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KHATIK OF UTTAR PRADESH

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FOREWORD

The Constitution lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

To assist States in fulfilling their responsibility in this regard, the 1961 Census provided a series of special tabulations of the Social and Economic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are notified by the President under the Constitution and the Parliament is empowered to include in or exclude from the lists, any caste or tribe. During the Census operations, the enumerators frequently face the problem of identifying the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the President's notification, though in some cases, the names of the sub-castes and sub-tribes and synonyms are given, there are many cases where such names have not been provided in the list. The Census enumerators, therefore, require guidance about the acceptance or rejection of claims that they come across during the operations of some communities to be treated as sub-castes or sub-tribes of the notified Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose, the Census Organisation has thought it wise to undertake detailed ethnographic studies in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India. This is also in conformity with the past Census tradition of presenting authentic ethnographic account of Indian communities.

For conducting the ethnographic studies, a number of ancillary operations are undertaken by the Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India, as well as the staff of the Superintendents of Census Operations in the various States. These ancillary operations include: (i) compilation of available information on each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and preparation of bibliography in respect of them; (ii) preparation and interpretation of maps showing distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes over time and space; and (*iii*) special studies on cultural, technological and economic changes taking place among the various tribal communities.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Deputy Registrar General, Social Studies Unit, assisted by Shri N. G. Nag, Officer on Special Duty and Shri A. M. Kurup, Research Officer is coordinating all these studies at the central level. I avail of this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to all my colleagues who have undertaken various studies on different aspects of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.

Shri H. N. Singh, Investigator, of the Registrar General Office conducted the field investigation on Khatiks of Uttar Pradesh and prepared the draft. Shri N. G. Nag and Dr. B. K. Roy Burman edited the report.

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November, 1970.

PREFACE

As an adjunct of 1961 Census, preparation of ethnographic monographs on a number of selected Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status and ethnographic glossaries on all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up by the Census Organisation.

In India the census organisation has a long tradition of undertaking ethnographic studies. Besides, there are certain reasons why, for its own operational purposes, it is necessary for the census organisation to take up such studies. During census operation, the Census organisation is required to make a complete enumeration of all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country. The ethnographic studies are required to establish the identity of the various communities including their segments. The social boundaries of various communities are not always rigid, they are in a state of flux. Ethnographic studies are required to keep track of these changes as well, otherwise comparison of consecutive census figures would give altogether wrong picture in respect of them. There is another aspect of study in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in which the census organisation, as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested—it is ethno-demography. In 1961 Census, separate tables were prepared in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the following items—

(i) industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex.
(ii) age and marital status,
(iii) education,
(iv) religion,
(v) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Castes,
(vi) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Tribes,
(vii) mother tongue and bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes.

The data available in these tables are to be analysed in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined.

The insight gained by the census organisation, through ethnographic studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, will be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern for the country as a whole. Recent studies show that in India, even now, it is difficult to correctly appreciate the various social and economic processes without reference to caste. On the other hand, in the interest of ultimate national goal, caste is not being recorded in census, except in case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The insight gained through ethno-demographic studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is, therefore, of invaluable help for census.

At the same time, such study is very much useful for planning of development activities among the castes or tribes concerned. For instance, if the census shows that great deal of diversification of occupation has taken place among the Parayans of Kerala, it is important for the planners to know whether the community consists of a number of disconnected segments or whether it means that a great deal of individual mobility is taking place where the main focus of community is other than traditional occupation. Again, when among the Bauris of Orissa, it is found that a very high proportion of the population is engaged in agricultural labour and next to them a high proportion is found in cultivation and also that there is considerable diversification of occupation, the following questions of sociological and practical importance arise—

(a) What is the historical relation between the agricultural labourers and the cultivators among the Bauris of Orissa? The census data suggests one of the two possible developments, namely, (1) Bulk of the Bauris were cultivators and by a process of degeneration of their economy have become agricultural labourers, (2) on the other hand, it is also possible that the bulk of them were agricultural labourers and through a process of improvement of their economic condition, many of them have become cultivators.

(b) The fact that a considerable diversification of occupation has taken place, suggests that the economy has not remained in a stagnant condition. Here, it is to be examined whether the diversification is the result of upward mobility, or downward mobility, or even horizontal mobility, and what is the actual process by which the diversification has taken place.

(c) The social dimensions corresponding to the diversification in economic life have to be examined. It is also to be examined whether inspite of diversification of occupation, the ethos of particular occupation, for instance agriculture, continue to be dominant. In that case, diversification might have created problems of adjustment in values and attitudes.

Instances can be multiplied, but it is not necessary. What have been stated above, are enough to bring out the significance of ethno-demographic studies for planners.

The above dimensions of ethno-demographic studies have evolved through stages. In 1960 at the instance of Shri Mitra, Registrar General of India, a questionnaire for collection of ethnographic data was circulated among the Census Superintendents. In October, 1961, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the office of the Registrar General of India, to coordinate the ethnographic studies and a few other ancillary studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys, etc. In December, 1961, a Study Camp was organised in Delhi, where the personnel engaged in ethnographic studies, handicrafts studies and other social investigations in the office of the Census Superintendents, participated. In the study camp, it was considered that the ethnographic notes would mainly aim at making an objective assessment of the state of development of the different Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the context of the changes taking place in technology, economic organisation and total culture pattern of the country. It was further suggested that the primary focus of the study should not be on the exotic elements of the cultures of the different castes and tribes. It should be on the efforts of the communities concerned, to adjust to the modern conditions of life. In the light of the above decisions of the Study Camp, rapid ethnographic studies have been carried on by the staff of the Superintendents of Census Operations as well as by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, in different parts of the country. These rapid surveys have brought out a number of methodological and operational problems. In May and June, 1966, two Ethnographic Study Camps were held at Kurseong and Hyderabad, where personnel from the office of the Registrar General of India as well as from the offices of the Census Superintendents participated. In the Study Camp held at Kurseong, the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, and Director, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, also participated. In this study Camp, an integrated frame for preparation of ethonographic notes was discussed and adopted. A copy of the same may be seen at 'Annexure'. In addition to the studies in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe separately, a number of subsidiary studies were undertaken by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, for gaining insight into a number of problems of general nature, which have bearing on the different aspects of the lives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the country. These subsidiary studies are as follows—

1. Shifting cultivation in Santal Parganas of Bihar and Garo Hills of Assam.

2. Pattern of Rehabilitation of displaced tribals of Rourkela.
3. Socio-economic survey of the Scheduled areas of Rajasthan.
4. Socio-economic developments among the hillmen of North-East India.
5. Social structure and cultural orientation of Christians converted from Scheduled Castes.
6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas.
7. Grouping of castes and tribes with reference to occupation and intra-group comparative study on the basis of the data available in earlier censuses.
8. Social mobility movements among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

On the basis of each of the subsidiary studies indicated above, a separate monograph is under preparation. It is also proposed to prepare separate monographs on a few Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status in each State. Besides ethnographic glossaries are proposed to be prepared in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose about one lakh references have been indexed.

The present report on Khatiks of Uttar Pradesh is one of the monographs included in the series of ethnographic studies. The field investigation was undertaken by Shri H. N. Singh under the guidance of Shri N. G. Nag, Officer on Special Duty. Shri Nag accompanied Shri Singh during his visit and guided him in the collection of the data in and around Lucknow and Allahabad. In the light of the guideline provided by Shri Nag, further investigations were done by Shri Singh. The draft report prepared by Shri H. N. Singh was revised by Shri Nag. Though the study was conducted under my general guidance, the credit for editing this particular report mainly pertains to Shri Nag.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the colleagues who collaborated in this project.

Shri H. L. Harit, Investigator, who is looking after the compilation of information from published sources in respect of all Scheduletd Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other special ethnic groups of India deserves mention.

Shri A. Mitra, Registrar General of India for 1961 Census, whose far-sighted initiative is responsible for social investigations in a large number of fields including ethnography, deserves thanks of all student of Indology. I have been benefited not only by his inspiration, but also by his valuable suggestions in connection with the ethnographic studies as well as the other studies, conducted by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit.

The tradition built by Shri Mitra, has been continued by Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, the present Registrar General of India. Under his guidance, the scope of the Social Studies by the Census Organisation has been further expanded. In spite of his other pre-occupations, he has gone through the final drafts of the ethnographic notes and given a number of valuable suggestions. I avail of this opportunity to express my gratefulness to him.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

KHATIKS OF UTTAR PRADESH

Name, Identity, Origin and History

An important caste of northern India, the Khatiks are treated as a Scheduled Caste in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi vide the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes List (Modification) Order, 1956. But in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh they are notified in only some parts of these States. In U.P., they are spread over almost the entire State.

According to Crooke (Vol. II, 1904, p. 257) the word Khatik is derived from the Sanskrit word—"Khattika" which means a butcher or a hunter. He refers to them as a "Cultivating, labouring and vegetable selling caste found all over the province". But according to Rose (Vol. II, 1911, p. 501), they appear to be by origin scavangers who rose in social scale by taking to dyeing and tanning. He has further stated that, "the Khatik is certainly below the Chamar because he keeps pigs and poultry which a Chamar would not do.....". Ibbetson (Vol. I, 1881, p. 320) has expressed the opinion that "they appear to be closely allied to the Pasis and indeed are sometimes classed as a tribe of that caste. They form a connecting link between the scavengers and leather workers, though they occupy a social position distinctively inferior to that of the latter". Russel (Vol. III, 1916, p. 453) and Risley (Vol. I, 1891, p. 47) both agree in calling them a cultivating and vegetable selling caste. Russel also makes a mention of Hindu Khatiks as well as Muslim Khatiks. The latter group has also appeared in the name of 'Gao' or 'Gai Kasab', that is 'beef butchers', in Enthoven's account of the community (Vol. III, 1922, p. 108).

It is clear from the above accounts that the traditional occupation of Khatik varies a good deal; thus, they have been mentioned as cultivators, butchers, poultry and pig rearers, tanners as well as vegetable sellers. As discussed in the subsequent account, quite often the different traditional occupations are associated with different subcastes which sometimes have bearing on their social status.

As the Khatiks are widespread in different parts of the State, the field work for the present study was conducted in different regions of the State[1]. According to the Khatiks of Chandawak village in Jaunpur district, they were originally Hindu agriculturists but some of them were also enrolled as soldiers in the army during the reign of Mughal emperors. They mentioned that during Aurangzeb's rule many girls from Kshatriya's families were captured and married by Mughals. According to a legend narrated by the informants once Aurangzeb proceeded to marry a daughter of a Kshatriya Raja. The Raja was unhappy but could not do anything in the matter. However, in order to embarrass or annoy the King he asked his soldiers to bring pigs on the marriage day. When the marriage procession reached his palace Aurangzeb saw the pigs and he felt betrayed and since then the families of the Kshtriya Raja were referred to as 'Khatik'.

Another legend narrated by a few old Khatik informants at Lucknow also referred to the struggle between Hindu Rajas and Mughal King, Aurangzeb. According to this legend during Aurangzeb's rule, a battle was fought between a Hindu Raja and Aurangzeb at Attock (Now in Pakistan). The Hindu soldiers suffered defeat and tried to escape by taking shelter in an old abandoned fort. The fort was surrounded by a canal full of water and the passage was too narrow to pass through. While the soldiers were hesitating to get into the fort, their commander advised them to get in without any hesitation. He also warned them not to go astray. He mentioned that those who would not abide by his orders would be "Khatak".

> *"Chale ao Bekhatak, Koi Na Jao Bhatak, Jo Jai Bhatak, Ho Jai Khattak"* i.e. "Come on without any worry and do not get lost on the way, one who will get lost, he would become Khatak".

It is said that the soldiers who failed to take shelter in the fort were captured by the Muslim soldiers and were enslaved and employed as butchers and, therefore, called 'Khatik'. But the informants in other areas were mostly unaware of the above legends. These legends, link the Khatiks with the occupation of butchers and pig rearers.

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1. The field investigations were carried out in the following villages and localities: (*i*) village Chandawak in Jaunpur district (*ii*) village Kanjahit in Azamgarh district (*iii*) village Kazidewar in Gonda district (*iv*) village Gomat in Aligarh district (*v*) Kaisarbagh locality in Lucknow city and (*vi*) a few localities in Allahabad city.

During the field survey, the Khatiks did not agree to the contention of Rose (Vol. II, 1911, pp. 500-501) that they are scavengers by origin who by adopting to the occupation of dyeing and tanning, raised themselves in the social status. The Khatiks in different parts of the State do not recognise any affinity or common tradition of origin with Bhangis or any other scavenging caste. According to Khatiks of Gomat village in Aligarh district, who are professionally leather workers, they were primarily shepherds who used to keep sheep and sell them in the market; later on, they shifted to the occupation of buying sheep and selling their meat after slaughtering them. At present they are engaged in leather work and, therefore, called Khallu-Khatiks or Rangiya-Khatiks (Rangiya from tanning). It is interesting to note that the account given by Russel in respect of the Khatiks of C.P. corroborate the above statement. In this connection he mentions "In C.P., they are said to be an inferior branch of the Gadaria or shepherd caste. The Gadarias state that their old sheep were formerly allowed to die. Then, they appointed some poor men of the community to kill them and sell the flesh dividing the profits with the owner, and that the Khatiks caste arose. The Khatiks accept cooked food from the Gadarias but the latter do not reciprocate" (1916; Vol. IV, pp. 453-454).

Regarding their affinity with other castes, Crooke (Op. Cit.) is of the view that the Pasis, another Scheduled Caste of the region, is closely connected to the Khatiks, and some times regarded as a sub caste of the latter. During field survey for the present study, however, different views were expressed by the Khatiks in this matter. According to the Khatiks of Aligarh, it is incorrect to consider Pasi as a sub caste or even an allied caste of Khatiks. They mention that the Pasis rear and keep pigs, while the Khatiks of the region do not rear or keep pigs, which is a job usually done by Bhangis, and, therefore, they are basically superior to the Pasis. But according to Khatiks of eastern U.P., the Pasis were once an allied caste of Khatiks and at one time there were commensal relations between them. But at present they have no relation of any sort with each other and, according to them, Pasis and Khatiks are different communities though ranking somewhat on equal footing and enjoying similar social status.

Sherring (1872, Vol. I, p. 400) reports the following sub castes among the Khatiks.

1. Bakar Kasao
2. Chalan Maharo
3. Ghor Charao
4. Ajudbiya-basi
5. Sunkhar
6. Baurea
7. Pasi.

Of these, the first five are regarded as distinct sub castes of Khatiks by Crooke (Vol. III, 1904, p. 257). Anyhow, during the field investigations the following groups of Khatiks were reported in different regions of U.P.

1. Bakra Kasao or Bakra Kasab
2. Ghora Charao
3. Ayudhiya-basi
4. Sunkhar/Sonkar
5. Mewapharos
6. Subhaiya
7. Banbata Khatik
8. Muragiya Khatik
9. Khallu or Rangaiya
10. Chikwa/Chik

It may be mentioned that Baurea as well as Pasi sub castes mentioned by Sherring do not find a place in the list of sub castes or various groups of Khatiks reported during the survey. There is also no mention of Chalan Maharo. However, the Khallu or Rangaiya Khatik sub caste, reported during the field investigations, appears to be same as Chalan Maharo, as both have the same traditional occupation, viz. tanning of leather and other related work. By and large, the various groups of Khatiks recorded during the field survey, are endogamous sections or territorial groups, who neither inter-marry nor inter-dine with one another. Some of the sub castes are named after their traditional occupations and a few derive their names from the territory with which they are associated. These are discussed below:

1. *Bakra Kasao or Bakra Kasab*—This is an endogamous sub caste of Khatik which derives its name from its traditional occupation of slaughtering goats and sheep. It is said to be spread throughout the State, but has its major concentration in western districts of U.P., such as Aligarh, Bulandshahar and Bijnor.

2. *Ghora Charao*—This is an occupational sub caste of Khatiks which is characterised by its traditional occupation of acting as grooms and tonga drivers. The Ghora Charaos are mostly found in western districts of U.P., such as Agra, Aligarh, Meerut and Bulandshahar. During the survey, it was found that some of their families were residing in Gomat village in Aligarh district, where they are mostly employed as grooms by ex-zamindars. Umed, an informant residing in Gomat village narrated that about 55 years ago his father, who was also engaged as a groom, migrated to the village. The informant was himself employed as a tonga driver by an Ex-zamindar of the village.

3. *Ayudhiya-basi*—It is a territorial division —the name being used for those Khatiks who have their origin in Ayudhiya region. This name has now gained some prestige value among Khatiks and used as a prestige symbol by this group of Khatiks. The Ayudhiya-basis are mainly engaged in cultivation, and growing vegetables and selling the same. This occupation is considered a better and more respectable one than slaughtering pigs or tanning of hides. The vegetable seller section of Khatiks in the village Gomat of Aligarh district claim themselves to be of Suryabansi Kshatriya origin. It, however, came to light that their claim to be Suryabanshi Rajput is of a recent origin; just after independence. Some of them also cultivate food or cash crops. They also sell sheep and goats to the Chiks (Khatiks) of Aligarh and Delhi.

4. *Sunkhar or Sonkar*—It is a very common term, mostly used in Oudh region and eastern districts of the State. According to Crooke (op. cit. p. 257), they are said to take their name from the town of Sonkh in Mathura. But during the survey, the Sonkar Khatiks of Lucknow, Jaunpur and Azamgarh districts did not agree with this view expressed by Crooke. According to them, they were previously *Sonar* (gold-smiths) and later on came to be known as Sonkar when they were no longer engaged in this occupation. From the investigation conducted, it appears that the term Sonkar is used to denote different groups. It is the name of a sub caste as well as an honorific title. It came to light that many educated and affulent sections of Khatiks belonging to other sub castes also use the name Sonkar as a surname. For instance, in Lucknow city, some persons belonging to Subhaiya sub caste use Sonkar as their surname. The use of Sonkar as a surname was also found among some of the Ayudhiyabasi group of Khatiks. When enquired whether any marriage relations existed between the original Sonkar sub caste and those who had adopted it as a surname, it was stated in a general way that though a few educated urban dwellers had started marrying outside their own groups, by and large, the members of original Sonkar sub caste refrained from marrying with other sub castes even though the latter were using Sonkar as a surname or title. The people who claim themselves to be original Sonkars are generally found to be traditionally engaged as cultivators or vegetable sellers as well as fruit sellers.

5. *Mewapharos*—Mewapharos, implying a fruit seller, is also mentioned as a sub caste of Khatiks, specially in Lucknow and Allahabad cities. They are said to form a separate endogamous group of their own. It was, however, found that in Kaiserbagh, Subzimandi, Lucknow, they had adopted the surname Sonkar and some of them no longer pursued the occupation of selling fruits and were engaged in miscellaneous occupations and services.

6. *Subhaiya*—The Subhaiyas are said to have been traditionally engaged as masons. But at present, most of them have given up their traditional occupation and are mostly engaged in miscellaneous services, including petty trade. They are said to form an endogamous group of their own.

7. *Banbata Khatiks*—They are said to be traditionally rope makers. This section does not find a mention among the sub castes or various groups of Khatiks mentioned by earlier scholars. During the field survey, no person belonging to Banbata group could be contacted and it could not be verified whether they formed a distinct sub caste of Khatiks or whether they belonged to some other sub caste and derived their name from their occupation of rope making.

8. *Murgiya Khatik*—Like Banbata Khatiks, Murgiya Khatiks were also mentioned as another group of Khatiks. They do not find a mention in the list of sub castes furnished by Sherring. They primarily deal in poultry and keep and sell birds, hens and eggs. However, it appears that like the Banbata Khatiks they are also an occupational group of Khatiks and it is not certain whether they form a distinct sub caste of their own.

9. *Khallu or Rangaiyas*—As mentioned elsewhere, they are currently engaged as leather workers in Aligarh district. They are also engaged in the occupation of buying sheep and selling their meat. They form a well defined sub caste of Khatiks.

10. *Chikwa or Chik*—There are two divisions among the Chikwas or Chiks—Hindu Chiks and Musalman Chiks. It appears that the Hindu Chiks are synonymous with the Bakra Ka Sab Khatiks. In Aligarh, Bulandshahar, etc. they purchase sheep, goats and pigs and sell them to the other butchers at a profit.

There appears to be a system of hierarchy of status in respect of a few groups of Khatiks. Previously, the Ayudhiyabasi Khatiks were regarded as the highest sub caste among the Khatiks. Their supreme position has, however, been successfully challenged by the Sunkhar group, who have displaced them from the top position. In fact some of the Ayudhiyabasi Khatiks now use Sunkhar as a surname. The next in hierarchy are the Mewapharos Khatiks. There is no well-defined hierarchy of status among the other sub castes or groups of Khatiks. It may, however, be mentioned that the aforesaid groups of Khatiks are occupying a somewhat higher social status in comparison to the other sections of the caste and receive a better treatment from the caste Hindus as discussed in a subsequent account.

Distribution and Population Trend

During the 1961 census, in addition to Uttar Pradesh wherein they returned a population of 305,326, the Khatiks were also enumerated from Madhya Pradesh (50,842), Maharashtra (13,584), undivided Punjab (21,998), Rajasthan (104,641), West Bengal (2,716), Delhi (14,392) and Himachal Pradesh (105). Thus, it will be seen that the Khatiks are found in largest numbers in Uttar Pradesh followed by Rajasthan. According to the 1961 census, Khatiks constitute 305,326 or in other words, 1.98 per cent of the total Scheduled Caste population of 15,399,881 persons for the U.P. State as a whole. The following table gives the population of Khatiks in various districts of U.P. as per 1961 census:—

Table showing the population of Khatiks in U.P. as per 1961 Census

Name of the district	Population
1. Almora	65
2. Nainital	405
3. Bijnor	333
4. Moradabad	555
5. Budaun	1,944
6. Rampur	19
7. Bareilly	3,061
8. Pilibhit	1,801
9. Shahjahanpur	2,645
10. Dehradun	617
11. Saharanpur	1,436
12. Muzaffarnagar	3,656
13. Meerut	11,551
14. Bulandshahar	23,576
15. Aligarh	28,088
16. Mathura	5,545
17. Agra	11,296
18. Etah	4,787
19. Mainpuri	5,535
20. Farrukhabad	5,370
21. Etawah	6,676
22. Kanpur	18,672
23. Fatehpur	14,637
24. Allahabad	13,843
25. Jhansi	3,569
26. Jalaun	2,727
27. Hamirpur	2,758
28. Banda	3,845
29. Kheri	26
30. Sitapur	225
31. Hardoi	71
32. Unnao	1,518
33. Lucknow	3,444
34. Rai Bareli	6,265
35. Baharaich	13,879
36. Gonda	17,445
37. Barabanki	580
38. Faizabad	1,795
39. Sultanpur	2,210
40. Pratapgarh	1,699
41. Basti	10,470
42. Gorakhpur	3,698
43. Deoria	8,878
44. Azamgarh	12,935
45. Jaunpur	10,296
46. Ballia	55
47. Gazipur	2,408
48. Varanasi	15,892
49. Mirzapur	10,524
50. Garhwal	1
Total ..	305,326

It will be seen from the above table that though the Khatiks are spread almost throughout the State, they have their main concentration in Aligarh, Bulandshahar, Allahabad, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Varanasi and Gonda districts.

Sex-ratio by age groups—As regards their sex-ratio, out of 305,326 Khatiks in U.P. 160,011 are males, while 145,315 are females, thus having a sex-ratio of 908. A statement showing the break-up of the population of Khatiks by broad age-groups and sex is shown in the table below—

Age group	Male	Female	Total
0—14	66,023 (41·26%)	54,220 (37·31%)	120,243 (39·38%)
15—44	65,002 (40·63%)	64,471 (44·37%)	129,473 (42·40%)
45 and above	28,822 (18·01%)	26,457 (18·21%)	55,279 (18·11%)
Unspecified	164 (0·10%)	167 (0·11%)	331 (0·11%)
Total ..	160,011	145,315	305,326

It is seen from the above table, that 39.38 per cent of their population falls in the age group 0—14, while 42.40 per cent falls in the age group 15—45, and in the age group 45 and above, there are 18.11 per cent Khatiks. Thus, there is a balanced distribution of their population in different age groups.

As regards the distribution of population by sex in different age groups, it is seen that the number of males in the age-group 0—14 is larger than that of the females in the same age group. In other words, as against 41.26 per cent males, there are only 37.31 per cent females in the age group 0—14, while in the age group 15—44, against 40.63 per cent males, there are 44.37 per cent females, the number of males being less than the females in this age group. The distribution of population of males and females in the age group 45 and above is quite balanced, being 18.01 per cent and 18.21 per cent respectively.

Rural-Urban distribution—As against 305,326 population of Khatiks in U.P., 240,554 persons are residing in rural areas, while 64,772 are urban dwellers. In other words, 78.79 per cent Khatiks are residing in rural areas and 21.21 per cent in urban areas. This goes to show that though Khatiks are found predominantly in rural areas their population in urban areas is by no means negligible. If the rural-urban distribution is considered in terms of sex-ratio, it is found that 126,448 males and 114,106 females are residing in rural areas, while 33,563 males and 31,209 females in urban areas. This would indicate that there has been no large scale migration of male population of Khatiks to urban areas.

Population trend—The following table indicates the population trend among Khatiks as indicated by the census returns during various decades—

TABLE

State	Population in				Variation between		
	1911	1921	1931	1961	1911-21	1921-31	1931-61
Uttar Pradesh	180,617	176,251	209,668	305,326	—4,366 (—2·48%)	+33,417 (+18·96%)	+95,658 (+45·62%)

The above table indicates that the population of Khatiks has been steadily increasing during the period 1921—61. During the earlier decade of 1911—21, however, the population registered a decline of 2.48 per cent. The population increased by 18.96 per cent during the decade 1921—31, while in the three decades, between 1931—61, it increased by 45.62 per cent. It may, however, be mentioned that during 1931—61 some of the districts of Uttar Pradesh, such as Moradabad, Shahjahanpur, Saharanpur, Hardoi and Gorakhpur registered a decline in population. It is possible that some of these migrated to other districts of U.P. which have shown a phenomenal increase in population and the others to Delhi which is the nearby important city. This seems to be substantiated if the population trend of Khatiks of Delhi is considered. It is to be noted that from 1921—61 the population of Khatiks in Delhi has increased by 240.6 per cent. The large scale influx of Khatiks in Delhi may also be due to immigration from other parts of the country including U.P., which is acknowledged by Khatiks of Delhi as one of the areas from where they have migrated in large numbers during the last three or four decades.

Physical Characteristics

During the field survey conducted in connection with the present study, height vertex and somatoscopic observations have been recorded in respect of 20 unrelated adult male Khatik individuals. Their height vertex varies from 172.72 cms. to 154.94 cms. with a mean of 163.32 cms. Thus, their population falls in the category of medium stature. As regards skin colour, majority of them—16 or 80 per cent—have brown skin colour on their exposed parts such as the face; the remaining 4 or 20 per cent have medium brown skin colour. The form of their hair on the head is invariably wavy; 75 per cent having low waves, while the remaining 25 per cent have hair with medium waves. They have mostly medium thick nose with normal alae or wings of the nose. The depression at the root of the nose varies from shallow, in majority of cases, to medium in few cases. Their eye-slits are invariably straight without any epicanthic fold. Twelve persons (60 per cent) possessed oval face while seven (35 per cent) have round face; only one person (5 per cent) was found to have a broad face. All have a medium developed chin and medium thick lips. Proganathism is totally absent. Their cheek bones are well developed; 12 persons (60 per cent) have medium cheeks and 4 persons (20 per cent) have prominent chins and an equal number have somewhat weak chins.

Family

The Khatiks trace their descent along the male line in keeping with the custom of the other societies of the region. They are patronymic and patripotestal. As regards residence after marriage, they are patrilocal or neolocal, though patrivicinal—after marriage the son setting up a separate household of his own near his father's house. However, extended families, usually of linear type, are not uncommon among them. In a few cases, collateral type of extended family is also found. However, in order to gain some insight in the matter, particulars of the family composition were collected in respect of 44 households of Khatiks in rural areas. These are indicated below:

Sl. No.	Composition of the household	Number of households	Typology of family
1	Husband, wife and unmarried children	23	Nuclear
2	Husband and wife only	4	Incomplete nuclear
3	Single male	1	Incomplete nuclear
4	Widow and unmarried children	2	Broken nuclear
5	Self, son and his wife and their unmarried children	3	Nuclear with adhesion
6	Widow and her children, including one married son and his wife	1	Nuclear with adhesion
7	Husband and wife and their sons including 2 married sons	2	Extedend
8	Husband and wife, married son and his wife and their unmarried children	2	Extended
9	Husband and wife and their children including one married son and his wife	4	Extended
10	Four brothers, including two married brothers and their wives and their unmarried children	1	Extended (Collateral)
11	Three brothers and their wives and unmarried children of two brothers	1	Extended (Collateral)

From the above table it is seen that out of 44 households as many as 30 (68.1 per cent) have nuclear families. These include 23 (52.3 per cent) nuclear and 7 (15.8 per cent) incomplete or broke families. Out of the remaining 14 households, in case of 3 (6.8 per cent) a widowed father was living with his married son, and the latter's wife and unmarried children. In one case, (2.2 per cent), widow was living with her children including one married son and his wife. In the remaining cases, various configurations of extended families are observed. There are, however, only two (4.3%) households having collateral type of extended family. There are two interesting households in Kazidewar village where in each case, two of the married sons live with their father and mother along with their unmarried brothers but their wives' *gauna* (Consummation of marriage) has not yet taken place and the latter have not come to stay with them on a permanent basis as yet. It is not certain whether in these cases the married brothers will set up their separate households after their wives come to stay with them or continue to stay with their parents and brothers and sisters. The fathers of the persons concerned in both cases mentioned that they were not certain in this matter and had not taken any prior decision in this regard.

As regards regional variations in the matter of distribution of nuclear and extended families among the Khatiks, from the data collected it appears that there are more extended families in Kazidewar and Kanjahit villages (in eastern U.P.), while the incidence of nuclear family is higher in village Gomat in Aligarh district (in western U.P.) where 75 per cent simple or nuclear families were found in the sample covered. It is also noticed that there is more occupational mobility in the latter village when compared with the two villages in eastern U.P. However, on the basis of the above data, it is difficult to surmise that there is a correlation between occupational mobility and distribution of different family types or whether there is a regional variation in the preference for different family types. The difference in the incidence of different types of families in the two regions may be quite incidental.

From the information gathered from the Khatik elders it appears that the present mood of the community is in favour of having nuclear families. Usually, soon after a son gets married, the parental house is partitioned for him. However, in majority of cases, a separate house is constructed in the vicinity of the parental house as the same is usually not big enough to accommodate large families. The setting of a separate household by the married son or sons is often accompanied by division of property, even during the life time of the father. The property is, however, divided equally among the sons, the daughters having no share in the property. But an unmarried sister or widowed mother is entitled to her maintenance by the brothers or the sons, as the case may be.

During the field survey in connection with the present study, discussions were held with the heads of the households who had separated from their parents or brothers and living in the same village to find out the reasons for their separation. According to most of them it is customary in their society that a person should set up his own household after marriage. Besides, according to them, their small houses cannot accommodate large families. They further mentioned that economic factors play an important role in this matter. They expressed the view that the emotional integration within the family is hindered by economic considerations and mentioned that the best way to avoid tension and conflict among the family members is to live separately.

It may, however, be observed that even after separation the agnates continue to discharge their social obligations towards each other and take interest in welfare and personal affairs of each other. On many occasions, they visit the house of the eldest brother or the father to perform family worship.

According to Khatiks, the son-in-law, father's sister's husband, sister's husband, and maternal uncle occupy respectable place in family and play important roles on ceremonial occasions. The status of son-in-law is equated with the status of priest on important occasions, such as marriage. After, the son-in-law, father's sister's husband and sister's husband are given a respectful position on ceremonial occasions. Maternal uncle has to play an important and active role in marriages, etc. It is he who usually acts as the go-between in arranging marriages.

Clan Organisation

There appears to be a good deal of variation in the matter of clan organisation among the Khatiks in different parts of the country. According to Rose (op. cit, p. 500), the Khatiks of Punjab have four exogamous gotras, while Russel mentions that they have the usual set of exogamous clans or septs, of totemistic nature, hence are named after plants, animals or natural objects. (Russel, 1916, Vol. III, p. 454). Risley, however, states that in Bihar they have two sub. castes and only one section, Kasyapa, (the latter name presumably being used for gotra). But the latter has no role in regulating marriages, there being only one gotra. (Risley, Vol. I, 1891, p. 41). As regards Khatiks of U.P., Crooke (Op. cit p. 257) does not make any mention of gotras or clans among them but states that their marriages are regulated by avoidance on the basis of degree of relationship.



Front view of a Khatik.



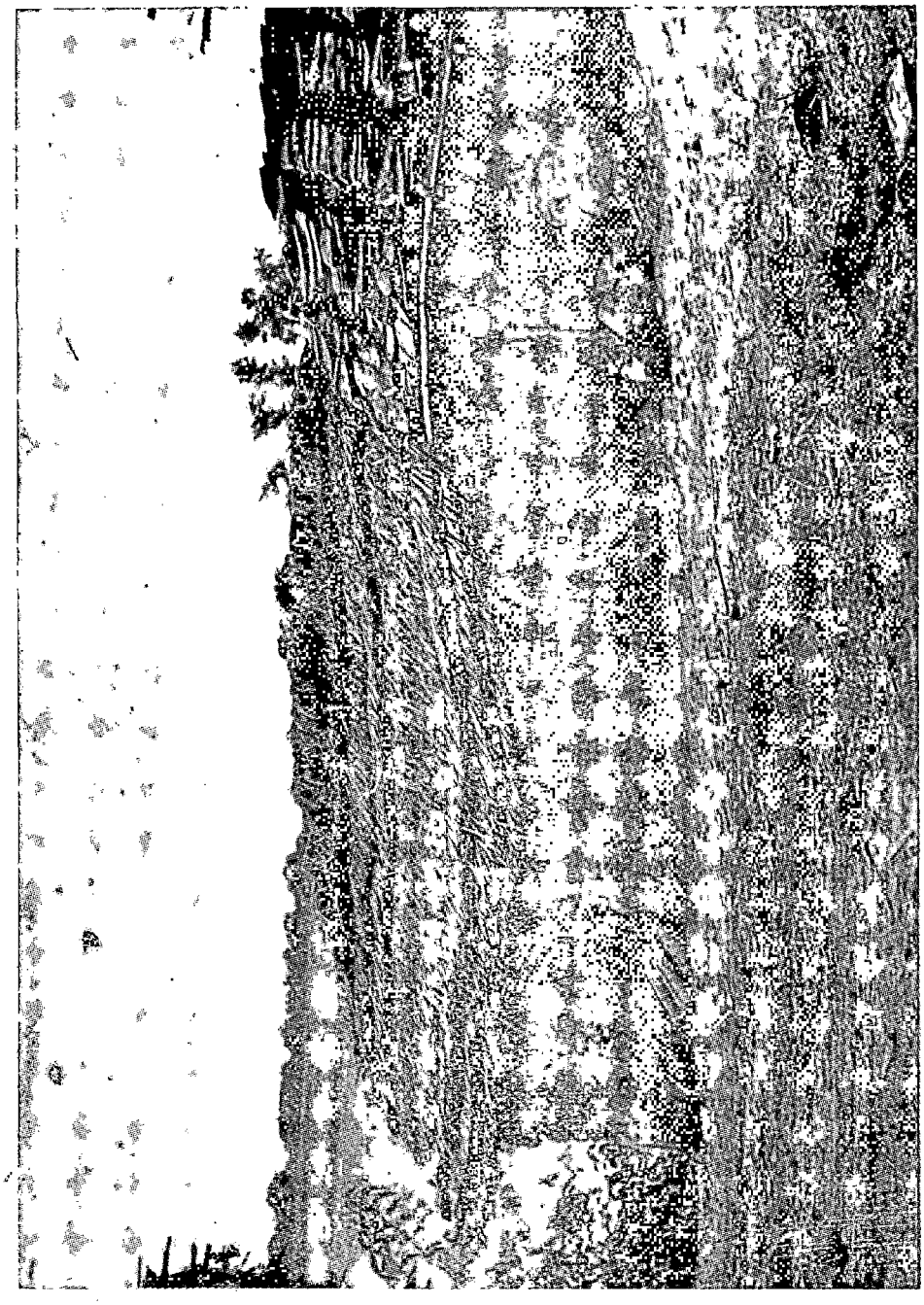
Profile of a Khatik.



The front view of a Khatik house in a village.



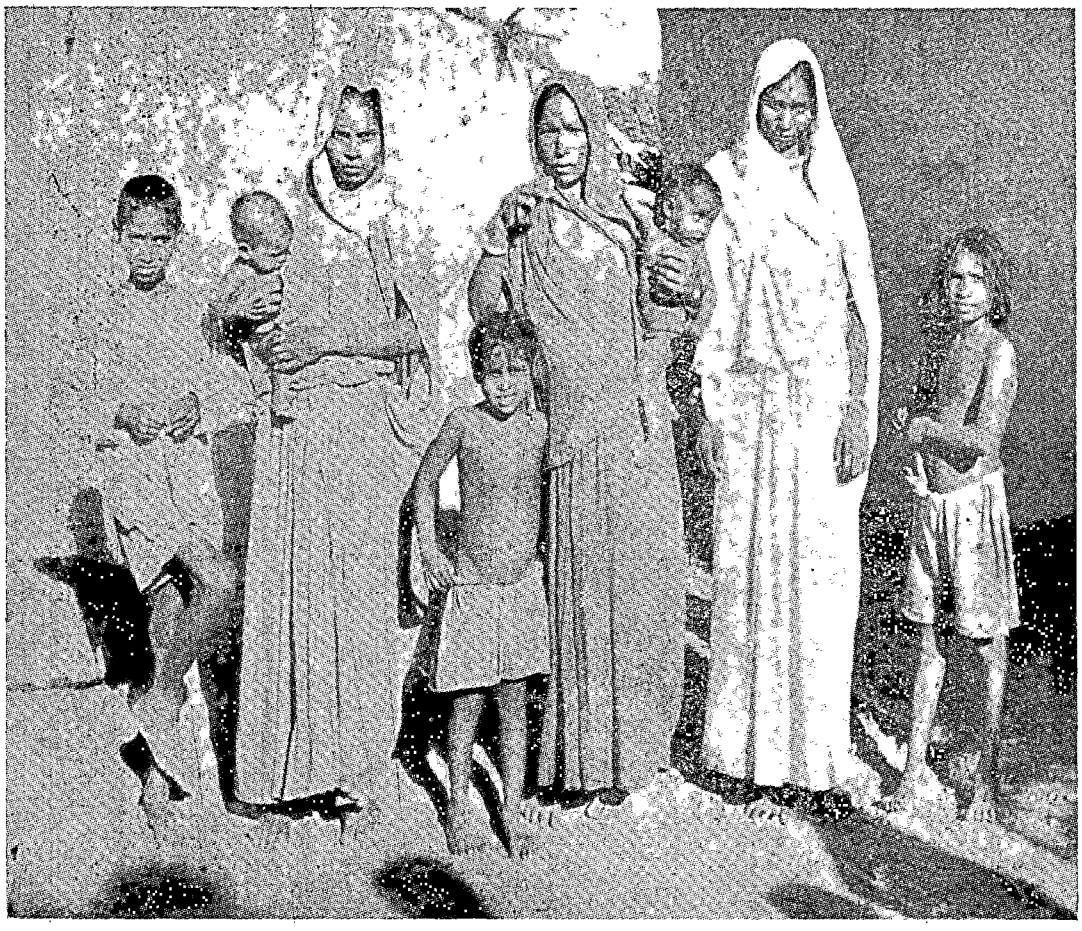
A Khatik house with thatched roof in a village.



Two pigsties—one with thatched roof, the other one of tiled roof.



A series of house at Kaiserbag Sabjimandi, Lucknow.



A group of Khatik women and children in their day-to-day dress in a village.

During field investigation for the present study, the Khatiks in most of the areas mentioned that they do not have any gotras. But according to a few Khatiks in village Gomat in Aligarh District, they are Suryavanshi Khatiks and have a number of gotras. The following gotra names were mentioned by a few informents: Nawaria, Samaria, Banswala or Bansal, Kedar, Nagar, Annona, Naniwar and Tomar. It is noticed that some of these gotra names are found among other castes as well. For example, Tomar is an important clan or gotra among the Rajputs and Bansal among the Banias. According to one of the informants, Annona derives its name from a village of the same name in Bulandshahar district. It is, however, interesting to note that out of the fifteen households of Khatiks surveyed in Gomat village, only heads of four households could provide the names of their gotras viz., Tomar, Banswala, Nawaria and Annona.

According to the informant Nathi, who claims to have Nawaria as his gotra, the wives of his two sons belong to Banswala gotra, and the husbands of his two daughters belong to Naniwar gotra. The other Khatik informants of the village, however, acknowledged that their gotras did not play any role in regulating their marriages. This goes to show that among the Khatiks of U.P. in general the clans or gotras do not form an important aspect of the social structure. The so called gotras claimed by some of the informants seem to be adventitious growth and do not play any role in regulating marriages. It appears that a few Khatiks, especially in Aligarh and adjoining districts, have adopted the gotras names found among the "the twice born castes" and claim a Rajput origin by way of social climbing. For the same reason of enhancing their social status, they also use such surnames as Tomar. A few informants belonging to other castes revealed that the tendency on the part of Khatiks to claim Rajput origin by adopting Rajput Surnames is of recent origin, after Independence, as part of a social mobility aiming at a higher status.

Settlement and Dwellings

The settlement pattern of Khatiks in rural and urban areas does not show much regional variation. In rural areas, they mostly live in groups of houses of their own and often, their houses are segregated from those of other communities and sometimes located on the outskirts or periphery of the village, as in case of some other Scheduled Castes of the area. In the village Kazidewar of Gonda district, the eighteen houses of Khatiks are located in a cluster which is somewhat spaced apart from the settlements of the caste Hindus, a bylane separating their settlement from that of the caste Hindus. A similar settlement pattern is observed in the Immillia village of the same district and in the Chandawak and Kanjahit villages in Jaunpur and Azamgarh districts respectively. But the settlement pattern of Khatiks shows a slight variation in the village Gomat of Aligarh district. Here, there are two patterns; in one case, their houses lie scattered in the midst of houses of caste Hindus, and in the other, they form a settlement of their own, on the outskirts of the main village. On further probe it came to light that in the first case, the houses are occupied by cultivator section of Khatiks who have a somewhat higher social status than that of the Khallu Khatiks, who are having a hamlet of their own on the outskirts of the village.

The houses of Khatiks follow the regional pattern in construction and design in rural areas. These are mostly kachha houses with mud walls and thatched roofs; in a few cases roofing is done by bamboo poles and tiles, and flooring by plastered clay. Some of the houses have a single apartment, while the others have two. In the former case, the dimension of the house is generally 15×10 feet—on a rectangular plan, while in the latter case it varies from 20—35 ft. in length by 15—20 ft. in width. The roofs of the houses are extended towards the front to serve as verandah. In some cases, there are as many as three to four rooms with an inner courtyard. A door is provided in the front portion of the house. There is generally no arrangement for ventilation excepting a few holes in the walls in a few houses. Sometimes, a separate apartment is built adjacent to the main house, for keeping livestock. Those Khatiks who keep pigs generally provide separte pigsty at some distance from their dwelling.

In the urban areas, the Khatiks generally do not have the settlements of their own and live interspread with communities of similar status in mostly congested areas. They, however, live in pucca house. In Kaiserbagh Sabzimandi, in Lucknow city, many fruit or vegetable seller families of Khatiks have been provided small apartments at the place of their business. The size of the apartment is only 8×6 feet. But the platform in the front serves the purpose of a kitchen. It is said that these apartments were constructed by the government in 1928 in a planned way to store vegetables and fruits. But these are now used as dwellings. In south Peerjali Mohalla, in Lucknow city, the houses of Khatiks are scattered in an unplanned manner. These are pucca houses with one or two rooms and are mostly rented.

Dress, Ornaments and Personal Decoration

The traditional dress of the adult males comprises a *dhoti* and *kurta* or a shirt. They also wrap an *angochha* or *gamcha* (a piece of cloth) on the head. By and large, the above dress is still in vogue in rural areas. But in urban areas, such as Lucknow and Allahabad cities, some Khatiks especially young men, have taken to trousers, shirts or bush-shirts.

The traditional dress of females consists of a *lehnga* on the lower part and a *bandi* on the upper part of the body. However, it was observed that now only some elderly women put on the above dress as it is considered outdated. Now, they put on blouses and saris with petticoats. When enquired about this change, an old Khatik woman, who herself supports a *bundi* and *lehnga*, mentioned that the young women of the community now do not like to put on the 'old fasioned' *lehnga* Besides, a *lehnga* costs more as it requires more cloth. In Lucknow and Allahabad cities, young girls put on *salwar* and *kameez* and a *chunni* (as a headgear or to cover the breasts). Young boys put on shirt while girls a frock with or without underwears.

According to Crooke (Op. Cit. p. 257), the Khatik women do not put on nose-rings or glass bangles. But during the field investigation, it was observed that they do wear nose-ring as well as glass bangles. The size of the nose-ring put on by Khatik women in Gonda district is larger than the one put on by them in Azamgarh and Jaunpur districts. They also put on other ornaments. These include a *Takri* or *Jhumka* (ear rings). *Hansuli* (necklace), *Tandia* or *Bazooband* (armlet) *Gujahara* or *Kangana* (varieties of bangles put on wrist) as well as *Kara* or *Chara* (anklets) and *Bichua* (toe-ring). The nose-pins or nose rings and the ear-rings are generally made of gold, while the other ornaments are mostly made of silver. However, women belonging to well-to-do families have other ornaments also made of gold. But it is rare that all the above ornaments are put on daily. It is only on certain ceremonial occasions, such as a marriage, that most of these ornaments are put on at the same time. The ornaments of day-to-day use are generally the nose-pin, ear-rings, a pair of bangles and a toe-ring. All these ornaments are mostly purchased from the local town or market. The Khatik women are said to covet the ornaments very much as apart from being decorative and indicative of status in good times, they are considered to be useful in the bad times.

Tattooing—According to Khatiks, a woman must be tattooed after her marriage, otherwise she is not considered 'pure'. They believe that if a woman is tattooed on arms, wrists and breast, she can meet her husband, mother or brother in the other word after her death, the tattoo marks serving as marks of identification as they persist in the same form after death. It is interesting to note that a similar mystic belief regarding tattooing is prevalent among some other communities of North India, such as the Mallahs of Delhi (Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Pt. V-B(iv), p. 9). The most common tattoo designs represent the different ornaments in vogue among the Khatiks. According to them, the ornamental designs are indicative of their fondness for ornaments. The idea being of that, if they cannot possess various ornaments, they can always have their designs imprinted on their person, giving them a sense of possession. However, in Kazidewar village of Gonda district, the women folk also sometimes get the names of their husbands tattooed on their person, mostly on arm and sometimes even on thighs. Men generally do not get themselves tattooed, though in a few cases it is found that they have their names tattooed on the arms. In any case, there is no social significance of tattooing in their case. Tattooing, locally known as *Jhumka* (ear rings). *Hansuli* (necklace), as *Godna*, is mostly done by women of Sawasi caste, who regularly ply in this trade. They often visit the villages once or twice a year and charge about three kilograms of grain for the service rendered.

Food and Drink

The Khatiks are non-vegetarians and take mutton, fish, pork and chicken.

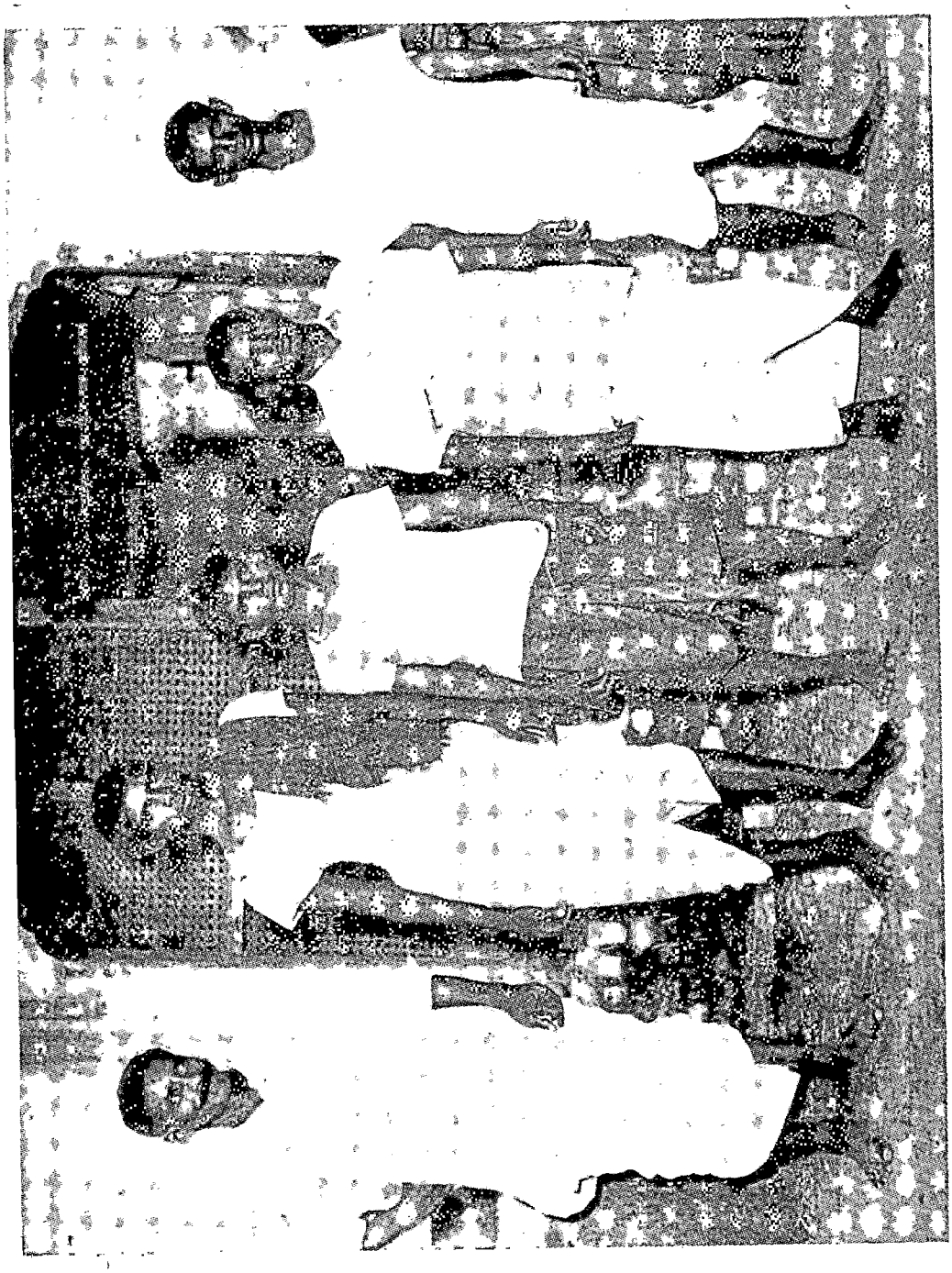
During the field investigations, however, Khatiks in all parts of the State, vehemently denied that they take beef or ever took it. The Khatiks of Kazidewar village even deny taking chicken, as, according to them, the Hindus in that area do not take the same.

They generally take two meals in a day, which is cooked twice a day, once in the morning and the second time in the evening. Their staple diet comprises *chapati* or bread prepared from coarse millets or wheat flour, *dal* (pulse) and rice. Fried *Poori*, meat, fish and vegetable curry are prepared on ceremonial or festive occasions. The meals are first served to the children followed by adult males, married women generally take their meals after the men. They mostly use aluminium and brass utensils for cooking and serving meals. On ceremonial occasions, the meals are served on leaf plates and earthen vessels.

Most of the Khatiks are used to smoking *bidis* or cigarettes. Elderly Khatik males also



A group of Khatik women and children in their day-to-day dress in a city.



A group of rural Khatiks.

smoke *chilam*. A few chew tobacco as well. Some also take *desi-sharab* (country liquor), specially on ceremonial and festive occasions. It is said that some women also join men in drinking during merriment on festive occasions.

Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic Habits, Diseases and Treatment

The settlements of Khatiks in rural areas do not portray any special feature in the matter of environmental sanitation. During rainy season water collects and stagnates in pot holes, giving rise to mosquito menace.

They, however, sweep their houses in the morning and throw refuse in the nearby *ghura* (garbage pit). On festive occasions, they also smear the walls and floor of the house with a coating of clay or cowdung and water. There being no latrines, they go out in the open for defecation.

As regards personal hygiene, the adult persons usually take regular baths in a pond or near a well and brush their teeth with a stick of *neem* (Margosa tree). Chilren are not washed or bathed regularly. The Khatiks wash their clothes frequently, but generally with ordinary water. They do not give their clothes for washing to the washerman. When enquired about their irregularity in washing clothes, one of the informants said that they are not 'sahibs' that they should always present a neat and clean appearance, nor can they afford it. Besides, their nature of work does not allow them to keep their clothes clean all the time.

Diseases and treatment—During the field investigations, an attempt was made to ascertain the attitude of the Khatiks in the rural areas towards some of the epidemic diseases, such as small-pox and cholera. The Khatiks regard an attack of small-pox as visitation of *Mata* or *Sheetla Mai*. They mentioned that the goddess, whenever she likes, goes out on a visit and all the villages which come in her path become victims of the disease. Normally, the goddess does not like to kill anyone, but if enraged she becomes menacing. Many of the Khatiks in the rural areas mentioned that they do not give any medicine to the patient suffering from small-pox, but they keep flowers by his side as offering to the goddess. Sometimes, an *Ojha* belonging to Mali caste is also called to please the goddess by making offerings of flowers and singing songs in her honour.

The attack of cholera, locally known as *Haya* or *Haiza*, is also traced to another goddess known as *Bhagwati Mai*. During epidemic it results in a number of deaths in the villages. In this case also they usually do not go in for much treatment. They rather approach the Ojha, who is requested to perform certain rites and rituals to help the patient. However, in case of cholera, they do permit Ayurvedic treatment to the patient. Fried dishes, meat or fish is not taken in the family where any member is suffering from an attack of cholera or small-pox.

The Khatiks avail of Ayurvedic or Allopathic medicine, whichever is available nearby. They believe that the modern Allopathic medicine, described by them as *'haspatali dawa'* is promptly effective and gives relief to the patient in a short time. It was found that in Kazidewar village of Gonda district, an allopathic dispensary is functioning for the last fifteen years and people of the village as well as of the adjoining villages avail of its facilities. A similar dispensary is also functioning in the village Chandawak used by Khatiks for the last ten years. Though there is no dispensary in the village Gonat of Aligarh district, they avail of the facilities of the dispensary, functioning in Khair tehsil headquarters at a distance of about 10 kms. from the village and connected by a pucca road.

Language and Literacy

Language—The Khatiks do not have any language distinctive of their own community. They mostly speak the regional dialect of Hindi in vogue in the areas they occupy. Thus, the Khatiks of Eastern U.P. speak Bhojpuri dialect, while those in Avadh region (Central U.P.) speak Avadhi dialect, though a few in Lucknow city speak in Urdu. In Mathura and Aligarh district, they mostly speak *Braj Bhasa*. They speak in Khari Boli in parts of western U.P.

Literacy and education—According to the 1961 census data, the percentage of literacy among the Khatiks is 9.51 per cent as against 7.1 per cent among the Scheduled Castes of Uttar Pradesh as a whole. This shows that they have made somewhat higher progress in literacy than some of the other Scheduled Castes of the State. Not unexpectedly there is considerable difference between their literacy in rural and urban areas, there being only 7.26 per cent literates in the rural areas against 17.85 per cent literates in the towns and cities. As regards the sex-wise distribution of literacy, whereas there are 15.66 per cent literates among the males, there are only 2.73 per cent literates among the females.

The following table gives the various educational standards achieved by the Khatiks of U.P.

Table showing various educational levels achieved by Khatiks of Uttar Pradesh as per 1961 *Census data*

Sl. No.	Educational Standard	Rural			Urban			Total		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	Total Literates ..	17,472 (100·00)	16,460 (100·00)	1,012 (100·00)	11,563 (100·00)	8,603 (100·00)	2,960 (100·00)	29,035 (100·00)	25,063 (100·00)	3,972 (100·00)
2	Literates (Without educational level)	13,644 (78·09)	12,757 (77·50)	887 (87·65)	8,504 (73·54)	5,935 (68·99)	2,569 (86·79)	22,148 (76·28)	18,692 (74·58)	3,456 (87·01)
3	Primary or Junior Basic	3,359 (19·23)	3,246 (19·72)	113 (11·17)	2,422 (20·95)	2,069 (24·05)	353 (11·93)	5,781 (19·91)	5,315 (21·21)	466 (11·73)
4	Matriculation or Higher Secondary	469 (2·68)	457 (2·78)	12 (1·18)	578 (5·00)	541 (5·29)	37 (1·25)	1,047 (3·61)	998 (3·98)	49 (1·23)
5	Technical Diploma not equal to degree	..	..	..	10 (0·09)	10 (1·11)	..	10 (0·03)	10 (0·04)	..
6	Non-Technical Diploma not equal to degree	..	..	..	5 (0·04)	5 (0·06)	..	5 (0·02)	5 (0·02)	..
7	University degree or post-graduate degree	..	..	..	38 (0·33)	37 (0·43)	1 (0·43)	38 (0·13)	37 (0·15)	1 (0·03)
8	Technical degree or Diploma equal to degree or post-graduate degree	..	..	..	6 (0·05)	6 (0·07)	..	6 (0·02)	6 (0·02)	..

It will be seen from the above table that very few Khatiks have achieved any significant educational level, so as to have a marked influence on their employment potential in tertiary sector of economy. Thus, out of 29,035 literates only 44 persons (0.15 per cent) possess graduate or post graduate university degree or diploma, technical or otherwise. These are all from urban areas and include only one female. There are only 15 (0.05 per cent) persons, all from urban areas, who are holders of technical or non-technical diploma not equal to degree, and none of them is a female. There are only 1,047 (3.61 per cent) literates who have achieved matriculation or higher secondary level and, as is to be expected, most of these reside in urban areas. Further, 5,781 (19.91 per cent) Khatik literates have achieved junior or primary basic level. The bulk of Khatik literates—22,148 or 76.28 per cent—however, are literates without any educational level, who can merely read and write a letter.

During the field investigation for ethnographic study of Khatiks, an enquiry was made about the particulars of school going children in the rural areas (in the age group 4—14). Out of 29 households surveyed, 15 households reported that they were having children of the school going age. These included 44 children. A survey of these present the facts as tabulated in the following table—

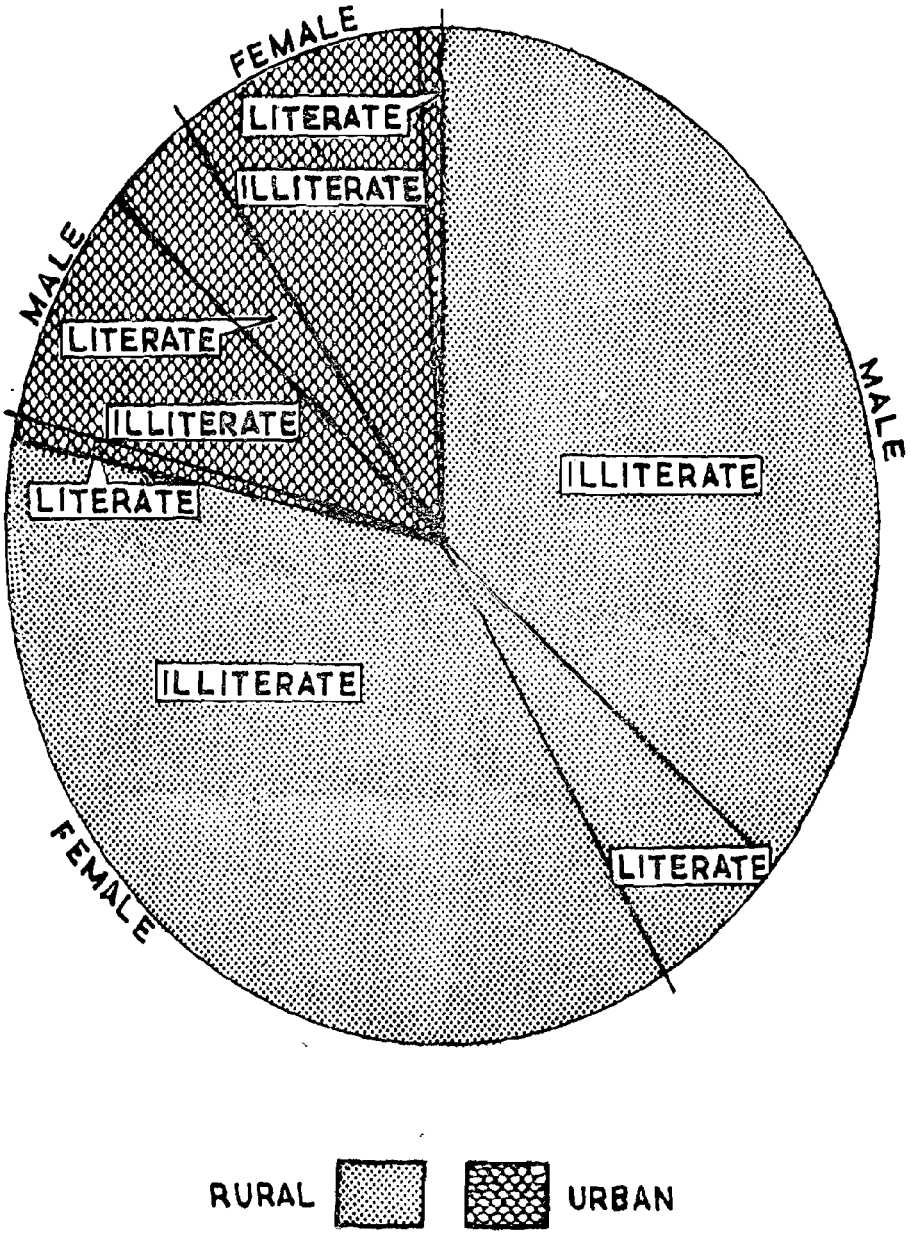
Age group	School going		Not going to School	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
5—6 ..	Nil	Nil	11	3
7—10 ..	7	1	10	3
11—14 ..	2	..	2	5

The figures given in the above table bring to light certain interesting features about children of school-going age which are worth mentioning here.

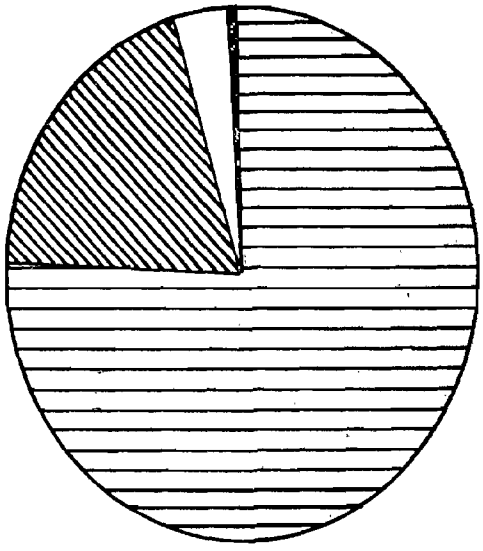
It is noticed that out of the 44 children in the school-going age only 10 or 22.76 per cent are attending schools. Besides, none of the children in the age group 5-6 is attending school; out of 10 children in the age groups 7—10 and 14—17 who are attending school, the number of females is only 1; in other words, only 10 per cent of the school going children are females. Further, 80 per cent of the students fall in the age group 7—10, whereas there are only 20 per cent students in the age group 11—14. This would suggest that though some children join school, most of them soon drop out, a few after passing the primary or junior basic level and a very small number continue their studies in middle standard or above.

The reason for poor attendance in schools was discussed with a few educated and elderly persons of the community. They mentioned that though most of the Khatik parents now realise the value of education, they find it difficult to educate their children due to economic reasons. They, however, agreed that they do not have to spend much money directly in education of their children in school. But they pointed out that their children are required to assist and help the parents in various household activities, as well as economic activities. This is why the children who are initially admitted in the primary schools discontinue their studies when they grow up. The Khatiks generally do not look upon with favour on girl's education. They believe that the best education for a girl is to learn the household chores properly.

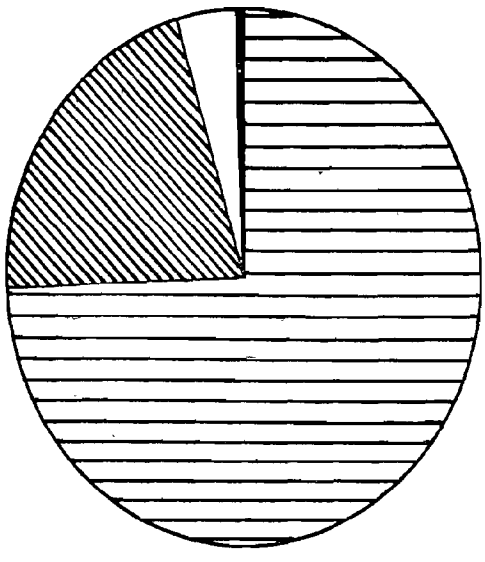
LITERACY AMONG KHATIKS



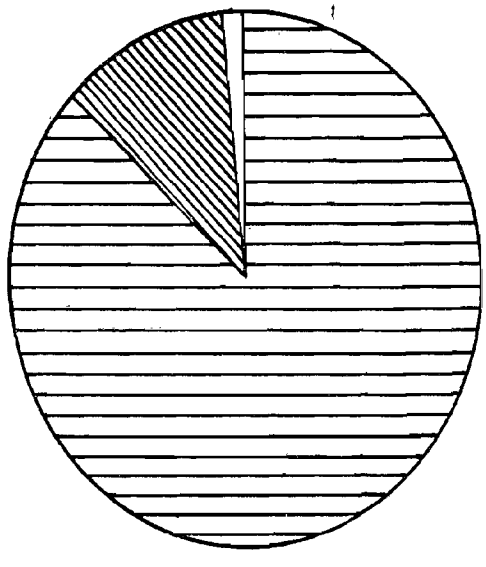
LEVELS OF LITERACY AMONG KHATIKS



PERSONS



MALES



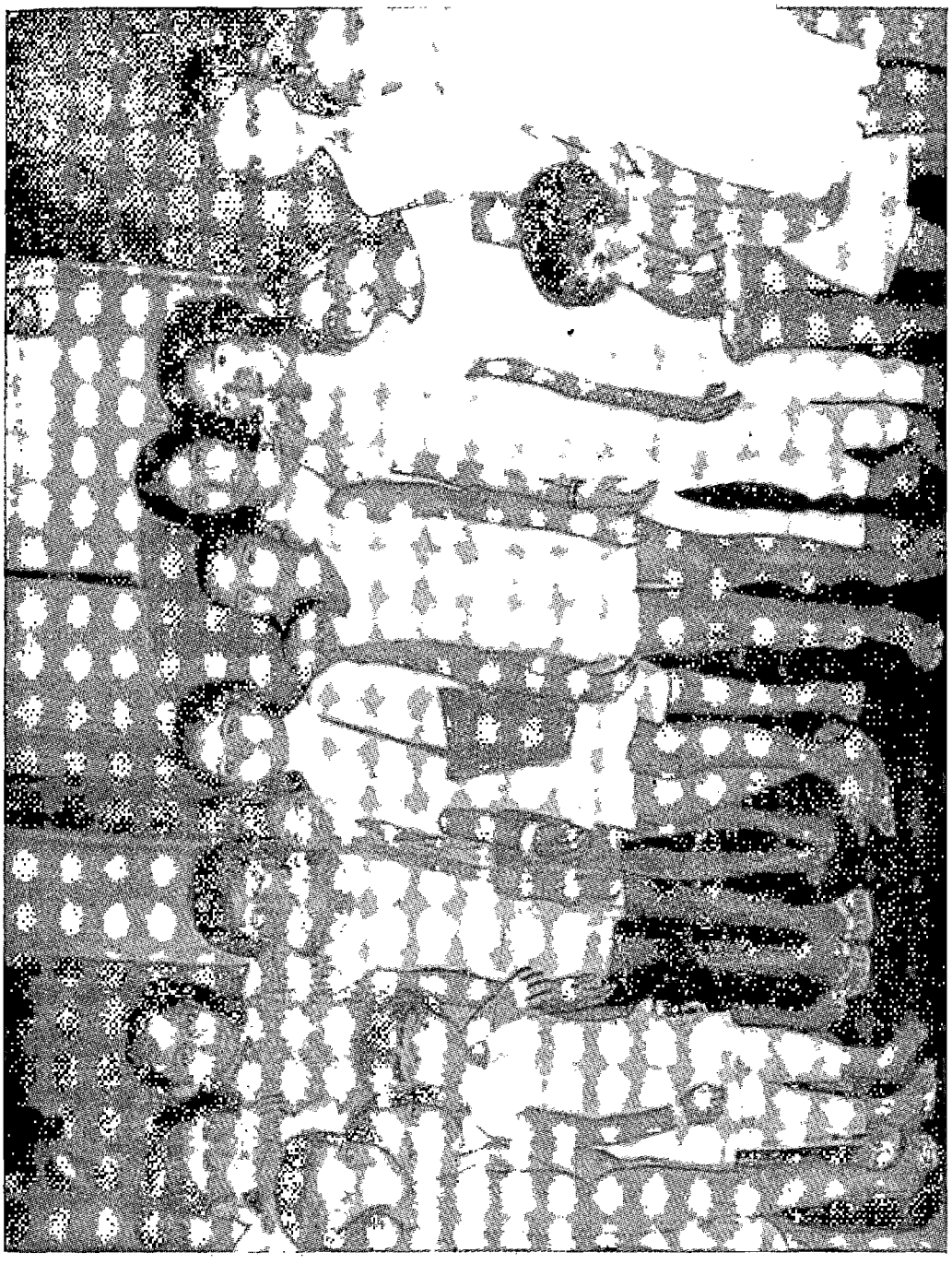
FEMALES

LITERATES WITH OUT LEVELS

PRIMARY OR JR. BASIC

MATRICULATION OR HR. SECONDARY

OTHERS



A group of school going girls in a city.

According to three teachers of primary school at Gomat village in Aligarh district, the Khatik parents are responding well to the newly instituted scheme of compulsory education and the families who never sent their children to school in the past are now changing their attitude.

A few case studies of children of school going age are furnished below:

1. Nakached, aged ten, is son of Hira Khatik residing in Kanjahit village in Azamgarh district. When he was six years old, his father had gone with his family to Bombay in connection with his job. Nakached received his early education in Bombay. There he passed the second grade. However, on his return to Kanjahit village along with his parents, he was admitted in the basic primary school in the village.

After a year Nakached stopped going to school as, according to his mother, he complained that the teacher used to beat him severely. But further enquiry from the villagers revealed that the boy was not at all interested in the studies and failed in the 3rd class in the annual examination. Besides, most of his friends and boys of his age in the village were not attending school. Thus, he escaped from the school on the plea that he was beaten by the teacher. Nakached now prefers the role of a swine-herd

2. Lallu, aged thirteen, is a student of fifth class in the Basic Primary School at Kanjahit village. His father and elder brother never went to school and he was the first person in the family to go to a school. He joined school at the age of seven and passed regularly without failing even once. According to Lallu he had not received any scholarship from the school in spite of securing good position in the class. According to his father, Lallu is never asked to attend to any household chores even in his leisure hours. His father remarked that though he would very much like to give higher education to his son, he is not sure whether he would be able to do so because of his poverty.

3. Pattu, aged twelve, never went to any school. His father, Raj Nath, stated that he never thought of sending his son to school and kept him busy with petty household chores. Pattu now acts as a swine herd and looks after the pigs and goats of his father for the whole day. He also helps his father in selling vegetables. Pattu himself appears to be indifferent to his present occupation. He has no regrets that he is not attending school, as many of his friends also do not attend school.

Occupation and Economic Life

As mentioned earlier, the Khatiks are traditionally engaged in a variety of occupations, such as those of mason, pig, goat and poultry rearer, butcher, vegetable and fruit seller, groom and tonga driver, tanner and dyer of skins and hides, as well as cultivator. As discussed earlier, in many cases these traditional occupations are associated with different sub. castes, which may or may not be occupying the same territory. Some of the Khatiks combine two or three of the above traditional occupations at the same time. As for example, in Kanjahit village in eastern U.P., the same Khatik families are engaged as pig rearers, vegetable and fruit sellers as well as cultivators. Though there has been some occupational mobility among the Khatiks of U.P., a fairly significant number of them continue to follow their traditional occupations, especially the occupation of cultivation and selling fruits and vegetables. The same is discussed in a subsequent account.

Working force and industrial classification of workers—The following table gives the number of workers, and their distribution in different industrial categories, along with percentages, as per 1961 census:

Table showing working force and industrial classification of workers among Khatiks of Uttar Pradesh (based on 1961 census data)

Sl. No.	Workers and their industrial classification	Numbers			Percentage of workers to total population/percentage to total workers		
		Male	Females	Total	Male	Females	Total
1	Total population	160,1	145,315	305,326	..	..	..
2	Total Workers	91,294	23,872	115,166	57·05	16·43	37·72
3	As Cultivators	39,543	11,402	50,945	43·31	47·76	44·24
4	As Agricultural Labourers	9,144	3,781	12,925	10·02	15·84	11·22
5	In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting Plantation orchards and allied activities	1,096	293	1,389	1·20	1·23	1·21
6	At Household Industry	8,228	2,874	11,102	9·02	12·04	9·64
7	In manufacturing other than household industry	5,325	150	5,475	5·83	0·63	4·75
8	In construction	2,228	17	2,245	2·44	0·07	1·95
9	In trade and commerce	15,651	3,866	19,517	17·14	16·19	16·95
10	In transport, storage and communications	1,862	6	1,868	2·04	0·03	1·62
11	In other services*	8,217	1,483	9,700	9·00	6·21	8·42
12	Tanning and currying of Hides and Skins	128	2	130			

*Also includes figures given in the columns against item 12,

It will be seen from the above table, that out of 305,326 Khatiks in the State, only 115,166 are workers. In other words, only 37.72 per cent of their population constitutes the working force. As regards sex-wise break up of the workers, 91,294 or 57.05 per cent of the 160,011 males and 23,872 or 16.43 per cent of the 145,315 females are workers.

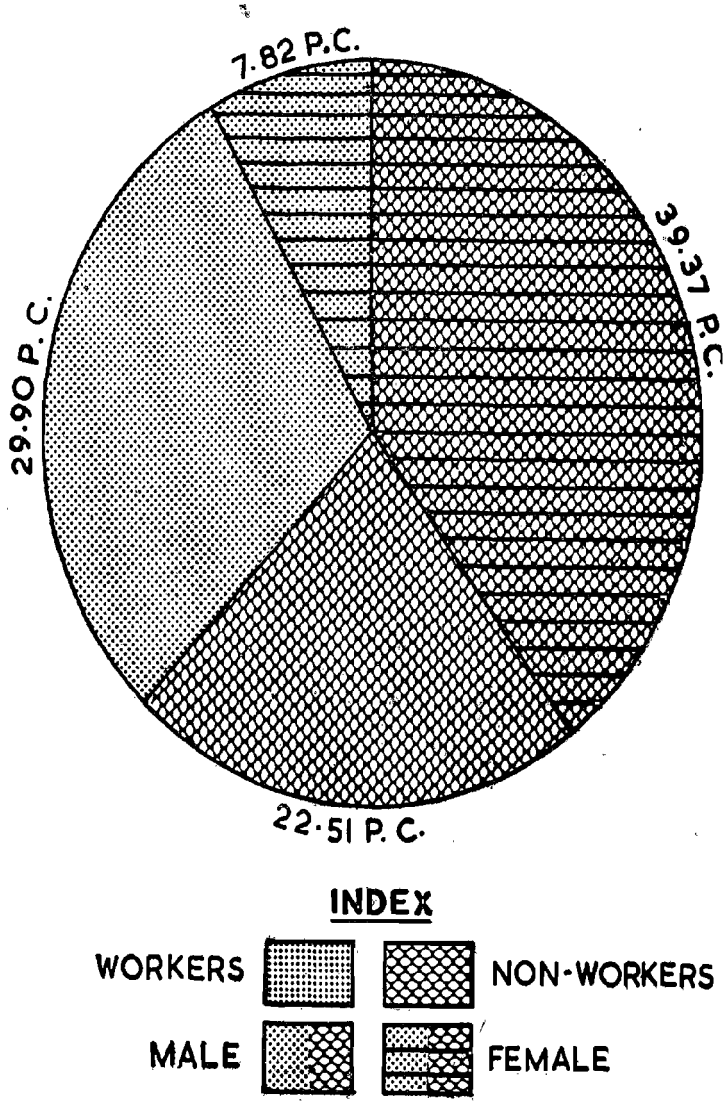
It is observed that compared with 47 per cent workers among the Scheduled Castes in the country as a whole, the percentage of workers among Khatiks is rather low. Prima facie it reflects a comparatively higher dependency ratio among the Khatiks. However, one of the reasons for lower proportion of workers among Khatiks appears to be fewer number of female workers in the community, as only 16.43 per cent of the female population contributes to the working force. But it appears that among many rural communities of north India, the low rate of participation of females in the working force does not always depict the actual position. It rather reflects the attitude of these communities towards female participation in outdoor activity. In many cases, the women who actually supplement the efforts of the males in economic pursuits and are gainfully employed are not returned as workers, as it is not considered prestigious that women folk should be carrying on economic activity. Another reason for the low proportion of female workers among Khatiks could be attributed to the nature of some of their traditional occupations. By way of illustration it may be mentioned that masonry, butchering goats and pigs, tanning of skins and hides and acting as grooms and tonga drivers is a man's job in which women have hardly any role to play. This is, perhaps, why there are hardly any female workers in the industrial categories of construction, 'tanning and currying of hides and skins', and 'transport and communication'. On the other hand, the bulk of workers among the women is found in the agricultural sector as is indicated by the data given in the above table. In fact, in this sector, the proportion of female workers is more than that of male workers. Thus, as against 43.31 per cent cultivators and 10.02 per cent agricultural labourers among the male workers, there are 47.16 per cent cultivators and 15.84 per cent agricultural labourers among the female workers. Hence, the Khatik women are primarily employed in such activities as cultivation and agricultural labour.

As regards the distribution of Khatik workers in the different industrial categories, it is seen that their largest number is engaged in agriculture which accounts for more than half the strength of their total working force,—the percentage of workers in the categories of cultivators and agricultural labourers jointly being 55.46 per cent. However, the bulk of agriculturists are cultivators, as there are 44.24 per cent cultivators against 11.22 per cent agricultural labourers. Their next largest proportion (16.95 per cent) is engaged in trade and commerce. These are mostly fruit and vegetable sellers as well as meat sellers. This is followed by the industrial category of 'household industry' which accounts for 9.64 per cent of their working force. The next important category is "other services" wherein 8.42 per cent Khatik workers are employed. These include Khatiks who are mostly employed in railways as clerks and peons, teachers in schools as well as clerks and peons in other government services. The category of 'manufacture other than household industry' employs 4.75 per cent Khatiks. These include a few factory workers and workers in such establishments as piggery farms. It is also seen that 2,245 persons or 1.95 per cent workers are engaged in construction and 1,868 or 1.62 per cent in 'transport, storage and communications'. The former includes mostly the traditional masons and the latter the traditional grooms and tonga drivers, who have now mostly taken to driving bullock carts. Also, 130 persons are primarily engaged in another traditional sector of economy, viz. 'tanning and currying of hides and skins'. As mentioned earlier, the last three categories are almost entirely manned by male workers.

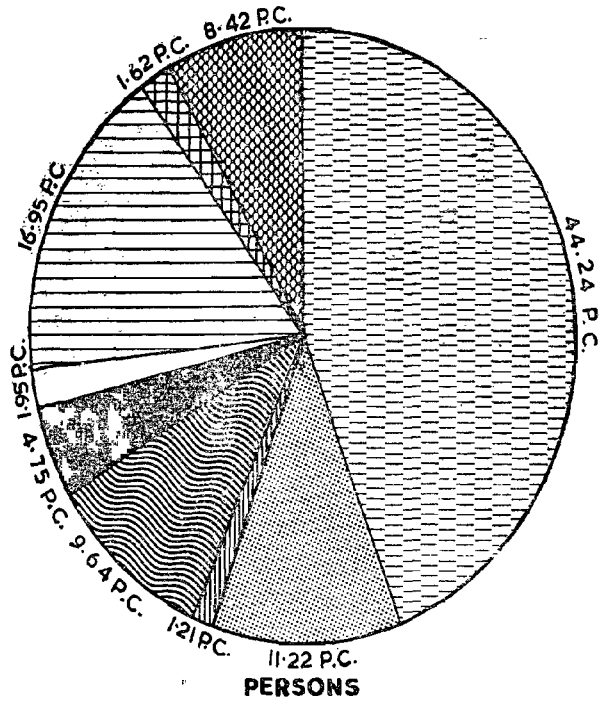
Occupational details and occupational mobility—From the data relating to industrial classification of Khatik workers discussed in the preceding account it is difficult to have much quantitative assessment about the extent of occupational mobility. The reason being that the Khatiks are traditionally engaged in a variety of occupations which cover most of the industrial categories for which data were recorded during the 1961 census. The lack of statistical information on the different traditional occupations in which the Khatiks were engaged earlier, precludes the possibility of much inferences of statistical nature being drawn on the basis of 1961 census data on industrial classification of Khatiks alone.

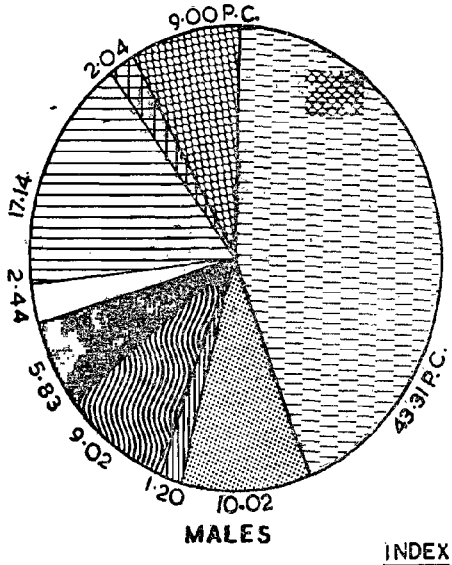
However, in order to gain some insight in the matter, an attempt was made to collect particulars about occupational mobility among the Khatiks during the survey conducted in connection with the present study. Discussions with Khatiks in different areas of the State revealed that Khatiks in rural areas have been drawn more to cultivation and agricultural labour. To a certain extent this view is supported by 1961 census data on industrial classification of workers among Khatiks which show that more than 55 per cent workers are engaged either as cultivators or agricultural labourers. From the accounts given by earlier scholars, it does not appear that they followed the occupation of cultivation to such a large extent.

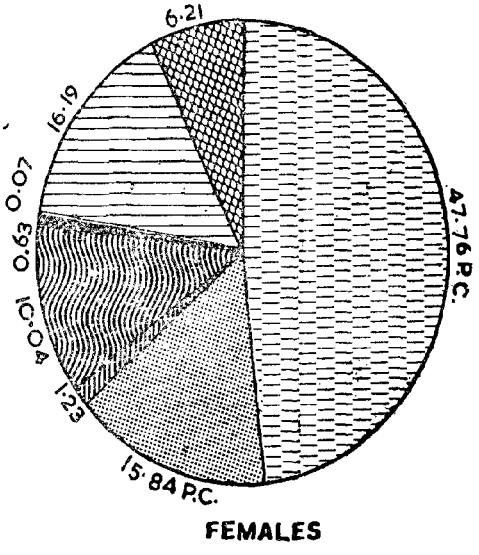
WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS AMONG KHATIKS BY SEX



KHATIKS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES







INDEX

AS CULTIVATOR. AS AGRICULTURAL LABOURER. IN MINING, QUARRYING LIVESTOCK, FORESTRY, FISHING, HUNTING, PLANTATION ORCHARDS AND ALLIED ACTIVITIES. AT HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY. IN MANUFACTURING OTHER THAN HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY. IN CONSTRUCTION IN TRADE AND COMMERCE IN TRANSPORT, STORAGE AND COMMUNICATION OTHER SERVICES

The Khatik cultivators mostly grow cash crops of vegetables and fruits, such as potato, onion, chillies, brinjal, gourd, tomato, cucumber, melon and water melon, etc. It is found that the cultivators may sometimes themselves sell the vegetables and fruits grown by them. As for example, the Khatiks of Kanjahit village engaged in cultivation, sell their own produce. Those near urban centres make a morning or evening visit to the town to sell their vegetables and fruits in the markets. In some cases, they take their produce to certain shop keepers in the vegetable and fruit markets in the town with whom they have entered into yearly, seasonal or monthly contract. In some cities and towns, such as Allahabad and Lucknow, they sometimes take their daily produce to *artias* (commissioned agents) who serve as middlemen. They have generally fixed *artias* who, in many cases, are Muslims. The *artias* in some cases advance cash money to Khatik cultivators for growing vegetables.

The agricultural labourers among the Khatiks do not prefer to work as labourers in their own or adjoining villages. Usually, they migrate to distant villages or towns to work as agricultural labourers or coolies.

It is found that some of their traditional occupations in rural areas are fast loosing ground as these are not able to provide a livelihood in the changed conditions. For instance, in the village Gomat in Aligarh district, it came to light that many families of Khallu Khatiks, who are traditionally tanners and dyers of leather, are giving up their traditional occupation. Thus, three of the ten households of Rangiya Khatiks in the village have altogether given up tanning and dyeing of hides and shifted to other occupations. In many cases, the younger generation has given up the occupation of their parents and instead of tanning of hides have taken up to collection of raw wool and spinning yarn from the same. For this purpose, they sometimes also keep sheep. According to the informants, many Khatiks in other villages, and even towns, have altogether given up tanning or currying of hides and taken to other occupations. This seems to be substantiated by the fact that during the 1961 census only 130 persons have returned, the occupation of tanning or currying of hides and skins, as their primary occupation. An another traditional sector of occupation of Khatiks which is said to have received a setback is that of grooms and tonga drivers. It is understood that in the past many Khatiks found employment with zamindars as grooms and tonga drivers. With the abolition of zamindari system and progressive use of mechanical mode of transport in place of horse driven vehicles, they have been forced to look for other occupations. Thus, Umed of village Gomat, who was earlier employed as a groom with a zamindar, has now taken to cultivation and selling of vegetables. Similarly, many tonga drivers have given up their job and taken to other occupations. Some of them are still engaged in transport business but instead of driving tongas a few drive bullock carts to transport goods and merchandise. As for example, in the village Immillia, which is a suburb of Gonda town, a few Khatiks possess bullock carts and make their living by transporting building materials, like bricks and steel bars, to different parts of the town.

It is interesting to observe that in some of the families in which occupation mobility has taken place, sometimes different generations are engaged in different occupations. Thus, Pyarelal's father is a tanner of hides, though due to old age the latter is no longer active. Pyare Lal himself collects wool from the neighbouring villages for spinning yarn. His son, Tara Chand, who lives in the same household, grows and sells vegetables in the same village. In another case, Umed's father is a groom but the former cultivates and sells vegetables and his two sons are teachers in a primary school in the same village.

The observations made above would give some idea about the trend of occupational mobility among the Khatik families in rural areas.

During field investigations it also came to light that many adult males migrate to urban centres to earn their livelihood as labourers and domestic servants or as fruit and vegetable sellers. For instance, quite a significant number of persons residing in the village Kazidewar in Gonda district and village Kanjahit in Azamgarh district have gone out to far off places as Bombay for employment. In Kanjahit village, from each of four, out of seven households of Khatiks in one hamlet, at least one adult person has gone to an urban centre—mostly Bombay. In all, seven persons have gone out from these four households. Most of them have left behind their wives and children to the care of their parents.

A few case studies of few such persons are given below:

1. Seven years old, Muneswar of Kanjahit village, left for Bombay about forty five years ago. There he followed the traditional occupation of selling fruits and vegetables. As he was doing well in the business, his two sons, viz. Raghunath and Mithai, also joined him in Bombay about 10 years ago. Both the sons are married but they left their wives and children in the village. They, however, pay occasional visits to their families in the village. Muneswar himself has returned to the village to lead a retired life after carrying on business in Bombay for forty years.

2. Mewa Lal of the same village went to Bombay at the age of twenty, where he carried on the business of selling fruits and vegetables. But after two years he got a job of a labourer in Karimbhai Mills at a salary of Rs. 200 p.m. However, after having been declared as surplus after one year, he again started selling fruits and vegetables in the city. He had come back to the village on a short visit, at the time of the present study.

3. Hira of Kanjahit village has been working as a labourer in a Rolling Mill in Bombay for many years. He is married and has four children. He left his wife and the children to the care of his mother and brothers when he left for Bombay. About three years ago, as a sequel to a dispute in the joint family, he took his wife and children along with him to Bombay. However, after two years he sent back his wife and children to the village, as there was reconciliation among the members of his joint family.

4. Behari of Kazidewar village in Gonda district narrated that his four sons are employed as labourers in Dehradun city. He mentioned that firstly, his eldest son, Saburi, went to Dehradun about ten years ago. Later, he invited his younger brothers in succession, after an interval of two to three years. All his sons are married but their wives and children live in the village with Bihari. According to Bihari, his sons never wanted their wives and children to accompany them to Dehradun as they were required to incur more expenditure on the maintenance of their families in the city. All the four brothers live together in a room and cook and share their meals together.

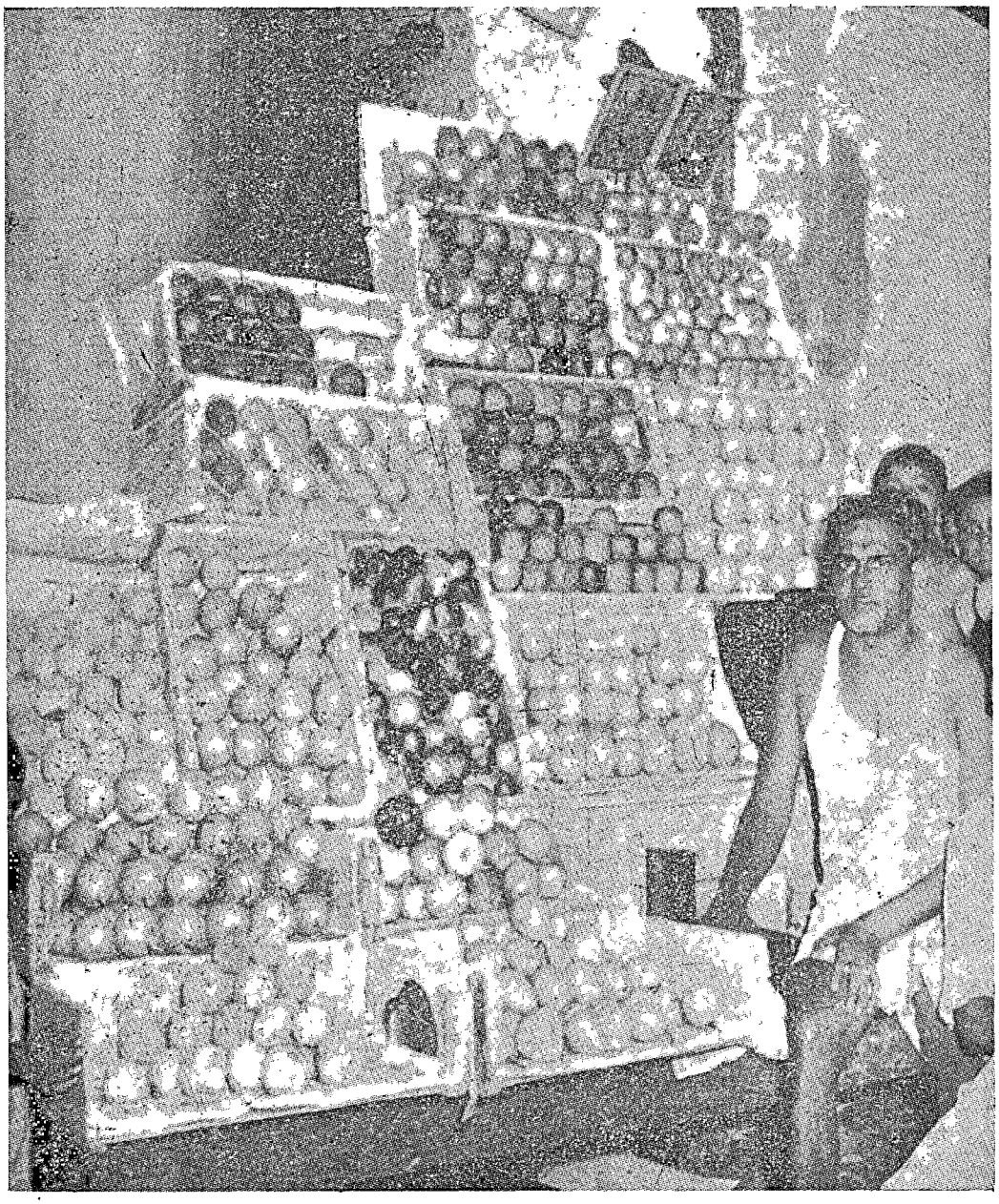
5. Sanchit, of the same village, has two sons, viz. Pancham and Babu. Both the sons are serving as domestic servants in Bombay since last seven years. They are married but have not taken their wives and children to Bombay.

Some particulars of the occupations followed by Khatiks in urban areas were also collected from Lucknow and Allahabad cities. It is found that many Khatiks are still engaged in their traditional occupation as fruit and vegetable sellers. However, Khatiks of Peerjali Mohalla in Lucknow city mentioned that they have given up their traditional occupation of masons or pig rearers. Most of them are now engaged as vegetable sellers, and a few, as tailors and printers, etc. According to them, piggery has become a competitive enterprise, as many organised piggery and poultry farms have come up and they find it extremely difficult to compete with them. As regards masonry, they believe that now there is no scope in this occupation. It was, however, found that most of the educated Khatiks have given up their traditional occupations. They are now employed as clerks in the railways or as school teachers. Some are also engaged in other government services in various capacities, including clerical jobs. A few are employed in factories and workshops.

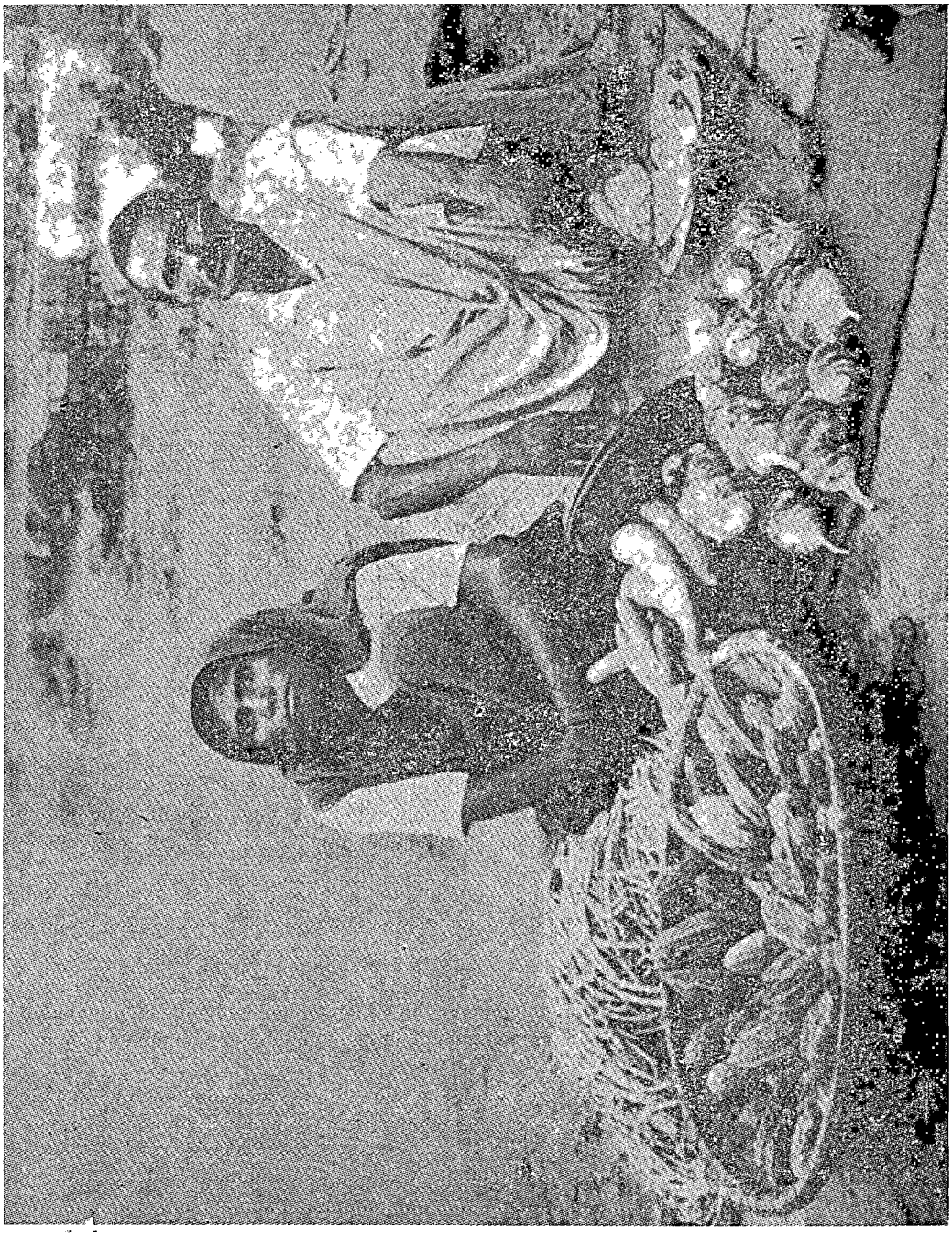
There is another dimension of occupational history of Khatiks which deserves a mention here. Formerly, some Khatiks were given to criminal propensities in some parts of the State and actually came to be notified as a Criminal Tribe in Basti and Gonda districts (Ayyangar, A; 1951, p. 132). During the field survey, an attempt was made to enquire about the nature of crimes committed by Khatiks and the circumstances under which they took to crime. It is said that they committed thefts and robberies. They also used to plunder and harass the local population by stealthily reaping their standing crops at night and lifting their cattle. According to the Police officials in Gonda district, they have, by and large, given up serious crimes, such as burglary and robbery. It is, however, understood that though the frequency of crimes committed by the Khatiks is on decrease, some of the Khatiks of Birpur village under Lalia Police Station, Rajapur village in Etiathok police station and some other villages in Mankapur tehsil are notified habitual offenders, who indulge in regular thefts.

When enquired about the circumstances under which Khatiks took to crime a head constable, who has been serving in Gonda district for the last thirty years, mentioned that it is a tradition of the community which is rooted in their social environment and economic conditions. The Superintendent of Jails of the district attributes the origin of crime among Khatiks to economic factors, viz., their poverty and lack of avenues for livelihood.

Further enquiries in Kazidewar village of Gonda district revealed that now-a-days except for a few cases of serious crimes and hardened criminals, their main criminal activity relates to illicit distillation of liquor. A few Khatik residents of the village hesitantly stated, "Unlike our grandfathers, we are not involved in serious criminal activities. We simply distil some liquor for our own consumption. After all, some relaxation and diversion is needed to momentarily forget our worries and problems". But, according to the Pradhan and some villagers belonging to other communities, illicit distillation has become a common pratice among the Khatiks of the area and they distil liquor not only for their own consumption but for selling it to others as well. They are of the view that the Khatiks have given up serious crimes, such as theft and robbery, as the risk involved is greater inspite of good returns; when they are caught they have to undergo rigorous imprisonment for a long period, while illicit distillation does not involve much risk and even if caught the punishment is not that severe.



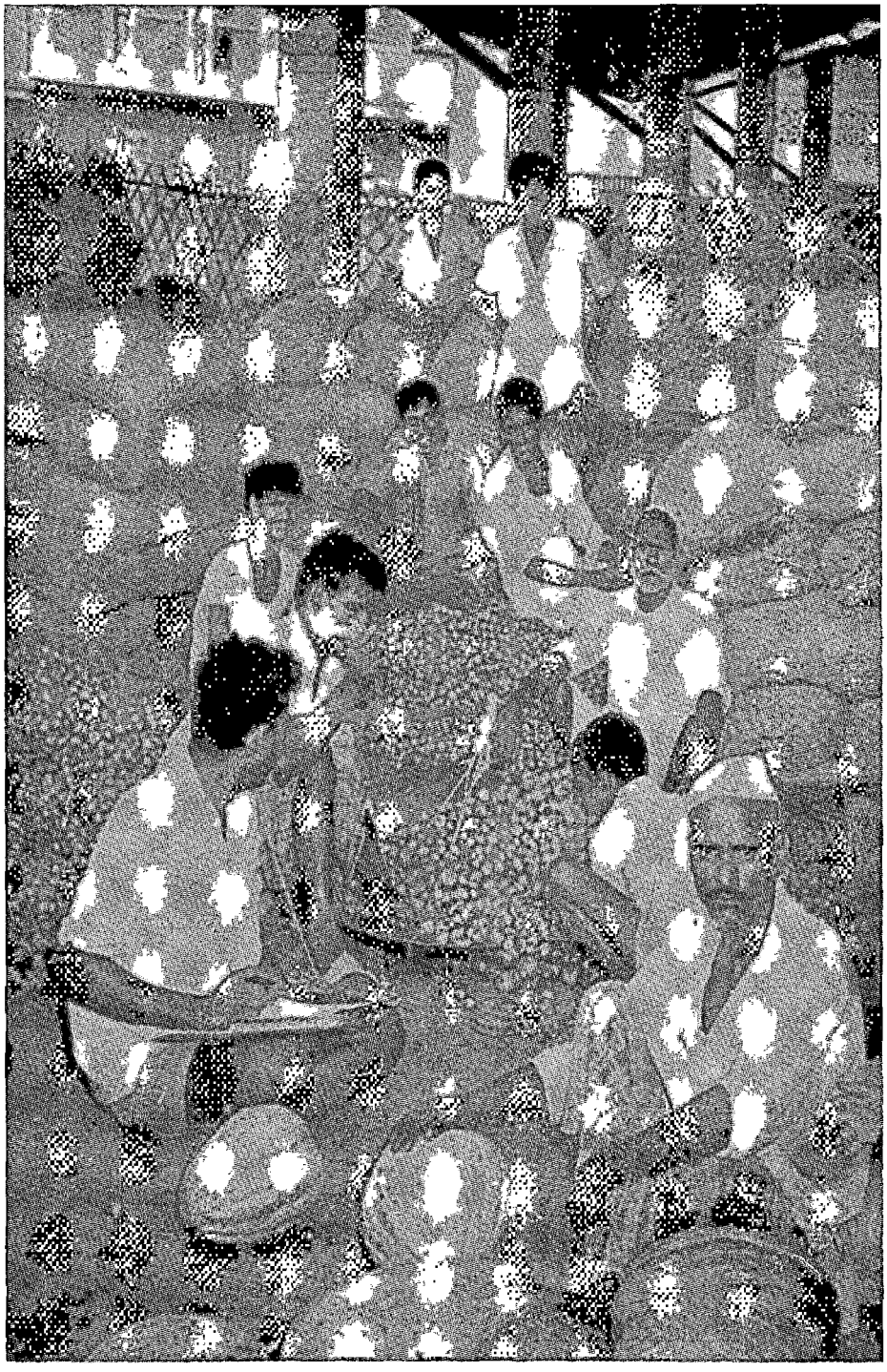
A view of a fruit shop at Kaiserbag Mandi, Lucknow



A Khatik couple selling vegetables



Khatiks selling vegetables at the roadside



A common sight of a Khatik wholesale vegetable dealer at Kaiserbag Mandi, Lucknow



A view of a porkshop in a town

Life Cycle

Birth—Barrenness is regarded as a matter of misfortune by the Khatiks. They welcome children in the family and the birth of a child is considered as a boon from the God and, therefore, an event of rejoicing. They prefer a male child which is manifested in the practice of giving a feast to the relatives on such an occasion.

An enquiry was made to find out the attitude of Khatiks towards family planning. Generally speaking, the Khatiks in rural areas have no desire to limit the number of their children, who are regarded as blessings of the God. Many of them, including women, have heard about the 'slogan' of family planning but most of them are unaware of the various contraceptive methods except sterilization. According to Khatik women, use of contraceptives to limit the children is against their social values and an act of sin. Many Khatiks of the village Kanjahit in Azamgarh district believe that family planning is an interference with the nature's law and may lead to impotency. By and large, the Khatiks of western U.P. are more progressive in their attitude towards family planning—and also more knowledgeable about the devices" in use to limit the family. In urban areas, the literate Khatiks are quite progressive in their orientation towards family planning programmes. They mentioned that it was good to limit children to enable the family to lead a better standard of life with limited means of income.

The news of conception is first disclosed to the female members of the family. The expectant mother first informs about her pregnancy to her husband's sister or husband's elder brother's wife. The news brings happiness in the family. However, no pre-natal ceremony is observed. The expectant mother attends to her daily routine chores, until the time of delivery. There is not much regional variations or differences in the birth rites among different sub. castes of Khatiks. Usually, the delivery takes place at the husband's house. However, sometimes for the first delivery the expectant mother may go to her parent's house. The enceinte is aided by an indigenous *dai*, belonging to Chamar or Kori caste, who cuts the umbilical cord with a sickle after delivery. The placenta is disposed of by burying the same in a pit near the house. For six days, a smouldering fire is kept burning in the room, where the delivery took place. This is a device to keep away the evil spirits and witches from harming the mother and the new born who are believed to be susceptible to their evil influence during this period.

The *dai* looks after the mother and the new born child for a few days. She massages the body of the mother as well as washes the baby. For a few days, after the child birth, the mother is given a special diet known as *dhawa* or *achwani*, which is a preparation of dried ginger, pepper, *ajwain* and turmeric mixed with some flour and molasses. She is served light meals such as porridge and *khichri*. After a few days, she is given fried *puri* with vegetables but no mutton or fish is served to her till the *chhatti* ceremony is performed. The child is fed on mother's milk. If the child does not suckle the mother's breast, her milk is stored in a cup and fed to the child by soaking a piece of cotton in the milk and squeezing a few drops in the child's mouth. During the first six days, the mother is confined to her room and other family members keep themselves away.

On the sixth day after the child birth, the *chhatti* ceremony is performed, when the mother and the child are given a bath and the house is cleaned and its floor and walls smeared with cowdung. The pollution period lasts for twelve days. On the twelfth day, the mother takes a bath and comes out of the house with her child. This marks the end of her pollution period. The mother is now free to resume her normal household activities.

A case study of birth of a child and associated rituals is furnished below:

The wife of Hira Khatik of Kanjahit village in Azamgarh district was blessed with a son about five years ago. This was her fourth delivery but the other three children had died in infancy. She had earlier gone to live with her husband in Bombay for a short while and conceived there. Her husband took a special care of her and gave her special nourishing diet of fruits, milk and ghee. However, one month before delivery, she came back to the village along with her husband. According to her, she was put to all sorts of domestic work by her husband's relations and no special diet was given to her.

When she got the labour pains, she informed her mother-in-law, who took her to an apartment kept ready for the purpose. The latter informed elderly women of the neighbourhood who gathered at her house. Hira himself went to fetch Barsati's wife, the village *dai* belonging to Chamar community. The delivery took place after three hours of arrival of the *dai*, who cut the umbilical chord with a sickle brought by her. When she disclosed the sex of the newly born, it caused rejoicing among the family members. The placenta was disposed by burying it in a pit near the house. The *dai* served the mother and the child for three days and was paid five seers of wheat grains and rice as remuneration for her services.

The *chhatti* ceremony was performed on the sixth day under the supervision of Lakhan barber's wife. On this occasion, all the earthen vessels in the kitchen were thrown out and the house was thoroughly cleaned. The *nain* (Lakhan barber's wife) pared the nails of the mother and gave bath to her and the child. This signified part removal of pollution. Now every member of the household was free to enter the apartment where delivery took place, as well as fondle the baby. On the 12th day, *barhai* was performed when the mother and the child were given a bath; no other ritual was performed in this case. This removed the pollution completely.

It may be mentioned that the mother herself named the child as Chinta on the very same day he was born. In this case, no presents were received by the mother or the child from the maternal uncle of the latter or any other relations. It was explained that in case of earlier three deliveries, the maternal uncle used to give presents but as in each of the three cases the child died soon, the presents were considered inauspicious. Hence, no presents were given this time.

Tonsure ceremony

According to the Khatiks, a child should not carry the same hair it was born with, and his hair must be shaved. The *mundan* or tonsorial ceremony takes place before the child attains the age of seven years. For this purpose, they engage the village barber (of Nai caste) who is given Rs. 1.25 in case of a male child and Re. 1 in case of a female. The hairs are disposed of at the shrine of village deity and no feast is usually given to the relatives. According to the Sonkar Khatiks of eastern U.P., the parents of the child take the child to the spot where the village deity is supposed to reside. The Nai (barber) shaves the head of the child almost completely, leaving only one lock of hair on the vertex. It also came to light that some well-to-do families among the Khatiks perform the *mundan* ceremony of their children at the shrine of Vindhyachal Devi, in Mirzapur district, during the Navratras (March-April). On return from the shrine of the goddess, a feast is also given to the relatives. In many cases, the maternal uncle of the child also gives gifts of cash and clothes to the child. However, no presents are given by him among other sections of Khatiks in other areas.

Marriage

The Khatiks marry within their community. As discussed earlier, they are divided into a few territorial groups and sub. castes, each forming an endogamous group of its own. According to their traditional norms, the breach of rule of sub. caste endogamy results in excommunication of the offending parties. The recent efforts of some of the progressive individuals to propagate the idea of inter marriage among different sub. castes of Khatiks have not met with much success.

According to earlier scholars, such as Crooke and Risley, the Khatiks marry their children at an early age. Thus, Crooke (Op. Cit, p. 257), states that the Khatiks of Mirzapur marry their children at the age of eight or ten, while in Bihar they practise infant marriage, marrying their daughters at the age of five to twelve years. Risley had also recorded that they marry their daughters as infants, between the ages five and twelve. (Risley, Vol. I, 1891, p. 47). From the 1961 census data on marital status of Khatiks it is seen that as many as 10.51 per cent of the 66,023 males and 11.74 per cent of the 54,220 females in the age group 0—14 are married, divorced/separated or widowed. This would to some extent substantiate the observations of earlier scholars that Khatiks marry at an early age. However, in order to gain further insight in the matter, data in respect of preferential age or actual age at marriage was recorded among Khatiks in different regions of Uttar Pradesh. It appears that there is a good deal of difference in the age at marriage in rural and urban areas as discussed in the subsequent account. Further, in rural areas of Eastern U.P., the Khatiks marry their sons and daughters as infants. Accordingly, in village Kazidewar of Gonda district, the most preferential age for marriage is reported to be 5, 7, 9 and 11 for boys and 5, 7 and 9 for girls. In Eastern U.P., they generally marry their children when their ages are in odd years as they consider it rather inauspicious to marry when their ages fall in even years. But among the Khatiks of Western U.P., there is no such bias. A few cases of early marriages are given below.

Eight years old Mattoo, who is a student in class I in the village primary school, was married at the age of seven. Similarly, 10 years old Jaggo was married at the age of seven. However, in both the cases, the *gauna* (consummation of marriage) has not taken place and at present their wives stay with their parents. In Kanjahit village of Azamgarh district in Eastern U.P., it is said that a girl must be married before she attains the age of thirteen and a boy the age of sixteen.

Data in respect of actual age at marriage were recorded in respect of 21 males and females each in village Gomat of Aligarh district in Western U.P. It is found that the age at marriage varies from 12 to 21 in case of

males and from 9 to 16 in case of females. Out of 21 males, one male each married at the ages 12 and 21; two each at the ages 14, 16 and 17; seven at the age of 15 and six at the age of 16. It will be, thus, seen that the largest number of marriages occurred at the ages 15 and 16. The average age at marriage of these 21 individuals also comes to 16. As regards the females, one each married at the ages 9, 12 and 16; two each at the ages 11, 14 and 15; four at the age of 10 and the remaining eight at the age of 13, which also works out to be the average for the 21 females. It will be, therefore, seen that though the age at marriage among the Khatiks,—males as well as females, in Western U.P. is somewhat higher than that among those in Eastern U.P., they also marry at an early age. The Khatiks in urban areas, however, do not marry as early as those in rural areas. As for example, among the Khatiks of Lucknow and Allahabad cities the most preferred age at marriage is reported to be 17 years for the girls and 21 years for the boys.

According to the Khatiks, the age at marriage has increased during the recent times. However, this statement could not be verified.

The Khatiks usually do not have any gotras or clans and, therefore, their marriages are not regulated on the principle of gotra-exogamy. In this regard Risley (op. cit.) mentions that they have only one section (Kasyapa) and regulate their marriages by the standard formula calculated to five generations in the descending line. Crooke also holds a similar view. According to him, in Mirzapur they do not marry into the family of the maternal uncle, father's sister and mother's sister for three generations and in their own family they do not intermarry for four generations (Crooke, Vol. III, p. 259). During the enquiries made in connection with the present study, Khatiks in various parts of the State agreed that they regulate their marriages on the basis of the formula described by Crooke. Like the other communities of the region, they also do not marry within the same village, even if the boy and girl do not come within the prohibited degree of relationship as the members of the opposite sexes in the same generation, residing in the same village, are considered to be in the relationship of brothers and sisters. Though monogamy is the ideal norm among the Khatiks, polygamy is permitted under extraordinary circumstances, such as the barrenness of the first wife.

The marriages mostly take place as a result of negotiations between the parents of the girls and boys. If available, the father's sister's husband or the maternal uncle of the boy or girl plays an important role in bringing about negotiations between the parents of the boy and the girl. He mostly assumes the role of the go-between.

The initiative is generally taken by the boy's side who approaches the girl's parents through the good offices of the formers' maternal uncle or father's sister's husband. Family condition, status, personal reputation, health and age, etc. are the usual factors which are taken into consideration for the selection of a bride or groom. Usually, the boy should be three to four years older than the girl. In many cases, before formally approaching the girl's parents, their reaction in the matter is known through common to the marriage proposal an auspicious date is fixed up for *magni* or lagan (formal betrothal) in consultation with a Brahmin priest. It is said that if either of the party backs out without sound reasons after the *lagan* has taken place, it is penalised by a fine of Rs. 301 by the caste Panchayat on the complaint of the offended party.

According to Crooke, "the bride price is fixed at seven rupees" (Crooke, Op. Cit.). During the field investigation, however, it came to light that there has been considerable change in the practice of payment of bride price. Now, bride price is accepted in very few cases as it is not considered prestigious and is indicative of a lower social status. Rather, in majority of cases, the bride's father pays dowry to the bridegroom. According to the Khatik informants, bride price is paid in only those cases where the parents of the girls are too poor to meet the expenses on the marriage of their daughter and, therefore, the boy's father pays money to the girl's father for incurring expenditure on marriage feast and purchasing clothes and ornaments. The bride price may vary from Rs. 150 to Rs. 300 in addition to 2-3 maunds of foodgrains and ornaments worth about Rs. 200. The payment of bride price is also said to be made in such cases where the boy lacks qualities. During field investigations for the present study, one case of bride price came to light which is discussed below.

Ram Asray Khatik migrated to Immillia village in Gonda district about 7 years ago. He has two sons and three daughters. He married his two older daughters five years ago and received a bride price of Rs. 300 and Rs. 200 for each. His youngest daughter, Rajpatiya, was also married, last year at the age of 7 years to a boy residing in Jhajhoad village, at a distance of 8 kms. In her case, Ram Asray received a bride price of Rs. 300 in cash and Rs. 200 in kind before the marriage was solemnised. According to the other Khatik villagers though they did not consider it very prestigious on the part of Ram Asray to have accepted bride price for his daughter's hand, they do not regard it as something against their norms. In fact, according to one of the friends of Ram Asray, there is nothing wrong in accepting bride price, as it is decreed by their tradition and custom.

The Khatiks mostly celebrate their marriages in the months of *Phagun* (February-March) and *Baisakh* (March-April) on an auspicious day fixed up by a Brhamin priest. There are two types of marriages, viz., *Dola* or *Pawnpuzi* type and the *Barat* type. In the former case, the bride accompanied by her close relatives goes to the bride-groom's village in a *Dola* (palanquin) and the main ceremonies are performed in the latter's home. In the *Barat* type, the bridegroom and his party visit the bride's house for the performance of marriage rites. The *Dola* system of marriage is more popular and followed by majority of Khatiks. The *Barat* system is considered more respectable but followed by only well-to-do Khatiks. According to Khatiks, in the past they used to have only *dola* system of marriage and the *Barat* system has been adopted recently from the caste Hindus of the area. However, there is no difference in the rites and rituals observed during *Barat* type and *dola* type of marriages. Generally, the marriage party reaches the village on the appointed day and time and is received at the outskirts of the village by the relations of the groom or the bride, as the case may be. After reception, the marriage party is housed in a place known as *Janvasa*. The occasion is enlivened by music, dance and merry making. The observations of Sherring (1872, p. 400), viz. that at the marriages of Khatiks, the boys dress themselves in women's clothes and dance in public has been corroborated during the field study. In fact, it further came to light that sometimes the bridegroom is also dressed in women's clothes and made to dance before the guests and relations. For this, he receives a cash present varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 from the father and mother of the bride. After the guests have been entertained with tea or dinner, music and dancing, the marriage rituals are performed in the night. A *havana* (fire sacrifice) is performed under a *Vedi* or *Mandwa* (booth) constructed in the open compound outside the house. No Brhamin priest is called upon to preside over their marriage ceremonies. This role is taken over by a *Nai* (by caste) who supervises the marriage rituals with the assistance of the groom's or bride's father's sister's husband or, in his absence, groom's sister's husband. In Eastern U.P., such as Gonda and Azamgarh districts, etc. even the services of *Nai* are also sometimes dispensed with and the groom's father's sister's husband or his sister's husband looks after the performance of various rites and rituals. The couple, however, takes five or seven circumambulations round the sacred fire. In Gonda district, they take seven circumambulations, while in other areas they take five. The marriage is finally solemnised when the bride groom applies *sindoor* (vermilion) on the parting of the hair on the forehead of the bride.

After these rites and rituals are over, the guests retire for rest. Next day, the *barat* returns to the husband's house along with the bride if the marriage takes place by *barat* system. Before departure, the bride's father gives a few presents and some cash to the bridegroom or his father. These include utensils, clothes and other household goods, etc. Since the marriage usually takes place at an early age, the *gauna* (consummation) takes place only after a few years when the couple comes to the age. In those few cases where the bride has reached the age of 13 or above, the *gauna* may take place immediately after marriage.

After a few days, the bride is brought back to her parents' house and finally goes to stay with the husband on a permanent basis, after the performance of *gauna* which may take place from one month to seven years after marriage. The day for performance of *gauna* is fixed in consultation with a priest, and on the appointed day the bridegroom accompanied by 3 to 4 close relations visits the bridge's house. There he is entertained to a feast. No ritual or ceremony is observed for performing *gauna*. The father of the bride, however, gives a few presents to the bridegroom. The next day the husband returns to his village along with his wife. It is, however not obligatory that the husband should always go to his wife's house for *gauna*. She can be brought to her husband's house by four or five close relations as well.

A case study of a marriage recently performed among the Khatiks in Eastern U.P. is described below. During 1968, Kanchan, son of Bir and a resident of Kanjahit village of Azamgarh district, married the daughter of Phool Chand of Gopalpur village of Gazipur district. Both the husband and wife belong to Sonkar sub. caste. At the time of marriage Kanchan was fifteen years old and his wife eleven years old. The initiative for their marriage was taken by the maternal uncle of Kanchan's wife who happened to meet Kanchan's father at a meeting of the caste Panchayat a few months earlier. He broached the matter with Kanchan's father, who prima facie liked the proposal and invited the maternal uncle of the girl to his house. The latter visited Kanchan's house along with a few close relatives. He also saw Kanchan and approved of him. A date was fixed for Kanchan's father to see the girl and for making a formal proposal to her father, in case the former liked the girl. Kanchan's father visited the girl's house on the appointed day in the company of a few close relatives and friends. He saw the girl and liked her. In the meanwhile the girl's father had invited a Brahmin priest to suggest an auspicious date for marriage. The marriage date was fixed then and there itself, in consultation with the Brahmin priest. Kanchan's

father suggested that the marriage should be solemnised by *barat* system. His suggestion was readily agreed to by the girl's father.

For three days before the actual day of marriage, the boy and the girl were daily given bath after anointing their body with turmeric paste and mustard oil. On the marriage day, the *barat* (bridegrooms party), comprising forty persons, left for the bride's village in the afternoon. The party also included Kanchan's father's sister's husband and his sister's husband. The marriage party was received by the bride's father and other relations. After performing the ceremony of 'Dwar Puja' the marriage party was taken to *Janwasa* and entertained to a feast. The main marriage ceremonies were performed at night. Kanchan and his would-be wife were brought to the *mandava* erected earlier outside the house. A *havan* (fire sacrifice) was performed. The marriage ceremonies were supervised by Kumar, the husband of Kanchan's sister. The couple performed five circumambulations around the *mandava*. Later, the elder sister of the bride covered the couple with a sheet of cloth and Kanchan applied vermilion on the parting of the hair on the forehead of the bride which signified the final solemnization of marriage. Next day, the *barat* was entertained to a feast, comprising pork and rice as well as liquor. Thereafter, the *barat* returned to Kanchan's village along with the bride. On reaching home, the couple was first received by the female relations of the bridegroom. A feast was given to the community men in the evening. After staying for three days, Kanchan's wife left for her parents house along with her brother and a few other relations. She is still staying with her parents and her *gauna* has not taken place as yet. Kanchan's parents propose to perform *gauna* after six months.

Widow Marriage

The Khatiks allow their widows to remarry. It is preferred that widow marries the younger brother of the deceased, if the latter is unmarried and both are willing. In case the younger brother of the deceased is not available, the widow can marry any person of her choice, not related to her. In widow marriage, which is locally known as *ghar bithana*, no elaborate rites are performed. The new husband applies vermilion on the parting of the hair on the forehead of the widow and presents her with some clothes and ornaments. He may also entertain his relatives and villagers with a feast of pork, rice and liquor.

As regards the widower, they generally marry other widows or deceased wife's younger sister. But due to the practice of early marriage, junior sorrorate is possible only if a person becomes widower at an early age, before his wife's sister is married to some one else.

Divorce and separation

Divorce is permitted by Khatiks. During 1961 census, 715 males and 546 females were returned as divorced or separated. Divorce is allowed on the grounds of adultery on the part of the husband or wife, impotency of the husband and barrenness of the wife. Ill-treatment and incompatibility of temperament are the other factors which result in divorce. A husband desirous of divorcing his wife would leave her with her parents and would not bring her back to his house. Similarly, a woman desirous of leaving her husband, simply runs away to her parents house. There are no formal procedures to effect the divorce but the facts of the case are brought to the notice of the *biradari* (community).

According to the informants, if divorce takes place on the initiative of or due to lapse on the part of the wife, she is required to return the ornaments given to her by her husband at the time of marriage. If the couple had children, the male children are kept by the father, while the mother keeps the female children. But a suckling child, irrespective of its sex, always remains with the mother.

Death rites

The Khatiks generally cremate the dead, irrespective of the sex of the deceased person. The body of a person who dies of an epidemic disease, such as cholera or small-pox, is either buried or floated in a river. The same treatment is meted to the dead bodies of the infants and children below the age of 12 years.

According to Khatiks, the death is willed by god, Bhagwan or Bhawani as they put it, and evil spirits or ghosts, who can harass people, have no hand in it. A person dies when his days are numbered in the world. The deceased is, therefore, given a respectable farewell by giving a bath to the dead body and wrapping it in new cloth. The body of a *sadhava* (a woman whose husband is alive) is wrapped in a coloured cloth, usually of red colour, while that of a widow in white sheet. The corpse of a male is also covered with a white sheet. If the husband of a married woman dies her *churies* (glass bangles) are broken and the vermilion on the parting of hair on her head is wiped off for ever.

The news of death is conveyed by a few persons to the near relatives in other villages. A bier is prepared from green bamboos and after placing the dead body on the same it is carried out of the house on the shoulders of the close relatives known as *kandhiyas*. These include the sons or brothers of the deceased. In addition to relations at least one person from each household is required to join the funeral procession. As a rule, women do not join any funeral pro-

cession. On the way to the cremation ground, four other members of the funeral party change places with those who first carried out the dead body. After travelling a short distance, another group of four persons replaces them. Thus, the members of the funeral party act as pall-bearers in rotation. This in addition to giving relief to the chief mourners is regarded as an act of reverence and respect to the deceased. The funeral pyre is lit by the chief mourner, such as the husband or son of the deceased. The mourners take a purificatory bath before returning home. The *phools* (pieces of charred bones and ashes) are collected on the next day and immersed in Gomati, Ganges or some other river. The *Nai* (barber) accompanying the funeral procession shaves the head of the chief male mourner. He also supervises the last rites and rituals including preparation of *pinds* (balls made of sand). The chief mourner leads a secluded life for twelve days. During this period he does not touch a cot and sleeps on the ground. He cooks his own meals and practises abstinence.

The *ghat* ceremony is performed on the 9th day in case of a female, and on the 10th day in case of a male deceased. On this day, the barber shaves the hair of all the minimal lineage members present on the occasion. Then after they have taken a bath they are served, with roasted grams and syrup in the house of the deceased. On the 12th or 13th day *terahi* ceremony is observed. On this day, all the members of the household of the deceased take a purificatory bath and *gangajal* (water of river Ganges) or a mixture of cowdung is sprinkled in the household. The earthen vessels are thrown out and the other utensils are thoroughly cleaned. This marks the end of the pollution period. Later, on the same day, a feast is given to *biradari* (members of the lineage). The *terahi* ceremony is not observed in cases of adult persons dying of epidemic diseases as well as children below the age of twelve.

A case study of death occurring due to an epidemic disease is narrated below:

Isari, a resident of Kanjahit village, was a tall, well built and healthy person but rather notorious as a thief. He died suddenly at the age of forty eight. The circumstances leading to his death are as follows. Isari returned home after a short visit to the town of Lalganj. After returning home he complained of sudden weakness and pain in the body. His wife massaged his body but it did not help. Soon his condition started deteriorating and he vomitted as well as passed loose motions. A local *vaidya* was hurridly called for, who diagnosed his ailment as an attack of cholera. The herbal medicines prescribed by the *Vaidya* did not prove effective. On the advice of some persons an attempt was made by his wife and his younger brother, with the help of few villagers to rush him to a hospital situated at a distance of 15 kms. The patient, however, breathed his last on his way before reaching the hospital. His body was brought back to his home. One of the members brought a white *kaffan* (sheet of cloth used for covering the dead body) and a bier was prepared from green bamboos. The dead body was placed on the bier and covered with white sheet and taken in a procession to the banks of river Gomati. The younger brother of the deceased performed the role of chief mourner. In this case, the dead body was floated in the river. After taking a bath the members of the funeral party returned home. In this case, no other rites were observed since the deceased died of cholera. However, the ceremonial pollution period for the members of the household lasted for twelve days as in other cases.

Religion

During 1961 census, all the Khatiks have returned themselves as Hindus. However, as discussed earlier, a stray case of a family converted to Sikhism also came to light during the survey conducted in connection with the present study.

The Khatiks claim that they worship all the important gods and goddesses of all India spread, such as Rama, Krishna, Hanuman, Shiva, Lakshmi, etc. A review of the Khatik pantheon indicates that the gods and goddesses commonly worshipped by them can be grouped into three categories, viz., (i) gods and goddesses of all India spread, (ii) gods and goddesses worshipped in the rural areas of the region and (iii) deities distinctive of their community and of local importance.

As regards the last category, Crooke has stated. "The great deity of the tribe is Kariar Bir, who has his shrine at Jaunpur. In Mirzapur they say that he was killed by the Muhammadans, because he would not renounce his religion. He was a demon who inhabited the site of the present Jaunpur. Ramachandra attacked him, tore him to pieces and left his trunk in the form of a shapeless mass of stone". The account given by Crooke, however, appears to be rather confusing. First, he mentions that Kariar Bir was an Ahir by caste who was killed by Muslims and then he goes back to the times of Ramayana and mentions that he was killed by Ramachandra. However, during the field investigation for the present survey, it came to light that Kariar Bir is not an important god of Khatiks throughout the State. In fact, many of the Khatiks in Western and Central U.P. have not heard of Kariar Bir. But the Khatiks of Allahabad, Azamgarh and Jaunpur districts regard Kariar Bir, or Karir Bir, as their supreme deity. They, however, could not relate any legend associated with the deity. They worship him

during *Navaratri* falling in the month of *Chait* or *Baisakh* every year with offerings of sacrifices of goats and pigs. In addition to Kariar Bir, they worship Birtya Bhawani, Samaya Mai, Diuhar, Nirdhar, Kodhina, Sankhar, Sayar Mai, Talab Ki Mai, Pahalwar Baba, Sharda Devi, Dhakkhini Devi, Mari Mai and Masuria Mai as village or household deities.

It appears that the village and household deities play a very important role in their religious life. It is imperative to worship the household deities on the occasion of birth and marriage in the family. It is believed that these deities provide protection against natural calamities and the machination of evil spirits. Apart from the special occasion, such as birth or marriage in the family, these deities are regularly worshipped at least twice a year, mostly on Sundays and Tuesdays in the months of *Vaisakh* (March-April) and *Bhado* (Aug.-Sept.), which are considered specially auspicious for the worship of these deities. Besides, whenever a calamity befalls a family, the household deities are appeased with a sacrifice of pig or hen and offering of liquor. It is believed that a regular worship of the family household deities brings health, wealth and prosperity to the family, while their neglect evokes their wrath, bringing in its wake, misery, unhappiness and disaster to the family. The household deities are represented in one of the corners of the house which is regarded as a sacred spot and not touched without taking a bath.

Birtya Bhawani is another important deity of the Khatiks. According to Crooke, Birtya is a demoness. He further states, "her votaries have a mud alter in the house, and on it, in the full moon of *Sawan,* they offer a young pig, and drop a mixture of pepper, sugar, and water on her alter." (Crooke, Op. Cit.). However, during the present study the Khatik informants stated that Birtya is not a demoness but incarnation of Bhawani and that is why she is referred to as Birtya Bhawani. The mode of her worship is also different. According to them, Birtya Bhawani is considered as a patron deity of cows and buffaloes and is worshipped with a sacrifice of a pig on the occasion of purchase of a bullock or when a cow gives birth to a calf.

Samaya and Masuria Mai are important village deities which are regarded as guardian angels of the village and protect the villagers from misfortune. Samaya Devi is the village deity of Kazidewar village. She is worshipped by all villagers once in a year in the month of *Vaisakh* with the offerings of sacrifices of goats and pigs.

The more commonly worshipped gods and goddesses of regional importance include Baraicha Baba, Kali Mai, Sayad Baba and Shitla Mai or Devi. However, in some cases the mode or the occasions of their worship differs from those found among other caste Hindu villagers. Thus, Baraicha Baba is worshipped by all the communities in the rural areas of eastern districts, but the Khatiks and other castes of similar status worship it on different days than those in case of the caste Hindus. However, the other caste Hindus and Khatiks endow Bhawani Mai and Shitla Mai with the same attributes. Bhawani Mai is considered as the all mightly goddess who is responsible for smallpox. Shitla Mai is considered as the controlling deity of *haya* (cholera). These goddesses are worshipped with awe and respect.

It is seen that in day-to-day life of Khatiks the household and village deities are believed to exercise greater influence than the gods of all India spread.

As regards the gods and goddesses of all India spread; the Khatiks mention that they specially worship Krishna, Rama, Shiva and Hanuman and install their images or idols in their homes. In fact, it is noticed that gods and goddesses of all India spread have greater following among the Khatiks of urban areas than among those in the rural areas. The gods and goddesses which are popular among the villagers and given an important place in their pantheon are relegated to the background and in many cases not worshipped at all. The Khatiks, however, do not always have free access to temples in many areas. In Kaisarbag Sabzimandi locality, which has a concentration of Khatiks, they have built up a temple with their own efforts. A Khatik *bairagi* (mendicant) acts as the priest of the temple wherein the idols or images of Krishna, Rama, and Hanuman have been installed. The temple is mostly visited by Khatiks and some other communities of similar social status. The Khatiks, however, claim that sometimes caste Hindus also visit the temple built by them.

Festivals

The Khatiks have reported that they observe all the important festivals of Hindus, such as Holi, Diwali and Dussehra. These festivals are celebrated in the same manner as in case of other caste Hindus. However, like some other Scheduled Castes, Diwali is celebrated by them a day in advance. These festivals are taken more as an occasion for recreation when they enjoy special dishes and some of them drink liquor as well as participate in *melas* (fairs). The fruit and vegetable seller section of Khatiks specially look forward to these festivals as, apart from their religious significance, they provide an opportunity for selling fruits and vegetables in large stocks which result in good earnings.

By and large, the Khatik informants did not have much idea about such concept as *Atme Karam, Karamphal, Dharam* and *Moksha.*

A few Khatiks in rural areas likened the soul to a railway engine and the human body as its bogies, the latter running because of the engine —the soul. According to them, if the engine (soul) stops functioning the body becomes useless. They have, however, a somewhat clearer idea about the concept of Karma, which is regarded as rituals or deeds which determine the destiny of a person. One who performs good deeds goes to *Swarga* (heaven) and the evil doer to *Narka* (hell). After completing the period of punishment the evil doer is reborn in the body of an insect or other lower animal form.

It may, however, be observed that the urban dweller Khatiks have comparatively better idea about the above concepts as they appear to have been more exposed to sanskritisation than their counterparts in rural areas.

Inter-community relations and social status

As discussed earlier, the Khatiks follow different traditional occupations. It appears that to a certain extent their social status varies according to the nature of the occupation followed by them. Thus, the cultivator and vegetable and fruit seller sections of Khatik appear to enjoy a somewhat higher social status than those who are tanners and butchers. Besides, there are regional variations in the matter.

According to Rose (Vol. II, pp. 500-501), the Khatiks rank below the Chamars because they keep pigs and poultry which the Chamars do not. However, in Kazidewar village of Gonda district where the Khatiks are living with Bhangis, Chamars (Jatavs) Dhobis and Koris, in addition to caste Hindus, they are ranked above Chamars as well as the other Scheduled Castes of the area, except the Dhobis. It was agreed by all the villagers that the Bhangis, Chamars, Koris, Musahars and Dhanuks accept *pucca* as well as *kaccha* food and water from Khatiks, while the Khatiks do not reciprocate the gesture. But Khatiks and Pasis, who rank equally, reciprocally accept water, *pucca* as well as *kaccha* food from each other. The caste Hindus accept water, uncooked vegetables and fruits but would not accept *kaccha* or *pucca* food from Khatiks. The Dhobis, however, accept *pucca* food also from them.

Their settlement pattern is, however, indicative of their somewhat low social status as in most of the villages, like the other Scheduled Castes, they live in separate hamlets of their own, on the periphery of the village. In one of the villages in Aligarh district, however, a few Khatiks were found to be living in the midst of caste Hindus. In this case, they belong to the cultivator section of Khatiks and claim Kshattriya origin and are assigned a slightly higher social status than the tanner Khatiks who are also living in the same village in a separate hamlet of their own. According to caste Hindus, the Khatiks can build their houses anywhere in the village but they prefer to live in a separate *tola* (hamlet) near the hamlets of other Scheduled Castes, as the occupations of piggery and tanning being dirty ones, necessitate some amount of segregation. However, as mentioned above, even when they follow other occupations, they mostly live in separate hamlets of their own, near the settlements of other Scheduled Castes of the area.

In all the schools in the villages covered during the survey, no segregation was observed in the matter of sitting arrangement of the Khatik and other Scheduled Caste children. However, in one of two villages in eastern U.P. it came to light that no boy or girl belonging to any Scheduled Caste, including Khatik, is allowed to touch the water bucket kept for drinking water.

According to the caste Hindus, the Khatiks are not untouchables and do not suffer from any significant social disabilities. They can draw water from the wells of caste Hindus or common village well. For instance, in village Kazidewar they draw water from a well owned by the Pradhan of the village who belong to Kayastha community. They use metal vessels as well as earthen pitchers for drawing water from the well.

The Khatiks have access to the houses of caste Hindus, but upto the inner courtyard only; in no case they are permitted to enter the kitchen. It was observed during the field investigation that the Khatik agricultural employees could enter the houses of their caste Hindu employers. It was also noted that a Khatik can milk the cow or buffalo for a caste Hindu. But in such a case the milk should always be collected in a metallic vessel and not in an earthen pitcher, as the latter carries pollution if touched by a Khatik or other castes of low status. The *chilam* prepared by them is also accepted by caste Hindus. In fact, in Gomat village, the Khatiks used to be employed as domestic servants and it was one of their duties to prepare *chilam* for their Rajput masters.

According to Khatik informants, two or three decades ago there were restrictions in the matter of their free access to temples, but by and large these restrictions have now been removed. They are, however, still debarred from entering private temples. They are allowed to offer coins, flowers and sweets in the temples, but they cannot offer anything cooked in the kitchen in their home. However, it came to light that in the village Kazidewar, the priest who is a Gosain Brahmin, still does not permit the persons belonging to Scheduled Castes, including Khatiks, to enter into the temple. But he takes the offerings of flower or sweets or coins brought by them and offers the same personally on their behalf. In other villages the Khatiks were reported to have free access to the public temples.



The shrine of Saiyad Baba.

As regards traditional service from Brahmin priests, according to Rose (Vol. II, p. 500), their priests are Gaur Brahmins who officiate at their wedding rites, whereas Risley mentions that Khatiks do not employ Brahmins and Bairagi members of their own caste serve them as priests. But they consult a Tirhutiya Brahmin to fix an auspicious date for marriage (Risley, Vol. I, 1891, p. 47). As mentioned elsewhere, the investigations conducted in connection with present study also revealed that, as reported by Risley, the Brahmin priest does not officiate at their marriage ceremonies or death rites. He is, only consulted to fix an auspicious date for marriage ceremonies. The Khatiks are, however, in receipt of traditional service from Nais and Dhobis. The Nai also officiates at their marriage ceremonies and death rites.

In addition to their ritual status there is another aspect which has an important bearing on their social status and patterning their relations with other communities in different regions. As mentioned earlier, the Khatiks were given to criminal propensities in some parts of the State and were actually treated as criminal tribes in Basti and Gonda districts. (Ayyangar, 1952, p. 25). It was ascertained during the present study that Khatiks of Kazidewar village, as also of some other villages in Gonda district, generally carry a bad name for their indulgence in theft and illicit distillation. The Khatiks of Chandawak village in Jaunpur district, though not regarded as thieves, have a bad reputation among other communities as drunkards and as being quarrelsome. The Khatiks of western districts of the State, however, do not carry any such stigma.

Organisation of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership

Crooke (op. cit.) has mentioned that the Khatiks have a powerful panchayat or council under a hereditary *choudhry*. The present ethnographic study of the community, indicates that the traditional council is no longer a strong and very effective agency for regulating the community affairs. In fact, in some areas of western U.P. it does not function as an organised institution. For instance, in Gomat village in Aligarh district the Khatiks do not have any organised Panchayat or council. Whenever there is a dispute among the members of the community, they sit together and try to resolve the issue. They often seek arbitration from the caste Hindus of the village who are regarded as impartial judges in a dispute involving the members of the Khatik community.

It, however, appears that Khatiks of central and eastern U.P . still try to regulate their community affairs and have certain social controls exercised over the members of the community through the traditional *biradri* or caste Panchayat. They have regional Panchayats or councils which have jurisdiction over a number of villages. Traditionally, each regional panchayat is supposed to have jurisdiction over twenty-two villages. This is reflected in the practice of the caste Panchayat inflicting the punishment of ordering the guilty person to provide *baessi* or feast to twenty-two *choudhries* representing 22 villages. However, the regional Panchayats covering twenty two villages appears to have been fragmented into smaller units during the course of time. Now, in actual practice the regional Panchayat comprises nine to ten villages only. The caste Panchayat includes all the adult male members of their community residing in the villages under its jurisdiction. But, in actual practice only some elderly persons and interested parties take active part in its deliberations. From each village an influential and respectable person is selected as *chotte* (small) *choudhry* to represent the village. All the *choudhries* from different villages constitute the panel of *Panchas* or juries. The regional Panchayat is headed by a *bade* (elder) *choudhry* or headman who delivers the judgement of the panchayat after ascertaining the views and the consensus arrived at by the *panchas*. In case of a dispute involving members of different regional panchayats, the matter is dealt by two or more Panchayats. A more experienced person from the *choudhries* of the regional Panchayats is selected as Chairman of the joint panchayat. In this case, he is referred to as *bade choudhry*, while the headman of each regional panchayat as a *majhale* (intermediate) *choudhry*.

There is no apex organisation at State or district level. The office of the *choudhry* is hereditary, the son succeeding to the father. In the absence of a son the office is inherited by a nearest suitable male kin of the deceased, such as the younger brother or latter's son.

The traditional council of Khatiks deals with such matters as cases of elopment, adultery, disputes arising out of divorces, breach of social and commensal norms of the community, etc. Whenever any person wishes to raise an issue in the panchayat, he approaches the *chotte choudhry* who makes arrangements for conveying a meeting of the caste panchayat after obtaining the consent of *bade* choudhry. Sometimes, four or five separate issues are dealt with by the caste panchayat in its one sitting. The complainants and the defendents give testimony before the *panchas* and produce witnesses in support of their case, if they so desire. After prolonged and detailed discussions in the general body of the panchayat, the *panchas* retire to deliberate the matter separately among themselves. The *bade choudhary* delivers judgement after ascertaining the view point and consensus arrived at by the *Panchas*. The guilty party has an option to appeal to the council for reducing the punishment. It is understood that a person found guilty of adultery is usually punished by a fine ranging from Rs. 50 to

Rs. 300, depending on his financial standing and the circumstances under which the crime was committed. In addition, a feast is also required to be given to the *choudhries* from different villages. As mentioned above, among the Khatiks of eastern U.P., this feast is known as *baessi*. The cash money realised by way of fine is often spent on serving liquor to the panchayat members and especially the *choudhries*. In rare cases, the panchayat also inflicts the severe punishment of ex-communication.

It appears that the once powerful institution of traditional Panchayat has now run into rough weather. The traditional leadership, which exercised its power through the forum of traditional council, is facing serious challenge from more than one quarters. As a result, the traditional councils have considerably lost in power, prestige and authority. In fact, as mentioned earlier, the institution is languashing in many regions. One of the challenges faced by the traditional leadership is the involvement of some influential Khatiks with certain political parties and local politics. The persons who join political parties develop a following due to their contacts with the 'high ups'. Because of their influence and new aura of power around them, they can float the traditional leadership with impunity and have in some cases succeeded in making serious dents in the institution of caste panchayat which is the hallmark of traditional leadership. According to eighty years old Bhaggan choudhry of Chandawak village in Jaunpur district, the political orientation of some of the communitymen has given birth to frictions and emergence of factions which has resulted in a sense of anomie and lack of integration within their community. It would be of some interest to mention that the political alignments of some of the Khatiks have not only posed a challenge to the traditional leadership from outside but has also set up a motion of its slow disintegration from within the institution itself. To spell it further, it may be mentioned that some of the traditional *choudhries* have themselves become active members of a few political parties or have otherwise aligned themselves with different political parties. As a result of their political and personal ambitions as well as ideological conflicts in many cases different factions and power blocks have emerged out from within the traditional leadership itself.

Another strong challenge to the traditional leadership is being posed by the emerging elites from the educated section of the Khatiks, especially in the urban areas. This section of younger generation has virtually revolted against traditional leadership with whom they have no patience. The world view of the emerging elites is often different from the orthodox and tradition bound old leadership. They wish to introduce reforms and overhaul the outdated panchayats. They believe that traditional panchayat should not keep itself preoccupied itself with such trifling issues as the breach of caste rules and matters regarding sexual offences, etc. According to them, there are other important matters which should engage the attention of their leaders. They are of the view that the community Panchayat should be progressive, forward looking and should aim at realising higher social and political aims for the betterment of the community. They would like to take up such matters as spread of literacy in the community, more representation of Khatiks in State legislature and government services, etc. Besides, they are very much opposed to the institution of hereditary *choudhries*, which confers power on a person, irrespective of his ability to discharge his functions properly.

They also do not welcome the idea of the money collected by way of fines to be spent on serving feast and liquor to the *choudhries*.

New leadership and social reform—There is a conflict between the old and the new, which finds manifestation in break-away panchayats and caste associations which claim to be progressive, reformatory and forward looking. The epicentre of these movements is mostly located in the cities and towns, such as in Lucknow and Allahabad, though sometimes their echoes are heard in distant rural areas also. The implication of the same is discussed below. There are three units of traditional caste panchayats which have been functioning in Lucknow city for a quite some time. Until independence, the traditional panchayat was mostly functioning as an organ of social control. After partition of the country, the Panchayat also took over the role of social welfare in the wake of displacement of families in Pakistan. During 1947, it opened a *dharamkhata* (welfare fund) for the welfare of refugees from Pakistan. It is said that in the beginning the daily collections amounted to Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 per day. A part of this money was utilized for supplying vegetables to refugee camps for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. It is understood that on the advice of local officials this practice was stopped later as such relief work was undertaken by the local official agencies. During 1949, it was decided to utilise the donations, which now amounted to Rs. 8 lakhs for their community's welfare. It is alleged that the traditional *choudharies* virtually became owners of this money and misappropriated a part of the donations. This infuriated some of the youngmen of the community who were already dissatisfied with the traditional panchayat for various reasons and they waged a crusade against the old leaders. It is said that as a result of their efforts a *sabha* (council) was set up to utilize the money fruitfully. The *sabha* also succeeded in obtaining a contract for selling fruit and vegetables in Kaisarbagh Mandi. It built a building at the cost of Rs. fifty eight thousand. It, however, appears that mal-practices and bungling continued to persist and it is

alleged that an amount of Rs. 80,000 was deposited by choudhries in their own accounts. Besides, they are said to have drawn salary from this fund in lieu of their managerial assistance, although being a venture involving community welfare they are expected to function in an honorary capacity. In 1956, a trust, comprising 14 persons, was formed to look after the *dharam khata*. But mismanagement and discontentment still seems to have continued.

The differences and dissents finally climaxed into the formation of a 'Lucknow Khatik Panchayat' in 1960 in opposition to the old traditional panchayat. The new panchayat came into being with the hope that it would wrest power from the traditional leadership. The new panchayat has two wings, one dealing with social reforms and adoption of various measures for safeguarding the economic and political interests of the community, and the other to deal with the intra-community affairs. It has an elected president to head the socio-political wing and an elected choudhary to deal with the caste affairs in the nature of social control. The Panchayat holds elections every year. But as a result of the coming up of the new panchayat the feud between the traditional leadership and emergent one has been further aggravated. Some persons are lined up behind the traditional leader, while others behind the new aspirants to power. It is understood that in order to resolve the present conflict and deadlock in the power structure a few persons suggested that a compromise might be effected by forming a 'cabinet', comprising three choudharies from the three units of the traditional Panchayat in the city and the elected choudhary of the new Panchayat. But it appears that this proposal did not find favour with the traditional leaders.

A few years ago a caste association known as 'Khatik Navyuvak Sangh' came up as an ancillary to the New Khatik Panchayat at Lucknow. This is an unregistered association having some young and educated Khatiks as its members. The office bearers are elected every year. One of the main objectives of the association is to effect a merger with the traditional Panchayat and to abolish the institution of hereditary choudhries. The other objectives include the introduction of certain social reforms discussed in the subsequent account. The Sangh held a meeting in January, 1967, at Lucknow wherein resolutions were passed criticising the practice of giving ceremonial feasts on the occasion of birth, marriage and death. It was felt that such feasts unnecessarily caused great economic hardships to the members of their community. It moved for abolition of such practices. It was also suggested that liquor should not be served in any community feast. The association also passed resolutions for making efforts to spread literacy among the community men.

The Sangh collected a grant of rupees five hundred from City Municipal Corporation for starting a library. But the same could not function as yet for want of a suitable building.

An attempt was made to have an idea about the impact of the new reform-oriented Panchayats and the crisis in leadership on the community in rural areas. It was found that in many rural areas the Khatik villagers are mostly un-aware of the social reform movements and reforms sought to be introduced in the caste Panchayats. According to the Khatik informants of Chandawak in Jaunpur district, they had heard that a resolution was passed by a few leaders of the community that all the subcastes and divisions of Khatiks should unite by forging commensal and connubial ties with each other as it would help the community in securing social and political ends. However, the traditional and orthodox leadership was quick to react to such moves and organised meetings in the villages where the above proposal was vehemently opposed and dubbed as a direct assault on the traditions, customs and social values of the community. As a result, these moves could hardly make any impact in the minds of the people in rural areas.

Apart from the recent upheavels in the power structure and leadership among Khatiks which have been sometimes coupled with social reform movements in the community, certain isolated attempts have been made from earlier periods which strove for the welfare and introduction of certain social reforms in the community. It has been claimed that as early as in 1930 an association of Khatiks, known as 'Akhil Bhartiya Khatik Mahasabha' was formed with its headquarters at Lucknow to help the eradication of social disabilities suffered by the community as well as for the socio-political and cultural advancement of the community. The membership was open to all Khatiks with a nominal fee of 25 paise. In 1950, an All India Khatik Conference was held to discuss the problems faced by the community. As a sequel to the Conference, a deputation of Khatiks visited New Delhi in 1950 to secure the inclusion of Khatiks in the list of Scheduled Castes. It also made efforts to render financial assistance to widows and poor families in arranging marriage of their children. It also attempted to start a few night schools for spread of literacy among adult members. It is said that the Mahasabha once succeeded in receiving a grant of Rs. two hundred from Nagar Mahapalika, Lucknow, for running a night school for adults. However, it is understood that the school has now stopped functioning due to lack of funds. The Association is now almost dead though some of its small isolated units function at certain places.

A few local Khatik leaders were interviewed in Lucknow and Allahabad to record their re-

action for the welfare programmes and other assistance from the government. They complained that only some students belonging to their community have received scholarships or stipends and no other assistance has been provided to their community. They mentioned that their immediate and pressing felt needs are more representation of their commuity in State legislature and local bodies, provision of houses, allotment of a few shops in the markets to run their business as well as more scholarhisps for their children. They felt that the government should set up a housing colony for them and grant a loan of Rs. 1,000 per family on easy instalments to help them in carrying on their business activities. They believe that there is much scope for development of their traditional occupation of fruit and vegetable selling as well as mutton and pork selling. They particularly emphasized the potentiality of the latter occupation and felt that establishment of piggery farms would go a long way in giving a boost to their economy. They, however, complained that in all these businesses the middlemen, such as the *artias* in the field of fruit and vegetable markets, have entered the field and encroached upon their rightful field of economic activity. They suggested that government should eliminate the middlemen by organising cooperative societies of vegetable and fruit sellers as well as piggery farms.

Biographies

(1) *Umed*—The old and wrinkled face of Umed, a resident of Gomat village in Aligarh district, has the stamp of experience of eighty years long life. He was born in Khelia Rewa village of Bulandshahr district in a family of traditional grooms belonging to Ghora Charao subcaste of Khatiks. Umed never went to school and had to struggle hard to eke out a livelihood. He was married at the age of twelve and was blessed with a son, his only child. Umed could not manage to get a job in the traditional occupation in which his father was employed. His father, who was working as a groom of an ex-zamindar, found it difficult to manage his large family. On the advice of his sister's husband, who was residing in Gomat village, Umed migrated to the village of his brother-in-law along with his father and other family members. There, he could manage to get into the family occupation by getting employment as a tonga-driver of a zamindar. After serving for twenty five years he managed to save some money to acquire some agricultural land. He gave up the occupation of tonga driver and started cultivation of vegetables and other cash crops, the latter proving to be a fairly remunerative one. Now, he is able to maintain his family with the income he derives from selling vegetables and other cash crops. Though himself completely illiterate, Umed is of progressive views and gives utmost importance to education. He mentioned that when as a tonga driver he used to take the sons of his employer to school; he resolved that he would educate his son so that the latter might also become an officer. He has not forgotten the hard turmoil and struggle that he had to put in, to eke out a livelihood from the hard and labourious job of a tonga driver. He mentioned that he wanted a complete break with the past and, therefore, did his utmost to provide education to his only son. He has the satisfaction of seeing his ambition fulfilled as his son is now the headmaster in a junior high school in the village. Umed has four grandsons and one granddaughter. All his grand sons are doing well in studies. The eldest grand-son is studying in an intermediate college, the second grand-son is appearing in hihger secondary examination and the third grand-son is studying in a middle school in 8th class. The youngest is, however, too young to join a school. All his grand-sons are receiving scholarships from the government for pursuing their studies. His son and grand children are living with him in the same household. Umed carries authority in the joint family and is respected by all. His grand-sons are all unmarried and he mentions that unless they are suitably employed, he would not even think of marrying them. He desires that, like his son, one of his grand-son should become a teacher, preferably in the same village, so that the latter may also look after the agricultural land of the family.

Umed has seen much of life. He has a mixed reaction to the changes that have taken place in the country during his lifetime. He believes that the present time is a hard one, full of cut-throat competition, people being only money minded and having no regard for age, custom and tradition. Yet, the picture he paints of the past is not at all rosy. He decries the traditional occupation of the community which, according to him, was full of degradation and kept them half starved. He mentioned that with the abolition of zamindari system as well as the growing tendency to change from horse driven vehicles to machine driven vehicles, it is impossible for his community to continue its traditional occupation, which resulted in further economic distress. However, according to Umed this development is a blessing in disguise as it has shaken his community from the sense of compliance and lack of enterprise. "The only panacea for the betterment of the community", according to Umed, "is to go in for education and make a complete break with the past."

(2) Gauri, aged 55, and a resident of Kazidewar village in Gonda district is a person of carefree disposition. He is of sound health and has an athletic built. He has had a difficult childhood. When he was only 6 years old, his mother died leaving him to the care of his father. But his father married again and he was left to the mercy of his step-mother who, true to the tradition, had no affection for Gauri. He was not sent to school, and at the tender age of seven

asked to look after the pigs and swines to make his career as a swineherd.

According to Gauri, his father was a noted thief of the area. A certain incident relating to his father left a lasting impression on his mind. He narrated that on a chilly and cold night in the month of December, while he was trying to sleep on a bedding of straw and keeping himself warm with a thin and shabby blanket, he suddenly heard shouting; soon, some policemen entered the house, calling his father's name. His father came out with a fearful expression on his face and folded hands but was immediately, and without any enquiry, handcuffed by one of the policemen. Gauri was immobilised with shock and terror. Before he could recover himself the policeman started dragging and mercilessly beating his father, who was later taken away to the police station. Gauri was told by the villagers that his father was taken away by policemen as he was a thief. According to Gauri, this incident left an everlasting impression on his mind and he resolved not to be associated with thieves so that he must not be put to the degradation suffered by his father. This helped him to become a respectable citizen of his village community.

After he grew old, Gauri took some land from a caste Hindu of the village for share cropping. He also supplemented cultivation by rearing pigs, which according to him, is a very profitable business as the demand for pork is growing in cities and towns day by day.

To overcome the economic distress of his community, Gauri suggests that his community men should be provided with agricultural land for cultivation. Also, their children should be given financial help and other assistance so that they may become educated and get suitable jobs and services. Nevertheless, Gauri advocates for a modern system of pig rearing which, he believes, can provide a very sound basis for the development of their economy.

Gauri is a talented person and of artistic bent of mind. He is often heard singing folk songs. He can also play on such musical instruments as *Hurak* (a percussion instrument) and *Jhanjh* (large cymbals).

(3) *Nathi*—Fifty years old Nathi is a tall Sikh, residing in Gomat village in Aligarh district. He belongs to Khallu-Khatik sub-caste, which is traditionally engaged in the occupation of dyeing and tanning leather. Nathi never went to any school but was immensely interested in games and sports from his very childhood. According to him, he was considered to be a very good wrestler during his youth. He followed the traditional occupation of tanning and dyeing leather, which provided him enough money to lead a fairly good life. Married at the age of fifteen, Nathi has now three sons and two daughters. However, none of them is educated.

Nathi, mentioned that an important incident in his early life changed the course of his life. He narrated that about twenty years ago a communal riot broke out in Aligarh in which his brother and he himself were involved. His brother was killed in the ensuing bloodshed and he himself was caught by the police and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment and sent to the District Jail. While he was in jail, he became intimate with a Sikh convict who was undergoing his jail sentence in the same jail. Nathi was very much influenced by his Sikh friend, so-much so that he embraced Sikh religion. He mentioned that his Sikh friend was always considerate and understanding and rendered him suitable advice and help in various matters. On completion of his jail sentence, Nathi, now Nathi Singh, came back to his parental village to start a new life. He gave up his previous occupation of tanning or dyeing leather and took to growing vegetables in a small plot of land, acquired by him, and selling the produce in the market. He believes that as a result of the change of his occupation he gained in social status, since the occupation of cultivation is considered superior to that of tanning and dyeing leather. However, his conversion to Sikhism more than upset the status he might have gained by taking to a better occupation as this change of religion has created many problems for him. Having born in a Hindu family and in a community which has predominantly Hindu population he is encountering serious difficulties in social matters at community level. All his friends and relations are Hindus, who look down upon his conversion. As a result, he has to face various difficulties in marrying his sons and daughters in the community. He also finds it difficult to establish marital ties with other Sikhs as he is not intimately known to them. With great difficulty he married one of his sons to a Hindu Khatik girl, hailing from Delhi. She, however, could not adjust to his family way and quarreled with his son. Ultimately, she got separated and is no longer living with his son. Thus, Nathi feels isolated and discriminated by his community. He is, however, bearing these problems manly and trying to do his best in the prevailing circumstances.

While referring to the problems of his community he drew attention to the poor economic and social status of the community which, according to him, stem from following degrading traditional occupation. He believes that if his community has to rise socially and economically, it must give up its traditional occupation, migrate to industrial centres and look up for new jobs and opportunities. He is in favour of spread of education in his community, but does not advocate female education. Though hardly educated, Nathi is a well informed person. He is, by and large, aware of various social and political developments in the country and the region. He is progressive in his outlook and is in favour of family planning, though he jocularly remarked that he himself is too old to practice the same.

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ANNEXURE

FRAMEWORK FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

I. *Name, Identity, Origin and History*

1. Name; synonym; sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and as in other published sources such as census reports, monographs, etc., grouping with other castes and tribes during various censuses. Affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.

2. Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) itself.

3. Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.

4. Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments; historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

II. *Distribution and Population Trend*

1. Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside; physical aspects of the areas of concentration.

2. Numerical strength in 1961 and population variations during 1901—1961; sex ratio; age-groups and rural-urban distribution in 1961.

III. *Physical Characteristics*

1. Racial Stock; appearance and affinity with other known communities.

IV. *Family, Clan, Kinship and Other Analogus Divisions*

1. Family; size (observed and published). Types, residence after marriage, descent, lineage and its economic and religious function and inheritance.

2. Clan/gotra and sub-clans; names, etymological meaning, clustering of clans, belief and mythology about origin, status among clans, clan and regulation of marriage (preference and prohibition), occupation and clan, and rituals clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions etc.).

V. *Dwelling, Dress, Food, Ornaments and Other material objects distinctive of the community*

1. Settlement: Village site, location, settlement pattern (agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, amorphous, star-shaped, horse-shoe-shaped, linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped etc.) and variations; regional pattern vis-a-vis pattern of the community.

2. Neighbourhood pattern on the basis of religion, castes (Caste Hindus, untouchables) and tribes etc. with segregation, if any, and the basis thereof.

3. Dwelling unit: Compound, entrance, source of water, the use of different parts of the house (latrine, cattle shed, isolation huts etc.); shape (square, round, irregular etc.); storeys; nature of floor, plinth; wall; roofing; thatching; ventilations and doors; materials used; decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.

4. Dress, including head gear and foot wear—used ordinarily, on ceremonial occasions and special occasions, sex-wise and according to majority or minority; dress of priests and office bearers; variations.

5. Ornaments: use; material used; from whom obtained; variations according to sex and age.

6. Personal decoration: Tattooing; mutilation (chipping of teeth, etc.); hair cutting; how done, purpose, attitude and variations according to sex and age.

7. Food and drink: Materials (staple and other), prescriptions and prohibitions, fuel, utensils, and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food and rituals, if any.

8. Equipments connected with economic pursuits, religion and ritual; how procured; material used, construction, manipulation and purpose.

9. Other household equipments. As above.

10. Equipments connected with recording of time, space and weight and their methods of use. As above.

VI. *Environmental sanitation, hygienic habits, disease and treatment*

1. Environmental sanitation, settlement, disposal of night soil, garbage, etc.
2. Hygienic habits: cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses, utensils, etc.
3. Diseases: Incidence; local names; interpretation of the causes; symptoms; diagnoses and cure—persons and methods involved.
4. Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

VII. *Language and Education*

1. Ancestral Language: Classification according to Grierson, persistence of ancestral language and literature.
2. Mother tongue: classification according to Grierson; bilingualism and multi-lingualism, regional language.
3. Information collected during 1961 on language and literature.
4. Education and literacy: Traditional and modern attitude, information collected during 1961—literacy and levels of education.

VIII. *Economic Life*

1. Economic resources: Land, community land, individual ownership and types of land possessed and land utilized.
2. Forest wealth: Flora and fauna; nature and extent of right in the forest, forest utilization.
3. Fishery, Livestock and others.
4. Working force: Sex wise, urban and rural variations and comparison of the same with the region.
5. Non workers.
6. Industrial classifications: Details as collected in the field and comparison with that of the 1961 Census figures; traditional occupation and changes in the pattern; main and subsidiary occupations.
7. Forced labour, bonded labour, patron-client relationship (Jajmani), mode of payment.
8. Seasonal migration connected with occupation: recruitment, formation of working groups.
9. Nomadic movement: Cycle and occupational pattern.
10. Shifting cultivation: method, implements, and equipments, produce, participation, cycle of rotation, measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.
11. Terrace cultivation: As above.
12. Income and expenditure: Sources of income, extent, expenditure on food, clothing, house, education, social functions and others.
13. Other aspects of economic life.

IX. *Life Cycle*

A. *Birth*

1. Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still-birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.
2. Pre-natal and natal practices: Residence, diet, work, taboos etc., delivery place, assistance, equipments used in delivery, position during delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), disposal of placenta.
3. Post-natal practices: Confinement and segregation, ceremonial pollution, diet for mother and child, rituals.
4. Protection and care of child and training.
5. Attitude towards birth of child preference about sex, preference about number, segregation of sex, etc.

B. *Initiation*

1. Initiation ceremony; descriptions.
2. Pre-marital sex relations within the community, outside the community, sanctions and taboos

C. *Marriage*

1. Age at marriage for both sex; prohibited degrees of relationship, preferences, widow remarriage (preferences and taboos).
2. Civil status and social status.
3. Types of marriage: Monogamy, polygamy (Polyandry and Polygyny).
4. Selection of spouse: Qualities valued (for bride and groom, mode of selection) procedure.
5. Modes of acquiring mate; By negotiation, force, intrusion, elopement, etc.
6. Terms of settlement: Payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption, etc.

7. Ceremonies connected with marriage: details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.
8. Statistical data as per 1961 census.
9. Divorce: Reasons and procedure.

D. *Death*

1. Concept about death, measures to ensure future well being of the soul, measures to avert harm by the spirits.
2. Methods of disposal: Burial, cremation, exposure, floating on water, etc.
3. Preparations for disposal of dead, informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit etc. for disposal; how carried, who carry, who accompany, place of disposal, methods of disposal norms and taboos.
4. Ceremonies connected with disposal.
5. Death rites: Details.
6. Monuments: Tombs, megaliths, etc.
7. Pollution: duration, restrictions in work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life, etc.; removal of pollution.
8. Mourning: mourners and duration.

X. *Religion*

1. Deities: supreme deity, benevolent deities, malevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras etc.
2. Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.
3. Rituals and concepts associated with the pantheon.
4. Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.
5. Religious functionaries.
6. Calendar of festivals and their observance.
7. Concept of soul, hell, heaven, rebirth, trans-migration of soul, etc.
8. Sects and denominations: Name, distribution, beliefs and practises, etc.
9. Statistical information.

XI. *Leisure, Recreation and Child Play*

1. Use of leisure time: For male, female, children and adult; seasonal variation in leisure time.
2. Recreations their mode and extent, for males, females and children.
3. Leisure and recreation with reference to work.

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XII. *Relation Among Different Segments of the Community*

Recognised segments—name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social, prestige, religion, sect, education, age, etc.). Inter-relationship among various segments; status of the segments, status of women.

XIII. *Inter-community Relationship*

1. Ceremonial relationship: Service by Brahmins, traditional service by castes like barbers, washermen, etc.
2. Pollution by touch or proximity to High Caste Hindus, use of well, admission to temple.
3. Secular relationship: Model for other communities; dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.
4. Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

XIV. *Structure of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership*

1. Social control: Levels of social control, community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries etc., social control by other agencies.
2. Mode of acquiring offices.
3. Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders, functionaries of statutory bodies of the region, powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc., at the regional level and local level.
4. Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.
5. Leadership: For social change, for technological change, for political action and for other organised activities at the community level, regional level and local level.
6. Social prestige: Method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association etc.), symbols of social prestige.

XV. *Social Reform and Welfare*

1. Social reform movements: Intensity; reasons (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation, etc.); History and import of the movements.
2. Social welfare: Agency, religious organisation, community as a whole, Govt. Official and non-official role of the social welfare measures and impact.

XVI. *Reference Cited and Other Bibliography*