3.8 per cent of the households in the village reported that they were not aware of the co-operative society. 91.7 per cent of the total households amongst the Bhangis reported that they were not interested to become the members of the society. The corresponding percentages of the households not interested in the membership of the society amongst the Julahas have been 20.0 per cent and amongst the Gujars 10.5 per cent. 8.8 per cent of the households reported that they abstained from the membership of the society for there exists party factionalism and groupism amongst the members of the society. 36 households in the village reported that their applications for membership were rejected and they were not made members. As many as 30 out of the total of 36 member households, are Gujars (see Table No. III.33).

TABLE III.33

Co-operative Society : Reasons for not becoming member

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. of members belonging to	No. of members aware	No. that could not become member because of					
				Not interested	It is full of corruption	Unnecessary complexities	Not made	No knowledge	No information
Gujar	145	23	142	52	15	6	30	4	1
Julaha	20	..	10	..	..	..	4	2	1
Bhangi	12	..	11	10	1	..	..	..	..
Arora	2	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Muslim	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Sunar	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
TOTAL	182	23	168	68	16	6	36	7	2

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

A. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

THE total population of the village according to 1951 census was 658 (348 males and 310 females). The household enumeration conducted by us during August, 1962 shows that it has since gone up by 42.0 per cent i.e., 935 (520 males and 415 females). As the population figures for the intervening period are not available from year to year, we can broadly generalise and say that the rate of growth of the population during 1961-62 has been approximately 3.8 per cent per annum.

POPULATION BY AGE & SEX

For the purpose of analysis and simplicity we have divided the total population into three broad age-groups, namely (a) infants and children (those between age group of 0-14 years), (b) adults (those between 15 to 54 years of age) and (c) old 55 years of age and above). Table IV.1 below gives the distribution of population by sex and age.

TABLE IV.1
Distribution of Population by Sex and Age

Age Group	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage	Total	Percentage of the total	Females per 100 males
0-5	82	15.8	82	19.6	164	17.5	100
5-9	85	16.4	69	16.6	154	16.5	81
10-14	72	13.8	41	9.9	113	12.1	57
<i>Sub-total (Infants & children)</i>	<i>239</i>	<i>46.0</i>	<i>192</i>	<i>46.1</i>	<i>431</i>	<i>46.1</i>	<i>80</i>
15-19	42	8.1	46	11.1	88	9.5	109
20-24	45	8.6	31	7.5	76	8.1	69
25-29	35	6.7	30	7.2	65	6.9	86
30-34	36	6.9	32	7.7	68	7.3	89
35-39	27	5.2	17	4.1	44	4.7	63
40-44	18	3.5	19	4.6	37	4.0	105
45-49	18	3.5	14	3.4	32	3.4	78
50-54	16	3.0	18	4.3	34	3.6	112
<i>Sub-total (Adults)</i>	<i>237</i>	<i>45.5</i>	<i>207</i>	<i>49.9</i>	<i>444</i>	<i>47.5</i>	<i>87</i>
55-59	14	2.7	5	1.2	19	2.0	36
60 & above	30	5.8	11	2.7	41	4.4	37
<i>Sub-total (Old)</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>8.5</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>3.9</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>6.4</i>	<i>36</i>
GRAND TOTAL	520	100.00	415	100.0	935	100.0	80

The table shows that infants and children account for 46.1 per cent of the total population. The corresponding percentages for adults and the old ones are 47.5 per cent and 6.4 per cent respectively. A comparison of these figures with the corresponding 1951 census figures for the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole, shows that the present proportion of adults in the village is lower by 3.1 per cent since the corresponding census figure for adults for the Delhi Rural Tract during 1951 was 50.6 per cent.

A sex wise study of the table shows that 46.0 per cent of the total males are infants and children, 45.5 per cent are adults and 8.5 per cent are old. The corresponding figures for females are: 46.1 per cent, 49.9 per cent and 3.9 per cent respectively.

A study of sex ratio among different age groups shows that it is highest amongst the adults (87 females per 100 males) and lowest amongst the old (36 females per 100 males).

MARITAL STATUS

There are five categories of marital status, namely, single, married, widow/widower, divorced and separated. As in the village under study there is no case of divorced and separated, the marital status of the villagers is tabulated according to the first three categories only. The broad age groups followed for the purpose of the present analysis are the same as followed in the discussion on age and sex.

TABLE IV-2

Distribution of Population According to Sex, Age and Marital Status

Age Group	Males			Females			Total		
	Single	Widower	Married	Single	Widowed	Married	Single	Widowed	Married
0-4	82	..	..	82	..	..	164	..	..
5-9	85	..	..	67	..	2	152	..	2
10-14	67	..	5	38	..	3	105	..	8
Sub-total (Infants & Children)	234	..	5	187	..	5	421	..	10
15-19	26	..	16	7	..	39	33	..	55
20-24	17	..	28	..	..	31	17	..	59
25-29	6	1	28	..	..	30	6	1	58
30-34	9	..	27	..	..	32	9	..	59
35-39	2	2	23	..	..	17	2	2	40
40-44	..	1	17	..	3	16	..	4	33
45-49	2	3	13	..	2	12	2	5	25
50-54	..	3	13	..	6	12	..	9	25
Sub-total (Adults)	62	10	165	7	11	189	69	21	354
55-59	..	2	12	..	1	4	..	3	16
60 and +	..	11	19	..	8	3	..	19	22
Sub-total (Old)	..	13	31	..	9	7	..	22	38
GRAND TOTAL	296	23	201	194	20	201	490	43	402

The above table shows that 490 or 52.4 per cent of the total population are single, 43.0 per cent are married and the rest 4.6 per cent are widowed.

Regarding the age at marriage among the three broad age groups, we find that marriage amongst infants and children is an exception as only 2.3 per cent of them are married. Among the adults, the proportion of married is highest i.e. 79.8 per cent as against 63.3 per cent among the old.

A sex-wise study shows that the proportion of married females among the age group of infants and children and of the adults, is higher than that of males. The table shows that among the infants and children 2.7 per cent females are married as against 2.3 per cent married males. Similarly among the adults 91.3 per cent of the total females are married whereas the corresponding figure for males is only 69.6 per cent. Further, there are seven unmarried females among the adults in the age group of 15-19. Three of them are 15 years old, 2 sixteen years old, one seventeen and the other eighteen years old. The last two are the daughters of the village Baniya who owing to his financial weakness is unable to contract their marriages. The rest belong to the Gujars whose parents are rather keen to marry them as early as possible. Thus it may be concluded that marriage among females is universal but the same is not true in case of males. The table shows that so far as the male adults are concerned 62 i.e., 26.2 per cent of them are still unmarried. 17 of them are students and they would not marry unless they complete their studies, seven reported that they would marry only if they get some job.

Among the rest, one is a wrestler who wants to remain single, nine have given no reasons for their remaining single and the remaining 27 blame their fate for not getting suitable offers for marriage. As a matter of fact, it may be noted that village Mandi has a bad name (as being the home place of thieves) among the neighbouring villages. In addition, the remoteness of the village and the discouraging physical features of the village such as the poor fertility of the soil, the rocky ridges and troughs etc. explain why the other villages hesitate in developing marital relations with this village.

FAMILY

A family is a group of persons living together under the same roof, partaking

their meals from the same kitchen. In a village the type and size of family to a great extent affects the psychological norms of the rural folk and also determines its functional and structural relations in the society.

For the purpose of analytical study the families in the village can be broadly divided into two types, namely, Nuclear and Joint Families. Both these types can be further divided into two sub-categories each. The nuclear family covers two types viz. (a) uni-member, consisting of one member alone and (b) nuclear or biological family consisting of father, mother and the unmarried children. A nuclear family becomes 'truncated' when either father or lateral family.

Similarly a joint family is of two types viz., extended and collateral one. The extended type of family includes father and mother with one or more married sons and their families. A collateral type of family is one where the basic unit is a group of brothers, their spouses and children. A family consisting of cousins, other relations or non-related persons is also known as collateral family.

TABLE IV-3

Distribution of Families according to Size and Type

No. of Members	Type of Families			
	Uni-member	Nuclear	Extended	Collateral
1.	7	..	..	..
2.	..	20	1	1
3.	..	18	1	..
4.	..	30	3	2
5.	..	20	3	2
6.	..	18	7	..
7.	..	13	7	2
8.	..	6	6	..
9.	..	..	2	..
10.	..	..	2	2
11.	..	3	1	1
12.	..	1	1	..
13.	..	..	..	1
14.	..	..	..	..
15.	..	..	1	..
TOTAL	7	129	35	11

The table shows that 74.8 per cent of the total families in the village are nuclear and 25.2 per cent are joint families. Among the nuclear families seven are uni-member families. Of these, two are bachelors and the

remaining five are issueless widowed persons (three males and two females). Both the bachelors are owner cultivators (one is 30 years old and the other 40 years old). Both the widows (one is 45 years old and the other one is 50 years old) are rent receivers. Of the three widowers one is 70 years old owner cultivator and the other two (62 and 50 years old) are casual labourers.

Of the total families in the village 70.9 per cent are purely nuclear or biological

families. The average size of these nuclear families works out to 4.6 persons per family.

Amongst the extended type of families the size of families varies from 2 persons per family to 15 persons and their average size works out to 7.1 persons per family. The size of the collateral families in the village varies from 2 persons to 13 persons per family and the average size of collateral families comes to 6.0 persons per family. Thus on the whole the average size of joint families is higher than nuclear families.

TABLE IV.4
Size and Composition of Households

Caste	Total No. of H. Hs.	Single Member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10 Members and over		
		No. of H. Hs.			No. of H. Hs.			No. of H. Hs.			No. of H. Hs.			No. of H. Hs.		
		Males	Females		Males	Females		Males	Females		Males	Females		Males	Females	
Gujar	145	7	5	2	30	42	32	68	188	151	32	138	102	8	49	44
Julaha	20	..	..	..	3	4	4	13	31	26	3	17	7	1	5	6
Bhangi	12	..	..	..	5	6	6	3	7	6	3	6	16	1	6	5
Arora	2	..	..	..	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	1	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8	3
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	7	5	2	41	57	44	85	229	186	38	161	125	11	68	58
PERCENTAGE	..	3.8			22.5			46.7			20.9			6.0		

A caste-wise study of table IV.4 shows that all the seven uni-member families in the village belong to the Gujars. Three of these are widowers, two widows, one bachelor and one is a village school teacher who is living alone in the village. Further, the table also shows that comparatively speaking the average size of family is higher among the Gujars and the Muslims than among the other castes.

INTER-FAMILY RELATIONS

A family represents a basic and a primary unit of the village society. It is composed of a single consumption as well as production unit. All the members of a family live together and share a common kitchen. The eldest male member of a family is the head of household. He exercises full control over all the affairs of the family.

It has been found that nowadays there is a trend towards breaking up of joint families and the spread of nuclear families

As a result during 1951-1962 the average size of a family in the village has gone down from 5.7 persons per family in 1951 to 5.1 persons per family in 1962. A number of factors may be attributed to the splitting of the joint families. In fact the very basis of the survival of a joint family is that all of its members must have mutual respect for each other and all the adults must be employed in similar occupations (i.e. oneness of family occupation). Good behaviour among themselves and toleration for each other's weakness are equally important factors necessary for leading a happy joint family life. On the contrary nowadays the growing elements of individuality, increasing pressure on land leading to breaking of the oneness of the family occupation, thus eventually leading to shift in occupations, supplemented by petty quarrels among the children, the married women and the in-laws, yielding to the development of strains may be stated as the stimulating factors resulting in the splitting of joint families.

Regarding the break up of joint families it may be pointed out that the division may be either in the form of separate kitchen and the separate share in the whole of the an estral property or it may only mean the separating of the kitchen and residential rooms, but common field work and common *baithak*. It has been found that more cases

of splits of joint families in the village were of the latter type.

LITERACY & EDUCATION

A literate is defined as one who can read and write. Table IV.5 gives the distribution of illiterate in the village according to age and sex.

TABLE IV.5
Distribution of Population According to Age, Sex and Literacy

Age Group	Males			Females			Total		
	Number	Literate	Percentage	Number	Literate	Percentage	Number	Literate	Percentage
0-4	82	..	..	8	..	..	164	..	..
Sub-total (Infants)	82	..	..	8	..	..	164	..	..
5-9	85	39	45.9	69	..	..	154	39	25.3
10-14	72	35	48.6	41	..	..	113	35	31.0
Sub-total (Children)	157	74	47.1	110	..	..	267	74	27.7
15-19	42	18	42.9	46	..	..	88	18	20.4
20-24	45	17	37.8	31	..	..	76	17	22.4
25-29	35	3	8.6	30	..	..	65	3	4.6
30-34	36	4	11.1	32	..	..	68	4	5.0
35-39	27	5	18.5	17	..	..	44	5	11.4
40-44	18	3	16.7	19	..	..	37	3	8.1
45-49	18	..	..	14	..	..	32	..	..
50-54	16	1	6.2	18	..	..	34	1	2.9
Sub-total (Adults)	237	51	21.5	207	..	..	444	51	11.5
55-59	14	..	..	15	..	..	29	..	..
60 & above	30	2	6.7	11	..	..	41	2	4.9
Sub-total (Old)	44	2	4.5	16	..	..	60	2	3.3
GRAND TOTAL	520	127	24.4	415	..	..	935	127	13.6

The table shows that 13.6 per cent of the total population is literate. But the total population includes infants below 5 years of age, for whom, strictly speaking the question of literacy does not arise. Thus if we exclude the 164 infants from the total population, the percentage of literates goes up to 16.5 per cent. A sex-wise study of the table shows that not even a single female in the village is literate and all the literates

are males. Thus, literates—all males, account for 24.4 per cent of the total male population.

A comparison of the above figures with the corresponding 1951 census figures reveals that during 1951-62 the total number of literates as a percentage of the total population has gone up from 7.4 per cent in 1951 to 14.1 per cent in 1962. A sex-wise

comparison of the literates during this period shows that the number of literates among the females has remained nil and thus all the literates in the village as in 1951 come from the males alone. The proportion of the male literates to the total male population has gone up from 14.1 per cent in 1951 to 24.1 per cent in 1962.

A study of the literacy rate among the three broad age groups (i.e. children between 5-14 years of age; adults between 15-54 years of age; and old aged 55 years and above)

shows that literacy increases with lower age groups and diminishes with higher age groups, indicating an increasing trend of literacy rate in the village. For instance, the literacy rate among the old persons is 4.5 per cent, while among the adults and children it is 21.5 per cent and 47.1 per cent respectively.

Educational Standard

Table IV. 6 below gives the distribution of the educational standards of the villagers according to their age and sex.

TABLE IV. 6

Distribution of Literates according to Sex, Age and Educational Standard.

Age Group	Males						Females
	Literate	Pre-Primary	Primary	Middle	Matric	F.A.	Literate or Educated
0-4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9	..	39	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	..	15	19	1	..	..	..
Sub-total (Infants & Children)	..	54	19	1	..	..	..
15-19	..	3	9	2	3	1	..
20-24	1	4	6	5	..	..	..
25-29	..	..	2	1	..	..	..
30-34	2	..	1	1	..	..	..
35-39	1	3	1	..	..	..	..
40-44	1	1	1	1	..	..	..
45-49	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
50-54	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sub-total (Adults)	6	11	21	10	3	1	..
55-59	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 & above	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-total (Old)	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
GRAND TOTAL	7	66	40	11	3	1	..

The table shows that 120 out of the total of 127 literates have attained some educational standard or the other and the other (i.e. 5.4 per cent) have learnt to read and write without having attended any educational institution. Further, 54.2 per cent of

the total literates are educated upto pre-primary standard, 34.3 per cent up to primary, 9.2 per cent up to the middle standard and the remaining 3.4 per cent include two matriculates and one intermediate.



A view of the village school. Physical training is an indispensable part of the general education

A study of the educational standard among the different age groups reveals that all the literates educated upto matric or above, belong to the age group of 15—19 alone. Among the age groups of 25 or more, leaving aside three literates educated upto the middle standard, all have studied either upto primary standard or upto pre-primary classes. This clearly shows that it is only very recently that the villagers have started taking to higher education and about five or ten years back they scarcely bothered to receive education beyond the middle standard.

The table showing caste-wise distribution of literates according to educational standard is given in the Appendix (Table A-IV).

Educational Facilities

Prior to 1946 there was no educational institution in the village. The nearest school was at Yahya Nagar (5.6 kilometres from the village), where educational facilities upto middle standard were available. In 1946, the first ever primary school was set up by the Delhi District Board. Since then till 1957 there was only one teacher to run the school. In 1958, the school was taken over by the Delhi Municipal Corporation and later on it was renamed as 'Nagar Nigam Prathamik Pathasala, Mandi'.

At present the village school imparts free education upto fifth standard to both, boys and girls. There are three teachers in the school (one Headmaster and two Assistant teachers). The total strength of the stu-

dents in the schools is 63; 21 are studying in 1st class, 17 in second, 12 in third, 7 in fourth and 6 in fifth class. All students in the school are males.

After primary schooling, the students desirous of further studies, usually go to 'Nagar Nigam Uccham Madhyamik Vidhyalaya, Yahya Nagar'. During our investigation (August-September 1962), there were in all 22 students from Mandi going to Yahya Nagar for their higher education. Seven of these were studying in sixth class, seven in seventh class, six in eighth class, one in IX and one in XI class. For degree course, the villagers either go to Gurgaon or to Delhi. At the time of our enquiry we found that only one student from the village was studying in B.A. at Gurgaon.

School-going Children.

Regarding school-going children the most noticeable fact was that not a single female in the village was attending school. This was primarily due to the age-old convention in the village that education is not imparted to the females and also due to the non-availability of a village lady teacher and a separate village school for females.

Amongst the male children, it has been found that within the age group of 6—15, 42.2 per cent of the total 147 boys, were not studying. During our enquiry, a question was asked from all the households to give reasons as to why their male children in the age group of 6—15 were not attending school.

TABLE IV.7

Reasons for School-age Children (Males) not going to School

Caste	Total No. of children (10-15 yrs.)	Reasons for school age children (males) not going to school				Total	Percentage of the total	Percentage of the total children in caste
		Not going owing to financial reasons	Cannot be spared from day-to-day house work	Students do not like to go school	Parents lack appreciation for education			
Gujar	115	18	11	6	12	47	75.8	40.9
Julaha	23	6	2	1	..	9	14.5	39.1
Bhangi	5	1	..	1	..	2	3.2	40.0
Arora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	1	..	..	..	1	1.7	100.0
Muslim]	3	3	..	..	..	3	4.8	100.0
TOTAL	147	29	13	8	12	62	100.0	..

B. REFORM MEASURES

INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY

Broadly speaking it is the customary law and the precedents set by various courts of law that govern the mode of inheritance of ancestral property in the village.

According to the custom hitherto prevailing, after the death of a person, his sons inherit his property in equal shares. If the sons are minor, the property passes on to the widow of the deceased, who becomes a trustee of the property until the sons attain majority. If the deceased leaves no male issue, the property is shared by his other paternal relations. Their share in the property of the deceased varies according to

their closeness of relationship with him. Daughters as a convention are not entitled to any share in the property, but those males who inherit the property of the deceased are morally bound to look after the daughters of the deceased.

A statistical enquiry was also undertaken in August-September 1962, regarding the practice of inheritance and share of property as prevailing in the village. Each household was asked to name his prospective heirs. Some of the data collected and tabulated in table IV.9 is given below.

MIGRATION

The table shows that 46.8 per cent of the total non school-going children were not attending the school owing to financial reasons. Their parents have reported that because of their poverty it was beyond their means to maintain the recurring expenditure involved in the schooling of children, such as on the purchase of books, dress, stationery etc. In case of 13 children their parents reported that in the absence of other helping hands, their children cannot be spared for schooling as they help in domestic work and in the fields. 19.3 per cent i.e. 12 children were not going to school because their guardians lacked appreciation for education. The rest 8 were reported to be not interested in studies, their parents made repeated efforts to send them to school, but they always played truants.

Owing to lack of authentic information regarding out-migration from the village, our study regarding migration is limited only to immigrations in the village. As such a question was put to each household regarding the birth place of his family members. The information so collected excludes married females who invariably come from other villages. This is so because of the custom prevailing that marriage can only be contracted outside the village. Thus by excluding such cases of immigration through marriage, it was found that 16 persons migrated in the village. The details regarding these 16 is furnished in the table given below.

TABLE IV.8

Immigration in the Village

Caste	No. of Families immigrated in the village		Occupation	Period			Total Members	
	Outside state	Within state		1951- 62	1941- 51	Before 1941	Males	Females
Arora	1	1	Shopkeeping	..	2	..	4	..
Baniya	..	1	Shopkeeping	..	1	..	1	2
Muslim	1	..	Tailor	..	1	..	2	..
Sunar	..	1	Artisan	1	..	..	3	2
Gujar	2	..	Teacher Agriculture	2	..	..	2	..
TOTAL	4	3		3	4	..	12	4

The table shows that in all 16 persons belonging to seven different families have migrated in the village. Five of these came in the village during 1941-51 and the rest 11 during 1951-62. The 5 persons who migrated during 1941-51 belong to four households, two being Aroras, one Muslim and one Baniya. Both the Aroras have set up shops in the village. They are refugees from West Pakistan. The family of one is living at Gurgaon Refugee Camp and of the other at Mehrauli. The Baniya is living in the village with his two daughters. He is running a shop in the village. Earlier (before 1947) he had a shop at Mehrauli. There he incurred heavy losses and so he

migrated into this village. The Muslim migrated along with his brother in 1941. It is said that during the partition, their parents escaped to Pakistan but left them here. The Muslim household now earns his livelihood from tailoring.

Three households who migrated during 1951-62 include one Sunar and two Gujars. The Sunar migrated to the village in 1960 because he could not stand the competition from his fellow artisans (Sunars i.e., Goldsmiths) in his ancestral village. Of the two Gujars one has come to the village as being adopted by an owner cultivator and the other one is a teacher in the village primary school.

TABLE IV.9

Share of Property for Different Categories of Relatives

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	No. indicating inheritance of Property in the following Manner			
		All sons get equal share	Daughters inherit equally with son	Wife inherit if there is no son	Brother inherits if there is no son
Gujar	145	116	..	10	27
Julaha	20	16	..	3	1
Bhangi	12	8	1	2	1
Arora	2	2	..	..	..
Baniya	1	1	..	..	..
Muslim	1	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	1	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	145	1	15	29

The above table shows that 79.6 per cent of the total households in the village reported that on their death, their property would be shared equally among their sons alone. 29 (i.e. 15.9 per cent) households named their brothers, as the prospective heirs of their property, if they do not leave any male issue, 8.2% of the total households reported that their wives would inherit their pro-

perty if they die earlier without leaving a son. The only two widow households having no issue reported that their ancestral property shall pass to their husband's brother after their death. It is significant that only one household in the village has wished that on his death his property would be inherited equally among his sons and the unmarried daughters.

Attitude towards the share of daughters in the Property.

TABLE IV-10

Attitude about Inheritance of Property by Daughter Equally with sons

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons in favour of daughters inheriting equally with sons	No. of persons not in favour of daughters inheriting equally with sons
Gujar	145	7	138
Julaha	20	5	15
Bhangi	12	4	8
Arora	2	..	2
Baniya	1	..	1
Muslim	1	..	1
Sunar	1	..	1
TOTAL	182	16	166

Table IV.10 shows that 91.2 per cent of the total households interviewed were not in favour of the daughters inheriting equally with sons. A majority of these households belong to the class of owner cultivators. While asserting that land was

their main asset they argued that as their daughters after being married settle down in their in-laws' villages, it is not only difficult but practically impossible for them (or their in-laws) to carry out agricultural operations efficiently from a distant village. The one alternative left to the daughters would be, to sell the ancestral land or to stay in the parent's village almost permanently after the marriage; but both of these alternatives are considered against the convention followed by their forefathers.

Another equally important argument put forward by the villagers against the daughters inheriting their ancestral property was that such a measure would hamper the conventional harmonious relations among the brothers and sisters. As a convention a brother is regarded as the second guardian of his sisters. The Act may bring in the element of individuality and thus may break up their noble bonds preserved by tradition and conventions up till now.

HINDU SUCCESSION ACT 1956

In order to find out the villagers' awareness about the main provisions of the Hindu Succession Act, all the households in the village were interviewed. Some of the data collected is tabulated in table IV.11 given below.

TABLE IV-11

Awareness of Changes in Hindu Laws of Succession and Adoption

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	No. aware that there have been changes in Hindu Adoption Act	No. that could describe the changes in Hindu Adoption Act, Correctly	No. aware that there have been changes in Succession Act	No. that could describe the changes in Hindu Succession Act, Correctly
Gujar	145	44	31	83	53
Julaha	20	3	3	10	7
Bhangi	12	..	3	7	2
Arora	2	2	2	2	2
Baniya	1	..	..	1	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	1	..
TOTAL	182	53	39	104	64

Table IV.11 shows that only 57.1 per cent of the total households (182), were aware of the fact that some changes have been introduced by the Act. The above figure also include 21.9 per cent of the total households who were merely aware that some changes have been introduced by the Act, but could not state what actually the changes were. Thus only 35.7 per cent of the total households in the village were aware of the main changes introduced by the Act. All these households reported that the new Act entitles the daughters of a deceased to claim equal share in his property along with his sons. However, so far there has been not even a single instance in the village in which a daughter may have claimed or got a share in the property of her deceased father.

HINDU ADOPTION ACT 1955

Table IV.11 also shows that only 29.1 per cent (i.e. 53) of the total households interviewed were aware of the Act. The corresponding figure for those who could tell the main provision of the Act correctly works out to be 21.4 per cent (of the total 182 households) only. All these stated that the main provision of the Act is that one may adopt a son to pass the right of

inheritance of his property to him. It may be noted that normally while adopting a son, the villagers do not bother about the legal formalities laid down by the Adoption Act. The only one case of adoption in the village was no exception to the above practice.

DOWRY

In spite of the fact that the Anti-Dowry Act, passed by the Government has declared giving or receiving dowry as a consideration for marriage punishable by law, the dowry system is still prevalent in the village. Our enquiries, (made during August-September 1962) regarding the villagers' awareness of the Anti-Dowry Act revealed that over two-third of the households interviewed were not at all aware of the Act. It may be noted that the concept of dowry in the village is used only in a limited sense. It does not refer to the sum total of all the expenditure incurred by the bride's parents during the marriage of their daughter; instead, it denotes only the total cash money paid by the bride's parents to the groom alone. The table below gives the value of the dowry given by the households on the occasion of their daughters' marriage.

TABLE IV.12

Dowry

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	No. of H.Hs. in which marriage took place & dowry was given.	Dowry given on No. of marriage	Amount given on marriage (in Rs.)	Average amount per household (in Rs.)	Average amount per marriage (in Rs.)
Gujar	145	41	43	5709	139.2	132.9
Julaha	20	4	4	244	61.0	61.0
Bhangi	12	2	3	153	76.5	51.0
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..
Arora	2	2	2	1200	600	600
Sunar	1	1	1	500	500	500
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	50	53	7806	156.1	147.3

Table IV. 12 shows that out of the total of 182 households interviewed, 50 households reported that they gave dowry on the occasion of their daughters' marriage. The average amount of dowry given in the village as per marriage and per household works out to be Rs. 147.3 and 156.1 respectively, the highest and the lowest amount of dowry given on a marriage being Rs. 600/- among the Aroras and Rs. 51/- among the Bhangis.

A caste-wise study of above table shows that the amount of dowry given is higher among the higher castes (viz. the Gujars and the Aroras) and lower among the lower castes (i.e. the Chamars and the Bhangis).

The total amount of dowry given by the villagers on their daughters' marriage represents only 5.4% of their total indebtedness and 19.1 per cent of their total debts taken for social observances and ceremonies etc.

This shows clearly that on the whole the magnitude of dowry given in the village is not so exorbitant as to necessarily lead one to the gates of bankruptcy or to stand in the way of contracting marriages.

UNTOUCHABILITY

The Bhangis and the Julahas in the village are regarded as untouchables by the higher castes. It is a common belief among the persons of higher castes that a mere touch of a Bhangi would render them impure and a bath would be rendered necessary. It has been reported that in the pre-independence period the Bhangis and the Julahas in the village were normally not allowed to enter the village streets except to perform their day-to-day duties. However, nowadays due to the impact of a number of factors such as urbanisation, migration, education and improved economic and social conditions of the lower castes, the practice of untouchability is gradually on the decline. Further, the State has also adopted a number of legislative measures such as declaring the practice of untouchability illegal and making a provision for compulsory representation of the Scheduled Castes in the Gaon Pancha-

yats etc. The table given below gives an account of the awareness of the villager about the legal prohibition of the practice of untouchability and the manner of practice of untouchability as prevailing in the village.

Table IV.13 shows that 90.0 per cent of the total persons interviewed were aware of the legal prohibition of the practice of untouchability and that 44.5 per cent of the total, held that untouchability is still practised in the village, while the other 55.5 per cent reported that it is not so practised. Regarding the manner of its practice, the table shows that the main forms of this practice are:

- the persons belonging to the lower castes are not invited to join the common social observances and ceremonies of the higher castes;
- they cannot sit on the same cot with a higher caste person;
- they are not allowed to draw water from the same well from where higher caste members draw water;
- the lower castes have separate crematorium.

TABLE IV.13

Untouchability—Awareness and Practice

Caste	Total No. of H.Hs.	No. of H. Hs. aware of legal prohibition of untouchability	No. of H. Hs. according to whom untouchability is still practised	Form of untouchability practice				
				Sep. wells	Sep. crematorium	Sep. hukkas	Sep. ceremonies	cannot sit together
Gujar	145	127	44	20	23	22	23	12
Julaha	20	20	20	7	17	13	7	1
Bhangi	12	12	12	2	11	6	5	..
Arora	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	..
Baniya	1	1	1	..	1	1	..	..
Muslim	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	1
TOTAL	182	164	81	30	54	45	36	14

It is significant to note that whereas all the persons interviewed among the lower castes regarded the above as the practices of untouchability, 70.0 per cent of the higher caste household interviewed did not consider the above as practising untouchability. Rather, they held that these practices just formed their way of life and were merely observed for the sake of conventions alone.

DISEASES

Disease common in the region are fol (boil), maror lagna (dysentery), kabzi (constipation), gumri (boils under armpits), dad (eczema), ankh phoola (leucoma), ankh mai gandri (a small boil in the eyelid), sore eyes etc. The native remedies used by the villagers for different disease are as follows:

ILLNESS AND MAGICAL CURES

Native Cures

Fol (Boil)—Pultas (cooked preparation of local herbs i.e. poultice) of ambar bel (cuscuta reflexa) or of gular leaves (ficus) is put on the boil with a piece of cloth. The effect of poultice is that the boil gets suppured within one or two days and the pus is secreted out automatically.

Maror lagna (Dysentery)—The patient's diet is regulated. For two or three days, he is given rice mixed with curd. Use of salt, chillies and spices is avoided.

Malaria and Cold Fever—The patient is given tea and decoction (karah) of local herbs mixed with gur and sonth (dried ginger).

Loo or Garmi Marna (Heat-stroke)—Juice of onion and podina (mint) is administered to the patient. Juice of green leaves of maihndi (myrtle plant) mixed with curd is put on the head and talwa (soles) of the patients.

Gumri (boil under armpit)—Leaves of aak sand (calotropis, ricinus cummunis) heated with mustard oil are placed over the boil to suppurate the boil early. When the boil gets suppured, the pus is taken out by pressing the sides of the boil with thumbs.

Ankh-aana (soring of eyes)—Juice from the leaves of a local herb known by the name of kamera is put into the eyes. It is believed that the juice renders the eyes cool. The eyes are washed with luke warm water of salt or phitkari (alum).

Gandri (boils in eyelids)—Fomentation of eyes with finger tips by rubbing them against the palm is performed.

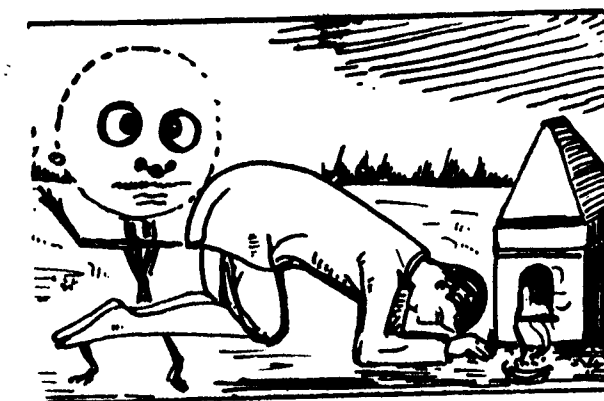
Dad (Eczema)—Fresh leaves of papri tree are grinded on a piece of flat stone and the paste thus produced is coated on the affected part.

Casting off an Evil Eye (Nazar Uterna नजर उतारना)

If one is suddenly taken in by illness or unexpectedly starts feeling out of sorts, then, the first and foremost common magical cure in the village consists of putting off the evil eye (nazar) by throwing ritualised mustard seeds, salt and chillies into the fire. These are first taken to a village expert in a plate after moving the plate around the head of the sick person from right to left for three times. The expert takes the plate in his right hand and while enchanting mantras he keeps on continuously touching the mustard seeds, chillies and salt with his right hand finger tips. In doing so, if the expert gets sneezing, it indicates that the patient is suffering because of an evil eye (nazar). The number and the intensity of sneezing determines the potentiality of the evil eye. Then the plate is taken back and moved around the head of the patient in reverse order i.e., from left to right for three times and then the contents of the plate (i.e., mustard seeds, salt and chillies), are thrown into the fire. In case of nazar the burning of these contents does not give an irritating smell (dhasak). It is believed that in this way the patient is freed from an evil eye (nazar) and is thus cured of the disease.

To ward off a child from an evil eye (nazar) and the spirits of the dead, the villagers put a taaviz (amulet) around a child's neck. The taaviz consists of a silver or a copper square cover, having inside it a folded paper with mantras written on it by the babajee (saint) of Astal or from Gurgaon Wali Mata. It is tied round the child's neck with a black thread.

Illness and Vows



To keep off their children from the evil eye, spirits of the dead and diseases, the villagers also worship the Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabootra and Kanthi Wali Mata and Gurgaon Wali Mata. In case one's ward has been seriously affected by illness etc., the villagers take a vow that if the child recovers from illness they would distribute a *gur ki bheli* (a standard lump of gur weighing about 2½ seers) as *sirni* (sacred gift) in honour of these goddesses.

In a number of instances of serious illness the villagers also invoke ghosts or oracles to cure the ailment and sometimes consult an expert known as *jhar phoonk wala* to cure the disease. Such practices are quite common among the lower castes viz, the Bhangis and the Chamars.

Invoking Ghosts and Illness

It is the Bhangis' monopoly in the village as being experts in invoking the oracles or ghosts. They are the strict worshippers of the gods and goddesses of strength such as Masani, Kali, Bawari, Kali Khanti, Kalka, Khanti, Rehpa (a spirit of young male dead), Churki (a spirit of young female dead), Churail (a spirit of a woman) etc. While invoking oracle of a ghost or one of the above mentioned goddesses and spirits, a few experts along with the patient sit in a room along with a *hukka* (hubble—bubble). Soon after a calm atmosphere of five minutes, one among these experts starts trembling and whispers loudly *shee...shee shee...* Then one member asks the oracle about his name or which spirit does he represent and what is the purpose of his attack and how he can be satisfied. Normally the oracle, if satisfied, asks for a sacrifice of goat or pig or hen. The meat of the pet so sacrificed is distributed among the participants (experts). It is believed that the day following the sacrifice the patient starts getting all right.

Illness and Jhar Phoonk

The experts in the village, who perform *jhar phoonk* as a cure for a disease render their services free of charge and demand no animal sacrifice. With the actions of his right hand or an instrument in his right hand he goes on acting as if he is throwing out or tearing off the disease while enchanting *mantras*. Each *mantra* is repeated seven times and the *mantras* are equally potential (as the expert believes) to cure more than seven hundred diseases. It may be noted that *mantras* are simple but they are spoken

so fast and in such a way that it is not possible to get anything out of the words so uttered. One *mantra* as spoken by one such expert is reproduced below:

Text:

हनुमान महावीरा, कटजा पाप मिटत सब
Hanuman Mahabira, Kaktja paap mitat sab

पीड़ा ज्ञान की ज्योत जपक कर,
pira Gayan ki jyot jhapak kar,

करो संकट त्याग वैरी: ब्रह्मवीर का ध्यान
Karo sankat tayag vairi Brahmvir ka dhayan
धरुं में,
dharon main,

राखो लाख हमारी।

Rakho laaj hamari.

Translation:

Hanuman the brave,

Put sins to an end; and all the pains to mend,

With the light of knowledge,

Remove all the diseases, and the enemy to an end.

Ye! the Bravest in the universe I remember thee.

Do oblige and favour me.

It may be noted that *mantras* are chanted with full confidence of success and with full concentration. An expert reported that during the performance he is aware of nothing except the disease and the mighty power curing the disease behind the scene. The expert has been told by a Guru, the way to attain *sadhana* (devotion) and thus the ability to infuse power and spirit in the *mantras* (enchantments). It is believed that if, the expert demands reward for his performance or utilises the *mantras* towards wrong ends, the power of *mantras* may end.

Animals and magical cures

It is believed in the village that an evil eye (*nazar*) does not attack a black object. Hence as a precaution from being victimised by an evil eye, a few of the villagers tie around the neck of their pet animal (particularly if the animal is pregnant or is in lactation or is very healthy) a black ribbon (known as *phaunda*). It is also believed

that an evil eye does not attack the object if a few seeds of *hinsa*, a local plant are tied around the neck of animal with a black thread.

MEDICAL FACILITIES

The village is completely devoid of modern medical facilities. The nearest public hospital from the village is at Mehrauli. But even in case of serious illness the villagers seldom avail of its services, as there are no transportation facilities available to and fro the village. Normally, most of the villagers when ever they are sick, attribute their sickness to the anger of Matas (goddesses) or the consequences of an evil act of some spirit and therefore seek the blessings of their Matas or resort to some magical cures.

Only if they fail to cure the disease by following the above courses they have resort to Ayurvedic and Allopathic treatment. For allopathic treatment they normally go to a private doctor at village Dera (about 3.6 kilometres away from the village). Table No. A-10 in the Appendix shows that 43.4 per cent of the total persons interviewed have reported as following Ayurvedic treatment whenever they fall sick. Ayurvedic medicines are given to them freely by a *babajee* (saint) at Astal. The villagers always offer the *babajee* some flour (*chun*) etc. when they get medicines and whenever he visits the village.

Under the National Malaria Eradication Programme a worker from the Health Department of the Delhi Municipal Corporation regularly visits the village to take care of those who are suffering from malaria fever. The Health Department of the Delhi Municipal Corporation also looks after the small-pox vaccination requirements of the villagers.

MATERNITY FACILITIES

Regarding the maternity facilities it may be noted that all the delivery cases in the village are attended to by the village untrained *dai*. It is surprising to note that most of the villagers were not at all aware of any trained *dai* or midwife or Lady Health visitor. Regarding the services of the public maternity hospital at Mehrauli, the villagers held that owing to the distance and non-availability of means of transport, it is practically impossible for them to avail of its services.

VETERINARY FACILITIES

For veterinary facilities the villagers mainly depend on the mobile veterinary van of the Animal Husbandry Department of the Delhi Municipal Corporation. This mobile veterinary van is supposed to pay weekly visits to the village and distribute the common medicines for the diseased cattle free of charges. In case of serious cattle diseases the villagers also take their diseased cattle to the veterinary hospital at Fatehpur Beri or to the dispensary at Ghitorni or at Mehrauli.

FAMILY PLANNING

The nearest family planning centre is at Mehrauli i.e. 11.4 k.m. away from the village. The centre was opened in 1960. So far it has confined its activities to Mehrauli town and some of the other neighbouring villages. The Lady Health Visitors of the centre have neither paid any visit to village Mandi nor they have entertained any case of family planning from the village. Our enquiries regarding the awareness of the villagers about the family planning centre reveals that only 4.4 per cent of total households interviewed were aware of the centre and its main functions. The rest 95.6% reported that they were not at all aware of it.

TABLE IV.14

Awareness and Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Households

Caste	Total No. of H.Hs.	No. of households				
		Aware of Family Planning Centre	Knowing prevention of conception by deliberate means	Wishing for more children	Wishing for no more children	Did not reply
Gujar	145	7	38	62	63	20
Julaha	20	..	1	10	10	..
Bhangi	12	..	2	6	6	..
Arora	2	..	..	1	..	1
Baniya	1	..	1	1	1	..
Muslim	1	..	1	..	1	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	1	..
TOTAL	182	7	43	79	82	21

Regarding the attitude of the villagers about family planning, table IV.14 shows that 82 or 50·6 per cent out of 161 persons were keen to limit the size of their families. 43 persons also reported that they were aware of the fact that it is possible to prevent conception of a child by deliberate means, but

all of them considered such an act as against God's will. This explains why none of the villagers was reported to be doing anything about limiting the size of the families and no one has so far visited the family planning centre.

TABLE IV. 15

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to duration of marriage

Caste	No. wanting more children, duration of marriage being					No. wanting no more children, duration of marriage being					Question did not answer
	Over 20 years	16—20 years	11—15 years	6—10 years	5 or less years	Over 20 years	16—20 years	11—15 years	6—10 years	5 or less years	
Gujar	19	10	14	9	10	45	7	6	5	..	20
Julaha	2	2	4	1	1	6	1	3	..	..	..
Bhangi	1	1	..	2	2	4	1	1	..	..	..
Arora	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	22	13	19	12	13	57	10	10	5	..	21

Table IV.15 showing the attitude of the villagers towards family planning with reference to the duration of marriage shows that as the duration of marriage increases, the villagers' desire to have more children also goes down. For instance, the table shows that all the persons interviewed within the marriage duration period of 0-5 years, were willing to have more children. But the corresponding figures for the persons willing to have more children within the marriage duration period of 6—10 years, 11—15 years, 16—20 years and 20 years or more, fall to 70·6 per cent, 65·5 per cent, 54·5 per cent and 27·8 per cent respectively.

It may be mentioned that the villagers although facing abject poverty do not follow artificial means of preventing conception of a child and thus limiting the size of their families as they consider that such an act would be against God's wishes. And in case of more children they merely grumble against the niggardliness of Nature and also blame their wives. In fact, women yielding

frequent births are contemptuously called बरस *baras* ब्यावान *biyawan* बीरबानी *birbani*, and are commonly despised and classed as belonging to a bitch race. The villagers do realise that a marriage with frequent births in poverty leads not to happiness but to curse. A well-known couplet in this context is given below:—

हे री देवी मेरा ब्याह करदे

He re Devi maira byah karde

(i.e. Oh Goddess get me married)

हे री देवी मोहे वैसा हूँ करदे

He re Devi mohe waisa he karde

(i.e. Oh Goddess make me as I was).

PANCHAYAT

Traditional Village Panchayat and Caste Panchayat

Prior to the advent of the statutory Gaon Panchayat there existed in the village a local Panchayat which looked after the ad-



The Panchayat Ghar

ministrative and welfare aspects of the villagers. The traditional village Panchayat used to consist of elderly influential male persons of proved ability and well-known among the villagers for the integrity of their character and judgment. All these members used to belong to the dominant caste (the Gujars). Their main task was to look after the welfare of the villagers and adjudicate upon their disputes and thus maintain harmonious relations among the different sections of population. Besides they used to receive the Government officials visiting the village. All the villagers were morally bound to act upon the decisions of the Panchayat. While dealing with offences, it could impose fines or order a social boycott of the offender. The boycott may be temporary or permanent. It may in certain cases limit the offender's access to the village ponds, pasture or jungle etc.

Along with the village Panchayat, each caste in the village had its own separate Caste Panchayat. The Caste Panchayat, as such, had no physical boundaries. It used to consist of a few elderly influential caste members belonging to a number of contiguous villages. It primarily aimed at maintaining the caste solidarity i.e. to ensure that no member of its caste violated the established customs and conventions. Ex-communication from the caste (*biradari main hukka-pani band*) was the most powerful weapon handy to Caste Panchayats. All the members of a caste were morally bound to obey the decisions of the Caste Panchayat and cases of violation used to be few.

However, nowadays the statutory Gaon Panchayat has superseded the traditional village Panchayat, but the Caste Panchayats in the village are still functioning. With the breaking up of joint families and increasing contacts of the villagers with cities the decisions of the Caste Panchayat are not as binding as they were a few years ago. Instances of ignoring the judgments of Caste Panchayat are also going up. Nevertheless, the villagers still prefer to settle their disputes by the Caste Panchayat before going in for any legal action in courts. A few interesting case studies are given below to show how Caste Panchayat used to take up matters and give its decisions.

1. Once Mr. A. caught four or five buffaloes of Mr. B grazing in his (A's) corn field and decided to hand over those cattle to Government cattle pound, at Fatehpur Beri or at Mehrauli. B requested A to return his cattle, but A would not do so unless B paid

him Rs. 2/- per cattle as a penalty for keeping his cattle loose. B did not agree to the terms. An exchange of hot words between them ultimately led B's hitting A with a *lathi* (stick) on his head and forcibly taking away his cattle. Mr. A then called for a meeting of elderly persons of his caste from village Dera and Gwalpahari and placed the case before them. A *Sarpanch* (judge) in the Caste Panchayat is always a respectable person acceptable to both the parties. After hearing the details, the judge consults the other elderly persons and then gives the verdict. The Panchayat in the above case found B guilty and asked him to touch the feet of A and pay Rs. 50 to A as compensation for striking on his head.

2. About four years ago, X betrothed a girl belonging to Y's family in a distant village. He took some money from the boy's family as gratification. The boy was not a suitable match for the girl. The brothers of the girl called for a meeting of the Caste Panchayat of 12 brethren villages. The charges against X were proved true. The engagement of the girl was cancelled and X was out-casted from the village and the other brethren villages.

X accepted his fault but pleaded that the punishment was too heavy for him. After a month he (Mr. X) again called for the Caste Panchayat of the villages to beg the *Panches* and the relatives of the girls' family for pardon. The judges (jury) asked him to keep all the shoes on his head just to show that he really repents over his sinister act. Mr. X did as asked by the Panchayat and the Caste Panchayat took back the former verdict.

Statutory Panchayats

The Delhi Panchayat Raj Act passed in 1954, but implemented during 1959, stipulated a two-tiered set-up of Panchayats viz., the Gaon Panchayat and the Circle Panchayat. The members of these Panchayats are elected by secret ballot by the members of the Gaon Sabha for a three-year tenure. The Gaon Sabha includes all the persons of the village who have voting rights under the Constitution.

The Gaon Panchayat consists of a Pradhan, an Up-Pradhan and a number of other members (the number of members depends on the strength of the population of the Gaon Sabha). While the Pradhan and all the other members are directly elected by the members of the Gaon Sabha, the Up-Pradhan is elected from amongst the mem-

bers of the Gaon Panchayat by the members themselves.

Village Mandi has a common Gaon Panchayat with village Dera. It consists of 10 members (including the Pradhan from village Dera), all elected during October 1959. Seven of these members belong to village Dera (5 Gujars, one Chamar and one Nai) and three, including the Up-Pradhan belong to village Mandi (two Gujars and one Julaha).

The primary function of the Gaon Panchayat is to look to the administrative and developmental aspects of the village. Thus, it is to act as a sort of an organizing body, primarily working for economic and social transition with the help of local skill and initiative. The more important of its functions include framing the Annual Budget and programmes of annual production; reclamation of the cultivable waste land and bringing it under cultivation; registration of births, deaths and marriages; construction, repair and maintenance of village streets and other properties under its control; sanitation, regulation of crematorium and burial grounds for human as well as bovine population, regulation of the village fairs and markets which are not organised by the Government etc.

The Circle Panchayat consists of elected members, from a number of contiguous villages. Mandi is included in a Circle Panchayat of 14 contiguous Gaon Sabhas, having its headquarters in village Sultanpur. In the Sultanpur Circle Panchayat, there are two representatives from village Mandi and the rest from other contiguous Gaon Sabhas.

The members of the Circle Panchayat form a panel of judges of Panchayati Adalat (courts). The Panchayati Adalat is headed by the 'Sarpanch' and a 'Naib-Sarpanch'—both elected from the members of the Circle Panchayat.

The Circle Panchayat is a sort of judicial body of its member villages. It is empowered to try simple money suits up to the value of Rs. 200/-, to maintain and correct the Annual Registers under the Delhi Land Revenue Act; to settle disputes regarding the Annual registers and field boundaries of the villages. It can also try petty offences under the Indian Penal Code, Cattle Trespass Act, Delhi Public Gambling Act, etc. It is however not empowered to impose a sentence of imprisonment or a fine exceeding Rs. 50/-.

It will be useful to give a case study showing the manner in which the Circle Panchayat disposes of the cases:

One evening, in the village jungle, Mr. Z found that Mr. M (having cold enmity with Mr. Z) was severely beating his (Mr. Z's) buffalo with a stick. Mr. Z took his buffalo to his house and gave first aid to it. But the buffalo stopped yielding milk and started getting reduced. After a few days it died. Mr. Z filed a suit against Mr. M in the Circle Panchayat. Examining the case thoroughly, the jury (the Circle Panchayat) gave the following judgment in favour of Mr. Z. Mr. M was asked to give his buffalo to Mr. Z. The judgment was agreeable to both parties (i.e. to Mr. Z and Mr. M).

Achievements of the Gaon Panchayat

The works done by the Gaon Panchayat may be broadly divided under two categories viz. (a) the works pertaining to the raising of revenues and (b) the works pertaining to utilisation of the revenues.

A. Revenue Schemes

Since its very inception, the Gaon Panchayat has raised Rs. 1,780.00 from the village. The various heads under which this amount has been collected are explained briefly hereunder:

(i) Allotment of Cultivable Waste Land

During 1962, the Gaon Panchayat allotted 137 pattas to all the villagers who were in need of land and willing to pay Rs. 3/- per patta (or piece of cultivable waste land, approximately of 10 bighas) for one full crop year. Most of these pattas were again redistributed in 1962 at the rate of Rs. 7/- per patta for two years. The total amount raised through leasing out the pattas, till September 1962, was about Rs. 1,200/-.

(ii) Contract to cut the village jungle

The contract was auctioned in the presence of the members of Gaon Panchayat and went to the highest bidder for Rs. 500/-.

(iii) Hides & Skins and Cattle Pound (Phatak)

To raise its revenues during 1960-61 the Gaon Panchayat also gave a monopoly right to a Chamar to make use of the village dead cattle for one year. A contract to run the Cattle Pound (phatak for stray cattle) was given in September 1962 to the highest bidder for Rs. 80/- for one year.

B. Expenditure Schemes

Up to September 1962, the Gaon Panchayat had spent Rs. 1,700/- on the following three items:

(i) The Gaon Panchayat contributed Rs. 1,300/- for the repairs and construction of two drinking wells in the village. One of these belongs to the Gujars and the other one to the Bhangis.

(ii) The Gaon Panchayat spent Rs. 300/- for digging out a *Johr* (pond) for the village cattle.

(iii) Minor sanitation schemes carried out by the Gaon Panchayat at a cost of Rs. 100/-.

Regarding the above works, it has been found that the members of the Gaon Panchayat were quite satisfied with the above achievements. The members also maintained that they have been able to raise the

revenues without burdening the villagers and have utilised a greater part of these for the common basic needs of the villagers. But on the contrary a majority of the villagers were found very much sceptical about the functioning of the Gaon Panchayat. Table IV. 16 showing the awareness of the villagers regarding the main functions of the village Panchayat shows that 28.0 per cent of the total persons interviewed were not at all aware of the functions of the Gaon Panchayat. The rest (72.0 per cent) reported that the main function of the Gaon Panchayat is to settle petty disputes. Of these 131 persons, 59 stated that the Gaon Panchayat also allocates cultivable waste land on 'patta'. The number of persons reporting that the Gaon Panchayat also looks after the village sanitation, welfare of the villagers and construction and repairs of drinking wells, works out to be only 26, 36 and 17 respectively.

TABLE IV.16

Information about main Functions of Panchayat

Caste	No. of House-holds	No. that could tell the period of existence of Panchayat correctly	Number according to whom main function of Panchayat is					
			Settlement of disputes	Village sanitary works	Welfare of villagers	To allot land on patta	Construction of well	Do not know
Gujar	145	141	114	23	31	50	13	31
Julaha	20	19	3	..	1	3	..	17
Bhangl	12	11	10	2	5	6	1	2
Aoroa	2	2	2	1	1	..	..	..
Baniya	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..
Muslim	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
TOTAL	182	175	131	26	39	59	14	51

TABLE IV-17

Opinion About Improvements through Panchayat

Caste	Total No. of Households	Whether improvement			No. according to whom after establishment of Panchayat there has been improvement			
		Yes	No	Do not know	Street Pavement	Reclamation of waste land	Construction of well	Benefited Personally
Gujar	145	32	109	4	..	31	5	31
Julaha	20	4	16	..	..	3	1	4
Bhangi	12	3	8	1	..	1	3	1
Arora	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Baniya	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	39	133	10	..	35	9	36

An evaluation of the awareness of the villagers towards the improvements carried out by the Gaon Panchayat, as shown in Table IV.17 reveals that 73.2 per cent persons interviewed have reported that there has been no improvement in the village through the Gaon Panchayat, 8.4 per cent held that they did not know whether there has been any improvement in the village through the Gaon Panchayat. The remaining 39 (21.4 per cent) stated that some improvements have been carried out by the Gaon Panchayat, namely, it has allotted the cultivable waste land to the villagers and has also undertaken the construction and repairs of the drinking water wells.

Further, the villagers' answers to our query were such that they clearly indicated that a lot of factionalism was prevailing in the village so far as Panchayat affairs are concerned. For instance 21.4 per cent (39) of the villagers, who asserted that there have been some improvements through the Gaon Panchayat, said not even a single word against the Panchayat. Excepting three among these, all reported that they have been personally benefited through the works of the Gaon Panchayat. But a majority of persons i.e. 72.0 per cent of the total persons interviewed reported that there has been no improvement in the village through the Gaon Panchayat. Most of these persons stated that the new Panchayat has yielded nothing but corruption, party politics,

groupism and factionalism. They charged that the Panchayat has always sided with the cases of relatives and bribers who are locally known as *dhingras*. For instance, during the reclamation of cultivable waste land, they held that the members of the Panchayat favoured their relatives and the *dhingras* (bribers) and allotted better and larger pieces of *pattas* to them. Similarly during the redistribution of the *pattas*, some of the villagers alleged that the Panchayat took away their earlier *patta* (which they had improved after a hard toil and after spending about Rs. 500/- on each *patta*) and instead, allotted them fresh *pattas*. Three villagers also reported that the Panchayat during the redistribution of *pattas* in 1962 took away their original *pattas* and allotted them nothing.

However, the Panchayat members maintained that the above allegation against them were unwarranted. According to them, during the redistribution of *pattas* in 1962, they did give a timely warning to defaulters to re-claim their *pattas* on payment of Rs. 7/- and that only those who did not respond, were deprived of their *pattas* which were later allotted to others. Regarding the arbitrary fixation of the size of *pattas* as approximately 10 bighas each, the Gaon Panchayat members admitted that there has been some uneven distribution of the size of *patta*. But as the Panchayat members had no technical personnel to fix

the size of *pattas* as exactly equal to 10 bighas, this flaw relating to the uneven distribution of *patta* was inescapable.

From the foregoing analysis of the working of the Gaon Panchayat it is evident that

RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY

The villagers believe in the immortality of soul (*atman*), rebirth, inter-temporal transmission of deeds, incarnation of the god to save the religion whenever the sins (violations of religion) increase to a climax and become unbearable on earth.

It is believed that the *atman* as such never dies. It rather only changes the form (*yonis*). If one meets timely death, the *atman* may take any of the form out of the total of 84 million *yonis* according to one's past deeds. The *atmans* of holy personalities after their death do not get other *yonis*, rather they rest in heaven. In case one meets untimely death in young age i.e. death owing to suicide, murder or accident, the *atman* for the intermediary period merely moves in the atmosphere and sometimes also haunts human lives etc.

MODE OF WORSHIP

All the villagers, irrespective of their caste, worship local deities such as Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabootra, Kanthi Wali Mata ka Chabootra, Gurgaon Wali Mata etc. Each deity in the village has a separate Chabootra dedicated to it. Inside the Chabootra (a stone paved platform with one dome in its centre) there is no idol, but the devotees keep a few earthen lamps inside it.

All these deities including the Sayaid Pir are worshipped during the second week of the first fortnight of the Chait (March-April). The worshipping of these deities starts firstly with the worshipping of the Bhoomiya Mata which may be performed either on Monday or on Wednesday.

Each deity is believed to be perfect in protecting its devotees from specific evils and also in bestowing some specific blessings. Therefore, the villagers as and when they are in need, worship only a specific deity for specific purpose. In the following lines a more detailed study of these deities is undertaken.

Bhoomiya Mata-ka-Chabootra

The tomb of Bhoomiya Mata has been constructed at the eastern outskirts of the village on a pucca platform 2' high and 6'x6' area. The tomb is pucca and square shaped and covers an area about 3'x3'.

so far the Panchayat has been only partially successful. It could gain appreciation but only from a few. A bulk of the village population remained rather dis-satisfied with its workings.

The villagers, particularly the village ladies seek the blessings of Bhoomiya Mata during their pregnancy, marriage and illness of their wards. The villagers also offer the first milk of their milch cattle to Bhoomiya Mata. The devotees of Bhoomiya Mata put burning earthen lamps inside the Chabootra and pray for the blessings of the Bhoomiya Mata. After the prayer they also distribute *gur* or *bakhali* (boiled grains of wheat and gram) among themselves as *sirni* (sacred gift) in the name of the revered Bhoomiya Mata.

Kanthi Wali Mata and Chaurahe Wali Mata

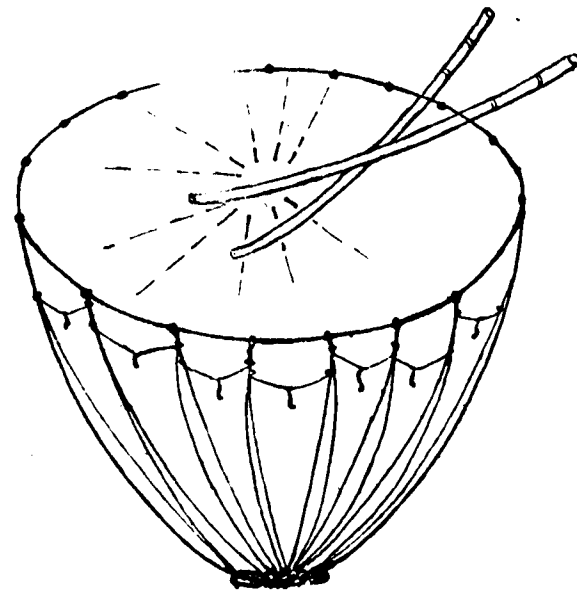
The Chabootras of these two Matas are constructed at the north-western outskirts of the village. Both the Chabootras are constructed merely on the round on an area less than 1½x1' each. Whenever their wards suffer from small-pox, the villagers pray for the blessings of Kanthi Mata. So long as one's child is not cured from small-pox, the mother on every morning or evening puts burning earthen lamps inside and at the four outer corners of the Chabootra and prays for the protection of her child. When the child is recovered she distributes *gur* or *bakhali* (boiled grains of wheat and gram) as *sirni* (sacred gift) in the name of the Kanthi Mata.

Similarly during the outbreak of cholera or typhoid the village ladies pray before the Chaurahe Wali Mata to protect their wards from these infectious diseases.

Sayaid Pir

In the western outskirts of the village, near a seasonal pond, there is a shrine of Sayaid Pir. It is believed that Sayaid Pir was born in the village and was famous for his holiness. He had divine power to protect and cure the animals from various fatal diseases. The villagers even today have full faith in the shrine of Sayaid Pir. Therefore, if their animals suffer from any disease, on Thursday (*Jum-e-rat*) they pray at the shrine of Sayaid Pir for the protection of their animals. After the prayer, they distribute *bakhali* (boiled grains of wheat and gram) and *gur* in the name of Sayaid Pir.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS



Fairs and festivals occupy an important place in the life of the villagers. These on the one hand serve as welcome recreational breaks from the usual hard routine of life and on the other in a way, provide them the opportunities to revive and preserve their traditional religious, cultural and sentimental values of life. A few important of these fairs and festivals as observed by the villagers are studied here.

Makar Sankrant

'Makar Sankrant' is necessarily a festival of married females alone. It falls in the month of Poh (December-January) or Magh (January-February). It is observed by a daughter-in-law with a view to please her mother-in-law and thus to patch up the quarrels between them, if any. On this day the daughter-in-law, before taking her first meal, goes to her mother-in-law and with a gentle bow touches her feet to get her blessings. She also presents a dress normally purchased by her husband, to her mother-in-law. Among the various dishes prepared on this day, the most common are *puri* (fried pan-cakes), *cheele* (sweet or saltish bread fried in an iron plate), *semiyan* (a sweet boiled preparation of milk and sharp pointed thin dry pieces of hard doughed wheat flour) and *malida* (bread doughed in ghee and brown sugar or sugar dust).

Sankat Chauth

Sankat Chauth known in local dialect as 'sakat' is a festival of married females hav-

ing children. It falls on the full-moon day of Magh (January-February). On this day, the mothers keep fast and pray to their gods to protect their children from sickness etc. In the evening they break their fast after offering water and sweet balls of til (sesame) to the moon or the stars.

Basant Panchmi

Basant Panchmi falls on the second fortnight of Magh (January-February). Though this festival is considered as a very important one, yet it is not observed in the village and in its brethren villages (i.e. the villages belonging to the same *gotra* namely Dera, Fatehpur Beri, Asola, Chandan Hola, Bhati, Choti Bhati and Gwalpahari. This is because, once, about a century ago, on this day the British armed forces are said to have killed all the children below 12 years of age in Asola (a brethren village).

Shiv Ratri

Shiv Ratri falls on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Phagun. On this day the villagers keep fast to honour lord Shiva as it is believed that once Lord Shiva saved humanity by swallowing a pitcher full of poison and consequently fell unconscious till midnight. The villagers break their fast only after offering water and *pyot* (a burning earthen lamp) to the stars on moon.

Amla Ekadashi

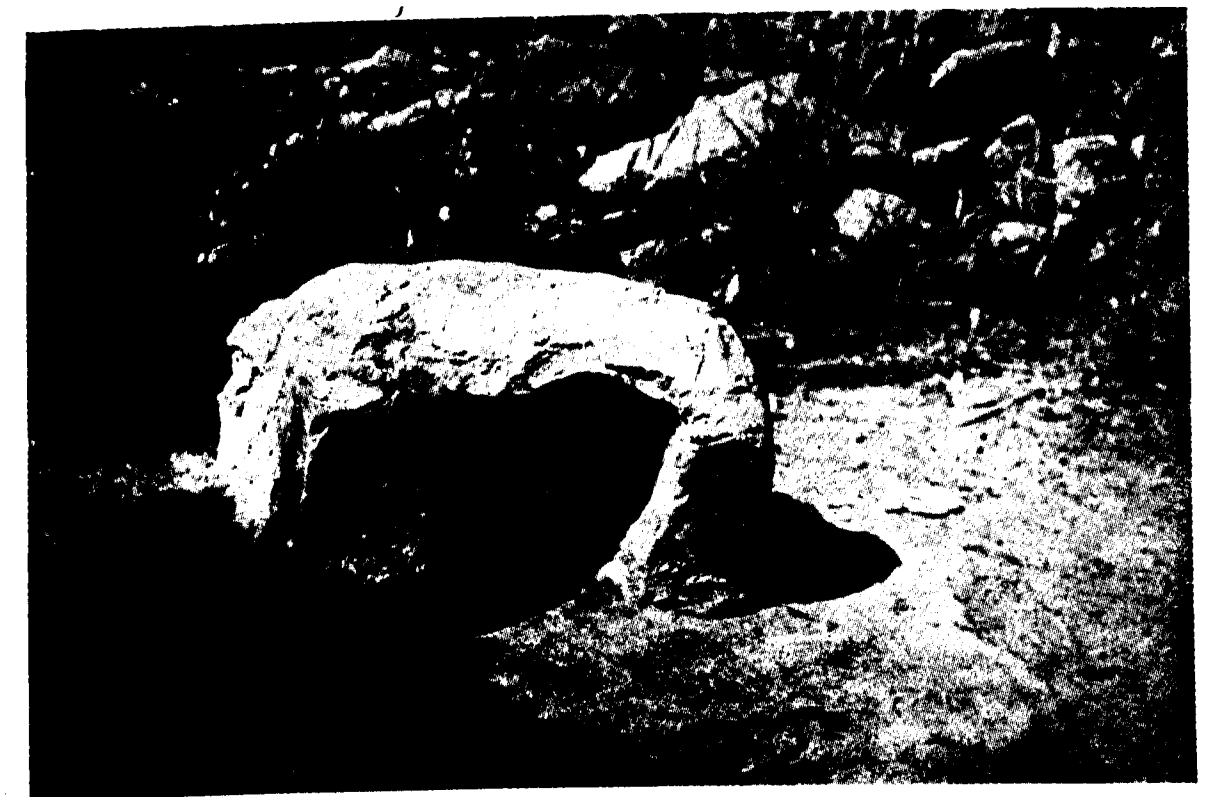
Amla Ekadashi is a festival of females only. It falls on the eleventh of second fortnight of Phagun (Feb.-March) i.e. four days before Holi. Throughout the day most of the village females (married as well as unmarried) keep fast. At the time of sunrise they go to worship an Amla Plant. There they water the Amla plant and pray for their well being. In the evening, they break their fast with sweet balls of *chaulai* seeds (a non-cereal food) and then take other cereal dishes.

Holi and Dulhendi

Holi, a festival of *Rag* (songs), *Rang* (colour), and *Ras* (dance and hoax plays), falls on the full-moon day of Phagun. In fact, the whole month of Phagun to all the villagers is a month of joy and hoax plays. However as a convention inter-caste hoax plays and knowingly playing Holi by the females with elderly male relations, is strictly tabooed. It is a very common sight



Bhoomiya Mata-ka-Chabootra



Kanthiwalli Mata-ka-Chabootra



Saviyan or Samiyan being prepared

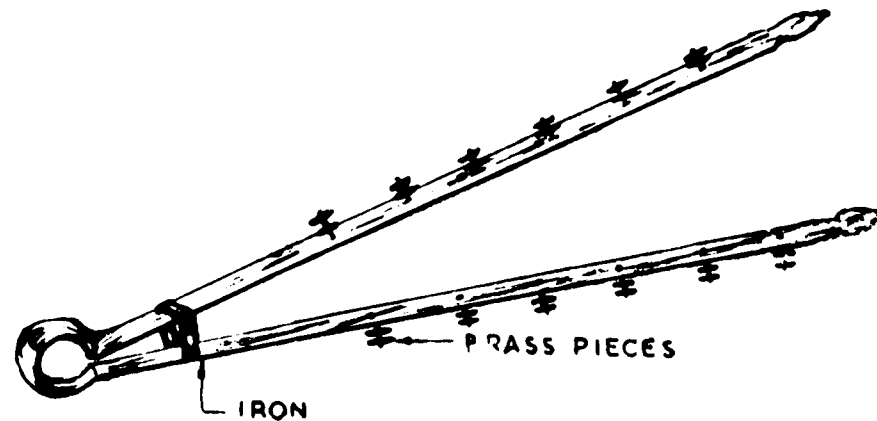


Saviyan are spread on cloth sheets on cots and are thus dried in the sun

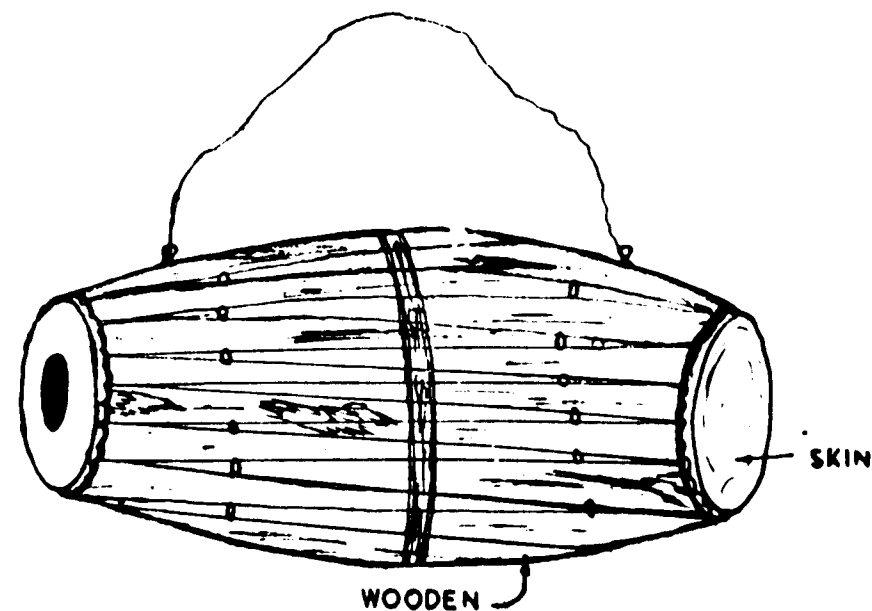


Lipai (to give a thin layer of cow dung mixed with loamy soil paste) is being done before a festive day

CHIMTA



DHOLKI



in the village during the Holi week to see a *bhabhi* (the elder brother's wife) replying her *devar's* (husband's younger brother) hoaxes by giving him severe blows of sticks.

Though, in principle, on the day of Holi till the Holi pyre is set on fire, playing with colour is prohibited, yet, in fact, during the morning hours the children and young persons among themselves play with coloured water and mud. Normally coloured water is carried and is thrown either with buckets or pitchers or with bamboo syringes. Brass syringes are used only by a few well-to-do households.

The village women, particularly the mothers, keep fast on the day of Holi. In the evening, dressed in new garments, they go to worship the Holi pyre. The Holi pyre is made of a few pieces of wood with a heap of cowdung cakes, at the main transverse of the village (near Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabutra). The pieces of wood and cowdung cakes are voluntarily contributed and collected by the villagers around the Holi pole (*danda*) erected on the day of Basant Panchmi. At the Holi pyre women offer *burkles* (garlands of cowdung balls) and *dhals* (armour plates of cowdung), rice, burning camphor, a flour lamp burning with ghee and then tie a few pieces of white or red hand-woven threads around the pyre. Thereafter, they have three rounds of the Holi pyre and offer water around it and pray God to protect their children from evils.

Though the villagers know that the Holi pyre should be set on fire (i.e. Holi *mang-lana*) in the midnight (the time as suggested by a Pandit) before the disappearance of the full moon, yet they seldom wait so long. Normally they set the Holi pyre on fire between 8.00 P.M. and 10.00 P.M. The young and old males keep on singing ballads around three or four big 'dhol's' (drums) and a *bumb* (a big bowl shaped drum made of iron & buffalo skin). A few beat *ghant-awals* (thick brass plates), *chimtas* (big iron tongs), *jhanjhs* (pairs of big brass cups), and plates of *kansi* (alloy of tin, lead and copper) near the Holi pyre. Before lighting the Holi pyre a Holi *pujan* is performed. The *dhol's* and other musical instruments are moved around the Holi pyre for three or five or seven times. Immediately after lighting the Holi pyre, a few of the villagers put a few wheat stems, bearing half ripe corn heads into the fire and take these out after being roasted. The others keep dancing and beating the *dhol's* so as to show their jubilation; for, once the god had

saved Prahlad (a devotee) from the cruelties of his father—an atheist King, known as Hirnayakashyap. It is said that for a number of times the king had put his son under several tortures (such as putting him before the starving lions and wild elephants, pouring a pan of boiling oil over his body etc.) but every time he was miraculously saved by the god, for defying the sovereignty of the king by worshipping God. On the day of Holi it is said that Holika (a widowed sister of the king—once blessed by the god that she would remain fire-proof) as ordered by the king took Prahlad on her lap and sat on a big blazing fire so as to make the death of Prahlad sure. But again, the almighty God intervened, miraculously, and instead of Prahlad, Holika died and Prahlad came out of the fire safely.

The day following Holi is known as Dulhendi. On this day the villagers play with colours and mud. The adult males gather around the *dhol's* near a well and throw coloured water or mud on their *bhabhis*. The women do not play back with colours, instead, they run after male adults (particularly their *devars*) and beat them severely with sticks or ropes of hemp or of *dhoti* or the torn pieces of clothes (*kaudula*). This fun continues upto late noon. In the evening, the party of *dhol* (drum) beaters move around the village and receive monetary donations and *gur* etc. With the amount so collected they purchase *gur* etc., and distribute it among all those who are present near Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabutra.

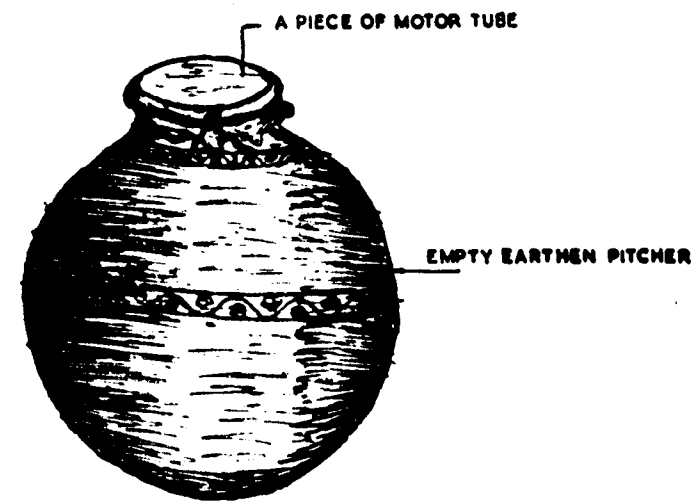
Basorha

Basorha falls on the seventh of first fortnight of Chait (March-April). On this day the village ladies (mothers) observe fast to honour the Bhoomiya Mata, for the well being of their children. In the early morning the village Bhangins (sweepers) clean the Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabutra and the village lanes. At sunrise, the village women go to the Bhoomiya Mata ka Chabutra to worship the Bhoomiya Mata. Thereafter, offering water to the sun and putting a flour lamp burning with ghee inside the Chabutra they pray to Bhoomiya Mata to protect their wards from diseases and fears. In the evening they break their fast after offering *kheer* (sweet boiled rice and milk) or *malida* to the stars or the moon.

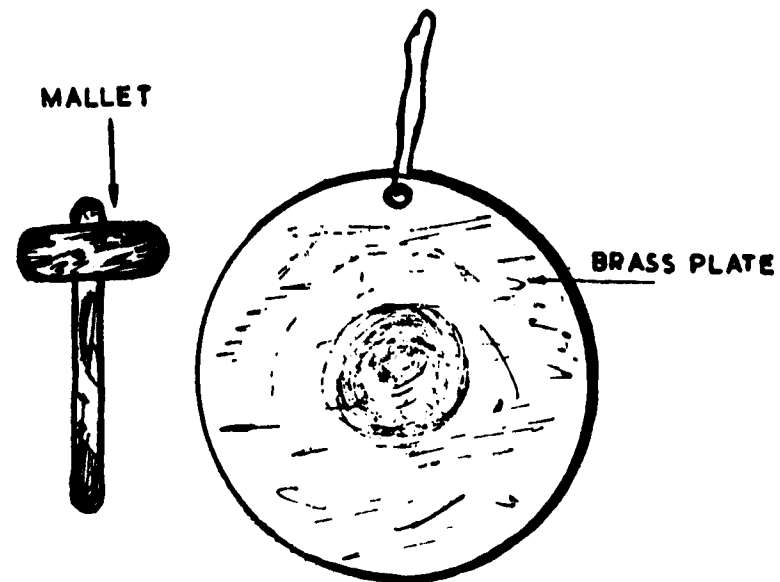
Jaith ka Dussehra

On the tenth of Jaith (May-June), some of the villagers go either to Yamuna river or to the Ganges at Garhmukteshwar to have

GHARA

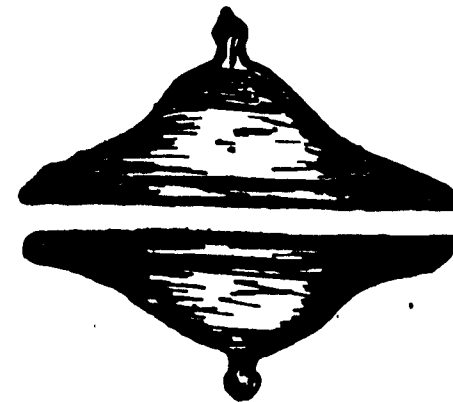


GHANTAWAL

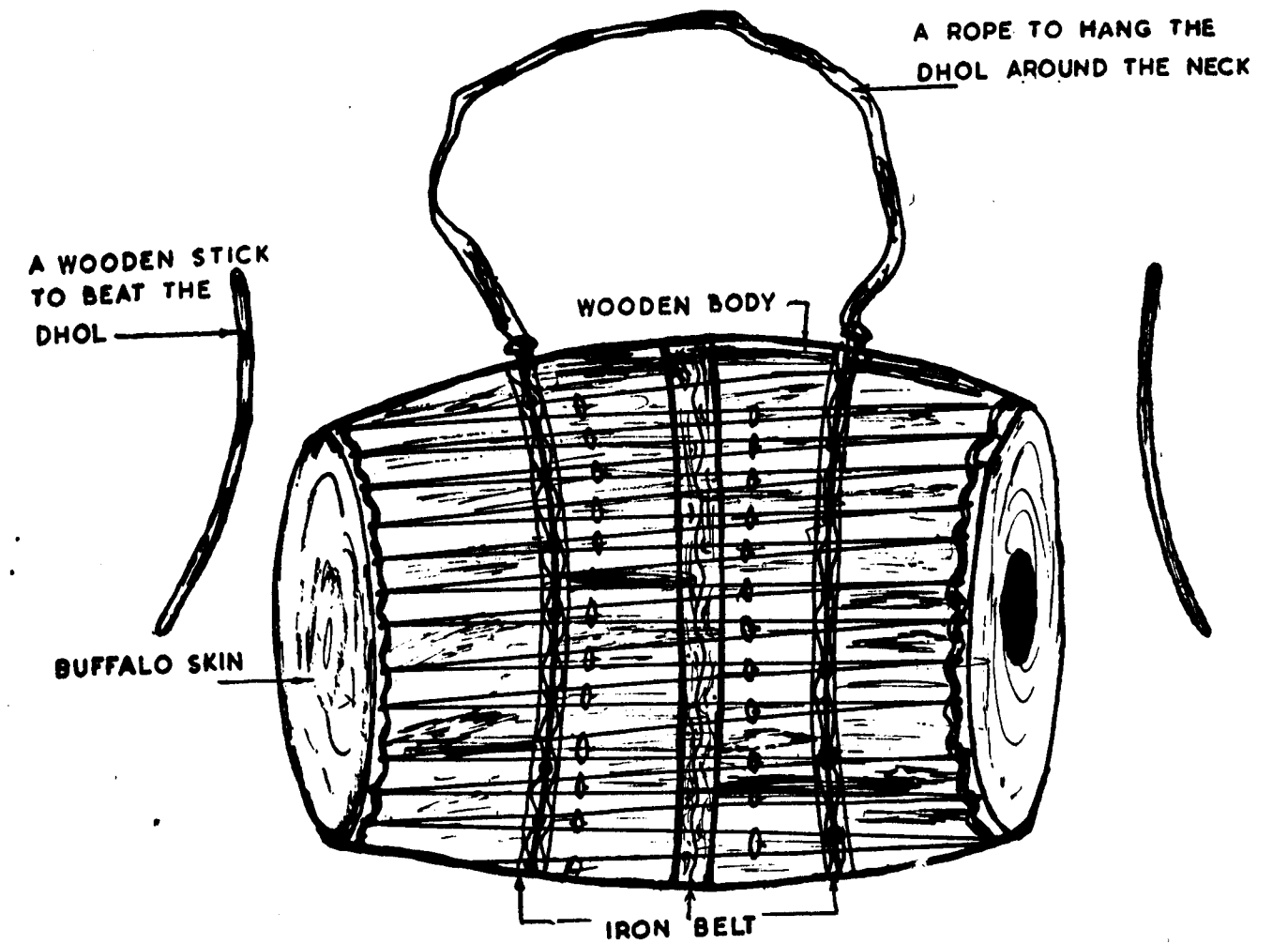


JHANJS

(BRASS BOWLS)



DHOL



a purification bath. It is believed that a bath in one of these two sacred rivers would wash away one's sins (sins involved particularly during the agricultural operations). During their bath, they also float flowers and put a few coins into the river.

Nirjala Ekadashi

'Nirjala Ekadashi' falls on the eleventh of Jaith. It is observed only by a few 'old women in the village. These women observe fast on this day. Throughout the fast period they do not take anything but a single drop of water. In the night after offering water to the moon or the stars, the fast is broken with non-cereal preparations, such as of sweet *chaulai* seeds or flour of *singhara*. It is believed that if one keeps continuously 52 such fasts on every Ekadashi (eleventh day of every fortnight), he would positively attain *mukti* (a place in heaven) and thus would be freed from the vicious circle of birth and rebirth.

Salone (Ponchi)

Solone—a festival observed by all the villagers falls on the full-moon day of Savan (July-August). On this day, the sisters tie a coloured hand-woven thread (*nala*) on the right wrist of their brothers as a 'bond of safety' and thus hold them responsible for their well-being. The brother in turn gives his sister rupee one or more as a token of assurance to her. The role of brothers in the life of a female may be well depicted from the following saying.

*Hooi hui rand rand jiske jiske bhai भाई
mar mar jain जायें* (i.e. one is widowed if her brothers are dead).

On the occasion of Salone, the married females receive *seedha* (a gift) from their parent's house. *Seedha* consists of about five seers of rice and gur, a few pieces of *nala* and a few dresses for her and her children. On the day of *salone* a Pandit from Gwalpahari comes to the village and ties pieces of *nala* around the villagers' right wrists. He is given Re. 0.25 to 1 by each household.

Teej

'Teej' is a festival of girls and young married females. It falls on the third day of the first fortnight of Savan (July-August). On this day, the young women and children dressed in their best garments enjoy group swings. Swings are made of thick hemp

rope and are hung on the branches of trees. While swinging the village females sing various songs. Teej is also the time when the daughters-in-law receive gifts of clothing (*tierh*) from their parent's house.

Janam Ashtami

On the eighth of the first fortnight of Bhadon (August-September), the villagers celebrate Lord Krishna's birthday. On this day till late night they sing ballads and songs and thus rejoice over Lord Krishna's birthday.

Jhanjhi-Mai

During the *niorta* period (i.e. navratra period—1st nine days of Asauj or Asauji, (September-October) and also from the first nine days of Dussehra), the villagers (females and children) worship a local deity known as Jhanjhi Mai. On the first day of *niorta* they patch an earthen figure of Jhanjhi Mai and a Laukariya (Jhanjhi's male servant) and a Churi (Jhanjhi's maid servant) on one of the front walls of their residential structures. The Jhanjhis dressed in all the traditional garments embroidered with stars (*sitare*) and ornaments (*toom*) all made of clay. On every evening till the *dashmi* (tenth day) of Asauj, the married females, before taking their meals move an *arti* around the Jhanjhi Mai and then put some sweet preparation such as *halwa* or *milida* in the mouth of Jhanjhi Mai and sing four or five songs in praise of her. One of the most common songs sung is given below :

Text

भारतो री भारतो, साक्षी माई भारतो,
Aarto ri Aarto, Jhanjhi Mai Aarto,

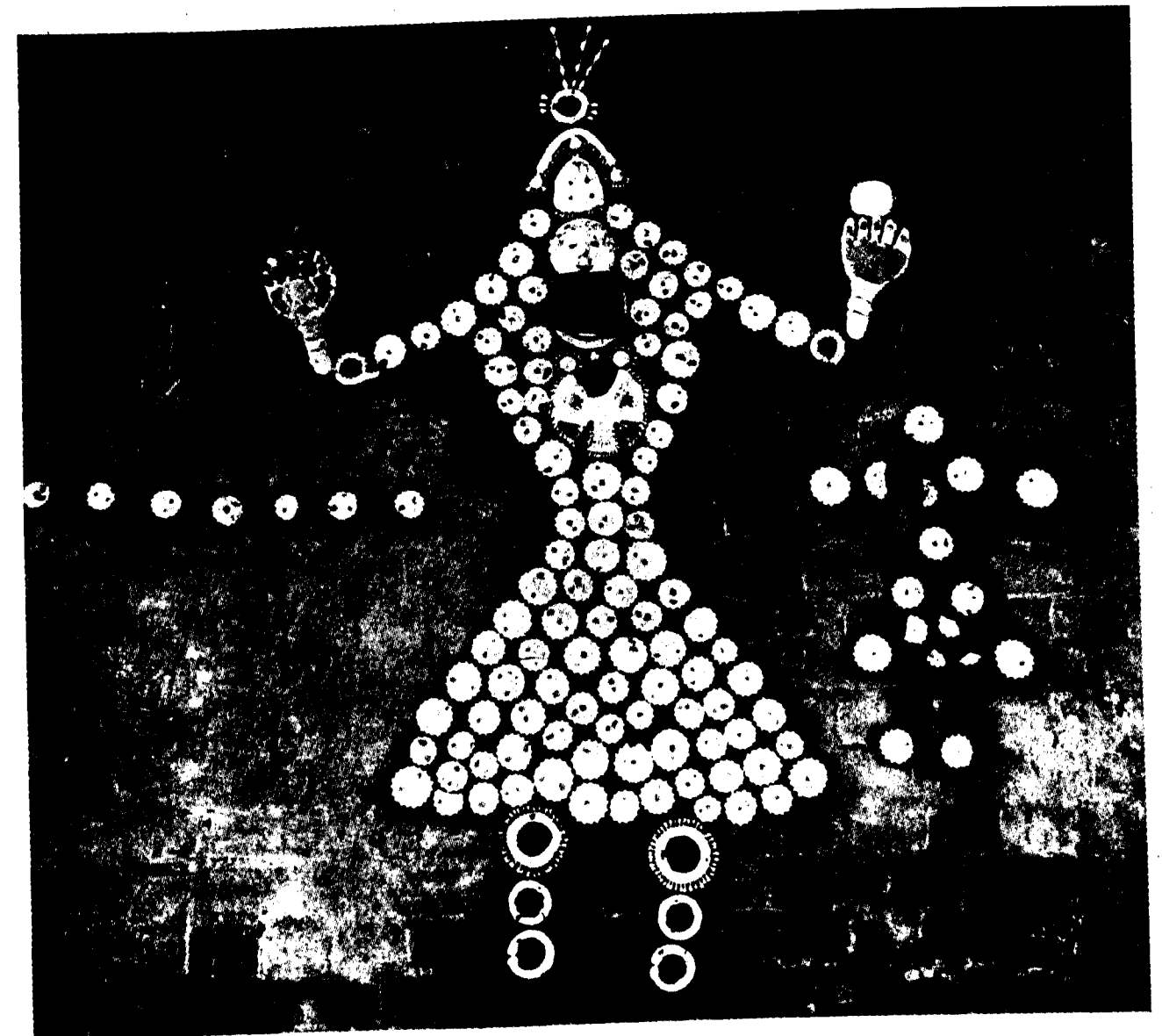
रुपये का दिवाला, सोने की बाली,
Rupae ka diwala, sone ki bati,

सरसों का तेल, जले सारी राती,
Sarson ka tail, Jale saari raati,

भूरी भैंस ब्यावेगी, भूरा कटरा देवेगी,
Bhoori bhains bayawegi, Bhura katra dewegi,

गोदी बीच खिलावेगी, बैठी मंगल गावेगी,
Godi beech khilawegi, Baithi mangal gawegi,

दिल्ली शहर के ब्यावन आये,
Delli shahar ke bayawan aaye,



Jhanjhi Mai. On the right is Churi (Jhanjhi's maid servant)

अकड़म मडका जूता लाये,
Akram marka juta laaye,
 सोलह चुनः चावल लाये,
Solah chunnt chawal laaye,
 नौ ऊंट भाड़े के लाये,
Nau oont bhare ke laaye,
 नौ प्योरते देवी के,
Nau noirate Devi ke,
 सोलह कनागत पिनों के,
Solah Kanagat Pitron ke,
 पूज पाज के का फल पाये,
Pooj paaj ke ka phal paaye,
 भईया भतीजे सब फल पाये,
Bhaiya bhateeje sab phal paaye,
 भईया चाहिये नौ दस बीस,
Bhaiya chahiye nau das bees,
 भतीजे चाहिये पूरे पच्चीस,
Bhateeje chahiye pure pacchees,
 महन चाहिये बगड़ बुहार,
Bahan chahiye bangar buhaar,
 कुड़ा डालो बारम बार।
Kura daalo baram baar.

Translation

Pray and pray, pray to Jhanjhi Mai
 The lamp of a rupee, wick of gold
 With mustard oil burns throughout the night.
 Brown buffalo would get pregnant and
 give birth to a brown he-buffalo,
 She would play him on her lap
 And would sing prayers for his better
 fortune
 Delhiwallahs once came to marry
 They came wearing sounding shoes
 They brought sixteen sacks of rice
 And nine camels carrying other goods.
 Nine days of *niorate* are for goddesses
 Sixteen days of *kanagat* are for ancestors

After worshipping what reward you would get.

You would be blessed with brothers and maternal nephews

Brothers should be nine, ten, twenty

Maternal nephews should be exactly five plus twenty.

Sisters should be one or two to clean (the house)

Throw dust again and again.

On the *dashmi*, before sunset they take off the sketch of Jhanjhi Mai and others from their house walls and immerse them in a near-by pond. On the eleventh day a Pandit from Gwalpahari comes to the village and distributes the *nioratas* (young plants of barley, which were sown on the first day of navratra (i.e. first of Asauj) to the villagers as the gift of the goddess.

Karva Chauth

On the fourth day of the first fortnight of Kartik (October-November) most of the village housewives keep fast in honour of their husbands. In the evening they break their fast after offering water and *jyot* or *jot* (a burning earthen lamp) to the moon or the stars and pray to God for the well-being of their husbands.

Hoi

Seven days before the celebration of Diwali i.e. (on the seventh of Kartik) the village females worship the Hoi Mata. It is believed that Hoi protects the children of her devotees from sickness and the attack of evil spirits and also saves her devotees from being childless or barren. On this day in the early morning the housewives and young girls draw a red coloured sketch of Hoi and her *kunba* (family) on one of the front walls of their residential structure. They also place two pitchers full of water near the Hoi. In the evening after moving *arti* around the Hoi and offering the pitcher's water they break their fast with sweet non-cereal preparation.

Diwali

Diwali—a festival of lights falls on the Amavas (new-moon day) of Kartik. On this day all the villagers decorate their houses. In the evening they place earthen lamps on their *chaukhats* (doorways) roofs and on the *khoors* (mangers). *Kheels* (parched

rice) and batase (dry bubbles of sugar) are spread around the lamps and floors of their residential structures. The villagers then perform Laxmi puja and pray to Laxmi the goddess of wealth to bless them with material prosperity. After the puja, home-made sweet preparations are enjoyed.

Goverdhan

On the day following Diwali the village females perform Govardhan Puja. It is a sort of worshipping the cattle wealth. In the morning young cattle are decorated with khaunkars (bells around their neck) etc. and are given some rough cereal food. In their sahans (courtyards), the housewives and the children prepare a man-like figure of fresh cow-dung. After sunset they put a flour lamp, a coin and a few grains of cereals in the centre of the figure. Thereafter, they move around the figure for three times reciting some prayers and then take their meals.

Dev Uthani Gyas

The eleventh of the second fortnight of Kartik is known as Dev Uthani Gyas i.e. the day on which the Devas awake from their four-month sleep. On this morning the village ladies and the children put their red coloured hand prints and make khur (the print of cattle feet) on one of the front walls of their house. The young children collect funds for the night fun from all the households where births have taken place during the preceding year. In the evening before taking their meals the village ladies and children worship their hand-prints and the khurs. There they sing songs, the most common song being;

Text

उठो देव उठो देव,
Utho dev utho dev,
देव उठेंगे कार्तिक मास।
Dev uthenge Kartik mas.
नई टाकरी नई कपास,
Nai tokri nai kapas,
जारे मूस गोल जा।
Jaro muse Gole ja.
गोल जा कर मोटा हो, छोटा हो,
Gole ja kar mota ho, Jhota ho,
मोटा हो कर डाब कटा,
Mota ho kar daab kata,

डाब कटा कर बान बटा।
Daab kata kar baan bata.

बान बटा कर खाट बुन,
Baan bata kar khai bun,

खाट बुन कर दावत दे,
Khai bun kar dawat de,

दावत दे कर सोवन देव,
Dawat de kar sowan Dev,

देव सोवें असाह मास।
Dev sowen Asarh mas.

Translation

Oh! Devas awake, Oh! Devas awake

The Devas would awake in Kartik month
New basket and new cotton
Go oh! Muse go to gole
Go their and get fat
Being fat, cut dab (a grass)

After cutting dab, knit the rope

With rope knit the cot

After knitting the cot, arrange for a feast

After the feast, the Devas shall sleep

Devas shall sleep in the month of Asarh.

In the evening after taking meals, the children move around the village lanes with burning sticks in their hands. Long dry grass and old cloth dipped in mustard oil are tied at the top end of their sticks. The village ladies also dance around a fire lit in their sahans (open yard of the house) throw one or two pieces of their waist belts into the fire as being considered auspicious, and distribute gur among themselves and thus rejoice till late night.

One of the most revealing features of the fairs and festivals observed in the village is that the only Muslim household in the village also joins the villagers with equal zeal and spirit in almost all the above named Hindu fairs and festivals. Muslim festivals like Moharrum (a period of 9-10 days mourning in commemoration of Hasan and Husain), Ramzan (the sacred month of fast), Shab-e-rat (the night preceding the last Friday of Ramzan), Id-ul-fitar (the first day following the month of Ramzan), Id-ul-zuha or Bakra-id (festival when offering of goat is made) fall one month after the id-ul fitar..

.... etc., are observed by the Muslim household very casually. The reason put forth by him for not being very particular about the observance of Muslim festivals was that

being the only Muslim household in the village he had been normally unaware of the specific dates on which the Muslim festivals fall.

LEISURE AND RECREATION

Life of the villagers is a busy life of hard toils. Normally they are so much preoccupied with their agricultural and domestic work that they scarcely find sufficient time for leisure and recreation. In the present section, it is attempted to study how the villagers pass their leisure time, and thus to focus attention on some of their more important localised recreational activities.

So far as the male adults are concerned, excepting for a brief interval from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. (during summer) or 12 P.M. to 2 P.M. (during winter) normally, throughout the day they are busy in their day-to-day work connected with agriculture. During this interval some of the villagers after taking their meals smoke hukka and play chaupar while others rest or discuss their day-to-day problems.

On certain evenings the village gwalas (shepherds) and others after taking their meals gather in baithaks and sing rasis (love songs) and ragnis (ballads) till late nights. Most of these rags and ragnis are oriented towards the current topics of common interest and a few depict historical legends such as narrating the feats of Alha Udal, righteousness of King Harish Chandra. King Nal and his queen Damyanti etc. Songs pertaining to the current topics cover a wide range. Some of these draw a naked picture of the evils of fashion, railway accidents, the common man vis-a-vis the rich and the call of the Nation etc. Some of the most common rags and ragnis are given below:—

Ragni—Raja Harish Chandra ka kissa

There are a number of songs composed about the incidents that happened with the generous and righteous King Harish Chandra. One of these songs is given below:—

Text

का पूछेगा हाल मेरी कहानी का।
Kaa puchhega haal meri kahani ka
ये ले काले कीर मेरी रानी का॥
Ye le kale cheer meri Rani ka
कदी अवध में राज करें थे।
Kadi Awadh main raj karen the
और सिर पे ताज धारे थे॥
Aur sir pe taaj dhare the

उसी शीश पे घड़ा उठा लिया पानी का।
Usi shish pe ghara utha liya pani ka
का पूछेगा हाल मेरी कहानी का॥
Kaa puchhega haal meri kahani ka
एक ऋषी ने कर के धोखा।
Ek rishi ne kar-ke dhoakha
दिया राज बिगाड़ मेरी राजधानी का॥
Diya raj bigar meri rajdhani ka
का पूछेगा हाल मेरी कहानी का॥
Kaa puchhega haal meri kahani ka
रानी का नाम तारा, एक पुत्र प्यारा॥
Rani ka nam Tara, Ek putra payara
ब्रह्म काले तेरा सहारा।
Ab kale tera sahara
गया जग में टूट सितारा हरिश्चन्द्र दानी का।
Gaya jag main toot sitara Harish Chandra dani ka
का पूछेगा हाल मेरी कहानी का॥
Kaa puchhega haal meri kahani ka

Translation

What shall I tell you about my past
Look at the black worn-out clothes of my queen.
Once I ruled Avadh
And wore a crown on my head
Now the same head carries water pitchers.
What shall I tell you about
One Rishi deceived me
And thus took away my kingdom
What shall I tell you about
My queen Tara, and one dear son
Now, oh, kale (the chargeman of the crematorium) be merciful
The fate is no more with the benevolent Harish Chandra
What shall I tell you about

Nal Damyanti ka kissa

A song regarding the queen Damayanti and King Nal.

Text

रहे टपक नैन मे पानी,
Rahе tapak nain se pani,

चीते, शेर, बघेरे, गरजे डरे दमयन्ती रानी ।
Chite, sher, baghere, garjen dare Damyanti Rani,

सिर पे रात अंधेरी स,
Sir pe rat andheri sa,

बन में किकर बेरी स ।
Ban main kikar beri sa,

गये टूट पैर में सूल.....रहे टपक नैन से पानी,
Gaye toot pair main sool...rahe tapak nain se pani.

कदे पहाड़ में चढ़ जाती,
Kade pahar main char jati,

गयी थी रस्ता भूल....रहे टपक नैन से पानी,
Gai thi rasta bhool....rahe tapak nain se pani.

कोन जनम के बैर बिसा के,
Kaun janam ke hair bisu ke,

जुये में सब हार लगाके पुष्कर स चंडाल,
Juye main sab har lagake, puskar sa chandal,

राज महल की पटरानी थी,
Raj mahal ki patrani thi,

निज घर की राजधानी थी,
Nij ghar ki rajdhani thi,

लूट गये सब धन माल ।
Lut gaye sab dhan maal,

कर दिये जुलम कमाल,
Kar diye julam kamal,

काड़े दोनों प्राणी...रहे टपक नैन से पानी ।
Kadhe dono prani...Rahe tapak nain se pani,

सनन सनन सनन करे स,
Sanan sanan sanat kare sa,

चीते शेर दहाड़ भरें स ।
Chite sher dahar bhare sa,

रह तड़ तड़ उल्लू बोल,
Rah tar tar ulloo boal,

खूनी हार्थी चिंघाड़ भरे स ।
Khuni hathi chinghar bhare sa,

बिपद हृदय फटे, बैठ कलेजे हूल,
Bipad hridaya phate, baith kaleje hool,

पिया पिया रही बोलती ।
Piya piya rahi bolti,

दहशत मारी जंगल डोलती,
Dahashat maari jungle dolti,

चौगर देने खड़ी लखावे ।
Chaugar देने khari lakhawe.

खड़ी खड़ी वह दहशत खावे,
Khari khari waha dahashat khawe,

मरी रंज में काया, कित था राम लखन जानी ।
Mari ranj main kaya, kit tha Ram Lakhan gyani,

रहे टपक नैन से पानी...रहे टपक नैन से पानी ।
Rahe tapak nain se pani...Rahe tapak nain se pani.

Translation

The eyes of the lonely queen Dam-
yanti are shedding tears

The lions and leopards are roaring

The queen Damyanti is getting terrified

The sky over her head is jet dark

The jungle is full of thorny bushes and
thorny trees

Thorns have struck in her feet

Her eyes are shedding tears

She moves wildly up and down the
ridges

She has in fact lost the way

Her eyes are shedding tears

Puskar the wicked, induced King Nal
To settle the enmity in a gamble, and
won every-thing

Damyanti who was once a queen

Had her own kingdom

Lost all the wealth and assets (includ-
ing the land)

Oh! cruelties did not stop there

Two souls (lives) were made homeless

The eyes are shedding tears.....

The blowing wind is giving frighten-
ing sounds

The lions and leopards are also roaring
aloud

The owls are frequently uttering loud
doleful cries

The wild elephants are wildly trum-
peting

This is the state when the heart breaks
and the liver sinks

The eyes are shedding tears

Shouting, Oh! husband, oh! husband,
she moved about

Getting fits at being frightened and ter-
rified she wandered in the jungle

She looks around her and stands for a
bit

But while standing too she gets a fit

In sadness her face fades and the body
becomes lifeless

Where are the learned Rama and
Lakshman

The eyes are shedding tears

Alaha's

During the reign of Prithivi Raj Chau-
han, Alaha and Udai were two brave
brothers. They were looters but at heart
gentle and kind. It is believed that they
defeated 52 despotic kings. Just like the
Ramayana and Maha Bharata, books have
been composed to describe their feats. A
part of song composed with reference to
certain feats is given below:—

Text

बोला रे उदल जब ललकारा
Boia re Udai jab lalkara,

दुश्मन खबरदार होय जाय ।
Dushman khabardar hoi jai

खेल लौंडियों में खेलें हों
Khail laundiyon main khailen hon,

पल्ले पड़े मरद के नाहि
Palle pare marad ke nai

भौर भरोसे में मत रहयो
Aur bharose main mat rahayo,

मेरा नाम उदय चन्द राय ।
Mera naam Udai Chand Rai

मारो मारो मेरे शहजादों
Maro maro mere shahjadon,

अब क्यों राखी देर लगाय
Ab kyun rakhi der lagaye

बोला रे पृथी जब ललकारा
Bola re prithi jab lalkara,

जितने आय होमोहवे से
Jitne aye ho Mohawe se;

सबकी लूंगा कैद कराय ।
Sabki lunga kaid karai

Translation

When challenged, Udai roared.

Oh! the enemy get alert,

Uptil now you might have competed
with the weaker sex,

And you are yet to come across a male
opponent.

Do not remain in illusions any more

I am named as Udai Chand Rai.

Kill! Kill, my brave princes (soldiers).

Now, there is no need to delay.

Prithi (a king) shouted when he heard
the challenge,

All those who have come from Mohawe;
Shall be arrested and imprisoned.....

Rasia

Relating to a woman whose husband
joined army long back, but so far has not
dropped even a single letter.

देवरिया नादान पिया गये छोड़
Dewariya nadan piya gaye chhor

सुन सुन हाल फटे मेरी छाती ;
Sun sun haal phate mere chhati

पिया ने न भेजी कोई पाती
piya ne na bheji koi paati

बज्र हुआ कमान
Bajra hooa kaman

दिन भर कोल्हू पर ही करन दे;
Din bhar kolhu par he karan de

घर में सासू नहीं डटन दे
Ghar main sasū nahin datan de
 दिन भर सोवें तान देवरिया नादान
Din bhar sove Dewariya taan nadan
 जब तेल बातनहीं देगा
Jab tail baat nahin degi,

कैसे गैस उजार देगा
Kaise gas ujar degi;
 में भूला खाने मिष्ठान देवरिया नादान
Main bhuli khane mistan Dewariya nadan
 गंगाराम नाम कमां दे
Ganga Ram naam kaman de ;
 अब के पति से मिला दे
Ab ke pati se mila de ;
 फूली नहीं यह जान, देवरिया नादान
phooli nahin yah jan, Dewariya nadan

Translation:

My husband's younger brother is still
 a child and my husband has gone for
 long.
 My heart beats when I think of him,
 He has so far not dropped even a single
 letter,
 This is very bitter
 My husband's younger brother is still
 a child
 My mother-in-law keeps me always
 busy on the mustard-oil-mortar
 Throughout the day she does not per-
 mit me to rest at home even for a while
 But she herself sleeps throughout the
 day
 My husband's younger brother is still
 a child
 When oil and wick is not put in a lamp
 How shall the lamp yield light
 I have forgotten to eat sweets
 My husband's younger brother is still a
 child.....
 Oh! Ganga Ram please do oblige me
 This time do arrange a meeting with
 my husband and

I shall be utmost happy.
 My husband's younger brother is still a
 child.....

Rag relating to a Railway Accident

The accident actually took place on 9th
 September 1961 near Gurgaon. The song
 was also composed during 1961.

Text:

कदे न भूलियो याद रखियो
Kade na bhooliyo yad rakhio,
 नौ तारीख की बात सांसूआ जायेगे।
Nau tarikh ki bat Ansoo aa jayengen
 दिल्ली से जब छूटी पैसेंजर
Delhi se jab chhutti passenggr,
 रस्ते में लेट हुयी
Raste main late huyee;
 पिछे से देर्यो छोड़ डाक।
Pichhe se deyye chorh dak
 तेज हुयी रफ्तार डाक की
Tair hui raftar dak ki,
 दोनों मिल गई साथ।
Dono mil gayeen sath
 सांसू आ जायेंगे ॥
Ansoo aa jayengen
 हुआ नुकसान पैसेंजर में
Hooaa nuksan passenger main,
 बहुत घने नर नार भरे
Bahut ghane nar naar mare;
 बिलख बिलख दुनिया मर गयी
Bilakh bilakh duniya mar gayee,
 खून से कई ताल भरे
Khoon se kai taal bhare;
 कई ब्यावन जा रहे
Kai bayawan ja rahe,
 कई ब्याह के सा रहे
Kai bayah ke la rahe;

मर गयी साथ बरात सांसू आ जायेंगे ॥
Mar gai sath barat Ansoo aa jayenge
 खबर हुयी सरकार को
Khabar huyee sarkar ko,
 प्राची मलहरी पलक में।
Ayee military palak main
 भर भर लाश पहुंचादी
Bhar bhar laash pahunchadi
 गंगा यमुना जी के नार में
Ganges Yamunajee ke naar main;
 भरे पांच सौ नर नार
Mare Panch soo nar naar,
 लिखे अखबारों में कुल सात
Likhe akhabaron main kul saat;
 सांसू आ जायेंगे
Ansoo aa jayengen
 बात सुनी जब बाबू ने
Baat suni jab baboo ne,
 कुर्सी से नीचे गिर गया
Kursi se niche gir gaya;
 खा के पड़ा तिवाड़ा
Kha ke para tiwara,
 एक दम काला सा विशेषर लड़ गया
Ek dam kala sa vishesar lar gaya;
 प्राई पुलिस पकड़ के ले गयी
Ayee police pakar ke le gayee
 लोगों गेरे हथकड़ी हाथ।
Loogon gere hathkari hath
 सांसू आ जायेंगे
Ansoo aa jayengen etc.

Translation:

Never forget, always remember
 The accident of ninth September;
 Tears would come

When the passenger (train) left Delhi,
 It got late on its way;
 The mail train also left the station.
 Thus both set to meet each other;
 As the mail attained fast speed,
 Both the trains collided with each other.
 Tears would come
 Several males and females died on the
 spot,
 Mercilessly, weeping a part of the world
 thus died;
 Number of tanks were filled with blood,
 Many who were going for a marriage;
 Many others who were coming from their
 weddings,
 Died along with the wedding parties
 Tears would come
 The Government got the news,
 The military came in a moment;
 The lorries of the dead were thrown into
 the Ganges and the Yamuna,
 About 500 died. Tears would come . . .
 The newspapers printed only seven,
 When a baboo (an official) heard about
 the accident;
 He collapsed from his chair.
 As if a poisonous black snake had bit him:
 The Police came,
 Arrested the people. Tears would come.
 Rag calls of Nation (a popular song com-
 posed during October, 1962)
 Text:
 भरती हो जा रे सांवरीया,
Bharti ho ja re sanwariya,
 तेरे द्वार खड़ा रंगरूत
Tere dwar Khara rangroot
 यहाँ तो मिलती दूटी लकड़ी
Yahan to milti tuti lakri,

वहाँ मिलेगी बन्दूक ।

Wahan milegi bandook

भरती हो जा ॥

Bharti ho ja.....

यहाँ तो मिलती सूखी रोटी

Yahan to milti sukhi roti,

वहाँ मिलेंगे फल फूल ।

Wahan milenge phal phool

भरती हो जा ॥

Bharti ho ja....

यहाँ तो मिलते फटे लीटर

Yahan to milte phate liter,

वहाँ मिलेंगे बूट ।

Wahan milenge boot

भरती हो जा ॥

Bharti ho ja.....

यहाँ तो मिलते फटे कपड़े

Yahan to milte phate kapre,

वहाँ मिलेंगे सूट ।

Wahan milenge suit

भरती हो जा..... ॥

Bharti ho ja....

Translation

Oh! my dearest husband, join the army,
The jawan calls you at your doorway.
Here you have a broken stick,
There you shall have a gun.
Oh! my dearest join the army.
Here you get only dry bread,
There you shall have rich meals and fruits.
Oh! my dearest join the army.....
Here you have only a pair of worn-out shoes,
There you shall get a new pair of boots.
Oh! my dearest join the army.....
Here you have only worn-out clothes to wear,
There you shall be dressed in suits.
Oh! my dearest join the army.....

GAMES

Children (male ones) in the village whether in school or in fields play a number of games. Some of the most common games are kabaddi, kusti (wrestling), lilighorika-sawar, kukram-kukrha, dhai-dhamoka, chajju langra, kantam kat kuhariya, pitthu, gili danda, etc.

Kabaddi

Kabaddi is played between two parties in a rectangular area, equally divided into two parts. Each party holds one side of the area and turn-by-turn sends its members (one by one) to the area belonging to the opposing party. A member while in the other party's area keeps on murmuring kabaddi..... kabaddi without breaking his breath and attempts swiftly and cunningly to touch the members of the other party. The members of the other party also try to catch him and keep him on their side till his last resistance to utter kabaddi kabaddi i.e. till he loses his breath. If the member succeeds in placing even a part of his body across the dividing line, without losing his breath, he is declared as alive and the other members who touched him are declared as dead. The dead members are temporarily kept out of the game. The party which succeeds in rendering all members of the opposing party as dead is declared as the winning party.

Dhai Dhamoka

The playmates themselves select a thief through the process of pugam pugai. In pugam pugai a group of three playmates saying one, two, three place their one palm on the other. The one, whose placement of palm differs from the other two gets out of the group and is replaced by a new playmate. In this way the last one who fails to get out of the group in the last round of pugam pugai, becomes the thief.

The thief is asked to close his eyes and count 1, 2, 3 to 100 or to touch something at a distant place. In the meanwhile the rest of playmates hide themselves behind the bushes or the side walls of the structures etc. Then the thief attempts to find them out. If he succeeds in finding out all the members, the last member so found becomes thief. But, if any of the playmates, so far not found by the thief, comes stealthily and gives a push on his back saying dhai dhamoka, the thief is again sent back to count 100.

Lili Ghor ka Sawar (Rider of the Lili Mare)

This is a very funny game. In this, one who comes first in pugam pugai becomes the rider and the last one becomes a playmate. The rest of the playmates ask the rider, "Oh! rider, oh rider, what is the name of your mare?" The rider replies "bandook" (gun). The rest of the boys shout "go and blow your house". (Ja ja apne ghar par ho ko phoonk do). The rider on their reply gets angry and runs after the boys. The boys too, spread in different directions and a few of them get a chance to ride on the play-mare and thus declare that the mare is too weak or thin or lame etc. The rider as a convention of the game is not permitted to touch those who are riding on his mare. Therefore, he runs after those boys who are on the ground. The boy, who is touched or caught by him becomes the play-mare and the former play-mare becomes the rider. Thus, the game goes on repeating itself.

Chajju Langra (lame)

One of the playmates acts as if he is a lame man coming from a distant place. When asked by his playmates (farmers) about the name and the purpose of his visit, he replies that his name is Chajju langra and he wants some vegetables. The farmers put him off with the excuse that they have not even ploughed their fields, so he should come after some time. On his next turns each time Chajju langra is sent back with the excuses, such as, fields have been ploughed but seeds are yet to be sown, or if seeds have been sown, weeding remains to be done, or vegetable plants have not yet yielded fruits. However, in the last, when the farmers reply that the plants have yielded fruits, but the fruits are not yet ripe, Chajju langra looks round his playmates and regards their heads as the fruits of the vegetable plants. He gives a few sharp strikes with his finger on their heads and thus tests whether the fruits are ripe or not. Then he cunningly attempts to catch one or two boys regarding them as ripe fruits and pulls them towards his house. The rest of the playmates try to snatch these boys from him. The boy, who is taken by the Chajju langra inside his house, becomes Chajju langra for the next turn.

Kukram Kukrha

The last boy left out in the process of 'pugam pugai' becomes kukram kukrha.

He sits in a circle (kotha). The rest of playmates pile up their fists on his head. Then one of the playmates asks kukram kukrha how much burden is there on his head. Kukram kukrha replies that if they take out one fist, then his total burden is reduced to 100 mds. In this way when only one fist is left on his head, this last fist is regarded as a pitcher. He requests his playmates to help him in getting down this pitcher from his head. All the playmates make some or the other excuse. Some say that they have to attend their sisters marriage etc. After all kukram kukrha understands that all his playmates are cutting jokes with him, so, in anger he throws off the pitcher and runs after them. In the meanwhile a few playmates cunningly spit in his kotha (house). After catching some boy, he comes back to his kotha and asks who has spit in his house. The other boys reply that a monkey has spit in his house. Then he carefully looks at the spit and declares that the spit does not look to be that of a monkey and asks more harshly as to who has spit into his kotha. So sometimes the boys reply that a dog has spit, or a cat or a mouse has spit into his kotha. But in the last they all admit that they have spitten into his kotha. Then, immediately he runs after them and the boy so caught becomes kukram kukrha for the next turn.

Gindo (ball)

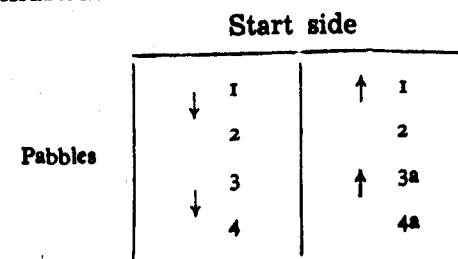
Normally, the children in the village use home made cloth balls for playing a number of games played with balls. The most common of these games are, pitthu, odhi etc. In pitthu two equal parties are selected and five to eight round pieces of stones are filed one above the other. From a distance of about 3 to 4 yards each player of the party on his turn aims with the ball to break the pitthu. If the pitthu breaks, all the alive (not out) party members try to pile up the stones, while the opponents aim to hit them with the ball. If the ball touches any of the members before the pitthu is piled up, the member so touched by the ball gets out. But, if the pitthu is piled up, a member in the party gets one more chance to aim at pitthu. Each playmate is also regarded out, if the ball while aimed at pitthu is caught with its first jump.

Gili Danda (A game of sticks)

The danda consists of a round wooden stick 1½ to 2' long and the gili is made of

a small wooden piece (4" to 6" long) with its both ends pointed. The most common games played with *gili danda* are *danda bitti*, and *lalam lalla*.

During their leisure hours, the females in the village either sing songs or play *battas* (five rounded pebbles). Some of the young unmarried females also play a local game known as *bijjo-bandari*. This game is played on a piece of rectangular ground of about 3 yards × 1½ yards in a number of ways. The rectangular area is divided in eight or ten equal columns called as *kothas* in a similar way as shown below. One of the most common forms of this game is illustrated below:—



Each girl participating in the game starts her play with throwing a round or a square pebble (*kankari*) in the first *kotha* and pushes it in the *kotha* No. 1, 2, 3 consecutively and with her one foot. Then she rests in *kotha* No. 4 and 4a and places her both feet there. After resting for a few seconds she moves to *kotha* No. 3a and 2a and 1a. With her one foot in *kotha* No. 1a she gives a hard push to get the pebble out of it. In this way when all the *kothas* are played, one is given a chance to throw the pebble from the end-side of the rectangle towards one's back (back facing the start side) so as to have a hold on a *kotha*. If the pebble falls in any of the first four *kothas* (i.e. *kotha* No. 1, 1a, 2 and 2a) the girl puts a cross in the *kotha*. Now onwards she would enjoy the privilege, to rest in her *kotha* (i.e. she would place her both feet) while, the others would have to jump over her *kotha*. In each step of the game, placement of foot or feet or the pebble on the lines marking the *kothas* is regarded as a violation of the rules of the game and renders one out.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

During 1951–62 the total population of the village went up by 42.0%. This gives an average rate of growth for the decade as a whole to be approximately 3.8% per annum. As immigration of population over this period has been negligible, this increase in population may be primarily attributed to natural factors.

As regards the trend in the average size of families in the village, a comparison of the 1962 figures with 1951 census figures shows that the average size of the family in the village has gone down from 5.6 persons per family in 1951 to 5.1 persons per family in 1962. In fact, with the pressure of population on land and a number of other factors, such as, growing element of individuality, the contacts of the villagers with the city life, petty family quarrels etc., the traditional bonds of the joint family life have been gradually disintegrating, giving way to nuclear types of families.

Further, the increase in population has also accentuated the pressure of population on land. The average size of the family holdings during the last decade has thus gone down from 32.9 bighas per family in 1951 to 26.5 bighas per family in 1962.

MATERIAL HABITS

Several changes are evident regarding the material habits of the villagers. For instance, as regards the house-types there is a definite trend towards the construction of *pucca* houses. The new houses are being constructed with better care for ventilation,

A DETAILED study of the preceding chapters reveals that the village is still backward in several respects. It is located in one of the remotest corners of the Union Territory of Delhi. It is physically isolated from the adjoining villages and Mehrauli town, the sense that there are no means of transportation available to-and-fro the village. For all practical purposes the village is also devoid of the services of Police, Public Hospital etc. The nearest metalled road is about 8.0 kilometres away from the village. The nearest electric pole is also about 5.0 kilometres away. The village has no brick-lined lanes or by-lanes. There is no Adult Literacy Centre or Social Welfare Centre for males or females in the village. The only educational institution in the village is a Primary Basic School (Nagar Nigam Prathamik Pathasala, Mandi). It imparts education to the village school boys upto fifth standard only.

However, a comparative study of the social and economic life of the villagers as undertaken in the preceding chapters, to the extent the comparative data was available, shows that during the last decade the social and economic life of the villagers has undergone some significant changes.

The most significant and spectacular change that has been brought about during the last decade is that the villagers have given up most of their traditional anti-social activities and other practices. For instance, it is held that prior to 1950, the village was notorious for being the home of thieves and illicit distillers. But now it has been reported that such practices have been to a large extent given up.

sanitation etc. Among the utensils used by the villagers, the buckets (of metal sheets) are increasingly being used for storing water and milk instead of the earthen pitchers. Similarly, wooden pots used for kneading flour and wooden spoons and wooden ladles are being replaced by pots made of brass or iron.

Bicycle, hurricane lantern, petromax, dry cell torch, stove, sewing machine, chair, table etc. are the other items of the household goods which are now increasingly being used by the villagers.

The habits relating to their dress and ornaments have also undergone some changes. The conventional dress of the males in the village (a white *pugri* i.e. a turban, white *kurta* i.e. a shirt and white *dhoti*) is being replaced by a shirt and *pyjama* or pant. The village women too have now started wearing *kamiz* and *salwar* and *orhni* instead of *kamiz*, *ghagra* (skirt) and *orhni*. Among the ornaments, the taste for bulky ornaments is declining and the flavour for light and artistic ornaments is increasing. Further, about a few years ago the lower castes in the village used to have ornaments of zinc or silver. But now they have also started wearing gold ornaments.

EMPLOYMENT PATTERN

Although the proportion of the total population deriving its livelihood from agriculture has gone down from 87.2 per cent in 1951 to 69.0 per cent in 1962, yet, evidently agriculture still forms the most predominant source of livelihood in the village. The nature of agricultural produce over the last decade has remained more or less unaltered. 93% of the total agricultural produce in the village accounts for food crops alone and 85.3% of the total agricultural produce is self-consumed. Further, agricultural tools and implements used in the village are even today primitive and outmoded ones. It may be mentioned that during our enquiry not even a single villager reported as following mechanised means of farming or using artificial manure.

Further, a study of the pattern of employment in the village over the last decade shows that there has been a considerable shift in the occupational structure in the village. The shift has been broadly from agricultural occupations to non-agricultural ones. The principal reason for the shift is that the villagers with their increasing contacts with the cities have taken to non-

agricultural callings as and when they found them within their reach and more remunerative than agricultural ones.

LIVESTOCK

In the village economy livestock occupy a place next only to land. In fact, it is firmly believed that it is practically impossible for the villagers to do without livestock. It is common to hear a villager saying,

डोर बिन गुजारा कैसे

dhor bin gujara kaise.

i.e. how to live without animals? Needless to say that to villagers livestock are both complementary to their agriculture and supplementary to their diet and income (income earned by the sale of milk). Milk-selling as a source of income in the village comes next to agricultural income and accounts for the next single biggest source of income i.e. 39.2 per cent of the total village income. Yet livestock in the village are poorly maintained. Owing to lack of suitable pasture land in the village and over-all poverty of the villagers, most of these are underfed even during their lactation period or even when these are under work.

REFORM MEASURES

Panchayats

The institution of Panchayat as a decentralised basic democratic unit in the village economy, primarily working for the social and economic uplift of the villagers has failed to achieve anything spectacular. A majority of the villagers were found dissatisfied with its working. They held that the new Panchayats have yielded nothing but factionalism, groupism and corruption. The reasons for the failure of the Panchayat have been stated to be two-fold: (i) It lacked both the skill as well as the local initiative to execute the Panchayat's programmes, and (ii) it has been found that most of the members of the Panchayat were always too busy with their own routine work. Further, Panchayat meetings, office working hours etc. have been seldom rigidly adhered to. Therefore, the members and the villagers did not seriously bother about the proceedings of the Panchayats.

Community Development Schemes

The attempt of the Mehrauli Community Development Block to arouse the villagers' consciousness and induce them to associate

with development oriented plans of the State through their local agent known as the Village Level Worker or Gram Sevak, have not been very successful. It is really deplorable to note that 56.0 per cent of the total persons interviewed were not aware whether their village is included in any N.E.S. Block, and only 12.6 per cent of the total persons interviewed could state the functions of Gram Sevak satisfactorily.

Medical Facilities

The village is completely devoid of modern medical facilities. The nearest public hospital from the village for all practical purposes is at Mehrauli. All the

delivery cases in the village are attended to by the village untrained dai.

In the light of the above observations it may be suggested that what is needed for the common well-being of the villagers is that the State should take some concentrated efforts primarily for breaking the isolation of the village and thus link it with modern ways of thinking and living. Such efforts may stem from mass literacy drive (including adult literacy drive) and linking the village with pucca roads, with Mehrauli and other adjoining villages. The isolation bottleneck, if broken, would also ensure to a great extent a fuller co-operation of the villagers in the rural uplift plans of the state.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I—APPENDIX-TABLES

TABLE A-1

Distribution of Households according to Religion, Caste and Gotra

Religion	Caste	Gotra	No. of H.Hs.	No. of persons			% of total
				Males	Females	Total	
Hindu	Gujar	Tanwar	145	422	331	573	80.5
"	Julaha	Nirwan	12	32	26	58	6.2
		Chachiya	3	6	5	11	1.2
		Raipuria	3	11	7	18	1.9
		Badgujar	2	8	5	13	1.4
"	Bhangi	Balguher	12	25	33	58	6.2
"	Arora	Chaburia	1	2	..	2	0.2
		Pahuja	1	2	..	2	0.2
"	Baniya	Aggarwal	1	1	2	3	0.3
"	Sunar	Med Rajput	1	3	3	6	0.6
Muslim			1	8	3	11	1.2
TOTAL			182	520	415	935	100.0

TABLE A-2

Material Culture—Habits

Caste	No. of H.Hs. that send clothes to washerman having monthly income of				No. of H.Hs. that do not send clothes to washerman having monthly income of			
	Rs. 151 and above	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 50 or less	Rs. 151 and above	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 50 or less
Gujar	13	6	..	1	40	24	40	22
Julaha	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	18
Bhangi	..	1	2	..	..	1	1	7
Arora	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
TOTAL	13	8	3	1	40	26	42	50

TABLE A-3

Material Culture—Habits

Caste	No. of H.Hs. that use toilet/washing soap having monthly income of				No. of H.Hs. that do not use toilet/washing soap having monthly income of			
	Rs. 151 & above	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 50 or less	Rs. 151 & above	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 50 or less
Gujar	45	19	19	12	9	10	21	10
Julaha	..	..	1	3	..	1	..	15
Bhangi	..	1	3	5	..	..	..	3
Arora	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sunar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	45	21	24	23	9	11	21	28

TABLE A-4

Material Culture—Habits

Caste	No. of Households using mosquito net having monthly income of				No. of Households that do not use mosquito net having monthly income of			
	Rs. 151 & above	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 50 or less	Rs. 151 & above	Rs. 101—150	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 50 or less
Gujar	..	..	..	..	53	30	40	22
Julaha	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	18
Bhangi	..	1	..	..	..	1	3	7
Arora	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
TOTAL	..	1	..	..	53	33	45	50

TABLE A-5

Distribution of Households according to type of Fuel used

Caste	No. of Households using			
	Cow-dung	Wood	Phoos	Kerosene oil
Gujar	145	131	62	1
Julaha	20	15	13	..
Bhangi	12	10	10	1
Arora	2	2	2	..
Baniya	1	1	1	..
Muslim	1	1	1	..
Sunar	1	1	1	..
TOTAL	182	161	90	2

TABLE A-6

Distribution of Houses according to type of Roof

Caste	No. of Houses with material of roof		
	Dat-hi pulia	Kari & Silly	Bamboo and Straw
Gujar	106	23	34
Julaha	..	..	28
Bhangi	3	..	12
Arora	..	..	2
Baniya	..	..	1
Muslim	..	..	1
Sunar	..	..	1
TOTAL	109	23	71

TABLE A-7

Showing No. of Milch Cattle with each Household

Caste	No. of households with No. of cattle					
	1 cattle	2 cattle	3 cattle	4 cattle	5 cattle	6 cattle and more
Gujar	33	29	18	8	8	26
Julaha	7	..	..	..	..	..
Bhangi	2	..	..	..	..	..
Arora	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	1	..
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	42	29	18	8	9	26

TABLE A-8

Distribution of Literates according to their Castes and Educational Standards

Caste	Males						Female literates and educated	Total
	Literates	Pre-Primary	Primary	Middle	Matric	F.A.		
Gujar	5	52	32	7	1	1	..	98
Julaha	..	8	5	3	1	..	..	17
Bhangi	..	5	3	1	..	..	..	9
Arora	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
TOTAL	7	66	40	11	2	1	..	127

TABLE A-9

Inheritance of property as in Practice

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. indicating that relations of the following categories are entitled to inherit property in their respective castes			
		Sons	Daughters	Wife	Brothers
Gujar	145	145	..	14	2
Julaha	20	20	1	5	1
Bhangi	12	12	..	5	..
Arora	2	2	..	..	..
Baniya	1	1	..	..	..
Muslim	1	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	1	..	..	..
TOTAL	182	182	1	24	3

TABLE A-10

Health—Type of Treatment

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	No. of H. Hs. using the following			No. of H. Hs. last vaccinated			
		Allopathic	Homoeopathic	Ayurvedic	Up to 6 months	6—9 months	9—12 months	1 year and above
Gujar	145	67	..	16	38	82	..	1
Julaha	20	8	..	10	..	20	..	..
Bhangi	12	9	..	3	..	12	..	..
Arora	2	2	..	..	2	..	..	..
Baniya	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Muslim	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Sunar	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
TOTAL	182	89	..	29	40	116	..	1

TABLE A-11

Maternity Cases

Caste	No. of H.Hs.	Maternity cases during last one year	How and by whom confined					
			Hospital		Health centre		Home	
			No. of H.Hs.	No. of cases	Midwife	Doctor	Midwife	Doctor
Gujar	145	46	47	..	..	..	47	..
Julaha	20	9	10	..	..	..	10	..
Bhangi	12	4	4	..	..	..	4	..
Arora	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..
TOTAL	182	60	62	..	..	..	62	..

TABLE A-12

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Age of the Head of the household

Caste	No. wanting more children the age of the Head of Household (male) being					No. wanting no more children the age of the Head of Household (male) being					Question does not arise
	Above 50 years	41-50 years	31-40 years	21-30 years	20 or less years	Above 50 years	41-50 years	31-40 years	21-30 years	20 or less years	
Gujar	4	10	22	22	4	26	15	12	10	..	20
Julaha	..	1	3	5	1	5	1	1	3	..	..
Bhangi	..	1	..	4	1	2	..	2	2	..	..
Arora	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	4	12	26	31	6	34	18	15	15	..	21

TABLE A-13

Attitude towards Family Planning with reference to Income groups

Caste	No. wanting more children having monthly income of						No. wanting no more children having monthly income of						Question does not arise
	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 25 or less	Above Rs. 150	Rs. 101-150	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 25 or less	
Gujar	25	11	10	6	5	5	24	15	8	7	5	4	20
Julaha	..	1	..	1	8	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..
Bhangi	..	1	2	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	5	..	..
Arora	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Baniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Muslim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Sunar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
TOTAL	25	13	13	7	16	5	24	15	9	7	23	4	21

APPENDIX II

GLOSSARY OF KINSHIP TERMS

Relationship	Local Term	Relationship	Local Term
Father's father's father	Pardada	Elder brother's wife	Bari Bhabi
Father's father's mother	Pardadi	Younger brother's wife	Chhoti Bhabi
Father's father	Dada	Elder sister's husband	Jija
Father's mother	Dadi	Younger sister's husband	Jija
Father's elder brother	Tau	Wife	Gharwali or Birbani
Father's younger brother	Chacha or Kaka	Husband	Gharwala or Marad
Father's elder sister	Buwa	Wife's elder brother	Sala
Father's younger sister	Buwa	Wife's elder brother's wife	Salaij
Father's elder brother's wife	Tai	Husband's elder brother	Jaith
Father's younger brother's wife	Chachi or Kaki	Husband's elder brother's wife	Jaithani
Father's elder sister's husband	Phoopha	Wife's elder sister	Sali
Father's younger sister's husband	Phoopha	Wife's elder sister's husband	Sarhoo
Father	Bapu	Husband's elder sister	Nanad
Mother	Maa	Husband's elder sister's husband	Nandoia
Mother's father	Nana	Wife's younger brother	Sala
Mother's mother	Nani	Wife's younger brother's wife	Salaij
Mother's elder brother	Mama	Husband's younger brother	Devar
Mother's younger brother	Mama	Husband's younger brother's wife	Devrani
Mother's elder sister	Mausi	Wife's younger sister	Sali
Mother's younger sister	Mausi	Wife's younger sister's husband	Sarhoo
Mother's elder brother's wife	Mami	Husband's younger sister	Nanad
Mother's younger brother's wife	Mami	Husband's younger sister's husband	Nandoia
Elder brother	Bara Bhai	Brother's daughter	Bhatiji
Younger brother	Chhota Bhai	Son's wife	Bahoo
Elder sister	Bari Bahen	Daughter's husband	Jamai
Younger sister	Chhoti Bahen	Son's son	Pota
Wife's father	Susra	Son's daughter	Poti
Wife's mother	Sasoo	Daughter's son	Dheota
Husband's father	Susra	Daughter's daughter	Dheoti
Husband's mother	Sasoo		
Son	Beta		
Daughter	Beti		
Brother's son	Bhatija		

APPENDIX III
LIST OF HINDU MONTHS

<i>Local Months</i>	<i>English Months</i>	<i>Local Months</i>	<i>English Months</i>
Chait . . .	March-April	Asauj . . .	September-October
Baisakh . . .	April-May	Kartik . . .	October-November
Jaith . . .	May-June	Aghan . . .	November-December
Asar . . .	June-July	Poh . . .	December-January
Savan . . .	July-August	Magh . . .	January-February
Bhadon . . .	August-September	Phagun . . .	February-March.

APPENDIX IV
GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>	<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>
A		B	
Agg Dhatura . . .	A poisonous herb	Baans . . .	Bamboo
Akhsand . . .	Calotropis	Baant . . .	Fodder
Aala . . .	A niche in the wall for keeping lamps	Baat Bhejna . . .	To convey a message (regarding engagement)
Aam . . .	Mango	Baaz . . .	Falcon
Aansu . . .	Tears	Babaji . . .	Saint
Abadi . . .	Habitation	Baccha . . .	A child
Adhura . . .	Half	Bacche . . .	Children
Ajwayan . . .	Parsley	Bachhiya . . .	She-calf
Amavas . . .	New moonday	Bachhra . . .	He-calf
Amar bel . . .	Cuscuta Reflexa	Badhiya karna . . .	Castration of he-calf or he-buffalo.
Amla . . .	Phyllanthus amlica	Badi . . .	First fortnight of lunar month
Angreji . . .	English	Bakri . . .	Goat
Angithi . . .	Hearth	Bakhali . . .	Boiled grains of wheat or gram or both.
Ankh . . .	Eye	Bakhari . . .	A milch cattle in the later priod of lactation when the milk yield shows steady decline.
Ankh anna . . .	Sore eyes	Baithak . . .	Men's residential structure
Ankh phoola . . .	Leucoma	Bahi . . .	Family register generally to keep accounts of <i>neotas</i> (donation received in the marriages of family members.)
Apharna . . .	A disease (swelling of stomach of animals)	Bajra . . .	A kind of millet
Aarti . . .	Ceremony of worship with a tray incense and cotton wick.	Bald . . .	A bullock
Arthi . . .	Funeral bier	Balti . . .	A bucket
Asari . . .	Kharif, rainy season crop	Ban/Baan . . .	Ceremonial oil bath given to bride or groom before marriage
Ashtami . . .	Eighth day of lunar fortnight.	Bandook . . .	Gun
Atma . . .	Soul	Baniya . . .	A caste traditionally belonging to business class. Also a shop-keeper.
Aulad . . .	Offspring		
Aungi/Angi . . .	Bodice/Brassiere		
Auntawani . . .	An earthen pitcher used for boiling milk.		

Native Term	English Equivalent	Native Term	English Equivalent
B—contd.		B—contd.	
Baniyan	Undershirt	Belan	A small wooden roller used to flatten the round balls of doughed flour.
Banna	Bridegroom	Ber	<i>Zizyphus jujuba</i> . It is a dwarf tree bears small fruit having mixed sour and sweetish taste. Fruit is very much relished and said to aid digestion, if eaten directly after meals. A lather formed by the leaves in water is also used to wash hair, which is said to cause vigorous growth of hair.
Banni	Bride	Beri	<i>Zizyphus nummularia</i> . It is a dwarf tree, grows sparsely in the village jungle. It has prickly thorns which are very much inhospitable to the pedestrians.
Banwara	Period of five to seven days preceding the marriage in which ceremonial baths are given to bride or groom.	Biri	A crude form of cigarette, made of raw tobacco rolled in leaves.
Barabar	Equal	Bhajan	Devotional song, sung in praise of deities.
Baras	Years	Bhat	Gifts given to the bride or groom by their respective mothers' brothers.
Barat	Wedding party	Bhains	She-buffalo.
Barat lena	Reception of the wedding party.	Bhainaa	He-buffalo
Barothi (khait)	Reception of wedding party at the outskirts of the village.	Bhent	Tip or gift
Barsana	Winnowing	Bhoomi	Land
Bat	Way	Bhomidar	Land-owner
Batasa	Dried bubbles of boiled sugar.	Bhoor/Bhoorh.	Sandy land having soil just enough to allow cultivation.
Bater	Partridge	Bhoot	Ghost
Bati	Wick (cotton wick)	Bhusi	Grain husk
Batna/Ubtan	Thick paste of oil, curd, turmeric, wheat and gram flour.	Bida	A ceremony connected with the seeing off of the wedding party.
Bersaudi	Feast given a year after the death of a person.	Bimari	Illness/disease
Batoore	A store of dried cow-dung cakes covered from all sides with thick layers of cow dung.	Biradari	Near relatives
Bat Rokaa	Blocking one's passage. It is a ceremony performed by groom's sisters and <i>bhabhi</i> on the very day when the wedding party comes back to the groom's village with the bride. The groom's sisters block the entrance of the house and allow the groom and bride to enter the house only after receiving some cash gifts from the groom.	Birbani	Wife
Bayana/Bayawan	To get pregnant.	Bishila	Poisonous

Native Term	English Equivalent	Native Term	English Equivalent
B—contd.		C—contd.	
Bahna	Pregnancy of a buffalo	Chaukhat	Doorways
Boonga	A rounded concave shaped structure made of hay stalks, used to store hay stalks.	Chaulai	Non cereal food
Boot	Shoes	Chaumasa	Rainy season
Budhera	Ancestors	Chaupal	Common sitting room
Bump/Bum	A big circular drum	Chauth	Fourth day of lunar fortnight.
Bund	Embankment, dam	Chautha	Fourth
Bura	Sugar powder.	Chauparh	A local game played with dice (<i>kauriyan</i>) on cross shaped piece of cloth having 36 brackets on each direction.
Burkley	Garland of cow-dung cakes	Chawkidar	Watchman
Byah	Marriage	Chhach	Butter-milk.
Byahna	Littering of an animal	Chhachiya	Winnower
Byah nikalna	Fixing the date of marriage with the consultation of family Pandit.	Chhaini	Chisel
Byaj	Interest /Rate of interest	Chhaira	Sour milk yield of cow or buffalo
C		Chhan	Verse
Chabootra/Chabutra	A raised platform	Chhan jana	Abortion of cow
Chadar	A shawl or a sheet	Chhapper	A roof made of straws reeds, sirkies, and wooden joists.
Chai	Tea	Chhati	Six or Sixth day of lunar fortnight.
Chaira	Colostum	Chhati Puja	A worshipping ceremony performed on the sixth day following the birth of the child.
Chakki	Grinding mill made of stone used to prepare lime mortar. Also a grinding mill used to make flour.	Chhora	Boy, son
Chakla	A wooden plate used to flatten the doughed balls of flour.	Chhori	Girl, daughter
Chamcha	Spoon	Chila/Cheeley	Fried saltish or sweetened thin layers of wheat or gram flour.
Chamta/Chimta	A pair of tongs	Chini	Sugar.
Chana	Gram	Chihta	Crematorium
Chandi	Silver	Chita	Funeral pyre
Chapati/Roti	A thin wheat cake of unleavened wheat.	Chitti	A letter
Chappal	Sandals.	Choli	Bodice
Chari	Green fodder.	Choon	Wheat or gram flour.
Charpai	A sitting cot.	Choori	Bangle
Chatni	Sauce	Choori pehnna	Widow remarriage
Chawal	Rice	Choti	Locking of hair
Chauka	A squared shaped blocking appliance.	Chuchi	Nipple

Native Term	English Equivalent	Native Term	English Equivalent
C—contd.		D—contd.	
Chuchi peena	Symbolic sucking of mother's breast by the groom, before leaving for the bride's village with the wedding party.	Dasmi	Tenth day of lunar fortnight.
Churma	Bread doughed in ghee and <i>bura</i> or sugar.	Dawat	Ink-pot
Chungta	A handful of grain or flour.	Dawai	Medicine
Chundri	A long veil consisting of some fast coloured or printed piece of cloth tied loosely around the waist. In serpentine fashion loosely wrapping almost of whole body, it is used to provide a veil to the head and face by the village females.	Dawat	Feast
Churki	A spirit of young female dead.	Dehri	Loamy soil that remains under rain water for a major part of the year.
Churi	Sweepress	Deshi	Local
Churail	Female spirit	Desi-Saharab	Country liquor
D		Dev/Devta	God
Daag	Mark	Devi	Goddess
Daant	Tooth, teeth	Deye/Devi	Deities
Dad	Eczema	Dewat	A stand for placing lamps
Dahej	Dowry	Dhak	Butea Frondosa. A rich fuel; leaves are used for making <i>pattals</i> and <i>donas</i> —used as a substitute for utensils while serving meals. Flower yielding a dye, saffron colour is used for sprinkling colours during the Holi festival.
Dahi	Curd	Dhal	Shield
Dak	Mail	Dham	Sacred holy place
Dak gari	Mail-Train	Dharti	Land
Dakshina	Ritualistic remuneration to Pandit.	Dhaskak	Irritating smell
Dalbundi	Contour bunding	Dhyan	Meditation
Dalia/Daliya	Porridge	Dhingra	Rich persons who by force of their social status dictate unfair terms upon the poor.
Dan	Charity	Dhobi	Washerman
Danda	Pole (Holi pole)	Dhol	Beating drum
Daranti	Sickle	Dholki	A small beating drum
Dari	Carpet	Dhoop	Incense
Dat ki pullia ki chhat	A ceiling having a number of parallel arches (<i>mihrabs</i>)	Dhor	Cattle
Dasuthan	Child born after long prayers and wishes	Dhoti	Loin cloth
		Dhok marna	To bow before (deities)
		Dibia	Tin lamp
		Din	Day
		Diwa/Diya	An earthen lamp
		Doob	A kind of dwarf grass
		Doodh	Milk
		Doodh ki lassi	Sweetish preparation of milk and water.

Native Term	English Equivalent	Native Term	English Equivalent
D—contd.		G—contd.	
Doodhiya	Milkman	Ghuti	Mixture (of medicines)
Doyoli	Verandah	Gilas	Glass, tumbler
Dukan	Shop	Gidh	Vulture
Dukariya	Men's sitting room	Gitwara	Cattle shed-cum-sitting room.
Dumiya	A reptile having two mouths.	Gond	Gum
Dushman	Enemy	Gobar	Cow dung
E		Gochani	Mixture of wheat and gram
Ek	One	Gojra	Mixed grains of wheat and barley.
Endhi	A cushion for head	Gokhru	Tribulus Territriss
Emli	Tamarind	Goli	Tablet
G		Got/Gotra	Clan
Gahai	Thrashing of corn	Gular	Ficus glomerata
Gahata	A place where thrashing of corn is done.	Gulal	Red oxide powder
Gai, Go Mata	Cow	Gulgule	Sweet fried preparation of wheat flour.
Gandasa	Chaff cutter	Gumri	Boil under armpit
Ganga	The Ganges	Gur	Jaggery
Gandri	Boils in eyelids	Gur ki bheli	A standard lump of gur weighing about 2.30 Kgs.
Geon	Village	Gur-hyari	A kind of <i>halwa</i> prepared in gur without ghee.
Gar	Mud of pond	Gyabhan	Pregnancy of a cow
Garhna	To shape (ornaments)	Gyas	Eleventh day of <i>Kartika</i> (festival day).
Garmi	Heat	H	
Garmi Lagna	Heat stroke	Hal	Plough
Gochar	Cattle grazer	Halas	Wooden beam joining the yoke with plough.
Gawala/Gwala	Cattle grazer	Hald-hath	A ceremonial colouring of the hands of the bridegroom with turmeric powder before the marriage.
Gawar/Gwar	A kind of fodder	Hali	Ploughman
Gauna	Consummation of marriage	Halwa/Halua	A sweet dish made of wheat flour gur or sugar and ghee.
Gehna	Ornaments	Handi/Handia	Earthen pot
Gehun	Wheat	Hansli	Ornament of neck
Ghaam	Sun-shine	Harh bel	Local herb used as a medicine for boils.
Ghagra	Skirt like garments		
Ghantawal	Thick brass beating plate		
Ghar	Residential structure		
Ghara	Pitcher		
Ghari	Watch		
Ghee	Clarified butter		
Gher	Cattle shed		
Ghur Chari	Ceremonial ride on mare's back by the groom during the marriage		

<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>	<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>
H—contd.		J—contd.	
Hari/Hara . . .	Green	Jhutiya . . .	She-buffalo
Havan . . .	Ritualization of fire	Jimna . . .	A ceremonial feast
Heeng . . .	Asfoetide	Jogi . . .	Saint
Holey . . .	Parched green gram	Johar . . .	Pond
Hookah/Hukka . . .	Hubble-bubble	Jot . . .	First ploughing operation
I		Jote . . .	Testicles
Ikrarnama . . .	An agreement (written)	Jua . . .	Yoke
Ista . . .	Deity of faith	Julam . . .	Cruelties
J		Jurab . . .	Socks
Jagran . . .	Keeping awake during the night hours with the intention to please a deity or deities.	Juta . . .	Shoe
Jajman . . .	Patron	Juti . . .	Laceless shoe
Jajmani . . .	Patronage	Jyor/lot . . .	Light of a lamp
Jamboor . . .	Pliers	K	
Jamin . . .	Land	Kaaj . . .	A ceremonial feast given after the death of an old man.
Janam . . .	Birth	Kabzi . . .	Constipation
Janam Din . . .	Birth-day	Kadchi/Karchi . . .	A metallic ladle
Janam Ghutti . . .	Mixture of medicines to keep the appetite of baby/child in order.	Kajal . . .	Lamp soot
Jangal-wasa . . .	Outskirts of the village (land)	Kala/kali . . .	Black
Jantar . . .	Square shaped iron blocking appliance used by the goldsmith.	Koli . . .	A diety of spirits
Jantri . . .	Astrological book	Kali-gar . . .	Black mud of pond
Jap . . .	Chanting of hymns	Kamer . . .	A native herb
Jara . . .	Cold winter	Kamiz . . .	Long flowing full sleeved shirt
Jati . . .	Caste	Kanagat . . .	Annual ritual honouring the family deads.
Jau . . .	Barley	Kangna . . .	Sacred thread (red hand woven) wrapped around the wrist of bride/groom by her/his <i>bhabhi</i> .
Jharna . . .	Fall (water)	Kankar . . .	Gravels
Jhar phoonk . . .	Magical chanting with the object of preventing the attack of evil spirits.	Kankri . . .	A kind of soil with gravels
Jhar phoonk phere . . .	Unconventional marriage	Kansi . . .	Alloy of bronze
Jhopri/Jhuggi . . .	A hut made of reeds, straws and bamboo or wooden joists.	Kandha . . .	Shoulder
Jhotta . . .	He-buffalo	Kanyadan . . .	A ceremony during the marriage (literally may be interpreted as gift of one's daughter or girl)
		Kafan . . .	Sheet used to wrap dead body
		Kapoor . . .	Camphor
		Karahawani . . .	An earthen pot used for boiling milk.

<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>	<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>
Karahi . . .	Iron frying pan	Khelna . . .	To play
Karil . . .	Capparis aphylla	Khet . . .	Field
Kareva/Karvewa . . .	Remarriage with deceased husband's borthor.	Khurchan . . .	Semi burnt part of food that sticks to the bottom of pot.
Karha . . .	Decoction of local herbs.	Khichri . . .	Hotch-potch preparation of rice, and pulses.
Kari . . .	Rafter	Kikar . . .	Acacia arabica
Kassa . . .	Skins of a tree	Khir/Kheer . . .	Pudding prepared with rice, milk and sugar or gur.
Kasula . . .	A scraping iron blade attached to a plough	Khoo . . .	Manger
Kathouta/Katharwa . . .	Wooden pan	Khoriya Khelna . . .	A complete rehearsal of wedding ceremony performed by the females of the groom's family on the wedding night.
Katiya . . .	She buffalo young-stock	Khur . . .	Hooves
Katiya . . .	A pair of iron snippers	Khurand . . .	Local plant used in medicine for internal injuries.
Katora . . .	Metal cup	Khurpa/Khurpi . . .	Scraper
Katori . . .	A small metal cup.	Kirya . . .	Cremation ceremony
Kaudula . . .	A thick rope made of cloths. During the Holi festival, it is used by the village womenfolk to beat men.	Kirainchi . . .	A cart driven by the camel
Kamuch . . .	A poisonous tree.	Kisan . . .	Farmer
Kaundhiya . . .	Persons who carry a bier.	Kismish . . .	Currant
Khad . . .	Manure	Kiwar . . .	Door
Khaki . . .	Land on comparatively higher level.	Kothi . . .	Pigsty.
Khal . . .	Deep narrow troughs.	Kotha . . .	Store, Granary
Khal . . .	Oil cakes.	Kshyatriya . . .	Warrior class
Khal . . .	Skins	Kuan . . .	Well
Khallar . . .	Milch cattle in its dry season.	Kuan Pujan . . .	Ceremonial worshipping of well
Khap . . .	Brethern villages belonging to the same caste and the people of the same Gotra.	Kuch . . .	To march off
Kharif . . .	Rainy season crop.	Kulhari . . .	Axe
Kharak . . .	An enclosure for cattle.	Kunba . . .	Patrilineage
Kharsa . . .	Summer	Kundan . . .	Ornaments
Khati . . .	Carpenter	Kura . . .	Refuse
Khatia . . .	A string cot	Kutch . . .	Unpaved, Raw
Khatta . . .	Refuse dump	Kutch Khana . . .	Rice, Pulses, and unfried preparations
Khaunkar . . .	A belt containing a number of bells tied around the neck of cattle	Kursi . . .	Chair
Kheel . . .	Parched rice	Kurta . . .	Long flowing collarless full sleeved shirt.
Khees . . .	Colostrum		

Native Term	English Equivalent	Native Term	English Equivalent
L			
Lado	Dear (daughter)	Mandha	Ceremonial erection of <i>halas</i> (wooden beam joining the plough with the yoke)—as a marriage pole.
Laddoo	Sweet balls of gram flour	Mandi	Market
Lagan	Formal reminder of the wedding date.	Manghlani	To set on fire
Lain	The best milk yield of a milch Cattle; also a milch cattle in its best milk yield season.	Marophali	Local herbs (medicine for boil)
Lakri	Wood	Masala	Mixed preparation or paste etc.
Lal	Red	Masan	A spirit of young male dead.
Lal Dawai	Potassium Permanganate	Mantra	Enchantment
Laltain	Hurricane lantern	Mata	Mother deity
Latoori	Hair	Mas	Month
Latoori utarna	To cut hair	Mas	A kind of pulse
Lassi	Butter-milk	Matar	Peas
Lakat	Ornament of neck	Matka	Pitcher
Lehnga	Long skirt	Mazdoor	Labour
Lathi	A stick used as weapon of defence as well as of offence.	Mazdoori	Wages
Latte anna	Menstruation	Meethe chawal	Sweetened rice
Latte Dhulna	Stopping of Menstruation	Mehra	Wooden leveller
Loo	Heat waves	Mendhi	Henna
Lota	An brass ewer with wide spout.	Methi	Fenugreek
	M	Mej	Table
Maan-tan	Token offering of money by bride's father to groom's relations as a mark of respect.	Milni	Reception of wedding party
Maarh/Maurh	Ceremonial headgear of the groom.	Mistry	Mason
Maat	Earthen vessel	Mohalla	A locality
Machuka	A net made of hemp rope tied around the mouths of bullocks during thrashing operations.	Mohar	Compensation to be paid to wife in case of divorce (among Muslims).
Mahurat	Auspicious time	Mongra	Wooden yard
Malida	Bread doughed in ghee and brown sugar powder or <i>bura</i> (sugar powder) etc.	Moodha	A reed chair
Manas	A person	Moong ki dal	Kidney bean
		Moonjh	A kind of grass used for knitting ropes.
		More Lagena	Dysentery
		Mundan	First ceremonial hair cut
		Muh	Face
		Muh Dikhayee	Ceremonial cash offering made after viewing the bride's face by lifting her veil by the females of the groom's family and relatives.

Native Term	English Equivalent	Native Term	English Equivalent
Muh-khur ki bimari	Foot and mouth disease	Okhal	Mortar—a husking implement.
Munshi	The clerk	Orna	Seed drill
Mung	A pulse	P	
Musa	Rat	Paat	Liquid preparation of boiled ghee and gur given to mother after confinement.
Musal	Husking implement	Pahala	First.
Mutbarak	Auspicious	Pahale	Before
	N	Pahari	Hilly, Highlander
Naal	Hollow bamboo pipe used while administering ghee, oil or some liquid mixture into the mouth of the cattle.	Pair	A place (open yard), where thrashing operations are being performed.
Nala	Ceremonial hand woven red thread.	Pairi	Heap of cornstalks.
Nai	Barber	Pakhawara	Second fortnight of lunar month.
Nazar	Eye	Palang	Bedstead.
Nazar utarna	To cast off evil eye	Palauthi	First child
Nain	Plough used during sowing operations.	Panchwan	Fifth
Nain	Eye	Pandit	Priest
Naiyar	Fodder	Panhari	Wooden frame bearing iron blade. It is attached to the lower end of the plough.
Nala	Natural drains	Pani	Water.
Nalai/Nilai	Weeding	Pap	Sin
Narpasi	Local herb used as medicine for snake bite.	Papi	One who commits sin
Naura	Temporary open air enclosure for cattle (made during rainy season).	Parat	Big saucer shaped plate used for kneading flour.
Nausadar	Ammonium chloride	Parda	Curtain or a veil
Naurata	First nine days of Kartik (Oct-Nov.).	Parsad	Sacred gift
Nawami	Ninth day of lunar fortnight.	Patal	Infernal region
Neech	Mean fellow, mean ideas	Patka	Shawl
Neem	Mebia aadichta	Patta	A piece of land leased out by the Gaon Panchayat.
Neota	Offering of money by relatives and friends at the time of marriage	Phere	Ceremonial rounds taken by the bride and bridegroom around the <i>Mandha</i> .
Nikah	Marriage (Muslims).	Phirna	Abortion of a cattle.
Nikhar	To give glaze to an article by washing.	Phool	Flower
	O	Phool	Bones of a cremated body
Odhna/orhna	To cover the body, also see <i>Chundri</i> .	Phool chunna	To collect the bones of a cremated body for immersing in some sacred river or pond.

<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>	<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>
Pila	Yellow	Rehra	A cart driven by horse
Pili chithi	A letter of wedding notification sent by bride's father to the groom's family.	Rista	Relation (engagement)
Piste	Dry fruit	Ristadar	Inlaws, relatives
Pichkari	Syringe	Roti	Bread
Pitar/Pitra	Ancestors	Rookha/Rookhi	Simple
Plate	Saucer	Rukka	Letter
Pooran masi	Full moon day	Rupali, Rupaiya	Rupee
Poori	Fried pan cake.		
Puja	Worship		S
Pujan	To perform worship	Safa	Turban
Puli	Bundles of corn stalks	Saaroo	Fermentation of liquid mixture.
Pultas	Poultice	Saatia	Swastika mark
Pun din	Sacred day for distribution of alms.	Sabzi	Vegetable
Puri	Fried pan cake	Sadhna	Devotional meditation
Pajama	Trousers	Sagai	Betrothal ceremony
		Sahan	Courtyard facing verandah.
	R	Sal	A room attached to the verandah.
Raabri	Porridge of wheat and gram prepared in butter milk.	Sal	A kind of wood
Rabi	Winter crop	Salwar	Baggy trousers worn by females.
Rag	Songs	Sankat	Trouble
Ragni	Ballad	Sani	Wooden vice used by village goldsmith
Rai, Rayec	A wooden churner	Sani	Mixed porridge of fodder and concentrates.
Raj	Regime	Samp	Snake
Raj	Mason	Sanwariya	Husband
Rakanda	A place for cleaning utensils and throwing refuse	Sapna	Dream
Rambhana	Mowing	Saptmi	Seventh of lunar fortnight
Ram Rami	Exchange of good wishes	Sardi	Cold/winter
Rand	Widow	Sarhad	Outskirt of the village border
Rang	Colour	Sarkar, Sarkari	Government, belonging to Government
Rangroot	A soldier	Sarpanch	Judge
Ras	Hoax plays and ballads	Saras	Crane
Rasam	Convention (Ceremony)	Sarson	Oil seeds
Rasia	Love songs	Satmasa	Premature birth (after seven months).
Rat-jagga	Ceremonial awakening throughout the night to appease the deities	Sarwan	Seventh
Razai	Quilt	Sau	Hundred
Rehat/Rahat	Persian wheel well		

<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>	<i>Native Term</i>	<i>English Equivalent</i>
Saviyan, Semiyan	A sweet preparation of sharply pointed end thin dried pieces of hard doughed flour.	Tel utarna	Ceremonial touching of bride/groom's head, shoulder, knees and feet with pieces of grass (doob) dipped in oil, curd, sesame, henna etc. before giving her/him a bath.
Saukal	Jet black	Than	Udder
Seedha	Gift of uncooked food	Thapa	Prints of palm
Shisham	A kind of tree— <i>Dalbergia, sissoo</i> .	Thappa	Iron impression pens
Seet	Butter-milk	Thekka	Receptacle for storing food grains
Seera	Liquid preparation of wheat, flour and gur.	Tiel Tierh	A present of clothes (full-suit)
Seera	Molasses	Tikka/Teeka	Ceremonial mark applied on forehead.
Shakkar	Brown sugar powder	Til	Sesame
Shamlat	Common	Tip Karna	To fill up (plastering of pores in the wall with mortar paste)
Shamlat Zamin	Common land	Tooh jana	Abortion of a cattle
Shaikh	Priest (Muslim)	Totka	Witchcraft's practices
Sherwani	Long Coat	Tuna	Witch craft's practice
Sirbandi	Arranging of hair (bride)	Toom	Ornaments
Silli	Stone slabs	Top/Topi	Cap
Sirni	Sacred gifts consisting of the offering made to deities.	Turha	Dry fodder
Sitare	Star		U
Sona	To sleep	Uple	Cow-dung cakes
Sona	Gold	Ubtan	Lubricant paste for ceremonial oil baths
Sool	Thorns	Ufara	Tympany
Supari	Betel-nut	Urad	A kind of pulse
Surma	Collyrium		V
Swani	Draw tongs	Vaid	Ayurvedic Physician
Swarg	Heaven	Vaimata	Goddess of fortune
	T	Vair	Seed drill
Takh	Shelf in wall for keeping household goods.	Vairi	Enemy
Tal	Pond	Varna	Class, caste
Talwa	Sole	Vida	Farewell
Talwar	Sword	Vidaygi	Tip to messenger
Tan	Body		Y
Tara	A kind of oil seeds	Yamaraj	The angel of death
Tarke	Early morning	Yoni	Form of life
Tava/Tawa	Iron plate used for baking		Z
Taveej	Amulet	Zamin	Land
Teeja	Third	Zamindar	Landlord
Teeka	Turmeric mark on forehead	Zamindari	Land ownership
Tehrmi/Termi	A ceremony performed on the thirteenth day following the death of a person		
Tel	Oil		
Tel charhana	Ceremonial touching of bride/groom's feet, knees, shoulders and forehead by the female relations, with pieces of grass dipped in oil curd sesame henna etc.		

BLOCK I : IDENTIFICATION

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BLOCK II--COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD

[illegible]

BLOCK III

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

S. No. II	Present occupation	Father's occupation

What are the reasons for change if any ? _____

What you wish your son to be ? _____

BLOCK IV.

LAND

1. Do you own land ? Yes/No. _____
(If yes, Bighas)
2. How much of it is under cultivation ? _____
(Bighas)
3. Have you given any on crop share ? _____
(If yes, bighas)
4. Have you taken any on crop share ? _____
(If yes, bighas)

How did you acquire the land owned ?

1. Ancestral, _____
(Bighas)
2. Purchased, _____
(Bighas)
- or _____
3. Secured under Bhoomidari. _____
(Bighas)

LIVESTOCK

I. Do you own milch cattle. Yes/No, if yes

Kind	No.	Kind	No.
Cow		Cow youngstock	
Buffalo		Buffalo	
Goat		Goat	
Others (Specify)		Others	
Total		Total	

Do you sell milk ? Yes/No. If yes, the Agency to whom the milk is sold.
 Quantity of milk produced per month.
 Quantity of milk sold per month.
 Quantity of milk self consumed per month.

2. Details of the dry cattle owned by the household.

Kind	No.	Kind	No.
		Young stock	
Bullocks		Bullocks	
Camels		Camels	
Horses		Horses	
Donkeys		Donkeys	
Pigs		Pigs	
Others (Specify)		Others	
Total		Total	

HOUSE

1. Do you own the house you are living in ? Yes/No.
2. Type of house Kutcha/Pucca/Mixed
3. Year of construction.
4. Is there a separate arrangement for cattle ? Yes / No.
5. No. of rooms in the house.
6. Ground Plan-rectangular, square, oval or circle.
7. Whether built on : stilts/platforms.
8. Whether built on high plinths Yes/No.
9. Building materials for the wall :
10. Building materials for the roof :
11. Do you own separate Baithak ?

INDUSTRY

1. Do you conduct any industry Yes/No.

If Yes : When did you start it ? _____

(a) What are the products ? _____

(b) (i) Sold in the village _____

(ii) Sold in the Market _____

(c) Name the principle tools and implements in vogue. _____

(d) Have you adopted any new tools or implements during last 5 years. If so give details. _____

(e) What are the primary and secondary raw materials required in the manufacture of the products ? _____

(f) Do you get raw materials in the village ? Yes/No.

If no, mention the source _____

INDEBTEDNESS

1.—Do you owe any debt. Yes/No. If yes

Purpose	Source	Amount (in Rs.)	Terms
(1) Purchase of cattle			
(2) Purchase of land			
(3) Purchase of seeds, implements, etc.			
(4) Social observances			
(5) Domestic expenses			
(6) Construction of house . .			
(7) Litigation			
(8) Business			
(9) Repayment of loans			
(10) Others specified			
Total			

2.—By how much has it gone up or down during the last year ? _____

3.—What steps have been taken to repay the debt ? _____

BLOCK V. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Is there a co-operative society in your village ? Yes/No.

2. Are you a member of the same ? Yes/No.

3. If no, give reasons _____

4. Is there a Panchayat in your village? Yes/No.

(a) If yes, how long has the present Panchayat been in your village _____

(b) What are the main functions of the Panchayat : _____

(c) Has there been any improvement in your village since the establishment of this Panchayat ? _____

(d) Have you in any way, benefited from its activities ?

5. Is there a N.E.S. Block in your area? Yes/No.

(?) If yes, what has it done in your village ? _____

6. Do you know the Gram Sevak of your village ? Yes/No.

(a) If yes, describe his functions _____

(b) What has he been advising you and have you been following them? _____

(c) How often does he come to your village ? _____

7. What sort of manures do you use ? _____

(a) Source from which you procure it ? _____

8. Do you use any pesticides ? Yes/No.

(a) The source from where you get it ? _____

FURNITURE AND CONSUMER GOODS

(a) Does the household possess Moodha/Chair/Table/Mirror/Bench/Stool (Cross out those not found)?

(b) Does the household possess Hurricane Lantern/Battery Torch Light/Kerosene Stove/Bicycle/Gramophone/Radio Set/Camera/Sewing Machine ?

(c) Has any of these items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If yes, which are these articles ? _____

(a) Do you use washing soap /bathing soap ? _____

FUEL

(a) What type of fuel the household uses ? _____

RELIGION

1. (a) Is there a deity or object of worship or a sacred plant in the house? Yes/No.
 (b) If yes, give name of the deity or object of worship and what is the form of worship?
2. (a) Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under law? Yes/No.
 (b) Whether it is practised in the village? Yes / No.
 (c) If yes, in which form, describe.

MARRIAGE

- (a) Has any marriage in contravention of caste law taken place in this household? Yes / No.
 If yes, give details.
- (b) With what castes other than the caste of the household is marriage permissible?
- (c) With which caste such marriage would be desirable?
- (d) Have you any objection to contract marriages for persons of your household with persons of same social and economic status as yours but belonging to other castes? NAME OF CASTES
- (e) Was dowry given on the occasion of marriage of your daughter? Yes/No.
 If yes, mention the amount. Rs.

INHERITANCE Etc:

- (a) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in the HINDU ADOPTION ACT? Yes/No.
 If yes, can you describe its salient features?
- (b) Do you think that there have been changes in recent years in the HINDU SUCCESSION ACT? Yes/No.
 If yes, what are its salient features?
- (c) Which relatives, including male members and widows and daughters married and unmarried, inherit property on the death of a male person belonging to the same caste as your household?
- (d) What is the share of each such member?
- (e) Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons? Yes/No.

HEALTH

- (a) How many maternity cases occurred in the household during the last year (AFTER DIWALI 1961)? Number
- (b) How the case confined? HOSPITAL/HEALTH CENTRE/HOME DOCTOR/MIDWIFE/UNTRAINED DAI/ELDERLY WOMEN IN THE FAMILY.
 If at home whether attended by
- (c) On what type of medical treatment the household usually depend? ALLOPATHIC/AYURVEDIC/HOMEOPATHIC.
- (d) Which Hospital/Health Centre/Dispensary, the household consults in the event of serious illness?
- (e) When were the members of the household last vaccinated?

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Name of crop	Quantity obtained last Year (Mds.)	Value (in Rs.)	Quantity Sold (Mds.)	Value (in Rs.)
<i>Cereals</i>				
1. Wheat				
2. Gram				
3. Wheat and Gram				
4. Barley				
5. Bajra				
6. Rice				
7. Pulses				
8. Others (Specify)				
<i>Cash Crops</i>				
1. Cotton				
2. Sugar-cane				
3. Oil seeds				
4. Others (Specify)				
<i>Vegetables and Fruits</i>				
<i>Fodder</i>				
<i>Total</i>				

Average Monthly income of the household. Rs.

Sources :

(a)Average Annual Income.....

(b)Average Annual Income.....

(c)Average Annual Income.....

(d)Average Annual Income.....

RECIPROCAL AID IN AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

- (a) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation? Yes/No
- (b) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting? Yes/No
- (c) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at times of cultivation in the shape of manual labour? Yes/No
- (d) How much land did your father own at the time of his death? BIGHAS

INDUSTRY

- (a) Have you taken up this industry for the first time in the course of last five years ? Yes/No
- (b) Have you adopted any new tools or instruments for running this industry ? If so, name the details of the tools and instruments.
- (c) Name the art or craft in which you have earned proficiency.
- (d) How did you learn the art or craft concerned ?
 (1) Home Apprenticeship.
 (2) At the place of neighbours.
 (3) In technical institute.
 (4) Others.
- (e) Do you consider further training necessary ? Yes/No
- (f) If yes, describe the type of training you desire.

COMMUNITY

- (a) Does the head of the household know the Police Station, State in which it is located ? Yes/No
- (b) Does the head of the household know the name of the river flowing through the State ? Yes/No

ABOLITION OF ZAMINDARI

- (a) Do you think that abolition of Zamindari has resulted in any good to you ? Yes/No
 If yes, indicate how you have benefited.
 If no, why have you not benefited.
- (b) Could you get yourself recorded as a share-cropper in the revisionary settlement ? Yes/No
- (c) Have you been evicted from your land as a result of recent land reforms ? Yes/No
 If so, give particulars.
- (d) Have you benefited from any scheme of land development or land reclamations ? Yes/No
 If yes, explain how you have benefited.

PANCHAYAT

- (a) What are the leading parties in your Panchayat and which caste is leading the Panchayat ?
- (b) Has there been any improvement in your village since the Panchayat was established ? Yes/No

FAMILY PLANNING

- (a) Is there a family planning centre in your area ? Yes/No
- (b) Do you know that man and wife can prevent conception of a child by deliberate means, if they wish to do so ? Yes/No
- (c) Do you wish to have more children ? Yes/No
 If yes, sons
 daughters

DIET

- (a) How many times a day do the members of the household take meals ?
- (b) What are the usual items of diet at each meal ? (Staple Diet) Winter
 Summer
- (c) What are the prohibited foods or drinks ?

UTENSILS

- (a) What utensils are used for preparing food and storage of drinking water ?
- (b) Of what materials are important utensils made ?

APPENDIX VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF VILLAGES

B. VILLAGE SCHEDULE

I. General Features

(a) Name of the Village

Local legends, if any, about its origin.
Is the origin of the village known?
If so, give the approximate date of its origin.

Village calendar if any.

(b) Location

Distance from:—

1. Delhi
2. Main Road
3. Railway Station
4. Mandi
5. Police Station
6. Post Office
7. The Jamuna River
8. Irrigation Canal.

(c) Type of types of soil

Give area-wise distribution of the types of soil available in the village.

Land Use:—

1. Village Abadi
2. Cultivated Area
 - (a) Irrigated
 - (b) Non-irrigated
3. Fallow land
4. Cultivable waste
5. Common Land
6. Non-cultivable land
7. Others (specify).

(d) The pattern of grouping of settlements in the village—reason for such a grouping—whether social or topographical.

(e) Internal Road (kuccha or pucca).

(f) Miscellaneous:—Source of drinking water. Tanks, ponds, etc., the provision for bathing and drinking water for the cattle.

II. Religion and Caste structure of the village:

Give some general observations regarding inter-caste relations, their deities and festivals. What is the extent of observation of untouchability or other social disadvantages suffered by the Harijans.

III. Are the families of the village generally joint families or otherwise:

Is there any tendency for the breaking up of joint families?

Rights, duties and obligation of different members in a family.

IV. Social Customs:

A brief account of the social customs, and ceremonies amongst the different communities from birth to death: e.g. birth, *mundan*, marriage, *gauna*, death, *sharadhs* etc.

Are there any incentives for the children for these.

Beliefs and superstitions regarding:—

Sowing, ploughing, reaping, thrashing and other agricultural operations;

Starting of a new business venture;

Beginning of a journey;

Regarding travel abroad;

Constructions of a new house;

Completion of a new house;

Legends, if any, connected with some local objects.

V. Educational facilities available in the village:—

Are they adequate—if they are adequate, are the people satisfied with them?

Are there any incentives for the children to study or for the parents to send their children to school?

Is there any social welfare centre? What has it been doing? How do the people utilise its services?

Was there any adult literacy drive in the village?

If there was one, how did the people respond to it?

VI. Housing:—

Type of house in different settlements—their material—whether locally manufactured or imported from other villages.

The labour engaged in construction, whether local or imported from outside.

What is the provision for shelter of cattle?

Are the houses sanitary and well ventilated. Provision for storage of food grain?

VII. Agriculture:—

Fertility of the soil. Total land under cultivation—crop-wise distribution.

Irrigational facilities available.

Type of manures used.

System of cultivation.

Double cropping or not.

Tools and implements used, whether local or imported from outside.

Does any one family or a group of families own a Tractor and its accessories in the village?

Main crops grown and their corresponding period.

VIII. Industry:—

Is there any cottage or small scale industry in the village?

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What are the goods produced. How are the goods marketed.

What tools or implements are used in manufacturing. From where are they procured.

IX. Others:—

Are there any families engaged in shop-keeping only? What are the goods traded? Do the shops provide a almost all daily needs of the village? How many people go out of the village to earn their livelihood? Where are they employed? Is the work seasonal, temporary or permanent.

Are there some persons who are employed in police or army? What is the influence of their ideas on the general village?

X. Panchayats:—

Is there a village Panchayat? Who are the members? Which community they belong to? How were they elected? What sort of work has the Panchayat been doing? Are the people satisfied with it?

Are there any community or caste Panchayats? Give a brief account of their working?

XI. Co-operative Societies:—

Is there any Co-operative Society in the village? What is the purpose? What are its functions? Is it functioning properly?

XII. Apparels:—

What are the types of clothes, footwear, ornaments, food, utensils and furniture etc. generally used by the villagers.

XIII. Some attitudes:—

Towards development work, co-operative movement, joint farming, family planning, birth control etc.

