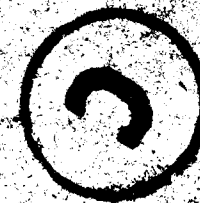


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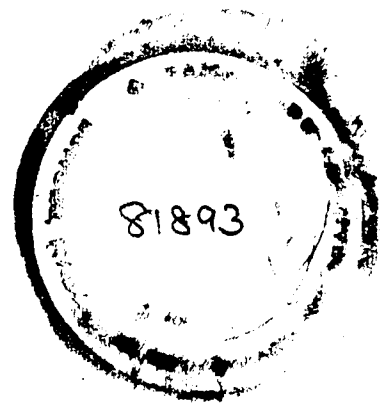
PART VI
VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

No. 1

DISTRICT—HOOGHLY
POLICE STATION—CHINSURAH
VILLAGE—KODALIA

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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

- (a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.*

INTRODUCTION

This is the first of a series of monographs, which are proposed to be published on the Socio-economic aspects of life in the villages of West Bengal. The monograph has been written on an analysis of the answers received to some questions which were put to every family residing in the village or mauza of Kodalia in the district of Hooghly. The questionnaire is reproduced as an appendix to this monograph.

The questionnaire was drafted in December 1959. In drafting it, the questionnaire drawn up by the Agro-Economic Research Centre, Visva-bharati, Santiniketan for surveys conducted by that Centre, was consulted. The draft questionnaire was sent to the Office of the Registrar General, India for approval and it assumed its present shape after certain modifications suggested by the Registrar General, had been incorporated.

It is intended to cover ultimately 50 villages. In selecting the villages for the survey, the following considerations will be taken into account:— (1) Some of the villages will be situated near urban areas to facilitate the study of the impact of urban areas on surrounding rural areas, (2) Some of the villages will be situated in the heart of rural areas for assessing how far modern ideas on living have penetrated to the rural areas, (3) Some of the villages will be inhabited predominantly by some occupational groups which are engaged in industries which are of importance to the district in which the village or villages are situated and (4) Some of the villages will be inhabited predominantly by members of some Scheduled Tribe or Scheduled Caste.

The number of villages to be selected in a district would depend on the proportion its rural area bears to the total rural area of West Bengal. The term village will mean the cadastral survey mauza.

Kodalia has been selected because it is situated on the outskirts of a town.

It is hoped that the manner in which the data have been analysed and presented will be of help to the reader in forming some idea of the rural way of life.

Shri Gour Chandra Bagchi, M.A., was the Investigator who carried out the field survey on the basis of the questionnaire. The survey was conducted during the period from 27-10-61 to 1-12-61.

I am indebted to Shri Ram Chandra Bhar, Printing Inspector, for going through the proofs.

*Calcutta,
3rd November, 1962*

*J. C. SENGUPTA,
Superintendent of Census Operations,
West Bengal & Sikkim
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State Editor, West Bengal District Gazetteers.*

CHAPTER I

THE mauza Kotalia bears the number 12 in the Jurisdiction List of the police station Chinsurah in the district of Hooghly in the Burdwan Division. Towards the south, lies the town of Hooghly-Chinsurah which contains a small part of the mauza itself. Hooghly-Chinsurah is the headquarters town of the district as also the Division. The important railway junction of Bandel on the Eastern Railway is situated at a small distance from it, to the north. The Grand Trunk Road runs along the east of the mauza. The main line of the Eastern Railway and the branch line to Naihati of the same Railway run through the mauza. The town of Chandernagore is situated at a distance of about two miles from it.

The village is thus within easy reach of two municipal towns and an important railway junction. Communication with the outside world may be established by electric train, ordinary trains pulled by steam locomotives and public buses. Cycle-rickshaws may be used for journeys involving comparatively short distances. The village is approachable by motorcars, only no one residing in it has got one.

The easy accessibility of the village from the outside and the existence of modern means of communication have enabled a number of the local residents to seek work in nearby towns or even in Calcutta. On every working day, they travel to and from their places of work either by electric train or by bus. Some among those whose places of work are situated in neighbouring towns perform their daily journeys to their places of work by bicycle.

The proximity to important urban centres has not converted the village into an extension of the town. The landscape is rural, with open fields, interspersed with tanks and vegetation. Although there is no wood to speak of, trees are not rare and the usual *peepul*, tamarind, the palm, the date-palm, the coconut palm, the rain tree, the *neem*

tree, the areca-nut tree, the mango, the jack-fruit, the black berry, the plum tree, *lichi* tree, the papaya tree and plantain tree may be seen either by the road side or in the fields. The ubiquitous bamboo is to be found in this village also. There is no fauna to speak of unless the jackal or fox is taken into account. Birds are not plentiful but the common varieties are met with.

A District Board metalled road runs through the mauza. The surface is not tarmacadamised and is dressed with shingles. One enters the village along this road, which takes off from the Grand Trunk Road and travelling a short distance, he sees to his right the *Chandi Mandap* or *Barwaritala*. Two stately trees, both *peepul*, stand here, entwining their branches. Immediately behind the trees is a derelict tank, in which devotees obviously used to take their bath. There is now a tube-well at the place. Prior to 1367 B.S. (1960 A.D.) there was no building at the place. In that year, a benevolent gentleman of a nearby village donated Rs. 2,000/- towards the cost of construction of a masonry shed where images of *Durga*, *Saraswati*, *Kali* and *Rakshakali* are worshipped. There is no stone idol. One of the *peepul* trees stands for *Panchanan* or *Shiva*. Before any auspicious ceremony in any household, *puja* is offered to *Panchanan* at the foot of this *peepul* tree, through the family priest. Among such auspicious occasions may be mentioned the sacred thread and the marriage ceremonies. *Puja* is also offered to goddess *Sasthi* at *Panchanantala*, beneath the *peepul* tree, after the birth of a child. The worship of *Saraswati*, *Durga*, *Kali* and *Rakshakali* is performed with subscriptions raised from the residents of the village. Almost all residents of the village participate in these religious festivals. The *puja* is performed on each of these occasions by a Brahman and the image is immersed in the Ganges after the festival except in the case of *Rakshakali* whose image is immersed in a particular tank in the village. Community worship or *Sarbananin puja* originated about 20 years ago only.

The *Chandi Mandap* or *Barwaritala* is situated in that part of the village which is inhabited by the upper castes and a little further on, as one enters the Loharpara or Karmakarpara, one encounters a small tree, the ground beneath which has been rendered smooth with mud and cowdung paste. The *mahua* tree called *Mol* locally is the emblem of *Bajrangabali* or *Mahabir* or *Hanuman* who used to be worshipped by one family. The *puja* was performed once a year, on the *1st of Magh*. A little ahead is the *Sitalatala*, where the goddess of small-pox is worshipped. The place of worship is a small earthen platform on which there is a small hollow or depression on the extreme left, in which there are seven pebbles. There are also two earthen lamp-stands (পিলুভুজ). In between the two lamp-stands, there is an earthen incense-burner. All these things, that is the hollow containing the pebbles, the lamp-stands, and the incense-burner are almost in a straight line. *Sitala puja* is performed at the advent of summer, when small-pox usually breaks out. *Didi Thakur* or *Didi-goswain*, the elder sister of *Sitala* who is supposed to be the goddess of cholera, is also worshipped at that time.

The *Sitalatala* is at the entrance to the Loharpara. In the heart of it are situated the *Manasatala* and the *Bhairaber Than*. There is a *phani-manasa* tree at the *Manasatala*. There are three pebbles marked with vermilion at the foot of the tree, on a small mound of earth. The place is enclosed on three sides by a rude brick railing. The *Manasatala* was established as a place of worship in 1297 B.S. The devotees are drawn exclusively from the Karmakar caste. The *puja* is celebrated usually twice a year, once on the *Sukla Dasami tithi* of the month of *Jaistha* or *Asar* and again on the last day of *Bhadra* but when cases of snake-bite occur, *puja* is also performed on other days to propitiate the goddess.

The *Bhairaber Than* is situated beneath a *neem* or *margosa* tree. There are terra cotta elephants and horses at the foot of the tree. The presiding deities are *Bhairab* and *Kal Bhairab* who are said to be incarnations of *Shiva*. *Bhairab* is said to ride a tiger and *Kal Bhairab*, a dog and to live in a forest. They are more or less household deities of a particular household, the head of which claims

to be able to exercise evil spirits and to treat cases of snake-bite. His miraculous powers are derived from the merit acquired by him in worshipping *Bhairab* and *Kal Bhairab* on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of *Jaistha* or *Asar* and on the *Bhadra Sankranti* day. On the latter day, *Manasa Devi* and *Viswakarma* are also worshipped at the *Bhairaber Than*. The head of the household concerned officiates at the religious ceremonies at *Bhairaber Than*. Goats are sacrificed on the occasion of these *pujas*.

Another deity worthy of note is *Pitambari*. It is said that the Karmakars of Loharpara came to Kodalia about 120 years ago from Patrasair, in the Bankura district. One of their ancestors is said to have been ordered by the goddess in a dream to initiate her worship on earth and he accordingly started the worship of this goddess. There is no image and an earthenware pitcher (*ghot*) is worshipped as an emblem of the goddess. The worship takes place on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of *Jaistha* or *Asar* and blessings of the goddess are supposed to ensure the well-being of the Karmakars.

The *Sitala*, the *Manasa* and the *Pitambari puja*s are performed with subscriptions raised exclusively from the Karmakar families residing in Loharpara. Contributions are collected once a year and the amount collected is apportioned suitably for the worship of the three deities. The leading part in organising these three *puja*s is taken by the caste panchayat of the Karmakars. The goddess *Pitambari* is considered to be an incarnation of the goddess *Kali*. Goats are sacrificed before *Manasa* and *Pitambari*. Brahman priests officiate at each of these religious festivals.

There is also a *Barwaritala* locally known as *Kalitala* at the extremity of the Loharpara. It was established in 1312 B.S. about 57 years ago by late Jamuna Prasad Ram, a non-Bengali settler. In 1958 A.D. a brick structure with cemented floor was constructed on the initiative of Krishna Prasad Ram, mainly with public subscriptions, to take the place of the original mud-walled *Barwaritala*. The new structure, however, lacks a roof. The *puja*s of *Kali*, *Rakshakali* and *Saraswati* are per-



THE CHANDI MANDAP OR BARWARITALA



THE SITALATALA IN LOHARPARA



THE MANASATALA IN LOHARPARA



THE KALITALA IN LOHARPARA



THE BHAIRABER THAN



THE MANASATALA IN BAURIPARA

formed here with contributions raised almost exclusively from the families residing at Loharpara.

In the same mauza of Kodalia, there are thus now two places of community worship, one of which is situated in that part of it which is inhabited predominantly by upper caste families, the other being situated in the Loharpara, where the Karmakars and families of similar castes reside. It is interesting to note that quite a number of these families hail from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

A few families of Bauris reside in that part of mauza Kodalia which acts as the link between Loharpara and the locality where upper caste families reside. They have got their own common place of worship, beneath a *phani-manasa* tree, where *Manasa*, the goddess of snakes is worshipped twice a year, once on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Jaistha* or *Asar* and again on the *Bhadra Sankranti* day. The *puja* is performed with subscriptions collected mainly from the Bauri families. One of the Brahmans of the Bauris acts as the priest. Goats and fowls are sacrificed before *Manasa* at this place. Terra cotta snakes, horses, earthen vessels, etc., are

strewn about at the foot of the *phani-manasa* tree.

There are no public monuments in the village nor is there a crematorium or burning *ghat*. Dead bodies are taken to the bank of the Bhagirathi at Hooghly and there cremated.

There are about a dozen tanks in the mauza and two ponds. Three of these tanks were brought into existence by removal of earth by the Railways for building the railway embankment. Some of the tanks are fairly big. The villagers usually bathe or wash their clothes and utensils in those tanks and use the water of tube-wells, of which there are seven in the village, for drinking. Water for cooking is however obtained mostly from the tanks.

There is no *hat* or market within the village. The residents frequent the daily markets at Bandel and at Hooghly-Chinsurah for purchasing daily necessities. Those who raise vegetables also sell them at these markets or the bi-weekly *hats* at Hooghly-Chinsurah.

There is no educational institution in the village nor a post or telegraph office.

The area of the mauza is 169.72 acres.



THE TANKS EXCAVATED BY THE RAILWAYS

CHAPTER II

THERE were 182 households in the village as ascertained during the present survey.

The number of residents were 922. The corresponding figures ascertained during the 1961 Census were 180 households and 868 persons. There are slight discrepancies between the two sets of figures but these are easily accounted for by the passage of time since the Census was taken and the migratory nature of some of the population.

As one enters the village by the District Board road, one comes across the houses of the comparatively more well-to-do households. These are built of brick and mortar having flat *pucca* roofs. Some of the households residing here and belonging to the Brahman, Baidya, Kayastha and Sadgope castes, have been residing in the village for more than five generations. The houses are situated on both sides of the road and its branches.

A little further on, a narrow lane takes off from the District Board road and goes north-west. The houses of the Bauris and Bagdis are situated along this lane. These houses belonging to the poorer section of the people, are mud-walled with roofs thatched with straw. There are a few houses with tile roofs also.

Proceeding along the narrow lane, the houses become few and far between and finally, in the midst of a field, one sees a few newly constructed *pucca* houses belonging to refugees from East Pakistan. The lane crosses the Naihati-Bandel line and one sees the Railway Welding Plant in front of him. Following this lane further, one enters the Loharpara. There are a few railway quarters and the office of an Inspector of Works, at the entrance to Loharpara.

The Loharpara is occupied mainly by new settlers, the oldest among whom are the Karmakars, divided into 48 households. The Karmakars claim to have settled here about 120 years ago, after emigrating from their ancestral home in the Bankura district. There are approximately 100 households in Lohar-

para. Leaving out the 48 Karmakar households, non-Bengalis predominate among the remaining households. These non-Bengalis mainly hail from the Azamgarh and Ballia districts of Uttar Pradesh, although emigrants from Chhapra district of Bihar are also found. Quite a number of households, the heads of which are railway employees, reside in the village but they can be treated as transients.

Loharpara is now separated from the main village by a railway line but this was not so when the Karmakars came and settled here. Thus even before the railway created an artificial barrier between that part of the mauza which is now known as Loharpara and the main village, the immigrants either were not allowed to settle among the old residents or could not find vacant homestead plots in the old settlement. The new comers had, therefore, to settle in one corner of the village, away from the homes of the original inhabitants. The Karmakars gave the name Loharpara to the particular section of the village where they settled down but it is interesting to note that not one among them now works as a black-smith.

The houses of the Karmakars are huddled together and are mud-walled with thatched roofs or tiled roofs. Many houses consist of a single thatched hut having a verandah or lean-to in front, where the oven or *chula* for cooking is located. There is thus no separate kitchen.

The non-Bengali settlers have maintained some distinction in the matter of housing. Their houses usually have tiled roofs, the walls being made of bamboo, plastered over with mud. Their houses are not so closely clustered together as those of the Karmakars.

Of the 182 families living in the village, as many as 26 have been residing for more than five generations. 35 families have been living in the village between 4 and 5 generations. These 61 families (26+35) may thus be said to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of the village. 18 of these sixty-one families belong to the Karmakar caste of Loharpara and may be considered as the



THE REFUGEE HOUSES



APPROACH TO LOHARPARA FROM THE HOOGHLY STATION

pioneers among the new settlers. 4 out of these 18 families came more than five generations ago. These 4 families must have brought the 14 others in the next generation, making a total of 18 Karmakar families among the old residents. Of the remaining families, 15 belong to the Bauri caste, 12 to the Sadgope caste, 9 are Brahmans, 4 are Bagdis, 2 are Kayasthas and 1 Baidya.

Compared with the seven castes into which the early settlers were divided, the 182 families of the present day belong to 26 different castes. This number has to be treated with some caution as some of the castes mentioned are not usually encountered in Bengal and therefore it was not possible to ascertain whether some of them were mere sub-castes to some main caste or not. Again, the Baishnabs do not admit the existence of caste but for the purpose of classification by caste, the solitary Baishnab family has been treated as belonging to a separate caste. 3 families have declared

themselves to be simply Harijans and they have been classified as such.

63 households came to the village 2 to 3 generations ago. Of these 63, as many as 30 belong to the Karmakar caste, 7 are non-Bengali Goalas and 5 are non-Bengali Brahmans, 10 are Bengali households, 3 of which belong to the Bagdi caste, 1 to the Bauri and 4 to the Sadgope caste. There is 1 family belonging to each of two castes of Baidya and Kayastha. The rest are all non-Bengalis.

50 households have come to this village in the present generation and 8 one generation ago.

Among the settlers, the Goalas, consisting of 21 households are the most numerous, next to the Karmakars. All these Goalas hail from Uttar Pradesh. The table below gives details of the settlement pattern, caste by caste, by duration of stay.

SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF HOUSEHOLDS
Mauza—Kodalia

Serial No.	Caste	Total Number of Households	Number of Households Settled				
			Before 5 Generations	Between 4—5 Generations	Between 2—3 Generations	1 Generation ago	Present Generation
1.	Karmakar	48	4	14	30	..	..
2.	Brahman	21	4	5	5	3	4
3.	Rajput	9	..	..	2	..	7
4.	Bagdi	7	1	3	3	..	..
5.	Goala	21	..	..	7	3	11
6.	Bauri	16	8	7	1	..	..
7.	Sadgope	21	6	6	4	..	5
8.	Kayastha	6	2	..	1	..	3
9.	Baidya	5	1	..	1	..	3
10.	Harijan	3	..	..	..	..	3
11.	Kurmi	3	..	..	2	..	1
12.	Dosadh	3	..	..	1	1	1
13.	Rajwar	2	..	..	2	..	..
14.	Mallah	3	..	..	2	1	..
15.	Sau	3	..	..	1	..	2
16.	Saha	1	..	..	..	..	1
17.	Mahisya	1	..	..	..	..	1
18.	Dhoba	1	..	..	..	..	1
19.	Ambati	1	..	..	..	..	1
20.	Bhuiya	1	..	..	..	..	1
21.	Pasi	1	..	..	..	..	1
22.	Ramani-Kahar	1	..	..	1	..	..
23.	Baishnab	1	..	..	..	..	1
24.	Bhor	1	..	..	..	..	1
25.	Tili	1	..	..	..	..	1
26.	Rajbanshi	1	..	..	..	..	1
Grand Total		182	26	35	63	8	50

House-types—An analysis of the types of houses occupied by members of various castes throw rather an interesting light on their material condition. There are 21 families of Brahmans as also of Sadgopes. 18 Sadgope families and 17 Brahman families live in *pucca* houses. In this village at least, the Brahmans and Sadgopes seem to be in the same class economically. The Baidyas are also fairly well-to-do as all the 5 Baidya families live in *pucca* houses. Of the 6 Kayastha families in the village, as many as 5 live in *pucca* houses. These *pucca* houses have burnt-brick walls and *pucca* flat roofs. The total number of *pucca* houses in the village is 53. There are 17 more houses in the village having brick-walls but the roofs are made of either C.I. sheets or asbestos sheets or tiles. No Karmakar family lives in a *pucca* house. The walls of their houses are usually made of mud, there being a few with walls made of bamboo-wattles. 30 of the 48 Karmakar families have tiled roofs on their houses, the houses of 16 families having straw roofs; 2 families have got C.I. sheet roofs. The Bauris live mostly in mud-walled and thatched roof houses. The photographs and line-drawing given on the next pages, illustrate the common type of *pucca* house, the mud-walled thatched-roof house and the mud-walled tiled-roof house.

In the courtyards of the families which own agricultural land are *marais* or places for storing paddy. The line-drawing below gives an idea of the kind of thing a *marai* is:



The photograph reproduced on the opposite page shows a Bauri mother with her children. It would appear that Bauri women wear full length *saris* in the proper manner but they do not wear blouses or other garments. A boy who is not too young wears shorts and shirt. The very young, of course, do not feel the necessity of covering themselves up.

The women-folk of the comparatively well-to-do families wear dresses which are in no way different from those worn by their sisters who live in urban areas except that their dresses might perhaps show the absence of the latest fashions.

So far as the menfolk are concerned, the poorer section wear only a *dhoti* and carry a *gamchha* (Indian towel) on their shoulders while those who are in more affluent circumstances, wear *dhoti* and *punjabi* or *dhoti* and shirt or trousers and shirts or bush-shirts.

Out of the 16 Bauri families, ornaments of any kind are not in use by the women-folk in as many as 7 families. In 7 other families, the women-folk wear only *glass bangles*. In only two households the women-folk wear gold in their ear or nose ornaments, the bangles being made of silver.

Of the 48 Karmakar families, no ornaments of any kind are worn by the women-folk in 18 families. In 9 families, only glass bangles are used. In 2 families glass bangles and brass neck-chain and ear ornaments are used. In 7 families glass and brass bangles are used. In 9 families, silver bangles go with neck-chains, nose and ear ornaments of gold. In the remaining 3 families, glass bangles are worn with gold or silver ear or nose ornament.

Gold nose and ear ornaments are used by the women-folk in 2 Bagdi families, the bangles in use being made of silver. No neck-chain is used. Of the 5 remaining Bagdi families, no kind of ornaments are used in 3 families, only glass bangles are used in 1 and in 1 brass neck-chain is used with glass bangles.

In the Sadgope families, no ornament of any kind is used in 1 family, but this family resides in the Loharpara. In the remaining 20 families, gold and silver ornaments of the traditional types are used by the women-folk. A curious fact which requires to be mentioned here is that nose ornament (নাকছাবি) is still used in 1 of these 20 families. Silver is



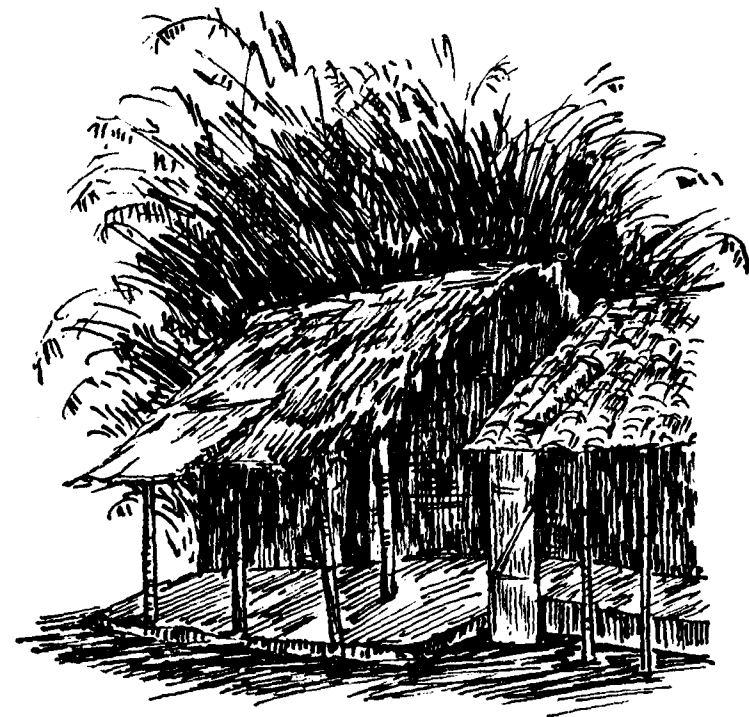
A BAURI MOTHER WITH HER CHILDREN



A HOUSE OF A KARMAKAR FAMILY

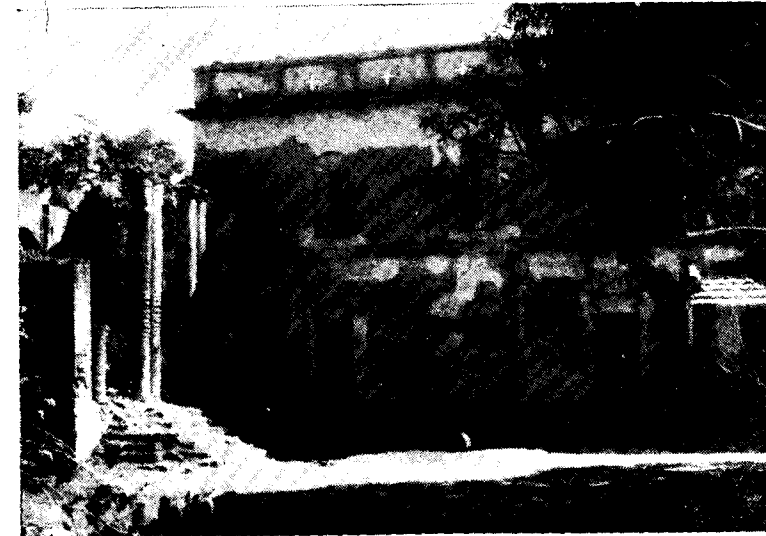


A HOUSE OF A BAURI FAMILY



LINE-DRAWING OF A HOUSE OF A BAURI FAMILY

(viii) *Between pages 6 and 7*



A PUCCA HOUSE



A HOUSE WITH BRICK WALLS AND TILED ROOF

(ix) *Between pages 6 and 7*

used for ornaments worn on the feet or the lower limbs while gold is used for bangles, bracelet, armlets, *kankans*, necklaces and neck-chains and ear ornament and rings.

There are 21 Brahman families of which 14 are Bengalis. In these 14 Bengali Brahman families traditional gold ornaments are worn at the ears, the neck, the wrist, the arm and the fingers. Ornaments are not worn on the lower-limbs. Gold and silver ornaments are also used in the 7 non-Bengali Brahman households although the patterns of some of the ornaments differ from those worn in the Bengali households. In the Baidya and Kayastha families, gold ornaments as are used in the Bengali Brahman households, are in use.

There is no gold or silversmith in the village and hence the ornaments cannot be expected to show any local peculiarity in design or construction. It has also not been possible to secure photographs of the commonly worn ornaments for obvious reasons.

The subject of ornaments worn by the women-folk of the village may be discussed from another angle. Of the 182 households resident in the village, the heads of 4 are engaged in cultivation of own land, the heads of 38 households are employed as Agricultural Labourers, the heads of 10 households depend on the raising of Livestock and the production of milk and milk-products, 6 are employed in Domestic Service and 39 are employed in Other Services. Heads of 18 families are engaged in Wholesale Trade and 27 in Retail Trade, the heads of 35 families in Transport, Storage and Communications, and 5 in Construction.

No ornaments of any kind are worn by the women-folk in 12 families of Agricultural Labourers and 10 families of Retail Traders. All these 10 families of Retail Traders sell vegetables or fire-wood. Ornaments are also not worn in 10 families engaged in Transport, Storage and Communications out of which there are no female members in 1, in 3 families engaged in Domestic Service, in 2 families engaged in raising Livestock and the production of milk and milk-products. No ornaments are worn in 1 Wholesale Trader family but there are no women-folk in the household while out of 3 families of persons employed in

Other Services in which no ornaments are worn, there are no women-folk in any of them. In 22 families, the only ornament of the women-folk are glass bangles. As many as 11 such families are those of Agricultural Labourers and 1 that of a cultivator. The heads of 2 are employed in Domestic Service, of 5 are employed in Transport, Storage and Communications and of 2 are in the Retail Trade and 1 in Construction. In 9 families, brass ornaments are used in addition to glass bangles. Out of these 9, the heads of 2 are employed in Transport, Storage and Communications, the heads of 5 are Agricultural Labourers, the head of 1 family in Domestic Service and of 1 in Cultivation. Only silver ornaments are worn by the women-folk in 4, 3, 1, 1 and 5 families, the heads of which are respectively engaged in Transport, Storage and Communications, Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, are working as Agricultural Labourers, and in raising Livestock and producing milk and milk-products. Silver ornaments are used with glass bangles in 6 families. 4 such families belong to the category of Transport, Storage and Communications, 1 to Retail Trade and 1 to Agricultural Labour. Silver and brass ornaments are used in only 1 household belonging to the category Construction.

Excluding the 5 families in which there are no women-folk, the total number of families in which the women-folk either wear no ornaments of any kind or wear glass bangles only or ornaments of brass and silver with glass bangles or ornaments of only silver comes to 88. All these 88 families, in which the women-folk either do not wear any ornaments or wear ornaments of glass, brass or silver may be considered to belong to the poorer section of the population. There are also a number of families which use both gold and silver ornaments but the gold is confined to the ornaments of the ear or nose only. Such families cannot also be considered to be financially very solvent. The number of such families is 20 of which 2 belong to the category Construction, 3 to Retail Trade, 1 to Cultivation, 6 to Agricultural Labourer, and 8 to Transport, Storage and Communications. Thus out of 182 families, as many as 108 are

certainly not well off financially, the status of 5 being indeterminate on account of absence of

women-folk in those families. The Table below illustrates the position.

Industrial Category	Number of Households in which the women-folk wear						Total
	No ornament	Glass bangles	Glass bangles and brass ear or nose or neck ornament	Glass or brass bangles and silver ornament	Silver ornament	Silver ornaments with ear and nose ornaments of gold	
Cultivation	..	1	1	..	..	1	3
Agricultural Labour	12	11	5	1	1	6	36
Livestock	2	..	..	..	5	..	7
Construction	..	1	..	1	..	2	4
Transport, Storage and Communications	10	5	2	4	4	8	33
Wholesale Trade	1	..	..	..	3	..	4
Retail Trade	10	2	..	1	1	3	17
Other Services	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
Domestic Service	3	2	1	..	..	..	6
Total	41	22	9	7	14	20	113

One thing requires to be mentioned in respect of the remaining 69 families and that is, that all of them cannot be considered to be rich merely because their women-folk wear silver and gold ornaments. The women-folk of all these 69 families certainly do not possess all the different ornaments mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. It is also to be borne in mind that the wearing of some kind of ornaments by the women-folk is a symbol of respectability among certain castes. Financial solvency is a subject on which a verdict can be given in respect of these families only after some other items of information have been analysed but on the basis of possession of ornaments by the women-folk, 38.9 per cent. of the households would appear to be living above the subsistence level.

All the families were asked to state whether they possessed a bedstead/*khatia*/chair/table/mirror/bench/stool/*jalchowki*/wall shelf. On an analysis of the answers, it appears that 19 households possess bedsteads as well as *khatias*, 33 households possess only bedsteads and 64 only *khatias/taktaposhes*. Thus in 116 families people do not sleep on the ground, at

least, not all the members in a household. In these households, at least some of the members sleep on bedsteads (*পালঙ্ক* or *খাটি*) or *khatias/taktaposhes* while, in 66 households, all the members have to sleep on the ground. The total number of families which either sleep on the ground or which use only *khatias/taktaposhes* is 130 in a village of 182 households. If we consider that persons who sleep on the ground or on *khatias* do so because they cannot afford anything better and if we classify such persons as living at and slightly above the subsistence level, then the percentage of the households who are well off to the total number of households becomes 28.6. It is interesting to note that the percentage of households which live in *pucca* houses to the total number of households is 29.7, which is very close to the figure obtained on an analysis of the information relating to possession of furniture. Of these 28.6 per cent. families who possess bedstead as well as *khatias/taktaposhes* or only bedsteads, 27 belong to Other Services, 1 to Cultivation, 1 to Agricultural Labour, 2 to Livestock, 5 to Transport, Stor-

age and Communications, 8 to Retail Trade and 6 to Wholesale Trade and 2 to Construction.

The number of households possessing bedsteads, chairs, tables, and mirrors is 38. These households are distributed as follows :

Caste	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Livestock	Construction	Transport, Storage and Communications	Wholesale Trade	Retail Trade	Other Services	Domestic Service	Total
Brahman	..	..	..	1	..	3	6	5	..	15
Sadgope	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	9	..	11
Baidya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	4
Kayastha	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	3
Rajput	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Saha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Baishnab	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Karmakar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	1	..	..	2	1	5	7	22	..	38

The items of furniture in use in the village have got no distinctive features. There is also no carpenter in the village, hence the furniture must have been purchased from outside the village.

Out of the 48 families of Karmakars, 37 sleep on the ground. Similarly 13 Bauri families, 4 Bagdi families, 4 Sadgope families, 2 Brahman families, 1 Kayastha family, the only Tili family, the only Bhor family, the only Bhuiya family, the only Mahisya family and 1 Sau family also sleep on the ground, making a total of 66 families. 8 Karmakar families, 2 Bauri families, 3 Bagdi, 18 Goala, 6 Rajput, 3 Brahman, 3 Harijan, 3 Kurmi, 2 Mallah, 4 Sadgope and 3 Dosadh families, 1 Sau family, 1 Baidya family, 1 Kayastha family, 2 Rajwar families, 1 Ambati family, 1 Pasi family, 1 Ramani-Kahar family and 1 Rajbanshi family sleep either on *taktaposhes* or *khatias*. Only bedsteads are possessed by 1 Baishnab family, 11 Brahman families, 3 Baidya families, 3 Kayastha families, 11 Sadgope families, 2 Karmakar families, 1 Saha family and 1 Bauri family. Both bedsteads and *khatias* are possessed by 5 Brahman families, 2 Sadgope families, 1 Baidya family, 1 Kayastha family, 1 Mallah family, 3 Goala families, 3 Rajput families, 1 Dhoba family, 1 Karmakar and 1 Sau family. It would appear that in all three classes of poor, living above the subsistence level and comparatively

well off, the castes are more or less evenly represented but in the middle and upper classes, Brahmans, Sadgopes, Baidyas and Kayathas predominate.

Out of the 14 comparatively affluent families which possess all the articles of furniture listed above, 8 are Brahmans, 2 are Sadgopes, 1 is a Baidya, 1 a Kayastha, 1 a Rajput and 1 a Baishnab family.

Lighting—There is no electricity in the village except in the house of the Inspector of Works of the Eastern Railway. In 103 houses, light is provided by hurricane lanterns while in 78 houses uncovered lamps (*ডিবা*) are used. Kerosene oil is burnt both in hurricane lanterns and the uncovered lamps. No family possesses a petromax or hazak (kerosene pressure lamp). Judged by the standard of lighting, 78 households may be considered to belong to the class of poor persons. 14 of these families depend on Retail Trade, 2 on Wholesale Trade, 20 on Transport, Storage and Communications, 32 on Agricultural Labour, 1 on Livestock, 6 on Domestic Service, and 3 on Construction. 38 of these families belong to the Karmakar caste, 14 to the Bauri caste, 7 to the Goala caste, 6 to the Bagdi caste, 3 to the Harijan caste, and 2 to the Dosadh caste. The castes Bhuiya, Bhor, Mallah, Sau, Kurmi, Rajbanshi, Sadgope and Kayastha each contribute 1 household to this

poor class, having only uncovered kerosene lamps for lighting.

All the households were required to state which of the following articles were owned by them:—hurricane lantern/petromax or hazak (kerosene pressure lamp)/battery torch light/kerosene stove/bicycle/gramophone/radio. 28 households possess kerosene stove. 8 of them are Brahmans, 6 Sadgopes, 4 Kayasthas, 2 households belong to each of the Goala and Rajput castes and each of the castes Tili, Mallah, Saha, Mahisya, Baishnab, and Baidya contributes 1 household. If we classify these households industrially, by the occupation of the head of the household, then we find that 14 of the families which use kerosene stove belong to the category Other Services, 5 to Wholesale Trade, 5 to Retail Trade, 2 to Transport, Storage and Communications, and 1 family to each of the categories of Livestock and Construction. The categories unrepresented are Cultivation, Agricultural Labour and Domestic Service. If we take the kerosene stove as an indicator of the Industrial Age, then the extent to which the Industrial Age has influenced the village may be found. The influence of the Industrial Age on this village may be put at 15.4 per cent. on this basis.

Out of 182 families in the village, coal is used as fuel for cooking in 107 families. 1 family uses a kerosene stove for cooking while 2 single-member families take their meals outside. Wood is used in 72 families. Coal is thus used as fuel for cooking in 59.4 per cent. of the households, if the 2 families who take their meals outside are left out of account. This widespread use of coal as fuel for cooking is an indication of the urban influence on the life of the village.

The number of families possessing a bicycle is 34. 16 of these families belong to the category Other Services, 7 to Wholesale Trade, 6 to Retail Trade, 2 to each of the categories of Construction and Transport, Storage and Communications, and 1 to Agricultural Labour. The categories unrepresented are Cultivation, Livestock and Domestic Service. If we take the bicycle as an indicator of the Industrial Age in which we live, then we find that the Industrial Age has influenced the village to the extent of 18.7 per cent.

The number of families which own all the three articles, e.g., stove, bicycle and gramo-

phone or radio; gramophone and radio being considered as interchangeable, is only 4. The number of families having any two of these articles is 27. 15 of these families belong to Other Services, 6 to Retail Trade, 4 to Wholesale Trade and 1 family to each of the categories of Transport, Storage and Communications and Construction. Analysed according to caste, these 27 families are seen to consist of 12 Brahmans, 5 Sadgopes, 4 Kayasthas, 2 each of Baidyas and Rajput castes and 1 of Karmakar caste and 1 of Saha caste.

22 families possess radio-sets of which 9 are Brahmans, 7 are Sadgopes, 5 are Baidyas and 1 is a Kayastha. Only those persons think it worthwhile to possess radio-sets who are conscious of the existence of the wide world of which their immediate neighbourhood forms a small part and who want to keep themselves acquainted with what goes on in the world. Radio-sets also provide a means of entertainment and therefore families possessing radio-sets may be considered to be intellectually somewhat advanced. In this village, the Baidyas seem to be most advanced intellectually. After them come the Brahmans, Sadgopes and Kayasthas.

Washing soap is used in 116 households, 4 of which belong to Cultivation, 10 to Livestock, 9 to Agricultural Labour, 3 to Construction, 16 to Transport, Storage and Communications, 16 to Retail Trade, 18 to Wholesale Trade, 39 to Other Services, and 1 to Domestic Service. The number of households using washing soap is less than the total number of households by 66. 29 of these families are contributed by Agricultural Labour, 19 by Transport, Storage and Communications, 11 by Retail Trade, 5 by Domestic Service and 2 by Construction, 69 out of the 116 families in which washing soap is used, get some of their clothes washed by the washerman. Industrially, these 69 families are distributed as follows:—1 to Cultivation, 3 to Livestock, 2 to Construction, 6 to Transport, Storage and Communications, 11 to Retail Trade, 10 to Wholesale Trade and 36 to Other Services.

79 families use toilet soap while taking their bath. The heads of 37 such families depend on Other Services, 13 on Wholesale Trade, 13 on Retail Trade, 8 on Transport, Storage and Communications, 4 on Livestock, 2 on Construction and 1 on Cultivation and 1 on Agricultural Labour.

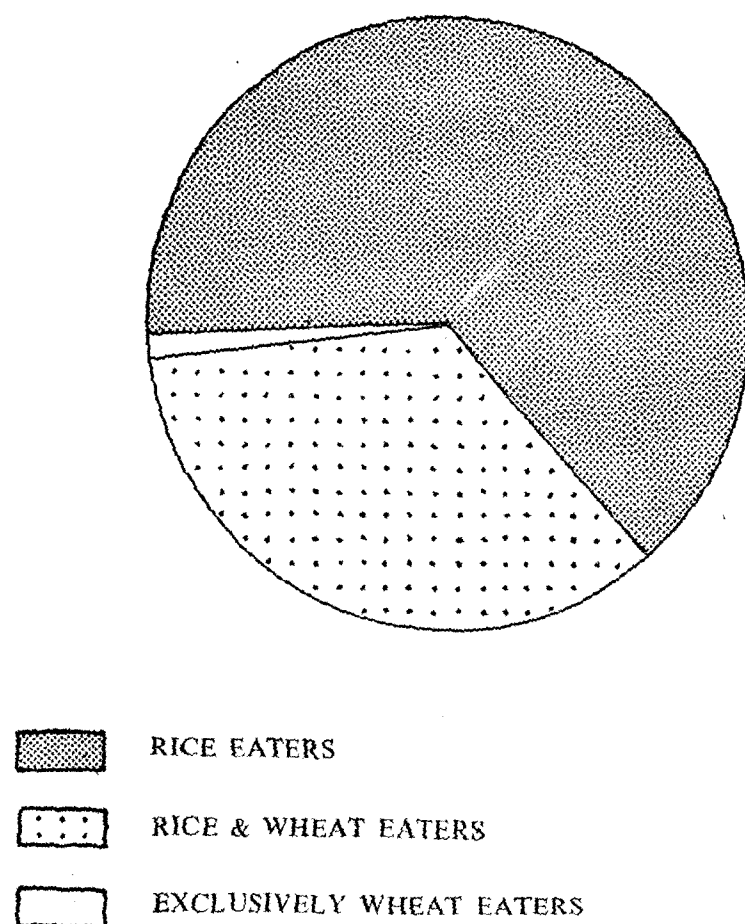


THE COOKING UTENSILS IN A FAMILY WHICH IS COMPARATIVELY WELL OFF



THE KITCHEN AND DINING SPACE OF A BAURI FAMILY

CLASSIFICATION BY NATURE OF STAPLE DIET:
RICE, RICE & WHEAT, AND WHEAT



(xii) Between page 10 and 11

79 families use mosquito nets at night to ward off the attacks of mosquitos. 37 of these families belong to Other Services, 13 to Wholesale Trade, 12 to Retail Trade, 6 to Transport, Storage and Communications, 4 to Livestock, 3 to Construction and 2 families to each of the categories of Cultivation and Agricultural Labour.

So far, the possession of specific items of movable properties has been analysed to ascertain the relative position of the various castes and Industrial categories within the village. It would now be necessary to take the house of an average man of the poorer section of the community, that of a man who is comparatively well off in the community and the house of a man belonging to the middle income group and to describe the household goods in each such house. A description of the ornaments worn by the womenfolk of such houses would help in having a complete picture of the economic status of the household.

As has already been pointed out, there are 78 households where the crude kerosene lamp (डिवा) provides the only means of dispelling the darkness. In as many as 51 of such households, there is no article of furniture except perhaps a solitary mirror of cheap variety. In 22 such families, the furniture consists of the *khatia*, if one does not take into account the mirror. 41 such houses boast of only earthen cooking utensils, the *Karai* being the only exception. The *Karai* is usually made of iron. Aluminium cooking utensils are gradually replacing the earthen pots in these households as is evidenced by the existence of such cooking utensils in 31 households of this class. Aluminium cooking utensils are gradually replacing the earthen pots as they are more economical in the long run, being more durable. Their womenfolk either wear no ornaments or ornaments of glass and brass only.

In the house of a comparatively well off family, hurricane lanterns and battery torch lights are used at night. The furniture includes bedsteads and *taktaposh* or *khatia*, tables and chairs, stools and *jalchowkis* and looking-glasses. There is usually a kerosene stove, a bicycle and a radio or gramophones. The cooking utensils are of brass and bell-metal. Such a household is accustomed to using cups and plates of china clay and glass tumblers. The women-folk in their houses use mostly

gold ornaments. The number of such households would be 16—18.

The house of a person belonging to the middle income group would not usually contain the radio or gramophone or the bicycle. A common article like the kerosene stove is also usually not there. Furniture consists of either bedstead or *taktaposh* or *khatia* and a stool or *jalchowki* and a wall-bracket. The womenfolk in such a house would wear gold and silver ornaments but the number would be less than those worn by the womenfolk in well-to-do households.

Food Habits—Rice forms the staple diet in 118 families, rice and wheat in 62 families, and wheat in only 2 families. Thus 64.8 per cent. are rice eaters, 34 per cent. are rice and wheat eaters, and 1.2 per cent. are wheat eaters exclusively.

Fish and meat are prohibited foods in 26 families and eggs are in 20 families. In 6 households rice is eaten only with *sag* and in 29 families, this diet is supplemented by *googli* (a variety of snail found in water). In 31 households, the diet consists of rice, *dal* and vegetable curry or *sag*. In 6 households a diet of rice and *dal* is supplemented with *googli*. Rice, *dal*, vegetable curry, and fish are consumed daily in 11 families while in 35 other families, this diet is supplemented with milk and ghee, meat or eggs.

It would not be unreasonable to assume that unless the taking of fish, meat or eggs is prohibited, these would be included in the diet if the financial condition of the family be such as to permit the purchase of those articles. Even where the taking of fish, meat or egg is prohibited, one would expect the inclusion of milk, milk-products or fruits in the diet for balanced nutrition. A diet which consists only of rice and pulses or rice and vegetables or rice, pulses and vegetables with or without *googli*, cannot be considered as providing adequate nutrition.

Out of the 118 families of rice eaters, only 46 families take diets not seriously lacking in nourishment. As many as 72 families of rice eaters are under-nourished. Of the 62 families in which rice and wheat equally form the basic diet; rice, *chapatti*, *dal*, vegetable curry and fish are consumed in 8 families. In 2 families eggs and meat are also taken and in 7 families rice, *chapatti*,

vegetable curry, *dal*, milk and ghee are consumed. These 17 families may be considered to be taking nutritious diets, the number of under-nourished families being 45. The 2 families which consume only wheat also fall in this category of under-nourished, thus bringing the total number of under-nourished families to 119. The number of families which eat proper diets thus form 34.6 per cent. of the total.

Wine is not drunk in 125 households as the drinking of wine is not permitted in such households. Brahmans, Sadgopes, Baidyas, Kayasthas and Rajputs, to mention a few, do not drink wine. Tea is drunk almost universally, 149 out of 182 families being regular tea-drinkers.

The people are fairly religious. Some deity or other is worshipped daily in all the households except 39. The *Tulsi* plant predominates as the symbol of the Divine Being as devotional lamps are lit beneath the *Tulsi* plants in 63 houses. 27 of these 63 houses belong to Karmakars, 12 to Bauris, 11 to Sadgopes, 3 to Kayasthas, 3 to Baidyas, 3 to Rajputs, and 4 to Bagdis. *Laksmi-Narayan* are worshipped in 48 houses, 12 of which belong to Brahmans, 10 to Goalas and 10 to Sadgopes, 5 to Kayasthas, 2 to Baidyas, 5 to Karmakars and 1 to a Bagdi, 1 to a Mahisya, 1 to a Dhoba, and 1 to a Kurmi. Some of the families in which *Laksmi-Narayan* are worshipped also light devotional lamps beneath the *Tulsi* plant. Of the 39 families in which no deity is worshipped daily, 13 belong to the Karmakar caste, 4 are Brahmans, 4 are Rajputs, 1 is a Bagdi, 1 is a Kayastha, 1 is a Baidya, 3 are Harijans, 2 are Kurmis, 1 is a Dosadh, 2 are Mallahs, 3 are Saus, 1 is a Pasi, 1 is a Ramani-Kahar, 1 is a Bhor and 1 is a Tili.

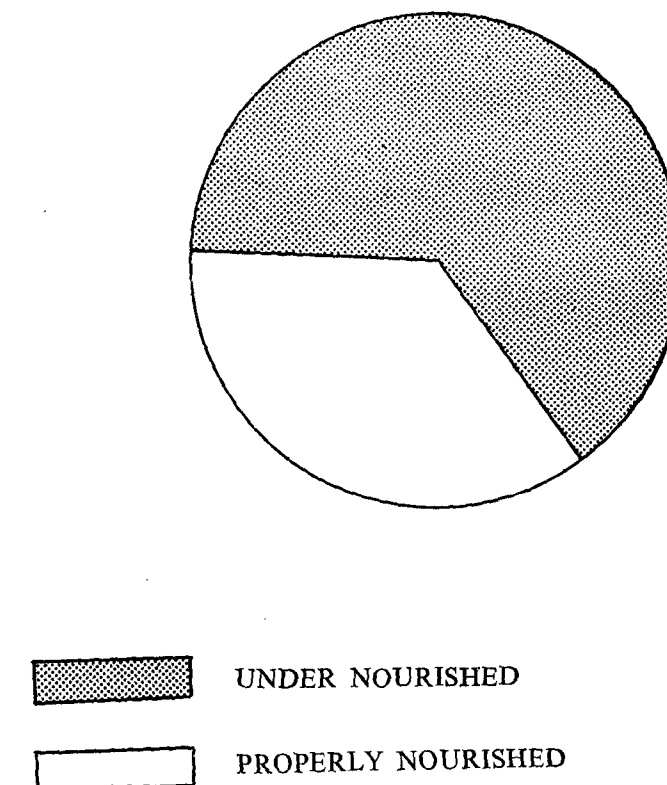
There are only two instances of inter-caste marriages. In one case, a Bagdi girl was married to a Kaibarta and in another, a Karmakar girl was married to a Mahisya. No social stigma attached to these marriages,

which came to be accepted after some initial criticism. Inter-caste marriages in the ordinary sense of the term are however not welcomed. Karmakars, Bauris, and Bagdis are willing to contract inter-caste marriages with boys and girls of higher castes. Brahmans are not in favour of inter-caste marriages because no caste is above the Brahmans socially. Baidyas are willing to contract inter-caste marriages generally with Brahmans, there being only one instance of a Baidya willing to contract marriage with a Kayastha. Kayasthas are willing to marry into the Baidya and Brahman castes. Their unwillingness to allow inter-caste marriages with lower castes naturally leads to the inference that the village society has still a far way to go before it can be termed casteless. Caste is a thing which is very much prized and hence the desire to rise socially by contracting marriages with higher castes.

The question about dowry was put to each of the 182 households but from 34 families, no positive reply could be obtained as no marriage had taken place in those families in recent years. It was ascertained that in the remaining 148 families, dowry was given on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter in 124 families while in 16 families, a bride price had to be paid. There were 8 families in which dowry had neither been taken nor given on the occasion of the marriage of a son or a daughter. It seems that among the Bauris the custom of dowry giving exists equally for the marriage of a son or a daughter. It is not possible to draw any conclusion in regard to the other castes among whom the practice of giving of a dowry on the occasion of a son's marriage has been encountered as the number of families of each caste is usually one. It is likely that in some cases, dowry has been paid by the father of the bridegroom as the bride's father was too poor.

This survey discloses that the system of payment of dowry by the bride's father to the bridegroom is still very much in vogue.

PROPORTION OF UNDER NOURISHED/PROPERLY NOURISHED FAMILIES



CHAPTER III

THE area of the village is 169.72 acres but most of it is unfit for cultivation.

On an examination of the replies furnished by the 182 households about agricultural land, it appears that approximately 34 or 35 acres of land are utilized for growing paddy, jute and other crops. Out of this, 7 or 8 acres are in the possession of 4 families solely dependent on Cultivation. The remaining 27 acres approximately are in the possession of 23 families, the heads of which depend mainly on occupations other than Cultivation. 7 of these families belong to the category Other Services, 4 to Retail Trade, 2 to Wholesale Trade, 2 to Transport, Storage and Communications and 8 to Agricultural Labour. The area of land owned by each of these 8 families dependent on Agricultural Labour is so small that they cannot raise crops to satisfy their needs for more than 2 or 3 months. There are 13 other families which raise vegetables on small patches of land. Some of the families also augment their incomes by the sale of mango and other fruits.

Cultivation is therefore not the mainstay of the bulk of the population of this village. The Primary Census Abstract for Kodalia for 1961 shows that 1 person was engaged in Cultivation, 37 in Agricultural Labour, 25 in Manufacturing other than Household Industry, 15 in Construction, 81 in Trade and Com-

merce, 34 in Transport, Storage and Communications and 61 in Other Services. In addition, there were 614 Non-workers. There appears to have been some mistake at the time of enumeration or sorting as the number of persons engaged in Cultivation should have been at least 4. No one has been shown as engaged in the rearing of Livestock in the Primary Census Abstract possibly due to a wrong classification at the time of sorting the slips. In the slips of the persons engaged in the rearing of cattle, the selling of milk was probably written against occupation and they were therefore classified as engaged in Trade and Commerce. During the course of the survey the principal occupation of only the head of the family was ascertained and it was found that 4 families were dependent on Cultivation, 38 on Agricultural Labour, 10 on Livestock, 5 on Construction, 35 on Transport, Storage and Communications, 18 on Wholesale Trade, 27 on Retail Trade, 39 on Other Services and 6 on Domestic Service. Both the sets of figures demonstrate the fact that Cultivation, Livestock rearing and Agricultural Labour are not sufficient to provide the majority of workers with work. It may be stated here that many of the 38 families dependent on Agricultural Labour, have to find employment outside the village. The Table on the next page shows the distribution of the families, category-wise, caste by caste.

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY

Caste	Cultiva- tion	Agricul- tural Labour	Live- stock	Construc- tion	Transport, Storage and Communi- cations	Whole- sale Trade	Retail Trade	Other Services	Domestic Service
Brahman	..	..	..	1	..	5	6	9	..
Baidya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..
Kayastha	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	4	..
Sadgope	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	15	1
Goala	..	..	9	..	4	7	1	..	..
Bauri	..	10	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Bagdi	..	2	..	..	3	..	2	..	..
Karmakar	2	23	..	3	7	..	11	..	2
Rajput	..	..	..	..	1	6	..	2	..
Harijan	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Kurmi	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Dosadh	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Rajwar	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Mallah (Boatman)	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
Sau	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..
Saha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Mahisya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Dhoba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Ambati (Cultivator from Srikakulam district in Andhra)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Bhuiya	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Pasi	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Ramani-Kahar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Baishnab	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Bhor (Basket making)	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Tili	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Rajbanshi	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	4	38	10	5	35	18	27	39	6

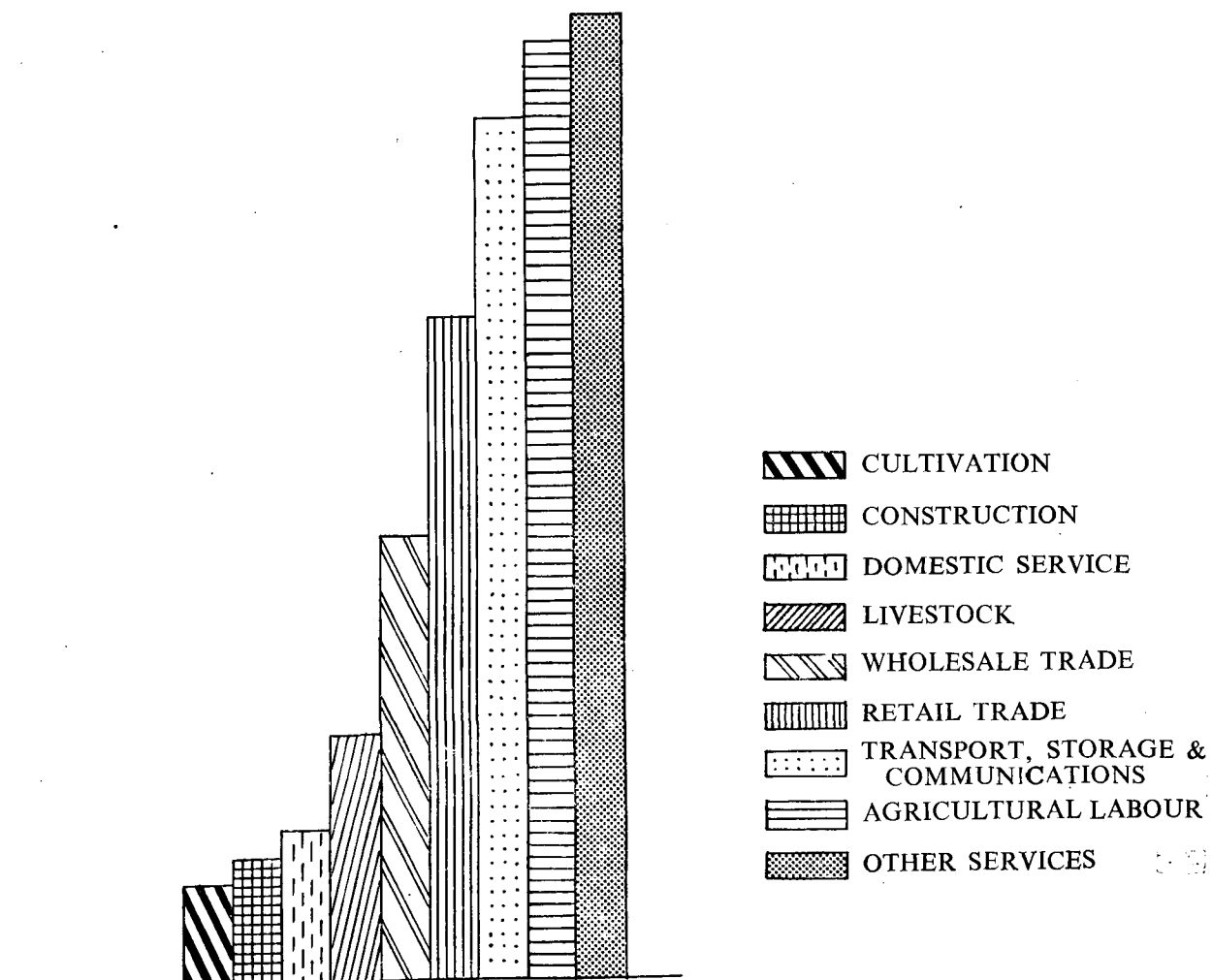
Note.—The Industrial Classification has been done according to the system prescribed by the Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India with the modification that the Division Trade and Commerce has been divided into two parts, e.g., Wholesale Trade and Retail Trade. Similarly, Other Services has been divided into two parts—Other Services and Domestic Service.

Quite a number of families raise some vegetables in their kitchen-gardens for augmenting their incomes. Some go in for fish rearing, the number of such families being 18. Fish is however reared mostly for domestic consumption as only 6 out of these 18 families sell some of the fish raised by them. 74 families possess milch cattle. 20 of these families are Goalas, 14 are Karmakars, 9 are Brahmans and 9 are Sadgopes, 5 are Bauris; 2 families belong to each of the castes Baidya, Kayastha, Bagdi, Rajwar and Sau.

3 are Rajput families and 1 family belongs to each of the castes Kurmi, Dosadh, Mallah and Dhoba. Between them, these 74 families own 145 milch cattle. Except for the 10 families principally dependent on the raising of Live-stock, these families mostly keep milch cattle for ensuring supply of milk for domestic consumption. Some of the poorer Karmakar, Bauri and Bagdi families also sell some of the milk.

There are 71 goats and sheep in the village. 10 Karmakar and 10 Bauri families between

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE FAMILIES BY THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE HEADS



them own 48 out of these 71 goats and sheep. There are 48 ducks and geese in the village of which 15 belong to 5 Bauri families, 12 to 4 Brahman families, 8 to 4 Karmakar families and 8 to 2 Sadgope families. Out of 58 fowls, as many as 26 belong to 10 Bauri families and 17 to 7 Karmakar families. As has already been stated, 10 families depend principally on the rearing of Livestock and the sale of milk and milk-products. These 10 families own 33 milch cattle, including cows and buffaloes. Thus, on an average, each family has got 3 milch cattle. Out of 33 milch cattle, 19 are buffaloes and 14 are cows.

The remaining 64 families therefore between them, own 112 milch cattle. On an average, each of these 64 families owns 1.75 milch cattle.

So far as goats and sheep are concerned, each of 10 Bauri and Karmakar families possesses 2 or 3 sheep and goats on an average. Each of the families which keep ducks and geese, has only 2 or 3 ducks or geese. Even in the matter of fowl, the number per family rarely exceeds 3. No improved type of duck, geese or fowl can be found in the village and the business of rearing poultry birds does not appear to have received the attention it deserves.

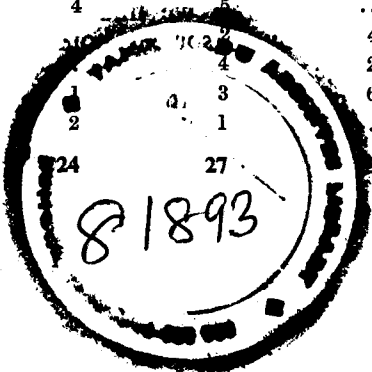
The Estate Acquisition Act of 1954 and the Land Reform Act which followed it, have left the inhabitants of this village apparently unaffected as no one made any comment about the effect of these legislative measures, so far as he was concerned.

There is no industry in the village. The number of shops in the village is 4. Three of these shops stock rice, pulses, spices, etc., while in the fourth shop tea, biscuits and fried brinjals, etc., are sold. Three of these shops are run with capital borrowed from money-lenders while the owner of the fourth shop runs it with his own money. Most of the families engaged in Wholesale or Retail Trade have got their shops in neighbouring towns and not in the village. The money-lender provides the working capital for most of these latter shops also. 18 families are engaged in the distribution of domestic coke. They purchase from collieries and supply in the neighbouring towns. Indebtedness is fairly wide-spread as 99 out of the 182 families admitted having debts. The indebtedness is cent per cent among the families dependent on Domestic Service as all the 6 families are indebted. There is indebtedness to the extent of 84.2 per cent. among the families dependent on Agricultural Labour. Families dependent on Construction are indebted to the extent of 80 per cent. 51.9 per cent. of the families engaged in Retail Trade are in debt. The corresponding figure for families dependent on Transport, Storage and Communications being 48.6 per cent. 50 per cent. of the families dependent on Livestock raising are in debt. Indebtedness is also 50 per cent. among those engaged in Cultivation and 33 per cent. among the families dependent on Wholesale Trade and engaged in Other Services.

The Table below shows the details of indebtedness among the various categories.

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS IN DEBT, BY RANGES AND CATEGORIES

Industrial Categories	Range of Indebtedness					Per Cent
	1—50	51—100	101—200	201—500	501 and above	
Cultivation	..	..	1	1	..	50.0
Agricultural Labour	6	4	13	9	..	84.2
Livestock	..	..	2	..	3	50.0
Construction	1	..	1	2	..	80.0
Transport, Storage and Commu- nications	5	3	4	5	..	48.6
Wholesale Trade	..	..	3	2	4	33.0
Retail Trade	2	6	4	4	2	51.9
Other Services	1	2	3	3	6	33.0
Domestic Service	2	1	2	1	..	100.0
Total	17	16	24	27	..	54.0



It would be interesting to try to classify the population of the village, by material condition. No household may perhaps be considered to be in really affluent circumstances as the outward signs of such affluence are wanting. It would however be fairly easy to assess the number of households which are poor with some degree of accuracy.

Thus we have found that 119 families are unable to provide milk-products or fruits or fish, meat or eggs in their diets. These 119 families are obviously not well off. Again, 130 households either sleep on the ground or on *charpoys/taktaposhes*. In 108 households, the womenfolk either do not wear any ornaments or wear only glass bangles or glass bangles and brass neck-chain or ear ornaments

or only silver ornaments or silver ornaments with ear, or nose ornaments of gold. The mean of these figures is 119. Again, there are 75 households in which uncovered kerosene lamps or *dibas* as they are called, are used to dispel the darkness at night. There are 3 other households in which there are battery torch lights in addition to these lamps. 78 households are thus too poor to use even hurricane lanterns. These households may, therefore, be considered to form the poorest section of the community, the 41 other families (119—78) being slightly better off than they.

An idea of the number of households which are comparatively well off and which form the most affluent section of the community may be obtained from the following analysis :

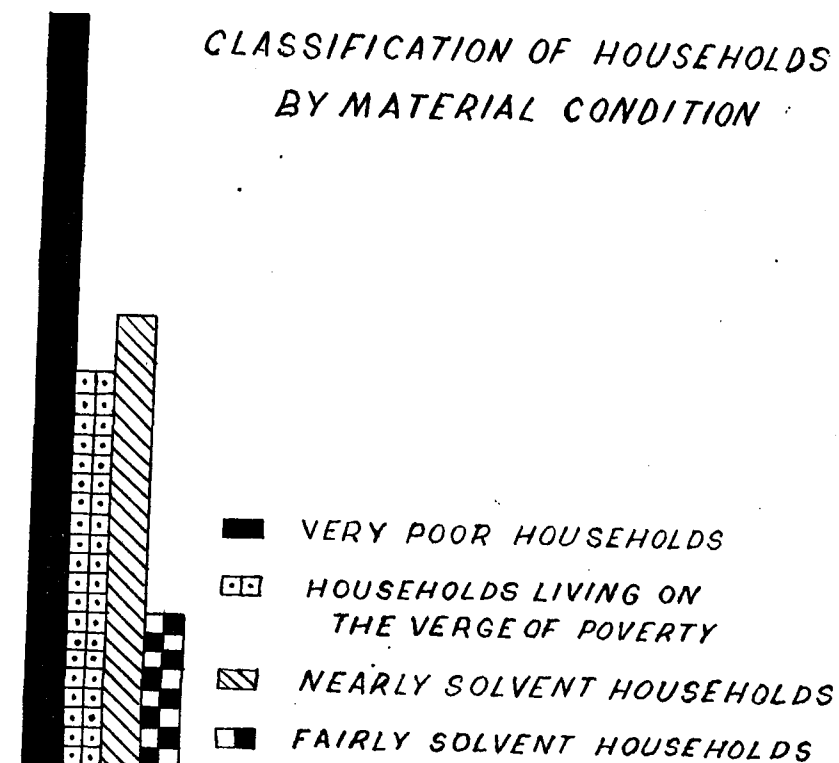
Industrial Category	No. of Households living in <i>pucca</i> houses	No. of Households possessing bedstead, chair, table, mirror	No. of households possessing any two of stove, bicycle, radio, gramophone	No. of households which acquired any one or more of the articles bedstead, bicycle, radio and gramophone during the last five years
Cultivation	1	1	..	..
Agricultural Labour	..	..	..	..
Livestock	..	..	..	1
Construction	2	2	1	1
Transport, Storage and Communications	2	1	1	1
Wholesale Trade	4	5	4	7
Retail Trade	9	7	6	7
Other Services	35	22	15	21
Domestic Service	..	..	..	..
Total	53	38	27	38

If we take into account only those households belonging to a particular category which contribute to the class of comparatively solvent persons when judged by all the four standards adopted above, then we find that the number of comparatively solvent households in the village is only 16. Thus in a village of 182 households, 16 are fairly solvent, 78 are very poor, 41 others live on the verge of poverty and 47 others are on the

side of the solvent. In terms of percentages, 8.8 per cent. are fairly solvent, 25.8 per cent. are on the side of solvency, another 22.5 per cent. are on the verge of poverty and 42.9 per cent. are poor.

Analysing the figures in the 5th column of the above Table, it is seen that 53.8 per cent., 38.9 per cent., 25.9 per cent., 20 per cent., 10 per cent. and 2.9 per cent. of the families in each of the categories of Other

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS
BY MATERIAL CONDITION



Services, Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, Construction, Livestock and Transport, Storage and Communications had increasing incomes during the last five years as during this period they acquired one or more of the following articles: bedsteads/bicycle/radio/gramophone. This indicates that financially, the families the heads of which belong to the category Other Services, are the most well off. Wholesale Trade and Retail Trade are the two next lucrative economic activities. Construction, Livestock and Transport, Storage and Communications follow in descending order. Cultivation, Agricultural Labour and Domestic Service apparently do not result in any improvement in financial condition.

It was found that the heads of 93 households were engaged in occupations different from those of their fathers. In one generation, therefore, the mobility in occupations amounted to 51.1 per cent. The greatest change was noticeable among those dependent on Transport, Storage and Communications as 30 out of 35 heads of households stated that the occupations of their fathers had been different. The fathers of 13 of them were day-labourers, 6 were share-croppers, 5 were engaged in Cultivation, the fathers of 3 were small businessmen (Retail Trade). The father of 1 was a blacksmith, of another, a carpenter and of another was employed in Other Services. There has been no change in the occupation from father to son in the

4 households engaged in Cultivation. Similarly, there has been no change in 26 families of Agricultural Labourers. In one generation the sons of 8 share-croppers and 4 cultivators have joined the ranks of Agricultural Labour. In Retail Trade, 19 out of 27 families are new comers to this particular field of economic activity. 11 are sons of day-labourers, 6 are of cultivators and the fathers of 2 were employed in Other Services. In Wholesale Trade, the picture is somewhat similar, 10 out of 18 families being new comers. 7 are sons of cultivators, the fathers of 2 were engaged in the rearing of Livestock and the father of 1 was employed in Other Services. Out of the 5 families dependent on Construction, the fathers of the heads of 2 were share-croppers. Out of the 10 families engaged in the rearing of Livestock, the occupation is hereditary in case of 8. The father of the head of 1 family was engaged in Retail Trade while the father of the head of another family was engaged in Cultivation. Out of 39 families, the heads of which are employed in Other Services, only 13 hail from cultivator families. In Domestic Service, it is a case of cent per cent change. The heads of all the six households dependent on Domestic Service are all widows and naturally are not able to follow the professions of their fathers. The fathers of 4 of them were Agricultural Labourers, the father of 1 was engaged in Transport, Storage and Communications and of 1 was a share-cropper.

CHAPTER IV

154 out of the 182 households are contributed by only 9 castes, which are, in descending numerical order, the Karmakar, the Brahman, the Sadgope, the Goala, the Bauri, the Rajput, the Kayastha, the Bagdi and the Baidya. There are 48 families of Karmakars, 21 families belonging to each of the castes Brahman, Sadgope and Goala; 16 families are Bauri by caste, 9 are Rajputs, 7 and 6 families belong to each of the castes Bagdi and Kayastha respectively and 5 families are Baidya by caste. The remaining 28 families are drawn from 17 castes and

therefore, in an analysis of the local society, they may be omitted.

In the Table below, the type of the family has been analysed for these 154 families, depending on whether it is a family consisting of the husband, wife and unmarried children (Simple), or consisting of husband, wife, unmarried children, unmarried brother or sister of the husband and one of the parents of the husband (Intermediate), or whether it is a Joint family as commonly understood. Families which do not fall into any of these three classes have been classified as "Others".

TYPES OF FAMILIES

Caste	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others	Total
Karmakar	19	7	11	11	48
Brahman	7	7	3	4	21
Sadgope	10	5	6	..	21
Goala	6	5	9	1	21
Bauri	9	5	2	..	16
Rajput	3	2	3	1	9
Kayastha	3	2	1	..	6
Bagdi	2	3	1	1	7
Baidya	2	..	2	1	5
Total	61	36	38	19	154

A distinct modern trend is thus noticeable in the family pattern. As a class, the Simple family predominates but if the thin borderline between the two classes of Intermediate and Joint is neglected, then it is seen that the Simple type of family does not predominate. Against 61 "Simple" families, there are 74 Joint or quasi-Joint families. But one fact becomes undeniable, which is that the Joint family system is in the melting pot and is fast disappearing. This process has progressed differently among the different castes. Thus

39.6 per cent. of the Karmakar families have ceased to be "Joint". The corresponding percentages for the Brahmans, Sadgopes, Goalas, Bauris, Rajputs, Kayasthas, Bagdis and Baidyas are respectively 33, 47.6, 28.6, 56.3, 33, 50, 28.6 and 40. It is not possible to assign the causes of this change for want of relevant data. It might have come about in various ways. Comparatively early demise of parents, absence of brothers or sisters or departure of brothers from the ancestral

home in quest of livelihood, economic hardship and modern ideas on family life, all or any of these causes might have given rise to

this shift towards the "Simple" type of family. The Table below gives the details of the population by caste, age-groups and sex.

POPULATION BY AGE-GROUPS

Age-Groups												
0—4		5—14		15—44		45—59		60 and upwards		Total persons		
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			
Karmakar	15	21	37	20	55	46	13	21	4	5	237	
Brahman	4	3	12	11	41	18	8	7	2	1	107	
Rajput	3	2	2	8	11	6	5	2	3	..	42	
Bagdi	..	3	5	3	7	7	..	1	..	1	27	
Goala	8	10	18	9	30	17	11	1	1	..	105	
Bauri	10	9	10	10	18	16	1	4	1	..	79	
Sadgope	9	5	14	19	39	33	4	5	2	2	132	
Kayastha	..	3	3	3	10	9	2	..	..	2	32	
Baidya	2	..	1	2	11	7	2	2	2	1	30	
Harijan	..	2	2	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	10	
Kurmi	..	..	3	2	2	4	2	1	1	1	16	
Dosadh	1	1	1	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	11	
Rajwar	3	1	2	..	4	2	1	1	..	..	14	
Mallah	..	..	..	..	8	1	..	1	1	..	11	
Sau	..	2	2	2	8	3	1	..	..	..	18	
Saha	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	4	
Mahisya	..	..	1	..	3	3	1	..	..	..	8	
Dhoba	2	..	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	7	
Ambati	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	5	
Bhuiya	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	1	5	
Pasi	1	1	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	7	
Ramani-Kahar	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	
Baishnab	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	
Bhor	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	
Tili	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	4	
Rajbanshi	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	
Total											922	

Note.—M stands for male and F for female.

The data in respect of the principal nine castes have been somewhat rearranged in the Table below :

					Age-Groups								Average size of family	Average number of children per family
					Total			0-14		15 and above				
					Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females			
Karmakar	.	.	.	.	.	237	124	113	52	41	72	72	4.9	1.9
Brahman	.	.	.	.	.	107	67	40	16	14	51	26	5.1	1.4
Sadgope	.	.	.	.	.	132	68	64	23	24	45	40	6.3	2.2
Goala	.	.	.	.	.	105	68	37	26	19	42	18	5.0	2.1
Bauri	.	.	.	.	.	79	40	39	20	19	20	20	4.9	2.4
Rajput	.	.	.	.	.	42	24	18	5	10	19	8	4.7	1.7
Kayastha	.	.	.	.	.	32	15	17	3	6	12	11	5.3	1.5
Bagdi	.	.	.	.	.	27	12	15	5	6	7	9	3.9	1.6
Baidya	.	.	.	.	.	30	18	12	3	2	15	10	6.0	1.0

The above Table shows that except among Kayasthas and Bagdis, the males outnumber the females. Among adults, the position is somewhat different. Among Karmakars and Bauris, there are as many adult males as females. The imbalance among the adults of the Brahman, Rajput and Goala castes is explained by the facts that some of the Brahman and all the Rajput and Goala households hail from outside West Bengal and have not brought all the female members of their households.

The average size of a Sadgope family is largest, being 6.3. Next comes the average Baidya family with 6 members. Except for the Bagdi caste, the average size of a family of the Kayastha, Brahman, Rajput, Goala, Bauri and Karmakar castes varies from 5.3 to 4.7. The average size of a Bagdi family is very small, being only 3.9. There are 3 single member Karmakar families, 2 Brahman families, 1 Rajput family and 1 Baidya family. There is the greatest number of children in an average Bauri or Sadgope family. Next in order come the Goala, Karmakar, Rajput, the Bagdi, the Kayastha, the Brahman and the Baidya.

Of the 922 persons in the village, as many as 332 belong to the age-group 0-14 years. Thus 36.0 per cent. are minors. 557 belong

to the working-age group of 15-59 years. This forms 60.4 per cent. of the population 3.6 per cent. of the population are old.

Among the children, upto the age of 14, 6 girls are married. In the next age-group of 15-59, 163 out of 319 males are married. 141 never married, and 15 are widowers. 157 out of 238 females are married. 28 are still unmarried, 49 are widows and 4 are divorced or separated. The wives of 7 men are temporarily absent from their homes. Marriage is no longer universal, there being as many as 28 adult unmarried females. These females all belong to the age-group 15-44 years and they form 14.7 per cent. of the total number of females in this age-group.

There are 49 widows in the age-group 15-59. This works out at 20.6 per cent. of the total number of females in this age-group.

In the age-group 60 and over, out of 19 males, 11 are married and 8 are widowers. Out of 14 females, 4 are married and 10 are widows.

32 Karmakar families expressed their opinions about advisability or otherwise of limiting the size of the family. 13 wanted more children and 19 did not. 9 Brahman families wanted more children against 5 who did not. 4 Rajput families did not want additions to their families while 2 did. Out of

4 Bagdi families who gave their opinions, 3 were in favour of more children, while 1 was not. Among Goalas, 8 were for more children while 2 were against. 8 Bauri families wanted more children against 4 who did not. Among Sadgopes, 9 families were in favour of more children while 7 were against. 3 Kayastha families wanted more children against 2 who did not. 3 Baidya families did not want more children against 1 who did. There is thus a consciousness among all castes about the need to limit the size of the family although the majority opinion does not subscribe to this view in case of all the castes. There is no family planning centre in the village. This is a pity as in 51 families, it is known that conception can be prevented by taking suitable steps.

Except for the Karmakars, the village Community is not fettered in any way so far as their private lives are concerned. There is a Caste Panchayat for the Karmakars which sees to it that caste rules and customs are observed in their daily lives by the Karmakars. The Karmakars generally are of the view that the Caste Panchayat should continue to exist for looking after social affairs exclusively. The main function of the Panchayat is to see that the rigidity of caste is maintained. They mediate in household disputes and also grant divorces or separations. The Panchayat also organises the community worship of *Sitala*, *Manasa* and *Pitambari*.

The law of inheritance recognized among all the castes residing in the village is the division of ancestral property equally among the sons. 134 out of 182 families subscribed to this view. 22 families could not give any idea of the law of inheritance of property, while in 23 families the eldest son took more than his brothers. This happened in 4 Karmakar, 7 Brahman, 2 Bagdi, 1 Goala, 2 Bauri, 3 Sadgope, 1 Kayastha and 2 Baidya and 1 Mallah families.

50 families were against the inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons and 12 did not express any opinion on the subject. The remaining 120 families were in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons. It may be mentioned here that 125 families were aware that certain changes had been brought about in the law of inheritance by the Hindu Succession

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Act and the opinions expressed on the subject of inheritance of property by daughters were probably influenced by the knowledge that the Hindu Succession Act had become law.

Untouchability, as such, does not exist in the village. This probably explains why most of the Karmakars, Bauris and Bagdis do not know that untouchability in any form, has been abolished by law.

With a view to ascertaining whether the people kept some information about the world outside their village, the head of each household was asked to state the name of the Union Board or Anchal Panchayat in which the village was situated, together with the names of the Police Station and the Headquarters Station of the district. It was found that 117 families, i.e., 64.3 per cent. knew the name of the Union Board. 155 and 152 families knew the names of the Police Station and the Headquarters Station of the district respectively. This works out at approximately 85.2 per cent. Obviously they have to come in contact with the local offices of the government more frequently than with the elected local body. This is possibly due to the nearness of the village to urban areas.

The number of families in which newspapers are read is 52, while the number of those who listen to radios is 22. In terms of percentages, this means that 28 per cent. and 12 per cent. respectively read newspapers and listen to radios. The world of Kodalia thus does not stretch much beyond the district and State boundaries so far as the majority of the population is concerned.

The people are fairly conscious of the need to educate their children. There are no children in the age-group 8-20 years in 65 families and it may be assumed that they are not required to send their children to school or college. Of the remaining 117 families having children in this age-group, 43 send their children to school or college. Thus 36.8 per cent. of the families having children between the ages 8 years and 20 years, send their sons or daughters to school and college. This urge to get their children educated exists to a marked extent among Brahmans, Baidyas, Sadgopes and Kayasthas. People of these 4 castes are to be found in 53 households but in 18 such households, there are no

children in the age-group 8-20 years. Out of 35 households which require to be considered in this context, as many as 29 have arranged to have their children educated. In terms of percentages, this means 82.9 per cent.

The remaining 14 families are drawn from the Baishnab, Saha, Mahisya, Rajput, Karmakar, Goala and Kurmi castes.

It would probably be wrong to say that the 74 families having children in the age-group 8-20 years, who do not send their children to schools or colleges are not conscious of the need to impart education to their sons and daughters. Education in our country not being free beyond the primary school stage, the cost of education is also a factor which should be taken into account in explanation of the fact that not all children are getting the benefit of a school or college education. It appears from the replies received from the heads of the 43 households, the children from which attend schools or colleges, that the average cost of educating a boy or a girl in school is approximately Rs. 150 a year. The average expense for educating a boy or a girl in college is approximately Rs. 450 a year. It is, therefore, not surprising that all the children of the age-group 8-20 years are not receiving education in schools and colleges. That the expense involved plays a very important role in the education of children is also supported by analysing the industrial categories to which the heads of those households which send

children to schools and colleges belong. Thus as many as 24 of these households belong to the category of Other Services, 5 to Wholesale Trade, 6 to Retail Trade, 3 to Transport, Storage and Communications, 2 to Cultivation, 2 to Construction and 1 to Agricultural Labour. If a reference is made to the previous chapter, in which the material condition of the people has been analysed, it would be seen why it would be idle to expect that all the families would arrange for the education of their children.

Prior to 1953, there used to be two clubs in the village, one of which was known as the Uday Sangha and the other as the Palli Sangha. In 1953, the two clubs were merged into one and the new body was given the name Kotalia Sangha. In 1962, the number of members was 45. The monthly subscription was as. 4 for adults and as. 2 for children. The club organizes games like football, cricket and volley ball and an annual athletic sports. It also organizes *Rabindra Jayanti* and *Vijaya Sammilani*. Dramas are staged on the occasion of the *Rabindra Jayanti*. There is no club-house and the members assemble on occasions at the house of the Secretary. There are no indoor-game facilities. The club is not well off financially.

The club also engages in social welfare activities like garbage clearance and road construction.

There is a Resistance Group in the village for the prevention of thefts and dacoities.

CONCLUSION

KODALIA is adjacent to one town which is the Headquarters of the district as also of the Commissioner's Division of which the district forms a part. In appearance it is rural but only 23.1 per cent. of the population are dependent exclusively on the land. Another 10.4 per cent. of the population depend on Cultivation to a certain extent but the main occupations of the heads of the households concerned are other than agriculture. From the occupational point of view, the population is more urban than rural but for administrative purposes, it is a village in a Union Board. Conditions were not very different in 1951 but it has not progressed very far on the road to urbanisation. The people have, however, become accustomed to urban ways like drinking tea or using coal as

fuel for cooking. Some families which are comparatively well off even possess bicycles, radios, gramophones or kerosene stoves.

The economy is not self sufficient and the presence of 38 families of agricultural labourers in a village which has not got sufficient land poses a serious problem to economic stability. The solution would seem to lie in change of occupation by the surplus agricultural labourers. The people themselves appear to be alive to the situation as out of 182 families, the heads of only 65 admitted that they were content in their present occupations. The heads of 30 of these 65 families depend on Other Services, of 11 on Wholesale Trade, of 10 on Retail Trade, of 6 on Transport, Storage and Communications, of 4 on Livestock, of 2 on Construction and of 2 on Cultivation.

GLOSSARY

<i>Asar</i>	The third month of the Bengali year.
<i>Bajrangabali</i> or <i>Hanuman</i> or <i>Mahabir</i>	Son of the god controlling the wind—aided Rama in rescuing Sita, in his capacity of the minister of the monkey king Sugriva.
<i>Barwaritala</i>	A common meeting place or a place where community worship takes place.
<i>Bhadra</i>	The fifth month of the Bengali year.
<i>Bhadra Sankranti</i>	The last day of the month of Bhadra.
<i>Bhairaber Than</i>	The place of Bhairab.
<i>Chandi Mandap</i>	A place where principal deities like Durga and Kali are worshipped.
<i>Chapatti</i>	Unleavened bread.
<i>Charpoy/Khatia</i>	An article of furniture, having four legs, fitted to a frame, which is used as a bed. The space within the frame-work is covered with rope-netting, woven on the frame.
<i>Dal</i>	Pulses.
<i>Dhoti</i>	A long piece of cloth, white in colour, worn by men in India.
<i>Didi goswain</i> or <i>Didi Thakur</i>	The goddess of cholera.
<i>Durga</i>	The consort of Shiva.
<i>Ghat</i>	A place for bathing.
<i>Jaistha</i>	The second month of the Bengali year.
<i>Jalchowki</i>	A kind of low stool.
<i>Kali</i>	An incarnation of Durga.
<i>Kalitala</i>	The place of Kali.
<i>Kankan</i>	A kind of ornament worn on the fore-arm.
<i>Karai</i>	A cauldron.

<i>Laksmi-Narayan</i>	Laksmi—the goddess of prosperity and the consort of Narayan or Vishnu, who is one of the Hindu Trinity.
<i>Lichi</i>	A kind of edible fruit— <i>Nephelium litchi</i> , camb.
<i>Magh</i>	The tenth month in the Bengali year.
<i>Mahua</i> or <i>Mol</i>	<i>Basia latifolia</i> or <i>Madhuka latifolia</i> .
<i>Manasa Devi</i>	Manasa is the snake goddess. Devi is an honorific term used in respect of ladies.
<i>Manasatala</i>	The place or mound of Manasa.
<i>Neem</i>	<i>Margosa</i> or <i>Melia Azadirachta</i> , linn.
<i>Panchanan</i>	The five-faced one i.e., Shiva.
<i>Panchanantala</i>	The place of Panchanan or Shiva.
<i>Peepul</i>	<i>Ficus religiosa</i> .
<i>Phani-manasa</i>	<i>Euphorbia royleana</i> .
<i>Pucca</i>	Means durable and applied in respect of a building, indicates that the building is constructed of brick and mortar.
<i>Puja</i>	Worship.
<i>Punjabi</i>	A kind of garment very much like a shirt but having no collar and cuffs.
<i>Rabindra Jayanti</i>	The birthday anniversary of the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore.
<i>Rakshakali</i>	The Kali who protects.
<i>Sag</i>	Leafy vegetables like water-cress.
<i>Saraswati</i>	The daughter of Durga and the goddess of learning.
<i>Sarbajanin puja</i>	Community worship.
<i>Sari</i>	A long piece of cloth worn by women in India.
<i>Sasthi</i>	The protecting goddess of children.
<i>Shiva</i>	One of the three in the Hindu Trinity.
<i>Sitala</i>	The goddess of small-pox.
<i>Sitalatala</i>	The place of Sitala.

<i>Sukla Dasami tithi</i>	.	.	.	The tenth lunar day in the bright fortnight.
<i>Taktaposh</i>	.	.	.	A crude bed-stead, in which the space within the frame is filled up with flat wooden boards.
<i>Tithi</i>	.	.	.	Lunar day.
<i>Tulsi</i>	.	.	.	Ocimum sanctum.
<i>Vijaya Sammilani</i>	.	.	.	The social gathering which takes place after the immersion of the image of the goddess Durga.
<i>Viswakarma</i>	.	.	.	Comparable with Vulcan of the Greek mythology—a god who is worshipped by technicians of all kinds.

APPENDIX

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY—WEST BENGAL

CENSUS 1961

Name of District.....

PART I

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Name of Police Station..... Name of Mauza..... J. L. No.....

1. Serial number of Household.....

2.(a) Name of Head of Household.....

(b) Sex..... (c) Age..... (d) Caste or Tribe.....

3. Composition of Household, including Head :

Serial No.	Name	Sex	Relationship to Head	Age	Marital Status	Age at marriage

A. DURATION OF RESIDENCE

4. (a) For how many generations, counting from head of the household backwards, has the household been residing in this mauza ?

(b) If head of household has migrated to this mauza, together with the household, where was his ancestral home ?

B. RELIGION

5. (a) Religion

(b) Sect

(c) Tribe or Caste

(d) Sub-tribe or Sub-caste

6. (a) Is there a deity or object of worship or a sacred plant in the house ? (Answer Yes/No).

(b) If 'Yes', where is the deity or object of worship located in the house ?

(c) What is the name of the deity or object of worship or sacred plant and what is the form of worship ?

7. Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under law ? (Answer Yes/ No).

C. MARRIAGE

8. (a) Has any marriage in contravention of caste or tribal law taken place in this household ? (Answer Yes/No).

(b) If such a marriage has taken place give details about the marriage.

(c) With what castes or tribes other than the caste or tribe of the household is marriage permissible ?

(d) With which of such castes or tribes would marriage be desirable ?

(e) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the son ? (Answer Yes/ No. If 'Yes', mention amount).

(f) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount).

9. Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Marriage Act? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', what do you think of the salient features of the Hindu Marriage Act?).

10. Have you any objection to contract marriages for persons of your household with persons of same social and economic status as yours but belonging to the following communities? (Mark with a (✓) the names of the communities against which you have no objection):

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| (1) Baidya | (11) Chamar |
| (2) Mahisya | (12) European |
| (3) Dom | (13) Karmakar |
| (4) Brahman | (14) Kayastha |
| (5) Dhoba | (15) Pod |
| (6) Bauri | (16) Rajbanshi |
| (7) Bhutia | (17) Namasudra |
| (8) Napit | (18) Bagdi |
| (9) Santal | (19) Chinese |
| (10) Muslim | |

D. INHERITANCE

11. (a) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Adoption Act? (Answer Yes/No).

(b) If yes, what do you think are the salient features on recent changes?

12. (a) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Succession Act? (Answer Yes/No).

(b) If yes, what do you think are the salient features of such changes?

13. (a) Which relatives, including male members and widows and daughters, married and unmarried, inherit property on the death of a married male person belonging to the same caste as your household?

(b) What is the share of each such member?

14. Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons?

E. PROPERTY

Land

15. If the household possesses land give

- Total area in acres
- Total area under cultivation
- Area comprising homestead

(d)

Name of Crop	Quantity obtained last year	Quantity sold
1	2	3
(i) Paddy		
(ii) Wheat		
(iii) Maize, Jowar or Bajra		
(iv) Pulses, including gram		
(v) Sugarcane		
(vi) Barley		
* (vii) Vegetables		
(viii) Jute		
(ix) Chillies		
(x) Tobacco		
(xi) Oil seeds		
(xii) Cotton		
(xiii) Ginger		
* (xiv) Bamboo or Cane		
* (xv) Fruits		
(xvi) Other agricultural crops		
* (xvii) Betel nut		
* (xviii) Betel leaf		
(xix) Hay		

NOTE: Item marked with asterisk only the money value is to be given.

(e) What is the organic manure used?

(f) Do you use chemical fertilisers?

(g) Do you use any new agricultural implement which has been taught to you for the first time in the last five years?

(h) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation?

(i) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting?

(j) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour?

(k) Adoption of land improvement measures like reclamation, soil conservation, consolidation etc.

(l) Increase in irrigated area.

(m) Use of improved seeds—cropwise.

(n) Use of pesticides.

(o) Use of improved method of cultivation, like Japanese method of paddy cultivation.

16. How much did your father own at the time of his death?

(a) Land in acres.

(b) Houses and other property.

17. (a) Do you own any cattle or poultry? Give numbers.

(i) Milch Cattle.

(ii) Draught Bullock.

(iii) Cows, goats, sheep, pigs, duck/geese and fowl.

(b) How much milk or milk-products do you sell?

(c) Is any portion of the milk and milk products consumed at home?

18. Fishery

(a) Does the household own any tank?

(b) If fish is reared, was any quantity sold last year? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention quantity).

F. INDUSTRY

19. Do you conduct any industry?

(a) What are the products?

(b) Which of them do you sell to neighbours or in the market?

(c) Have you taken up this industry for the first time in the course of last five years?

(d) Have you adopted any new tools or instruments for running this industry? If so, name the details of the tools and instruments.

(e) Is capital loaned by the Mahajan who takes the products in repayment of loan?

(f) Are some of the products consumed at home? If so, proportion?

20. Name the art or craft in which you have earned proficiency.

21. When and how did you learn the art or craft concerned?

(a) Do you consider further training necessary? (Answer Yes/No).

(b) If yes, describe the type of training you desire.

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22. (a) What was your father's occupation?

(b) If you have changed your father's occupation, why have you done so?

(c) Were you forced for lack of choice into this occupation? (Answer Yes/No).

(d) If you were not forced for lack of choice, why did you choose this occupation?

23. (a) Have you yourself changed your occupation from another kind to this one? (Answer Yes/No).

(b) If yes, explain why you have changed your own occupation.

24. What kind of work would you like your son to do?

25. (a) If you are engaged in trade or business, mention the commodities dealt in.

(b) How do you get your finance?

(c) What is your approximate profit?

G. INDEBTEDNESS

26. If head of household is in debt,

(a) Mention amount of debt outstanding.

(b) Source of Credit.

27. (a) Are you content with the present occupation? (Answer Yes/No).

(b) If no, what other work you are doing?

H. EDUCATION

28. (a) How much did you spend last year on the education of your children?

(b) How many of your children are reading at school or college?

School: Male/Female

College: Male/Female

(c) Does any member of the household regularly read a newspaper or listen to news broadcasts through the community radio sets?

I. COMMUNITY

29. (a) Does the head of the household know name of the Union Board/Anchal Panchayat/Thana/District in which his mauza is situated?

(b) Does the head of the household know names of the principal rivers flowing through the district?

30. (a) Do you think that abolition of Zamindari and intermediary rights has resulted in any good to you? (Answer Yes/No).
 (b) If yes, indicate how you have benefited?
 (c) If no, why have you not been benefited?
31. If you are a share-cropper,
 (a) Could you get yourself recorded as a share-cropper in the revisionary settlement? (Answer Yes/No).
 (b) Have you been evicted from your land as a result of recent land legislation? (Answer Yes/No). If yes, give particulars.
32. (a) Have you benefited from any scheme of land reclamation or land development? (Answer Yes/No).
 (b) If yes, explain how you have benefited.
33. (a) Is there a cooperative society in your mauza? (Answer Yes/No).
 (b) If yes, are you a member? (Answer Yes/No).
 (c) If no, why are you not a member?
34. (a) Is there an NES Block in your area?
 (b) Do you know what are the functions of Gram Sevak? (Answer Yes/No).
 (c) If yes, describe his functions.
 (d) Has the Gram Sevak ever come and talked to you?
 (e) Has he demonstrated any of the improved agricultural practices mentioned above? If so, did you follow his advice?
35. (a) Have you benefited from the NES Block? (Answer Yes/No).
 (b) If yes, how have you benefited?
36. (a) Is there a Panchayat in your mauza? (Answer Yes/No).
 (b) If yes, how long has the Panchayat been in your mauza?
 (c) What are the main functions of the Panchayat?
 (d) What are the main parties in your Panchayat and which caste is leading the Panchayat?
 (e) Has there been any improvement in your mauza since the Panchayat was established? (Answer Yes/No).
 (f) If yes, what have been the improvements?

- (g) What activities or works of Community benefit (school buildings, wells, Panchayat Ghars, youth club, etc.) have been taken up in your mauza since the establishment of the Panchayat?
- (h) Did you participate in these (by contributing land, labour, cash or material etc.)? If not, why not?
- (i) Have you benefited from the work/activity?
37. (a) Has any caste or tribe of your mauza got a separate Panchayat of its own? (Answer Yes/No).
 (b) If yes, what are the main functions of this caste or tribal Panchayat?
 (c) Since the statutory Panchayats are functioning, why do you think these caste or tribal Panchayats should still continue?
38. (a) Is there a family planning centre in your area? (Answer 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?
 (c) Does the head of the household wish that no more children were born to him?

J. DIET

39. (a) How many times a day do the members of the household take their meals?
 (b) What are the usual items of diet at each meal?
 (c) What are the foods or drinks prohibited?
 (d) Does the household take sugar/tea?
 (e) How many times in a month is meat/fish/egg/milk consumed?
 (f) What is the staple diet of infants, after they have been weaned (Infant means children under 1 year of age) if any in the household?

K. UTENSILS

40. (a) What utensils are used for preparing food and for storage of drinking water?
 (b) Of what materials are important utensils made?

L. FUEL

41. What fuel is ordinarily used for cooking?

M. FURNITURE & ORNAMENTS

42. (a) Does the household possess a Bedstead/*Khatia*/Chair/Table/Mirror/Bench/Stool/*Jalchowki*/Wall shelf/Clothes horse or bracket? (Cross out those not found).
 (b) Is the household using any new kind of furniture for the first time in the last five years?
 (c) Does the household use mosquito net?
43. List all the ornaments used by (a) men and (b) women. Give the local names and mention whether gold or silver or brass or any other material is mainly used. Give drawings.

N. HOUSES

44. Give a plan of the house and compound showing the main places, the material of the roof, walls and doors and the measurements of the bed-room.

NOTE—Give sketches and photographs wherever possible.

O. CONSUMER GOODS

45. (a) Does the household possess Hurricane lantern/Petromax or Hazak/Battery torch light/Kerosene Stove/Bicycle/Gramophone/Radio set? (Cross out those which do not apply).
 (b) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years? If yes, which are these articles?

- (c) Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap?
 (d) Are clothes sent to washerman to be cleaned?

P. OCCUPATION

46. (a) Occupation of the head of the Household.
 (b) Occupation of other male/female members of the household, if their occupations are at variance with the occupation of the head of the household.
 (i) Name.
 (ii) Relation to the head.
 (iii) Occupation.
 (e) Reasons for such variations in case of each (strike out those not relevant).
 Better income/aptitude/social prestige/lack of choice.

Q. SUCH OTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD AS HAS NOT BEEN ENTERED IN THE SCHEDULE.

Signature of Investigator.....

Date.....

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY—WEST BENGAL

CENSUS 1961

Name of District.....

PART II
MAUZA SCHEDULE

Name of Police Station.....

Name of Mauza.....

Number of J. L.

Area of the Mauza.....

Number of Households.....

What is the religion which majority of the villagers profess.....

1. Topography of the Mauza :—

- (a) Is the Mauza situated on a plain/on an undulating surface/on a plateau/on a hillock/or at the bottom of a depression?
- (b) The system of grouping of houses—average distance between two clusters of houses—reasons for such grouping, e.g., whether on account of the nature of the surface of land or on account of social custom.
- (c) Internal roads—Tanks—Mauza common—any stream of other extensive source of water—proximity or otherwise of any jungle—approximate number of shade-bearing trees and how they are arranged.

2. What is the local legend about the Mauza ?

3. Detailed description of average house of the members of each caste/tribe, religious group, occupational group in the Mauza.

4. Name and distance of *Hat* or *Hats* to which surplus produce of the Mauza is taken for sale.

5. Name and distance of the nearest Railway Station and Bus route.

6. Distance by road from Thana and Subdivisional Headquarters.

7. (a) Distance of the Post Office from the Mauza.

(b) Distance of the Telegraph Office from the Mauza.

(c) Can money be sent through that Post Office ?

8. Religious practice followed by members of each caste, tribe and religious group in the Mauza. The description of the religious practice in each case should begin with the name or names under which the Supreme Being is known and then proceed from ceremonies that might be observed in respect of a person from sometime before he is born and end with the funeral rites after his death.

9. Give details of places of common religious worship, if any.

10. Describe community festivals if held in the Mauza.

11. Dress commonly worn by the villagers with special reference to peculiarities on account of caste, tribe or religious sanction or economic status.

12. Number and types of schools in the Mauza.

13. Describe social recreation centres, if any.

14. State of cooperative movement in the Mauza. (Number and names of cooperatives).

NATURE OF SOCIAL DISABILITIES SUFFERED BY DIFFERENT CASTES IN THE MAUZA

I	II			III				IV		V
	Access to			Disability regarding Services				Avoided by caste Hindu in regard to		
	Shop, Hotel, Restaurant	Temple or place of worship	Any other place of public resort	Brahman priest	Barber	Washer-man	Any other village servant	Touch	Serving cooked food	
REMARKS										

MAUZA DISPUTES REFERRED TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES LAST YEAR

I	II			III	IV	V	VI
	Leading members of each disputant party						
	Caste Panchayat	Name	Caste tribe				
Nature of adjudicating authority				Nature of dispute	Decision of the adjudicating authority	Nature of sanction	REMARKS (Whether the decision was endorsed, whether there is preference for adjudication by particular type of authority in particular type of case, place of trial etc.)
Caste Panchayat . . .							
Informal Panchayat . . .							
Statutory Mauza Panchayat							
Court . . .							
Others (specify) . . .							

MAUZA LEADERS, MEMBERS OF PANCHAYAT, PRIEST AND OTHER OFFICE BEARERS

I	II							III
Name of Organisation	MEMBERS							REMARKS
	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age	Since when holding the office	How gained position	Remuneration, if any	
Statutory Panchayat								
Caste Panchayat (Name of Caste)								
Other Leaders								
Members of Board of Directors of Cooperative Society								

CULTURAL LIFE OF THE INHABITANTS OF MAUZA

I	II	III		IV				V	VI	VII
Names of clubs, libraries, drama parties or other cultural organisations in the Mauza	When established	Rough proportion of members belonging to		Office bearers				Brief note on basis of membership (subscription, signing of pledge etc.)	Brief note on objective of the organisation	Brief note on activities of the organisation
		Different castes	Different occupation groups	Name	Caste	Occupation	Age			

RECREATIONAL AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITIES ENJOYED BY THE INHABITANTS OF MAUZA

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII		VIII	IX
Type of activity	*Brief description	Where room placed (if outside the mauza name & distance of the place)	Frequency and duration (specify whether daily, monthly, seasonally, etc.)	Extent of active participation of people of the main castes & communities in performance (many, few, some)	Extent of participation of people of main castes or communities as audience (many, few, some)	If activity is in mauza do visitors from other mauza participate ?		What agency sponsors, promotes or finances	Who trains players etc. (his name, address, caste, occupation)
						Approximate number	Role (player, audience, otherwise)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Sports & Games									
2. Drama, music, dancing etc.									
3. Cinema									
4. Filmstrip, Puppetshow etc.									
5. Fairs									
6. Festivals									
7. Other entertainments									

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*Indicate nature and reason of celebration.