

TABLE III: 10

TABLE SHOWING QUANTITY OF SEEDS REQUIRED PER BIGHA FOR EACH CROP

Crop	The quantity of seeds required	
	Minimum	Maximum
Wheat	8 seers	10 seers
Gram	4 seers	5½ seers
Barley	5 seers	7 seers
Gochani	7 seers	8 seers
Gojra	7 seers	8 seers
Bajra	4½ seers	6 seers
Green Peas	½ seer	¾ seer
Jai (fodder crop)	6 seers	7 seers

Gochani (गोचनी) and **gojra** (गोजरा) are mixed crops. **Gochani** is a mixture of wheat and gram, and **gojra** consists of wheat, gram and jau (जौ) barley.

In **gochani**, wheat and gram are mixed and are sown as such.

Similarly in **gojra**, wheat, gram and barley are mixed and sown as such. It is interesting to note that these are not only sown together but also harvested together.

Crop Rotation

Crop rotation forms an important part of the agricultural operations. This is closely linked with the system of double cropping and leaving land fallow.

Most of the agriculturists in the village follow the practice of double cropping i.e. sowing two crops viz., the **kharif** and the **rabi** on the same piece of land. As growing the same crop over a particular field over and over again adversely affects the fertility of the soil, the villagers adopt methods of crop rotation and leaving the land fallow, so that the fertility of the soil is not adversely affected. The system of crop rotation

and leaving the land fallow signify the pattern of crop sowing. For example, a particular field at one moment has all the requisite qualities and ingredients for the cultivation of say wheat. Once wheat crop is sown over it and harvested, the field loses some of its ingredients required for good growth of wheat and if the same crop is repeated over the field the yield, other factors remaining the same, will be much lower than the preceding one. But, although that particular piece of land has lost some vitality or qualities and ingredients required for the growth of wheat, yet it still retains other ingredients and qualities in good number for the growth of some other crop. Thus if after wheat, some other crop is sown over the area, the yield for the other crop would be good enough. But after constant use a field even with crop rotation, loses around fertility and then it has to be left fallow (uncultivated) for one or two crop seasons so that the land may regain its fertility at the original level. The fallow land is also ploughed as and when possible so that it may regain greater fertility. It is because of these reasons that the villagers have come to adopt the systems of crop rotation and leaving the land fallow. But due to their rather low incomes, people seldom leave land fallow unless they are forced to do so.

A study of table III:11 will give the reader a general idea of the crop rotation pattern followed in the village.

TABLE III: 11

TABLE SHOWING ROTATION OF CROPS

Land	Rabi	Kharif
A.	Wheat	Jowar
B.	Gram	Bajra
C.	Gochani	Jowar
D.	Barley	Gowar (Fodder crop)

The table shows the most preferable system of crop rotation followed. For example, in a particular piece of land, when wheat or **gochani** are grown in **rabi**, it is considered best suited for the growth of **jowar** during **kharif**. Similarly when gram is sown during **rabi**, the field is considered best suited for the growth of **bajra** during **kharif**.

Irrigation requirements of the fields differ from crop to crop and from land to land. For example, wheat crop requires irrigation at least 4 to 5 times, sugarcane about 10 to 12 times and barley, gowar (fodder crop) etc. require irrigation only twice, **gochani**, **gojra** crops require irrigation 4 to 5 times whereas gram fields are not irrigated at all, as water is supposed to be harmful to the crop. **Bajra** requires irrigation for two to three times.

But for the proper growth of a crop, good quality seeds and irrigation facilities are not the only requirements. Even if everything else is provided for in required quantity and at the required time a crop also requires weeding locally known as **nalai**, (नलाई). With the crop, several things like weeds and wild grass etc., also come up and unless they are removed they are likely to eat up some ingredients of the soil required urgently for the growth of the main crop, which will ultimately adversely affect the total output of the crop. Thus, such wild grass and weeds have to be destroyed from time to time, as and when they grow up. **Nalai** not only destroys such things but is indirectly helpful in irrigation too, for while rooting out the grass and weeds etc. the soil also gets dug up thus facilitating the main crop to utilise the irrigation water to a greater extent.

Weeding is normally done with the help of a **khurpi** (खुरपी) scraper but in case of sugarcane crop it is done with **phawra** (फावड़ा) i.e. spade. Weeding for other crops cannot be done with **phawra** (spade) as it is likely to

destroy some plants of the main crop also, a thing which is easily avoided when done with the help of a **khurpi** (खुरपी). The same is not the case, so far as the sugarcane crop is concerned and so it is done with **phawra** (spade).

Again the number of times the **nalai** (नलाई) is to be done varies from crop to crop. For example, whereas wheat requires **nalai** for 2 to 4 times, sugarcane requires the same for five to six times in a year. Weeding is done only once for **bajra** crop being considered sufficient for the purpose.

So far as the organisation of manpower during the **nalai** (weeding operations) is concerned, it is done by all the grown up members of the household. As the physical burden involved in weeding is not much (especially as compared to ploughing) women and children of the household lend a helping hand to the male members in this operation.

Interestingly enough, sometimes when the male adults find that the women and children of the household are in a position to carry out the weeding operations by themselves, they (the adult males) many a time call it a day and come and rest at home to while away their time while the womenfolk and children are toiling hard at weeding operations in the fields.

The period between the sowing and harvesting of a crop is in a way a slack period for the adult males in the household, who except for the days when they are to irrigate their fields with canal water, are more or less free from any strenuous work in the fields. But for the womenfolk and children of the household the beginning of the weeding operations in a way, heralds the ever increasing part that they have to take in the agricultural operations ending only when the whole of the crop has been harvested and all the processes gone through

and the crop has either been stored away or sold in the market.

Harvesting

Normally it takes four to six months for a crop to be ready for harvesting, but in case of sugarcane it takes almost one full year.

Again, while some crops are harvested only when they are ripe or when they bear corns, others like fodder crops, **sarson** (सरसों) i.e. mustard are cropped earlier than this. Fodder crops are cut before ripening for providing green fodder to the cattle and **sarson** for being used to prepare a dish. Interestingly enough, harvesting in the village is always started on Thursdays, as this day is considered auspicious for the purpose.

Harvesting operations are the happiest and physically the most strenuous periods in the life of the agriculturists in the village; happiest because at this time they are about to reap the fruits of their toil and labour of so many months and strenuous because in these days almost everybody in the household is busy from morn till dusk with very little rest. Indeed some operations may be carried on even during nights.

As already mentioned there are two major crops viz. **rabi** and **kharif** in a year. Harvesting of **rabi** crop starts on the third or fourth Thursday of **Phagun** (February) and continues upto **Chait-Baisakh** (April), the corresponding periods for the **kharif** crops are **Asuj** (September) till **Poh** (December) or sometimes even (**Poh-Magh**) (January). Time of harvesting of different crops also varies i.e. in **rabi** crop, first of all mustard (**sarson**) is harvested, followed by gram. Wheat and barley crops are harvested last of all. Similarly, in **kharif** crop season, pulses, **gowar** (fodder crop) are harvested in September, while **bajra** is harvested in November. Harvesting of sugarcane is never started before **Diwali** festival as it is otherwise considered inauspicious. Thus, the harvesting of sugarcane starts only after **Diwali** and may continue up to January or February until the whole of the crop is harvested. The most peculiar feature here is that the whole of the crop is never harvested at one time, but is harvested in the quantity required on that particular day. This is so because people seldom sell sugarcane in the market, but they usually prepare **gur** (गुड़) jaggery from out of it. Thus, they harvest only that quantity which they think they will be able to process into **gur** (गुड़) on a particular day. If they cut it all on one day, the unprocessed sugarcane will dry up and the

amount of **gur** made from the sugarcane, will go down considerably.

As already mentioned some crops like **sarson**, **jai** and **gowar** are cut before they are harvested. **Jai** and **gowar** serve as the green fodder for cattle. The green leaves of **sarson** are used as vegetables. Again, gram is sometimes harvested before it is ripe and is used for preparing vegetables or they are consumed as holey (होले) (after parching them by burning) by the villagers.

Actual harvesting methods for various crops differ according to the type of plant of the crop. For example, while vegetables and gram plants are plucked, cereals like wheat, barley etc. are cut from the stalk with the help of a sickle locally known as **daranti** (दरान्ती). Sugarcane is cut with a big knife-like thing locally known as **kassi** (कस्ती).

For the sake of simplicity we have discussed below the actual harvesting and the related operations in respect of cereals only.

First of all the stalks of the crops are cut with the help of a **daranti** (दरान्ती) armful of stalks are then tied into bundles known as **pulis** (पूली). A **puli** of wheat stalks normally weighs from 8 to 10 seers, and an adult male is able to cut enough wheat stalks for making 80 to 100 **pulis** in a day. In this operation all the members of the household work together in the field without any inhibitions. The agriculturists normally hire a hand or two on daily wage basis or on basis of number of **pulis** of stalks cut by the labourer. The hired labourer is paid either Rs. 1.50 nP. in cash plus one meal a day or he is given 1 **puli** of stalks for every 20 **pulis** (पूली) cut by him and a meal a day. At the end of the day, all the **pulis** prepared during the day are collected at one place and are carried, generally on bullock carts, to a place to be stacked. The place selected for the purpose is invariably a flat plot of hardened earth in the open. It must be hardened and flat so that thrashing may be carried out and it must be in the open so as to facilitate the winnowing operations by which grains are separated from chaff. The place where all the **pulis** are stacked and where the thrashing and winnowing operations are carried on is known as **pair** (पैर).

If the crop is very little the household members may bring the harvested crop from its field to its **pair** on their heads but those who have more land bring their crops to the **pair** only on bullock-carts.

Once the whole of the crop has been harvested, made into **pulis** and stacked at the **pair**, the thrashing operations begin. The farmer takes in a sizeable number of **pulis** from the stack, opens them and spreads the stalks at one place in a circular form and makes the bullocks tread on them round and round. The mouths of the bullocks are usually covered with a net sort of thing known as **machuka** (मचुका) so that they may not eat away the grain or chaff. A weight known as **jhama** is tied to the bullocks while on work at thrashing. The **jhama** consists of thorned bushy things and when the bullocks move, the **jhama** breaks the stalks and thus separate the corn from the stalks. The thrashing operations as such are known as **gahai** (गाहाई) in the village.

In the **gahai** or thrashing operations all the available members of the household lend a helping hand. The womenfolk come down to the **pair** whenever they are free from their household chores and children whenever they are free from their studies etc. Only a few households employ hired labour for this job.

As mentioned earlier the hired agricultural labourers are generally paid one **puli** for every 20 **pulis** of the crop harvested by them. Thus after whole of harvesting is complete the agricultural labourer has quite a number of **pulis** of corn stalks with him, which are yet to be thrashed. As they do not have any bullocks or any other livestock, they have to thrash out their grains by themselves; and this is generally done by their womenfolk with the help of wooden sticks. The stalks are first placed on hard ground and are beaten upon with a wooden stick until the grains are separated from the stalks.

The thrashing operations go on until whole of the harvested crop is thrashed and the work is never postponed to a later date. The villagers are very careful about the safety of the **pulis** stacked at the **pair** for they may be stolen away or may catch or be set on fire as they are very dry at that time. Thus some members (invariably the adult males) sleep at the **pair** at night and during the day none of them will smoke anywhere near the **pair** lest it may catch fire. **Hookah** may be smoked in the vicinity as there is no flame in it, but great care is taken to see that smouldering cow-dung is not left unattended to.

Thrashing causes the corn to come out from the stalks which in the process become chaff. Now though the corns have been brought out still they are mixed with chaff and the separation

of the two still remains before the corn or the chaff are used or disposed of. This is done by means of winnowing.

First of all the thrashed stalks (which till now are chaff and corns mixed) are collected at one place near the place where actual thrashing had taken place. This chaff and corn mixture is sometimes kept covered with a sheet so that it may not get swept away. The heap of this stuff is known as **pairi** (पैरी).

Winnowing is done necessarily on windy days. It is not necessary that winnowing must be done only after the completion of thrashing of whole of the crop. In fact, once a portion of the crop has been thrashed and the processed stuff has been kept as **pairi**, the farmer would take up the winnowing of whatever corn is ready whenever the wind is favourable.

Winnowing requires very few things and the two or three things essential for the same are **chhaj** (छाज), a container made of reeds covered from three sides, a couple of brooms and some stool.

The farmer would fill up the **chhaj** (छाज) with the thrashed corn from the **pairi** and stand up on the stool and slowly, with jerks of his hands, pour the thrashed corn from the **chhaj**. The wind carries away the chaff and the corns fall down at the feet of the stool on which the farmer is standing. Other persons assisting him, would bring him more and more thrashed corn for pouring from above and some persons carrying brooms go on collecting the corns and the chaff separately. The pouring of corns is locally known as **barsana** (बरसाना). The thrashed corn is poured again and again until the chaff and the corns are separated completely.

Thus, the thrashing and winnowing operations go on until the whole of the crop has been separated.

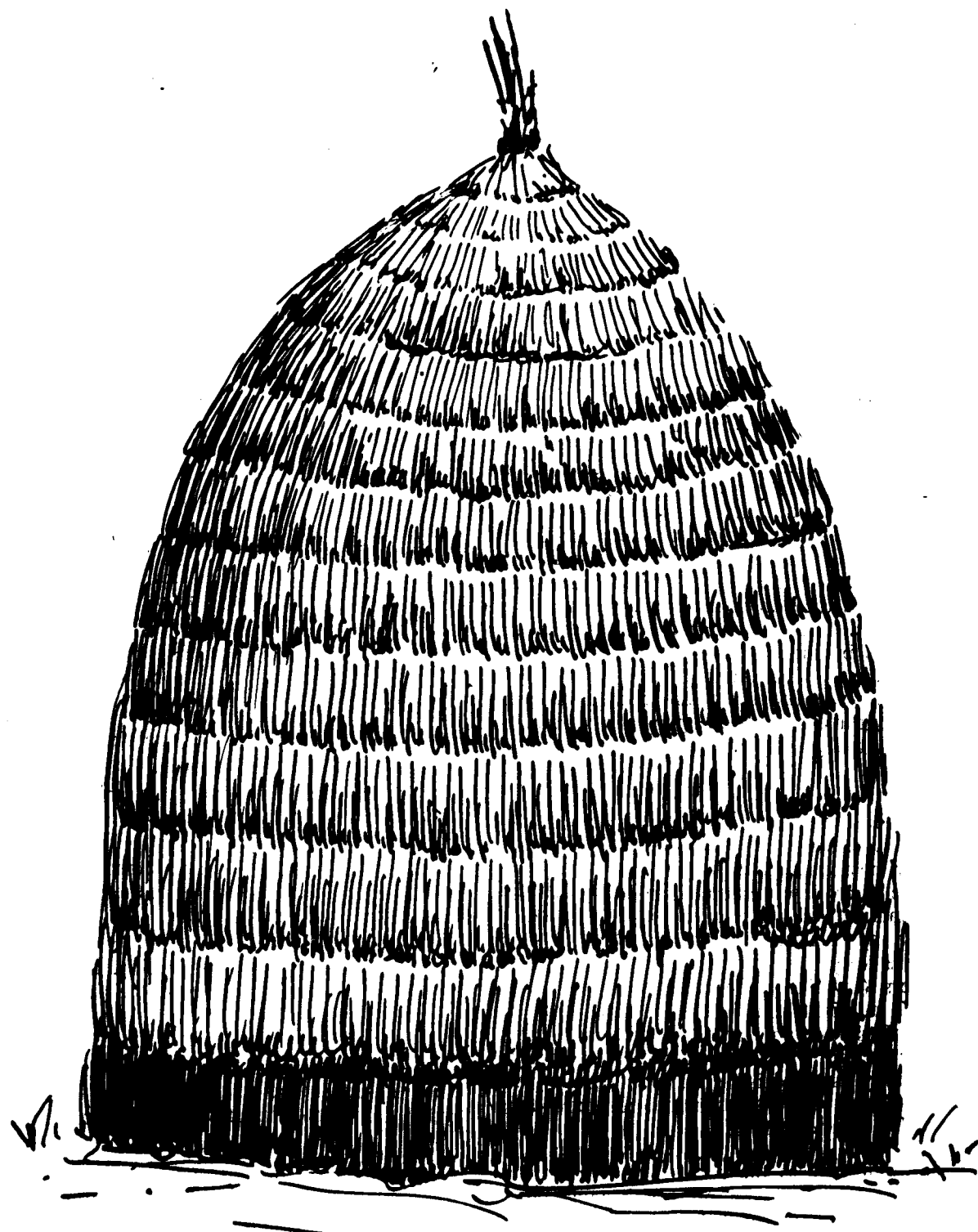
In winnowing, as in thrashing, all the members of the household assist the farmer to the best of their ability.

Once winnowing is over, the corns are left to dry up in the sun. When the farmer feels that they are completely dry, he mixes the corn with **neem** (नीम) leaves or with a small amount of ash of cow-dung cakes, to protect the grains from frost. It is only after this that the corn is carried home and stored away in gunny bags or in **thekkas** (described earlier in

the report). Those who have enough for themselves and also to spare take the same to the market at Shahdara and sell it there.

The chaff if it is in large quantity is stored away in specially constructed reed structures

known as **boongas**. The **boongas** (बूंगा) are generally set up in those spots in the village **shamlat** (शमलत) common land which are normally safe from waterlogging. Chaff is taken out whenever required or is sold away at Shahdara.



A BOONGA.

GUR MAKING

As has already been reported only an insignificant proportion (4.3%) of the total cultivated area of the village is under sugarcane crop. The primary reason for this according to the villagers is the fact that the soil of the region is not considered very suitable for the growth of sugarcane.

On an average 5 to 6 households from amongst the comparatively well-off households take to growing sugarcane over a portion of their respective lands, every year. Only an insignificant proportion of it is consumed by themselves and the rest is earmarked for making **gur** (गुरु) i.e. jaggery, part of which the various households keep with themselves for consumption and the surplus is sold to the **gur** sellers at Shahdara.

As the total output of sugarcane in the village does not amount to much, the various households growing sugarcane find it convenient as well as economical to pool their resources for processing sugarcane into **gur**. They incidentally are still following their age-old technique of making **gur**.

When the sugarcane crop is almost ready for harvesting, the various cane growers come together and discuss the prospects of pooling their resources for making **gur**. None of the households in the village has the required machinery or equipment required for the same and securing on hire individually would be rather uneconomical. As such they always get together and discuss the share of cost to be borne and the mode of utilisation of the equipment by each of them. Usually each of them shares equally the cost of hiring the equipments and utilises the same on alternate days. But if someone has grown sugarcane over a comparatively larger area, he may be persuaded to bear something more towards the cost of hiring and setting up of the equipment.

After an agreement over these details is reached they start looking for a suitable site for setting up the equipment. While selecting the site some of the points which they keep in mind are (1) that the site should not be away from the habitation site, (2) that the ground there should be hard. After the site is finally agreed upon they go to shahdara or Gaziabad for hiring the various tools and equipments required for making **gur**. The most important of all the equipments are the cane crusher locally known as **kolhu** (कोल्हू), 2 big metal pans or **karahis** (करही) for boiling sugarcane juice, a couple

of drums for storing sugarcane juice, and a big wooden or earthen plate. The total hire of these articles for one season amounts to Rs. 140/- or 150/-. These things are brought to the selected site and the cane crusher is fixed firmly into the ground. A big wooden log is attached to it, to the other end of which bullocks are tied for running the crusher. Nearby a big oven is dug, underground, over which two big metal pans are fixed. The oven is locally known as **bhatti** (बट्टी). In the first instance it is fed with dried wood procured from the village waste and afterwards by the dried sugarcane molasses. The **kolhu**, as the people call it, is now ready to go into operation. As a number of persons are required to run a **kolhu**, people generally assist each other on a reciprocal basis and sometimes even engage a couple of hired labourers.

When the **kolhu** is ready the person, whose turn it is first of all brings his bullocks to the **kolhu** (कोल्हू), and ties them to the wooden log attached to the cane crusher. In the meantime, the other members of his household are busy bringing in sugarcane from the fields. The oven is lit and sugarcane is fed into the crusher and as the bullocks move the sugarcane juice starts pouring into a bucket or a tin which when it is about to be filled is picked up and its contents poured into big drums. From the drums it is poured into the pans fixed over the oven and is left to boil. A person, usually an agricultural labourer, goes on adding fuel sitting near it. The juice when boiled for over half an hour starts erupting a foam like matter. This contains the impurities and dirt. But by first boiling, all the impurities do not get removed. In order to remove all the impurities the people put dried lady finger plants into an earthen pot and fill it with water. After three hours water of the pot becomes ready for use. This water is then poured into the boiling juice. This results in extra foams (containing impurities) and these foams are then picked up with the help of big ladles and poured into the other pan. Thus while in one pan fresh juice is put in the other the impure one goes on collecting.

Another method for removing these impurities is to pour a few drops of saturate solution of soda into the boiling juice. This though more effective than the former one is not favoured by the villagers as it costs money while the other one can be had free of cost.

When the juice is free from all foreign matter and impurities, it is allowed to boil for sometime more until it gets thickened. During

the process of boiling a good amount of shak-ing is given to it so that it may not get burnt at the bottom. After constant heat has been applied to the frying pan the juice gets thicker and its colour also becomes brownish. This brown paste is then poured over from the frying pan and is spread on a big wooden or earthen plate locally known as **chak** (चक) and is allowed to cool for sometime. After it has cooled a bit, a person starts making cakes of it with the help of a mould which usually is a small basket with its inner side lined by a cloth. The cakes normally weigh 2½ seers each. These cakes or **bhelis** (भेली) as they are locally known, are then left to dry up and become stiff. Once they are stiff they are carried home and stored away.

Thus at a **kolhu**, while it is in operation, there must be at least 6 persons, one for feeding crusher with sugarcane, another for bringing sugarcane to the crusher and removing juice filled buckets from beneath it, another one is required for driving the bullocks, one person is required for attending to the juice boiling in the pans, and one more for attending to condensed juice ready for being converted into **bhelis** (cakes). Besides them they may also require another person to attend to the left-overs of sugarcane from the crusher, removing them from there, spreading them out nearby for drying up and bring them up to the oven when completely dried.

All these operations go on side by side and a **kolhu** presents a picture of a rather feverish activity. The **kolhu** many a time works for 24 hours a day without any break, one household replacing the other turn by turn. But as it is not possible for one household to keep the **kolhu** running by itself others invariably assist him and also expect him to reciprocate when it is their turn.

As for the marketing of the **gur** (गुर) the agents of the wholesale gur sellers are always visiting the village for purchasing gur. If the villagers find their rates to be fair enough they sell it to them otherwise they themselves carry the gur to Shahdara and sell it there.

According to the sugar-cane growers they find it much more profitable to grow cane and make gur than is possible from any other crop. But due only to physical limitations it is not possible for them to bring more area under sugarcane crop.

AGRICULTURAL TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

Most of the tools and implements used for agricultural operations are primitive and as such

outmoded. According to the villagers they have never felt the need to introduce improved types of tools and implements, even though the Community Development Block authorities have been trying to introduce improved type of tools and implement.

Most commonly used tools and implements are **hal** (हल) or plough, **juwa** (जुवा) or yoke **mehra** (मेहड़ा) or wooden leveller, **phawra** (फावरा) or spade, **khurpa** or **khurpi** (खुरपा-खुरपी) or scraper, **gandasa** (गंडसा) or hard chaff cutter, **vair** (वैर) or seed drill, **nain** (नेनी) or plough used for sowing seeds, **darati** (दराती) or sickle, **saanth** (सांठ) or lash, **pagha** (पग) or rope for steering bullocks, **kulhari** (कुल्हड़ी) or axe, **tauchia** (टोचिया) or small axe, **kharpali** (खडपाली) or a big knife for harvesting sugarcane **jeli** (जली) **khatpawri** (खटपावड़ी) **kutti-ki-mashin** (कुट्टी की मशीन) or chaff cutter, (मंजा) i.e. an implement similar to **khatpawri** used for making furrows in the ploughed field.

The following paragraphs contain a brief description of the various tools and implements as well as their functions.

Hal or Plough

The implement used by the cultivators for ploughing fields is known as **hal** or plough. All the ploughs owned by the cultivators in the village are wooden.

However, the Community Development Block people lend out one or two iron ploughs to the villagers for ploughing and also arrange to give to the villagers at cheap rates though none has purchased the same.

Wooden plough has 8 parts which are given below :—

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. Halas | (हलस) |
| 2. Hal | (हल) |
| 3. Hathki | (हथकी) |
| 4. Narool | (नारूल) |
| 5. Phali | (फली) |
| 6. Pachela | (पछेला) |
| 7. Daab | (दाब) |
| 8. Kokru | (कोकरु) |



(a) A couple busy weeding their sugarcane crop. Sugarcane requires regular and periodic weeding.



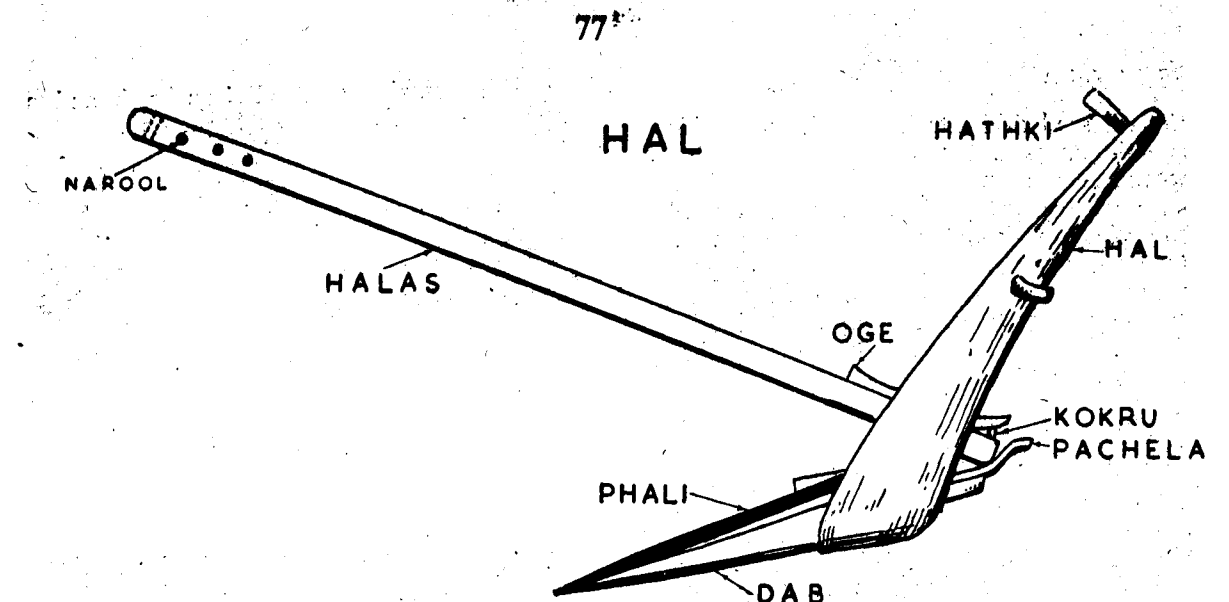
(b) Two Gujar owner cultivators bringing harvested sugarcane to the 'kolhu' on bullock carts. These are to be processed for making gur (jaggery).



(c) A Gujar owner cultivator feeding sugarcane to the cane-crusher being operated by two bullocks.



(d) The sugarcane juice being boiled over 'bhatti' in a large metallic pan. A person is picking up dirt and other foreign matters from the foam of the same.



An iron blade or **phali** is fixed to the lower part of the **hal** which is slightly curved inward. On the upper part of the **hal** is attached an oval shaped wooden piece known as **hathki**, which serves as a handle for controlling the direction and to apply pressure when in operation. Another wooden shaft about 7 to 8 feet in length is known as **halas**. At one end of the wooden shaft are fixed three iron nails called **narool**. **Halas** is fixed to **hal** with the help of **narools**, a **juwa** (to be explained later) is attached to the **hal** for drawing it in the field by two bullocks.

Juwa

Juwa is wooden nespiece by which a pair of bullocks is held together while ploughing the field.

The upper portion of the wooden shaft of the **hal** containing iron **narools** is attached to the central portion of **juwa** by means of hemp rope at the time of ploughing the field. **Juwa** is also used for drawing water from the persian wheel well and thrashing the corn by trampling it with a pair of oxen and a weight drawn by them.

Mehra (Leveller)

Mehra is used for levelling the ploughed field so that later at the time of irrigation, water may reach every part of the field. **Mehra** is made of a heavy wooden beam of size 6'x5"x10". At about two feet from each side, holes are made in which the **marwa** are fixed. The **marwa** are wooden pieces about half a feet long. They are fixed vertically and the ropes of the bullocks are tied to them. Two or three men stand on the **mehra** and it is drawn by a pair of bullocks.

Kulhari (Axe)

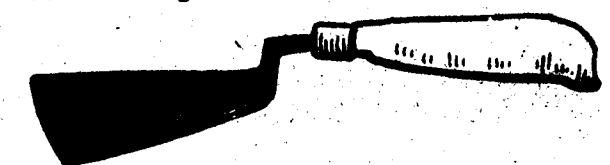
Kulhari is used for cutting wood or branch of a tree or bushes. It consists of a sharp iron blade whose upper portion contains a hole about 1½" in diameter and a round wooden shaft (**dasta**) is fixed in it.

Phawra (Spade)

Phawra is used for digging earth. It consists of a thin iron sheet cut in square. The lower part of the iron sheet is made thin and sharp, while the upper part contains an iron sheet ring of 1½" in diameter in which is fixed a round wooden handle about three feet in length.

Khurpa, Khurpi (Scraper)

Khurpi is used for cutting grass or weeding the field of wild herbs. It consists of a triangular shaped iron plate whose flat portion is made thin and sharp. To its upper part is fixed a round wooden handle about 1½" in diameter and 9" in length.



Gandasa (Hand Chaff Cutter)

Hand **gandasa** is used for cutting chaff as feed for cattle. It consists of a sharp iron blade attached to a wooden shaft.



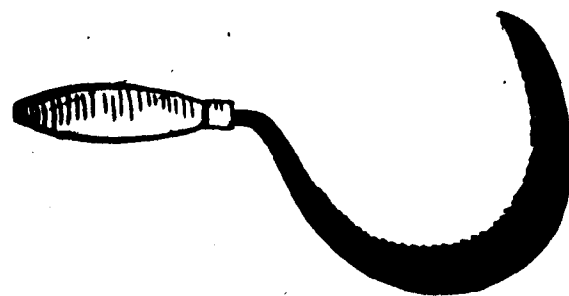
Vair (Seed Drill)

Vair is a seed drill attached to the back side of the *hal* and used for sowing the field. In sowing the seed is dropped through *vair* into furrows made by the plough. It consists of a tin plate pipe fabricated in such a way that its diameter is reduced to half an inch and given a small bend at the end so that seed may ooze out constantly. To the upper end of the pipe is fixed a conical iron sheet bowl for pouring the seed at the time of sowing.

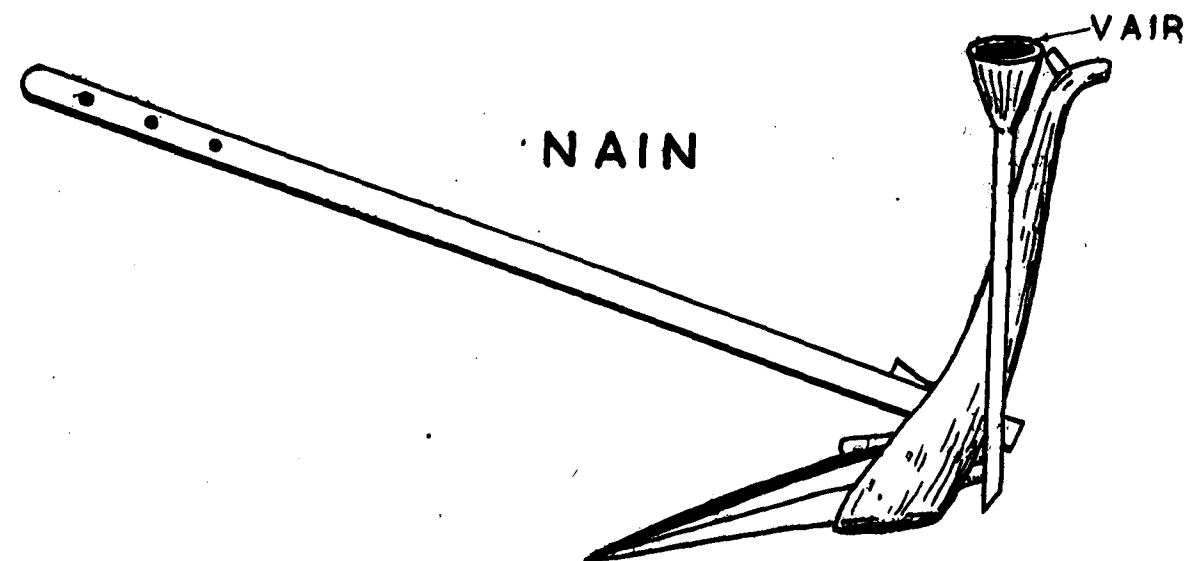
**Darati (Sickle)**

Darati is used for cutting standing crops or grass. It consists of a semi-circle iron strip, the

inner side containing small iron teeth and a wooden handle fixed to the lower end.

**Nain (Plough)**

Nain is a smaller plough used for sowing seeds. First of all *varna* (seed drill) is fixed to it and it is pulled by two bullocks.

**Saanth (Lash)**

It is made of narrow strips of leather tied to a 2 to 2½ feet rod of bamboo for steering bullocks.

Kharpali (Big Knife)

Kharpali is a long iron blade and is used for cutting bushes and harvesting sugarcane.

**Manja**

Manja is used for making furrows in field prepared for sowing. It consists of a long

wooden handle to the lower end of which a wooden blade is attached. The wooden blade has two holes through which a rope is passed. One of the operators holds the wooden handle from the top end and other person pulls the rope thus making furrows in the field.

Khatpawra

It is similar to *manja* and is used for collecting cow dung etc.

**Jaili**

It is a fork shaped implement with iron nails and wooden handle used for collecting dry fodder.

Kutti-ki-Masheen (Mechanical Chaff Cutter)

In recent years mechanical chaff cutter has come to replace the hand chaff cutter or *gandasa* to a very large extent. Almost all the households owning cattle have a chaff cutter.

It is interesting to note that none of the implements are manufactured locally. Even their repairs are not carried out in the village. Again, most of the implements are made of wood and iron. The villagers usually purchase their tools and implements from Ghaziabad in the U.P. or from Shahdara.

The villagers normally carry out minor repairs by themselves but in case of some major defect they have to go to Shahdara. Again sometimes some itinerant carpenter-cum-blacksmith visits the village and the villagers utilise his services for the purpose.

LIVESTOCK

Like land, livestock constitute one of the major economic resources of the village.

Draught cattle like bullocks are the only source of power in agricultural operations in the village. Besides this, along with he-buffaloes, horses and donkeys, they also constitute the beasts of burden for the villagers. Again, the role of milch cattle as a source of subsidiary income and means of providing milk for consumption purposes for the villagers need hardly be emphasised.

For clarity and analysis the ownership of livestock in the village has been tabulated according to broad occupational groups viz. agricultural and non-agricultural. Table III:12 provides the relevant data. Of the total of 149 households in the village 67 or 45.0 per cent are primarily engaged in some agricultural activity or the other and as such have been termed as agricultural households and the rest who are either engaged in non-agricultural activities or for whom agricultural activities are only a source of subsidiary incomes have been termed as non-agricultural households.

The table shows that 341 or 65.6 per cent of the total livestock in the village is owned by 67 or 45.0 per cent of the total households, who are primarily engaged in agricultural operations.

TABLE III: 12
OWNERSHIP OF LIVESTOCK AMONG AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLDS

Type of Livestock	Agricultural Households		Non-Agricultural Households		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Draught Cattle						
Bullock	98	28.7	1	0.6	99	19.0
Male Buffalo	6	1.8	4	2.2	10	1.9
SUB-TOTAL	104	30.5	5	2.8	109	20.9
Milch Cattle						
Cow	30	8.8	24	13.4	54	10.4
Buffalo	79	23.1	63	35.2	142	27.3
SUB-TOTAL	109	31.9	87	48.6	196	37.7 (48.6)
Young Stock						
Cow	49	14.4	37	20.7	86	16.5
Buffalo	61	17.9	34	19.0	95	18.3
SUB-TOTAL	110	32.3	71	39.7	181	34.8 (72.5)
Others						
Sheep	17	5.0	..	..	17	3.3
Horse	1	0.3	..	..	1	0.2
Donkey	..	..	4	2.2	4	0.8
Pig	..	..	4	2.2	4	0.8
Hen	..	..	8	4.5	8	1.5
SUB-TOTAL	18	5.3	16	8.9	34	6.6 (88.3)
GRAND TOTAL	341		179		520	
%age	65.6		34.4		100.00	

The rest i.e. 82 or 55.0 per cent of the households (all non-agricultural) own only 34.4 per cent of the livestock. This clearly indicates the co-relation between agricultural activities and livestock in the village. Firstly, the agriculturists require livestock for practically all the operations in the fields and secondly it is easier for them to maintain them.

A closer study of the table indicates that of the total livestock in the village, milch cattle along with its livestock account for about three fourths or 72.5 per cent of the whole. This clearly indicates the importance attached to milch cattle in the village. This is so primarily because milk selling has become one of the important secondary source of income of 79 households in the village. Besides, milk and its products form an important part of the diet of the villagers.

A study of the distribution of livestock according to broad occupational groups viz., agricultural and non-agricultural, brings out clearly the kind of livestock possessed by them and the reasons therefor. Amongst the agricultural households there is great preponderance of bullocks as compared to the non-agricultural households. This is so because they are requir-

ed in the fields and even the non-agricultural household owning a bullock has agriculture as its subsidiary occupation. Milk selling is resorted to by both agricultural and non-agricultural households though for a majority of non-agricultural households, it is maintained primarily as a source of subsidiary income and by the agricultural households for consumption purposes. Not that agricultural households do not sell milk but they do it to a lesser degree than the non-agricultural households. Pigs, hens, donkeys etc., are all owned by non-agricultural households. So far as he-buffaloes are concerned there are 10 of them all owned by the Chamars in the village. On the whole, whereas amongst the agricultural households draught cattle account for 30.5 per cent, milch cattle and its young stock for 64.2 per cent and other for 5.3 per cent, the corresponding figures for the non-agricultural households are 2.8 per cent 88.3 per cent and 8.9 per cent respectively.

Livestock and Castes

A study of the distribution of the various kinds of livestock amongst different castes in the village reveals certain very interesting features. Table III:13 gives the relevant data.

TABLE No. III—13

DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK ACCORDING TO CASTE

Caste	Total No. of H. Hs.	Cow		Cow young		Buffalo		Young Buffalo		Bullock		Hen		Pig		Horse		Donkey		Goat	
		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.		No. of H. Hs.	
		No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number	No. of H. Hs.	Number
I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Chamar	44	2	3	25	30	16	17	13	23	4	9	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gujar	31	17	20	18	25	27	54	17	24	25	49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	17
Brahmin	20	5	6	7	9	18	28	14	22	13	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajput	19	8	11	7	11	9	15	7	12	8	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nai	9	3	6	2	2	4	6	4	6	..	..	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhangi	9	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gosain	6	3	7	..	..	3	7	2	5	2	3	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Baniya	5	5	5	4	5	1	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..
Kadera	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jat	1	..	..	1	2	1	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	2	2	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	149	48	54	..	86	..	142	..	95	..	99	..	8	..	4	..	2	..	3	..	17

The table shows that most of the bullocks are owned by the Gujars, Brahmins and the Rajputs in the village. Of the 99 bullocks, 84 are owned by these three castes. These are the main land owning agricultural castes in the village. The Chamars, Muslims, Baniyas and the Gosain households own the remaining 15 bullocks but these households too are engaged in agricultural activities.

Cows and buffaloes are owned by almost all the castes in the village though the number owned by the Chamars is quite disproportionate to the number of cows and buffaloes with them. This is because several households give away the youngstock to the Chamars for rearing and when they become old enough for giving milk, they are sold to them. (The terms and conditions of such transactions are discussed later on in the report where milk selling is discussed in detail.)

Pigs are reared by a Bhangi household with a view to subsidising its income by selling them in the market. Horses are owned only by two Gosain households who maintain them for running rehars (रेहरा). All the donkeys are owned by the only Kumhar household, who maintains them for earning livelihood during the slack period of manufacture of earthenwares. People hire the donkeys from the Kumhar for carrying bricks, earth and such loads.

Two Gujar households in the village rear goats for selling milk. All the he-buffaloes are owned by 6 Chamar households who utilise them for pulling bhainsa gadi (he-buffalo-carts).

Thus, the picture that emerges from a study of livestock according to caste has several distinctive features. None but the Bhangis rear pigs, none but the Kumhars keep donkeys and so on. In fact, such livestock are traditionally associated with these castes and it is very rarely that any one else may think of keeping the same. At least this has not happened in the village under study, nor is there any likelihood, according to the villagers, of any other caste maintaining them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The preceding paragraphs clearly indicate the importance of livestock in the economy of the village. Here it is proposed to study a few important aspects of animal husbandry and related matters. However, we have limited our discussion on animal husbandry to cows and buffaloes, the most popular cattle in the village.

Milch cattle like cows and buffaloes [locally known as gai (गाय) and bhains (भैस)]

respectively] are owned by almost all the households in the village. Bald (बाल) i.e. bullocks are owned by all the land-owning households in the village.

So far as the cost of the three is concerned, though there are wide variations in the price of each, yet on an average a cow costs about Rs. 350 to 400, a buffalo around Rs. 700 to 800 and the average price of a bullock is stated to be around Rs. 550 to 600.

Again, the average life span of all the three, viz. cow, buffalo and bullock is said to be around 15 years.

The manner of acquisition of the live-stock is also interesting. Cows, buffaloes and bullocks are either home reared or are purchased from the relations of the households most of which are in the U.P. Only a few reported having purchased these from the cattle fairs which are held at least half-a-dozen times in the Union Territory of Delhi. Asked as to why they did not purchase from the fairs, the villagers explained that they find it more convenient to purchase the same from their relations primarily because of the easier terms of payment and because relations will not cheat them.

While purchasing a cow or buffalo the first thing that a villager would like to check is its age, number of times it has littered (given birth to its livestock), its teats and the milk bag. Incidentally the age is easily verified by the teeth of the cow or buffalo. Besides these, inquiries are also made regarding the average daily yield of milk, the last date on which it bore its livestock etc. All these are then compared with the price asked for by the seller and if found reasonable the settlement is made.

The price is generally higher with lower age and lower with higher age of the livestock. Again if it has borne its youngstock only once its price would be higher than if it has borne more than once. In fact, its value goes on decreasing with every birth. Again, if a cow has given birth to a bull its price would be higher than if its youngstock is cow. The price is higher if the average daily yield of milk is more and lower if it is less. Needless to say that if there is anything physically wrong with the cow or buffalo concerned its price will go down accordingly. The most common deficiencies physical or superstitious of a cow according to the villagers are:—

- (1) If one of the horns of a cow points upward and the other points downward it is considered inauspicious and the

villagers will avoid purchasing it. Such a cow is known as **swarg-patah** (स्वर्ग-पताही) i.e. heaven and infernal region. Such a cow will, therefore, fetch small price. This is more of a superstition than anything else as the villagers say that this does not make any difference either in its yield or in its productivity etc.

- (2) If the teats of a cow get dried up in spite of its having given birth it is considered worthless. In some cases only one or two of its teats may go bad and the others may be as good as can be but still the villagers will abstain from purchasing it even for a lesser price.
- (3) A violent type of cow locally known as **markhani** (मरखनी) fetches less price than a meak and peaceful type. A **markhani** cow requires much more care than an ordinary one and is a constant source of danger not only to its owner but also to all others who happen to come near it.

Another violent type known as **harya** (हरया) is also not favoured by the villagers. Such a cow has a tendency to run away and elude its catchers whenever it is let loose.

One more violent type is locally known as **bhidakni** (बिदकनी). Such a cow gets violent whenever it comes across anything new. For example, it may get violent whenever it comes across a bicycle, tonga, bus or even clean clothes etc.

All these types of cows will fetch lower prices than the normal ones.

The deficiencies, physical or superstitious, of a buffalo, according to the villagers are the following :—

- (1) If one of the eyes of a buffalo is white while the other is normal it is considered inauspicious. Such a buffalo is locally known as **takhi** (तखी). The villagers will seldom go in for it. An interesting saying for this type of buffaloes runs as follows:—

ताखी छोड़े ना चूल्हा चाकी
(takhi chhode na chulah chaki)

Literally it means that a **takhi** buffalo will not even leave the hearths or the grinding stones, conveying the sense that one who purchases a **takhi** buffalo will lose everything.

- (2) If a perfectly normal looking buffalo, even though eating the normal diet excretes fluidy cow-dung, it is considered bad. Such a buffalo

is known as **bishahi** (बिषही) or **poisonous**. Its dung emits a rather stinking smell and the people will think twice before going in for such a buffalo even though its yield is normal.

- (3) A buffalo who is completely black is also considered inauspicious. For example, although a buffalo is always black yet some of its hair will always be either grey or white. But if this is not the case then it is considered inauspicious. This type of buffalo is known as **saukal** (सोकाल) or completely black.

- (4) Another type of buffalo considered inauspicious is **kuhail** (कुहैल). A buffalo which has a depression in its hump is known as **kuhail** (कुहैल).

The corresponding deficiencies for the bullocks are the following :—

- (1) If the forelegs of a bullock clash while walking, it is considered a major ailment. The villagers locally call this as **nevar lagna** (नेवर लगना) which means that hoof of one leg clashes with that of other leg while walking.

- (2) Some bullocks have a sort of wound on the upper side of their necks. This ailment is known as **chandi** (चंडी). It is said that this is incurable and is very painful and the farmers are thus unable to yoke them. Such bullocks have very little demand.

- (3) Another type of bullock not favoured by the villagers is **sapan** (सपिन). Sapan bullock is one who moves his tongue sideways constantly like a **saamp** (साँप) or snake. Presumably it is because of the similarity of manner of the movement of tongue by snakes and this type of bullocks that they come to be known as **sapan**. They are considered inauspicious by the villagers.

- (4) There are some bullocks who have a tendency to move their head forward and backward. Such bullocks are locally known as **halan** (हलन). Such bullocks are considered inauspicious.

People say:—

यह घर की जड़ हिला देगा
(Yeh ghar ki jad hila dega).

In other words it will shake the foundations of the house. As such they desist from purchasing such bullocks.

Breeding

A cow or buffalo starts yielding milk with the births of its livestock only. A cow or buffalo

generally gives first birth at the age of about 3 years. Here we intend to give certain interesting features regarding the breeding of the same. An infant cow youngstock is known as **bachhiya** (बछिया) and bull youngstock is known as **bachhira** (बछड़ा). The corresponding names of the youngstock of the buffaloes are **katiya** (कटिया) and **kartra** (कटड़ा). Again the near mature youngstock of buffalo is known as **jhutiya** (झुटिया).

Once a cow is about 2 years of age it is considered mature enough for breeding. In fact the cow herself starts mowing in a peculiar sort of way from which the villagers are able to ascertain its maturity. This peculiar sort of mowing is locally known as **rambhana** (रम्भाना). So when a cow youngstock starts **rambhana**, the owner brings around the village bull, locally known as **bijar** (बिजार). The near mature cow youngstock locally known as **osar** (ओसर) is tied to a peg if it resists the bull, otherwise it is left loose. As the bull approaches the **osar** i.e., (the near mature cow) the villagers start shouting **drich, drich** (द्रिच, द्रिच) so as to induce the bull. When the coitus is over the bull just walks away and the cow is brought home by the owner. If the cow gets conceived the villagers say that the cow has become **gyabhan** (ग्याभन) or pregnant. During the first one or two months of the pregnancy the villagers say that the cow is pregnant or **dhana gai hai** (धना गई है).

The pregnancy period for a cow is about 9½ months. During this period the cow roams about in the pasture along with other livestock and no special diet is given to it. When the time of labour arrives the cow starts sitting and standing up abruptly and gets restless. It pulls up its tail and the villagers know that the time of giving birth has arrived. The members of the household come around it. The cow generally gives birth in a sitting position, though it may do so standing also. At the time of delivery first of all a sort of blown up ball of thin layer of skin comes out. This is full of urine and is known as **mutialandi** (मूतलैंडी). This generally gets burst by itself and if it does not the attending people do so by piercing it with something sharp. Then comes the forelegs of the baby, followed by its head. At this point the cow uses its utmost strength to throw it out. The villagers also pull it out very gently and a new head of livestock sees the first day of its life on earth. When it has given birth it is said to have **byah gai** (ब्याह गई). The cow will lick its baby with her

tongue thereby cleaning the latter. Soon after the new born is able to stand upon its own legs. Around this time a sort of umbilical cord of the cow starts coming out and it takes quite some time for the whole of it to come out. When the whole of it has come out, (it weighs as much as 10 seers) it is thrown out in the waste to be eaten up by dogs and other wild animals.

It is after this that the villagers wash the teats of the cow with hot water and then press them (locally known as **than** (थन) with the result that milk starts coming out.

Once the birth is over, the cow is fed dry fodder without mixing it with water or anything.

The first yield of milk is known as **khees** (खीस). It is first of all taken to the local shrines (**Mata-ka-chabutras**) and offered there. Then it is brought home and boiled and sugar or jaggery (locally known as **gur**) is mixed with it and it is then distributed amongst friends and relations in the village.

The milk of the first few days goes on getting sour and is locally known as **chhaira** (छैरा). The villagers besides letting the youngstock suck milk from its teats, take some out for themselves or give it back to the cow concerned after mixing it with **gur**.

All the details given above are applicable to grown up cows also and hence it is sufficient to add here that the villagers go on milking a cow until after 6th or 7th month of its pregnancy and after that they stop doing so for if they continue, the yield next time would be much less than the normal.

In case of buffaloes, the whole process is just the same except in terminology. For example, peculiar mowing of a buffalo youngstock when near mature is locally called **rengna** (रैगना) instead of **rambhana** (रम्भाना) as in the case of cow. Again when a he-buffalo is brought near it they shout **arrahi, arrahi** (अरही अरही) instead of **drichh, drichh**. Again, when it gets pregnant it is called **bohana** (बोहना) instead of **byahana** as in case of the cow.

Cases of abortion or miscarriage are not uncommon for the cows or buffaloes. If a cow having become pregnant again starts mowing in a peculiar fashion, which is locally known as **rambhana** the villagers come to know that abortion has occurred and that the cow will not litter. This abortion is locally known as **phirm**

(फ़िरना). The villagers will again bring around the bull for covering the cow. Miscarriage after 6 or 7 months is known as **Chham** (छन जाना) or **tooh jana** (तूह जाना). The still born is usually buried in the village waste land. After abortion the cow will not start yielding milk. However, after miscarriage the next pregnancy generally takes place within a very short period. But in such cases abortions are much more common than in normal case.

Sometimes complications also arise at the time of labour. For example, while the cow or buffalo is pushing out its new born out of its womb, the youngstock may turn upside down or its rear may start coming out first. In such cases the cow or the buffalo suffers excruciating pain sometimes resulting in its death. In such cases the villagers sometimes in order to set the matter right dip their arm in mustard oil and push it inside the womb of the cow or the buffalo and with gentle moves try to set the position of the expected youngstock right. If they are successful the delivery is quite smooth and if not then they leave it to nature to have its own way. The unnatural or the wrong way of emergence of the calf is locally known as **ulat jana** (उलट जाना) and setting it right by pushing oiled arms inside is locally known as **seedha karna** (सीधा करना).

The he-calves of a cow if left to themselves would grow up into bulls. But as the villagers would hardly have any use of bulls and as they require bullocks for their use in their agricultural operations, as soon as a he-calf attains the age of 2 years or more he is sterilized by the villagers themselves, so that it becomes a bullock.

The sterilisation is locally known as **badhiya karna** (बढिया करना). In some cases the villagers may take the calf to the veterinary hospital for the purpose. But as some charge is made for this operation the villagers prefer doing it by themselves. Although the method of sterilisation is basically the same in the veterinary hospital as in the village, yet there are several differences in the two. The following paragraphs contain a brief description of the two methods.

Local Method

When a he-calf has attained the age of two years or so the owner decides to convert it into a bullock. He will first of all collect 5 or 6 adult males (either members of the households or his friends) to help him. Together they would first tie a foreleg and a hindleg of the calf with a rope and fell the calf on the ground. Then they

tie all its legs together so that it may not be able to move much and the operation may be done smoothly. After tying its legs one of the persons will put his arm through the hind legs of the calf and pull out his testicals (locally known as **jote** (जोंते) from beneath its belly. Then they rub cow dung ash on it. This is done so that it may soak the sweat that is caused during the operation. Then they take two flat and smoothened wooden bars whose dimensions are about 1 yard in length and about 4" in breadth.

At first they tie the two wooden bars on one end and put one of the testicles of the calf in between the two and then press hard the two bars from the other end. This leads to crushing of the testicle. The same process is applied to the other testicle. The testicles in a way melt away. After this the calf is let loose to roam about. Its crushed portion swells up for about a week or so but within the next fortnight or so, the swelling comes down by itself. Thus when both the testicles have been crushed the calf becomes sterilised and ultimately grows into a full fledged bullock within a year or so.

Soon after the operation of sterilisation is over, the owner of the calf distributes **gur** (गड़) or **shakkar** (jaggery or brown sugar) amongst the friends and relatives of the household to celebrate its sterilisation.

Scientific Method

The sterilisation of the calves in the veterinary hospital is done by qualified vets in the same manner as done by the villagers. But here the vets first apply some spirit or something on the testicles instead of ash and secondly the crushing is done with the help of pliers. The villagers do not favour this method as according to them their own method is better.

Sometimes the testicles of a calf are not completely crushed and it becomes something between a bull and bullock. It is locally known as **baid** (बैड़). It has a tendency of running after cows and can be used for breeding purposes. However, the villagers never use it for the purpose and utilise it for agricultural operations only, even though it is comparatively troublesome and quarrelsome.

DISEASES AND THEIR CURES

Though there are innumerable physical ailments from which the cattle suffer, we are here giving only the most common of such ailments in the village.

The most common and the most prevalent of all the cattle diseases in the village is the foot and mouth disease locally known as **munkh pair ki bimari** (मुंह पैर की बीमारी). The symptoms of this disease are that the cow, buffalo or the bullock concerned gets a sort of wound on its legs near the hoofs and whenever mosquitoes or flies sit on it they lick it thereby poisoning their tongues also. There appear boils on the tongue and the livestock concerned is not able to eat anything. It finds standing up or walking painful and thus has a tendency to sit still. On the whole it looks very weak and sickly. Unless cured early it may even lead to the death of the livestock concerned.

No one in the village knows as to how it starts or what causes it. But according to the villagers sometimes as much as 10 to 15 per cent of the cows, buffaloes and bullocks may be suffering from this disease. This figure seems a bit exaggerated to the author, who on investigating found the figure around 2 or 3 per cent at the time of investigation. However, the villagers contend that there are times when all the cattle in the village are free from this disease and other times when a substantial proportion suffer from it, though no one could say why it is so nor could they give the particular period of the year when the cattle suffer from this disease.

The villagers on the whole favour curing the disease in the village itself through local methods and cases of their taking their cattle to veterinary hospital at Shahdara for treatment of this disease are very few.

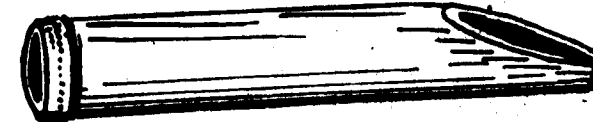
For curing the boils on the tongue the villagers first wash the mouth of the cattle concerned with water and then apply fresh butter to it. This is locally known as **launi ghee** (लौनी घी). Those households who do not have it borrow it from others who give it generally just for the asking or on some nominal payment. So far as the wound on the legs near the hoofs is concerned the villagers take the skin of **desi kikar** (देसी कीकर) and the roots of **beri** (बेरी) a bush, cut them into small pieces and put the matter in a pitcher filled with water, which is heated till it boils.

This mixture is locally known as **kassa** (कस्सा). The **kassa** is then cooled a bit and poured slowly upon the wounds. This is believed to be a sure cure for the wounds. But in case the wound is not cured and the flies etc. have started sitting on it, thus causing it to germinate, the villagers take phenyle and soak the wounds with it. This is said to be a good

treatment, for it not only destroys the germs that have already settled there but also prevents further germination and ultimately the cattle gets cured.

The cattle head concerned may be cured of the disease within a week or may take more than 50 days or so. But the villagers say that there is fall in its daily yield though the quality of milk does not suffer. Generally all the cattle heads get cured but cases of deaths due to this disease also sometimes occur.

Another common disease is indigestion or dyspepsia. This is of two types—one is just like constipation locally known as **kabzi** (कब्जी). In this the livestock concerned loses appetite, its dung is small in quantity and also is comparatively very dry. The stomach also gets harder. The other type is somewhat like dysentery and here the cattle head excretes very thin dung and does it very often. This is locally known as **pet chalna** (पेट चलना). In case of the former the cattle head concerned is given a mixture of **gur**, soda lime, mint and black salt, administered through mouth. This mixture is locally known as **karha** (काढ़ा). The mixture is made by mixing 1 seer of **gur** with $\frac{1}{2}$ seer water, $\frac{1}{4}$ seer of soda lime and same quantity of black salt and boiling it. The mixture is administered through a bamboo piece (known as **pori**) into the mouth. In case of **pet chalna** (पेट चलना) i.e. dysentery, the cattle head is given another type of mixture known again as **karha** (काढ़ा). This is prepared by mixing $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of **gur**, $\frac{1}{4}$ seer green onions, $\frac{1}{4}$ seer of mint, $\frac{1}{4}$ seer of dried pomegranate and a bit of mole with some water and administering it to the cattle head.



A Pori

Another ailment is the swelling of some part of the body. Although this may occur at any part of the body yet in case of the milch cattle it generally occurs on the teats. This disease is locally known as **nikasa** (निकास). This also comes up by itself and is not contagious but is quite dangerous. Unless cured or treated well this swelling goes on increasing and may even lead to the death of the cattle head concerned. In case of milch cattle the teats may go dry.

The villagers cure it in two ways, one by administering local cures and secondly by means of enchantment locally known as **shad phoonk** (शाद फूंक). It is interesting to note that

the latter of the two is much more popular and the people have great faith in it. It may be due to the fact this treatment is free and does not entail any labour.

The local medical cure is the following. The villagers collect the roots of *sakh sandi* (साख संध), a wild plant which grows around the village waste. The roots are then crushed till the water comes out. This water is given to the cattle head for drinking and the rest is pasted over the swollen part.

The enchantment, the more popular of the treatment, is as follows :

Whenever a cow, buffalo or bullock gets this swelling the owner runs up to his neighbours who know this chanting. There are several persons in the village who know this art which they acquire through observation only. When approached, the person will at once accompany the visitor even if he is busy in some important task. He will come to the cattle concerned and recite the following mantras :—

ओम गुरु जी
Om guru ji

काला भैरव कपला केश
Kala bhairav kapla kes
कान में कुण्डल भगुवा भैस
Kam main kundal bhagwa bhes

मेरा बैरी तेरा बक्स
Mera bairi tera baks

मूँड़ तोड़ कलेजा चख
Moondi tor kaleja chakh

जा बैठो बैरी की खाट
Ja baitho bairi ki khaat

खप्पर में खा मसान में लेट
Khappar main kha masan main let

काले भैरों की पूजा जो मेटे
Kale bhairo ki pooja jo mete

राजा मेटे राज पाट से जाय
Raja mete raj pat se jai

परजा मेटे दूध पूत से जाय
Parja mete doodh poot se jai

मन्तर साँचा पिन्ड काँचा
Mantar sachha pind kancha

The person who is to recite this mantra takes a neem twig and moves it upward and downwards in front of the cattlehead and recites the mantra four or five times. The villagers claim that by repeating this treatment for one or two days the animal gets completely cured.

Another ailment is the swelling of the stomach, locally known as *aphar jana* (अफर जाना). This may be caused by eating of some poisonous grass or leaves. This is also a very dangerous disease and unless cured the animal may die because in this ailment it is difficult for the animal to breathe very freely.

The villagers cure it through administering about 4th of a seer of mustard oil to the animal for two or three days. The mustard oil is administered through a bamboo *pori* locally known as *naal* (नाल). Another method of treatment is by rubbing tobacco used for smoking hookah in the interior of the mouth and on the tongue of the animal concerned. Sometimes the villagers use mobiloil instead of tobacco for the purpose.

Thus, in most cases the cures are all local but in case the local cures fail the animal concerned is taken to the veterinary hospital at Shahdara.

LIVELIHOOD CLASS AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The purpose of the following paragraphs is to give a detailed account of the present occupational structure in Gokulpur and its shifts from the past. Thus broadly speaking, we shall here deal with the manpower resources and their allocation in the economic system of the village.

It will, however, be useful first to define livelihood class and occupation. Broadly speaking, a livelihood class signifies the sector of economy from which one derives one's means of livelihood, and occupation signifies the particular job that one is doing. A comparative study of the livelihood class structure of the village at different periods of time would reveal the various stages of economic development of its economy. Similarly, a comparative study of the occupational structure obtaining in the village at various periods would reveal the shifts in the same. But our comparative study of livelihood class structure and occupational pattern of the village is necessarily limited because data regarding livelihood class structure is available only for 2 periods viz. the 1961 census and the data collected by us in 1961 and that of occupational structure prior to 1961 is totally lacking.

LIVELIHOOD CLASS

With a view to make a comparative study the classification of livelihood classes that we have adopted is the same as that adopted by the Census Commissioner in 1951.

A comparison of the existing livelihood class structure with that of 1951 census will enable us to highlight the shifts of the population amongst the various livelihood classes in the village during the decade 1951—61.

TABLE III: 14

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO THEIR LIVELIHOOD CLASS AS IN 1951—61

Livelihood Class	1951 Census		1961 Enumeration	
	No. of Persons	%age	No. of Persons	%age
Agricultural Classes				
Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	283	51.8	314	35.9
Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents	4	0.7	27	3.1
Cultivating labourers and their dependents	160	29.3	87	9.9
Non-cultivating owners of land and their dependents	51	9.4	4	0.5
Non-Agricultural Classes (including their dependents)				
Production other than cultivation	..	..	148	16.8
Trade and Commerce	7	1.2	27	3.1
Transport	22	4.0	47	5.4
Other services and misc. sources	19	3.6	221	25.3
TOTAL	546	100.0	875	100.0

A study of Table III: 14 reveals several interesting features, the most significant and important being the tremendous shift of the population from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector of the economy. Whereas according to the 1951 Census an overwhelming proportion of population (91.2 per cent) was deriving its means of livelihood from the agricultural sector the corresponding figure for 1961 stands at 45.9 per cent, thus indicating a shift in dependence of 45.3 per cent of the population from agricultural to non-agricultural occupation. This tremendous shift is primarily due to several owner cultivators and agricultural labourers having joined service occupations or having taken to service as labourers in the various manufacturing concerns at Shahdara. Another contributing factor is the immigration of non-agricultural people from outside into the village, and their having taken up jobs at Shahdara.

Amongst the various categories of agricultural classes the most significant features are the near extinction of the class of non-cultivating owners of land and their dependents, a substantial fall in the proportion of cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and of cultivating labourers and their dependents.

Whereas in 1951, 9.4 per cent of the population was deriving its means of livelihood from the category of non-cultivating owners of land and their dependents, at present they account for only 0.5 per cent. This near extinction of this class can primarily be attributed to the enactment and implementation of the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954, which prohibits the leasing out of land to others for cultivation, except under certain conditions like the land owner being a widow, a person serving in the army etc. Again under the Act, all those who were cultivating the land of others since 1952 or before were declared the rightful owners of the same. Thus several tillers of land came to own land previously owned by the non-cultivating owners.

Another significant feature among the agricultural classes is the decline by 15.9 per cent in the class cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents. Whereas one would normally expect this class to register an increase in its strength due to many landless tillers and cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned joining its ranks, it has still registered a substantial fall. This is due to several persons from this category especially from amongst the Gujars, Brahmins and the Rajputs, having taken

to non-agricultural occupations especially in trade, commerce or in service occupations.

The fall in the proportion of agricultural labourers and their dependents by 19.4 per cent is primarily due to several persons amongst them (notably from the Chamars) having joined the ranks of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in the non-agricultural occupations in the various factories at Shahdara.

A paradox that has been noticed is the increase in the proportion of cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents. Normally this class should have been wiped out altogether because of the passing of the Delhi Land Reforms Act but instead it has registered an increase by 2.4 per cent over the decade 1951-61. This is so because several land owners lease out part of their land to others for cultivation. This they are able to do by getting themselves recorded as the tillers in the *girdawari* records of the *patwari* (पटवारी).

The fall in the proportion of those dependant upon the agricultural sector has naturally swollen the ranks of the non-agricultural class. The most significant gainers in this respect have been those engaged in production other than cultivation and other services and miscellaneous sources.

Whereas in 1951 the class, "production other than cultivation" was conspicuous by its absence, at present 16.8 per cent of the people depend upon this source for their livelihood. As already mentioned this is primarily due to several agricultural labourers having joined its ranks as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in the various factories at Shahdara. Besides these a Kumhar has started manufacturing earthenware in the village and a Chamar household has taken to processing of leather in the village.

So far as the class 'other services and miscellaneous sources' is concerned its proportion has registered an increase by 21.7 per cent *i.e.* from 3.6 per cent in 1951 to 25.3 per cent in 1961.

TABLE III: 15
LABOUR FORCE AND WORKING FORCE

Category	Number of persons					
	Males	%	females	%	Total	%
1. Labour Force	239	54.1	203	45.9	442	100.0
2. Working Force	237	70.7	98	29.3	335	100.0
3. as % of 1	99.2		48.3		75.8	

This is primarily due to several persons from the owner cultivators having joined service in the various State and Central Government Offices or in private concerns.

The slight increase in the class 'trade and commerce' is due to the emergence of more milk sellers in the village. Besides these a Gosain widow has started a tea-shop near the Terminal Tax post on the Loni Road.

Similarly, the slight increase in the class Transport is due to some persons having taken to motor, scooter or truck driving or to rehra plying on the Loni Road.

The over-all picture that emerges is the significant shift from agricultural to non-agricultural sector. The shift becomes all the more important if considered with reference to the construction of the bund on the eastern side of the Jamuna. Although previously (*i.e.* 1951, when the bund had not come up) the prospects in the agricultural sector were rather poor, still an overwhelming proportion of the population was dependent upon it. But now (*i.e.* in 1961 when the bund has come up) although the prospects in agriculture have improved to a great extent, yet the proportion of population dependent upon the agricultural sector has gone down by over 4 per cent of the total population. Thus, one can easily conclude that the other socio-economic changes have more than offset the attractions of agriculture brought about by the coming up of the bund. The most important of such factors in short are the increased industrial activity in Shahdara, higher literacy etc.

LABOUR FORCE AND WORKING FORCE

Labour force is defined as the pool of manpower resources from which working force is drawn, working force being the sum total of all persons (irrespective of their age or sex) who are engaged in some economic activity or the other.

Labour force in rural areas is usually assumed to be consisting of all persons (males and females) in the age group 15 to 59 years.

The table shows that over three fourths (15.8 per cent) of the labour force constitutes the working force.

Again, there is preponderance of males both in the labour force as well as in the working force, though it is much more marked in the latter. For example, whereas in the working force, the respective proportions of males and females are 54.1 per cent and 45.9 per cent the corresponding proportions in the working force are 70.7 per cent and 29.3 per cent.

It may, however, be pointed out here that the male working force of 237 includes one person below the age of 15 years and 18 persons above 60 years of age who are by definition not included in the labour force. This means that 21 males between the age group 15 to 59 years are not included in the working force.

Similarly, amongst females, there is one worker who is below 15 years of age and 2 workers who are above the age of 60 years. Thus amongst them there are 111 females who are not included in the working force. The details regarding the activities of these 21 males and 111 females and of other persons is provided in a subsequent table.

ECONOMIC STATUS

We have adopted the same definition and classification of economic status as was adopted by the Census Commissioner in 1961.

The Census Commissioner has divided the total population into two classes *viz.*, workers and non-workers. We have accordingly divided the total population of the village into these two categories.

Table III:16 gives the relevant data about the economic status of the population of the village.

The table shows several interesting features, the most important being that over three-fifths or 61.7 per cent of the total population of the village constitutes non-workers, the workers accounting for the remaining two-fifths or 38.3 per cent. Again, whereas about one half or 49.8 per cent of all the males in the village are workers, the corresponding proportion for females is comparatively quite low being about one-fourth or 24.6 per cent only.

By studying the cases of males and females separately we find that whereas amongst the males (leaving aside the age group 0-14 years) workers outnumber non-workers in all the age groups, it is just the opposite in case of the females where the non-workers outnumber the workers in all the age groups.

A study of workers and non-workers according to age and sex reveals that amongst the males an overwhelming proportion are workers in the higher age groups though only 0.5 per cent are workers in the age group 0-14 years. For example 90.7 per cent of them are workers in the age group of 15-34 years and 92.7 per cent and 90.9 per cent are workers in the age groups of 35-59 years and 60 years and above respectively. As compared to these there are 46.0 per cent, 48.4 per cent and 14.3 per cent workers amongst the females in the age groups 15-34 years, 35-59 years and 60 years of age and above respectively.

TABLE III: 16
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE, SEX AND ECONOMIC STATUS

Age Group	Males			Females			Total		
	Worker	Non-Worker	Total	Worker	Non-Worker	Total	Worker	Non-Worker	Total
0-14	1	216	217	1	181	182	2	397	399
%	(0.5)	(99.5)	(100.0)	(0.5)	(99.5)	(100.0)	(0.5)	(99.5)	(100.0)
15-34	133	17	150	64	75	139	197	92	289
%	(90.7)	(9.3)	(100.0)	(46.0)	(54.0)	(100.0)	(69.2)	(30.8)	(100.0)
35-59	85	4	89	31	33	64	116	40	156
%	(92.1)	(7.9)	(100.0)	(48.4)	(51.6)	(100.0)	(72.4)	(27.6)	(100.0)
60+	18	2	20	2	12	14	20	11	31
%	(90.0)	(10.0)	(100.0)	(14.3)	(85.7)	(100.0)	(64.5)	(35.5)	(100.0)
TOTAL	237	239	476	98	301	399	335	540	875
% of the TOTAL	(49.8)	(50.2)	(100.0)	(24.6)	(75.4)	(100.0)	(38.3)	(61.7)	(100.0)

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

It may be pointed out at the outset that as distinguished from the livelihood class (studied earlier) which specifies the particular sector of economy from which one derives one's means of livelihood, occupation indicates the specific job and the nature of work that one is doing.

Here we propose to study and analyse the occupational structure of the workers in the village.

As is obvious from the last paragraph or table III:16 in all 335 persons (237 males and 98 females) or 38.3 per cent of the total

population are engaged in some gainful economic activity or the other.

Table No. III:17 gives the occupational distribution of these 335 persons.

By far the most significant feature that emerges from the table is the overall predominance of agricultural occupations over all others, individually or combined. By dividing the total workers into two broad categories viz. those who are following agricultural occupations and those who are following non-agricultural occupations we find that more than half or 52.0 per cent of the 335 workers are presently engaged in agricultural activities and 48.0 per cent are following non-agricultural occupations.

TABLE III: 17

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY AGE, SEX AND OCCUPATION

Occupation	Males						Females						Total					
	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total		0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total		0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total	%
Agricultural :																		
O.C.	..	33	34	8	75	..	48	24	1	73	..	81	58	8	148	44.2		
T.C.	..	1	4	2	7	..	3	..	..	3	..	4	4	2	10	3.0		
Agri. Lab.	..	4	3	2	9	..	2	2	..	4	..	6	5	2	13	3.9		
R.R.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	..	..	2	1	3	0.9		
SUB-TOTAL	..	(38)	(41)	(12)	(91)	..	(53)	(28)	(2)	(83)	..	(91)	(69)	(14)	(174)	(52.0)		
Non-Agricultural Services :																		
Mill Worker	..	37	11	..	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	37	11	..	48	14.3		
Nai	..	6	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	1	..	7	2.1		
Shepherd	..	3	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	4	1.2		
Govt. & Pvt. Service	..	21	9	2	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	9	2	32	9.5		
Hakim	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	0.6		
Sweeping	..	3	4	..	7	1	8	3	..	12	1	11	7	..	19	5.7		
Artisan :																		
Leather Worker	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	0.3		
Cycle Repair	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	0.3		
Kumhar	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	2	..	2	..	1	3	0.8		
Others :																		
Rehra or Motor or Scooter Driver	..	7	4	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	4	..	11	3.3		
Casual Labour	..	1	5	8	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	8	14	4.5		
Milk-seller	..	10	3	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	3	..	13	3.9		
Shop-keeper	..	2	1	1	4	..	1	..	..	1	..	3	1	1	5	1.5		
SUB-TOTAL	(1)	(95)	(44)	(6)	(146)	(1)	(11)	(3)	..	(15)	(2)	(106)	(47)	(6)	(161)	(48.0)		
GRAND TOTAL	1	133	85	18	239	1	64	31	2	98	2	197	116	20	335	100.0		
%	0.4	56.1	35.9	7.6	100.0	1.0	65.3	31.6	2.0	100.0	0.6	58.8	48.9	8.4	100.0			

A study of the agricultural workers shows that owner cultivators constitute by far the biggest single group accounting for 148 or 44.2 per cent of the total workers, while the other three categories viz. share croppers, agricultural labourers and rent receivers account for 3.0 per cent, 3.9 per cent and 0.9 per cent of the total agricultural workers.

Further, it will be noticed that of the total of 174 agricultural workers, 83 are females. Of these 83, 3 are widowed rent receivers, 4 are agricultural labourers, 3 are working with their husbands as share croppers and the rest are all sharing the burden of work in the fields with their households who own some land.

As compared to females in agricultural occupations, where they account for 47.7 per cent of the total agricultural workers, there are only 15 or 2.3 per cent females out of a total of 161 persons in the non-agricultural occupations. Of these 15 females 12 are working as sweepresses in the village, 2 assist the heads of their households in pottery work and one, a Gosain widow is running a tea shop at the Delhi U.P. border, just on the outskirts of the village habitation.

So far as the non-agricultural occupations are concerned, we have divided the various occupations in two broad categories viz. service occupations and other occupations. The service occupations account for a majority of persons in the non-agricultural occupations. In fact they account for 112 persons as compared to others (i.e. 49) in this class. Amongst those in other occupations 18 or 5.4 per cent of the total workers are engaged in shop-keeping or in milk selling. Casual labourers account for 15 or 4.5 per cent of the total workers. The artisans viz., the potter, the leather tanner and cycle repair account for 5 or 1.4 per cent of the total workers.

A study of the workers according to age and sex shows that of the total of 335 workers 237 or 70.7 per cent are males and 98 or 29.3 per cent are females. Again, age-group wise, 91.0 per cent of the total workers are in the groups 15-34 and 35-59 years, 8.4 per cent in the age group 60 years and above and 2 or 0.6 per cent are in the age group 0-14 years.

Again, whereas 92.0 per cent of the male workers fall in the age groups of 15-34 and 35-59 years, the corresponding figure for females is 97.0 per cent. There are more male workers above the age of 60 years as compared to females of the same age.

An interesting feature brought out by the table regarding female workers is that almost all of them are household workers working along with other male members of their households. Even the 2 female agricultural labourers work along with their husbands and will in all probability leave their job if their husbands leave it. This clearly shows that females by themselves do not take up any independent job but do so along with the male members of their respective households. The only exceptions to this rule are the 3 widowed rent receivers and 1 widowed lady who is running a tea shop.

The foregoing table (i.e. table No. III: 17) shows that there are in all 112 workers who are engaged in service occupations. The detailed breakdown of these 112 workers in service occupations according to their specific jobs is provided in table No. III: 18.

The table shows that of the 112 persons in service occupations 100 are males and 12 are females. Again, while 100 are in private service, 12 are in the various departments of Central or Local Government. Incidentally all the females are privately engaged as sweepresses in the village itself.

TABLE III : 18
SPECIFIC OCCUPATION OF THE PERSONS IN SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

S. No.	Occupation	No. of Persons		
		TOTAL	M	F
1.	Sweeper	14	..	12
2.	Barber	7	7	..
3.	Shepherd	4	4	..
4.	Mill-worker	48	48	..
5.	Foundry-worker	5	5	..
6.	Machine-man	2	2	..
7.	Chowkidar	1	1	..
8.	Press-worker	3	3	..
9.	Munim	2	2	..
10.	Peon	3	3	..
11.	Manager	1	1	..
12.	Hakim & Compounder	2	2	..
13.	Gardner	5	5	..
14.	Motor-driver	2	2	..
15.	House-servant	1	1	..
SUB-TOTAL :		100	88	12

(Continued)

TABLE III: (contd.)

S. No. Occupation	No. of persons		
	Total	M	F
<i>Government Service</i>			
1. Clerk in D.T.U.	1	1	..
2. Inspector in Co-operative Society, Krishan Nagar	1	1	..
3. Military Sepoy	2	1	..
4. Assistant Cashier, Parliament House	2	1	..
5. Terminal Tax Collector	1	1	..
6. Peon (Railway)	1	1	..
7. Driver (Military)	1	1	..
8. Sweeper	5	5	..
SUB TOTAL :	12	12	..
GRAND TOTAL :	112	100	12

The breakdown of persons working as artisans according to their specific jobs is given in table No. III : 19.

TABLE III:19
ARTISANS

Nature of work	No. of persons		
	Male	Female	Total
Pottery Work	1	2	3
Leather Tanning	1	..	1
Cycle Repair	2	..	2
TOTAL	4	2	6

The table shows that three persons (all Kumhars) are engaged in pottery work, 1 person (a Chamar) is engaged in leather tanning and 2 persons (both Chamars) are carrying on the work of cycle repair.

NON-WORKERS

So far we have studied the occupational structure of the workers in the village. In order to

have a better perspective of the potential of the population one must consider, besides the occupational structure of the workers, the nature of activities of the non-workers as well.

As stated earlier the population of the village consists of 335 or 38.3 per cent workers and 540 or 61.7 per cent non-workers. Table No. III: 20 provides data regarding the nature of activities of 540 non-workers.

TABLE III: 20

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-WORKERS ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY.

Nature of Activity	Males					Females					Total					% of the Total
	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total	0-14	15-34	35-59	60+	Total	
Infants & Children	144	..	..	..	144 (60.2)	164	..	..	..	164 (54.5)	308	..	..	..	308	7.0
Students	72	14	..	..	86 (36.0)	15	..	..	..	15 (5.0)	87	14	..	..	101	18.7
Old & infirm	..	..	2	2	4 (1.7)	..	..	..	4	4 (1.3)	..	..	2	6	8	1.5
Unemployed	..	3	2	..	5 (2.1)	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	5	0.9
Housewives	..	..	..	..	..	2	75	33	8	118 (39.2)	2	75	33	8	118	21.9
TOTAL	216	17	4	2	239	181	75	33	12	301	397	92	37	14	540	100.0
% of the total	90.4	7.1	1.7	0.8	100.0	60.1	24.9	11.0	4.0	100.0	73.5	17.0	6.9	2.6	100.0	100.0
					44.3						55.7					

The table shows that females outnumber males by 13.4 per cent amongst the non-working population in the village. Whereas females account for 55.7 per cent of the total non-workers, the corresponding figure for males is 44.3 per cent. Incidentally this is just the opposite of the workers where, as observed earlier, males outnumbered females.

A further study of the table shows that 308 or 57.0 per cent of the total 540 non-workers are infants and children (in the age group 0-14 years) and constitute the largest single group of non-workers. They are followed in order of numerical strength by housewives who account for over one-fifths or 21.9 per cent of the total and by students 18.7 per cent, old and infirm and the unemployed who account for 1.5 per cent and 0.9 per cent of the total respectively.

Sex-wise study of the table reveals that amongst the male non-workers the infants and children account for the largest single group constituting over three-fifths (60.2 per cent) out of a total of 239. Students account for 36.0 per cent, old and infirm for 1.7 and the unemployed for 5 or 2.1 per cent. Amongst the old and infirm 2 are over 60 years of age and are unable to work. 2 others are in the age group 35-59 years and are suffering from asthma and as such are not in a position to work.

So far as the unemployed are concerned 3 are in the age group 15-34 and 2 are in the age group of 35-59 years. While the former three are looking for jobs for the first time, the latter two were mill workers but are now out of employment.

Amongst the females, the infants and children (in the age group 0-14 years) again predominate being over half or 54.5 per cent of the total female non-workers. Housewives account for 39.2 per cent of the total and students for 5.0 per cent. The remaining 4 or 1.3 per cent of the total are all old and infirm in the age group 60 years and above.

Age-wise distribution of the non-workers shows that an overwhelming proportion (73.5 per cent) is in the age group 0-14 years, followed by 17.0 per cent in the age group 15-34 years and 6.9 per cent and 2.6 per cent in the age groups of 35-59 years and 60 years and above respectively.

A comparison of male non-workers with female non-workers in the various age groups shows that while 90.4 per cent males are in the age group 0-14, the corresponding figure for the female non-workers is 60.1 per cent. The female non-workers outnumber their male counterparts in all the other age groups.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

In spite of the various socio-economic changes like coming up and expansion of various manufacturing concerns at Shahdara which have provided employment to several persons from Gokulpur, the construction of bund on the eastern bank of the Jamuna, which has improved the state of agriculture, increasing contacts of the villagers with urban areas like Shahdara and Delhi etc., which have to a certain extent changed the material and consumption habits of the villagers, the nature and extent of commercial activities of the village have not oriented themselves accordingly. Not that there have been no changes at all but the changes in these activities are comparatively small as compared to the other changes.

Broadly speaking, the trading and commercial activities in the village are still limited, as before, to shop-keeping, milk selling and money lending. The nature and extent of all the three have undergone some change and here it is proposed to study and analyse these changes.

It may, however, be pointed out at the outset that although several well-to-do persons in the village are engaged in the business, of money lending on interest to others yet no one likes to disclose for fear that their material prosperity may become obvious and the State might impose some tax on them and the borrowers are reluctant to state the same for fear that the lenders may not refuse to oblige them in future and also because of the fear that it may cause lowering of their social status in the eyes of the interviewer as compared to that of the lenders. Thus, in view of the above mentioned factors, it is not possible for us to state as to how many persons in the village are presently engaged in money lending activities though they are reported to be responsible for having advanced quite a substantial proportion of the total loans in the village.

The other commercial activities in the village are limited to shop-keeping and milk selling. There are at the moment 5 different shops located in the various corners in the village. Two of these are being run by 2 Baniya households of the village and one each by a Gujar, Brahmin and Gosain household. While the Baniya shops have been running in the village for the past 30 or 40 years, the other three have come up only during the last decade or so. 4 of these shops (2 Baniya, 1 Gujar and 1 Brahmin) deal in the daily necessities of life e.g. in provisions like wheat, gram, bajra, gochani, gojra and their flours, salt, spices, gur, sugar, cigarette, .biri, tobacco, mustard oil, kerosene oil, vegetable ghee etc. Besides these they also keep some cheap

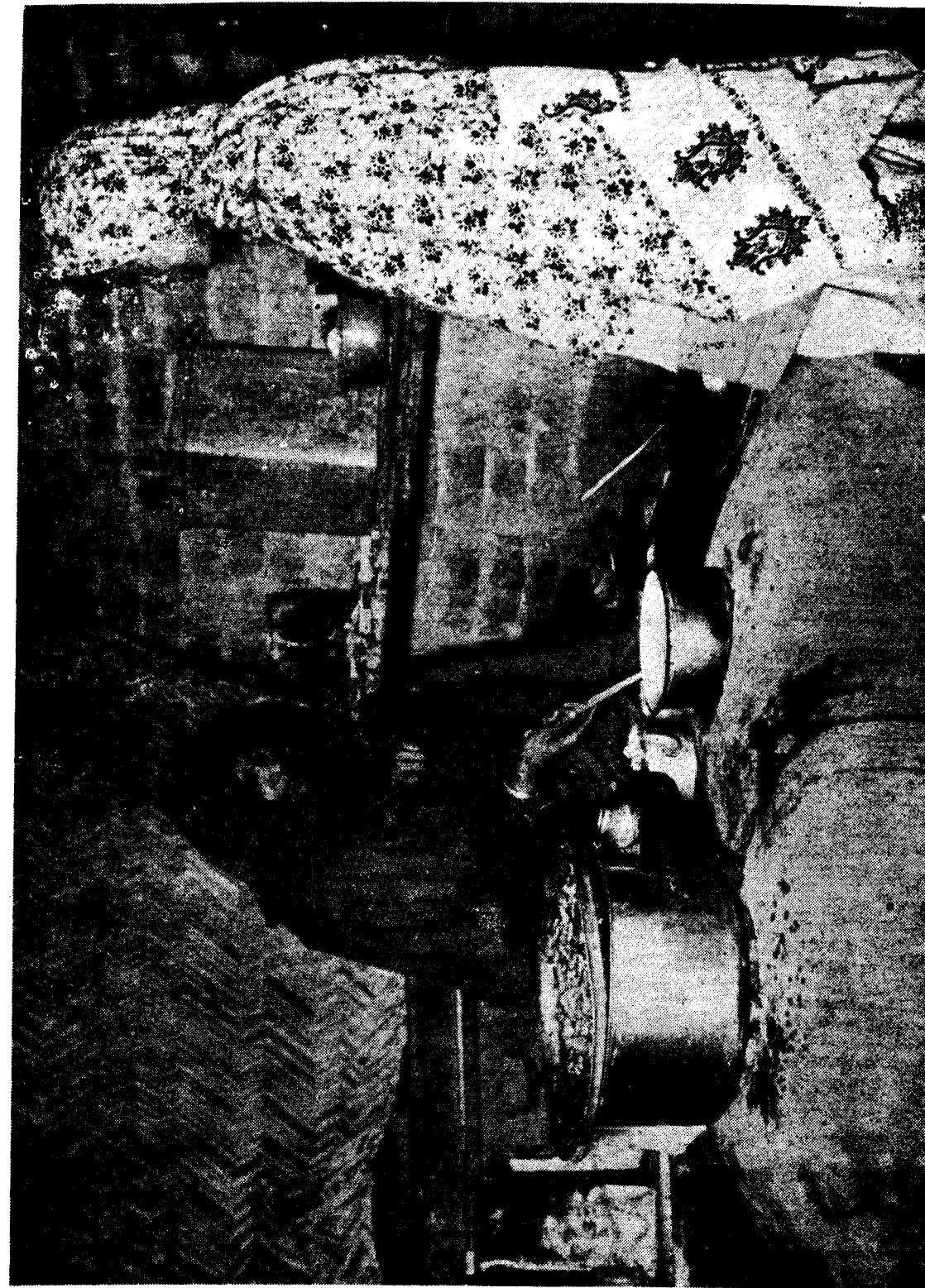
snacks like fried pulses, parched gram and groundnuts, salted and sweetened saivyan etc. These shops cater to the needs of two villages viz. Gokulpur and Johripur, a nearby village. The 5th shop, set up only about 4 years back by a Gosain widow near the Octroi post just outside the village **abadi** (habitation) is a tea and snack shop and caters primarily to the requirements of the passers-by.

So far as the various provision shops in the village are concerned, they are small and do comparatively little business, as compared to the number of persons of the two villages. The main reason for this is that Shahdara being quite near, the villagers prefer to go to Shahdara for their bulk purchases while for small transactions they depend upon the shops in the village. This is so because things are generally cheaper at Shahdara than in the village itself.

The shopkeepers themselves go to Shahdara for procuring the various provisions and in several cases they have to make purchases from the retailers only as they require only small quantities of articles. As such they sell the articles at a somewhat higher price than even the retailers at Shahdara would charge. And so, the villagers, whenever they have to purchase anything in bulk prefer to purchase the same from Shahdara instead of procuring the same from the shops in the village. The Gosain lady running the tea shop told the author that she many a time incurs loss by selling cigarettes at market price. She told us that she gets one packet of Panama cigarettes containing 20 cigarettes for 70 nP. from Shahdara and sells the same for 70 nP. itself. But when she has to sell in bits she has to sell each cigarette for 3 nP. and thus after she has sold all the 20 she receives only 60 nP. thus incurring a loss of 10 nP. per packet, yet she continues to sell these for attracting customers in the hope that they might take tea or **pakor**as and that she may not only be able to make up for the loss incurred in selling cigarettes but also make something more. But while she may be able to make up her losses in some way or the other, the other shopkeepers dealing in provisions have no such way out and as such have to sell their goods only at some profit. Thus, necessarily the transactions are rather small.

A peculiar feature of such small transactions in the village is that many of them are still covered by barter i.e. exchange of goods. It is a common scene in the village to see a person bringing some grains from his home giving it to the shopkeeper and in turn receiving his requirements.

ANY TIME IS TEA TIME



The Gosain widow preparing tea for customers. Her daughter standing nearby will serve the same to the latter.
Note: Of late tea drinking habit has found its way in the village and now there is hardly a household which does not take tea.



Three milk vendors of the village on their arrival in the village after delivering milk at Delhi. Milk selling has, of late, become an important source of subsidiary income to a majority of households in the village.

A FAMILY BREADWINNER



A Rajput mill worker about to start for his place of work. Over two scores of persons in the village have, of late, taken to service occupations.

This is all the more common in case of the children who go to these shops for snacks. It is in such transactions that the shopkeepers are able to make some extra profit.

This is the picture of shopping activities in the village. But besides these several pedlars visit the village almost everyday, selling various sorts of articles ranging from snacks like sweet-meats, edible and ruel oil to cloth, metal utensils, agricultural tools and implements. Most of these come from Shahdara carrying their articles on their backs or bringing them on bicycles. According to one of the pedlars interviewed by us, he does comparatively better business in the village than in Shahdara from where he comes. He on an average visits 5 to 7 villages a day carrying his wares and covers a distance of about 15 miles each day on foot. One pedlar selling cloth reported that he goes around 8 to 10 villages of the area thus covering over 40 miles on his bicycle.

So far as the capital investment of the different shops in the village is concerned, the shopkeepers reported it to be between Rs. 250 to Rs. 800, excluding the cost of the structure in which they are housed. Their daily sales vary from Rs. 4 in case of the provision shop being run by the Rajput household to Rs. 14 in case of the tea shop being run by the Gosain widow.

Except for the tea shop, for which a special wooden structure has been put up, all the other shops in the village are housed in the residential structures of their owners.

The various provisions lie haphazardly in the shops and most of the things are stored either in tin boxes or in earthen pitchers and sometimes in gunny bags also.

For most of the other requirements the villagers have to go to Shahdara, Delhi or Gaziabad.

MILK SELLING

In recent years, especially after independence, milk selling as a subsidiary and in some cases even as a primary source of income of the villagers has come to occupy a rather prominent place in the economy of the village. Its importance can be gauged by the fact that whereas prior to the partition and independence of the country only about a dozen persons in the village used to sell milk, now almost every household owning milch cattle does so. 72 or 50 per cent of the total households in the village are engaged in this business; while for an overwhelming proportion of them milk selling provides subsidiary income, for 5 of them it is the primary source of income.

Due to a sudden spurt in the milk selling business, its organisation and *modus operandi* have undergone various changes and a mention of the same will not be out of place here.

According to the villagers, previously, only those households used to sell milk who had enough of it and to spare. But now the emphasis is on sale. People try to reduce their own consumption to the barest minimum so that they may sell it and subsidise their incomes. Thus in the years gone by, only the comparatively well off agriculturists who had enough milch cattle, used to sell it to a milk trader who used to visit the village everyday. The price at which milk was to be sold to the trader was decided upon by the then village Panchayat which held its meetings (for this purpose) at least thrice in a year, at the beginning of each season viz., **Kharsa** (summer), **Chaumasa** (rainy season) and **jada** (winter). As the households selling milk had only little to spare, they invariably abided by the decisions of the panchayat and supplied milk to the trader at the fixed price. If the price did not suit one trader some others were always prepared to purchase the same at the rate so fixed. According to a milk seller, the panchayat used to fix the rate taking into consideration various factors, including the interest of the consumers. For example, the milk sellers might like to withhold the supply of milk on festivals and refuse to supply milk at the fixed rate. The trader, however, considering that the demand for milk on festivals is higher would be willing to pay a higher rate and make up by selling at a higher rate. But such things were not tolerated and the milk sellers were expected to supply the normal quantity of milk everyday at the fixed rate. The milk sellers too did not mind this as their income from the sale of milk used to be only insignificant. But after partition and independence of the country the demand for milk rose abnormally (due to influx of refugees) and the price of milk also started rising making it more profitable than ever before. But the cost of living also started rising and people found it more and more difficult to make their both ends meet. As people found milk selling to be a reasonably profitable business all those who had the facilities of maintaining cattle started selling milk at first by restricting their own consumption and later on by keeping extra milch cattle for securing greater supply of milk and making more money.

With the abrupt rise in the supply of milk, the previous set up was found inadequate to meet the requirements. Sometimes the trader would even decline to purchase milk from the sellers as he did not have enough means of transporting the same or he would sometimes purchase the same only if the sellers supplied it at a lower

rate, a demand to which the sellers had sometimes to agree. This further meant the flouting of the decisions of the village panchayat. Such a state of affairs could not last long. The result was that a few of the milk sellers themselves undertook the task of purchasing milk from others and started taking it to market and this system has come to stay in the village, at least for the time being. The system is rather a complicated one and has led to several new types of functional relations amongst the various households in the village. The system is as follows:

There are in all 72 or exactly 50 per cent of the total households in the village who are at the moment engaged in selling milk. Of these, five have assumed the role of trader-cum-sellers while the other 67 are pure sellers. The sellers locally called *bhainsiya* (बैसा) or buffalo owners sell their milk to one or the other of these traders locally known as *dudhiya* (दुधिया). The various *dudhiyas* contact the *bhainsiyas* and urge them to sell their milk to them. Thus each *dudhiya* comes to have a fixed link with a number of *bhainsiyas* (sellers) who are by word of honour bound to sell their milk to him alone at a rate fixed mutually. The fixation of rate and getting attached to a particular *dudhiya* is locally known as *bandi* (बन्दी) or a sort of settlement. Each of the *dudhiyas* vies with the others in getting more and more *bhainsiyas* attached to him as it means greater profits. They sometimes even quote higher rates to attract the *bhainsiyas* of other *dudhiyas*. Such practices have no doubt led to certain amount of estrangement and ill-will amongst the various *dudhiyas*. But outwardly there never has been any clash or break of social relations among them.

The price fixation (which is mutually consented to by the *bhainsiya* (seller) and *dudhiya* (trader) takes place thrice every year, i.e. at the beginning of each season viz., *kharsa* (summer), *chaumasa* (rainy season) and *Jada* (winter). At this time a *bhainsiya* (seller) may change his *dudhiya* (trader) or vice versa. This is a period of hectic bargaining and canvassing by all concerned. After all the settlements are arrived at each *dudhiya* has a number of *bhainsiyas* attached to him and the *bandi* (बन्दी) i.e. settlement of supply of milk to a particular person at mutually fixed rate is said to have been made.

The *dudhiya* (trader) is bound by custom to go to his *bhainsiyas* (sellers) place twice every day to lift milk from there. The cattle have to be milked by the *bhainsiyas* themselves in his presence so that he may be assured of the purity of the milk. He is not bound to purchase milk

which has not been milked in his presence. The milking is to be done by the *bhainsiyas* themselves, though the *dudhiya* (trader) may also do so if a *bhainsiya* is not able to do so, but such arrangements are made only to meet exigencies like absence of *bhainsiya* from the village or the like; normally the *bhainsiyas* are expected to do the milking themselves. After milking is over the *dudhiya* measures it with a can, a brimful of which comes to a seer and 2 *chhattaks* of milk. The *dudhiya* credits one seer of milk for every 1 seer and 2 *chhattaks* of milk received in the name of the *bhainsiya* (sellers) from whom milk has been received. Thus he receives 1 seer 2 *chhattaks* of milk and pays only for 1 seer. The excess of 2 *chhattaks* over every seer of milk that he gets in the bargain is his gross profit from which he has to make provisions for collecting the milk, transporting it to the market (Delhi) and other sundry expenses. Whatever is left after these expenses is his net profit.

After collecting milk from all his *bhainsiyas* the *dudhiya* brings the whole of the milk supply to his place where it is put in big cans and is transported to sweetmeat makers at Delhi on bicycles. If the *dudhiya* does not have the requisite personnel at home to carry it to Delhi, he engages a labourer or two on monthly wage basis for the purpose. Bicycle, cans, milk carriers, licence fee which is to be paid to the Municipal Corporation etc. all have to be provided for by the employer. The carrier engaged for the purpose is normally paid Rs. 30/- p.m. plus one seer of milk and 12 paise for *bidi*, cigarette etc. every day.

Now the milk is to be carried on bicycles to Delhi. Asked as to why they do not sell milk at Shahdara, which is comparatively nearer to the village the *dudhiyas* replied that the rates prevailing at Shahdara are normally lower than those at Delhi, a fact we ourselves verified both at Delhi and at Shahdara. But according to a number of villagers this was not the actual reason and they related some other interesting reasons for the *dudhiyas*' preference to sell at Delhi instead of at Shahdara.

According to them if milk is to be supplied at Shahdara the *dudhiyas* will have to supply it in pure form but when they send it over to Delhi they normally take it in adulterated form. The form of adulteration is the same but the amount of adulteration varies with the rate at which the *dudhiya* is to supply it to sweetmeat makers or actual consumers.

They state that while carrying milk (let us say 2 maunds of it) to Delhi the *dudhiya* or his employee will on his way at first go to a milk



A HAWKER

-A Muslim bangle seller from Patparganj selling his wares to a young girl. Glass bangles are popular amongst the fair sex, young and old, in the village.

A VILLAGE SHOP

The Baniya shopkeeper accepting a handful of grain from youngsters who want parched grams in exchange. Quite a sizable proportion of petty transactions in the village are carried out through barter.





An old sikh pedlar from Shahdara visits the village every alternate day to sell home-made biscuits. He says that he visits some 4 to 5 villages and covers about 10 miles on foot each day.

dairy where they will get cream extracted from a certain proportion of milk and mix separated (toned) milk in the same. Most of the villagers suggested that out of every one maund, the dudhiya will take out 10 seers of milk, hand it over to the dairy owner for extraction of cream and take 10 seers of separated (toned) milk from the latter and mix it in the pure one. The toned milk being cheaper, the dudhiya is thus enabled to make extra profit. Though it is illegal to mix toned milk with pure milk and sell it as pure milk yet the dudhiyas are generally able to do so, mostly with the connivance of the dairy owners. Many a time the staff from the Food Department of the Corporation make surprise checks to ensure the purity of milk, but due primarily to the none too perfect or fool proof methods of checking purity of milk, the milk carriers generally get away. Only if they have mixed too much of toned milk do they get caught and are fined. The fine, if any, is to be borne by the employing dudhiya according to the oral understanding between the dudhiyas and their carrier employees.

While some of the bhainsiyas alleged that the dudhiyas sometimes mix even 50 per cent of toned milk with pure milk and sell it as pure milk, the dudhiyas when taken into confidence claimed that they never mix more than 20 per cent of toned milk with the pure milk. There is, however, no doubt that this practice is quite common though the extent of adulteration may vary. For example, Bishambar a Gujar dudhiya of the village claimed that they never adulterate milk which they supply to the Deputy Commissioner's Office Co-operative Society Canteen at Delhi as they give them somewhat higher rate than the general sweet-meat makers. But they may do so for milk which they supply to others.

The foregoing paragraphs clearly indicate not only the advantages to the dudhiyas of selling milk at Delhi instead of Shahdara but also to some extent the *modus operandi* of the entire set-up.

As already reported, in this organised type of milk selling many new types of functional relationships have come up. It is proposed here to discuss some of these in the following paragraphs. The first and foremost is that the dudhiyas have because of their advantageous position a certain amount of economic hold upon the bhainsiyas which in course of time is bringing them closer to each other. For example, a chamar household supplies its milk to a Brahmin dudhiya and each is willing to co-operate with the other in their own respective interests. This has definitely brought them closer. The Brahmin dudhiya normally does not mind if the Chamar bhainsiya touches his

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milk cans and this points to a closer contact between the two.

While this has brought some bhainsiyas in closer contacts with their dudhiyas, the dudhiyas now do not have as good relations with each other as before. This is primarily because they are now rival competitors who are all the time trying to win away the bhainsiyas.

But the most important of all impacts is upon the money lending business. A bhainsiya is in need of some money and approaches his dudhiya for the purpose. The dudhiya is ever keen to oblige him as in return he expects to ensure the former's continued association with him. In most of such cases no interest is charged as it is normally paid back in terms of milk in easy instalments. Nevertheless, the amount borrowed in such cases normally does not exceed Rs. 100/- or 150/-. But if a bhainsiya wants to purchase an extra cow or buffalo and he does not have the required amount for it, he can easily approach his dudhiya who would advance him the required sum. The loan is repaid in the form of milk and no interest as such is charged. In such cases the dudhiya just pays Re. 1/- less per maund of milk until the whole of the debt is repaid. According to some bhainsiyas this suits them very much as even if they take it as a sort of interest the rate is so low that it does not pinch them.

The accounts amongst the bhainsiyas and the dudhiyas are usually in cash and are settled every 8th day. The period of these 8 days is locally referred to as *athwara* (अथवारा). The bhainsiya goes on supplying milk for 8 days and on 8th day he gets the payment for the milk sold. Many a time the bhainsiyas are not able to meet the maintenance cost of their livestock. In such cases the dudhiyas usually advance them some money adjust it at the time of *athwara*. No interest or rebate is ever accepted or given for such favours. Again sometimes the bhainsiyas do not insist on outright settlement of account but just take a certain amount of money at the end of each *athwara*. The difference between the actual amount due to him and the amount received by him is, in such cases, settled at the time of next *bandi*. One of the bhainsiyas claimed that more often than not in such cases the money advanced to them is greater than is due to them.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Gokulpur had never been a self sufficient village and the people had always been depending upon Shahdara, Delhi or Ghaziabad for most of their needs. This to a certain extent explains the negligible role that handicrafts or cottage

industries have played in the village. Enquiries made in the village at the time of our survey revealed that except for two industries viz. manufacture of earthenwares and leather tanning, no other industry is functioning in the village. We were, however, told that prior to 1947 some of the chamar households were engaged in shoe-making but since then they have given it up and have taken to service occupations. It will not be out of place here to repeat that whereas manufacturing of earthenware is traditionally associated with the Kumhars, leather tanning as also shoe-making are traditional occupations of the chamars. According to the villagers this is true not only for the village under study but also for all the villages of the Union Territory, for no one except the kumhars will take to manufacturing of earthenwares and no one except the chamars will ever take to leather tanning or shoe-making.

As already reported, village industries play a very minor role in the economy of the village. Out of a total of 144 households in the village only 2 (a kumhar and a chamar) households are presently engaged in the two industries of the village. While 1 out of a total of 44 chamar households in the village is engaged in its traditional occupation of leather tanning, the only kumhar household of the village is carrying on its traditional occupation of manufacturing of earthenwares. Both of them are running these as household industries, in which they are the sole owners of the respective crafts which are exclusively manned by themselves and the members of their respective households.

An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to present briefly an account of these crafts with reference to techniques, tools and implements used, sources of finance, raw materials, the variety and nature of products and disposal of the same.

POTTERY

The craft engages the sole Kumhar household of the village. The potter makes earthenwares like *ghara* (pitcher), *handia* (a pitcher like pot smaller in size but with a larger mouth), *kullarh* (tumbler) *tashtri* (plate), *divas* (earthen lamps), *chilam* for *hukkah* (hubble-bubble) etc., to meet the domestic requirements of the villagers.

The tools and implements required for making these are few and simple and are all traditional ones. Except for a few tools and implements like *chak* (a stone wheel) on which the potter makes all the articles produced by him, *chalni* (a sieve) used for refining clay which is to be used in manufacture of earthenwares, a few *koondis* (moulds) of different sizes for shaping

different sized pitchers and *handias* and a couple of *thapas* and *peendhas* used for giving final touches to pitchers and *handias*, which the potter has to obtain from the market at Shahdara, all the other tools required are easily obtained from the village itself and can be had free of any cost. They include a couple of wooden sticks, with which the potter moves the wheel, a few pieces of clothes with which to cover kneaded clay, a couple of cotton cords or even a thin metallic wire. Even amongst the tool and implements which the potter has to obtain from the market he can make a few himself if he wants to. For example the *koondis* he can make himself. But the potter of the village being an old man with no more interest in his work than absolutely essential has not bothered to make those himself and has got them made from others.

All in all his various tools and equipments have not cost him more than Rs. 50/-.

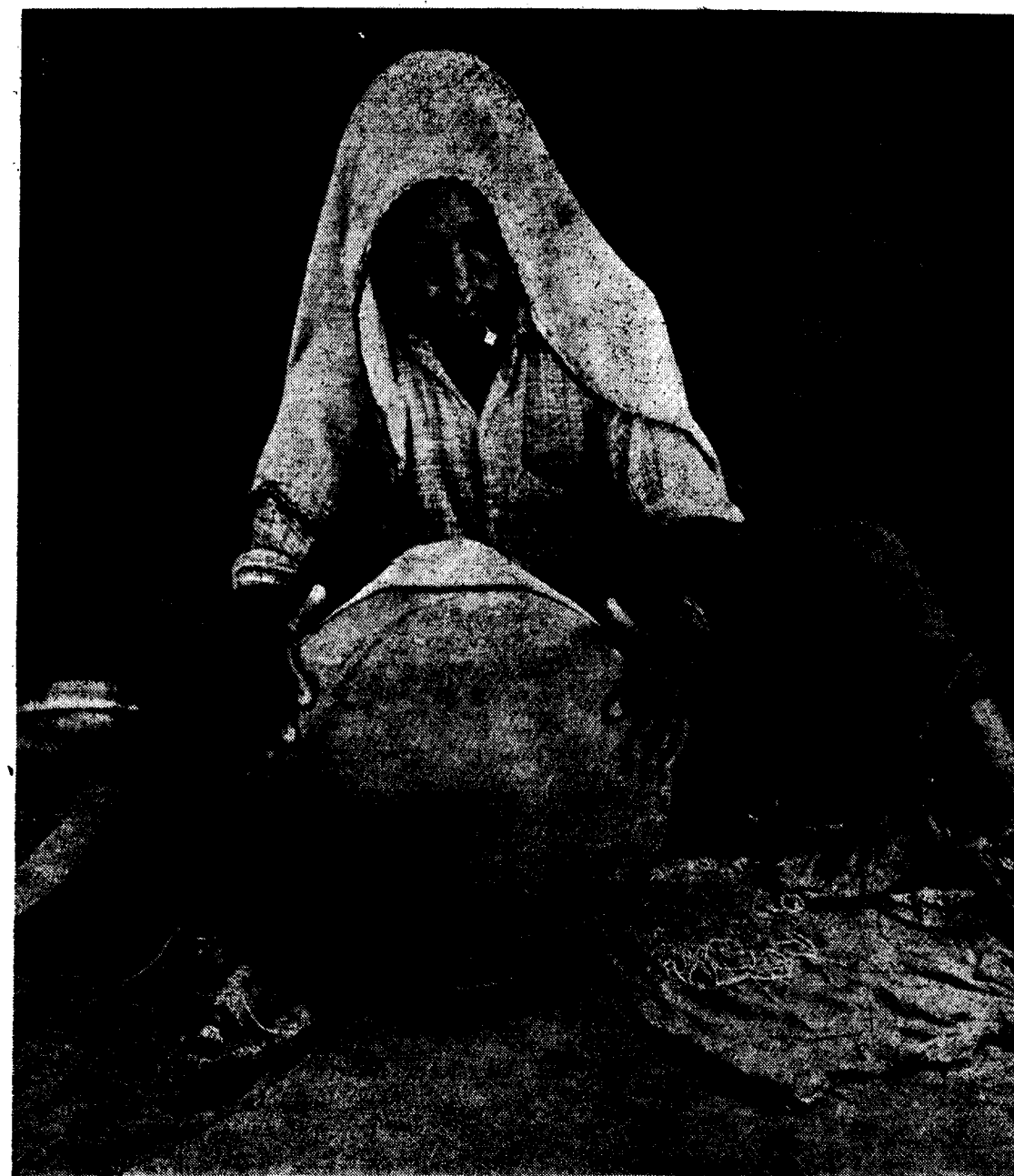
It will not be out of place here to mention that the potter has set up his establishment in the village only very recently and that prior to his settling in the village, all the villagers used to depend upon the services of potters of village Johripur, which they still do to a large extent because the potter of the village under study is able to meet only a small proportion of the total demand of earthenwares of the village.

A kiln locally known as *bhatti* is another 'must' for the potter. It is of very simple nature and all that the potter has to do is to dig up a pit 2 feet deep and about 20 feet in circumference and his *bhatti* is ready. The village potter has dug it just near his residential structure.

So far as the raw materials required for making various wares are concerned, clay is by far the most important. The clay, however, should be free from sand. This is available locally and in abundance. The potter has just to go to any of the village ponds and dig up as much clay as he desires. The ponds being the joint property of the village, he does not have to pay for it and none in the village objects to it.

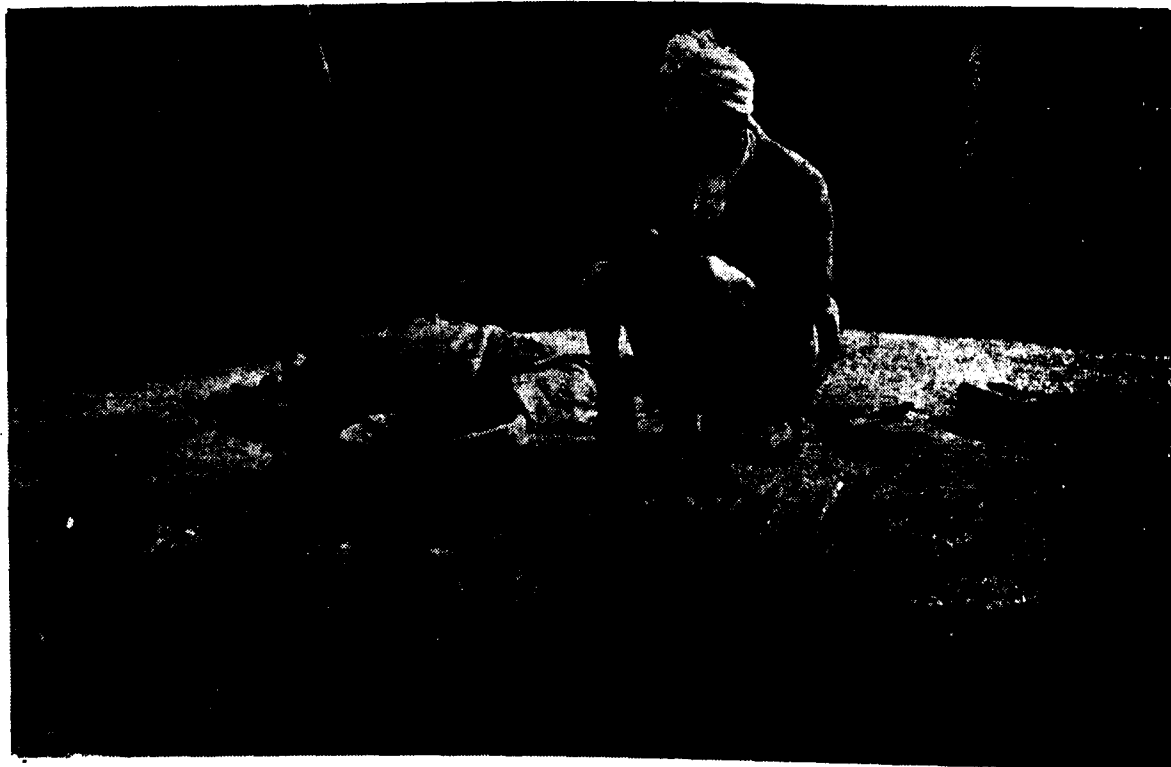
Another thing required is dried cow-dung cakes, which are used for firing the wares. This the kumhar (potter) goes on collecting from time to time and utilises them for operating his *bhatti*. In case he requires more cow-dung cakes he approaches some households in the village who give him some and in return take earthenwares from him. But such instances are few and far between and normally he is able to store up enough cow-dung cakes to meet all his requirements. Dried bushes, hay, wood etc.

POTTERY



The Kumhar female giving finishing touches to an earthen pitcher made by her husband.

TANNING THE LEATHER



The Chamar leather tanner of the village scrapping away hair and other foreign matter from a partially processed skin.



The Chamar tailor making trousseau for a Rajput bride. To his left is the lehnga that he has stitched out of 35 yards of cloth

which are used with cow-dung cakes in firing vessels can be had from the village waste free of any cost.

Thus as observed in the foregoing paragraphs all the raw materials required for making earthenwares are available locally and free of cost.

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the total capital outlay on this craft does not amount to much, and in fact is as low as Rs. 70 or 80, excluding, of course, the cost of the premises in which the potter carries on the craft. The same has not been included as the potter is running the craft on his residential structure and has not set up an extra room or shed for this purpose.

The process of manufacture of earthenwares in the village can broadly be divided into three distinct processes (a) preparing loam for making wares; (b) making the wares and (c) firing the wares:

(a) Preparing loam

The clay required for making vessels is dug up by the potter and other members of his household from the village ponds and is carried home on donkeys which the household maintains. The potter normally digs up enough clay to last him for a year. This he usually does soon after the rainy season is over and the water of the ponds has started drying up.

The clay when dug up is either wet or at least damp and cannot be processed as such for making earthenwares. It has got to be dried at first. The Kumhar of the village stores up the clay in open just by the side of his house and leaves it there to dry up. When it has completely dried up, the potter takes a portion of it for making wares. But at this stage the clay is in the form of clods, big and small. This is at first grounded by beatings with wooden logs. The grinding is done usually by the females of the household, who go on grinding it until it acquires the shape of particles of earth. Then it is passed through a sieve in order to sort out any foreign matter that may still be with it or whatever portion of clay has not been grounded well. The clay processed through the sieve is then soaked in an appropriate quantity of water for 18 to 24 hours depending upon how soon the clay gets completely soaked. After it is completely soaked, it is given continuous kneading for about 2 hours till it becomes hard enough to be moulded in any shape and stand it. The processing of clay into loam is done primarily by the women folk of the household and the potter himself does not take any part in it.

(b) Making the wares

The potter takes a lump of loam and puts it in the centre of the chak and rotates it with a stick until it gathers the required momentum. Then with the help of his deft fingers he moulds it into the required shapes. When he is making say chilams for the hukkah he will make a number of chilams from a particular lump of loam but when he is to make gharas or handias the amount of loam put on the chak is just enough for making one ghara or handia. He will have to have more loam each time for every ghara.

As soon as an article is ready he cuts it off from the lump of loam with the help of a cotton cord, takes off the article from there and keeps it aside. Then all the products are picked up from there and taken in the open and left there to dry up. While smaller wares like kullar, sakora, chilam etc. are left to dry up, others like ghara and handia are yet to be processed further before they are allowed to dry up completely. As soon as a ghara has dried up a bit it is taken up by female members of the household and kept in koondies, where with the help of thapias and peendhas finishing touches are given to the articles before they are allowed to dry off.

So far as the making of pots is concerned while the potter himself works at the wheel other members of the household help him by removing wares from his side and taking them in the open.

Burning the wares

After all the wares produced are completely dried up they are carried to the pit (used for firing wares) where the final process of burning the pots is carried out. At the bottom of the pit locally known as bhatti a substantial amount of dried bushes, hay, and the like are at first kept and are covered with dried cow-dung cakes. On top of this various vessels are kept one heaped upon the other and after all the vessels have been properly arranged a thick covering of cow-dung cakes is again spread over it. Then whole of the set up is pasted with cow-dung and mud plaster and is set on fire. The dried cow-dung and other matters go on smouldering for three or four days and the potter does not disturb it until the whole of the fuel is consumed and cooled off. The pots in the meantime get fired after which they are again removed from the bhatti (pit or kiln) with all possible care to avoid breakage. They are then carried home and stored up in a room. They are now ready for sale to the consumer. All members of the household irrespective of their age and sex assist the head of their household in this process.

Marketing of the products

As already mentioned the Kumhar of the village has taken up the craft only in the recent past and is not able to meet more than a small proportion of the demand of the villagers, who continue to secure the supply of earthenwares from the potters of Johripur. The wares from Johripur are obtained on basis of *jajmani*, but the village potter has no such relations with the villagers and he sells the same either on cash or in exchange for grains. It was, however, reported that he has been, of late, approaching the villagers for establishment of *jajmani* relations with him and that some of them are inclined to do so in the near future.

Trends of change

It is interesting to note that in spite of the various changes in the material habits of the villagers there has not been any corresponding change in the type of earthenwares demanded by the villagers. The only change is in respect of *gharas* (pitchers) in whose case the demand for pitchers has gone down to a certain extent in recent years. The change it may be noted is not of kind but is only quantitative. The main reason behind this is that several households in the village have got handpumps installed in their houses which has reduced the necessity of their storing up water in sufficient quantities.

In the end it may be pointed out that because of the very nature of the craft, which requires lot of sun for drying up clay and wares, the craft is essentially a seasonal one and at least provides livelihood to the Kumhar household for 7 to 8 months in a year. The earthenwares are not produced during rainy season at all.

During the period the kumhar has no work or is not busy making earthenwares he earns his livelihood mainly by hiring out his donkeys for transportation of bricks from the brick-kilns to the actual consumers.

LEATHER TANNING

As already reported one of the 44 Chamar holds in the village is presently engaged in its traditional occupation of leather tanning. This craft, like pottery in the village, is being carried on as a household industry with all the members of the household doing their bit, no outside labour being engaged. It is interesting to note that whereas the potter of the village produces for the direct consumption of the villagers and his market is limited to the village, it is just the opposite in case of the leather tanner. There is no demand for his product (processed leather) in the village which he has to sell at Shahdara.

The tools and equipments required for this craft are few and simple although the total capital required is comparatively higher than in case of pottery. Again, whereas in case of pottery most of the tools and equipments are available locally, the same have to be procured from Shahdara in case of this craft. The only raw material required for the craft viz., skin of cattle is available locally. In fact, the tanner of the village holds a contract from the Gaon Panchayat, whereby all the dead livestock become his property. In the years gone by when some chamars of the village used to make *jutis* (local laceless pump shoes), they were always called in whenever an animal died. They used to skin the animal and bury the carcase in the village waste land. The skin was sold to skin dealers. The Chamars had, in return, to give a pair of *jutis* to the owner of the dead animal. But ever since the Chamars stopped making *jutis*, a sort of void was created as the Chamars would not carry away the dead body and the owners of the dead animals found it a problem to dispose of their dead bodies. Luckily for them, the tanner sometimes would undertake the task for them; although without making any payment for the same. But in 1959 when the statutory Gaon Panchayat was set up, a decision was taken to impose a sort of levy by which the tanner had to undertake to pay of sum of Rs. 400/- as contract money in lieu of which he become entitled to remove all dead animals in the jurisdiction of the Gaon Panchayat which includes two contiguous villages viz., Gokulpur and Johripur. The money was to be utilised for welfare work by the Gaon Panchayat. According to the information gathered, although by now the three years contract is well past, the leather tanner continues to collect the dead bodies without renewing the contract nor has the panchayat asked for the renewal. Thus till a fresh contract is made, the tanner gets the skin of the dead animals free of cost.

Whenever an animal, say a bullock dies, the leather tanner arranges to carry it to village waste land and skins it with the help of a medium sized knife locally known as *chhura* (chhura). The skin is brought home and the remains are buried in the waste itself. When the tanner has 5 or 6 of them, he proceeds with the task of processing them, which is as follows:

When a hide is to be processed, first of all the inside of it is cleaned with the help of a chisel like instrument locally known as *rampi* (राम्पी). This has to be done with care so as not to cause deep scratches on the hide. It is then immersed in a mixture of *chuna* (चूना)

i.e. lime and water in a *khel* (खेल) i.e. pit dug in the ground, for 10 to 15 days. The *khels* are bricklined pits 2 to 3 feet deep and 2 to 2½ feet wide. They are bricklined in order to avoid the lime and water mixture being soaked by earth. The hide during the period absorbs water and lime and weakens the hair roots. In order that the hide may soak well it is shaken well after every 10-12 hours so that all parts of the hide may get soaked equally well. When the tanner thinks that the hair roots have weakened to the required degree, he takes the hide out of the *khel* and scraps away the hair and other superfluous things from the hide by means of a *rampi*. But the *rampi* used here is comparatively blunt for the hide is now softer and a sharp *rampi* may cause scratches on the hide.

Usually all the hair and other matter attached to the hide get scrapped after the hide has been soaked for 10-15 days. But in case this is not achieved in the first instance, the hide is again put into another *khel* containing fresh water and lime, the proportion of lime this time being comparatively less than before. The hide is left in it for another 2 or 3 days and again scrapped with a blunt *rampi*. The hide is then washed with fresh water to clean away the remnants of the scrapped matter from the hide.

Sometimes, in order to hasten the process of cleaning the hide, a bit of acid is added to the mixture of lime and water in the *khel* and the hide is then immersed in it. This shortens the period of immersion from 10-15 days to 7 to 10 days. But in such cases when the hide is taken out for scraping away hair and other matter, it has to be washed with alum water to remove the action of acid. Alum is locally referred to as *phitkari* (फिटकारी). But the tanner of the village stated that he seldom uses acid as he is never in a hurry having never any work in hand. Another reason, advanced by him for not taking to acid is that going for acid and alum costs money which he cannot afford, even though it will increase his efficiency. According to the tanner removing of hair and other matter from a hide marks the first and the most labourious process in leather tanning. Incidentally, the process described above is curing the hide and tanning is yet to be carried out.

Next follows the dipping of the cured hide in a large earthen bowl sunk in the ground, containing solution of *kassa* (कसा) and water for 2 to 3 days. (*kassa* is the bark of *kikar* tree). The cured hide, however, should be free from all creases or corrugations before it is dipped in *kassa* solution. If there are creases or corrugations they are first removed and then it is dipped in the pit containing *kassa* solution. After expiry of 2 or 3 days it is taken out and

sewn with a thread made of local long grass locally known as *moonj* (मूज) into a mussack shaped bag open at the neck. It is sewn loosely, so that the seams do not get water tight. The mussack is then filled with the *kassa* solution and hung on a low stout log of wood in a shady room. (the village tanner has it in the same room as *khel*). The *kassa* solution goes on trickling down from the mussack into another *khel* containing *kassa* solution. The mussack is hung on the wooden log in such a manner that its lower part is always touching the level of the *kassa* solution in the *khel* down below.

As the solution trickles out from the mussack more solution is poured into it from time to time and the position of the hide is also reversed 2 or 3 times so that the tanning may permeate all parts of the hide. This goes on for 7 or 8 days.

After that the hide is considered tanned and it is taken down from the log and left to dry up in shade. As it dries up it becomes harder and harder and difficult to handle. To soften it, it is again dipped in a solution of nitre and water, (nitre is locally referred to as *shora*) for a few hours and is washed with clean water, and dried again. Now the leather is completely tanned and ready for sale.

The whole process of curing and tanning a hide takes as many as 25 to 30 days. The tanner in the village cures as many as 4 to 5 hides in a month. Except in the process of scrapping away hair and other matter from a hide, all the members of the family of the tanner assist him to whatever extent they can.

So far as the sale of the tanned hides is concerned, the tanner stated that usually an agent or dealer visits the village every now and then and just sells all his hides to him. But in case he finds the price offered by him too low he may even take it to Shahdara and sell it there. A hide may fetch anything from Rs. 20/- to 40/- depending upon its size and quality.

FACTORS INFLUENCING ECONOMIC LIFE

As is evident from our study of the livelihood class pattern of the population of the village, in 1951 an overwhelming proportion (91.2 per cent) of the village population was directly dependant upon some agricultural activity or the other, while the corresponding figure for the year 1961 stands at 45.9 percent only. This clearly indicates a shift of 45.3 percent of the population from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations. Such a tremendous shift of population from agricultural to non-agricultural sector of the economy has taken place because

of several socio-economic changes that have taken place over the last decade or so.

Besides this, there have been lots of other changes in the economic life of the villagers. For example, previously agriculture in the village was in what may be called a stagnant state. Year after year, the fields of the village used to get flooded and the crops damaged. This had a rather discouraging effect upon the efforts of the agriculturists to effect any improvements in agriculture. But with the construction of the earthen embankment on the eastern banks of the Jamuna, the villagers to a large extent have got a respite from the recurring floods and the resultant changes in their agricultural activity like shift from consumption to cash crops, adoption of better tools and implements, use of chemical fertilizer etc. are now taking place, which are likely to go a long way in improving their lot.

In the following paragraphs we intend to enumerate the more important of such factors which have been at work, especially since independence and which have brought about the various changes in the economic life of the village and are still at work, and are expected to bring further changes in the same.

By far the most important of all such factors are the phenomenal growth of Shahdara as an industrial township providing an ever growing venue of employment to the villagers and the construction of earthen embankment on the eastern banks of river Jamuna. Following these in order of their impact upon the life of the villagers are the legislative measures regarding land reforms taken by the Government and all round improvement in transport and communication, marketing facilities, sources of finance etc. Here we propose to evaluate the impact of these forces on the economic life of the village.

GROWTH OF SHAHDARA:

Prior to independence Shahdara, only 2 miles from village Gokulpur, was just a medium sized suburb of Delhi with a population of about 15,000. But after the partition of the country thousand of refugees came and settled at Shahdara, thereby bringing about many-fold increase in its population. The uprooted refugees from West Pakistan started small scale manufacturing concerns at Shahdara which have since been increasing in number as well as in size. The coming up of various industries at Shahdara proved a boon to the villagers of Gokulpur, the

landless agricultural labourers, who in the initial stages found employment in these as daily wage labourers and are now in regular employment there. Not only this, the expansion of Shahdara has attracted several persons from outside and some of those have come and settled down in village Gokulpur, thus increasing the population of the village. With passage of time several petty landholders have also taken up employment in some of the concerns at Shahdara.

According to the villagers, whereas previously they were dependent upon the vagaries of nature for their livelihood, which was seldom bountiful now they have a regular job. Again, whereas previously, their employment was necessarily seasonal and casual now they have a regular source of income.

At the time of our investigation, 48 persons from the village were working as unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled labourers in the various manufacturing concerns at Shahdara. Besides these there are 15 others who sometimes find employment there as casual labourers on daily wage basis.

Besides, there are 32 persons in the village who are in service occupation, a majority of whom are employed in private concerns at Shahdara. As compared to these, in 1951 only 2 persons were reported to be in such employments. Even 5 of the sweepers, who previously used to work in the village itself have found employment in the Municipal Corporation, thus improving their economic condition.

The expansion of Shahdara has led 4 persons in the village to take up rehra driving which they ply between Shahdara and village Loni on the Delhi-Saharanpur Road in Uttar Pradesh. According to the villagers the rehra drivers are now earning at least 4 times more than what they were earning while working as agricultural labourers or casual labourers.

The facts enumerated above go to show how the expansion of Shahdara has led to the great changes that have taken place in the economic life of the village.

CONSTRUCTION OF EARTHEN EMBANKMENT ON THE RIVER JAMUNA

As reported earlier, prior to 1954, the village invariably used to get flooded year after year during the rainy season destroying the standing crops and sapping the fertility of the soil.

In 1954, the Bharat Sevak Samaj took up the task of constructing an earthen embankment on the eastern side of the river to save villages on this side from the danger of recurring floods. The results of the coming up of the embankment have been very encouraging. The most remarkable improvement is the coming up of pucca residential and other structures in the village. Whereas prior to 1954 there was no pucca house in the village, now a majority of the houses are pucca and according to the villagers all other houses are likely to be made pucca within the next few years.

The other important impact has been upon the cropping pattern of the village. Previously (prior to 1954) there was much greater emphasis upon sowing of consumption crops. Now the trend is towards growing more and more cash crops. The reason is not far to seek. The first and the foremost is that previously they were obliged to grow cereal crops, as a part of their crop invariably used to get washed away or destroyed and if they grow other crops they may have to purchase their own requirements of food grains from the market, an idea which no agriculturist relishes. But after 1954, when the village became free from the danger of floods, the agriculturists started sowing cash crops too, for which there is a ready market and which fetch higher prices in the market.

Again the agriculturists were very reluctant to adopt better types of agricultural tools and implements or even use better types of chemical fertilizers seeds etc. for fear that the extra expenditure that they would incur may not get correspondingly better crops because of the danger of floods. But now the agriculturists are taking to the use of chemical fertilizers, better quality seeds and a couple of them have even adopted better types of tools and implements. In fact whereas, prior to the construction of the bund, only 3 persons were reported to be using chemical fertilizers, now all of them, irrespective of the size of their holdings are using them and the same is the case with the use of better quality seeds.

The above mentioned facts clearly indicate the over-all improvements in the agricultural sector that have been brought about by the construction of the bund.

LAND REFORMS

With the dawn of independence several states following the directives laid down by the Union Government have adopted several legislative measures abolishing zamindari in order to improve the lot of the landless and the small land

holders. The most important of such measures adopted in the Union Territory of Delhi is the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954.

The most significant feature of the Act was the abolition of **Zamindari**, by which all the land which the land owners had given to others, on rent or crop share basis since 1952 or before was to be taken from the land owners and handed over to the actual tillers. Thus all those persons who were cultivating the land of others since 1952 or before were to be declared **Bhoomidars** or rightful owners of the land which they were cultivating. The **bhoomidars** in return were to pay some compensation to the original owners the amount and terms of which were laid down by the authority. Another measure under the Act was that the proprietary rights of all the perpetual waste land in the village were to be vested in the **Gaon Sabha**.

But due to certain complications mentioned below, the Act could not be implemented in the village and there is a lot of confusion in the minds of the villagers regarding the same. In fact, even the revenue authorities are not able to provide a clear picture of the situation. However, some general account of the position is briefly indicated in the following paragraphs;

Prior to the passing of the Delhi Land Reforms Act, besides the Gujar and Rajput individual land owners (peasant proprietors) of the village, some land was held by two Kayasth brothers named Daulat Ram and Jai Narain of Shahdara, who had let out the land to the people in village Gokulpur. At the time of the Hindu-Muslim riots in 1947, Daulat Ram is alleged to have secretly married a Muslim lady and at the time of partition he ran away to Pakistan and his property was ultimately declared evacuee property. This was disputed by his sons and ever since then one case or the other has been going on the courts regarding that property. The present position is that the tenants of both Daulat Ram and Jai Narain are continuing with the cultivation of their lands without paying any thing either as rent or compensation to any one. In fact, no one of them ever says that he is or was a tenant cultivator for fear that this may lead to some difficulty in future as the land which they are presently cultivating is under some dispute. In view of the above mentioned complications it is not possible for us to give a clear cut picture of the position. On the top of all this, for reason known to the authorities, they have not been collecting even the land revenue. Our enquiries proved futile in view of the reluctance of the villagers to reveal

true picture or, because of their ignorance. Even, the **Potwari** (पुतवारी) of the Village was not able to enlighten us on the subject. In short, we can only say that while the Delhi Land Reforms Act has not been implemented officially, unofficially there has been a *de facto* enforcement of part of it in the village, in so far as the tenant cultivators have now started calling themselves as owner cultivators and none disputes that.

The effect of the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954, on the tenant cultivators, has on the whole been for their good. They are reaping full advantages of their toils in the fields and are not paying anything to any one. None of the villagers is reported to have lost any land because of the Act, while on the other hand several have gained. In view of the reluctance of the villagers to give a truthful account of the picture, we are unable to state as to who gained land and how much of it.

IMPROVEMENTS IN TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

All the improvements in the transport and communication facilities that have taken place in the village during the last decade or so are the direct result of the rapid growth and expansion of the industrial township of Shadara and of Delhi city. Whereas previously only a very few people from the village were employed outside the village, at the moment over 60 are employed at Shahdara and Delhi and several others make frequent visits to these places.

Again, as compared to before when none in the village used to get any daily newspaper or owned any radio set, now 3 persons in the village get daily Hindi newspapers and 7 of the villagers have got transistor radios or battery radio sets, thereby increasing their knowledge of the outside world.

So far as transport facilities are concerned, except for the availability of rehars from the village there has not been any other improvement. People have mostly taken to cycles. Buses from and to the village are not available and though they do ply between Delhi and Saharanpur, they never pick up or drop passengers from the village.

However, there is no doubt that today, there is much greater communication between the people of the village with outside world than ever before and this to a certain extent, according to the villagers has led to some improvement in their social, cultural and economic life.

SOURCES OF FINANCE

So far as the sources of finance in the village are concerned, very little improvement seems to have taken place. Even now, as before, the villagers by and large depend upon the traditional money lenders viz the Baniyas of Shahdara and the comparatively better off cultivators of the village. They charge comparatively higher rates of interest, varying from 18 percent per annum to 36 percent per annum depending upon the social and economic condition of the borrower.

The other important source of finance available to the villagers is the state, which advances loans to them in the form of taccavi or for construction of residential structures. The taccavi loans can be taken advantage of only by the agriculturists and the housing loans are sanctioned to the scheduled caste households only. The main object of taccavi loans in former days was to provide relief to such agricultural households who may have suffered due to some natural calamities like floods, drought etc. But since Independence the scope of taccavi loans has been enlarged to include several productive purposes like purchase of tools, implements sinking of wells, purchase of bullocks etc. The rate of interest charged on taccavi loans is 4 percent per annum.

One source of finance for the villagers that has come up only recently is the Co-operative Society set up in 1955. The society advances loans to its members for several productive purposes and charge 9½ percent per annum as interest.

But the society has not been very popular amongst a majority of the villagers and only 20 persons have become its members. The main reason for its failure to become popular and successful are varied including party politics, caste factions, ignorance of the villagers etc.

In spite of the fact that the rate of interest charged by the State on taccavi loans is 4 percent per annum and by the Co-operative society 9½ percent per annum, as compared to 18 to 36 percent per annum charged by the private money lenders, the villagers still by and large prefer to seek loans from the private money lenders. The main reasons for this according to the villagers are, the rigid conditions which go with the loans secured from the State or from the Society. The primary reason for the popularity of loans from private money lenders is that the methods of these persons are simple and elastic. Their local knowledge and acquaintance with the borrower and their presence on the spot enables them to accommodate persons without any tangible security. Thus it is

easier for a villager to approach a private money lender for a loan, than if he were to seek the same from the Co-operative Society or the State. Moreover, the private money lenders advance loans both for productive as well as non-productive purposes, for short term as well as for long term. Again, there are not many restrictions on repayments in case of the private money lenders which may even continue from one generation to another.

As against these the taccavi loans and loans from the Society are advanced only for specific productive purposes. Taccavi loans are available only to agriculturists who want to carry out some improvement in their agricultural fields. The State gives a loan of Rs. 750/- each to such Scheduled Caste households who want to construct pucca houses. All others who are neither agriculturists nor members of the Scheduled Castes are thus not eligible to take such loans. Moreover, even those who are eligible complain that the procedure followed in securing these loans is rather complicated and cumbersome, often beyond the intelligence of the average man in the village. These drawbacks, coupled with the usual redtapism and other rigidities that go along with such loans go a long way in discouraging many a villager from seeking loan from the Government.

Similarly, the Co-operative Credit Society has not been successful and has not been able to bring about any noticeable improvement in the credit position of the villagers.

Thus, we see that in spite of the enlarging of the scope of the taccavi loans, advance of housing loans to the Scheduled Caste households and of the coming up of a Co-operative Credit Society in the village, the villagers still by and large seek loans from the money lender. The relevant figures in support of the above mentioned facts and other details regarding indebtedness in the village are discussed later on in the chapter.

INCOME

Calculation of income in a predominantly agricultural economy is a rather hazardous task. Besides the various difficulties involved in the assessment of income in any society, one faces numerous other difficulties due to some peculiar conditions prevailing in the village. Before proceeding further, it will not be out of place to mention a few of these additional difficulties.

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Foremost of these is the assessment of the value of the payments made in kind in lieu of some services rendered. For example, there is the **jajmani** (जजमानी) system, where a

person goes on rendering some fixed traditional services to a person or number of persons and in return, is generally paid in kind and only rarely in cash. To give a few illustrations, the sweepers of the village sweep the various houses and receive in return a chapati each from all the households everyday and some grains at harvest time.

Again several transactions in the village are carried on through barta and goods traded are paid for in kind. It is quite common for a person to carry a bagful of grains to the grocer and exchange it for the required articles.

On the top of all these come the difficulties in regard to those who are engaged in agricultural activities. The farmers in the village seldom keep any account of the expenditures made for a crop nor do they generally measure the quantity or value of their total agricultural produce. After harvesting they simply store away their surplus agricultural produce and take it out as and when required for personal consumption or for making payments in kind. Thus, they are at best able to give only an approximation of their total income.

All these hazards, coupled with the tendency on the part of the people to understate their incomes, makes the task of collecting data regarding income rather cumbersome. (The tendency on the part of the villagers to understate their income is largely due to the fear in their minds that if their incomes are high, the government may impose additional taxes, while on the other hand if they state their incomes to be lower than what they are, the government may help them in some way or the other).

Thus, in view of these difficulties and shortcomings, our income estimates may not be very accurate and may at best be only an approximation. It may also be mentioned that we have taken into account only the gross incomes and not net incomes as we could not secure data on expenditure.

For the sake of clarity and analysis we have divided the income into various broad income-groups. Table III: 21 gives the distribution of various households in each caste group according to their monthly incomes. The

TABLE III : 21

MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY CASTE

Caste	Monthly Income of the Household in the range of								Total
	0—25	26—50	51—75	76—100	101—150	151—250	251—500	500 & above	
Chamar	..	4	13	9	15	3	..	..	44
Gujar	..	1	2	5	11	7	4	1	31
Rajput	..	3	4	2	6	1	2	1	19
Brahmin	..	..	..	8	4	7	1	..	20
Bhangi	..	..	..	2	6	1	..	..	9
Nai	..	..	2	5	1	1	..	..	9
Baniya	..	..	..	2	..	1	2	..	5
Gosain	..	..	1	..	2	3	..	..	6
Jat	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Sunar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Kadera	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Kumhar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Muslim	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2
TOTAL :	..	8	22	34	48	26	9	2	149
%	..	5.4	14.9	22.8	32.2	17.4	6.0	1.3	100.0

table shows that the largest single group of households accounting for about one-third or 32.2 per cent of all the households in the village have monthly income between Rs. 100—150. They are followed by those in the income groups Rs. 75—100 who account for 34 or 22.8 per cent of the households, 20 or 17.4 per cent of the households in the monthly income bracket Rs. 150—250, 9 as having monthly income between Rs. 250—500 and 2 households having monthly income of Rs. 500 or above. On the lower side 8 or 5.4 per cent of the households were found in the monthly income group Rs. 25—50 and 22 in the monthly income group Rs. 50—75.

If we divide all the households in the village in two categories viz. those having an income of

less than Rs. 150.00 nP. per month and those having a monthly income of Rs. 150.00 nP. or more and term them as households with low monthly incomes and high monthly incomes respectively, we find that 112 or 75.3 percent of the total households are in the lower income group and 37 or 24.7 percent in the higher income group.

INCOME OF DIFFERENT CASTES

Caste-wise analysis of the table reveals the comparative economic position of the various castes. The study shows that amongst the Jat, Sunar and Kadera households none has a monthly income of Rs. 150.00 nP. or more.

TABLE III : 22

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION AND BROAD INCOME GROUPS

Occupation of the Household	No. of H. Hs.	Monthly Income in Rs. Per Household in the range of						
		26—50	51—75	76—100	101—150	150—250	250—500	500 & above
Owner Cultivator	49	..	3	10	11	18	6	1
T. C.	4	..	2	3	..	..	..	..
Agricultural Labour	6	2	2	..	2	..	..	..
Service	21	..	1	7	9	2	1	1
Casual Labour	12	5	4	2	1	..	..	..
Tailor	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
Potter	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Barber	3	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Shopkeeper	5	..	..	1	1	1	2	..
Leather Tanner	1	..	..	..	1	9	..	..
Cycle Repairer	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Mill-Worker	26	..	8	9	7	2	..	..
Sweeper	6	..	..	..	5	1	..	..
Milk Seller	4	..	..	1	2	1	..	..
Rehra Driver	8	..	..	1	6	1	..	..
Rent Receiver	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	8	22	34	48	26	9	2

Again in the income range Rs. 25-75 out of a total of 30 households, 17 are Chamars, 7 are Rajputs, 2 are Nais, 3 are Gujars and 1 is a Gosain household. In the highest income bracket of Rs. 500 and above, there are only 2 households, one Gujar and one Rajput. There are in all 9 households whose monthly income is between Rs. 250-500 and of these 4 are Gujars, 2 each are Baniyas and Rajputs and 1 is a Brahmin household.

Taking an overall view for each caste, we find that the Gujars, Rajputs, Brahmins, Baniyas, the Gosains and the Muslims are comparatively better off than the others, so far as the monthly incomes of the various households are concerned.

The highest monthly income, reported in case of a Gujar household is Rs. 750/- and the lowest, again in a Gujar household, headed by a widow, is Rs. 25.00 nP. only.

Table III: 22 provides data regarding monthly income of the households according to their occupations.

The table shows that of the 37 households who reported their monthly incomes as being Rs. 150 or above, 25 are owner cultivators, 4 are in service occupations, 3 are shopkeepers, 2 are mill-workers and one each is sweeper, milk seller and rehra-driver.

On the other hand most of the households in the lowest income group viz. Rs. 25-50 are either agricultural labourers or casual labourers.

PER CAPITA INCOME

The preceding discussion on income gives only a broad idea of the incomes of the various households in the village according to caste as well as occupation. But for a deeper insight it is always better to go into the per capita income of the people. Here we propose to analyse the

per capita income (both monthly and annual) amongst the various castes in the village. The relevant data is provided by table No. III: 23.

TABLE NO. III: 23 shows that the per capita income is highest amongst the Gujars and lowest amongst the Sunars, being Rs. 363.36 nP. per annum for the Gujars and only Rs. 173.28 nP. per annum for the Sunars. The other comparatively better off people, in so far as per capita

income is concerned, are the Baniyas (Rs. 336.36 nP.), the Gosains (Rs. 323.28 nP.), the Rajputs (Rs. 255.36 nP.) and the Brahmins (Rs. 293.04 nP.) No other caste in the village has a per capita annual income of Rs. 250.00 nP. or above. Amongst the worse off, besides the Sunars, are the Kaderas (Rs. 193.32 nP.), the Jats (Rs. 207.24 nP.) and the Nais (Rs. 208.20 nP.). The rest of the castes have a per capita income of Rs. 220.00 nP. to Rs. 250.00 nP.

TABLE III : 23

PER CAPITA MONTHLY AND ANNUAL INCOME AMONGST DIFFERENT CASTES

Caste	No. of House-Holds.	No. of Persons	% of the Total	Total Monthly Income (in Rs.)	% of the Total	Per Capita Monthly Income (in Rs.)	Per Capita annual income (in Rs.)	Monthly Income per H.H. (in Rs.)	Annual income per H.H. (in Rs.)
Chamar	44	227	26.0	4,230	21.3	18.63	223.56	96.14	1,153.68
Gujar	31	178	20.3	5,390	27.2	30.28	363.36	173.87	2,086.44
Rajput	19	125	14.3	2,660	13.4	21.28	255.36	140.00	1,668.00
Brahmin	20	120	13.8	2,930	14.8	24.42	293.04	146.50	1,758.00
Bhangi	9	56	6.4	1,075	5.4	19.20	230.40	119.44	1,433.28
Nai	9	51	5.8	885	4.4	17.35	208.20	98.33	1,179.96
Baniya	5	38	4.3	1,065	5.3	28.93	336.36	213.00	2,556.00
Gosain	6	32	3.6	835	4.1	26.94	323.28	139.17	1,670.04
Jat	1	11	1.3	190	1.0	17.27	207.24	190.00	2,280.00
Sunar	1	9	1.0	130	0.6	14.44	173.28	130.00	1,560.00
Kadera	1	9	1.0	145	0.7	16.11	193.32	145.00	1,740.00
Kumhar	1	5	0.6	100	0.5	20.00	240.00	100.00	1,200.00
Muslim	2	14	1.6	260	1.3	18.57	222.84	130.00	1,560.00
TOTAL	149	875	100.0	19,715	100.0	22.53	270.36	132.32	1,587.84

Another interesting feature brought out by the table is that only 4 castes viz. the Gujars, Brahmins, Baniyas and the Gosains contribute more to the total monthly income of the village as compared to the proportion in the total population of the village. The Gujars who account for 20.3 per cent of the total population of the village account for 27.2 per cent of the total income of the village. The corresponding figures for the Brahmins are 13.8 per cent and 14.8 per cent, the Baniyas 4.3 per cent and 5.3 per cent and the Gosains 3.6 per cent and 4.1 per cent respectively. The proportionate contribution of the rest of the castes to the monthly income of the village is lower than the

proportion of their population to the total population of the village.

Again, whereas the Gujars, Brahmins, Baniyas and the Gosains, account for a little over two-fifths (42.0 per cent) of the total population of the village, their contribution to the total incomes is over one half (51.2 per cent). The rest of the castes taken together account for 58.0 per cent of the total population of the village but their contribution to the total income of the village is 48.8 per cent.

All this clearly shows that these 4 castes are economically better off than the rest of the castes in the village.

SOURCES OF INCOME

A study of sources of income would reveal the relative importance of the various sources in the village economy. As is clear from the preceding paragraphs the total monthly income of the village during January 1961 stood at Rs. 19,715/-. Table No. III: 24 shows the total monthly income according to source from which it has accrued.

The table brings out the predominance of agriculture as a source of income in the village economy. All agricultural activities taken together contribute over two-fifths or 41.7 of the total income. This is closely followed by service occupations contributing a little less than two-fifths or 37.7 per cent of the total monthly income of the village. The only other numerically significant source is milk selling accounting for 9.2 per cent of the total. The remaining sources taken individually account for only an insignificant proportion of the total income.

From the data available about the total monthly income of the village, some other interesting features have been derived. They are the following:—

- (1) Total monthly income of the village (Jan. 1961) Rs. 19,715.
- (2) Total annual income of the village Rs. 236,580.
- (3) Average annual income per household Rs. 1,607.92 nP.
- (4) Per Capita annual income Rs. 270.36 nP. as compared to the corresponding figure of Rs. 355.00 nP. as estimated by the Planning Commission (III Five Year Plan).
- (5) Average annual income per worker in the village Rs. 55.35 nP.

TABLE III : 24

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME ACCORDING TO SOURCE

Source of Income	%	Total Monthly Income	Per centage of the Total
		Rs.	
Agriculture	54	2,936	40.8
Agriculture Labour	6	380	1.9
Service	56	77,034	37.7
Casual Labour	12	600	3.0
Tanning	1	120	0.6
Pottery	1	120	0.6
Tailoring	2	200	1.0
Rehra-driving	8	925	5.2
Shop-keeping & Milk selling	9	2,900	9.2
TOTAL		19,715	100.0

INDEBTEDNESS

During the course of investigation it was felt that for some reason or the other, most of the villagers were reluctant to disclose the exact amount of their indebtedness. Whereas, most of them had a tendency to over-state their indebtedness, just the reverse of their tendency regarding their incomes, others preferred to keep quiet on the subject for fear that it may lead to a lowering of their prestige. As regards those who tended to overstate the extent of their indebtedness, they presumably did so to win our sympathy as well as in the hope that the State

may help them. It took us quite some discussion as well as explaining before we were able to secure what may be termed as reasonably accurate data regarding indebtedness.

Data pertaining to indebtedness was collected at the time of investigation i.e. May-June 1961, with a view to relate the extent of indebtedness with caste of the household, its occupation, its income, the source from which debt was secured, the conditions attached to it and the purpose for which the loan was secured.

As we do not have any records about indebtedness in the past, it is not possible for

us to say, whether indebtedness has gone up or down during the last decade or so. But the villagers claim that the problem of indebtedness with them is not only a chronic one but that its extent has been going up year after year and the conditions are getting from bad to worse. We on our part are unable to vouch for the authenticity or otherwise of their statement.

Here we propose to study and analyse the problem of indebtedness to the extent that we have the relevant data.

Indebtedness by caste

Table No. III: 25 shows the distribution of total debt according to caste.

TABLE III: 25

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO CASTE, INDEBTEDNESS AND AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME.

Caste	Total No. of H. Hs.	No. of H.Hs. in Debt	% 3 to 2	Total Debt (in Rs.)	% age of the Debt.	Average In-debtedness per House-hold.	Annual income per Household.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Chamar	44	41	93.2	35,550	28.1	807.25	1153.68
Gujar	31	42	71.0	31,800	25.2	1025.81	2086.44
Rajput	19	14	73.7	13,400	10.6	178.95	1068.00
Brahmin	20	13	65.0	17,600	13.9	80.00	1758.00
Bhangi	9	8	88.9	7,900	6.2	877.78	1433.28
Nai	9	8	88.5	9,850	7.8	1094.44	1179.96
Baniya	5	2	40.0	2,850	2.3	570.00	2556.00
Gosain	6	4	66.7	5,500	4.4	916.67	1670.04
Jat	1	..	..	..	..	..	2280.00
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	1560.00
Kadera	1	..	..	..	..	..	1740.00
Kumhar	1	1	100.0	300	0.2	300.00	1200.00
Muslim	2	2	100.0	1,700	1.3	850.00	1560.00
TOTAL	149	115	77.2	126,450	100.0	848.65	1587.84

The table shows that at the time of investigation, out of a total of 149 households in the village, over three-fourths or 77.2 per cent were under debt and the total amount of debt stood at Rs. 1,26,450. In other words each household in the village is under debt to the extent of Rs. 848.65 nP. or if we take only the households under debt, the figure stands at Rs. 1099.56 nP. each.

If we compare the indebtedness per household (Rs. 848.65 nP.) with the annual income per household (Rs. 1587.84 nP.) for the village as a whole we can easily conclude that the over-all position is not very happy.

Again, so far as *per capita* annual income and indebtedness of the 875 persons in the village is concerned the figures are Rs. 270.36 nP. and Rs. 144.51 nP. respectively.

Coming to the caste-wise study, we find that except for 3 castes viz. the Jat, Sunar and the Kadera, who incidentally form only an insignificant proportion of the total households in the village, for each caste has only 1 household, most of the households amongst all the other castes are under debt. The respective figures in case of the Kumhar and the Muslim households are 100 per cent, amongst the

Chamars 93.2 per cent, the Nais and the Bhangis 88.9 per cent, the Rajputs 73 per cent, the Gujars 71.0 per cent, the Gosains 66.7 per cent, the Brahmins 65.0 per cent and the Baniyas 40.0 per cent.

Again the Chamars account for the biggest single proportion i.e. 28.1 per cent of the total indebtedness. They are followed in order by the Gujars 25.2 per cent, the Brahmins 13.9 per cent and the Rajputs 10.6 per cent respectively. The share of the rest of the castes taken

individually forms only an insignificant proportion of the population.

Another very interesting feature that emerges from the table is that amongst the Nais, average indebtedness per household is highest viz. Rs. 1094.44 nP. followed by the Gujars, Rs. 1025.81 nP. and the Gosains Rs. 916.67 nP. In case of the rest of the castes it is below Rs. 900.00 nP. per household, the lowest being Rs. 178.95 nP. amongst the Rajputs. Table III. 26 shows the distribution of total debt by different occupational groups and the purpose for which the same is incurred.

TABLE III: 26

DISTRIBUTION OF INDEBTEDNESS ACCORDING TO BROAD OCCUPATION GROUP AND THE PURPOSE

Occupation Group	Non-Productive Purposes		Productive Purposes					Total	% of the Total
	Domestic expenses	Social Observances	Construction of House	Sinking of well	Purchase of tools & seeds	Purchase of Land	Purchase of Livestock		
Owner Cultivators	5,000	3,300	22,500	4,700	2,300	2,100	11,900	51,800	41.0
Tenant Cultivators	1,200	800	2,250	..	250	..	1,000	5,500	4.4
Agr. Lab.	800	1,100	2,150	..	..	..	2,250	6,300	5.0
Milk-sellers & Shop-keepers	250	..	1,700	..	..	..	2,000	3,950	3.1
Service	4,500	3,500	16,100	..	..	..	9,750	33,850	26.8
Casual Lab.	2,700	2,600	5,500	..	..	..	2,900	13,700	10.8
Transport	..	2,100	3,850	..	..	..	1,750	7,700	6.1
Tailoring	750	..	1,200	..	..	..	1,400	3,350	2.6
Potters	..	..	300	..	..	..	..	300	0.2
TOTAL	15,200	13,400	55,550	4,700	2,250	2,100	32,950	126,450	100.0
% of the total	12.0	10.6	43.9	3.7	2.0	1.7	26.1	100.00	

Indebtedness by purpose

For the sake of analysis, the various purposes of loans have been divided into two broad groups viz. productive and non-productive.

Table III: 26 shows that about one-fourth or 22.6 per cent of the total indebtedness of Rs. 126,450 was incurred for non-productive purposes and the rest 77.4 per cent for productive purposes.

Among the non-productive purposes the debt incurred due to expenditure on social ceremonies like marriage, birth, or death etc. accounts for 10.6 per cent of the total indebtedness in the

village. On these occasions, the villagers have almost invariably to spend much beyond their means. Marriage of a daughter or sister figures prominently among such occasions and is responsible for most of the indebtedness under this head. According to several villagers, but for the recent social awakening and the consequent bringing down of expenditure incurred on such occasions, the proportion of indebtedness due to this reason would have been much higher than is indicated by our data.

The other purpose in the non-productive group is domestic expenses. People very often seek loans to meet their domestic financial

deficits. Such loans account for 12.0 per cent of the total indebtedness. Here too, according to several villagers, there has been appreciable improvement as compared to before. According to them, several households which were perpetually under debt because of their inadequate incomes coupled with the loss incurred due to recurrent floods year after year prior to the construction of the earthen embankment on the Jamuna, have now substantially improved their economic conditions, thanks of course to the various socio-economic and physical changes that have occurred since the partition and independence of the country.

If this is true, viz. that the amount of indebtedness has gone down appreciably over the past few years, it represents a rather encouraging trend.

Among the debts incurred for productive purposes, the construction of house is the most important factor accounting for over two-fifths or 43.9 per cent of the total indebtedness. This according to the villagers is primarily due to the people constructing new pucca houses for themselves. Previously, i.e., prior to 1954, there were no pucca structures in the village. No one tried to have them as the floods used to devastate everything in the village, but after the coming up of the embankment with no fear of floods and also because of overall improvement in the economic conditions, more and more people are constructing better and pucca houses.

A little over one-fourth or 26.1 per cent of the total indebtedness has been incurred for the purchase of livestock. This is quite understandable as milk-selling as a subsidiary source of income has come to occupy a rather important place in the economy of the village.

Amongst the other items of loans for productive purposes, sinking of wells accounts for 3.7 per cent, purchase of tools implements, seeds etc. for 2.0 per cent and purchase of land for 1.7 per cent of the total indebtedness in the village.

TABLE III : 27
DISTRIBUTION OF INDEBTEDNESS ACCORDING TO INCOME

Monthly income group (in Rs.)	No. of H. Hs.	No. of H. Hs. in Debt	3 as % of 2	Total Debt (in Rs.)	% of the Total	Avg. Indebt- edness per H. Hs. un- der Debt (in Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25—50	8	3	37.5	2,250	1.7	750.00
50—75	22	22	100.0	15,900	12.6	722.73
75—100	34	22	64.7	20,700	16.4	940.91
100—150	48	43	89.6	40,950	32.4	952.33
150—250	26	17	65.4	29,700	23.5	1747.06
250—500	9	7	77.8	14,450	11.4	2064.28
500 & above	2	1	50.0	2,500	2.0	2500.00
TOTAL	149	115	77.2	126,450	100.0	1099.56

On the whole the position regarding indebtedness in the village is not too bad. Over three-fourths of the total indebtedness has been incurred for productive purposes, which in the long run more than repay themselves. On the other hand, the proportion of debts incurred for non-productive purposes is about one-fourth only. It is these debts which are a source of constant worry as they in no way help the debtor in increasing his efficiency or in repaying the debts. In fact, such loans tend to multiply themselves. But as we have seen earlier, according to the villagers the proportion of such loans has gone down considerably during the last few years which represents an improvement over the past.

Indebtedness by occupation

A study of indebtedness according to broad occupational groups shows that the three agricultural classes viz., owner cultivators (including rent receivers), tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers who form 40.3 per cent of the households account for a little over half or 50.4 per cent of the total indebtedness in the village. The non-agricultural households forming 59.7 per cent of the total households account for 49.6 per cent of the total indebtedness. This shows that on an average the agricultural households are under greater indebtedness than their non-agricultural counterparts. Again the owner cultivators including rent receivers account for the biggest single amount of indebtedness i.e. 41.0 per cent. They are followed by those in service occupations who account for a little over one fourth or 26.8 per cent and casual labourers who account for 10.8 per cent of the total indebtedness. Rest of the occupational groups taken individually, form only an insignificant proportion of the total indebtedness.

Income and Indebtedness

In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to find out the relationship, if any, between the amount of debt incurred by a household and its income. This will be a rather revealing study. The data regarding the same is provided by table III: 27.

The table shows a wide variation in the average indebtedness per household in debt. For example, it is Rs. 722.73 amongst the 22 households in the income group Rs. 50-75 and Rs. 2500.00 nP. for the 1 household in income group Rs. 500 and above.

Again, of the 115 households under debt, 82 or 71.3 per cent are in the monthly income range of Rs. 75—250 and account for 82.3 per cent of the total debt. The modal point of household under debt is the monthly income group Rs. 100—150. A scrutiny of the table reveals that except for the households in the monthly income group Rs. 50—75, the proportion of households under debt goes on increasing until it is highest at the monthly income group Rs. 100—150 and after that it starts going down again.

Coming to the relationship between income and indebtedness we find that broadly speaking

the amount of indebtedness is higher amongst the higher income groups and lower amongst the lower income groups. This phenomena may be explained by the tendency on the part of the households in the higher income groups to borrow more than their counterparts in the lower income groups.

Indebtedness by source

A study of the various sources of loans has already been made. As explained earlier there were three major sources of loans to the villagers viz., the state, private money lenders and the village co-operative society. Besides, some people in the village have taken some loans from their friends and relatives, without any interest.

The table regarding the total amount of loans provided by the various sources is provided below:—

TABLE III : 28
DISTRIBUTION OF DEBT ACCORDING TO SOURCE

Source	Amount of Debt (in Rs.)	% of the Total
Private money lenders	90,150	71.3
Government	26,000	20.6
Co-operative Society	7,000	5.5
Friends and Relatives	3,300	2.6
TOTAL	126,450	100.0

Table III:28 reveals the overwhelming importance of the private money lender viz. the comparatively big land-lords and the Baniyas, both inside the village as well as at Shahdara, as a source of credit. This source accounts for nearly three-fourths or 71.3 per cent of the total indebtedness in the village. The next important source is the State which accounts for 20.6 per cent of the total indebtedness. The State provides taccavi loans to the agriculturists and housing loans to the Scheduled castes. The village co-operative society, accounts for only 24 C.P.—15.

5.5 per cent and friends and relations lending money without interest for 2.6 per cent of the total loans.

Rate of Interests

Of the 4 sources of loans, the only source providing interest-free loans is friends and relatives. The other three charge varying rates of interest. Table III: 29 provides information regarding rates of interest charged by the various agencies.

TABLE III : 29
RATES OF INTEREST

Source	Rate of interest
Private money lenders	18 to 36 % per annum
Government	4 % per annum
Co-operative Society	9-3/8 % per annum
Friends & Relations	Nil.

Repayment of Debts

As is obvious from our analysis presented above, the repayment of debt especially in cases where money has been borrowed from private money lenders presents a difficult problem. The problem becomes worse when the same is taken for non-productive purpose.

According to the villagers, most of the agriculturists try to repay by selling a part of their crop whereas others try to pay it off out of their savings. Recently, milk selling has become an important source of subsidiary income and the people are thus enabled to pay off proportionately higher debts. Still these are not enough.

During the last one year all the debtors taken together were able to pay off only Rs. 7,850/-.

VILLAGE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

The co-operative movement found its way into the village for the first time in 1955 when a co-operative society named Gokulpur Co-operative Multipurpose Society was founded. The society was registered with the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Delhi State, with registration No. 112, on May 28, 1955. It has at the moment 20 members with a share capital of Rs. 1700. Each share is worth Rs. 50 and the shareholders are allowed a loan of upto five times the value of shares held by them. The society primarily advances loans for what we can term as productive purposes like repair and construction of houses, purchase of seeds, tools and implements, fertiliser, land, cattle etc.

against some security and charges 9½ per cent per annum as interest.

In its loaning operations, the Society is helped by the State Government and the Delhi State Co-operative Bank. Upto the end of 1961, the society had advanced some Rs. 11,000 to 16 of its members. The members allege that the most troublesome problem facing the society is non-repayment of loans. So far there have been 7 defaulters, 6 Chamars and 1 Gujar, who have not yet repaid the loans taken by them. The amount due from these persons is about Rs. 1500. The outstanding loan against its members at the time of inquiry was about Rs. 9,000/-.

In view of the fact that most of the householders in the village are under varying degrees of debt and that the debts have been secured at what may be described as exorbitant rates of interest, it called for an inquiry as to why more people do not become members of the Co-operative Society. As reported earlier its membership at the time of investigation was confined to only 20 persons in the village, 13 Gujar, 6 Chamars and 1 Brahmin. The remaining 129 households have preferred to keep themselves away from it.

Accordingly information was sought, as to why, when there is a Co-operative Society lending money at reasonable rates of interest these 129 households did not become its shareholders. Their replies have been shown below in a tabular form.

TABLE III : 30

REASONS FOR NOT BECOMING MEMBER OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

Reasons for not becoming members	No. of Persons
No knowledge about its existence	21
No confidence in persons running the society	68
No need of loans	13
Personal rivalry	19
Too poor to become Members	8
TOTAL	129

The table shows that the various people have divergent reasons for not becoming members of the Co-operative Society. The most distressing of it, given by 21 persons, was that they simply had no knowledge about the existence of any such society. 68 others alleged lack of confidence in the persons who took initiative in the setting up of the society, 8 said that they do want to become members but are too poor to pay for the price of the shares. 13 persons did not become members as they claimed that they are doing fine and do not in any way feel the necessity of becoming members of the Society. 19 persons did not become members due to personal rivalry with those who took the initiative in setting up of the society.

The above discussion clearly shows that in most of the cases, personal bias against those who are running the society, is chiefly responsible for discouraging others from becoming its members. Another hampering cause noted was the spirit of party politics amongst the people, who besides wanting to show down those run-

ning the society at the same time feared that they will not be able to utilise the services of the society because of nepotism and favouritism on the part of the members for their own friends.

On the whole, it can easily be concluded that due to lack of true co-operative and democratic spirit amongst the villagers the very prerequisites of successful working of the co-operative moment, the society is very unlikely to succeed in expanding itself in the present state of things nor is it likely to be successful.

In addition to the above-mentioned shortcomings the society has not assumed any other functions and has confined itself only to the provision of credit to its members. Credit without being linked up with production and marketing, offers a dangerous temptation to the rather native people in the village and in many cases leads to financial deterioration. It is thus imperative for the society to popularise itself amongst all the households in the village as well as enter into other fields of activity.

CHAPTER IV

Social & Cultural Life

THE POPULATION of the village according to the 1951 Census was 546. According to the household survey conducted by us in May 1961, it has since gone up to 875, indicating an increase of 60.26 per cent over the decade 1951-61. As the figures for the intervening years are not available, it may be assumed broadly that the

increase of population has been at the rate of about 6.03 per cent per year during the decade.

A study of population figures for the last 50 years shows a steady upward trend of population although the rate of growth is uneven.

TABLE IV : 1

RATE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION 1911-61

Year	Population	% age Increase(+) or Decrease (—)	Av. Growth Rate (%) per year
1911	395	..	..
1921	353	—10.6	—1.0
1931	440	+23.2	+2.4
1941	525	+19.3	+1.9
1951	546	+4.0	+0.4
May 1961	875	+60.2	+6.0

The table clearly indicates that except for the decade 1911-21, when it decreased by 10.6 per cent, the population of the village has always been on the increase, though at an erratic rate. The decrease in population by 10.6 per cent during the decade 1911-21 was primarily due to the Influenza epidemic of 1918-19 when over 80 persons are believed to have died because of the epidemic. For the next two decades viz. 1921-31 and 1931-41, the growth of population was by and large steady considering the fact that the rate of growth of population during these decades was just around that of the Union Territory of Delhi as a whole. But in the following decade i.e. during 1941-51, the population increased by only 4.0 per cent. This can be attributed to the wholesale emigration of the Muslims from the village at the time of the Hindu-Muslim riots in 1947. According to the villagers there were about 14 Households of Muslims, who emigrated either to Pakistan or to other predominantly Muslim villages in Bareilly District of the U.P.

As compared to the earlier decades, the population, during the decade 1951-61 shows an abnormally high rate of growth. During the decade the population rose from 546 persons to 875 persons, an increase of 229 persons or 60.3 percent. About half of it (153 persons) constitutes natural growth and the rest (176 persons) is due to in-migration of people from outside the village.

The main reason for such a large-scale in-migration of people from outside is the fact that the village is quite near the industrial township of Shahdara, where housing shortage is acute and cost of living comparatively higher and so people find it cheaper to come and settle down in the village because of the availability of cheap accommodation.

In view of the fact that no official records regarding the number of births and deaths in the village in each year or decade, are available, it is not possible for us to say whether there has been an increase or decrease in the birth rate.

MIGRATION

As quite a large number of persons are reported to have migrated into the village during the last decade or so, a study of mobility of population may reveal some interesting facts.

Such a study of migration covers two aspects viz., in-migration and out-migration. While both of them are equally important and no study of migration would be complete without either of them, we could cover only the in-migration aspect due to paucity of reliable data regarding out-migration. Though attempts were made to collect some data regarding out-migration we could not succeed primarily because of the ignorance of the villagers and secondly because of the limitation of time and personnel at our disposal.

In view of the above-mentioned difficulties we had necessarily to limit our study of mobility of population to in-migration only.

In order to evaluate the extent of in-migration a question was put to the head of every household regarding the birth place of all members of his or her household. According to information thus collected, out of a total population of 875, 493 persons were reported as having been born in the village itself and the rest 382 (154 males and 228 females) were reported to have been born outside the village and having in-migrated into the village at various periods of times. Again, out of the 228 females, 155 in-migrated into the village by way of marriage which according to custom cannot be contracted in the village itself. We have purposely excluded such cases from our study of the in-migrants. Thus leaving aside these 155 females we have 227 others (154 males and 73 females).

Table IV:2 gives the period-wise distribution of the immigration.

TABLE IV. 2

PERIOD-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRATION

Period	No. of immigrants		
	Males	Females	Total
Before 1931	15	9	24
1931-41	9	2	11
1941-51	2	1	3
1951-61	128	61	189
TOTAL	154	73	227

The table indicates that of the in-migrants among the present population, the largest number (189) came into the village during the last decade viz. 1951-61. The amount of in-migration prior to 1931 is 24 and 11 in the following decade viz. 1931-41. In-migration during 1941-51 is very insignificant.

Reasons for In-Migration

A question regarding the reason of in-migrating into the village was asked in case of all the 227 in-migrants from the respective heads of their households, the number of such households being 46. 41 heads of households reported that they left their ancestral places and came to village Gokulpur in search of better employment. Asked as to how they happened to choose this

particular village for settling down they replied that they have their caste brethren in the village and it was from them that they initially came to know of the possibility of improving their economic lot by migrating to village Gokulpur. Our inquiry shows that most of these persons have been able to secure some employment or the other at Shahdara or are working as casual labourers. Two heads of households reported that they came to this village because they were married into this village and because of some domestic trouble at their ancestral place, they came to settle down in the village of their in-laws, though they set up separate households for themselves. One of them is a Gosain, who is at the moment employed as Assistant Cashier in the Punjab National Bank, New Delhi and the other is a Baniya who is presently employed as a peon in the Irwin Hospital.

Another two heads of the households reported that they migrated into this village because they purchased cultivable land in the village. It will be recalled that the Brahmin landlord of Shahdara had sold most of his land in the village just before the passing of the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954. They are 2 of the persons who purchased his lands. Both of them are at the moment carrying on as peasant proprietors in the village.

The most recent in-migration is that of a Sunar who got service in the Delhi Municipal Corporation as Terminal Tax Muharrir and was posted at the Terminal Tax Post at the Jamuna Bridge. He selected this village for settling down in view of its comparative nearness to the place of his work as well as the availability of cheaper accommodation in the village.

The remaining 179 in-migrants in fact came to this village with the heads of their respective households, and so had no independent reason or motive for shifting into the village.

Thus, our overall study clearly indicates the overwhelming importance of the economic factors being responsible for in-migration of the people into this village.

Places from which in-migrated

Another question asked from the 46 heads of the households who in-migrated into the village was, regarding the place from which they emigrated into this village. The data thus collected shows that all of the in-migrants belong to Bulundshahr or Meerut Districts of the U.P. and are invariably from the rural areas. The distance of their ancestral place from the village of their residence viz. Gokulpur shows that in no case the distance is above 70 miles. This may be taken as an indicator of the tendency of the villagers to prefer only the nearby places for migration. According to the villagers, though in case of urgency they may go to far off places, yet normally no one relishes the idea of going to far off places away from ones brethren and that is why they prefer to migrate only to the nearby places around their ancestral places.

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

The composition of population by age and sex has an important bearing on the qualitative and quantitative aspects of a society.

While collecting data pertaining to age we faced several peculiar problems, the most important of them being the ignorance of the

villagers regarding their exact age. This was particularly so in case of the elderly persons, in whose case a discrepancy of 5 to 7 years was quite common. In fact, some of the old people just said that they are of 'beesiyon saal' (बेसियों साल) i.e. of scores of years and it was very difficult for us to know their ages even approximately. Another problem was the tendency on the part of the villagers, again elderly persons, to state their age in round numbers like 65, 70, 80 and so on. There are several reasons for such mis-statements. The most important of these are the genuine ignorance of several of the villagers who never felt the need of keeping track of their age, as only some of them went to schools in their childhood or sought service in the various government departments. Thus exact age in their case mattered little for them.

In view of the above mentioned difficulties we had to apply several checks and cross checks in order to find out their exact ages. The checks and cross checks were by means of certain reference dates (which we for our convenience have designated as the village calendar) like the influenza epidemic of 1918-19, floods of 1933, the two dacoities of 1934 and 1936 respectively and the partition days of 1947. Thus although a person is not at all aware of his exact age at present, he usually does remember as to nearly how old he was at such and such a time. For example, an old man of 57 was not able to tell his exact age but when asked as to how old he was at the time of Influenza Epidemic he straight-away said about 13 years for he remembers so and so having died during the epidemic and that he had at that time started taking his cattle out for grazing for the first time. Such examples can be multiplied. However, the purpose of all this is to show that due to the availability of such important dates we were able to secure fairly satisfactory returns about the ages of the people.

For the sake of convenience of analysis, we have divided the various age groups into three broad categories viz. infants and children, adults and old. All persons below the age of 15 years have been termed as infants and children, those between the ages of 15 to 59 years have been termed as adults and those above 60 years of age have been termed as old.

Generally speaking, we can say that the larger the proportion of adults as compared to the other two groups (infants, children and old) the lesser will be the burden on them, so far as the question of supporting the persons in the other two age groups is concerned.

TABLE IV : 3
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-4	74		71		145	
5-9	84		65		149	
10-14	59		46		105	
Sub-total (a) infants children	217	45.6	182	45.6	399	45.6
15-19	43		33		76	
20-24	37		36		73	
25-29	46		32		78	
30-34	24		18		42	
35-39	21		12		33	
40-44	22		15		37	
45-49	17		9		26	
50-54	18		13		31	
55-59	11		6		17	
Sub-total (b) Adults	239	50.2	204	51.1	443	50.6
60 & above	20		13		33	
Sub-total (c) old	20	4.2	13	3.3	33	3.8
Grand Total	476	100.0	399	100.0	875	100.0

Table IV:3 provides data regarding age and sex of the population both according to 5 years age groups as well as the three broad age groups of infants and children, adults and old.

The table shows that out of a total population of 875, 399 or 45.6 per cent are infants and children (i.e. below the age of 15 years), 443 or 50.6 per cent are adults (i.e. those between the ages of 15 to 59 years) and 33 or 3.8 per cent are old i.e. of 60 years of age and above.

The table further shows the preponderance of males over females not only for the village as

a whole but also in all the three broad age groups. The sex ratio for the village as a whole works out at 84 females per 100 males. As for the various age groups the sex ratio is lowest in the age group 60 years and above (65 females per 100 males) and highest amongst the adults (85 females per 100 males). The sex ratio amongst the infants and children is just equal to the one for the village as a whole i.e. 84 females per 100 males.

The relevant data regarding the proportion of infants and children, adults and old for the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole and for the village is shown by table IV:4.

TABLE No. IV: 4

PROPORTION OF BROAD AGE GROUPS FOR DELHI RURAL TRACTS (1951) & VILLAGE GOKULPUR (1961)

Broad Age Groups	Delhi Rural Tract 1951			Gokulpur 1961		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0—14 Infants & Children	42.0	39.6	40.9	45.6	45.6	45.6
15—59 (Adults)	50.6	55.7	52.9	50.3	51.1	50.6
60+ above (old)	7.4	4.7	6.2	4.2	3.3	3.8

If we compare our figures with the corresponding 1951 Census figures for the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole we find that whereas there are proportionately more infants and children in the village as compared to the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole, the comparative figures being 45.6 per cent and 40.9 per cent respectively, the case is just the reverse in the other two broad age groups. Whereas, in the Delhi Rural Tract the adults form 52.9 per cent of the total population the corresponding figure for the village is 50.6 per cent and in case of the old the corresponding figures are 6.2 per cent for the Delhi Rural Tract and 3.8 per cent for the village.

From the point of view of economic demography, a comparatively high percentage of people in the dependent or non-productive age groups (*viz.* the infants and children and old) is of

meaningful significance for investment potential of the village population. As the proportion of adults who are usually considered as labour force in the village is lower, the saving investment capacity of the village is likely to be lower than for the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole.

MARITAL STATUS

For purposes of analysing the marital status of the population we have adopted the same broad age groups as we did while analysing the age and sex of the population.

The classification of marital status given here is four fold and includes the following categories *viz.* single, married, widowed and separated. We have left out the divorced from our list as there is no divorced person in the village.

Data regarding the marital status of the population is provided by table IV:5.

TABLE IV: 5

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE AGE, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

Age Groups	Males					Females					Total				
	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated	Total
0—4	74	..	..	..	74	71	..	..	..	71	145	..	..	..	145
5—9	84	..	..	..	84	65	..	..	..	65	149	..	..	..	149
10—14	55	4	..	..	59	37	9	..	..	46	92	13	..	..	105
Sub-total	213	4	..	..	217	173	9	..	..	182	386	13	..	..	399
%	98.2	1.8	..	..	100.0	95.1	4.9	..	..	100.0	96.7	3.3	..	..	100.0

contd.

TABLE IV:5 (contd.)

Age Groups	Males					Females					Total				
	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Separated	Total
15—19	23	20	..	..	43	5	28	..	..	33	28	48	..	..	76
20—24	4	32	..	1	37	..	56	..	..	56	4	88	..	1	93
25—29	6	38	2	..	46	..	32	..	..	32	6	70	..	..	78
30—34	3	20	1	..	24	..	16	2	..	18	3	36	3	..	42
35—39	..	21	..	..	21	..	22	..	..	22	..	43	..	..	43
40—44	..	22	..	..	22	..	11	4	..	15	..	33	4	..	37
45—49	2	12	3	..	17	..	8	1	..	9	2	20	4	..	26
50—54	1	12	5	..	18	..	8	5	..	13	1	20	10	..	31
55—59	..	6	5	..	11	..	3	3	..	6	..	9	8	..	17
Sub-total	39	183	16	1	239	5	184	15	..	204	44	367	31	1	443
%	16.3	76.6	6.7	0.4	100.0	2.5	90.2	7.3	..	100.0	10.0	82.8	7.0	0.2	100.0
60 & above	..	10	10	..	20	..	1	12	..	13	..	11	22	..	33
Sub-total	..	10	10	..	20	..	1	12	..	13	..	11	22	..	33
%	..	50.0	50.0	..	50.0	..	7.7	92.3	..	100.0	..	33.3	66.7	..	100.0
Grand Total	252	197	26	1	476	178	194	27	..	399	430	391	53	1	875
%	52.9	41.4	5.5	0.2	100.0	44.6	48.6	6.8	..	100.0	49.1	44.7	6.1	0.1	100.0

The table shows that of the total population of 875, 430 or 49.1 per cent are single, 391 or 44.7 per cent are married, 53 or 6.1 per cent are widowed and 1 or 0.1 per cent are separated. Thus on the whole the ever-married outnumber single persons, the respective proportions being 50.9 per cent and 49.1 per cent of the total population respectively.

If we compare our figures with those of the Delhi Rural Tract in 1951 as a whole we find that the proportion of single persons is higher in the village, the respective figures being 49.1 per cent for the village and 48.1 per cent for the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole.

44.7 per cent of the village population was presently married as against 44.1 per cent for the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole in 1951 and 6.2 per cent was widowed, or divorced or separated in the village as against 7.8 per cent in the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole. On the whole we can say that the position found in the village in 1961 is more or less similar to the one prevailing in the Delhi Rural Tract as a whole in 1951.

Coming to the marital status of the village population in the various age groups we find

that marriage amongst infants and children *viz.* those below 15 years of age is an exception, more so for the male than female children. Of the 13 persons married in this age-group 9 are females and only 4 are males. Among the adults, again we find that the proportion of the married is higher (90.2 per cent) for females than for males (76.6 per cent) and if we include the widowed and divorced the corresponding figures for ever married males and females works out to 83.7 per cent and 97.5 per cent respectively. A closer scrutiny of the table reveals that whereas single males amongst the adults are to be found in several age groups, single females are to be found only in the first age group *viz.* 15—19 years. There are in all 5 unmarried females in this age group; two of them have just attained the age of 15 years, 1 is 16 years of age and 2 are 17 years old. All but one of them have already been betrothed and are likely to get married in the near future. As for the 5th girl her father reported that frantic search for a suitable match for her is going on and that she will be married soon.

This clearly shows that marriage is universal amongst females in the village. According to the villagers the girls ought to be married before

Age at Marriage

they grow too old and become a cause of embarrassment to the parents and all others concerned. So far as unmarried males are concerned, of the 39, 23 are in the age group 15 to 19 years, 4 are in the age group 20—24 years, 6 in the age group 25—29 years, 3 in the age group 30—34 years, 2 in the group 50—54 years. Our inquiry regarding these persons showed that except for 7 persons (6 in the higher age groups and 1 in the age group 25—29 years) all expect to get married sooner or later. In fact, of the 32 such persons 23 are students and 9 are workers who want to get married at the later stage. But of the other 7 persons amongst the 39 unmarried, 5 adults claim that they did not get married as they wanted to remain single though some villagers suggested that they could not find suitable matches for themselves as they had earned bad repute for themselves when they were young and no one was willing to offer their daughters for marriage with them. Our inquiries regarding the cause of their earning bad repute proved futile as none in the village was willing to disclose the same. 2 others could not get married because they were suffering from some contagious diseases and as such were unable to find matches for themselves. In view of a peculiar custom prevailing in this and all other villages of the Union Territory, it will be useful if a distinction is made between two phases of married life. The two phases may be termed as pre-gauna and post-gauna phases.

Cohabitation of a couple does not start soon after their marriage but only after a lapse of time when the gauna or nuptial ceremony has taken place. During the pre-gauna stage the bride stays with her parents and it is only after the gauna ceremony that she starts leading what can be called a married life. Thus during the pre-gauna period, a person though technically married for all practical purposes leads the life of an unmarried person. (Gauna has earlier been discussed in detail in Chapter II).

For example, in our village we have shown 197 males and 194 females as married. But the gauna in case of 10 males and 6 females has not so far taken place. If we leave them out we have 187 married males and 188 married females or in other words one married female more than males. This is due to polygamy. A Gujar has married the widow of his deceased elder brother, thus having two living wives with him.

While collecting data regarding age at marriage we faced similar problem as we did while collecting data regarding age of the persons, though discrepancies here were relatively smaller. Here again, through the application of various checks and cross checks (same as we used while collecting age returns) we tried to secure as reliable data as possible. In addition, certain other checks and cross checks like the present age of the first child, duration between gauna and first birth and duration of gauna were also applied to secure reasonably satisfactory returns regarding age at marriage.

It may, however, be added that the age at marriage has been taken for the first marriage only and if a person has married for a second or third time, these have not been considered.

According to the data thus collected, the mean age at marriage for the 224 ever married males works out at 14.1 years and for the 221 females at 11.9 years. Incidentally both of them are well below the minimum statutory limits fixed at 18 years for males and 14 years for females by the Sarda Act of 1930. The law was passed in order to avoid the adverse effects of early marriage. But although the Act was passed as far back as 1930, yet the minimum ages fixed by the Act have not been achieved in the village even by those in the younger age groups.

A decade or so back, the people used to get married at a comparatively younger age. The villagers contend that the then prevailing social customs and values were mostly responsible for such a state of affairs. According to them cases were not rare when a girl was married at the age of 5 or 6 years and the boys at the age of 8 or 9 years. They further suggest that at present there is a growing tendency on the part of the people to marry their children at a comparatively late age. The change, according to them, has been gradual and is likely to continue for the future also. The trend is well brought out by Table No. IV.6. For sake of convenience and simplicity we have divided all the ever married persons (both males as well as females) into 5 broad age groups and calculated the mean age at marriage separately for the persons in each age group.

TABLE IV: 6

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE ACCORDING TO SEX & AGE

Age at Present	No. of Males	Mean age at marriage	No. of Females	Mean age at marriage
Below 15	4	14.3	9	13.8
15-25	53	16.9	84	13.2
25-35	61	13.9	50	11.8
35-45	43	12.8	37	10.8
45 & above	63	12.6	41	9.9
TOTAL	224	14.1	221	11.9

The table clearly indicates that the mean age at marriage has steadily been going up both amongst the males as well as the females.

However, the gauna has not so far taken place in any of these 4 cases.

The mean age at marriage is only 12.6 years for the males above 45 years of age 12.8 years for those in the age group 35—45 years, 13.9 years for those in the age group 25—35 years and 16.9 for those in the age group 15—25 years. The mean age at marriage for those below 15 years of age is, however, 14.3 years i.e. lower than the one for the persons in the following age group. This according to the villagers is an exceptional case. For according to them, now normally a person gets married at a later stage though some may marry at an early age due to some particular reason. A study of these 4 cases shows that they all belong to the socially lower castes and were married off earlier for reasons enumerated below. In two of the cases there was no female members in the households and the heads of the households were finding it difficult to carry on with the various household chores as well as with their normal economic activity as mill-workers. They were very keen to have a female in their household who could take the burden of household chores from their shoulders and they accordingly married off their sons at an early age. The third is the case of a boy whose mother being of indifferent health wanted to see her son married during her lifetime and so he got married at such an early age. The fourth one is a case of a household which had four daughters but only one son. His sisters had all been married away and his parents wanted him to marry at the earliest and so he also got married at a comparatively young age.

So far as the females are concerned, the mean age at marriage for them is comparatively low, both in the whole as well as in the various age groups, than males. The mean age at marriage amongst them is lowest viz. 9.9 years for the females of 45 years of age or above and highest i.e. 1.8 years for those in the age group 0—15 years. Here again, as in the case of the males, the mean age at marriage is steadily going up for every younger age group.

However, even though the trend is towards marriage at higher age it is still well below the minimum specified by the Sarda Act of 1930. Broadly speaking the tendency amongst the villagers at present is to marry off a girl at the age of 14 or 15 years while the corresponding figure for boys is 17 or 18 years. There are, however, exceptions to this and there are a few cases where the marriage of a girl is delayed until she is 16 or 17 years of age. But there is no case where a girl of 18 years of age is still unmarried. The case for the boys is somewhat different. There are quite a few cases of males of 20 years or over who are yet to be married.

The change in the attitude of the villagers regarding age at marriage, according to the villagers themselves, is generally due to the impact of urbanisation, greater communication of the people with urban people, impact of education and such other factors.

LITERACY

According to the definition adopted at the time of 1961 census, a literate is one who can both read and write. Out of the total population of 875 persons only 202 or 23.1 per cent

are literates whereas the corresponding figure for the year 1951 was 48 or 8.7 per cent. Among the literate, 88.1 per cent are males and only 11.9 per cent are females. Similarly, of 673 illiterates, 55.8 per cent are females and 44.2 per cent males. Again, of the total male population of 476, 37.4 per cent are literates while the corresponding figure for female literates is only 6.1 per cent of 399 females.

To get an idea of the spread of education in the past it is necessary to look into its distribution by age and sex. It appears that there has

not been any lowering of the extent or proportion of illiteracy over the last two decades or so.

In fact, if we confine ourselves to the age groups 5—14 and 15—24 only, we notice that there has been only a small decrease in proportion of illiteracy in the first age group over the last decade. Sexwise, the figures show a decrease in proportion of illiteracy in age group 5—14 in the case of females as well as males. In other respects there have been no significant changes.

TABLE IV : 7

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND LITERACY

Age Group	Literate			Illiterate			Total		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0—4	..	..	..	74	71	145	74	71	145
%	..	..	..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5—14	76	20	96	67	91	158	143	111	254
%	53.1	18.0	37.8	46.9	82.6	62.2	100.0	100.0	100.0
15—24	45	3	48	35	86	121	80	89	169
%	56.2	3.4	28.4	43.8	96.6	71.6	100.0	100.0	100.0
25—34	25	..	25	45	50	95	70	50	120
%	35.7	..	20.8	64.3	100.0	79.2	100.0	100.0	100.0
35—54	24	1	25	54	58	112	78	59	137
%	30.7	1.7	18.2	68.3	98.3	81.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
55 & above	8	..	8	23	19	42	31	19	50
%	25.8	..	16.0	74.2	..	84.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL (all ages)	178	24	202	298	375	673	476	399	875
%	37.4	6.1	23.1	62.6	93.9	76.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

In the age group 25—34, while 20.8 per cent of the persons are literate no female has been reported as literate. In the next age group 35—54 out of 25 or 18.2 per cent of the total literates only one female is reported as literate. In the last age group of 55 and above, no female is literate and 16.0 per cent of the males are literates. The conclusions to be drawn from the data are first, that there has been a small decrease over the last two decades in the number and proportion of illiterate persons and that secondly, there has been recently a small increase in literacy among the females.

Educational Standard

TABLE NO. IV: 8 shows that 29.7 per cent of the total are educated upto pre-primary level, 43.1 per cent upto primary level, 16.8 per cent upto middle class and 8.9 per cent upto matriculation. In the village, only 3 persons have had college education. Of these three, one is a graduate of the Delhi University who is working as an audit clerk in the Co-operative Societies Department. The other two have passed the Intermediate examination of the Agra University and intend to join a college for graduation. It will be seen from the table that

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL



(a) The old school of the village consisted of only a couple of room. At the moment its building has dilapidated beyond use.



(b) The new school building which came up only a few years back.

amongst the educated males 27.5 per cent have pre-primary education 42.7 per cent are primary passed, 17.9 per cent are educated upto the middle class and only 10.1 per cent are matriculaes. Three persons have college education and one of them is a graduate. With regard to female education, 11 or 45.8 per cent have studied upto pre-primary standard. None of the females have had education upto matriculation or above. Considering the education

by age, it is to be noted that 47.5 per cent of the literates are in the age group 5—14, 23.8 per cent in the next age group (15—24) and in the age bracket 25 years and above there are 28.7 per cent literates. In the first two age groups, three-fourth of the literates are covered while in the last age group the corresponding number is only one-third. This, too, confirms the fact that the spread of education in the village is of comparatively recent growth.

TABLE IV : 8
DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATES ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND EDUCATION STANDARD

Age Group	Males							Females				Total						
	Pre-primary	Primary	Middle	Matriculation	Intermediate	B.A.	Total	Pre-primary	Primary	Middle	Total	Pre-primary	Primary	Middle	Matriculation	Intermediate	B.A.	Total
0—4	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5—9	.	23	9	..	..	..	32	6	1	..	7	29	10	..	..	..	..	39
10—14	.	4	26	14	..	..	44	5	6	2	13	9	32	16	..	..	..	57
15—19	.	3	4	7	10	2	26	..	3	..	3	3	7	7	10	2	..	29
20—24	.	5	8	4	2	..	19	..	..	..	..	5	8	4	2	..	..	19
25—29	.	4	10	2	3	..	19	..	..	..	..	4	10	2	3	..	1	20
30—34	.	..	3	2	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	5
35—39	.	1	6	..	1	..	8	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	8
40—45	.	5	2	1	..	..	8	..	1	..	1	5	3	1	..	..	..	9
45—49	.	1	3	..	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	5
50—54	.	1	1	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	3
55—59	.	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
60 & above	.	2	2	1	1	..	6	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	1	..	..	6
TOTAL	.	49	76	32	18	2	178	11	11	2	24	60	87	34	18	2	1	202
Percentage	.	27.5	42.7	17.9	10.1	1.2	100.0	45.8	45.8	88.4	100.0	29.7	43.1	16.8	8.9	1.0	0.5	100.0

School Registration and Attendance

After the year 1950, villagers of Gokulpur, particularly the Gujars, the Rajputs and the Brahmins became concerned about the educational facilities for their children. In 1955 they successfully persuaded the district authorities to establish a junior basic school both for boys and girls. The opening ceremony of this junior basic school was performed by the then Home Minister late Shri Govind Vallabh Pant

on 29th May, 1955. This school at present serves two villages viz., Gokulpur and Johripur. On its teaching staff there are four basic trained male teachers. The school has 87 students on its register. There are only 19 females students, the remaining being all males. 17 or 19.5 per cent of the students come from village Johripur. Among these 17 students, only 4 are females.

In terms of school attendance the castes of the village fall into three groups; the Gujars,

Rajputs, Brahmins, Jats and the Baniyas in the category with highest school attendance; the Nai and the Gosain form an intermediate group, while the Kumhar, Kadera, Muslim, Sunar, Chamar and Bhangi make up the group with the lowest school attendance. As part of the national effort to improve the lot of the Harijans their children are not only exempt from the ten Naye paise per month school fee but may apply for special scholarship of one or two rupees per month. But only a few Chamar families have taken advantage of this concession. Although the Bhangis and Chamars make up 53 of the 149 families in the village they have contributed only 12 students in the primary school and the Kumhar, Kadera, Muslim, Sunar and Nai with 14 families have between themselves contributed only six students. Economic and occupational factors seem to be involved here. The group with the highest

school attendance includes those with the most economic security i.e. the Gujars, the Rajputs and the Brahmins who are the land owners of the village, and the occupational group (Nai and Sunar) whose work does not demand the help of children in the 5—14 age bracket. In the case of the Kumhars however, children can be put to work at various un-skilled or semi-skilled occupations e.g. carrying clay, taking care of the donkeys etc. The same may be said of the Chamars, the Bhangis and persons pursuing agricultural labour work. They find it hard to spare even the children in the 5—14 age group who can be of some assistance to the family. Some of the lower castes informants said that they were discriminated against, to some extent, at the school and are not treated as well as the higher caste children. Moreover education is not always deemed as an asset when there are educated unemployed in the village.

TABLE IV : 9
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Caste		Boys	Girls	Boys & Girls
1. Gujar	Total	35	21	56
	School attendance	25	5	30
	Per cent	71	24	53
2. Brahmin	Total	20	19	39
	School attendance	15	2	17
	Per cent	75	18	43
3. Rajput	Total	11	21	32
	School attendance	10	4	14
	Per cent	91	28	44
4. Gosain	Total	10	4	14
	School attendance	2	2	4
	Per cent	20	50	28
5. Jat	Total	1	1	2
	School attendance	1	..	1
	Per cent	100	..	50
6. Nai	Total	7	5	12
	School attendance	3	1	4
	Per cent	43	20	33
7. Kumhar Kadera Muslim Sunar	Total	9	4	13
	School attendance	2	..	2
	Per cent	22	..	2
8. Baniya	Total	11	3	14
	School attendance	6	1	7
	Per cent	54	33	50
9. Chamar	Total	33	28	61
	School attendance	7	..	7
	Per cent	21	..	11
10. Bhangis	Total	12	5	17
	School attendance	1	..	1
	Per cent	8	..	6
All Castes	Total	149	110	259
	School attendance	..	15	15
	Per cent	48	13	55

When it comes to higher education, the Gujars, the Brahmins and the Rajputs are again in the lead. Nine students from Gokulpur attend the Higher Secondary School at village Babarpur and Shahdara. The Gujars, the Brahmins, the Rajputs and the Baniyas are principally represented there with three, two, two and one students respectively. There is only one Chamar student who attends Higher Secondary School at Shahdara. Of the two students who have recently completed intermediate, one belongs to the Gujar caste and the other to the Brahmin caste.

Reasons for Low School Registration

What are the difficulties that come in the way of a large proportion of children going to school? One of the important difficulties faced by children in most villages, namely, the

absence of a school close to the village does not exist in Gokulpur. There is a school in the village. Other difficulties either economic or social or both, must therefore, be important. Response to questions concerning reasons for not sending children to school was not, however, adequate. According to the data collected only 96 or 37.8 per cent of the children in the age group 5—15 attend school.

Only 43 per cent of the households (the group with the poorest performance) gave the reasons; first financial stringency and inability to buy books, paper, clothes etc. Second, loss of income consequent on sending children to school and thereby taking them off from work; third, lack of appreciation of the need for education, fourth, no separate school for girls, fifth too young to attend and lastly to look after the young children at home. The order of importance of six reasons among the responses received is indicated in table IV : 10 below:—

TABLE IV : 10
REASONS FOR NOT ATTENDING THE SCHOOL

Reasons	Total Responses			
	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
Financial Stringency	39	60.9	14	26.9
Loss of income	11	17.2	..	..
Too young to attend	12	18.8	3	5.8
Look after the children at home	2	3.1	17	32.7
No separate school for girls	..	..	8	15.4
No appreciation of need for education	..	..	10	19.2
TOTAL	64	100.0	52	100.0

It is significant to note that the last named reason was offered only for girls and not in a single case for boys even by the agricultural labourers. It is also significant that only 17.2 per cent of the responses included loss of income (direct or indirect) as a factor and that too for boys. To look after the young children while the elder members of the family are away in the fields is mostly advanced in the case of girls (15.4 per cent). The following conclusions can be drawn. First, the need for education of boys is recognised widely by all sections of the village population including the poorest. This is, however, recognised to a lesser degree in the case of education of girls. Secondly, the fear of loss of income and work likely to result

from sending children to school is present only among a small section of the population. Thirdly, the most important difficulty in the way of wider spread of education is financial stringency. This is the factor mentioned most often by those tenant cultivators, agricultural labourers and casual workers, who cannot afford to spend money on books, slates, pencils and clothes necessary to send children to school. Finally, there does not seem to exist any social barrier against children of the depressed classes going to school.

Educational Facilities

Until 1950, the village was almost completely devoid educational facilities. All those who

wished to study had to go out of the village. The nearest educational institution was at village Babarpur, about a mile to the west of the village, where a Primary school was functioning. For further education one had to go to Shahdara and those wishing to go in for higher studies had to go to Delhi or Ghaziabad.

But in 1950, a few households of the Gujars and Brahmins took some initiative and pooled their resources and asked a school teacher from Shahdara to come to the village every day to teach here. The teacher organised a small private school in the then *kuccha chawal* of the village and started imparting education to children, free of cost. The success of the school was necessarily limited, primarily because of lack of funds as one teacher could not possibly take two or three classes at a time. He, however, was able to impart limited knowledge of the three R's to several kids in the village who later on went to Babarpur or Shahdara, for further studies. Thus one had to walk down about a couple of miles to reach school. This arrangement was obviously not satisfactory.

The villagers once again took some initiative and started pestering the erstwhile District Board authorities for setting up at least a primary school in the village. The authorities ultimately agreed. As already mentioned the opening ceremony of the school was performed by the then Home Minister Late Shri Govind Ballabh Pant on May 29, 1955. The school was at that time housed in a newly constructed two roomed structure. The late Shri Pant urged the villagers to work for the uplift of the village and asked the villagers to donate land for the construction of a bigger school building. A well-to-do Gujar named Bishamber offered to donate 10 bighas of land for the purpose provided the authorities undertook to construct a building. The offer was accepted.

In 1957, the school was taken over by the Municipal Corporation and was named Municipal Corporation Junior Basic School, Gokulpur. Soon after a new school building containing 6 rooms came up on the donated land. The school imparts education to both boys and girls upto V class after which those desirous of higher studies go to Babarpur or Shahdara.

By the time of the drafting of the report, the school had been raised to the Middle Standard, one advantage of which has been that parents who were reluctant to send their daughters outside the village now send them here for studying beyond the V class.

Education is free and compulsory for all between the ages of 6 and 15 years. Only a nominal subscription of 10 Paise locally called *chanda* (चन्दा) is charged from the

students. Not only this, all the students of class V onward belonging to Backward classes are given subsidies to meet the annual expenses on books, stationery etc.

Recently the scheme of free distribution of milk was also launched. All the school students are given a glass of milk each during interval everyday. Milk powder is provided by the Municipal Corporation and the teachers look after its preparation and distributing to the students. The scheme has been quite popular, in spite of fact that there are days when milk is not provided because of either non-availability of milk powder or some other hitch.

Education being compulsory, the school teachers are expected to go round the village and see to it that all the children between the ages of 6 to 15 years come and attend the school.

The author came across an interesting case in course of his visits to the village, which is being narrated for the interest of the reader.

A Gosain widow, having 5 children to feed thought it wise to take off her daughter from the school after she had completed study upto V class, even though the school was raised to middle standard. The Headmaster of the school was, however able to persuade her (the widow) to send her daughter for further studies to the school. But after a few days the widow had a second thought and again withdrew her daughter from the school, fearing that she may not be able to meet the necessary expenses. The girl happened to be the best student of the school and also one of the first girls to go in for studies after V class. This led to the withdrawal of several other girls who also had joined VI class in the school and a situation arose when even some of the girls of lower classes were likely to be withdrawn. The Headmaster again rushed to the Gosain widow and requested her to send her daughter to the school, cajoling her that if she does not come to school several others would also follow suit. He pleaded that she must send her daughter to school even if she has to face some financial problems. Luckily for the Headmaster and the school the widow agreed to his proposal and also undertook to see to it that other girls are also regular in coming to school.

Size and Type of Families

The various families in the village can be broadly divided into 4 categories viz., uni-member, nuclear, extended and collateral. These can further be defined as follows:—

1. A uni-member family consists of only one member, male or female,

2. A nuclear family consists of a couple with or without any children. The children, however must be unmarried. A nuclear family becomes truncated when either of the spouses dies.

3. An extended family is one which consists of a couple with one or more married sons and their families.

4. A collateral family is one where the basic unit is a group of brothers and their spouses with or without children. Moreover, any family consist-

ing of cousins, other relations or non-related persons is also known as collateral family.

Again, broadly speaking, whereas the former two viz. the uni-member and nuclear families can be termed as nuclear families, the latter two viz., the collateral and extended families can be termed as joint families.

Our household enumeration indicates that there are in all 149 households in the village (already reported earlier in Chapter I & II). Table IV:11 gives the distribution of these 149 families according to type and size.

TABLE IV: 11

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO SIZE AND TYPE

Number of Members	Type of Family				Total
	Uni-Member	Nuclear	Extended	Collateral	
1	4	..	..	..	4
2	..	12	..	3	15
3	..	17	2	..	19
4	..	13	4	1	18
5	..	7	6	1	14
6	..	17	4	3	24
7	..	6	9	1	16
8	..	4	8	2	14
9	..	1	6	1	8
10	..	1	4	2	7
11	..	..	3	2	5
12	..	..	1	..	1
13	..	..	1	..	1
14	..	..	1	..	1
15	..	..	..	..	..
16	..	..	..	1	1
22	..	..	1	..	1
TOTAL	4	78	50	17	149
PERCENTAGE	2.7	52.3	33.6	11.4	100.0

The table indicates that 82 or 55.0 per cent of the 149 families in the village are what we have defined as nuclear families and the rest (67) or 45.0 per cent are joint families. In other words the nuclear type of families outnumber the joint families in the village. According to the villagers such was not the case a few decades back. According to them previously there used to be proportionately greater number of joint families. This feature of greater number of nuclear families is of recent origin.

A noticeable feature amongst the nuclear families is the presence of 4 uni-member families, three of them consist of issue-less widowed persons (2 females and 1 male) and the fourth one consists of the lone separated male in the village. While two of these are Chamars (1 widow and 1 separated male), the

other two (1 widow and 1 widower) are Rajputs. The Chamar widow is presently engaged in earning her livelihood from milk-selling and the Chamar widower is a foundry worker. The Rajput widow is an agricultural rent-receiver and the separated person is engaged in agricultural activity as tenant cultivator.

Leaving aside these 4 uni-member families there are 78 purely nuclear or biological families and the size of such families varies from 2 persons in case of 12 families to 10 persons in case of 1 family. The concentration of nuclear families is between two to six member families. The average size of all the nuclear families taken together works out to 4.4 persons per household, but if we exclude the 4 uni-member households the average size for the purely nuclear families works out at 4.6 persons per family.

TABLE IV : 12
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES BY CASTE

Type of Household	Number of Households										Total
	Gujar	Rajput	Brahmin	Gosain	Jat	Nai	Kumhar Kadera Muslim Sunar	Baniya	Chamar	Bhangi	
Uni-Member	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	4
Nuclear	14	7	12	6	..	5	1	2	26	5	78
Extended	12	5	6	..	..	3	4	2	15	3	50
Collateral	5	5	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	17
TOTAL	31	19	20	6	1	9	5	5	44	9	149

Amongst the joint families, the size of families varies from 3 to 22 persons per family amongst the extended type of families and 3 to 16 persons per family amongst the collateral type of families. The average size of families amongst the extended families works out at 7.8 persons per family and the corresponding figure for the collateral type is 7.2. The average size of all types of joint families taken together works out to be 7.7 persons per family. This is as compared to 4.4 persons per family amongst the nuclear type of families. Thus our data broadly conforms to the accepted phenomenon that joint families are usually bigger in size than nuclear families.

A study of the type and size of families according to caste may reveal several significant features. The distribution of various families according to the size, type and caste is provided by table No. IV:12.

The table shows that amongst the Gujars, Rajputs, Jats, and the Baniyas, the joint type of families outnumber nuclear type of families. If we take into consideration the fact that most of the households amongst these castes are engaged in agricultural activities, we may draw the conclusion that joint families are predominant amongst the agriculturists and nuclear families amongst the non-agriculturists.

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES

Just as the size and type of families amongst the various castes in the village revealed a very interesting feature, the size and composition of households may also reveal some similar interesting features. Accordingly a study of the same has also been undertaken.

For purposes of the study the various families in the village have tentatively been divided into various size groups viz. small, medium and

large corresponding to families consisting of 1 to 3 persons 4 to 9 persons and 10 persons or more. The relevant data is provided by table IV : 13.

The table clearly shows that 12 out of 17 households amongst the large sized households belong to the Chamars, Gujars, Rajputs and the

Bhangis. The Kadera, Kumhar, Sunar and the Gosain do not have any large sized households.

Again, small sized households are to be found mainly amongst the Chamars, Gujars, Brahmins, Rajputs and the Nais, though three other castes viz. the Bhangis, Gosains and the Muslims also have a household each in this size group.

TABLE IV : 13
SIZE & COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES

Caste	Total No. of House- holds	1 Member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10 Members & above			Total		
		No. of H.Hs.	M	F	No. of H.Hs.	M	F	No. of H.Hs.	M	F	No. of H.Hs.	M	F	No. of H.Hs.	M	F	No. of H.Hs.	M	F
Chamar	44	2	1	1	10	15	13	20	52	49	9	35	31	3	16	14	44	119	108
Gujar	31	..	..	..	11	15	8	9	26	23	9	36	35	3	20	15	31	97	81
Brahmin	20	..	..	..	4	5	4	8	25	20	7	27	29	1	7	3	20	64	56
Rajput	19	2	1	1	4	7	4	6	13	15	3	15	9	4	31	29	19	67	58
Bhangi	9	..	..	..	1	1	2	5	10	13	1	4	3	2	13	10	9	28	28
Nai	9	..	..	..	3	5	3	2	4	5	3	14	10	1	7	3	9	30	21
Gosain	6	..	..	..	1	2	..	3	7	8	2	11	4	1	..	..	6	20	12
Baniya	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	5	2	11	5	1	5	6	5	22	16
Muslim	2	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	2	9	5
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	3	..	..	..	1	6	3
Jat	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	6	1	5	6
Kadera	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	6	3	..	..	..	1	6	3
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	2
TOTAL	149	4	2	2	34	51	35	56	146	140	38	165	132	17	112	90	149	476	399

INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY

According to the information gathered by us, the mode of inheritance of property after the death of a person is by and large governed by customary law and the various precedents set by courts of law. Whereas almost all the persons interviewed were aware of the customary law of inheritance, they were found to be unaware of several precedents set by the courts of law. According to several village elders this is due to the fact that most of such persons consider the court precedents to be customary law itself and are thus not able to distinguish between the two.

According to the customary law, after the death of a person his sons get equal share in his property. In case the sons are minor (below the age of 18 years) the property passes on to his widow, who becomes a sort of trustee of the property until the sons attain adulthood. In case the deceased had no male issues, the property is inherited by his widow who acquires only life interest in the property, provided she does not remarry. After her death the property is shared by the brothers of the deceased. But in case the deceased was a widower without any male issues, his property is shared equally by his brothers. But if he had no brothers either, then his property is shared by his other

paternal relations, whose share varies with closeness or otherwise of their relation with the deceased. Thus according to the customary law, daughters, sisters or other female relations are not entitled to any share in the property of the deceased. However, those who inherited the property of the deceased were morally and legally made responsible for making suitable provision for the maintenance and marriage of the unmarried daughters of the deceased. According to the villagers this was strictly adhered to by all the people and no one ever neglected such unmarried daughters. As proof of this assertion they say that no girl ever remains unmarried and is always suitably married away before she attains 16 or 17 years of age.

In case there was dispute amongst the surviving relations of the deceased as to the share of property left by the deceased, court judgments were more or less in line with the prevailing customary law of inheritance as enunciated above.

An enquiry was made from the head of every household regarding the inheritance of property by various relations as well as the share of each of such relations.

Tables IV: 14 and IV: 15 provide the relevant data.

TABLE IV: 14

INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY AS IN PRACTICE

Caste	No. of Households	No. indicating that relations of the following categories are entitled to inherit property in their respective castes			
		Son	Daughter	Wife	Don't know
Chamar	44	44	..	6	..
Gujar.	31	31	..	7	..
Rajput	19	19	..	4	..
Brahmin	20	20	..	8	..
Bhangi	9	9	..	2	..
Nai	9	9	..	1	..
Baniya	5	5	..	3	..
Gosain	6	6	..	1	..
Jat	1	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..
Kadera	1	1	..	1	..
Kumhar	1	1	..	..	..
Muslim	2	2	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	149	..	33	..

The table clearly indicates that whereas all were aware that the sons of the deceased were heirs to his property, only 38 or 25.5 per cent reported that the widows also have a share in the property of the deceased. Again all irrespective of their caste and economic status were

agreed that daughters have no share in the property of the deceased.

Table IV:15 gives the awareness of the persons interviewed regarding the share of property for different categories of relations as governed by the customary law.

TABLE IV: 15

SHARE OF PROPERTY FOR DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF RELATIONS

Caste	No. of Households	Number indicating inheritance of property in the following manner				
		All sons get equal shares	Daughter inherits equally with sons	Wife inherits if there is no son	Brother inherits if no sons or wife	Don't know.
Chamar	44	44	..	23	44	..
Gujar.	31	31	..	31	31	..
Rajput	19	19	..	17	19	..
Brahmin	20	20	..	11	20	..
Bhangi	9	9	..	2	9	..
Nai	9	9	..	4	9	..
Baniya	5	5	..	5	5	..
Gosain	6	6	..	3	6	..
Jat	1	1	..	1	1	..
Sunar	1	1	..	1	..	..
Kadera	1	1	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	2	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	147	..	98	147	..

The table shows that all but 2 persons interviewed were agreed that sons of deceased share his property equally, the only two exceptions being the two muslim households who reported that it is only the eldest son who inherits the property.

All reported that the daughters get no share in the property of the deceased, 98 or 65.8 per cent reported that the widow of the deceased inherits his property provided he left no male issue.

Several changes have taken place in the manner of inheritance of property as a result of the passing of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. According to the Act, the property of a male Hindu dying intestate devolves upon the son, daughter, widow, mother, son of predeceased son, son of a predeceased daughter,

daughter of a predeceased son etc., according to the following 3 rules.

(a) The widow, or if there are more widows than one, all the widows will take one share.

(b) The surviving sons and daughters and the mother of the deceased shall receive one share each.

(c) The heirs in the branch of each predeceased son and each predeceased daughter of the intestate (i.e. deceased) shall take between them one share.

In view of the above mentioned changes, an enquiry was made from the head of each household to find out how far they are aware of the main provisions of the Act.

The data thus collected has been tabulated in table IV: 16.

TABLE IV: 16

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 changes in Hindu Adoption Act	No. aware that there have been change in the Hindu Succession Act	No. that could describe changes in Hindu Succession Act correctly
Chamar	44	..	..	4	..
Gujar	31	..	..	19	..
Rajput	19	..	..	12	..
Brahmin	20	..	..	8	..
Bhangi	9	..	..	..	..
Nai	9	..	..	1	..
Baniya	5	..	..	4	..
Gosain	6	..	..	3	..
Jat	1	..	..	1	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	..
Kadera	1	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..
Muslim	2	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	..	..	52	..

The table clearly indicates that none amongst those interviewed was aware of any changes brought about by the Hindu Adoption Act of 1955. However, 52 or 34.9 per cent of them did have some knowledge of an Act regarding succession, though none was able to say what changes were introduced excepting that now daughters are also entitled to equal share in the property of the deceased along with the sons. Our enquiries regarding any case where a daughter may have succeeded to the property of her deceased father, showed that there has so far been no such case in the village. In fact the villagers suggested that although

the daughters are now entitled, they will get the share only when they demand and until now no one has ever demanded her share in the property.

Enquiries were made regarding the attitudes of the village towards inheritance of property by daughters along with sons. The data thus collected shows that an overwhelming proportion of the villagers irrespective of their caste affiliations and economic status are strongly opposed to it. Statistics regarding their attitude in this respect are presented by Table IV: 17.

TABLE IV: 17

ATTITUDE ABOUT INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY BY DAUGHTERS EQUALLY WITH SONS

Caste	No. of Households	No. of persons in favour of daughter inheriting equally with son	No. of persons not in favour of daughter inheriting equally with son
Chamar	44	10	34
Gujar	31	1	30
Rajput	19	4	15
Brahmin	20	1	19
Bhangi	9	8	1
Nai	9	1	8
Baniya	5	..	5
Gosain	6	..	6
Jat	1	..	1
Sunar	1	1	..
Kadera	1	1	..
Kumhar	1	..	1
Muslim	2	2	..
TOTAL	149	29	120

The table shows that whereas 120 or 80.5 per cent of the total persons interviewed were not in favour of daughters inheriting equally with sons, only 29 or 19.5 per cent were reported as being in favour of this measure. Incidentally, it may be noted that most of the persons favouring inheritance of property by daughters along with sons are non-agriculturists and a majority of the persons not favouring this measure are agriculturists.

The main contention of those who do not favour this measure is that unlike in urban areas the main asset of the villagers is land. After the death of a person, his sons succeed to the same. Now, the sons normally continue living in the village and as such there is no difficulty about managing the land. But the case with daughters is different. They have, as per custom of marrying outside the village, to go out of the village sooner or later and it is impossible for them to carry on cultivation in the village while staying away from it. Thus all they can do is either to sell away the land or to come and settle down in their native village, both of

which, they point out, are considered against the prestige and status of a family in the village. The only other alternative open to them is to rent out their land to others, but after the passing of the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954, even this has become difficult, for at any time the tenant may claim ownership of the same. Thus, considering all the above mentioned difficulties it is not advisable to let the daughters have equal share with sons in the property of a person.

Again, the villagers further say that if daughters also become eligible to inherit property, it will lead to further break up of the already small holdings and thus affect the agricultural production adversely.

Another line of argument put forward by them is that daughters are entitled to a share of their husband's property and if they become entitled to their father's property also, they will be doubly benefited.

Yet another very strong argument put forward by these persons is that this clause of Succession Act will lead to bad blood between

brothers and sisters and the sisters will not enjoy the same respect and prestige which they enjoy at present.

PANCHAYAT

The institution of **Panchayat** is one of the oldest institutions in the village. According to several village elders, in good old days, it was regarded by all the villagers as something sacred. The **panches** (पंच) i.e. the members of the **panchayat** were all elderly, influential and respected persons and were a cross section of the village population. The decisions taken by the **panchayat** were seldom disputed. The main reason for the successful working of that **panchayat** was that it had full support of the entire community, with the fullest measure of social sanctions behind it.

The **panchayat** used to take active interest in the day-to-day social and economic life of the villagers. It used to settle disputes amongst the villagers, manage all the affairs concerning the village and maintain harmonious relations amongst different sections of the population. It took active part on social occasions like marriage, birth, death etc. in the village. In times of need it used to help the needy also.

Besides the village **panchayat**, all the castes in the village had their own **panchayats**, consisting of elderly and influential persons in their respective castes. These were known as **biradari-ki-panchayat** (बिरादरी की पंचायत). These two were voluntary organisations and used to command great respect from all the persons in their respective castes. The main function of such **panchayats** was to help their caste-brethren in time of need and also to see that none in the caste deviated from the established customs, rituals, taboos etc. of the castes. Again if a quarrel or dispute took place in a particular caste the **biradari** (बिरादरी) members always tried to mediate and settle it.

Thus, while the **gaon panchayat** used to look after the administrative, judicial and welfare aspects of the village as a whole, the caste or **biradari panchayats** used to look after the intra-caste relations and related matters. Again, while the activities of the village **panchayat** were necessarily limited within the jurisdiction of the village, the caste **panchayats** knew of no such boundaries and their jurisdiction travelled in the neighbouring villages also wherever members of a caste lived.

Such according to the village elders was the position in good old days. But both these **panchayats** had gradually been losing their hold on the common man. In all probability, what they related may have been true of the pre-

British or early British period, but after that both these institutions started degenerating. People would accept their judgments or flout them at their sweet will.

The primary reasons for the decay of the village **panchayats** were the various political, social and economic changes, while the corresponding reasons for the decay of the caste **panchayats** were mainly the increased migration, the break up of joint families and other rapid economic changes.

However, so long as the British ruled the country they did not bother about the falling standards of the **panchayat**. But with independence, when the National Government was set up, the whole attitude of the State towards the **panchayat** system changed.

Whereas the British completely neglected the institution, the National Government took active steps to revive and revitalise it, by bringing about changes to suit the changed conditions.

In order to fulfil this objective the Delhi Panchayat Raj Act was passed in 1954. The Act came into force on 30th April 1955, but as some of its provisions were in conflict with the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954, the Act could not be implemented until July 1959, when necessary amendments were made to reconcile it with the Delhi Land Reforms Act.

The Delhi Panchayat Raj Act stipulated a two tiered set up viz. the **gaon panchayat** and the **circle panchayat** for all the villages of the Union Territory. The **gaon panchayat** of a village is to be elected by the **gaon sabha** of the village. The **gaon sabha** of a village includes all the persons of the village who have voting rights under the Constitution. Thus every **gaon sabha** will have an executive body known as the **gaon panchayat**. Such would be the case with all villages except those which were considered too small to have a separate **gaon panchayat**. In such cases two contiguous villages were to have a common **gaon panchayat**. Incidentally, the village under study was considered too small for the purpose and as such it had a combined **gaon panchayat** with the nearby village of Johripur. The **gaon sabha** elects from amongst themselves members to the **gaon panchayat**, whose number varies from 4 to 10 depending upon the size of the **gaon sabha**. Each voter has as many votes as there are candidates to be returned. The head of the **gaon panchayat** to be known as **pradhan** (प्रधान) is elected by the **gaon sabha** while the **up-pradhan** (उप-प्रधान) or Vice-President of the **gaon panchayat** is to be

elected by the members of the **Gaon Panchayat** from amongst themselves.

The executive side of the village administration is entrusted to the **Gaon Panchayat**. Among the more important functions and duties of the **Gaon Panchayat** are:—

Framing of programmes of production for the village, framing budget of requirements for supply and finance needed for carrying out the programmes of reclamation of waste land and bringing waste land under cultivation, registration of births, deaths and marriages; regulation of such fairs and markets which are not organised by Government; construction, repair and maintenance of village streets and other properties under the **Gaon Panchayat**, sanitation, regulation of crematorium and burial grounds for human as well as bovine population. Along side the powers and duties of the **Gaon Panchayat**, a provision has been made for imposing a penalty for causing loss, wastage or misappropriation of money or property of the **Gaon Sabha**, if such loss or wastage is the direct consequence of the neglect on the part of any member of the **Gaon Panchayat**.

The **Gaon Sabhas** have been given the powers to impose two kinds of the taxes viz a tax on rent payable by an Assami under the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954, and a tax on land revenue payable by a **bhoomidar** on account of land held by him.

The Act further stipulated that each **Gaon Panchayat** shall hold two general meetings in each year, one soon after the harvesting of the **kharif** crop and the other soon after harvesting of the **rabi** crop in which it will consider the bi-annual reports of business submitted by the **pradhan**. The programme and budget for the next year commencing from 1st day of April, is presented at the General meeting, which is to be held soon after the harvesting of **kharif** crop.

The **Circle Panchayat** consists of elected persons from a number of contiguous villages or in other words **Gaon Sabha** areas. Each **Gaon Sabha** is entitled to send two or three of its representatives of certain prescribed qualifications to the **Circle Panchayat**, who form a panel of judges for **Panchayati Adalats** (Courts).

The judicial side of the village administration has been entrusted to the **Circle Panchayat**.

Each **Circle Panchayat** elects from amongst its members, **Sarpanch** (Chairman) and a **Naib Sarpanch** (Deputy Chairman).

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Whenever a case is referred to the **Circle Panchayat**, the **sarpanch** has the powers to ask a number of its members to constitute a bench of the court and try the case.

The **Circle Panchayats** have been empowered to try simple money suits, the value of which does not exceed Rs. 200/-. They have also been empowered to maintain Annual Register under the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954 and to make corrections of mistakes in the same. All the boundary disputes in a village shall also be settled by the **Circle Panchayat**. Petty offences under the Indian Penal Code, Cattle Trespass Act and the Delhi Public Gambling Act of 1955 have also been made triable by the **Circle Panchayat**. As stated earlier the members of the **Circle Panchayat** form a panel of judges for **Panchayati Adalats** (Courts). In addition to providing judges for the **Panchayati Adalats** for trial of suits and proceedings mentioned above, the Chief Commissioner may utilise the services of the **Circle Panchayats**, as a representative elected body of the constituent **Gaon Sabhas**, for the purpose of development projects and their general superintendence.

In Gokulpur and Johripur a statutory **Gaon Panchayat** was set up after the elections by secret ballot on the basis of adult franchise in October 1959. It drew 27 contestants (14 from Gokulpur and 13 from Johripur) in the field. Three of them stood for **Pradhan** of **Gaon Panchayat**, 8 for membership of **Circle Panchayat** and 16 for membership of the **Gaon Panchayat**.

The elections were held under the supervision of the **Panchayat** officer for the Union Territory. Before the commencement of the election, it was made known to the people that the colour of the ballot papers for the offices of **Pradhan**, members of the **Gaon Panchayat** and **Circle Panchayat**, will be light blue, brown and white respectively. The respective candidates distributed leaflets of the same colour for dates distributed leaflets of the same colour for canvassing support and indicating their election symbols to the people. Canvassing was mostly done by moving from house to house and by organising small group meetings by different candidates for mobilising voters in their favour. Incidentally, these were mostly organised on caste basis by the various candidates.

At the time of voting, each voter was given 3 slips, one each for the offices of **Pradhan**, **Gaon Panchayat** membership and the **Circle**

Panchayat membership. Each slip had four columns indicating

- (i) Serial number.
- (ii) Name of the candidates.
- (iii) Symbol of the candidates.
- (iv) Blank column which was to be marked cross with a rubber stamp against the name (symbol) of the candidate or candidates in whose favour one wanted to cast his or her vote. Counting of votes was done immediately after the voting was over and results were announced thereafter.

One of the most unfortunate turns that the elections took was that they were fought mostly on caste basis. There were 3 contestants in

the field for the post of **Pradhan** of **Gaon Panchayat**. One of them, **Shiv Charan** was Chamar by caste and the other two viz. **Rattan Singh** and **Bakhtawar Singh** were Gujar and Brahman respectively. **Shiv Charan** (who incidentally hails from village **Johripur**) counted solely upon his caste brethren and also on the votes of the only other Scheduled Caste in the two villages viz the Bhangis. **Rattan Singh** and **Bakhtawar** concentrated upon the other caste people in the two villages. Although, numerically, people of the other castes out-numbered the members of the Scheduled Castes, yet **Shiv Charan Chamar** from village **Johripur** got elected. He secured 122 votes as against his other two opponents **Rattan Singh** (Gujar) who secured 114 votes and **Bakhtawar** (Brahmin) who could muster only 107 votes. The following were the successful candidates who got elected to the various posts.

Post	Name	Caste	Village
Pradhan	Shiv Charan	Chamar	Johripur
Members	1. Babu Ram	Baniya	Gokulpur
	2. Nathu	Brahmin	Gokulpur
	3. Jaswant	Gujar	Gokulpur
	4. Surjan	Chamar	Gokulpur
	5. Kishan Lal	Brahmin	Johripur
	6. Harbhajan	Chamar	Johripur
	7. Sanwalia	Chamar	Johripur
Circle Panchayat Members			
	1. Rattan Singh	Rajput	Gokulpur
	2. Balak Ram	Gujar	Gokulpur
	3. Kantaiya	Chamar	Johripur
	4. Labhoo	Gujar	Johripur

At its inaugural session the **Gaon Panchayat** elected **Babu Ram**, (Baniya) as the **Up-pradhan**. His only opponent was a Chamar candidate who secured 3 votes as against 4 secured by **Babu Ram**. In fact, **Babu Ram** secured 4 votes (including his own) from all the members of the socially higher caste and the Chamar candidate secured the 3 Chamar votes. Thus the only conclusion that can be drawn from the results of the elections is that they were fought, won or lost strictly on the basis of caste.

The main purpose behind the **panchayati raj** movement was to create a sort of local self-government units, which by virtue of their intimate knowledge of the local needs, requirements and conditions and by virtue of their

being local leaders, could initiate and carry out various welfare and developments programmes in a much better manner than is possible for any other agency to do. The movement would also be a good training ground for democratic ideals and leadership. But it seems that the movement far from being an unqualified success has to a great extent led to a great deal of unnecessary and harmful party politics, casteism groupism etc. which is not a very healthy sign.

During the last 3 years of its existence the **panchayat** in **Gokulpur** has not been able to perform any of its assigned tasks. Whatever little improvements that have taken place in the two villages viz. **Gokulpur** and **Johripur**,

were mostly carried out on individual initiative and the **Gaon Panchayat** has not played any significant role in this respect.

The main reason behind this sort of public apathy towards the **Gaon Panchayat** is that it is a divided house by itself. There are caste and class differences and then there are factions within it. It is headed by a Chamar, and the people of higher castes, who incidentally are more numerous as well as influential, are not prepared to accept his leadership. They think it below their dignity to associate with him.

On the other hand whatever the **pradhan** decides is thwarted by others, who do not want him to act as their leader. Whatever the **pradhan** proposes is defeated by them and as such there has been no improvement in the situation. There is no community spirit. The higher castes are smarting under the fact that an untouchable has been elected their leader. Not only this, his election has led to bitter rivalry between the two factions of the higher castes who blame

each other for their having lost in the elections.

The result is that none in the village seems satisfied with the Statutory **Gaon Panchayat**. Although it is not the duty of the **Gaon Panchayat** to mediate in the minor disputes of the village, yet in various other villages the **Gaon Panchayats** are carrying out these tasks also, but not in this village. The people of higher castes consider it below their dignity to approach this body and the lower castes fear that as the higher castes have a majority in the **Panchayat** and as they are against them, they will not be able to get justice there. Thus, in short, the **Panchayat** is only an ineffectual body at least as at present.

In order to evaluate the functioning of the **Panchayat** in the village, a number of questions were asked from the head of the each household. The first of such questions related to the awareness of the people about the purpose and functions of the **Panchayat**. Table IV: 18 presents the data collected.

TABLE IV:18

AWARENESS OF PEOPLE ABOUT MAIN FUNCTIONS OF THE GAON PANCHAYATS

Caste	No. of House holds	No. of Persons aware of Gaon Panchayat	No. that could tell period of existence of Panchayat correctly	Number according to whom the main functions of the Panchayat are								
				Pave-ment of streets.	Settle-ment of diputes	Uplift-ing of the vill-age	Welfare activi-ties	Con-struction of road	School facili-ties	Sani-tation	Any other activity	Do not know
Chamar	44	44	44	23	44	12	27	23	7	..	..	..
Gujar	31	31	31	17	18	8	28	17	4	..	..	..
Rajput	19	19	19	11	14	2	18	11	2	..	..	2
Brahmin	20	20	20	18	7	3	16	18	1	..	..	2
Bhangi	9	9	9	9	9	2	8	9	3	..	..	..
Nai	9	9	9	7	3	..	8	7	2	..	..	3
Baniya	5	5	5	2	2	..	4	2	1	..	..	..
Gosair	6	6	6	4	2	..	6	4	1	..	..	..
Jat	1	1	1	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kadera	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	2	2	2	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	149	149	92	103	27	121	92	24	..	..	7

The table clearly shows that there is general lack of awareness of the people regarding the main functions of the Panchayat. Only a very few persons were able to point out correctly one or two of the functions of the Gaon Panchayats. Others mostly accredited them with functions with which they had nothing to do, the reason presumably being that the old voluntary village Panchayats used to perform such tasks and as such the people take it for granted that the statutory Gaon Panchayat does the same.

A study of the table shows that 103 or 69.1 percent of the people said that one of its main functions was to settle disputes. 121 or

83.6 percent of the people interviewed suggested that the Gaon Panchayats are meant to look to the general welfare of the people. Asked as to what the term general welfare means hardly any one could specify. 92 or 62.4 percent said that its task was to construct or to brick-pave village streets and lanes. 24 assigned to it the duty of opening and maintaining schools etc. None reported sanitation to be one of its functions. A mere comparison of these with the actual functions of the Gaon Panchayats is enough to show the extent of awareness or wrong notions that the people have about the main functions of the Gaon Panchayats.

TABLE IV: 19

OPINION ABOUT IMPROVEMENT THROUGH PANCHAYATS

Caste	No. of House holds	Whether improvement		If yes, how										Whether personally benefited
		Yes	No	Street pavement	Settlement of disputes	Welfare activities	Construction of Road	Upliftment of village	Street pay-ment	Cleanliness	Construction of bund & culvert	Construction of Ghat etc.		
Chamar	44	26	18	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Gujar	31	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajput	19	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brahmin	20	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhangi	9	7	2	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nai	9	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Baniya	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Gosain	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jat	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kadera	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	33	116	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17

Another question asked from the persons interviewed was to find out the type of improvements which have been carried out by the existing Gaon Panchayat. Table IV: 19 provided the data regarding improvements carried out in village Gokulpur by the Gaon Panchayat.

The table shows that except for 23 or 15.4 percent of the people interviewed, all others reported that the Gaon Panchayat has not done anything to bring about any improvement in the village. Incidentally, the only persons who reported that some improvements have taken

place belong to Scheduled Castes viz. the Chamars and the Bhangis, i.e. the party in power in the Gaon Panchayat and the only improvement that they could name was the pavement of a village street.

Incidentally the street that has been brick-paved is near the houses of the Brahmins, Nais and touch a fringe of the cluster of the Bhangis in the village. Even the people who were the immediate beneficiaries of the same have reported that the Gaon Panchayat has not carried out any improvement in the village.

All this clearly shows that there is something wrong and caste groupism and party factions are at the bottom of it.

In view of the above mentioned facts, one can easily conclude that the Gaon Panchayat has been a total failure. This is accepted by all the members of the Panchayat as well as all the villagers. While the higher caste people say that the old type of Panchayats were more effective the lower caste people say that the State should devise ways and means by which the people could co-operate and work together in harmony.

Many a villager suggested that instead of bringing about good-will and harmony amongst the people, which is essential for the working of the Gaon Panchayat, it has led to personal rivalry between different caste people. The higher castes allege that the State is giving undue weightage and privileges to the Scheduled Caste people with the result that they have now the affront of claiming equal social status with the higher castes, something totally unacceptable to them. They, moreover, are jealous of these facts. They say that by now the people of lower castes have so many privileges that they have become economically better off than the higher castes. According to them they have better employment opportunities in Government service, they get loans for housing, their children get extra stipends from the school, their seats in local bodies are reserved etc. The lower castes on the other hand allege that the higher castes had been and are still exploiting them with the result that they are still backward and so deserve a helping hand from the State.

All in all there is no doubt that there are more ill-feelings between the two than ever before. The election of a Chamar to the Pradhanship of the Gaon Panchayat has only added fuel to the fire.

As has already been mentioned, all in the

village agreed that the statutory Gaon Panchayat has been a failure and that the old Panchayat was a better institution. Asked as to how they consider the old panchayat to be better, they stated that every one in the village used to respect it and there was practically no rivalry there. Whatever it decided was accepted by one and all. Further even though the old Panchayat is no more, yet people still approach it for mediation in their disputes.

Here we intend to give certain case histories about the old Panchayat.

First of all it was the Panchayat which used to decide the price at which all the persons in the village were to sell milk. The price was fixed at the beginning of each season viz. Kharsa (खरस) i.e. summer, Chaumasa (चौमासा) i.e. rainy season and Jada (जादा) i.e. winter. All the milk sellers were obliged to sell at the price decided by the Panchayat. According to the villagers every milk seller in the village used to stick to the price so settled. They say that morally it was good, for now whenever there is shortage of milk, the milk sellers raise the price but such was not the case in the past. Now the old Panchayat does not call for any such meeting not any price for milk is fixed, with the result that every one charges whatever price he can fetch.

Another instance of the efficiency of the old type of Panchayat is provided by the following decision taken by it.

Some 12 years back Babu Ram (Baniya) and presently the Up-Pradhan of the Gaon Panchayat was alleged to have encroached upon the land of one Rattan Singh, a Gujar. Rattan Singh alleged that the enclosure that Babu Ram had constructed encroached upon his (Rattan Singh's) land and as such he should be asked to vacate it. Babu Ram showed reluctance to do so, as otherwise he would be left with too little land to be of any use to him. The Panches (पंच) were called and they convened a general meeting of the villagers. Both the parties were given full hearing. The decision of the Panchayat was really remarkable. It unanimously declared that Babu Ram had encroached upon the land of Rattan Singh and had caused loss to the latter. The Panchayat however observed further that if Rattan Singh asks Babu Ram to vacate the land, the latter would lose whatever he had spent upon constructing the enclosure and the rest of the area left would be useless for him. As such they requested Rattan Singh to accept unconditional apology from Babu Ram and also state the price

that he would like to charge for the land. But the Panchayat also stated that if Rattan Singh insists on vacation of his land, Babu Ram will have to do so. Babu Ram tendered unconditional apology and requested Rattan Singh to ask for any price. Rattan Singh, moved by this, not only accepted the apology but stated that Babu Ram need not pay anything and may continue to occupy his land. Thus a rather tricky problem was solved to the satisfaction of all.

Here is another case which relates to the time when the old Panchayat had been disbanded and the Statutory Panchayat had been set up. But in spite of this the people preferred to utilise the services of the old Panchayat instead of the new one.

Hoshiare, a Chamar of the village got employment outside the village and decided to migrate to his place of work. He therefore sold his house site and the *kuccha* structure on it to another of his caste brother named Gopi. Another Chamar resident of the village named Ramji Lal came to know of the deal and he approached Gopi and stated that the property sold by Hoshiare was not exclusively his (Hoshiare) and that he (Ramji Lal) had a share in it, and as such he too must be paid his share of the same. Gopi refused to oblige him as he had already paid the full price of the property. There-upon Ramji Lal contacted a few of the Panches of the old Panchayat. They called all the Panchas one evening. Gopi was also called for. Both the parties were heard and the Panchayat decided that as Gopi had made a mistake in making sure about the ownership of the property before purchasing it, he is liable to pay the share due to Ramji Lal. Gopi and Ramji Lal both were asked to be reasonable. Both of them agreed to come to an agreement by which Gopi paid Rs. 250/- to Ramji Lal and the dispute was amicably settled. Incidentally Gopi was not prepared to pay at all while Ramji Lal was demanding much more. But due to the intervention of the Panchayat both were made to come to a respectable agreement, which they did.

The villagers relate several more of such cases to show that the old system was better than the existing one.

REFORM MEASURES

For generations, several social institutions and economic orders had been prevailing un-

changed in the village. Although at the earlier stages, those institutions or orders may or may not have been considered good, yet in the context of the social, economic and political changes that took place with the attainment of independence and the partition of the country, they either became out of date or else came to be considered as being prejudicial to the social, political and economic growth of the people. Accordingly, several legislative and other measures touching upon the different aspects or social and economic life in the village have been taken primarily by the Government in recent years.

The more important of such measures include the Rural Community Development Scheme, reform measures in the field of education, untouchability, dowry system, Local Self-Government etc. All these measures were introduced with a view to bring about a revolutionary change for the social and economic advancement of the people in the village. It would be of interest to study and analyse the nature of such reform measures and their impact upon the social and economic life of the village.

As some of these reforms viz. Local Self-Government (Panchayat), industries, education etc., with reference to the village under study have already been discussed earlier, the subject of discussion here is confined to reform measures like abolition of untouchability, regulation of dowry system, changes brought about by the Community Development Scheme, Family Planning etc., the awareness and attitudes of the villagers towards these and others related problems.

UNTOUCHABILITY

As stated earlier in the report there are in all 13 different castes in the village (including the 2 Muslim households, whom for sake of convenience we have treated as a separate caste). Each of them has distinct social and cultural features and each of them has a distinct social standing of its own *vis-a-vis* the others. Some of the castes are considered as higher, others as lower. From the lower strata of castes some are considered as *neech jaat* (नीच जात) or untouchable castes. They are the Chamars and the Bhangis of the village. The higher castes look down upon them and do not enter into social relations with them.

The institution of untouchability, according to some of the villagers is as old as the Hindu *dharma* (religion). According to them, in the ancient times, such castes who were engaged in some unclean occupations were treated as unclean people and all the persons of higher caste avoided any social or cultural association with them.

Thus, according to them, untouchability is nothing new and has been in existence for ages, so much so that people of the higher castes do not consider it as unjust to the so-called untouchable castes. They claim that it is a way of life. Our study of untouchability in the village shows that this class of untouchables has always been under-privileged, suppressed and exploited by the higher castes. For example, the so called *neech jaat* or *kaum* (नीच जात या कौम) or the untouchable castes may not draw water from the common wells, enter the village temple, or eat, drink or smoke with the so called higher castes, enter the houses of the higher castes except on business, sit on equal status with those of higher castes etc., even though they may be economically better off than them. Besides, people of higher castes would not attend marriages or social ceremonies of the untouchables, and the latter do not have the privileges of services of the village *nai* (नाई) i.e. barber or *purohits* (priests). The so called untouchables (who in the village are the Chamars and the Bhangis) would have a separate *Nai* and so far as the services of *purohits* are concerned, they would do without him or make do with some one from amongst their own castes.

Although for generations these privations were accepted by the lower castes with little or no grudge, of late due to the cumulative impact of several social, political and economic factors they have begun to feel rather strongly about these. The more important of such factors are the various steps being taken by the State to emancipate the so called untouchables, impacts of urbanisation, education, greater communication and contacts of the villagers with the outside world etc. The impact of these factors has been two-fold. While on the one hand, the so called untouchables have become conscious of the privations that they have been suffering since ages, on the other hand the rigidities of untouchability are slowly losing ground with the passage of time.

At the moment everybody in the village agrees that the extent of untouchability as in practice has gone down, though the higher castes are

smarting under the impression that they are being forced by the state to mix on equal terms with the so called untouchable castes, who encouraged by the policy of the state have adopted a defiant attitude towards the higher castes.

In fact, the movement for social emancipation of these people was first started by the Arya Samaj and followed later on by Mahatma Gandhi. On the economic and political side, the State has been taking several steps to improve their lot. The State with a view to remove the undesirable conditions, which were hampering the social and economic progress of the country, declared the practice of untouchability in any form or shape as illegal and punishable by law, reserved seats for the people of this section of population in local bodies (Gaon Panchayats), State Assemblies, Union Parliament and Government services.

In view of the changed circumstances, it was considered worthwhile to study as to how far the various social and economic reforms undertaken by the State and other organisations have been successful in bringing about the desired changes.

A number of questions were asked from the head of each household to ascertain their awareness regarding the declaration of untouchability as illegal and the extent to which this law has been successful. The data thus collected has been provided in table IV:20.

The table shows that all the 149 persons interviewed were aware of the fact that practice of untouchability in any shape or form has been declared as illegal. But in spite of this 104 or 69.8 per cent stated that untouchability is still being practised in the village. A closer study of the table reveals that whereas all the Chamars and the Bhangis reported that it was still being practised, several persons amongst the Gujars, Rajputs, Baniyas, Gosains and the Nais stated that it was not being practised. According to the Chamars and the Bhangis although these persons still practise untouchability yet they have reported themselves as not doing so.

Regarding the form of untouchability 91 or 61.1 per cent reported that it was being practised so far as eating together was concerned, 114 or 76.5 per cent stated that they still have separate wells, 147 stated that they still cannot smoke together etc.

TABLE IV : 20

AWARENESS OF UNTOUCHABILITY OFFENCES ACT

Caste	No. of House-holds.	No. of H. Hs. aware of legal prohibition of untouchability	Practice of Untouchability	Form of untouchability practised					
				Separate eating	Separate drinking well	Separate smoking	Cannot touch utensils	Cannot live & sit together	Cannot participate in ceremonies
Chamar	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
Gujar	31	31	13	13	17	31	11	..	..
Rajput	19	19	11	4	14	19	16	..	..
Brahmin	20	20	18	15	19	20	20	3	..
Bhangi	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Nai	9	9	3	2	4	9	4	..	5
Baniya	5	5	2	3	5	5	5	..	5
Gosain	6	6	2	2	2	6	4	..	4
Jat	1	1	1	..	..	1	3	..	1
Sunar	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	1
Kumhar	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
Muslim	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	149	149	104	91	114	149	107	56	71

Incidentally, so far as separate wells, smoking etc. are concerned; the number of people reported as practising untouchability in these forms is more than the persons who reported as practising untouchability. The only explanation given by villagers about it is that they do not consider having separate wells as a form of untouchability and so far as separate smoking is concerned each caste, high or low has a separate hookah of its own and so it cannot be considered as form of untouchability.

We have so far given the various aspects of untouchability. Here we intend to relate some of the various instances where the various traditions of untouchability have got broken up with or without any conscious attempts against that. One of such instances is that although previously coming in touch with a so called untouchable was considered as having resulted in pollution, now this is not considered so.

It is quite common to find a Chamar and a Brahmin sitting together on a tonga without feeling any thing odd about it or without any fear of pollution. The same applies to such commuters who work at Shahdara. Sometimes,

a so called higher caste person will ride on the cycle being driven by a so called untouchable. Again no discrimination is ever observed in the school, where children of all castes are made to sit together.

Now the changes mentioned above have most probably been because of the impact of the various socio-economic factors, and not because of any measure adopted by the State. It is quite likely that with passage of time, more and more of such breaches in the traditional modes of untouchability will take place and ultimately the institution may even die out altogether.

But due to several reasons the so-called higher castes have come to be bitter against some of the measures adopted by the State to improve the lot of the untouchables. The most common exception taken is the provision of loans to the Scheduled Castes, for housing. Next in order come the reservation of seats for these persons in the Gaon Panchayats and other bodies. Besides, when some special stipends are being given to students from these castes for clothes and books etc. others speak bitterly about it, for they feel that they should also be given the same facility.

DOWRY SYSTEM

Dowry system plays an important part in the social life of the villagers. According to custom a person is expected to provide a suitable dowry or *dahej* (दहेज) as the villagers call it, for his daughter at that time of her marriage.

Some of the villagers stated that this convention of giving of valuable articles like clothes, ornaments, utensils etc. for the bride, her husband and her in-laws by her parents must have originated because of the very nature of the traditional and customary laws of inheritance. According to custom, after the death of a man, all his property is inherited by his sons to the exclusion of the daughters. (Already discussed in details under laws of inheritance.) Thus, every man feels morally bound to do something for his daughters, which he does in the shape of providing dowry to them. In case a person dies before marrying all his daughters, the responsibility of marrying them falls upon the person or persons inheriting the property. Thus, the institution of dowry was considered as good. But with the passage of time, it has come to be known as a necessary evil. The reason for the same is not far to seek. According to the villagers, in the days gone by, the parents of the girl always found solace and satisfaction in providing suitable dowry to her and they always gave as much as they could and sometimes to enhance their prestige they even gave more than they could afford. All this was voluntary and

as such nobody raised his voice against the institution. But at present, it has become a sort of tool in the hands of people who have marriagable sons, for they negotiate not only for a match for their sons but also for the amount of dowry that they expect, which invariably is beyond the giver's means. Thus a person having a very nice daughter may not be able to find a suitable match for her if he is not very well off or is not in a position to agree to the amount of dowry demanded by the boy's parents. Now, either he should lose a suitable match for his daughter or accede to the exacting demands of the boy's parents by borrowing money at exorbitant rate from the private money lenders. Both of these alternatives are rather unpalatable for him, but as he must marry his daughter he is more likely to choose the latter of the two alternatives. No wonder that the villagers have come to regard the dowry system as a necessary evil.

Only recently the Indian Parliament in order to eradicate the evils of dowry system passed the Anti-Dowry Act according to which giving or accepting of dowry as a consideration of marriage was made a punishable offence. But in spite of the passing and implementation of the Act, none in the village pays any heed to it and dowry is still being taken and given, mostly as a consideration for marriage.

In view of this, enquiries were made to find out the awareness and attitudes of the villagers towards the dowry system.

TABLE IV : 21

AWARENESS AND ATTITUDES OF THE VILLAGERS TOWARDS ANTI-DOWRY ACT AND DOWRY SYSTEM

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. against dowry system as it is	No. of persons against voluntary dowry	No. of persons aware of Anti-Dowry Act.
Chamar	44	41	5	31
Gujar	31	31	..	27
Rajput	19	19	..	15
Brahmin	20	18	..	17
Bhangi	9	8	3	5
Nai	9	7	2	6
Baniya	5	5	1	5
Gosain	6	6	1	5
Jat	1	1	..	1
Sunar	1	1	..	1
Kadara	1	1	..	1
Kumhar	1	1	..	..
Muslim	2	2	..	2
TOTAL	149	141	12	116

The table shows that an overwhelming proportion of the persons interviewed were against the dowry system as it exists at present; in other words they are against acceptance or giving of dowry as a consideration for marriage. The only exceptions (12 persons in all) are incidentally either issueless persons or those who have no daughters at all. In all probability they would also have expressed their views against it, if they had female issues.

Again, as regards their views on the dowry system as it prevailed in what they call as good old days, when giving of dowry was only voluntary and it was upto the person marrying his daughter to give as much dowry as he could, only 12 persons reported as being against it. They suggested that even voluntary dowry means a big drain upon the resources of a household and as such it should altogether be abolished.

Regarding their awareness about the Anti-Dowry Act only 116 or 77.9 per cent of the persons interviewed were aware of the same. When asked if they are aware of any prosecution under

the Act, none of them could relate even a single case. They, however, said that the people have now become too clever to be caught by such Acts. The result is that the evil of dowry system is still prevailing and is gaining strength from day to day.

As discussed earlier in Chapter II, certain resolutions were adopted at the Caste Panchayat of the Gujars at Dadri about expenditure on marriages (including dowry). Several persons stated that the people (the Gujar households) very seldom stick to the resolutions of the Panchayat. Questioned about any action against such persons by the Caste Panchayat they stated that although in the beginning there were a few cases after that even the Caste Panchayat was unable to do anything against it.

Table IV:22 shows the total number of families in which marriage took place during the last year and the amount of money spent on providing dowry. It should, however, be borne in mind that this does not mean that it is the sum-total of all the expenditure made on marriages.

TABLE IV : 22
DOWRY

Caste	No. of Households	No. of households in which marriage of girl took place	Approximate value of dowry given in marriage (in Rs.)	Average amount per Household (in Rs.)
Chamar	44	5	5,800	1,160
Gujar	31	4	8,650	2,162
Rajput	19	2	4,100	2,050
Brahmin	20	3	6,050	2,017
Bhangi	9	2	2,500	1,250
Nai	9	1	1,400	1,400
Baniya	5	..	..	..
Gosain	6	1	1,750	1,750
Jat	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..
Kadera	1	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..
Muslim	2	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	18	32,150	1,783

The table shows that in all 16 marriages of girls took place in the village and the average cost of dowry given varied from Rs. 1,160 in case of the Chamar Households to Rs. 2,162 provided by the Gujar households. The average for the village as a whole works out at Rs. 1,783, which by comparison to the income of the villagers, is rather high. No wonder that the common man in the village speaks bitterly against the evils of dowry system.

FAMILY PLANNING

In view of the importance attached to family planning and birth control in India, it was considered worthwhile to undertake a detailed study of the awareness, attitudes and practices of birth control by the villagers. Intensive field work was undertaken with a view to find out the various beliefs and practices, if any amongst the villagers of local methods of family planning. It must, however, be made clear at the very outset that due to the rather delicate nature of the subject, it was not possible for us to interview the females and thus our study is confined only to the awareness and attitudes of the males in the village. Again, due to the limitation of time and personnel at our disposal, it was not possible for us to interview all the presently married males and we had to be contented with the opinions of the male heads of the various households, though for finding out the various local methods and beliefs regarding birth control and family planning we did interview a cross section of the presently married male population of the village.

Before going into the various details regarding the local methods of birth control and family planning, we are providing some statistical data

regarding the same, as collected from the various male heads of the households.

Out of a total of 149 households, 19 are headed by widowers, 9 by widows and 1 by an unmarried person. They have been excluded from our data. The relevant data regarding awareness and attitudes toward birth control and family planning centre etc. are provided by Table IV:23.

The table shows that 73 or 60.8 per cent of the presently married males did not want any more children and 47 or 39.2 per cent desired more children. A caste-wise study of the table indicates that but for two exceptions viz the Nais and the Sunars, the majority of persons in all the other castes did not wish for any more children.

In view of the fact that the Municipal Corporation of Delhi is running a dispensary at Shahdara, which is quite near the village and where the people are taught the various methods of birth control, free of charge, a question was asked whether the villagers have any knowledge about the existence of such facilities in or around the village. Only 49 or 40.8 per cent reported that they have heard of the Family Planning Centre at Shahdara, though only very few out of them (7 to be exact) have ever been to the centre or made its use otherwise.

As regards the awareness of the villagers about some method of birth control, over two-thirds or 69.2 per cent reported that they have some knowledge of it. Further enquiry on this point revealed that most of them had only heard of the fact that there are artificial devices by means of which it is possible to prevent conception, though only a very few could name one.

TABLE IV : 23
INFORMATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO CASTE OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

Caste	No. of persons interviewed	No. of persons			
		Wishing more children	Wishing no more children	Aware of family planning centre	Knowing some method of birth control
	1	2	3	4	5
Chamar	35	16	20	7	27
Gujar	24	8	16	12	18
Rajput	14	5	9	6	8
Brahmin	14	4	10	9	10

Contd

TABLE IV. 23 (Contd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bhangi	.	9	4	5	3	3
Nai	.	9	5	4	6	6
Baniya	.	4	1	3	4	4
Gosain	.	5	2	3	2	4
Jat	.	1	..	1	..	1
Sunar	.	1	1	..	..	1
Kadera	.	1	..	1	..	1
Kumhar	.	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	.	2	1	1	..	..
TOTAL	.	120	47	73	49	83

However, the most common of the various devices known to the villagers was diaphragm or Condom.

Data regarding the attitude of the persons interviewed towards family planning with reference to their age is presented by Table IV:24.

The table shows that 22 or 46.8 per cent of the persons wanting more children are in the age group 21—30 years, 18 in the age group 31—40 years. Only 1 person above the age of 50 years wanted children. In fact, he is an issueless landowner and so it is natural for him to wish for more children. On the whole, an overwhelming majority of persons wanting more children are in the younger age groups. As against this, 51 or 69.9 per cent of the persons who do not want any more children are in the comparatively higher age groups. Thus on the whole it

can be concluded that whereas majority of persons in the younger age groups want more children, the case is just the reverse for the persons in the higher age groups.

Data regarding the attitude of the persons interviewed towards family planning with reference to the duration of marriage is presented by table IV:24.

The table shows that only 10 out of the 47 persons wanting more children have been married for 16 years or more. Similarly, only 12 persons amongst the 73 who do not want any more children have been married for 15 years or less. Thus on the whole, with reference to age of persons, as the duration of marriage increases, the wish to have more children decreases.

TABLE IV : 24

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO THE AGE OF HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

(in years)

Caste	Number wanting more children, the age of the head of the household being					No. wanting no more children, the age of the head of the household being				
	Above 50	41—50	31—40	21—30	Total	Above 50	41—50	31—40	21—30	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Chamar	..	3	8	5	16	4	9	4	3	20
Gujar.	..	2	3	3	8	5	4	3	4	16
Rajput	..	1	1	3	5	5	2	2	..	9

Contd.

TABLE IV. 24 (Contd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Brahmin	.	..	..	3	1	4	4	4	2	..	10
Bhangi	.	..	..	2	2	4	1	3	1	..	5
Nai	.	..	..	..	5	5	1	1	2	..	4
Baniya	.	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	8
Gosain	.	..	..	1	1	2	1	1	1	..	3
Jat	.	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Sunar	.	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kadera	.	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	.	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
TOTAL	.	1	6	18	22	47	26	25	15	7	7

From the above mentioned statistics it can easily be concluded that majority of persons interviewed were in favour of limited families, though only a very few of them could claim to be doing anything in that direction.

This is so far as the various presently married heads of the households are concerned. Attempts were made to find out the awareness of the villagers regarding the various methods of birth control. For the purpose a cross-section of the population was orally interviewed and their views are presented in the following paragraphs.

According to the persons interviewed, there are several means and ways of preventing conception. If a couple does not want any more children, the best method, though least practicable of all, is to abstain altogether from coitus. But in case this cannot be done, then one has to adopt one of the several measure believed to be quite effective. The most common of these is

what is known as Indian Rythm method, and to which the villagers refer to Kapron-ka-Hisab कपड़ों का हिसाब

According to this method, as related by the villagers, a couple should abstain from coitus at least for 6 days before the commencement of menstruation which they locally refer to as *kapre sana* (कपड़े साना) and until 6 days after the stoppage of the menstruation, which they call as *kapre dhuina* (कपड़े धुलना). Thus, if a couple abstains from coitus for these 14 or 15 days in a month the woman concerned will not conceive. However, if they cannot help abstaining during these days then the husband should take to withdrawal method and thus avoid conception. But they further added that a frequent use of withdrawal method, would make the husband sexually very weak and ultimately he may not be able to satisfy the sexual urge of his wife at all. So, the withdrawal method should be restored to only very rarely.

TABLE IV:25

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING WITH REFERENCE TO DURATION OF MARRIAGE

Caste	No. wanting more children their duration of marriage being						No. wanting no more children their duration of marriage being					
	Over 20 years	16—20 years	11—15 years	6—10 years	5 years or less	Total	Over 20 years	16—20 years	11—15 years	6—10 years	5 years or less	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Chamar	2	4	7	1	2	16	7	12	1	..	..	20
Gujar	..	1	..	3	4	8	6	6	3	1	..	16

Contd.

TABLE IV. 25 (Contd.)

I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Rajput .	1	..	1	1	2	5	5	3	1	..	..	10
Brahmin .	..	1	1	1	1	4	7	2	1	..	..	10
Bhangi .	..	..	1	1	2	4	2	..	2	1	..	5
Nai .	..	..	2	2	1	5	1	1	2	..	..	4
Baniya .	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	3
Gosain .	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	1	..	..	..	3
Jat .	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Sunar .	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kadera .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Kumhar .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Musalim .	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL .	4	6	13	10	14	47	34	27	10	2	..	73

Incidentally, the Indian Rythem method is totally opposite of the Scientific Rythem Method, according to which there are 6 to 7 days, usually just in the middle of the two menstruations of a female, which are considered as dangerous period and if no precautions to check the conception are taken, a coitus during these days will make the woman pregnant. Two of the persons interviewed (both of whom are mill-workers at Shahdara) claimed to have knowledge of the same though they did not believe in its efficacy.

A young Chamar suggested that if the male partner puts a bronze coin in his mouth and sucks it while having coitus, his female partner will not conceive, for his semen becomes ineffective for productive purposes.

Another young person, a Rajput by caste said that if the man concerned eats a bit of cow-dung ash mixed with his meals and then enjoys coitus his wife will not conceive.

Two old persons, above the age of 50 years or so told us that every female has a particular period or natural spacing between two child births. This natural spacing is locally known as *seh* (सेह). For example, usually after one birth the woman's next child will be born only after a particular period of time which may range from 1 year to 5, 7 or even 10 years. Thus, such females whose natural spacing is say 2 years, will usually bear a child every two years and those whose spacing is 6 years will usually bear a child every 6th year. Thus, according to them, if a female has a *seh* of say 4 years, her husband need not use or follow

any birth control measure for about 3 years as she will not get conceived during this period. He, however, will have to do something (*i.e.* adopt some method of family planning) if he wants next child after some more time.

The above are some of the methods of birth control. But the villagers have certain beliefs which according to them are usually effective. For example, soon after the delivery, if the cot of the mother is removed from under one kari (wooden beam of the roof) to some other, she will bear next child only after that number of years as the number of karis her cot was moved.

Again, while giving birth, if the mother continues repeating say 2, 2, 2, she will bear the next child after 2 years only. If she repeats 6 she will bear child only after 6 years.

These are some of the local beliefs of methods of checking conception.

Besides finding out some of the local beliefs and practices regarding family planning and birth control, we also tried to find out their awareness and attitudes towards the scientific methods and devices about the same. In the following paragraphs we have tried to give a sort of literal summary of what the few selected persons had to say about the above-mentioned subject.

The most commonly known of all the scientific methods of birth control, according to the villagers, is 'injection' which they refer to as *sua*

(सुआ), *i.e.* a big needle, derived from *sua* (सुई) *i.e.* a needle. According to the villagers those who do not want a child for a specific period of time can get themselves injected with a particular medicine. Our inquiries from various family planning agencies reveal that there is no such method. According to the experts the villagers may have stated this because of the widespread use of injections by various medical authorities for various ailments, while in fact there are no injections as such for birth control.

The villagers interviewed related that no female in the village is willing to take such injections for fear of other complications. It may be stated that the villagers are hardly to be blamed for it. For invariably all the villagers have to get themselves injected almost compulsorily against some disease or the other, at least once or twice a year. The authorities (Municipal Corporation) send the officials of the Health Department to the villages for injecting the people against some expected disease or the other. The villagers allege that the officials do not take proper care while injecting. For example, during the course of our inquiry, the villagers were vaccinated and they at that time complained that the person doing so did not even wash his *sua* (सुआ) *i.e.* the needle of the injector. Scores of people were found to be running fever for over a week.

The next most common scientific method of birth control known to the villagers, is sterilization which the villagers refer to as *operation* (आपरेशन). According to them a man or a woman can get himself or herself operated against further conception. Obviously they are referring to vasectomy and decatomy respectively. But this according to them can never become popular with the villagers, in view of their prejudice against injection which is a comparatively minor affair. The other most commonly suggested prejudice against operation is that the males consider that if once they get themselves operated, they will become impotent and will not be able to enjoy conjugal love any more. Not only this, this further will mean that even their wives will not get sexually satisfied and may ultimately resort to going to other males to satisfy their lust. This is something most shameful for a villager and as such no one in the village is reported to be in favour of this method of birth control or family planning.

Of the other methods of birth control like the use of the condom, several villagers were found

to be aware of the same. They were divided in so far as their belief in its efficacy was concerned. While some suggested that it is quite effective, others thought that it is not so efficient as it often gets burst. The people in the village usually call it *rubber* (रबर) though some call it F.L. (which in fact stands for french leather). Though the villagers are divided in so far as its efficacy is concerned, they are all agreed upon some points against its use. These are (1) That one does not enjoy coitus to the fullest extent if one is using condom and (2) that they are too costly for them to adopt. According to the villagers it is quite likely that some of the people in the village may be using it though it is not possible to give exact data regarding the same due to the reasons mentioned earlier.

The only other method known to the villagers was the use of the pills by mouth, which they locally refer to as *goli* (गोली). The villagers suggested that the male partner has just to put a *goli* (गोली) in his mouth while having coitus with his female partner and this will avoid any conception. The only argument against this method as suggested by the villagers is that this again is a costly affair and as such they cannot afford to use the same.

The above discussion clearly indicates the rather vague and usually misconceived notions of the villagers towards the various contraceptives of birth control. The villagers had little or no knowledge of what exactly are the various means though they had only vague notions. Again, the above-mentioned methods were not fully known to all the villagers interviewed.

Of the 13 persons interviewed for the purpose only 6 were aware of all the above-mentioned methods, while the others knew of only one or two of these.

As already discussed, very few persons were reported as practising any of the local or scientific methods. Although for various reasons it is not possible for us to present statistics regarding the importance of the various reasons for not practising family planning by the villagers, yet we are giving a verbal account of the same as related by the villagers. The most common argument advanced was that they had no definite knowledge of any method

and that there are no facilities available in the village. Some argued that use of artificial means for birth control is against nature while some others suggested that no such methods can be effective.

Needless to say that such persons who want more children, or who are too old now will not be interested in any sort of family planning or birth control.

Our discussion on family planning so far has been limited to the awareness and attitudes of villagers regarding the various local and scientific methods. Here we intend to give some of the local methods of abortion. The persons interviewed on this subject emphasised that these are not normally practised. Asked as to why this was so they said that abortion is nothing else but murder of a prospective life and as such it is a sin. They further added that these may be practised by such unmarried girls who because of their illicit relations get conceived and a married woman will never resort to these.

The foremost of these is excessive consumption of dried coconut. According to them if a woman misses her menstruation or when her menstruation is over-due and she is afraid that she has got conceived, very much against her wishes, and if she consumes about 200 grams of dried coconut, her menstruation will immediately start. According to them, dried coconut is very hot and excessive consumption of that is useful in securing abortion.

The only other method of securing abortion as related by them is drinking of a mixture of carrot seeds, old gur, ajwain and water. The mixture is locally known as *gajar ke beej ka kadha* (गजर के बीज का काढ़ा). The mixture is prepared by mixing the first three ingredients with a tumbler full of water and boiling it for over 25 or 30 minutes. It is claimed that the resultant mixture taken by the conceived woman will lead to abortion. This again, according to them, is very hot and it is the hotness of the mixture that causes abortion. None of the persons interviewed could vouch for the efficacy of any of these two methods though 3 of them suggested that whereas the consumption of dried coconut is said to be effective only if consumed immediately after the menstruation is over-due the

other mixture may be taken even after she has become pregnant for 1 or 2 months.

Some of the villagers are aware of the fact that there are several ways of obtaining abortion with medical practitioners, though none could say whether any female of the village has made use of the same. None, however, was aware of the fact that abortion is illegal.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE

As discussed earlier in Chapter II, inter-caste marriage is strictly tabooed in the village. According to the long established customs a marriage must be contracted in the same caste and outside the village. These customs, which may be termed as certain rules and regulations, are strictly adhered to by all the villagers irrespective of their social or economic status. None in the village has so far deviated from them.

The villagers stated that these rules and regulations are morally good and any deviation from them is not likely to be excused lightly. The person or persons responsible for such a breach will have to face serious consequences like extradition from the village, ostracism from the caste and social boycott. They use the term *hukkah-pani-band* (हुक्का पानी बन्द) for expressing their views, which literally mean that socially every one will discriminate against them so much so that they will not be offered water or even hukkah by others.

But of late, specially after independence several social and economic changes like abolition of untouchability, greater communication of the villagers with outside world, spread of education, diversification of occupations amongst all the castes have influenced the social and economic life of the villagers in several other ways. In view of such changes, one is likely to assume that some changes must have also occurred in the views of the villagers so far as inter-caste marriage is concerned.

With a view to assess the nature and extent of such changes, certain questions relating to permissibility and desirability of inter-caste marriage were asked from the head of each household.

So far as the permissibility of inter-caste marriage is concerned every one gave identical answer viz. that it is not permissible, be it with higher castes or lower castes. The relevant data is provided by Table IV : 26,

TABLE IV : 26
PERMISSIBILITY OF INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. of persons who consider it permissible to form Marital tie with		
		Socially Higher Castes	Socially Lower Castes	All Castes
Chamar	44	..	..	..
Gujar	31	..	..	..
Rajput	19	..	..	..
Brahmin	20	..	..	..
Bhangi	9	..	..	..
Nai	9	..	..	..
Baniya	5	..	..	..
Gosain	6	..	..	..
Jat	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..
Kadera	1	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..
Muslim	2	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	..	..	..

The table shows that all the informants, irrespective of their caste and social status reported inter-caste marriage as not permissible.

This is so far as permissibility of inter-caste marriage is concerned. But in spite of the non-permissibility some of the persons interviewed did think it is desirable.

TABLE IV : 27
DESIRABILITY OF INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE

Caste	Total No. of H. Hs.	No. of H. Hs. who consider it desirable to form Marital tie with		
		Socially Higher Caste	Socially Lower Caste	All Castes
Chamar	44	27	..	..
Gujar	31	..	..	..
Rajput	19	1	..	..
Brahmin	20	..	..	..
Bhangi	9	5	..	..
Nai	9	3	..	..
Baniya	5	..	..	..
Gosain	6	..	..	..
Jat	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..
Kadera	1	1	..	..
Kumhar	1	1	..	..
Muslim	2	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	38	..	..

The table shows that an overwhelming proportion of the persons interviewed are not in favour of inter-caste marriages. However, 37 or 24.8 per cent of the persons stated that they would favour inter-caste marriage with higher castes. A closer study of the table reveals that most of the persons who consider inter-caste marriages as desirable are from lower castes.

Not only this, even they consider it desirable only with the higher castes. For example, a Chamar would not mind if his marriage is to take place with a Gujar or Brahmin but would not be willing if the other party is a Bhangi.

The people of the higher castes ridicule any such suggestion. For, they ask when they are prepared to marry amongst higher castes, on what principles they do not consider marriage with lower castes as undesirable?

Moreover, who from amongst the higher castes is going to agree to such a union.

Another query pertaining to inter-caste marriage was regarding the attitude of the people towards marriage with persons of different communities but of the same socio-economic status. The relevant data is presented in table IV: 28.

TABLE IV: 28

ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE WITH PERSONS OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES BUT OF THE SAME SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Caste	Total No. of H. Hs.	No. having no objection to marriage with		
		Socially Higher Castes	Socially Lower Castes	With All Castes
Chamar	44	27	..	..
Gujar.	31	..	..	..
Rajput	19	1	..	..
Brahmin	20	..	..	..
Bhangi	9	5	..	..
Nai	9	3	..	..
Baniya	5	..	..	..
Gosain	6	..	..	..
Jat	1	..	..	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..
Kadera	1	1	..	..
Kumhar	1	1	..	..
Muslim	2	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	38	..	..

The table shows that only a very few persons (incidentally the same who were in favour of inter-caste marriage) were reported to be in favour of inter-caste marriage with persons of same economic status of other but higher castes.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK

The Community Development Scheme is probably the most important of all the measures taken by the State to bring about all-round economic prosperity to the people in the village. Gokalpur is covered by the scheme with its headquarters at Kishan Ganj Colony at Shahdara.

The Community Development Block has been set up with a view to assist the people to increase their productive efficiency by increasing production in agricultural and industry and also to help them through various welfare projects like Co-operation, Panchayats, Social Education, Health, Animal Husbandry etc.

The Shahdara Community Development Block was set up in 1954 and it covers the village under study. The work of the Block is carried out by a number of functionaries both at the Block level as well as the village level. The functionary at the village level is known as the village Level Worker or *gram-sevak* (ग्राम सेवक) Gram Sevak literally means servant of the village. The Village Level Worker is the most important of all the functionaries to the villagers. He is a multi-purpose worker with multifarious duties. He is not only supposed to advise, demonstrate and assist the villagers in the various development works, to teach them ways and means of improving their health, sanitation and efficiency but also to approach the authorities at the Block Level for the necessary means of carrying out the various improvements.

Thus in a way he serves as a link between the villagers and the authorities. He is allotted a number of villages for his operation and pays regular visits to them to obtain first hand knowledge of the needs of the villagers. He, thus, is in a way very well placed, in so far as the knowledge of local conditions is concerned. He conveys the same to the Block authorities who in turn advise him regarding the manner of implementation of the Schemes which the villagers need most.

In his day-to-day activities the *gram sevak* (ग्राम सेवक) mingles freely with the villagers and advises them regarding improved methods of cultivation and assists them in procuring

improved type of tools, implements, seeds, manures etc. from the Block authorities at reasonable prices. Just to demonstrate the effect of the use of these he has taken up 4 different plots in the village where he cultivates crops with improved techniques and tools using better seeds, manures etc. The purpose of this is to show the villagers the benefits of the improved techniques etc.

In view of the fact that the village under study has been covered by the Community Development Block, a specific study was made in order to evaluate the awareness of the villagers about its functions and the type of work done by it in the village. For this purpose a number of questions were asked of the persons interviewed. Enquiries were also made about the benefits that the various households have derived from its activities. Besides a number of questions were also asked of the persons interviewed regarding their awareness about the *gram sevak* (Village Level Worker) and his functions and about their attitude towards the same.

Table IV: 29 presents data regarding awareness of people about the existence and nature of activities of the Community Development Block.

The table shows that 148 or 99.9 per cent of the persons interviewed were aware of the existence of the Block. 49 or 32.2 per cent of the total reported as having benefited in some manner or the other from the various activities of the Block. The remaining 100 or 67.2 per cent of the persons said that they have not in any way benefited from the same.

Incidentally, all the 49 persons who reported as having benefited from the various activities of the Community Development Scheme are agriculturists. The primary reason for this is that so far the authorities of the Block have been concentrating their activities to the agricultural sector only. Thus none of the non-agricultural households has gained. Again even amongst the agricultural households, not all have been benefited.

So far as the nature of benefits is concerned, 10 persons reported as having been helped in securing pesticide from the Block, 36 were able to secure better types of seeds and manures at subsidised rates, 7 persons said that they were able to secure taccavi loans through the active assistance of the Block. 17 persons said that the Block people have set up model farms in the village, which they sow at their own cost on land borrowed from the owners, to demon-

TABLE IV:29

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO THEIR AWARENESS OF C. D. BLOCK, NATURE OF ITS ACTIVITIES AND BENEFITS DERIVED

Caste	No. of households	No. aware of the existence of the C.D. Block	No. benefited by C.D. Block	Number benefited in the manner as below								
				Help in getting pesticide	Help in getting seeds & manure	Help in getting loans	Set up a model farm	Pave-ment of Street	Help in Animal Husbandry	Help in sanitation	Improvement in agriculture	Welfare activities
Chamar	44	44	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Gujar	31	31	23	7	18	3	11	..	..	..	13	7
Rajput	19	19	7	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brahmin	20	20	12	2	11	2	3	..	..	..	..	..
Bhangi	9	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nai	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baniya	5	5	2	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	2	2
Gosain	6	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jat	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sunar	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kadera	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Muslim	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	149	149	49	10	36	7	17	..	..	..	16	9

strate the benefits of the use of better techniques in agriculture. According to them, they can learn a lot from such experiments and demonstrations. Although 49 or 32.2 per cent of the persons interviewed did report as having benefited in some shape or the other from the Scheme, yet in course of our investigation it was felt that most of them were critical of the working of the Scheme. Most of them feel that although lakhs of rupees are being spent upon the scheme, the benefits to them are comparatively negligible. Moreover, many of them allege indifference on the part of some officials of the Block. Some of them allege that the Block officials tend to show favour to the com-

paratively bigger landlords. According to them any request by bigger land-lords is readily acceded to whereas in case of their requests the officials take their own time.

One of the village elders sarcastically remarked that the villagers have gained much more out of the earthen embankment on the eastern side of the Jamuna than from the activities of the Block although no one brags about the former and the state is always harping upon the benefits of the Scheme.

The data regarding the awareness of the people about the gram sevak (ग्राम सेवक) and his functions is provided by Table IV: 30.

TABLE IV:30

AWARENESS ABOUT THE FUNCTIONS OF GRAM SEVAK

Caste	No. of H. Hs.	No. aware of the gram sevak	No. that could describe the functions of Gram Sevak			
			Fully Satisfactorily	Satisfactorily	Unsatisfactorily	Do not know
Chamar	44	39	..	7	32	5
Gujar	31	29	2	22	5	2
Rajput	19	18	..	9	9	1
Brahmin	20	20	3	14	3	..
Bhangi	9	6	..	..	6	3
Nai	9	9	..	2	7	..
Baniya	5	5	..	2	3	..
Gosain	6	6	1	1	4	..
Jat	1	1	..	..	1	..
Sunar	1	..	..	..	1	1
Kadera	1	1	..	..	1	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..	1
Muslim	2	1	..	..	1	1
TOTAL	149	135	6	57	72	14

The table shows that an overwhelming proportion (135 out of 149) of the persons interviewed were aware of the gram sevak of the village. Only 14 or 9.3 per cent of the villagers said that they do not know the gram sevak at all.

However, only 6 or 4.0 per cent of the persons interviewed were able to define his functions accurately. 57 or 38.3 per cent broadly knew of his functions while another 72 could not correctly specify the functions of the gram sevak.

As will be seen from a closer study of the table, most of the persons who were able to define his functions satisfactorily belong to the castes amongst whom most of the people are in agricultural occupations. This is mainly because of the fact that the gram sevak has so far been limiting his activities only to the agricultural households.

SOCIAL EDUCATION CENTRE

Until recently there was no provision for imparting literacy, craft work, embroidery, sew-

ing etc. for the adult females of the village. They were always busy with household chores like sweeping the house, cooking, washing, tending the cattle, looking after the kids etc. And yet many of them could spare a couple of hours each day, which they spent in gossiping amongst themselves.

About 4 years back a Females Social Education Centre was set up in the village by the Social Education Wing of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. The main purpose of the Centre is to impart knowledge of craft work, sewing, embroidery etc. to the females, with a view to enable them not only to utilise their spare time usefully but also to save money for their households. Again, they supplement the household income by taking up sewing of clothes, knitting etc. for the others.

But as all the females do not find ample time, the Centre also started running nursery classes for infants between the ages of 3 to 6 years. The purpose of this is two-fold, to impart literacy to the young ones and to give the womenfolk a breathing time while their children are away.

The Centre is headed by a Female Social Education Worker, who conducts nursery classes for the infants in the forenoon and teaches embroidery etc. to the females in the afternoon. About 20 infants come to attend the nursery classes and 15 females come to learn craft work in the afternoon.

Besides these, the female Social Worker is also supposed to advise the womenfolk on cleanliness, family planning etc.

However, not much attention is being paid to these aspects as according to the female worker, she is quite new to the village and has as yet to start these things in earnest.

The Centre until recently was being run in a kuccha structure, but now one. Balak Ram, has made available free of charge a part of his pucca residential structure to the Centre and it is being run there.

According to several villagers the Centre is serving a very useful purpose. Already several females have started stitching their clothes and doing the knitting work at home. As everybody does not have a sewing machine at home, one can borrow the same from the centre for a nominal charge of 6 nP. per hour for personal use. For example, the author found the 11 year old daughter of the Gosain widow who is running a tea shop at the border Toll Post, not only stitching her own clothes but also undertaking stitching work for the neighbours, thereby making a small though useful contribution to the family till. Incidentally, she has not been included in the list of workers in the village as she has started doing so only recently i.e. long after our field work in respect of collecting household data was completed.

MEDICAL FACILITIES

There are hardly any medical facilities available in the village. Two persons in the village who claim to be Hakims are in fact compounders employed at the Hindustani Dawakhana at Delhi who have with passage of time acquired some knowledge of indigenous medicines (commonly used and sold at the Dawakhana where they work) and utilise their knowledge by practising in the village in their spare time. But very few people were found to be utilising their services, the reason being that they do not have much faith in them and also that their charges are considered by the villagers to be on the high side. On top of all this, they are available only at night as during day time they have to go to Delhi where they are employed.

Although very few or limited medical facilities are available in the village itself, yet the

villagers cannot be said to be suffering from the absence of them as there are numerous Municipal and private dispensaries at Shahdara where the villagers can go and avail of all necessary medical attention free of charge. Besides these there is a Government Hospital at Shahdara equipped with modern equipment where again all the medical attention is provided free of cost. Needless to say that there are scores of private medical practitioners in Shahdara (Allopathic, Homeopathic and Unani) whose services are commonly utilised by the villagers.

But in spite of these facts, it was observed that the villagers normally do not like to go to Shahdara and would prefer in the first instance to cure the ailments or sicknesses at home with what can be termed as local cures. People have great faith in these and they go to Shahdara only when their home made local cure proves ineffective. Some of the village elders are considered experts in these local cures and whenever there is any ailment people consult them provided they do not know of it already. The local cures are all very cheap and within the reach of one and all and all the materials required for the same are mostly available in each household or at the most with village grocers.

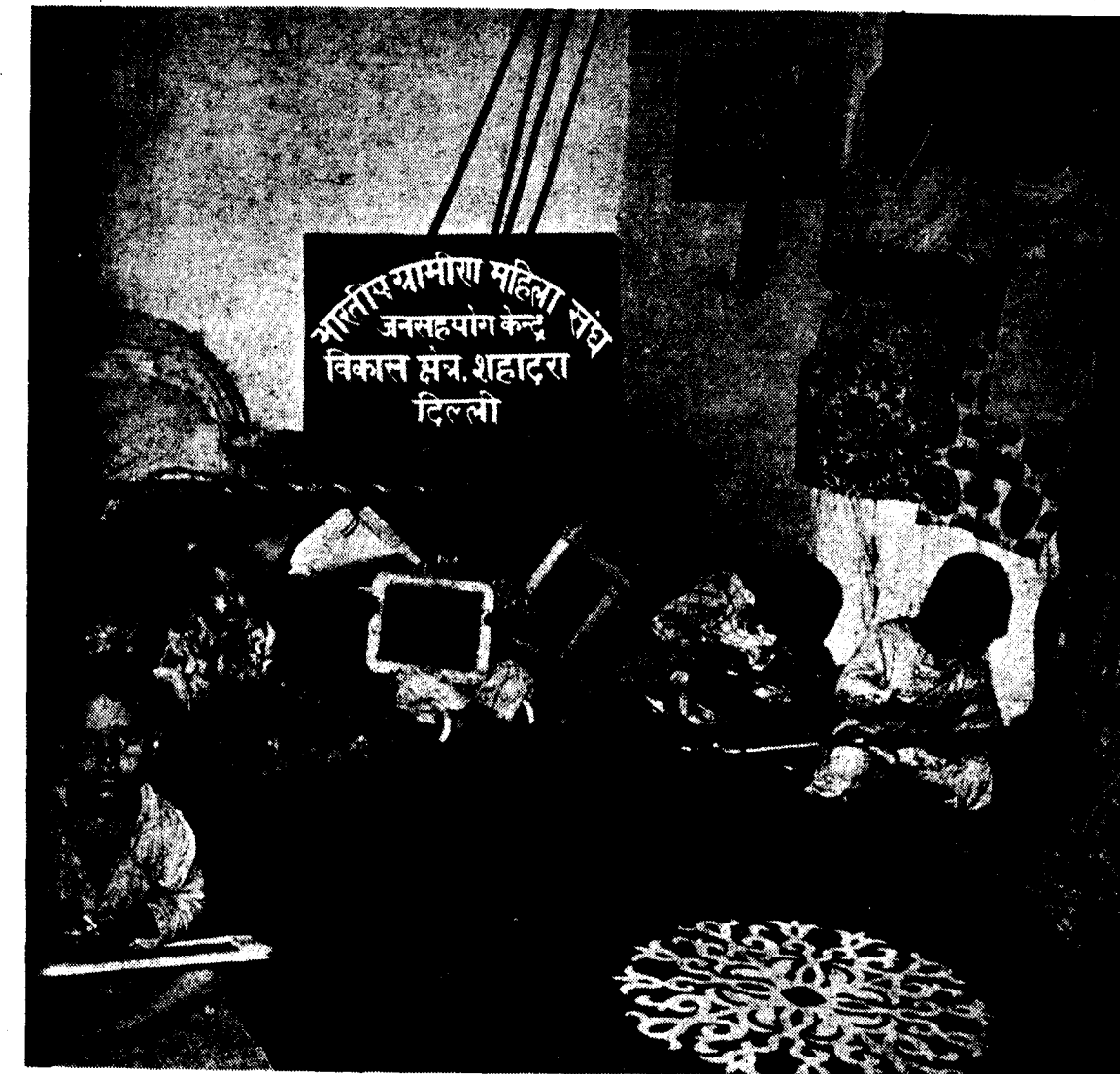
In view of the importance attached to the local cures in the village we intend to provide briefly in the following paragraphs a few of the more common cures for the various ailments. Incidentally the villagers have their own symptoms for judging a particular ailment. Such information has been provided wherever available.

Amongst the most common diseases from which the villagers suffer are malaria, typhoid, measles, cough etc. Minor bruises, wounds, sprains, burns etc. are also very common.

Malaria:

Malaria according to the villagers is caused by the bite of a particular type of mosquito. Its symptoms according to them are that the body of the man suffering from malaria becomes hot and begins to ache. The person also begins to shiver. In such cases the patient is made to lie down and rest under heavy coverings. He may be covered as heavily as possible so that on the one hand he may not feel cold and on the other the heat caused by covering of the body by heavy coverings may cause the patient to perspire. The perspiration according to the villagers is sure sign of bringing down the temperature of the body and a sign of recovery

VILLAGE NURSERY



Two female social workers conducting a Nursery Class for the infants. While the infants are in the Nursery their mothers are able to attend to more important tasks at home.



A Gosain girl and a Rajput boy, both students of V class on their way to the village schools. Level of literacy and education in the village has been going up especially since last decade.

of the patient. Besides this the patient is given tea prepared from leaves of tulsi plant, ginger and black pepper. This also is supposed to cause perspiration. The use of Aspro, Anacin etc. has of late become quite common with the villagers in case of malarial fevers. A Health Visitor of the Municipal Corporation also visits the village once in every fortnight and distributes quinine tablets for precaution against the fever.

According to the villagers all those who suffer from this disease become well again by following the directions given above. But in case it is not cured in a couple of days, then the patient is taken to Shahdara for further treatment.

So far as the precautions against malarial fever are concerned, the villagers state that a man should protect himself against mosquito bite by rubbing mustard oil all over his body at least once a week. Precautions like avoiding getting wet in rain, abstaining from taking curd or butter-milk during rainy season and dirty water from flooded wells are strongly recommended.

Measles

This according to the villagers is a contagious disease and children usually get it from others. This is originally caused by a peculiar type of fly, the contact of which causes measles.

The major symptoms of the same are that the body of the patient starts emitting a peculiar type of smell and develops small spots on the face. Temperature of the body also rises.

In such cases the patient is segregated and made to lie in a darkened corner of a room. He is not given anything to eat and is given tulsi leaves tea. This according to the villagers takes much more time to cure than malaria. Although previously people generally used to make use of the local cure for this disease now they prefer taking the child to Shahdara and avail of the medical facilities there for its cure.

As in case of measles the patient is invariably taken to Shahdara or to Delhi and the people no longer depend upon its cure by local methods we are not mentioning the same here.

Typhoid

This according to the villagers is a sort of fever which lasts for a particular number of days and the patient becomes very weak. The fever may even cause death though such cases are not very common.

The villagers were not very clear as to the

cause of the ailment. They just said that it is so ordained by mata (local deity) and that there is no sure cure against it except to go to the mata concerned and pray for the recovery of the patient. Asked as to how they find out whether a particular ailment is malaria or typhoid they suggested that though its symptoms are usually similar to malaria in the beginning yet if the fever does not come down within three or four days they take it for granted that it is typhoid. For the first two or three days they treat it as if it were malaria and dispense cures for malaria, but when they become sure that it is typhoid they just do not give any medicine to the patient and let the fever run its specific course (of 11, 21 or 41 days) and hope for the best. They, however, do go to the local matas to pray for the speedy recovery of the patient. Now more and more people take patients suffering from this disease to Shahdara for cure.

Minor bruises or injuries

Minor bruises or injuries are very common in the village. According to the people although some of them do have a tendency to overlook these, such a tendency many a time leads to serious trouble later on. The most common treatment used in such cases is that the person concerned takes a piece of wrapper of bundle of bidis and just sticks it on the bruise or injury. That not only stops the flow of blood but is also considered as a good remedy for healing the bruise or injury. The only precaution that is taken in such cases is that the injury does not remain exposed to water for long or even if it does the wetness should be soaked dry at the earliest.

Wounds

Wounds in the village are quite common too. But it is only in the case of really serious wounds that the injured are taken to hospital. Normally the villagers cure the wound by applying the local remedies. The most common remedy is as under:

Take a chattank of mustard oil and heat it a bit. Then mix a small quantity of crushed gur (jaggery) and haldi (turmeric) to it and boil it for some 10 minutes. Then let it cool off. Simultaneously a tumbler full of water should be boiled and allowed to cool. When both are cooled mix a pinch of salt in the water. Soak a piece of cloth in it and apply it on the wound. The salt would of course, cause a certain amount of pain and irritation on the wound. Then the same piece of cloth should be soaked in the other mixture and again applied on the wound. This should be done at least once every day and more often if possible until the wound

is completely healed up. This is considered as a panacea for all sorts of wounds.

Sprains

In case of sprains people usually take to massaging the sprained portion with mustard oil. In case the sprain is of a serious nature then besides the massage with mustard oil people sometimes crush the aakhsand (a local bush) leaves, crush them and apply them on the spot too. This is believed to help in healing the wound speedily.

Burns

In case of burns, minor or major, the villagers crush a fresh potato until it assumes the shape of a thick paste, which is pasted over the burn and the burn will heal in no time. Some villagers went to the extent of claiming that if this remedy is used it will not leave any trace of the burns.

Cough

In case of bad throat and cough the people suggest binapsha tea prepared preferably with milk instead of water. In case of slight coughs even beetle leaves with mulhethi is suggested as a good remedy.

In recent years the Health Department of the Municipal Corporation has stepped up its activities in the village. There are periodic inoculations, vaccinations and other injections against various epidemics. The National Malaria Eradication Programme authorities too have stepped up their activities for the prevention of malaria in the village. The Block Development office has a health visitor who makes periodic visits to the village and advises the villagers about precautions against various epidemics and diseases. But in spite of it the villagers still prefer local cures for minor diseases and ailments and avail of medical facilities at Shahdara and sometimes at Delhi in serious cases.

RELIGION AND WORSHIP

The common man in the village is religiously a devout man. He believes in the omnipotence of God and is a fatalist by nature. For example, if a particular year has been good for him and his family, he attributes it to the good graces of gods towards him or if he has been unlucky, he simply says that the gods had willed it so and that no efforts could have made it otherwise.

He sticks to numerous beliefs and superstitions connected with nature and its ways. They are very deep-rooted and play a very vital role in his day-to-day social life.

Although very few people in the village were found to be performing worship in the temple or visiting the various other local shrines in the village or even going through the daily rituals of worship at home, yet at all times their actions and beliefs are being regulated and influenced by religious thoughts.

The common man in the village believes that though God is one, yet there are several deities, each having power over some aspect of life or the other and thus playing an important role in his social and religious life.

The most common deities in which the villagers believe are Lords Rama, Krishna, Shiva, Vishnu, Ganesh, Hanumana, Laxmi, Parvati etc. Incidentally, these deities are common to all the Hindus. But besides these, there are several local deities, locally known as *matas* (माता) which are worshipped very commonly by the villagers. The villagers have constructed brick-paved platforms in the village and consecrated them after these local deities. The villagers, especially the womenfolk, visit these chabutras very often for offering prayers. There are 5 such places, two named after Bhoomia (भूमिदा) and one each named after Chaurahewali mata (चौराहे वाली माता) Kasumi mata, (कसुमी माता) and Chandi Mata (चण्डी माता).

Thus in a way, the village abounds in places of worship. The foremost of these places is the Shiv Mandir (शिव मन्दिर) or the temple of Lord Shiva.

According to the village elders, it was constructed by one Khiwani, Baniya by caste and resident of village Mandauli, some 50 years back. It is stated that Khiwani did not have any issue and was rather keen for one. He thought that it must be due to his *karma* (कर्म) i.e. deeds in his previous life that God is punishing him by granting him no issues. Some of his contemporaries suggested that he should construct a temple and thus make amends for the deeds of his previous life. Accordingly he purchased 16 bighas of land in Gokulpur and constructed a Shiva temple here. The temple building covers an area of about 16 square yards and has a cone shaped dome over it measuring about 20 feet. Inside it is the Shiv Linga, the main object of worship. The rest of the area is enclosed by a 3' high wall



JHANJHI MAI

Such figures representing Jhanjhi Mai are put up on the walls of many a household during the occasion of Nauratha-Dussehra.



JHAR PIR (GUGA PIR)

The Bhangis and the Chamars usually draw such figures representing the deity on the walls of their rooms.



Buddho, a Nai, offering prayers in the village temple. Only a few persons, mostly ladies, visit the village temple everyday.

and the land is let out to a Gosain resident of the village, who is responsible for the maintenance and up-keep of the temple. Ram Sarup, the keeper of the temple, cultivates the land and out of the income, he is able to carry out the periodic repairs as well as white washing of the temple.

In the land attached to the temple is a small room, constructed by Khiwani, for the priest of the temple or for any other ascetic or sadhu who may want to stay overnight in the village. The temple at the moment does not have any priest, though according to the villagers, previously at times it used to have one.

All castes except the so-called untouchable castes viz the chamars and the Bhangis have free access to the temple, though only a very few of them visit it often. In all, on an average, 8 to 10 persons visit the temple each day though on certain occasions like Shiv-ratri, Diwali and Holi it may be visited by over 100 persons.

The Chamars and the Bhangis who want to offer prayers here can only do so from outside.

Besides the Shiv Mandir are the Chabutras of the local deities. The villagers believe that their prosperity or otherwise depends upon the will of these deities and incidentally they are more frequently worshipped by the villagers, especially the women-folk.

Bhaiyan or Bhumian Ka Chabutra (भैया या भूमिया का चबूतरा) —Chabutra of the Bhaiyan (भैया) or Bhumian (भूमिया) has been constructed in the memory of the founder of the village. There are two such chabutras in the village, one in the village habitation and the other about 2 furlongs away from it. The explanation given by the villagers for this phenomena is that previously there used to be two kheras (खेड़ा) or habitations. The people from one khera (खेड़ा) or habitation left that place and come to settle at the present site of the village. The Chabutra standing about 2 furlongs from the village is the one constructed by the people of that khera (habitation). Incidentally this is in accordance with the history and nomenclature provided in Chapter I of the report.

The Bhoomryan or the Bhaiyan is the most widely worshipped, respected and frequented of all the deities in the village.

The villagers believe that this deity has power over the material well-being or otherwise of the people. There is hardly any important social occasion when people do not visit this Chabutra

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to offer worship, though it is frequented mostly by ladies. Incidentally, it is only the ladies who visit this or any other chabutra regularly and the menfolk visit these only once in a while.

As already pointed out this is the most frequently worshipped of all the local deities. For example, whenever there is a general crop failure or drought or extensive floods, the womenfolk come and worship this deity and seek its blessings so that they may be spared of the sufferings from these calamities. Similarly, whenever there is bumper crop, it is attributed to the good graces of this deity and the womenfolk visit this deity to make their offerings and to seek its blessings so that prosperity may smile on them in the ensuing year too. Its blessings are also invariably sought before the starting of any new venture like setting up a shop, construction of a new house etc.

Again, before setting out for the bride's village, the groom accompanied by the females of the household visits the Bhaiyan to seek its blessings for his safe return. When a newly wed couple is blessed with the first male issue, the mother visits this Chabutra on the thirteenth day after birth, to seek its blessings for the health, wealth and prosperity of the new-born. Again, when a cow or buffalo litters, its first milk yield locally known as khees (खेस) is offered to this deity. The villagers believe that by doing so they ensure a rich yield of milk from the cow or buffalo concerned.

All persons, irrespective of their caste or economic status are free to visit this and the other Chabutras in the village. However, if a high caste female is worshipping there, the untouchable castes have to wait till she finishes. The most common method of worship is lighting an earthen lamp (diya) and offering some sweets to it. On certain occasions the people may even offer a sheet of cloth over it. The Bhangis of the village take away the cloth thus offered as well as other edibles.

Masani mata

The chabutra of this mata is located just at a stone's throw from the habitation. Some of the villagers suggested that in fact it is Chauraha-wali-mata (चौराहे वाली माता). Chauraha literally means a crossing where roads from all sides meet. But as this chabutra is not located at a chauraha i.e. crossing, it has been named Masani mata. Otherwise the people attribute to it the same powers as to the Chauraha-wali-mata. This mata is believed to have powers over fevers especially typhoid,

which the people refer to as *motijhara* (मोती झरारा) Thus, whenever some one is down with typhoid, the females of the household go to offer prayers at the *chabutra* of this *mata*. Similarly whenever there is a case of measles or *khasra* (खसरा) as the people call it the womenfolk of the household visit this *chabutra* and pray for the recovery of the patient. The mode of worship and offering at this *chabutra* is a bit different. For example, although normally the mode of worship is just the same as in case of the *Bhoomian mata* (भूमियां माता) yet whenever it is visited for some specific favours, like praying for recovery of a patient, the womenfolk would keep some water in tumblers near the bed of the patient at night and next morning this water and some grains would be offered to this *mata*. By doing so the villagers believe that *Masanimata* will be pleased and the patient will recover soon.

3. *Chandi Mata* (चण्डी माता)

There is no *chabutra* for this *mata* and all that it consists of is a couple of bricks put near the bank of the Jaman Sarki Canal and consecrated after *Chandi Mata*. This *mata* is believed to have power over life and death of all human beings.

4. *Kasumi Mata* (कसुमी माता)

This again consists of a couple of bricks, again on the bank of the Jaman Sarki Canal and consecrated after this *mata*. None of the villagers interviewed was able to specify as to its specific powers. All that they would suggest is that it is one of the local deities and as such they worship it on specific occasions which incidentally are common to all the local deities. The common occasions for worshipping of all the deities according to the villagers are *Holi*, *Diwali*, the month of *Chait* and *Shiv Ratri*.

An interesting feature noticed during investigation was the fact that although the villagers have deep faith in these deities yet not many of them could tell of all the *matas* in the village. Many a time, they did not even know the name of a particular *mata*.

Besides these, in the months of *Savan* (July-August) and *Chait* (March-April) occasional religious discourses are also organised by individual households. For example, during the month of *Savan* (July-August), Kacheru a Brahmin, called a party of singers (*bhajan mandli*) from Shahdara who performed *Sat Narain-ki-katha* (सत नारायण की कथा) i.e. religious discourse on Lord *Sat Narain*.

The discourse lasted for about a week and every day 50—60 persons used to attend the same.

Similarly two or three households pooled their resources and called another party during the month of *Chait* (March-April) which performed *katha* (discourse) on *Durga Devi*. This too lasted for 8 days and on an average 50—60 persons came to attend it every day.

FESTIVALS

Almost all the festivals observed in the village have their roots in the legends associated with Hinduism. They are synonymous with joy and gaiety and in the village, where life follows a hard routine, nothing is more welcome than a coming festival.

The following paragraphs are devoted to a description and analysis of the yearly festival cycle in village Gokulpur.

In view of the fact that there are innumerable festivals, we have limited our study to the more important of them.

The yearly festival cycle in the village starts with *Basora* (बसोड़ा) in the month of *Chait* (March-April) and ends with *Holi-Dul-hendi* (होली दुल्हेन्दी) in the month of *Phagun* (Feb.-March). We have therefore, begun our discussion with *Basora*.

1. *Basora*.—The nomenclature of the festival is said to have been derived from the Hindi word *basi* (बासी) meaning stale. As such the festival may literally be translated as festival of stale bread.

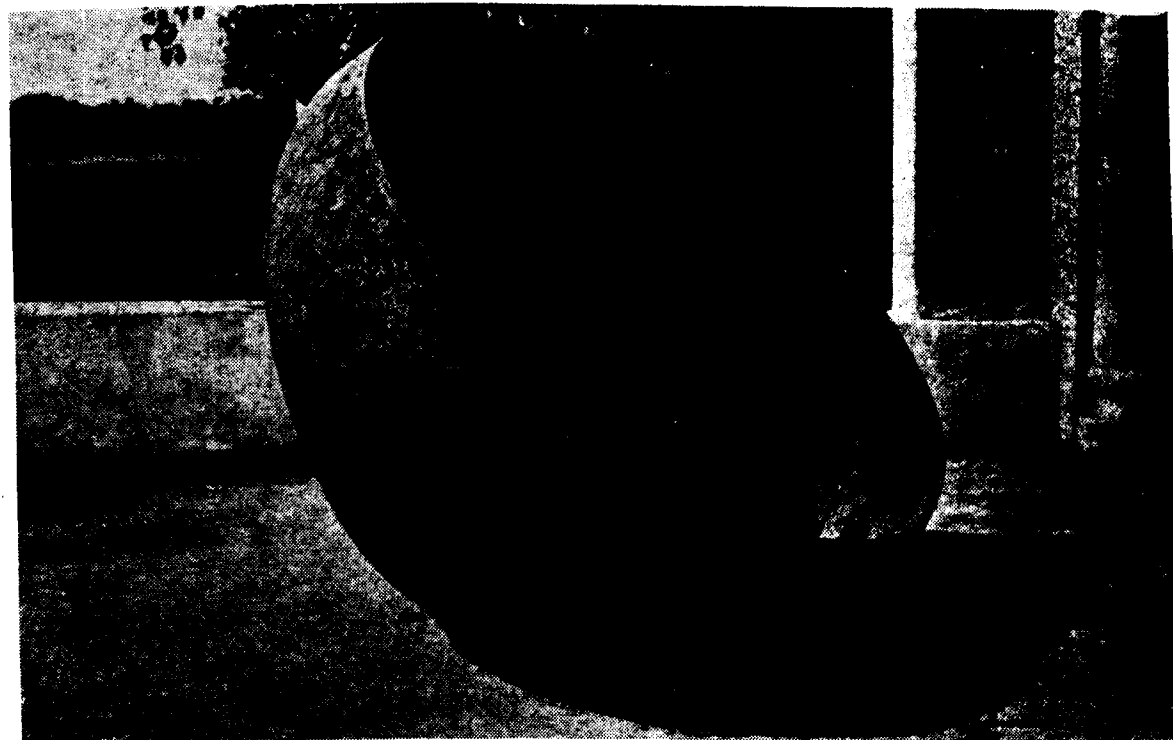
The festival falls on the 7th day of *Chait* (March-April) and is supposed to mark the end of the winter season.

On the eve of the festival i.e. on the evening of the 6th day of *Chait*, all the households in the village prepare wheat porridge locally known as *dalia* (दलीया) and set it aside uneaten. Next morning the people will rise early, take bath and dress themselves in their best. The womenfolk after bathing would go to the various *mata-ka-Chabutras* in the village in extended caste groups to offer worship. At the *chabutras* they would offer some sweets to the *matas* and the well-to-do may even cover it with an unused piece of cloth. The females, say of the Gujars, will go in one group, the Brahmins in another extended group and so on, though they may offer worship together. But in case of the two Scheduled Castes

FESTIVALS



A Gujar household on its way to Garhmukteswar on the ball-tonga of the household.



The metallic body of the bum of the Gujar's lying in one of their baithaks. During Holi it is covered with a skin and played on by two persons.

KANAGAT



Three Brahmin enjoying the feast by the Kadera household in honour of its deceased ancestors.

who are considered as untouchables, they cannot worship along with the other higher castes and so usually wait until the others have finished.

The offerings made at the various **chabutras** are later on picked up by the Bhangi households for their own use.

The object of the females' visit to the various **chabutras** is to receive the blessings of the various deities; for example, they visit the **Chaurabe-wali-mata**, who has power over ghosts and evil spirits to have its blessings and to ensure that none in their respective households suffers any harm from the evil spirits. Similarly they go to the **Bhomia-Mata-ka-Chabutra** to receive its blessings for the future prosperity.

After their return, the **dalia** (दलीया) cooked on the preceding evening will be served to all the members of the households. No one except the toddlers and infants may eat anything before this ceremony is over.

There is no major festival after this for about 2 months when the festival of **Jaitha-ka-Dussehra** (जठ का दसहरा) is held in the month of **Jaith** (May-June).

2. Jaitha ka Dussehra (जैठ का दसहरा)

The festival falls in the month of **Jaith** and is observed by all the villagers but in particular by the agriculturists.

By this time the agriculturists have finished cropping and harvesting of their crops and are comparatively free. On this day people go to bathe in some river, usually the Jamuna, though some may even go to the Ganges at Garhmukteshwar in the U.P.

A bath in the flowing water of the holy Jamuna or the Ganges (locally known as **Ganga**) is supposed to wash away all sins incurred during the agricultural operations, like beating of bullocks, killing of ants and insects and the like.

According to the villagers, the number of people observing this festival has comparatively declined though still a substantial proportion of them observe it.

3. Teej (तीज)

Teej is primarily a festival of the females, though children also join them. However, the males do not participate actively in this festival.

The festival falls on the 3rd day of the **Sudi** (सुदी) fortnight of **Savan** (July-August). By this time the rainy season has started, the

atmosphere is not very hot and there is greenery all around and the **Teej** festival is supposed to express this mood.

On the eve of the **Teej**, people hang swings on trees for the use of the females of their respectable households and their friends.

Next day, the children start swinging on the swings from the early morning, while the females are preparing dishes for the occasion.

Around noon, they put on their best clothes and proceed to the swings hung for them in and around the village, for swinging. While swinging which continues till late in the evening they sing songs of **Teej**.

At sunset everyone goes home and eats the festive meals prepared in the morning. The meals usually contain, besides other things, rice pudding or **meethe chawal** (मीठे चावल) as they are locally known.

At **Teej**, married females receive some gifts from their parents. The father of the girl usually sends a combination of clothes for his daughter, her husband and his father and brothers are given a cotton sheet each. The female members of her husband's family also receive some clothes or cash. Incidentally, on the first **Teej** after the wedding, the articles sent are much more in quantity and quality as compared to the subsequent **Teejs**.

In case of a married girl, whose **Gauna** ceremony has not taken place and who is still living with her parents, her father-in-law would send some gifts for her. The gifts generally consist of a combination of clothes for herself, some glass bangles, a coloured rope and board for the swing and some sweets. She may distribute these sweets to her brothers, sisters and friends but not to her parents, uncles or aunts, who as a matter of convention will not eat anything from her or her in-laws's house.

The presents are usually brought by the dever (husband's younger brother). In case her **gauna** has taken place and her father is sending the gifts the same are brought to her by her brother, especially for the first few **Teej's** though later on the gifts may be sent through someone or her father may simply remit some money by money order.

4. Pohonchi

Pohonchi (पोहोन्की) or **Silono** (सिलोनी) falls 11 days after **Teej** festival. On this day, sisters tie ceremonial threads known as **pohonchi** around the wrists of their brothers and receive in return some money from them. This tying of **pohonchi** signifies that from that

moment onwards the brothers on whose wrist the **pohonchi** is tied are responsible for the honour of their sisters who have tied the **pohonchis**. All the persons take bath early in the morning and prepare for the actual ceremony. The sisters approach their brothers and tie the **pohonchis** on the right hands and say a few words of praise of him and pray for his long life. He in turn thanks her and gives her a small amount of money.

This festival is observed by all castes in the form stated above. But besides this, a Brahmin may also go to the male heads of the other higher caste households and tie the ceremonial wrist band around their wrists. They in return give him some grains or a little cash. But he would do so only amongst the comparatively socially higher castes viz. the Gujars, Jats, Rajputs, Gosains etc. and not amongst the Scheduled Castes or other socially lower castes.

According to the villagers, this practice of tying **pohonchi** by the Brahmins is on the decline. On the day sweet **saviyas** are cooked by one and all.

5. Janam Ashtami (जन्म अष्टमी)

The festival is observed in honour of the birth of Lord Krishna and falls in the month of **Bhadon** (August-September). This festival though observed by all the castes in the village is specially celebrated by the Brahmins and the Gosains. On this day the females keep fast and will not even take water until the appearance of the moon. Those who are fasting face the moon and pour some water to it out of some pot that they are carrying and after this they break their fast. Some households visit Delhi on the day to participate in the celebrations especially at the Birla Temple, which is open to all irrespective of their caste.

The special dishes cooked on the day are **kheer** (खीर) i.e. rice pudding, **puries** (पूरी) etc.

6. Guga Naumi (गूगा नौमी)

The villagers observe this festival in honour of an ancient saint named Guga Pir. Guga Pir is believed to have power over snakes, which abound in and around Gokulpur. It is believed that by honouring Guga Pir, on the Guga Naumi, which falls on the 9th day of **Badi-Bhadon** i.e. first half of **Bhadon** (August-September), the villagers insure themselves against harm from the snakes.

This festival is observed by all the castes in the village, though amongst the lower castes like the Chamars and the Bhangis Guga Pir

is generally referred to as **Jhar Pir** (झार पीर). However all the castes observe it in order to ensure their safety against snakes.

On this day, the females take Black soot from their iron **tavas** (तवा) i.e. the iron plate on which they bake **chapatis** and draw figures on the wall, representing a snake and a man on horseback. Then they light an earthen lamp before the figure and offer a part of the food cooked on the day and offer prayers to him.

It may, however, be mentioned here that this drawing of the Guga Pir or Jhar Pir is more common amongst the lower castes than the higher castes. Still everyone worships Guga Pir on the day and offers food to him.

7. Kanagat (कनागत)

Kanagat is an annual ritual, observed over a fortnight between the full moon day of **Bhadon** (August-September) and **amavas** (new moon day) in the month of **Asuj** (September-October), in order to honour the family dead. The persons honoured usually are the deceased father and grand-father though some may observe **Kanagat** for honouring the deceased mother, grandmother or even a son, who died after attaining the age of 18 years or more.

Thus a family dead is to be honoured on one of those 16 days of **Kanagat** and the day on which the ceremony is to take place is fixed according to the day of the fortnight on which the person died. For example, if a person died on the 8th day of **Sudi** (सुदी) latter fortnight of the month his **Kanagat** will take place on the 8th day of the **Kanagat** period.

Again, **Kanagat** is observed only by sons or wives and daughters cannot perform it.

On this day, the households observing this ceremony, invite a Brahmin or Brahmins to come and perform the ceremony at their places. The Brahmins perform some ceremony and then they are feasted by the household with **pucca khana** (fried food). Some food is given to the cow and thrown to crows also. The villagers believe that the food given to the Brahmins, cows and crows ultimately reaches their ancestors in heaven. The Brahmins, however, do not go to the Scheduled castes to perform this ceremony. They, i.e. the Chamars and Bhangis therefore do it themselves.

8. Nauratha-Dussehra (नौराठा दसहरा)

Nauratha literally means nine nights and **Dussehra** means tenth. The nomenclature is derived from the fact that the celebrations start

on the **amavas** (newmoon day) in the month of **Asuj** (September-October) and end on the 10th day. The celebrations at home are usually carried on by the females and children only.

On the **amavas** (अमावस) or new moon day of **Asuj**, females of some households belonging to a particular caste gather together and make figures of a female representing a deity **Jhanjhi Mai** (झंझी माई) on the outer wall of one of their houses. They make this figure of **Jhanjhi Mai**, out of small circular cow dung cakes and of small earthen lamps (**divas**) with a hole in their bottom. While making it the females sing songs in praise of the **Jhanjhi Mai**. Then after it is complete, for the next 9 days, the females of the caste come there each evening and light a lamp before it and also put some food in its mouth.

On the last day the cow-dung cakes and the earthen lamps (of which the **Jhanjhi** was made) are taken off from the wall and are thrown in the Village pond.

On the tenth day i.e. **Dussehra**, several people go to **Shahdara** to watch the burning of the effigies of **King Ravana** and his brothers **Meghdoot** and **Kumbkarna**. This day is observed to mark the victory of good represented by Lord Rama over evil (**Ravana**), for on that day Lord Rama killed **Ravana**.

The people go to **Shadara** in bullock carts, cycles or whatever other means of transport they can manage, or if they cannot, they may simply walk the distance.

In the village itself, the females in all households prepare 10 cow-dungs each with barley seedings in them. These are left to dry up until the day of **Dev Uthani Gyas** (देव उठानी ग्यास) the day of wakening of gods and goddesses.

9. Karva Chauth (करवा चौथ)

The festival of **Karva Chauth** falls on the 4th day of **Badi Katik** (October-November) and is observed by married females only. The married females keep fast on the day, in order that their husbands may live long and enjoy all the blessings of gods. On this day, the females take bath very early in the morning and eat some food at that time and from then onwards till the evening they keep fast.

This festival is not celebrated by the Chamars at all.

10. Diwali (दिवाली)

Diwali falls on the **amavas** (new moon-day) of **Katik** (October-November) and is one of the

most popular of all the festivals in the village. **Dewali** is observed to celebrate the return of Lord Rama to Ayodhya, after completing the 14 years of his exile during the latter part of which he killed **Ravana**, the demon King, also. On this day all the households light earthen lamps on the top of their houses. Incidentally, the villagers believe that it is also the day of **Laxmi**, (लक्ष्मी) the goddess of money, and so on this day they worship goddess **Laxmi**. At night they keep all the rooms of their houses lit with earthen lamps, so that goddess **Laxmi** may visit their houses. For if the rooms are dark, **Laxmi** will not come.

On this day, the children are given fire crackers which they light at night after lighting the earthen lamps and worshipping goddess **Laxmi**.

11. Dev Uthani Gyas (देव उठानी ग्यास)

The nomenclature **Dev Uthani Gyas** is presumably derived from **dev-god**, **uthana-to wake** and **gyas-the 11th day**. Thus it refers to 11th day of **Sudi Katik** (October-November) on which day the various gods and goddesses wake up from their sleep which is supposed to commence on the **naumi** (9th day) in **Asadh** (June-July). Thus the villagers believe that all those ceremonies which occurred during **Naumi** of **Asadh** and 11th day of **Sudi-Katik** do not receive the blessings of the various gods. Therefore, the villagers do not marry during this period.

On the day, the females keep fast and prepare several special dishes like **saviyan** (सविद्या) sweet burned noodles, **halva** (हलवा) **puris** (पूरी) etc. and at night around 9 o'clock they gather together and beat upon brass utensils to wake the gods. After this they break their fast.

However, no males or children take part in this festival.

On the whole, this festival marks the beginning of the marriage season, which will last until the **naumi** of **Asadh** (June-July).

12. Ganga Jamuna Nahan (गंगा जमुना नहान)

Ganga Jamuna Nahan literally means bathing in the Ganges or Jamuna. It falls on the first **pooranmasi** (पूरनमासी) i.e. full moon day after **Diwali**. On this day the people go to river Jamuna at Delhi or if possible to the Ganges at Garhmukteshwar. They usually travel on their carts and carry all their requirements with them. On reaching the river they bathe in the holy

water. Bathing during this day is supposed to wash away all their past sins. After taking bath they distribute food to the poor and make offerings to the Brahmins. While on their way back they bring roasted rice grains, some bata-shas etc. which they distribute amongst their neighbours in the village.

Incidentally, this month of **Katik** is considered auspicious for taking baths. Childless women take bath everyday for it is believed that by doing so they will beget children.

13. Makar Sakrant (मकर संकरान्त)

Makar Sakrant may fall in the month of **Poh** (December-January) or **Magh** (January-February). It is customary to patch up quarrels on this day, particularly those between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. On this day, both the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law will take bath early in the morning after which the mother-in-law will go out to the fields to wait at an appointed place. This is considered as a sign of her anger at her daughter-in-law with whom she had a hypothetical quarrel and had as a result gone out of the village.

Then at the appointed place and time, the daughter-in-law goes there, begs pardon of her mother-in-law and brings her back home. Then she makes gifts of some clothes to her-in-laws, for which she is paid by her husband. She in return receives only their blessings. It is, however, observed for only 2 or 3 years after marriage.

14. Basant Panchami (बसन्त पंचमी)

Basant Panchami falls on the 5th day of **Sudi Magh** (January-February). **Basant Panchami** can literally be translated as yellow fifth day. At this time of the year the fields are full of yellow mustard flowers. It is customary on this day to wear yellow clothes, though only a very few do so. Some, specially amongst the higher castes, keep fast on the day. Besides this, the day marks the beginning of the period during which the people start collecting wood, cow-dung cakes and other donations for bonfire on Holi. A foundation pole for the **Holi** bonfire is also fixed into the earth on this day.

Besides these very little attention is paid to **Basant Panchami** by any caste in the village.

15. Shiv Ratri (शिव रात्री)

Shiv Ratri is observed in honour of Lord Shiva, and falls on the 13th day of **Badi-Phagun** (February-March).

On this day several people (both males & females) keep fast until after 2 P.M. and then

break the fast with non-cereal food only. There is a Shiva temple in the village and before breaking their fast the people visit the temple to offer prayers. The Chamars and the Bhangis who are not allowed to enter the temple, do so from outside the temple.

Ill or pregnant females are not allowed to fast on the day as it is considered inauspicious.

The number of persons visiting the temple on this day is several times more than the normal.

16. Holi Dulhendi (होलि दुल्हेंडी)

Holi-Dulhendi is one of the four major festivals in the village and is by far the most boisterous of all. **Holi** falls on the 15th day of **Sudi Phagun** and **Dulhendi** on the following day.

As stated earlier the preparations for **Holi** start on **Basant Panchami** day when a foundation pole or some cakes of cowdung are placed at a particular spot where a bonfire is to be held on **Holi**. From that moment onward the people go on putting some wood, cow-dung cakes or any other inflammable articles over it till the time of **Holi**. In the village **Holi** is burnt at two places, one is known as **Chhoti Holi** (छोटी होली) and the other **Badi Holi** (बड़ी होली). The people go on putting more and more firewood into these. No one knows why two **Holis** are burnt but they say that such has been the case since they were born and no one questions it. Our inquiries reveal that there is no class or caste distinction between the two. On **Holi**, everyone takes bath early in the morning and the females keep fast until afternoon. At noon the females of each caste visit the two places in extended family groups singing songs and carrying cow-dung cakes and ceremonial thread. First of all they go to the place where **Badi Holi** (बड़ी होली) is to be lit and after that they go to **Chhoti Holi** (छोटी होली). At both the places there is already a big heap of firewood etc. collected during the past few days. At the place they place their cow-dung cakes and take rounds of the heap tying the threads that they brought with them. Then they place turmeric marks on the cow-dung cakes and distribute some sweets amongst various households in the village. On their return home, they break their fasts. Males neither keep fast nor take part in the ceremony mentioned above.

In the evening, men go to these places to light fire first to the **Badi Holi** and then to the **Chhoti Holi**. There they ask a Brahmin for the proper time of lighting the fire. At the time suggested, a boy lights the fire with the help of

a cow-dung cake. As soon as other cow-dung cakes and firewood catch fire, the first cow-dung cake with which the fire was started is taken out and thrown out in the nearest pond. No one could account for this custom although every one suggests that it is auspicious to put out its fire as early as possible. In fact, the one who takes it out simply rushes to the pond to throw it in the pond. After the fire engulfs the whole of the heap people take some wheat stalks and burn those holding them in their hands. As soon as the stalks catch fire, the people burning those rush homewards with burning stalks. It is the belief of the people that those who reach home first reap the richest harvest. One who reaches home second reaps the second best harvest and so on. This practice is followed by non-agriculturists also, for they say that they will get more (more money to buy their needs) during the year. The agriculturists do not mind others taking some stalks from their fields for they believe that if one of those who plucks their stalks, reaches his own home first, it may help their crops too.

After some time (about an hour) the females who were so far standing aside approach the **Holi** pyre and sing songs. The males in the meantime stand aside. After prayers the females throw coloured powder, water, fresh cow-dung etc. on the males and make merry. The men are not expected to reciprocate. However, the two untouchable castes viz the Chamars and the Bhangis are not allowed to throw colour etc. on higher castes and so they do it amongst themselves. Besides this, no other class or caste distinctions are observed.

This throwing of coloured powder, water etc. in fact starts much earlier than this but is not very common. The females have already been doing it for past 15-20 days on the visitors to their place. The men, of course, abstain from this until the day of **Dulhendi**. While the females are busy thus, the males enjoy the period prior to **Holi**, by arranging parties at night. There are three big drums in the village known as **bam** (बम) two owned by Gujars and one by the Chamars. They gather together round each of them and beat upon them at night. If possible they arrange some singers to sing **Holi** songs. Besides this, the people take brass metal plates locally known as **gandhwar** (गन्धवार) and hang two of them on a rod and two persons resting the rod on their shoulders beat upon these. This continues for several nights until the **Holi**.

Again the people after lighting the **Holi** pyre wait around to see as to which side its flames go. It is believed that the side towards which

it points will be prosperous during the ensuing year.

Next day after **Holi** is **Dulhendi**. On this day the females do not throw colours but the men do. The menfolk throw water, coloured powder, cow-dung, sodden earth or whatever they can lay their hands upon and throw it upon each other and on the females. The females in their turn beat them with sticks.

In a way, the females take the revenge from the males on this day. It is a great day for females, who according to themselves are oppressed during the year by their men-folk, get freedom on this day to take revenge. No man may retaliate even to defend himself. The girls, however, will not beat their father-in-laws or husband's elder brothers or other elderly males in the house, but are at liberty to use the weapon on any other. Even outsiders from the village are not spared. Cases of slight injury are quite common on the day but none minds it. Everyone enjoys the fun. This continues from early in the morning till noon, when it stops and every one starts cleaning up.

17. Amavas (अमावस)

Amavas or the monthly new moon day, strictly speaking is not observed as a festival though people observe certain taboos on the day and hence it is necessary to mention it here.

Although it is tabooed to wash clothes, grind corn, or hunt on the day, people on the whole pay little attention to these taboos. But one taboo that they strictly observe on this day is that they will not yoke bullocks on the day. It is an off day for them. Yoking them on **amavas** is considered most inauspicious.

Intra Family Relationship

As stated earlier in the report family constitutes the elementary social unit in the village. It is a rather closely knit unit with all the members living in comparative harmony with each other.

Generally, the eldest male member, be he old, illiterate or non-earning, is invariably regarded as the head of the family. It is the head or the household who has the last say in all family matters and his influence prevails on all other members of the family and it is he who guides and controls the affairs of the family. All the earners in the family would give him their earnings and he would regulate the household expenditure.

After the death of the head his eldest son succeeds him as the head of the family. In case his son is a minor and there is no other adult male member in the family, then the eldest female in the family is regarded as the head of the household until his son attains adulthood. For example, when Rijak Ram, a Gosain, died, he left behind a young widow with a 10 year old son and an 8 year old daughter. At the moment his wife (the one who is running a tea-shop at Toll Post) is regarded as head of the family. But when her son attains adulthood, he would be regarded as the head of the household.

This clearly indicates that the male members are given greater importance in the family as compared to the females.

The relations between different members of a family are generally cordial. But as and when the relations get strained, the family breaks up.

According to the villagers due to the impact of the various socio-economic changes, there is a definite tendency towards the break up of the joint family system in the village.

Previously a joint family usually would break up only after the death of the father, but now cases of break-up even during the life-time of the father are not rare.

According to the villagers, the primary reasons for a break up of joint family system are the mutual jealousies and petty quarrels between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law or between sisters-in-law. If a daughter-in-law serves better food to her husband as compared to her husband's brother, the mother-in-law would notice it and take it ill. At some moment or the other she too would take her revenge by some means or the other. Such things go on multiplying and then each would start nagging her husband to separate. In the beginning the husbands may ignore such things but ultimately they have to yield and set up a separate household where he would not be bothered by such petty quarrels and naggings.

Incidentally, this does not always mean strained relations between father and son or between brothers. Many a time, although they have set up separate households, they still continue to cultivate their land together.

Again, broadly speaking, father dotes upon sons and mother upon daughters. A father generally does not mind if his son starts smoking hookah or cigarettes in front of him at a comparatively early age. So much so that many

a time, a father goes upon his minor sons to have a puff or two from the hookah, from which he himself is smoking. He will not mind if his sons start calling names to others and the like. All his weaknesses are usually ignored or are taken very lightheartedly.

LEISURE AND RECREATION

The common man in the village spends a hard, routine and monotonous life as the village is devoid of any kind of organised type of recreation. Most of the villagers spend their spare time in idle gossip as they hardly know how to spend it usefully. During winter, specially after 7 p.m. villagers of the same caste and age groups, gather in the various bathaks of their relatives and friends. There they go on gossiping over the hukka. The general topics of discussion are rarely intellectual and discussion especially amongst the older section of the population mainly concerns success or failure of crops, rain, drought, prevailing gram market quotations, diseases concerning human beings and cattle, birth, marriage, death and quarrels in the village.

The young folk on the other hand discuss about movies seen in the city, the relations between wife and husband and other sexual topics. Similarly, during summer season, the males gather in various bathaks in the afternoon to take rest, smoke hukkah and exchange views.

During these leisure hours, a few of the villagers besides gossiping also play a few games which are described below:

(1) Sher-Kakri (Lion and Goat)

Two persons play this game, one representing the lion and other goats. There is one lion (dice) which sits in the centre of the cross board—very similar to that of chess-board—which is drawn on the earth. Then there are 23 goats (dices) which surround the lion and are placed one each at one of the interjections of the living which are 25 in number. Thus, one interjection is left vacant for the movement of dices. To start the game, the player who represents the lion, kills one goat because he is allowed to take one jump over one of the interjection. Now, it is the work of that person who is representing goats, to check the movement of the lion by not allowing him to kill goats and if he succeeds in blocking all the ways of the lion, he wins the game. On the other hand, if by his wits and efforts person who is representing the lion, succeeds in killing all goats, he wins the game.



The author enjoying game of Nau Gota with a Nai of the village.



The game of wrestling is quite popular amongst the grown ups.

2. Nau Gota

A game similar to the one described above is known as **Nau Gota**. Here, again, a cross board is drawn on the earth which has 19 interjections. Two persons play this game, each having 9 dice which are placed on 18 interjections of the living and one is left vacant for the movement of the dice. The players are allowed to take a jump in killing the dice of other. Thus, at last, that person who succeeds in killing all the nine dice of other players, wins the game.

3. Chida

The next popular game which is played in the village is known as **Chida**. A square is drawn on the earth and it is divided into 25 squares by drawing 5 cross lines. Out of these 25 squares, five are crossed and on four crosses, 4 dice for each player are placed which are played by four persons. The movement of the dice takes place in the anticlock wise direction. All the four persons, turn by turn throw **kori** (कौरी) and move their dice according to the number in the kori (shells). Who-so-ever succeeds in bringing all his four dice in central cross wins the game.

The villagers also enjoy **Ragnis** (songs) and **bhajans** (devotional songs) during their leisure hours which may be sung by any one of them. Amongst the various **ragais** and **bhajans** which are enjoyed by the villagers a **ragini** is given below:

Do Sadho ek sher, alkh laga re ter, khare
darwaze par

दो साधो एक शेर, अलख लगा रे तेर, खड़े दरवाजे पर

Ram nam ka shabad kaha mukh se nath baja
ke ji

राम नाम का शब्द कहा मुख से नथ बजा के जी
Yu bola ka hai hambhi jayenge darshan

pake ji,

यू बोला का है हम भी जायेंगे दरशन पाके जी

Jo de bhiksha kher me dale mita le hriday
ka andhair

जो दे भिक्षा खेर में डाले मिटा ले हृदय का अंधेर

Kisi cheezki kami nahi heere moti jare hue.

किसी ए चीज़ की कमी नाही हीरे मोते जड़े

Mordhawaj ka darshan ko do sadho khare hue

मोरध्वज का दरशन को दो साधे खड़े हुए

Bahta pani nirmal ho aisa jogi jamta ji

बहता पानी निर्मल हो ऐसा जोगी जमता जी

Tej ke mamta bhair karley Chaurasi ke phair,

khare darwaze

तेज के ममता भैर करले चौरासी के फेर, खड़े दरवाजे पर

Main ne raghunath rahe anand rag rang ke

khilne main

मैंने रघुनाथ राहे आनन्द राग रंग के खेलने में

Jame hua lakar ki kimat ghar jay hilna hain

जमे हुआ लकड़ की कीमत घर जाय हिलना है

Na dhan milney main dair, sant ki jabar jarurat

phair Khare darwaze par.

ना धन मिलने में देर, सन्त की जबर जरूरत फेर

खड़े दरवाजे पर

This **ragni** is sung in praise of the legendary King Mordhawaj. The story goes that once Narad Devta went to God Vishnu and told him that Mordhawaj is not a true devotee of him. But god Vishnu did not agree and at least in order to examine him, both of them went to this King in the disguised form of saints. They also took along with them another attendant in the disguised form of a lion. When these three persons reached the door of the palace of the king, they called him. Hearing that two saints have come at his palace, he came out to receive them and invited them for a meal. They agreed. But they put a condition that before taking meals, their lion should be satisfied and they demanded that the king should offer the meat of his son to the lion. He agreed because he was bound by his promise. The King cut his son with the help of an axe and offered the meat to the lion. After that both of them took meals. In the last when they were departing, god Vishnu in the disguised form of a saint asked the king to call his son. When he called his son, he found that he is alive and has come to him.

Like this **ragni** all other **ragnis** and **bhajans** are based on religious legends and are sung and heard with great enjoyment.

The social and religious occasions also provide a good opportunity for joy and gaiety to the villagers. The coming of a festival is a signal for enjoyment to the villagers. All the villagers, both young and old, irrespective of sex and caste, participate in the celebrations of these festivals. On the festival days people get up early in the morning, take bath and wear new and clean clothes. Women prepare special dishes for the family. Most of the villagers especially the womenfolk visit various shrines in the village and offer prayers and delicacies prepared on that festival. While coming back from the shrines they sing songs.

Like festivals, the occasion of a marriage, **mundan** and birth also fills the hearts of the villagers with joy and happiness. On such occasions, they are provided with feast, meeting with other villagers and the like. On marriage occasion, the **swang** (a sort of stage play through the media of songs, dances and humour) may also be

staged if the **swang** party is brought by the boy's family. In that case, the villagers cannot say anything, for the boy's side always have an upper hand in marriage. Though the plays like Raja Harish Chandra and Satyavan Savitri are staged 'in Swang' but generally the humorous part of the play turns into vulgar comedy. It was due to this reason that the display a **swang** was prohibited by the combined Panchayat.

However, whenever a **Swang** is staged in the village, men, women and children, not only from this village but also from the adjoining villages gather and take keen interest in hearing these with great enthusiasm and joviality. They are so fond of dance and plays that most of them sit and watch them till late hours in the night. But the entertainment and form which these shows provide is rustic and often vulgar.

Very similar to this 'Swang' is Ram Leela which is staged to depict the life story of Lord Rama and Ravana or victory of good over evil. But such parties visit the village once in 5 years or so.

Trends of Change

There has hardly been any change in the utilisation of leisure hours by the people in the village as compared to the last decade or two. However, with respect to festivals, the villagers have become less enthusiastic than in the past. Now there is no more collective participation and a few of the festivals like **Basant Panchmi**, are losing their importance.

Gossiping is the main item for pastime. Some times, a few of the villagers, who are in touch with Delhi City, may also see a picture.

GAMES AND SPORTS

The children in the village play a number of games. The more common of these are described in the following paragraphs.

1. Ankh Micholi

The game of Ankh Micholi is played by many boys (whose number is not fixed). One of them is elected as a thief. His eyes are closed by another boy in order to allow the other players to hide themselves from the sight of the thief secretly and the eyes of the thief are not opened

Note 1. Satyavan Savitri—This play is based on mythological legend and depicts the story of a devoted wife named Savitri and her husband Satyavan. In spite of the warning of the astrologers, she married Satyavan who had to die one year after his marriage. After one year he died, but due to the power of her devotedness and worship Savitri succeeded in bringing back the life of her husband.

Raja Harishchandra.—Again this is a mythological story of a true worthy king who lost his kingdom in order to keep his words. After losing his kingdom, he had to lose his son and even his wife. But he did not lose his truthfulness. At last, God became happy with him and returned him his kingdom.

PLAYTIME IS JOY TIME



A mixed group of youngsters enjoying the game of Gullidanda.



Kabaddi too is popular amongst the youngsters



A youngster rolling his ring on the main Road.

until the other players give a signal of their hiding. When all the players have hidden themselves, the thief begins the search for any one of them. A goal is fixed which is to be touched by all the players without being caught by the thief. But who-so-ever is caught by the thief without touching the goal becomes the thief for the next time. In this way the game is continued till the players are tired and withdraw themselves from the game.

2. Lakri Choomna

A game similar to the one described above is known as **Lakri Choomna**. Here the goal is a specific tree which is to be touched by all the players.

3. Kabaddi

Two teams consisting of five, seven or nine players play this game. The play-ground is divided into two parts, one for each team. To begin with, one of the players of any team goes into the area of other team. His task is to touch any of the players of the other team and come back in his area without being touched. But if he fails to come back to his area he is dead and the other party gains one point or *vice-versa*. Here it should be noted that the players should continuously say **kabaddi** while in the area of the other team. Similarly, the other team now sends its player in the area of first team and the same process is repeated again. Thus, in the last who-so-ever gains maximum points, wins the game.

Besides these games, the children are also given an opportunity to play a few of the games while in school. These games have been recently introduced in the system of education and are a part of education. Volley ball and 'Palila' are the two common games which are played by the students while in school.

Palila

About 8 or 10 boys play this game. All the players are seated to make a ring. Then one of them gets up and moves round behind them with a **kolra** (twisted cloth in the form of a whip) in his hand saying "**kolra jamal sahi, dekha ga to maroonga.**"

(कोलड़ा जमाल साही, देखा गा तो मारुंगा)
meaning thereby that who so ever will try to look back will be beaten by this **kolra**. Then the player who is moving around, places the **kolra** at the back of any one of them. If that player at whose back the **kolra** is placed traces it before the moving player completes the round, he gets up and takes the place of moving player, otherwise the moving player begins to

beat him with **kolra** till he sits again after completing the round. Thus, the game is continued until finished.

THE DAILY ROUND

The life in the village generally starts at about 4 A.M. when most of the villagers get up and start their work. First of all, a housewife belonging to an agricultural household grinds gram for the day as much flour is rarely stored ahead of time and it is only during last three or four months of pregnancy that a woman may lay up stores before hand for the period of emergency; As a rule, the girls do not grind at their parents home but they may help their mother if they are not going to school. The next item is the cleaning of the house and collecting cow-dung from the cattleshed which in turn are made into cakes for fuel. Then she churns curd to separate butter-milk from butter. The last item of morning work is to bring water from the village well for cooking, drinking and other purposes. But the women of households having hand pumps in their courtyards need not go for drawing water.

After finishing these jobs, the housewife has some time to herself which she may utilise either in spinning, sewing or gossiping with neighbours. Then she prepares food for the next meal which is taken out to men in the fields. Again by 1 P.M. she is free for an hour or two, unless children demand attention. Here it should be noted that a few housewives utilise this spare time in attending the Social Education centre which imparts literacy education as well as practical education.

But again at about 3 P.M. she has enough work to do. She beats bajra for **rasabri**, makes the fire and sets water to boil. If there are cows and buffaloes at house, she gives them fodder and after that she goes on her second round to draw water from the well.

Like women, men also start working early in the morning. The first item of morning work is cutting fodder for the cattle. After this, those villagers who are engaged in the profession of milk-selling, milch the cattle and after taking their breakfast which consist of bread prepared the previous night and butter-milk, they go to the various parts of Delhi and New Delhi to dispose of their milk. Similarly those villagers who are engaged in agricultural work, go to the fields after taking their breakfast, where they work the whole day except taking rest for an hour or two in the afternoon. Those villagers who are engaged in milk-selling have also to make a second trip in the afternoon (at

about 3 P.M.) in order to dispose of their milk and meet the evening requirements of milk of their customers. Around sunset all the villagers who are either engaged in agriculture or milk-selling come home and take their meals. Cattle also return from pastures. They are put in the cattle-sheds and given some fodder to eat.

After taking dinner, most of the villagers spend one or two hours with their family members in gossiping and their cots are pulled out for sleeping. A few of the villagers also spend the evening hours with their friends in gossiping. Then the front doors are bolted and the whole village sleeps.

AN INTERVIEW



The author interviewing a Brahmin Owner Cultivator-cum-Dhudhiya of the village.

CHAPTER V Conclusions

THE preceding chapters of the report contain a fairly comprehensive account of the various social, cultural and economic aspects of the life in the village. The aim of the study has not only been to study the ecology of the village as it is but also the changes that have taken place during the last few decades.

The concluding chapter aims to gather the loose ends about the various changes that have taken place. As is obvious from the study of the preceding chapters, these changes have introduced an element of dynamism to almost every aspect of the village life. Incidentally, most of these changes have occurred not because of any conscious efforts on part of the villagers but primarily due to certain non-recurring and unusual factors, namely (i) the partition of the country which led to phenomenal expansion of Shahdara township, just two miles away from the village, which has influenced the social and economic life in the village in more ways than one; and (ii) the construction of the earthen embankment on the eastern bank of the Jamuna, which has helped the villagers both physically and economically to a great extent. Besides these, some credit is also due to the various government and private agencies, which have been striving for the alround welfare of the villagers.

In the following paragraphs we propose to highlight the various social, cultural and economic changes that have taken place in the village.

GROWTH OF SHAHDARA

Prior to independence and partition of the country, Shahdara was a medium sized suburb of Delhi with a population of about 15,000. But after the partition of the country thousands of refugees from West Pakistan came and settled at Shahdara, thus bringing about a manifold increase in its population. The uprooted refugees started several small scale industries at Shahdara, which have since gained in number as well as in size. The expansion of Shahdara and the coming up of various industries there has influenced the social and economic life of the village in several ways.

Its foremost impact was upon the landless agricultural and non-agricultural labourers of

the village, who have found employment in various manufacturing concerns at Shahdara. The employment opportunities of these persons in the village were previously of seasonal and casual nature but now they have a regular and economically better source of livelihood. Besides them some persons from the agricultural households also have taken to service occupations at Shahdara. This has affected the livelihood class structure of the village rather significantly. For example, whereas in 1951, 91.2 per cent of the village population was deriving its means of livelihood from the agricultural sector, the corresponding figure for 1961 stands at 45.9 per cent.

Another significant impact of the growth of Shahdara has been upon the village population. A demographic study of the village shows a sharp upsurge of population especially during the decade of 1951-61, when population increased by over 60 per cent. Proportionately speaking, the population increase during this period was more than double of the corresponding increase during the previous four decades.

This upsurge in population is primarily due to several persons having in-migrated into the village from Bulundshahr and Bareilly Districts of the U.P. The primary reason for the comparatively higher migration during 1951-61 is the nearness of employment opportunities at Shahdara.

The comparatively abrupt population upsurge has influenced the social life in the village to a great extent. Most of the persons who have in-migrated into the village are landless labourers belonging to the Chamar Caste, with the result that the Chamars have come to constitute the biggest single group in the village. Again, as most of them are gainfully employed at Shahdara and Delhi, they are no longer dependent upon the land-owners of the village for their livelihood. The result of this has been that the new land-owners do not command the same respect from them as before. This has caused a certain amount of social friction between the Chamars and the higher castes (discussed in detail later on in the Chapter.)

CONSTRUCTION OF EARTHEN EMBANKMENT

Prior to the construction in 1954 of the bund on the eastern side of the Jamuna, the village used to get flooded almost every year, causing widespread damage to the property of the villagers, destroying their standing crops as also sapping the fertility of the soil. But with the construction of the bund, the village does not suffer any more from the recurring floods. The results of this have been rather encouraging.

The most remarkable improvement is the spurt in construction of better and pucca residential structures in the village. Whereas prior to 1954, there was not even a single pucca structure in the village, now a majority of the residential structures are pucca and many more are coming up.

The other important impact has been on agriculture, the backbone of the village economy. The foremost of its impact on agriculture is that being free from the dangers of floods the agriculturists are now taking more and more to growing of cash crops. Whereas previously, there was comparatively greater emphasis on growing consumption crops, now the trend is towards growing more and more cash crops, for which there is ready market and which fetch higher prices in the market.

Amongst the other impacts, probably the most important is the improvement in the sanitary conditions of the village, which, however, inadequate or deficient they may be at present are definitely far better than ever before.

AGRICULTURE

In spite of the fact that several persons who were previously engaged in agriculture have now taken to non-agricultural occupations and more and more are likely to follow them in future, agriculture still remains and is likely to remain the main occupation of the people, at least for quite some time to come. But in spite of this, agriculture in the village continues to be backward and near static. Variations in agricultural output are still caused largely by weather and other natural factors and little or no fundamental changes in organisation seem to have taken place. In fact whatever changes that have occurred are due mostly to the favourable effects of the construction of earthen embankment mentioned above, expansion of Shahdara town and the impact of the Community Development Scheme. Whereas the former two factors have influenced the villagers in respect of greater utilisation of land sources, changes in cropping pattern etc., the latter has led the villagers to take to better quality of seeds, manure etc. There has, however, been no improvement in so far as the

adoption of better tools, equipments etc. is concerned.

The State on its part took several steps to improve the economy of the village. The foremost of these is the adoption and implementation of the Delhi Land Reforms Act of 1954. Due to several peculiar conditions available in the village, most of the agriculturists, who previously were carrying on as tenant cultivators were declared bhoomidars (owners) of the land, and of course, have not been called upon to pay any compensation to the original owners. Thus, at least for the time being, the tenant cultivators have gained a lot out of the Act, even more than the State intended. They may have to pay ultimately but so far there does not seem to be any chance of the State asking them to pay compensation in the near future. The villagers, however, are keeping their fingers crossed in the hope that the State will ultimately forget all about it and that they will not have to pay anything to anybody. But whether they ultimately have to pay compensation or not no one can deny that the Act has proved to be beneficial to most of the agriculturists in the village, in the sense that whereas previously they were tenant cultivators now they are for all practical purposes owners of the land.

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

A slow but steady progress has taken place over the last decade in respect of literacy. Whereas in 1951 only 8.7 per cent of the population was literate, at the moment nearly one quarter or 23.1 per cent of the total population is literate. However, the progress in this respect is greater amongst the males as compared to females, for whereas over one-third or 37.4 per cent of the males are literate, the corresponding figure for the females is only 6.1 per cent.

Again, now more and more people are going in for comparatively higher education than before. Whereas previously college education was not even dreamed of by the villagers at the moment one has already graduated and two are studying in colleges at Delhi.

A good deal of progress has been achieved in respect of educational facilities during the recent past. A primary school was set up in the village in 1948 and was moved into a pucca structure in 1955. The school has by the time of drafting of the report been raised to middle standard. Education has been made free and compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 to 15 years. Provision of stipends for all students of Backward Classes has also been made. Added incentive is provided by the free distribution of

milk daily to all children in the school. All these things coupled with the fact that more and more people are realising the need of education, have gone a long way in increasing school registration, which ultimately is bound to help the villagers in all spheres of life.

LEVEL OF AWARENESS

The social awareness of the common man in the village has gone up considerably especially after independence. Due to the ever increasing communication of the villagers with outside world it is not uncommon to find people being abreast of the various events happening elsewhere. As is obvious from a study of the village Calendar, the villagers are generally found to be knowing most of the important events of the village, but there is not even a single event outside the village which most of the villagers recall. For example, very few people know anything about the 1 or 11 World War or even such important events as August 1942 when most of the National leaders were arrested. They do now know anything, not even names of any of the Viceroys when the country was under the British. But after independence and partition of the country which resulted in large scale influx of uprooted persons from West Pakistan to come and settle down at Shahdara, the villagers have been taking increasing interest in local, national and international events. Just to give a few examples, every one in the village is well aware of the Chinese invasion of October 1962, while only a few of them could tell about the Japanese invasion of the early forties. Similarly, everyone in the village is by now well aware that President Kennedy was assassinated recently and that he was President of America. Again whereas most of the grown ups in the village have knowledge of the various political parties in the country, very few of them can claim to having knowledge of the Muslim League, a party which was mainly responsible for the partition of the country. Most of them have names of the prominent political leaders of the world on the tips of their tongues, which was not the case in recent past.

Their awareness of other social and cultural activities is also on the increase. The chief factors responsible for the trend are spread of education, greater communication of the villagers with outside world etc.

INTER-CASTE RELATIONS

Inter-caste relations in the village are undergoing a gradual change. People from different castes are taking to non-traditional occupations, and this factor has its effects on the day to day relationship between them. For example, two persons, one belonging to the untouchable caste and the other belonging to a

higher caste are bound to come close to each other if they are working together and in the same capacity. This may even lead to the ultimate extinction of the institution of untouchability. Previously most of the Scheduled Castes were solely dependent upon the agriculturists for their livelihood. Most of the Scheduled Caste households were landless people and while the Bhangis were engaged in scavenging in the village, the Chamars were mostly engaged as agricultural labourers. But after independence most of them have found regular jobs as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers in the various industries at Shahdara which have brought them more stability than ever before, for as agricultural labourers they had simply to depend upon the land owners in the village, who at best were able to provide them with only seasonal employment, and the remunerations, whether in cash or kind that they used to receive from the owner cultivators were less than they are receiving now from their present jobs.

Now not only they have become better off than before by themselves but they receive certain weightages and privileges from the State, especially in respect of loans for houses, special stipends for clothing and books for their students etc., by which they have become more conscious of their rights and many of them now feel it below their dignity to speak to or mingle with the higher castes except on equal terms. The higher castes consider this as an affront on the part of the Scheduled Castes and as such the relations between the two have worsened considerably. The last straw was the election of a Chamar to the Pradhanship of the Gaon Panchayat.

PLACE OF THE VILLAGE IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF REGION

The village under study due to its nearness to Shahdara, has undergone several economic changes. The impact of this has been that whereas prior to independence and partition of the country, the village was just like any other village now it has attractions of its own. People from other villages, especially from Meerut and Bareilly Districts have in-migrated to this village with a view to improve their economic status. The village is bound to become still more important as and when the Wazirabad Barrage is opened to regular traffic and the link road to and from the barrage is completed for then the distance of the village to Delhi will be reduced which may ultimately lead to greater economic importance.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Folk Songs

The folk songs interpret the emotional aspect of the life of the villager. These reflect their passions, their joys and thrills on ceremonial occasions. Given below are a few folk songs in the local dialect along with their English translation.

The song is sung by females of the bride's household at the time of announcement of her engagement, in which she (the girl) urges her near and dear ones not to hurry up with her marriage as she is still too young.

Song (1)

Haath jore khari laajo araj baba se karti hai

हाथ जोड़े खड़ी लाजो अरज बाबा से करती है ।

Abhi mat karo meri shadi umar 12 baras ki hai

अभी मत करो मेरी शादी उमर 12 बरस की है ।

Hath jore khari laajo araj bhaiya se karti hai

हाथ जोड़े खड़ी लाजों अरज भैया से करती है ।

Abhi mat karo meri shadi umar 12 baras ki hai

अभी मत करो मेरी शादी उमर 12 बरस की है ।

Translation

The bride pleads with her father with folded hands

"Please do not marry me off for I am just 12 years old".

The bride pleads with her brother with folded hands.

"Please do not marry me off for I am just 12 years old."

Song (2)

The following song is sung by the friends of the bride after engagement. In the song her friends seem to be worried about her state of affairs. These sentiments are expressed in the following lines :

Kacche doodh se pali lado, kis bid pad gai kali

कच्चे दूध से पली लाड़ो, किस बिद पड़ गई काली

Dada ki pyari, dadi ki raj dulari, lado kis bid pad gai kali

दादा की प्यारी, दादी की राज दुलारी, लाड़ो किस बिद पड़ गई काली

Kacche doodh se pali.....

कच्चे दूध से पली.....

Chacha ki pyari, mata ki raj dulari, lado kis bid pad gai kali

चाचा की प्यारी, माता की राज दुलारी, लाड़ो किस बिद पड़ गई काली

Lado kis bid pad gai kali lado

लाड़ो किस बिद पड़ गई काली लाड़ो

Tau ki pyari, tai ki raj dulari, lado kis bid pad gai kali,
ताऊ की प्यारी, ताई की राज दुलारी, लाड़ो किस बिद पड़ गई काली

Lado kis bid pad gai kali Lado.

लाड़ो किस बिद पड़ गई काली लाड़ो

Bhaiya ki pyari, bhabhi ki raj dulari, lado kis bid pad gai kali.
भैया की प्यारी, भाभी की राज दुलारी, लाड़ो किस बिद पड़ गई काली

Lado kis bid pad gai kali Lado

लाड़ो किस बिद पड़ गई काली लाड़ो

Kacche doodh se pali.....

कच्चे दूध से पली.....

Translation

You have been brought up with great care, O bride, why you have gone black ? *

O the dear one of your grandparents ! Why have you gone black ?

You have been brought up with.....

O the dear one of your parents ! Why have you gone black ?

O bride why have you gone black ?

O the dear one of your uncle and aunt ! Why have you gone black ?

O bride why have you gone black ?

O the dear one of your brother and sister-in-law ! Why have you gone black ?

O bride why you have gone black ?

You have been brought up with.....

Song (3)

The following couplets are sung at the time of the Rana ceremony during hamwara.

Teli be teli tel chadhaya

तेली बे तेली तेल चढ़ाया¹

**Chameli ne bhi tel chadhaya*

चमेली ने भी तेल चढ़ाया

Teli be teli tel utara

तेली बे तेली तेल उतारा

**Chameli ne bhi tel utara*

चमेली ने भी तेल उतारा

The first one is recited during "tel chadhana" ceremony and the other at the of "tel utarna" ceremony.

*Name of the female who is applying oil.

Song (4)

This song is sung by females of the groom's household when he is getting ready to proceed to the bride's village.

Kahiyo re us barhai ke chhore se

कहियो रे उस बड़ई के छोरे से

Chauki to lave mere Nand lal ko

चौकी तो लावे मेरे नन्द लाल को

Kahiyo re us darji ke chhore se

कहियो रे उस दरजी के छोरे से

Soot to lave mere Nand lal ko

सूट तो लावे मेरे नन्द लाल को

Kahiyo re us nani ke chhore se

कहियो रे उस नानई के छोरे से

Ubtan to lave mere Nand lal ko

उबटन तो लावे मेरे नन्द लाल को

Such couplets for shoemakers, potters etc. are also recited.

Translation

Go and ask the carpenter's son,
To bring a stool for our darling son,
Go and ask the tailor's son,
To bring clothes for our darling son.
Go and ask the barber's son,
To bring ubtan for our darling son.

Song (5)

Song sung by females at the time of Ghur Charhi.

Chad ja re beta tawla tanne kyon der lagai,

चढ़ जा रे बेटा ताबला तन्ने क्यों देर लगाई ।

Pile banna tere kapre nain surma syahi.

पीले बन्ना तेरे कपड़े नैन सुरमा स्याही ॥

Chad ja re beta tera (grandfather's name) tawla tanne kyon der lagai,

चढ़ जा रे बेटा तेरा (दादा का नाम) ताबला तन्ने क्यों देर लगाई ।

Pile banna tere kapre nain surma syahi.

पीले बन्ना तेरे कपड़े नैन सुरमा स्याही ॥

Chad ja re beta tera (father's elder brother's name) tawla tanne kyon der lagai,

चढ़ जा रे बेटा तेरा (ताऊ का नाम) ताबला तन्ने क्यों देर लगाई ।

Pile banna tere kapre nain surma syahi.

पीले बन्ना तेरे कपड़े नैन सुरमा स्याही ॥

Chad ja re beta tera (father's younger brother's name) tawla tanne kyon der lagai,

चढ़ जा रे बेटा तेरा (चाचा का नाम) ताबला तन्ने क्यों देर लगाई ।

Pile banna tere kapre nain surma syahi.

पीले बन्ना तेरे कपड़े नैन सुरमा स्याही ॥

Chad ja re beta tera (brother's name) tawla tanne kyon der lagai.,
चढ़ जा रे बेटा तेरा (भाई का नाम) तावला तन्ने क्यों देर लगाई।

Pile banna tere kapre nain surma syahi.
पीले बन्ना तेरे कपड़े नैन सुरमा स्याही॥

Chad ja re beta tera (maternal uncle's name) tawla tanne kyon der lagai,
चढ़ जा रे बेटा तेरा (मामा का नाम) तावला तन्ने क्यों देर लगाई।

Pile banna tere kapre nain surma syahi.
पीले बन्ना तेरे कपड़े नैन सुरमा स्याही॥

Translation

Ride the horse, O impatient son, why do you delay ?
O bridegroom ! you look lovely in these clothes and make up.
Get on the horse, (grandfather's name) 's grandson, why do you delay.
O bridegroom ! you look lovely in these clothes and make up.
Get on the horse (father's elder brother's name) 's nephew, why do you delay ?
O bridegroom ! you look lovely in these clothes and make up.
Get on the horse (father's younger brother's name)'s nephew, why do you delay ?
O bridegroom ! you look lovely in these clothes and make up !
Get on the horse (brother's name)'s brother, why do you delay ?
O bridegroom ! you look lovely in these clothes and make up.
Get on the horse (mother's brother's name)'s nephew, why do you delay ?
O bridegroom ! you look lovely in these clothes and make up.

Song (6)

Songs sung by mothers, sisters, aunts and other females at the time of Ghur charhi.

Das mas re beta boojh mari thi mayad ka narna le chadha
दस मास रे बेटा बोझ मरी थी मायड़ का नरणा ले चढ़ा
Apni mayad ne main bandi ri lyadoon bare sajan ki dhiyadi
अपनी मायड़ ने मैं बांदी री ल्यादू बड़े सजन की धीयड़ी
Das mas re bira god khilaya bebe ka narna le chadha
दस मास रे बीरा गोद खिलाया बेबे का नरणा ले चढ़ा
Apni bebe ne main bandi ri lyadoon bade sajan ki dhiyadi
अपनी बेबे ने मैं बांदी री ल्यादू बड़े सजन की धीयड़ी,
Das mas re bhatija god khilaya buwa ka narna le chadha
दस मास रे भतीजा गोद खिलाया बुवा का नरणा ले चढ़ा

Apni buwa ne main bandi ri ladoon bade sajan ki dhiyadi
अपनी बुवा ने मैं बांदी री ल्यादू बड़े सजन की धीयड़ी

Das mas re beta lad ladaya dadi ka narna le chadha
दस मास रे बेटा लाड़ लड़ाया दादी का नरणा ले चढ़ा

Apni dadi ne main bandi ri lyadoon bade sajan ki dhiyadi
अपनी दादी ने मैं बांदी री ल्यादू बड़े सजन की धीयड़ी

In this song the mother, sisters, aunts, etc. of the bridegroom remind him about their services to him and request him that he should not forget them after marriage and the groom promises to repay for their past services.

Translation

Mother :— O my son ! I carried your burden in my womb for 10 months. Now sit on the horse and my blessings be with you.
Bridegroom :— O my mother ! I will bring a maid for you. My wife, who is daughter of a big man.
Sister :— O my brother ! I carried you in my lap for ten months. Now you sit on the horse and my blessings be with you.
Bridegroom :— O my sister ! I will bring a maid for you. My wife, who is daughter of a big man.
Father's sister :— O my nephew, you played in my lap for ten months. Now you sit on the horse and my blessings be with you.
Bridegroom :— O my aunt ! I will bring a maid for you My wife, who is daughter of a big man.
Father's mother :— O my grandson ! I gave you all my love for 10 months. Now sit on the horse and my blessings be with you.
Bridegroom :— O my grandmother ! I will bring a maid for you. My wife, who is daughter of a big man.

Song (7)

Song sung by friends of the barat at the time of the reception of the barat.

Jalebi ras ki bhari sain, hai hamare ladoo danedar
जलेबी रस की भरी सैं, हैं हमारे लड्डू दानेदार
Pati mera byahvana chadh gaya, he hathan main hari kitab
पति मेरा ब्याह्वण चढ़ गया, है हाथन में हरी किताब,
Pati barauthi pe aye hain, manne mangal gaye do char
पति बरीठी पे आए हैं मन्ने मंगल गए दो चार
Pati pheron par aya hai, baman ne poor diva chab
पति फेरों पर आया है, बामन ने पूर दिया 'चाक'
Pati bida par aya hai, babul ne job liye heath
पति बिदा पर आया है, बाबुल ने जोड़ लिये हाथ
Dan ke lakh de diye hain baithan ne havaiahaz
दान के लाख दे दिये हैं बैठन ने हवाई जहाज
Jahaz main baith laye soo main utri sasur ke bar
जहाज में बैठ लई सूं मैं उतरी ससुर के बार

Saas meri taran aai hai, he bahu khale khand kasar

सास मेरी तारन आई है, हे बहु खाले खांड कसार

Saas Gehun ke mande ri ri urda hi raand de dal

सास गेहूँ के माँड़े री री उड़वा की राँद दे दाल

Saas to yo hi khaqiriri aayon ka yoh hi vyovhar

सस तो यो ही खागीरी आयों का योह ही व्योवहार

Translation

Jalebi is full of syrup and the laddoos are delicious,

My husband has come to marry me, carrying a book in his hands.

My husband has come for *baraauthi*, I render a few couplets,

My husband has come for *phere* the Brahmin has made all arrangements.

Now my husband has come to take me away and father has folded hands in farewell.

After giving lots of money in dowry and an aeroplane to go in. I came to my mother-in-law's house in the aeroplane and the mother-in-law came out to receive me and offered me sweets.

My mother-in-law cooks wheat flour chapatis and cooks a pulse.

O my mother-in-law I shall eat these, for such is the tradition amongst the Aryans.

Song 8

The following song is usually sung by the womenfolk of the household of the bride at the time of *baraauthi* when the bridegroom garlands his bride. It is supposed to be sung by the bride which she invokes her would-be groom to take her to his place at the earliest.

Tune ghar rakhwali kaun chhori re banne ?

तूने घर रखवाली कौन छोड़ी रे बन्ने ?

Ghar rakhwali amma chhori ri banni

घर रखवाली अम्मा छोड़ी री बन्नी।

Oo to khave lutave ghar kho de re banne

ऊ तो खावे लुटावे घर खो दे रे बन्ने,

Mujhe jaldi bida kar le re banne

मुझे जल्दी बिदा कर ले रे बन्ने।

Jorun re jangodu thora khaun hum banne

जोड़ रे जंगोड़ थोड़ा खाऊँ हूँ बन्ने,

Mujhe jaldi bida kar le re banne

मुझे जल्दी बिदा कर ले रे बन्ने।

Translation

She : "Whom have you left your house, O groom?"

He : "My mother is looking after the house, O bride, "

She : "Oh she is too extravagant and we may lose the house,

So dear hurry up and take me home at the earliest,

I eat very little and I shall save a lot for you,

So dear ! hurry up and take me home at the earliest".

Song (9)

This song is usually sung at the time of *baraauthi* by the friends of the bride, and is addressed to bridegroom at the time of *baraauthi*. In this they mock at the bridegroom (of course, in good faith).

Deson ke badmas bagh me aya kyon

देसों के बदमास बाग में आया क्यों

Ke ye bagh janana bistar laya kyon

के यह बाग जनाना बिस्तर लाया क्यों.

Tenne tore girri chkhare tenne udham machaya kyon

तन्ने तोड़े गिरी छुझारे तन्ने ऊधम मचाया क्यों

Deson ke badmas bagh me aya kyon

देसों के बदमास बाग में आया क्यों

Mai gai thi madersse padhne gail meri tu aya kyon

मैं गई थी मदरसे पढ़ने गैल मेरी तू आया क्यों

Mere phode kalam dawat, bakheri meri syahi

मेरे फोड़े कलम दवात, बखेरी मेरी स्वाही

Deson ke badmas bagh main aya kyon

देसों के बदमास बाग में आया क्यों

Translation

O, you rogue of the countryside ! why have you come to the garden ?

Can't you see this is a garden for females and yet you have come to stay here ?

You have plucked lots of fruits and flowers and have played havoc.

O, you rogue of the countryside ! why have you come to the garden ?

I was going to school, why did you follow me there ?

You broke my inkpot and pen and scattered all my ink.

O, you rogue of the countryside ! why have you come to the garden ?

Song (10)

Song sung by females of the bridegroom's household at place during marriage at lagan.

Banne ke sasural te yuh joda ayo re

बन्ने के सुसराल ते यो जोड़ा आयो रे

Pehro pehro heere lal, banna mera kyon sharmaya re.

पहरो पहरो हीरे लाल, बन्ना मेरा क्यों शरमाया रे

Banne ke sasural te yuh hasla ayo re,

बन्ने के सुसराल ते यो हसला आयो रे,

Pehro pehro heere lal, banna mera kyon sharmaya re.

पहरो पहरो हीरे लाल, बन्ना मेरा क्यों शरमाया रे

Banne ke sasural te yuh cycle aai re.

बन्ने के सुसराल ते यो साइकिल आई रे,

Chadho chadho heere lal, banna mera kyon sharmaya re.

चढ़ो चढ़ो हीरे लाल, बन्ना मेरा क्यों शरमाया रे

Banne ke sasural te yuh banni aai re.

बन्ने के सुसराल ते यो बन्नी आई रे

Byaho byaho heere lal, mera banna kyon sharmaya re.

ब्याहो ब्याहो हीरे लाल, मेरा बन्ना क्यों शरमाया रे

Banne ke sasural.....

बन्ने के सुसराल.....

Translation

This set of clothes has come from groom's in-laws.

O groom ! our jewel ! wear it, why do you feel shy ?

This *hasla* has come from the groom's in-laws,

O groom ! our jewel ! wear it, why do you feel shy ?

This Cycle has come from the groom's in-laws,

O groom ! our jewel ! ride it, why do you feel shy ?

This bride has come from the groom's in-laws,

Oh groom ! our jewel ! marry her, marry her, why do feel shy ?

Song (11)

The following song is sung by females at the time of *bida* ceremony of the bride. It is supposedly sung by her father, who asks her to wish for anything she likes and she in return says that she has already got everything she wanted.

"Lado maangan hai so maang, Ram rath haank diye"

लाड़ो मांगन है सो मांग, राम रथ हांक दिये !

"Maine mangi Kaushlya si saas, sasur raja Dashrath se"

मैंने मांगी कौशल्या सी सास, सुसर राजा दशरथ से ॥

Maine var maange Shri Ram, devar chhote Lachman

मैंने बर मांगें श्री राम, देवर छोटे लक्ष्मण ।

Maine maanga Ajudhya ka raaj, Ganga ji maangi nahane ko".

मैंने मांगा अजुध्या का राज, गंगा जी मांगी नहाने को ।

Translation

They : "O bride! ask for anything you like, for the lord Rama* is about to begin his ride".

Bride : "I want mother-in-law like Kaushlya¹ and father-in-law like king Dashratha,²

Husband like Lord Rama and devar like Laxmana,³

I ask for the kingdom of Ayudhya⁴ and the Ganges for bathing in."

Song (12)

The following song is sung by the females of the bridegroom's household at the time of his *gauna*, in which they urge him to be watchful of his bride as she may tend to dominate him.

Chhora rahio re hushiar, ghar men raj lugai ka

छोरा रहियो रे हुशियार, घर में राज लुगाई का

Jab pahile bahuria ayi, ta ne roti ki thehrai

जब पहिले बहुड़िया आई, ता ने रोटी की ठहराई

Va ne tori tava parat, rada kara ladaika

वा ने तोड़ी तवा परात रादा करा लड़ाई का,

Jab dooje bahuria ayi, va ne pani layan-thehrai

जब दूजे बहुड़िया आई, वा ने पानी लयाण ठहराई

Va ne phore handia mat, rada kara ladai ka

वा ने फोड़े हंडिया माट, रादा करा लड़ाई का

Jab teeje bahuria ayi, va ne pisan ki thehrai

जब तीजे बहुड़िया आई, वा ने पीसन की ठहराई

Va ne tore dono pat, rada kara ladai ka

वा ने तोड़े दोनों पाट, रादा करा लड़ाई का

Chhora rahio re hushiar, ghar main raj lugai ka,

छोरा रहियो रे हुशियार घर में राज लुगाई का

*refers to the groom

1, 2, 3 characters from the Ramayana.

⁴the capital of the kingdom of King Dashratha.

Translation

O youngman! be watchful lest your wife dominate the household.

When she came for the first time, she agreed to cook, but she broke all the utensils and was bent upon picking quarrel.

When she came for the second time, she agreed to fetch water, but she broke all the pitchers and was bent upon picking quarrel.

When she came for the third time, she agreed to grind flour, but she broke the grinding wheels and was bent upon picking quarrel.

So youngman ! be watchful, lest your wife dominate the household.

Song (13)

The following song may be sung at any time during marriage. The song in a way depicts the joking relationship between a person and his wife's sister.

Kursi pe jeeja baitha jar me chhoti saali

कुर्सी पर जीजा बैठा जड़ में छोटी साली

Baitho baitho sain chalave ke samjhe ghar wali

बैठो बैठो सन चलावे के समझ घरवाली

Na saali pe sain chalavon, na samjhoon ghar wali

ना साली पे सन चलावूँ, ना समझूँ घर वाली

O' tere roop ko dekh ke saali, chhor dai ghar wali.

ओ, तेरे रूप को देख कर साली, छोड़ दई घरवाली

Translation

Brother-in-law is sitting on a chair and his wife's sister is sitting nearby.

He commands her to do this and do that, as if she is his wife.

He, "I neither command over you, O' saali" nor do I take you for my wife.

But I have so much fallen for your beauty that I have left my wife for you."

Song (14)

Shahr men dhoom dham hui yeh kis ki shaadi hai.

शहर में धूम धाम हुई यह किस की शादी है

Banne ke dada se poochho banne ki dadi se poochho

बन्ने के दादा से पूछो बन्ने की दादी से पूछो

Unhone hanskar farmaya, hamare pote ki shaadi hai

उन्होंने हंसकर फरमाया, हमारे पोते की शादी है

Shahr men dhoom dham hui yeh kis ki shaadi hai

शहर में धूम धाम हुई यह किस की शादी है

Banne ki mata se poochho, Banne ke pita se poochho

बन्ने की माता से पूछो, बन्ने के पिता से पूछो

Unhone hanskar farmaya hamare bete ki shaadi hai

उन्होंने हंसकर फरमाया हमारे बेटे की शादी है

Shahr men dhoom dham hui yeh kis ki shaadi hai

शहर में धूम धाम हुई यह किस की शादी है

Banne ke tau se poochho, banne ki tai se poochho

बन्ने के ताऊ से पूछो, बन्ने की ताई से पूछो,

Unhone hanskar farmaya hamare bhatije ki shaadi hai

उन्होंने हंसकर फरमाया, हमारे भतीजे की शादी है

Shahr men dhoom dham hui yeh kis ki shaadi hai

शहर में धूम धाम हुई यह किस की शादी है

Banne ke bhai se poochho, banne ke behena se poochho

बन्ने के भाई से पूछो, बन्ने की बहना से पूछो

Unhone hanskar farmaya, hamare bhai ki shaadi hai

उन्होंने हंसकर फरमाया, हमारे भाई की शादी है

Translation

There is lot of festivity in the city, whose marriage is it ? Ask the groom's paternal grand parents They smilingly replied that it is their grandson's marriage.

There is lot of festivity in the city, whose marriage is it ? Ask the groom's mother, ask the groom's father. They smilingly replied that it is their son's marriage.

There is lot of festivity in the city, whose marriage is it ? Ask the groom's uncle, ask the Groom's aunt. They smilingly replied that it is their nephew's marriage.

There is lot of festivity in the city, whose marriage is it ? Ask the groom's brother, ask the groom's sister. They smilingly replied that it is their brother's marriage.

Song (15)

After the birth of a child, the mother is given wholesome and nourishing food for several days to recoup the loss of her energy. The song by other ladies in the household depicts the mother's attitude toward others, who come and ask her to share the food with her.

Mera baras main badhna susra nyu kahe

मेरा बरस में बढ़ता सुसरा न्यु कहे

Bahu ek ladua hamen do, ladua charchari soonth ka

बहू एक लड्डू हमें दो, लड्डू चरचरी सूँठ का

Susur phodon to dukhe meri aangli

ससुर फोड़ों तो दुखे मेरी आंगली

Sasura saabat diya na jai, ladua charchari soonth ka.

ससुर साबुत दिया न जाये, लड्डू चरचरी सूँठ का

Mera dharh kadhta jeth nyoh kahe

मेरा धार कड़ता जेठ न्यु कहे

Bahu ek ladua hamne do, ladua charchari soonth ka

बहू एक लडुआ हमने दो, लडुआ चरचरी सूँठ का

Jetha phodun to dukhe meri aangli

जेठा फोड़ू तो दुखे मेरी आंगली

Jetha saabat diya na jai ladua charchari soonth ka

जेठा साबत दिया ना जाये लडुआ चरचरी सूँठ का

Mera gend khelata devar nyoh keh

मेरा गेंद खेलता देवर न्यु कहे

Bhavaj ek ladua hamne do, ladua charchari soonth ka

भावज एक लडुआ हमने दो, लडुआ चरचरी सूँठ का

Dewar phodun to dukhe meri aangli

देवर फोड़ू तो दुखे मेरी आंगली

Dewar saabat diya na jai, ladua charchari soonth ka

देवर साबत दिया न जाये, लडुआ चरचरी सूँठ का

Mera sej chadhta kantha nyoh keh

मेरा सेज चढ़ता कन्था न्यु कहे

Gori ek ladua hamne do, ladua charchari soonth ka

गोरी एक लडुआ हमने दो, लडुआ चरचरी सूँठ का

*Piya kothri bhitari jhankhara thara man mane jab khao
ladua charchari soonth ka*

पीया कोठरी भीतर झंकरा थारा मन माने जब खाओ लडुआ चरचरी सूँठ का

Translation

My ageing father-in-law says, Oh daughter-in-law ! give me one of the delicious laddoos.
Oh father-in-law! my fingers would ache if I break a laddoo, and I cannot afford to give whole laddoo to you.

The elder brother of my husband says, O sister-in-law ! give me one of the delicious laddoos.
Oh brother-in-law, my fingers would ache if I break a laddoo, and I cannot afford to give a whole laddoo to you.

The naughty younger brother of my husband says, Oh sister-in-law, give me one of the delicious laddoos.

Oh brother-in-law ! my finger would ache if I break it, and I cannot afford to give a whole laddoo to you.

My handsome and proud husband says "Oh my darling, give me one of the delicious laddoos".

Oh dear there is a basket full of laddoos in the store room, take as many as you like.

Song (16)

A song sung by females during Dulhendi in which they wail about some one male having sprinkled colour over their clothes and remind him that they will not rest until they are compensated by them.

Kinne to mari pichkari, meri saari bigar gai sari

किन्ने तो मारी पिचकारी, मेरी साड़ी बिगड़ गई सारी

Saari ke badle loongi saari aur loongi bel kinari

साड़ी के बदले लूंगी साड़ी और लूंगी बेल किनारी

Susu sunegi, sasura sunega, jo sunega dega galli

ससु सुनेगी, ससुरा सुनेगा, जो सुनेगा देगा गाली

Saari ke badle loongi saari aur loongi bel kinari

साड़ी के बदले लूंगी साड़ी और लूंगी बेल किनारी

Translation

"Who has sprinkled colour with syringe and spoiled my sari,

I shall not only take a new sari but take a better one.

My mother-in-law, father-in-law, or anybody who knows about my spoiled sari will rebuke me.

So I shall not only take a new sari but take a better one.

APPENDIX II
Glossary of Native Terms

<i>Aakhsand</i>	A local bush
<i>Aam</i>	Mango
<i>Abadi</i>	Habitation
<i>Achaar</i>	Pickle
<i>Ajwain</i>	A spice
<i>Alu</i>	Potato
<i>Amavas</i>	Monthly new moon day
<i>Amrood</i>	Guava
<i>Angithi</i>	Hearth
<i>Aperation</i>	Operation
<i>Apharna</i>	Swelling
<i>Arati</i>	Ceremony of worship
<i>Arthi</i>	Funeral bier
<i>Asari</i>	Kharif, rainy season crop.
<i>Baan</i>	Ceremonial oil baths given to both bride and groom before marriage
<i>Baankhli</i>	Boiled gram or wheat or peas with salt
<i>Bachhra</i>	Bull youngstock
<i>Bachhiya</i>	Cow youngstock
<i>Badhiya karna</i>	Sterilisation of livestock
<i>Badi</i>	First fortnight of a Hindu month
<i>Bahi</i>	Family register
<i>Baithak</i>	Men's quarters or sitting room
<i>Bail-gadi</i>	Bullock cart
<i>Bail-tanga</i>	Lighter bullock cart
<i>Bajra</i>	A kind of millet
<i>Bakas</i>	A wooden box
<i>Baksa</i>	A wooden box
<i>Balad</i>	A bullock
<i>Balti</i>	A bucket
<i>Bandobast</i>	Settlement
<i>Baniyan</i>	An undergarment, vest
<i>Banjar</i>	Land left fallow or waste land
<i>Banwara</i>	Period during which ceremonial oil baths are given to bride and groom
<i>Bara or bari</i>	Big, elder
<i>Baras</i>	Year
<i>Barat</i>	Marriage party
<i>Barat lena</i>	Reception of the marriage party
<i>Barish</i>	Rains
<i>Barsana</i>	Winnowing

<i>Barothi</i>	A ceremony during marriage
<i>Basant Panchmi</i>	A festival
<i>Basj</i>	Stale
<i>Basora</i>	A local festival
<i>Batoora</i>	A heap of dried cow-dung cakes.
<i>Beesion</i>	Scores
<i>Bejhar</i>	Mixture of wheat, barley and peas
<i>Belan</i>	A wooden roller for preparing chapatis
<i>Beri</i>	A local bush
<i>Bewa</i>	A widow
<i>Bhajan</i>	Devotional song
<i>Bhajan Mandli</i>	A group of devotional song singers
<i>Bhat</i>	Gifts given to both bride and groom by their respective mother's brother at the time of marriage
<i>Bhains</i>	Buffalo
<i>Bhainsa-gadi</i>	He buffalo cart
<i>Bhatti</i>	Oven
<i>Bheli</i>	Cake of <i>gur</i> weighing 2½ seers
<i>Bhoomi</i>	Land
<i>Bhoomidar</i>	Land-owner
<i>Bhoot</i>	Evil spirits
<i>Bida</i>	Farewell to the wedding party
<i>Bigha</i>	A unit of land 4·8 bighas equal to 1 acre.
<i>Bijar</i>	A bull
<i>Billi</i>	A cat
<i>Bishaili</i>	Poisonous
<i>Bohna</i>	Pregnancy of a buffalo
<i>Boonga</i>	A structure used for storing wheat, barley & chaff for feeding cattle
<i>Bum</i>	A big circular drum
<i>Bund</i>	Embankment, dam
<i>Byah</i>	Marriage
<i>Byah gai</i>	Littering of an animal
<i>Byah nikalna</i>	Ceremony of fixing date for marriage
<i>Byaj</i>	Rate of interest
<i>Chabutra</i>	A platform
<i>Chaddar</i>	A shawl
<i>Chai</i>	Tea
<i>Chak</i>	Stone wheel
<i>Chakla</i>	A wooden plate for preparing chapatis
<i>Chalni</i>	A sieve
<i>Chamcha</i>	A spoon
<i>Chapati</i>	A thin wheat cake of unleavend flour
<i>Chappal</i>	Sandals
<i>Charpai</i>	A string cot
<i>Chaumasa</i>	Rainy season
<i>Chaupal</i>	Common sitting room
<i>Chowkidar</i>	Village watchman

<i>Chini</i>	Sugar
<i>Chita</i>	Funeral pyre
<i>Chori</i>	Glass bangle
<i>Choori pehnana</i>	Widow remarriage
<i>Chuchi</i>	Nipple
<i>Chuchi pesna</i>	Symbolic sucking of mother's breast by groom at the time of marriage
<i>Chhachh</i>	Butter-milk
<i>Chhan jana</i>	Abortion of a cow or buffalo
<i>Chhaira</i>	Sour first milk yield of a cow or buffalo
<i>Chheta dharna</i>	A visit to the bride's place for fixing the date of gauna ceremony
<i>Chhora</i>	Boy, son
<i>Chhori</i>	Girl, daughter
<i>Chhoti</i>	Younger, small, smaller
<i>Daant</i>	Teeth
<i>Dahej</i>	Dowry
<i>Dahi</i>	Curd
<i>Dai</i>	Untrained midwife
<i>Dakshina</i>	Ritual remuneration to purohits
<i>Daliya</i>	Porridge
<i>Dan</i>	Charity
<i>Daranti</i>	A sickle
<i>Dari</i>	Carpet
<i>Dasauthan</i>	A child born after long prayers and wishes
<i>Devi</i>	Goddess
<i>Devta</i>	God
<i>Dharma</i>	Religion
<i>Dhobi</i>	Washerman
<i>Dhoti</i>	A garment
<i>Dihiya</i>	Tin lamp
<i>Din</i>	Day
<i>Diwali</i>	A festival
<i>Diya or Diva</i>	An earthen lamp
<i>Doodh</i>	Milk
<i>Doodhiya</i>	Milk vendor
<i>Dukan</i>	A shop
<i>Dulha</i>	Bridegroom
<i>Dulhan</i>	Bride
<i>Gadha</i>	A donkey
<i>Gahai</i>	Thrashing of corn stalks
<i>Gai</i>	Cow
<i>Gana</i>	Song
<i>Ganga</i>	The Ganges
<i>Gandhavar</i>	Brass metal plates
<i>Gaon</i>	Village
<i>Gau char</i>	Cattle grazer

<i>Gauna</i>	Consummation of marriage
<i>Geet</i>	Song
<i>Gehua</i>	Jewellery-ornament
<i>Gehun</i>	Wheat
<i>Ghaam</i>	Sun shine
<i>Ghagra</i>	Skirt like garment
<i>Ghar</i>	Residential structure
<i>Ghara</i>	Pitcher
<i>Ghee</i>	Clarified butter
<i>Gher</i>	Cattle shed
<i>Ghur charhi</i>	Ceremonial ride on mare's back by groom during marriage
<i>Gias</i>	Eleventh
<i>Gilas</i>	Tumbler
<i>Gobar</i>	Cow dung
<i>Gochani</i>	Mixture of wheat and gram
<i>Gojara</i>	Mixture of wheat and barley
<i>Goli</i>	Tablet
<i>Got, Gotra</i>	Non localized patrilineal clan
<i>Gular</i>	Red oxide powder thrown at Holi
<i>Gur</i>	Jaggery
<i>Gyabhan</i>	Pregnancy of a cow
<i>Hakim</i>	Medical practitioner (unani)
<i>Hal</i>	Plough
<i>Halas</i>	Wooden beam of the plough
<i>Hali</i>	Ploughman
<i>Halva</i>	A sweet dish made of wheat flour, sugar or gur and ghee
<i>Handi</i>	Earthen pot for boiling milk
<i>Harat</i>	Persian wheel
<i>Harya</i>	Violent type of cow
<i>Havan</i>	Fire hole
<i>Holey</i>	Parched green grams
<i>Holi</i>	A festival
<i>Hookah</i>	Hubble-bubble
<i>Ishwar</i>	God
<i>Faith</i>	Hindu Month
<i>Faith-ka-Dussehra</i>	A festival
<i>Fajman</i>	Patron
<i>Fajmani</i>	Patronage
<i>Famin</i>	Land
<i>Famun</i>	Black berries
<i>Fanam Ashmi</i>	A festival
<i>Fantri</i>	Astrological book
<i>Fap</i>	Chanting of hymn
<i>Fara</i>	Winter
<i>Fati</i>	Caste
<i>Fau</i>	Barley

<i>Jaydad</i>	Property
<i>Jhar phoonh</i>	Enchantment
<i>Jahaura</i>	A weight used for thrashing of corns
<i>Jh uny</i>	Near mature buffalo young stock
<i>Jote</i>	Testicals
<i>Jotna</i>	Ploughing
<i>Jurabs</i>	Socks
<i>Juti</i>	Local laceless shoes
<i>Kaaj</i>	Ceremonial feast after death of an old man
<i>Kabai</i>	Constipation
<i>Kadchi</i>	A metallic ladle
<i>Kajal</i>	Lamp soot
<i>Kala</i>	Black
<i>Kamin</i>	Menial servant, worker
<i>Kamiz</i>	Long flouring full sleeved shirt
<i>Kanagat</i>	Annual ritual of honouring the dead.
<i>Kanoon</i>	Law
<i>Kanya Dan</i>	Ceremony during marriage
<i>Kapre aana</i>	Menstruation
<i>Kapre dhutna</i>	Stopping of menstruation
<i>Karahi</i>	Iron frying pan
<i>Kareva</i>	Marriage with deceased husband's younger brother
<i>Karha</i>	Boiled mixture
<i>Kari</i>	Wooden beam
<i>Kaarvi roti</i>	Ceremonial bitter bread
<i>Kaarua Ghauth</i>	A festival
<i>Kassa</i>	Big knife used for harvesting sugarcane
<i>Katiya</i>	Buffalo young stock
<i>Katora</i>	Big metal cup
<i>Katori</i>	Small metal cup
<i>Kaum</i>	Caste
<i>Ketli</i>	Kettle
<i>Khad</i>	Manure
<i>Khadar</i>	Coarse cloth
<i>Kharif</i>	Rainy season crop
<i>Khrsa</i>	Summer
<i>Khatia</i>	A string cot
<i>Khatta</i>	Refuse dump
<i>Khees</i>	First milk yield of an animal.
<i>Khet</i>	Field
<i>Khichri</i>	Hotch-potch
<i>Khur</i>	A pudding made of rice, milk and sugar or gur.
<i>Kaoondi</i>	A mould for making earthenwares
<i>Khurpa</i>	A small scraper
<i>Khurpi</i>	A scraper
<i>Kirya</i>	Cremation ceremony
<i>Kran</i>	Agriculturist, cultivator

<i>Kohlu</i>	Cane crusher
<i>Koyla</i>	Coal
<i>Kuan</i>	Well
<i>Kuchha</i>	Under-wear
<i>Kunba</i>	Extended family
<i>Kumhar</i>	Potter
<i>Kursi</i>	Chair
<i>Kurta</i>	Long flouring collarless full sleeved shirt.
<i>Kutta</i>	Dog
<i>Laddoo</i>	A sweetmeat
<i>Lagan</i>	Formal reminder of wedding day.
<i>Lakri</i>	Wood
<i>Laltain</i>	Hurricane lantern
<i>Lambardar</i>	Previously a village headman responsible for collection of revenue.
<i>Lehnga</i>	Skirt.
<i>Linga</i>	Cylindrical stone representing Shiva.
<i>Larka</i>	Boy, son
<i>Larki</i>	Girl, daughter
<i>Maan-taan</i>	Token offering of money, by bride's father to groom's relations as a mark of respect.
<i>Machuka</i>	A net tied around the mouths of bullocks.
<i>Makkhai</i>	Maize
<i>Makar-sharant</i>	A festival
<i>Manas</i>	A person
<i>Mandha</i>	Special structure for marriage ceremony.
<i>Mandi</i>	Marketing place
<i>Mandir</i>	Temple
<i>Markhani</i>	Violent
<i>Masur</i>	A pulse
<i>Mantra</i>	Incantation
<i>Mata</i>	Local deity
<i>Matar</i>	Peas
<i>Mauli</i>	Ceremonial thread
<i>Maur</i>	Cermonial headgear of a groom
<i>Meethe chawal</i>	Sweetened rice
<i>Mehra</i>	A wooden leveller
<i>Mez</i>	Table
<i>Milni</i>	Reception of wedding party
<i>Mohurrir</i>	A clerk
<i>Moodha</i>	A reed chair
<i>Moosa</i>	Rat
<i>Mool</i>	Stars
<i>Munh</i>	Face
<i>Munh dikhana</i>	Ceremonial viewing of bride's face by groom's relatives
<i>Mung</i>	A pulse
<i>Mut laindi</i>	Urine ball
<i>Naal</i>	Hollowed piece of bamboo

<i>Nai</i>	Barber
<i>Nahar</i>	Canal
<i>Nain</i>	A plough used for sowing
<i>Nalai</i>	Weeding
<i>Namkaran sanskar</i>	Naming ceremony
<i>Narak</i>	Hell
<i>Nauratha</i>	Ninth
<i>Neech</i>	Low
<i>Neela</i>	Blue
<i>Neem</i>	A tree
<i>Neota</i>	Offering of money by friends and relatives at the time of marriage.
<i>Nikasa</i>	A disease amongst cattle
<i>Odhna</i>	A veil
<i>Osar</i>	Near mature cow young stock
<i>Pair</i>	A place where thrashing operations are carried out
<i>Pairi</i>	Heap of corn stalks.
<i>Palauthi</i>	First child
<i>Palendi</i>	Barthen stand for keeping pitchers
<i>Pandit</i>	Purohit (Brahmin)
<i>Pani</i>	Water
<i>Pap</i>	Sin
<i>Parat</i>	Brass plate for kneading flour
<i>Patal</i>	Internal region
<i>Patila</i>	Metal pot for preparing curries
<i>Patili</i>	Metal pot for preparing curries.
<i>Patra</i>	Ceremonial sitting board.
<i>Patwari</i>	A revenue official
<i>Phawara</i>	Spade
<i>Pyaz</i>	Onion
<i>Rehat</i>	Persian wheel
<i>Rehra</i>	Wheel cart
<i>Phere</i>	Ceremonial rounds around fire taken by the groom and bride.
<i>Phirna</i>	Abortion of a cow or buffalo
<i>Phool</i>	Flower
<i>Phool Chumna</i>	A ceremony during death
<i>Pila</i>	Yellow
<i>Pili Chithi</i>	A letter containing date of marriage sent by bride's father to the groom's family.
<i>Plate</i>	Saucer
<i>Pohonchi</i>	A festival
<i>Pooran masi</i>	Full moon day.
<i>Poori</i>	Fried pancake
<i>Pugree</i>	Turban
<i>Puli</i>	A bundle of corn stalks.
<i>Purohit</i>	A Brahmin who officiates over social ceremonies.
<i>Pyaz</i>	Onion

<i>Pyjama</i>	Trousers
<i>Rasabri</i>	Thickened milk, a preparation made of churned curd and flour
<i>Raat</i>	Night
<i>Rabbar</i>	Condom
<i>Rabi</i>	Winter crop
<i>Rambhna</i>	Mowing by cow
<i>Rasam</i>	Ceremony
<i>Rasai</i>	Quilt
<i>Rehat</i>	Persian wheel
<i>Rehra</i>	Horse driven carriage
<i>Rengana</i>	Mowing by a buffalo
<i>Rivaj</i>	Custom
<i>Roti</i>	Bread
<i>Rookha Sookha</i>	Simple
<i>Rona-dhona</i>	Weeping, mourning
<i>Saafa</i>	Turban
<i>Saal</i>	Year
<i>Sabun</i>	Soap
<i>Sabzi</i>	Vegetable
<i>Sagai</i>	Betrothal ceremony
<i>Salono</i>	A festival
<i>Salwar</i>	Baggy trousers worn by females
<i>Sanp</i>	Snake
<i>Sapna</i>	Dream
<i>Saptami</i>	Seventh day
<i>Sarson</i>	Mustard
<i>Savani</i>	Rabi, winter crop
<i>Saviyan</i>	A preparation
<i>Saukal</i>	Jet black
<i>Seedha</i>	Uncooked food.
<i>Seh</i>	Natural spacing of females.
<i>Sham</i>	Evening
<i>Shadi</i>	Marriage
<i>Shakhar</i>	Brown sugar
<i>Shamlat</i>	Common land
<i>Shamsan</i>	Crematorium
<i>Shishe ka glass</i>	Glass tumbler
<i>Shiv ratri</i>	A festival
<i>Shlok</i>	Verse
<i>Sua</i>	Injection
<i>Sui</i>	Needle
<i>Surma</i>	Collyrium
<i>Swaraj</i>	Heaven
<i>Tarke</i>	Early morning
<i>Tave</i>	Iron plate for cooking chapatis.
<i>Teej</i>	A festival
<i>Teharmi</i>	Thirteenth day

<i>Tel charhana</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Applying of oil upwards during ceremonial oil baths.
<i>Tal uarna</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Applying of oil downwards during ceremonial oil baths.
<i>Than</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Tests.
<i>Thekha</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Receptable for storing food grains.
<i>Tiel</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Set of clothes.
<i>Tihka</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Mark applied on forehead.
<i>Tonkni</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Metal pitcher,
<i>Tooh jana</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Abortion of cow or buffalo,
<i>Toori</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Straw.
<i>Topi</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Cap,
<i>Uple</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Cow dung cakes.
<i>Ubtan</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Lubricant paste for ceremonial oil baths.
<i>Urad</i>	.	.	.	.	.	A pulse,
<i>Vaid</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Medical Practitioner (Ayurvedic).
<i>Yamraj</i>	.	.	.	.	.	God of death.
<i>Zamindar</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Landlord,
<i>Zamindari</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Landownership,

IX III
Glossary of Kinship Terms

Relationship	Local terms	Relationship	Local Terms
Father's father's father	<i>Perdadi/Perbaba</i>	Brother's son	<i>Bhatija</i>
Father's father's mother	<i>Perdadi</i>	Elder brother's wife	<i>Bari Bhabhi</i>
Father's father	<i>Dada/Baba</i>	Younger brother's wife	<i>Chhoti Bhabhi</i>
Father's mother	<i>Dadi</i>	Elder sister's husband	<i>Jija</i>
Father's elder brother	<i>Tau</i>	Younger sister's husband wife	<i>Jija Gharwali or Bihani</i>
Father's younger brother	<i>Chacha or Kaka</i>	Husband	<i>Gharwala or Marad</i>
Father's elder sister	<i>Phophi</i>	Wife's elder brother	<i>Sala</i>
Father's younger sister	<i>Phophi</i>	Wife's elder brother's wife	<i>Salaij</i>
Father's elder brother's wife	<i>Tai</i>	Husband's elder brother	<i>Jaiih</i>
Father's younger brother's wife	<i>Chachi or kaki</i>	Husband's elder brother's wife	<i>Jaihani</i>
Father's elder sister's husband	<i>Phophi</i>	Wife's elder sister	<i>Sali</i>
Father's younger sister's husband	<i>Phophi</i>	Wife's elder sister's husband	<i>Sarhoo</i>
Father	<i>Chacha/Dada</i>	Husband's elder sister	<i>Namad</i>
Mother	<i>Mam</i>	Husband's elder sister's husband	<i>Nandola</i>
Mother's father	<i>Nana</i>	Wife's younger brother	<i>Sala</i>
Mother's mother	<i>Nani</i>	Wife's younger brother's wife	<i>Salaij</i>
Mother's elder brother	<i>Mama</i>	Husband's younger brother	<i>Devor</i>
Mother's younger brother	<i>Mama</i>	Husband's younger brother's wife	<i>Devrami</i>
Mother's elder sister	<i>Mami</i>	Wife's younger sister	<i>Sali</i>
Mother's younger sister	<i>Mami</i>	Wife's younger sister's husband	<i>Sarhoo</i>
Mother's elder brother's wife	<i>Mami/Malen</i>	Husband's younger sister	<i>Nand</i>
Mother's younger brother's wife	<i>Mami/Malen</i>	Husband's younger sister's husband	<i>Nandola</i>
Elder brother	<i>Bara Bhai</i>	husband.	
Younger brother	<i>Chhota Bhai</i>	Brother's daughter	<i>Bhatiji</i>
Elder sister	<i>Bari Bhabhi</i>	Son's wife	<i>Bahoo</i>
Younger sister	<i>Chhoti Bhabhi</i>	Daughter's husband	<i>Jamai</i>
Wife's father	<i>Susra</i>	Son's son	<i>Pota</i>
Wife's mother	<i>Sasoo</i>	Son's daughter	<i>Poti</i>
Husband's father	<i>Susra</i>	Daughter's son	<i>Dheota</i>
Husband's mother	<i>Sasoo</i>	Daughter's daughter	<i>Dheoti</i>
Son	<i>Beta</i>		
Daughter	<i>Bei</i>		

APPENDIX IV

List of Hindu Months

Months

Chait
 Baisakh
 Jyesth
 Asar
 Savan
 Bhadon
 Asauj
 Kartik
 Aghain
 Poh
 Magh
 Phagun

Months

March—April
 April—May
 May—June
 June—July
 July—August
 August—September
 September—October
 October—November
 November—December
 December—January
 January—February
 February—March

APPENDIX V

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF VILLAGES

(A. HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE)

IDENTIFICATION

1. VILLAGE _____
2. HOUSEHOLD No. _____
3. Name of the head _____
4. Father's/Husband's name _____
5. Occupation _____
6. Religion _____
7. Caste _____
8. Whether born in the village Yes/No
9. If no, state from which migrated _____

10. Reasons for migration:

11. The year of migration _____

[illegible]

S. No.	Present occupation	Father's occupation

What are the reasons for change if any ? _____

What you wish your son to be ? _____

1. Do you own land ?
2. How much of it is under cultivation ?
3. Have you given any on crop share ?
4. Have you taken any on crop share ?

How did you acquire the land owned?

1. Ancestral,
2. Purchased,
- or
3. Secured under Bhoomidari.

Yes/No (If yes, Bighas)

(Bighas)

(If yes, Bighas)

(If yes, Bighas)

(Bighas)

(Bighas)

(Bighas)

LIVESTOCK

1. 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.
Bullocks		Young stock	
Camels		Bullocks	
Horses		Camels	
Donkeys		Horses	
Pigs		Donkeys	
Others (Specify)		Pigs	
		Others	
Total		Total	

HOUSE

- Do you own the house you are living in? Yes/No
- Type of house Kuccha/Pucca/Mixed.....
- Year of construction.....
- Is there a separate arrangement for cattle? Yes/No.....
- No. of Rooms in the house.....
- Ground Plan-rectangular, square, oval or circle
- Whether built on : stilts/platforms.....
- Whether built on high plinths Yes/No.....
- Building material for the wall :
- Building materials for the roof :
- Do you own a separate Baithak ?

INDUSTRY

Do you conduct any industry ? Yes/No

If Yes :— When did you start it?

- What are the products?
- (i) Sold in the village
- (ii) Sold in the Market
- Name the principal tools and implements in vogue
- When did you start it?
- Have you adopted any new tools or implements during the last 5 years. If so, give details

(1) 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	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 ? _____

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) Did you in any way, benefited from its activities? _____

5. Is there a N.E.S. Block in your area? Yes/No.

(a) 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 ? _____
- (d) Do you send your clothes to washerman ? Yes/No.
- (e) Do you use toilet soap/washing 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 NAME OF CASTES
persons of your household with persons of same social and economic status as yours but belonging to other 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 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 1960)? NUMBER
- (b) How the case confined? HOSPITAL/HEALTH CENTRE/HOME
If at home whether attended by DOCTOR/MIDWIFE/UNTRAINED
DAI/ELDERLY WOMAN IN THE FAMILY.
- (c) On what type of medical treatment the household usually depend? ALLOPATHIC/AYURVEDIC/ HOMOEOPATHIC.
- (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.)
Cereals				
1. Wheat				
2. Gram				
3. Wheat & Gram				
4. Barley				
5. Bajra				
6. Rice				
7. Pulses				
8. Others (Specify)				
Cash Crops				
1. Cotton				
2. Sugarcane				
3. Oil seeds				
4. Others (Specify)				
Vegetables and Fruits				
Fodder				
Total				
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 neighbourers at the time of sowing or harvesting? Yes/No
- (c) Do you assist your neighbourers and receive help at the time 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
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
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, 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 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 Roads —(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. Family

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 obligations 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, deatadhs etc.

Are there any auspicious days or months 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;

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 it ?

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 average 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 ? 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 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 ?

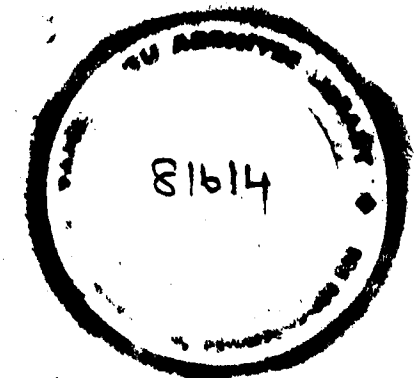
Are there any community or caste panchayats ? Give a brief account of their working.

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. Material Culture

What are the types of clothes, footwear, ornaments, food, utensils and furniture etc. generally used by the villagers ?

XIII. Some Attitude towards Developmental work, co-operative movement, joint farming, family planning, birth control etc.

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