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VOLUME XV

UTTAR PRADESH

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPH NO. 8

General Editor
P. P. BHATNAGAR
of the Indian Administrative Service
Superintendent of Census Operations, Uttar Pradesh

VILLAGE BERI CHAHAR

(Tahsil Kheragarh, District Agra)

By

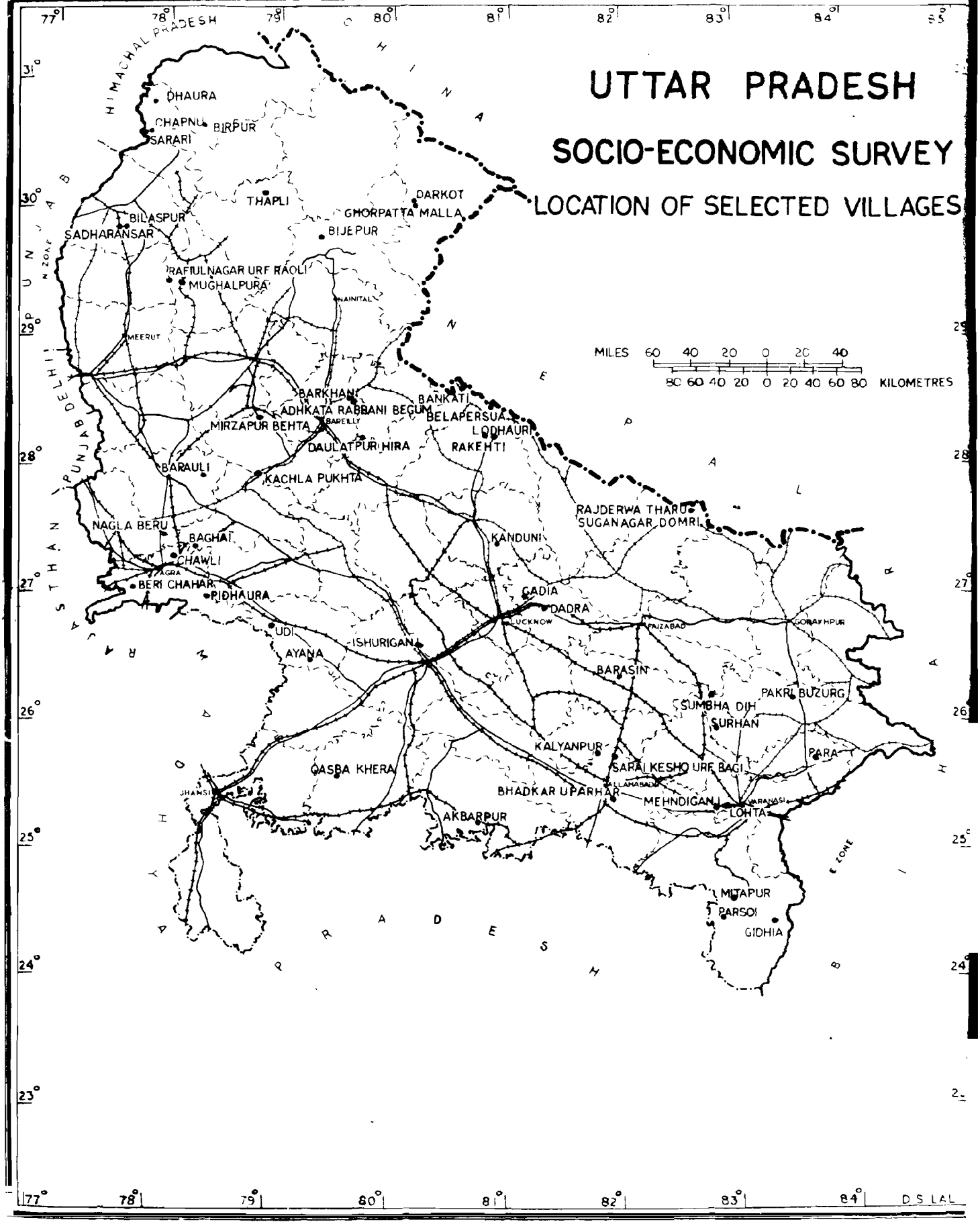
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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record in *situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress; ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 Conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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

NEW DELHI
July 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

In Uttar Pradesh the Census Organisation selected a number of villages for special study of the dynamics of change in the social, cultural and economic life of the rural community. An analysis of the structure and functioning of the village economy is expected to reveal the forces which promote or retard the processes of change coming into play, either in the natural course or as a result of various legislative measures such as the establishment of Panchayats, the abolition of Zamindari, the extension of Planning and Development activities, and the enforcement of various social laws. The knowledge thus gained can be utilised for the re-orientation of policies of rural development and village uplift.

2. The selection of villages for study was made in accordance with certain principles and criteria laid down by the Registrar General. Of the selected villages, some contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, some are populated by backward aboriginal people, and others have an old and settled character with a multi-ethnic composition and diverse occupations. Minor deviations from the standards prescribed for selection were inevitable because of the non-availability of the requisite number of villages having all the prescribed variables. This purposive selection has made it possible to study the impact of various factors of change upon the culture and economy of villages situated in the interior where outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act as also the normal types which are exposed to a greater degree to the winds of change from various directions.

3. Chhotia, a hamlet of the village Beri Chahar in district Agra was selected for survey because of the opportunity it offers for studying the mixed economy of farming and weaving in a backward area of the district.

4. The research methods employed in this study have consisted of the use of schedules and questionnaires, case studies, village records, census data, interviews and group discussions. The local investigation was carried out by the field staff of this Organisation, having a well-trained pair of eyes. There was some difficulty in the initial stages because the investigator was viewed with suspicion, but after he gained the confidence of villagers and established rapport with them, the work of investigation became easy and simple. The data were collected in the month of June 1961. The study was of course subject to time pressure.

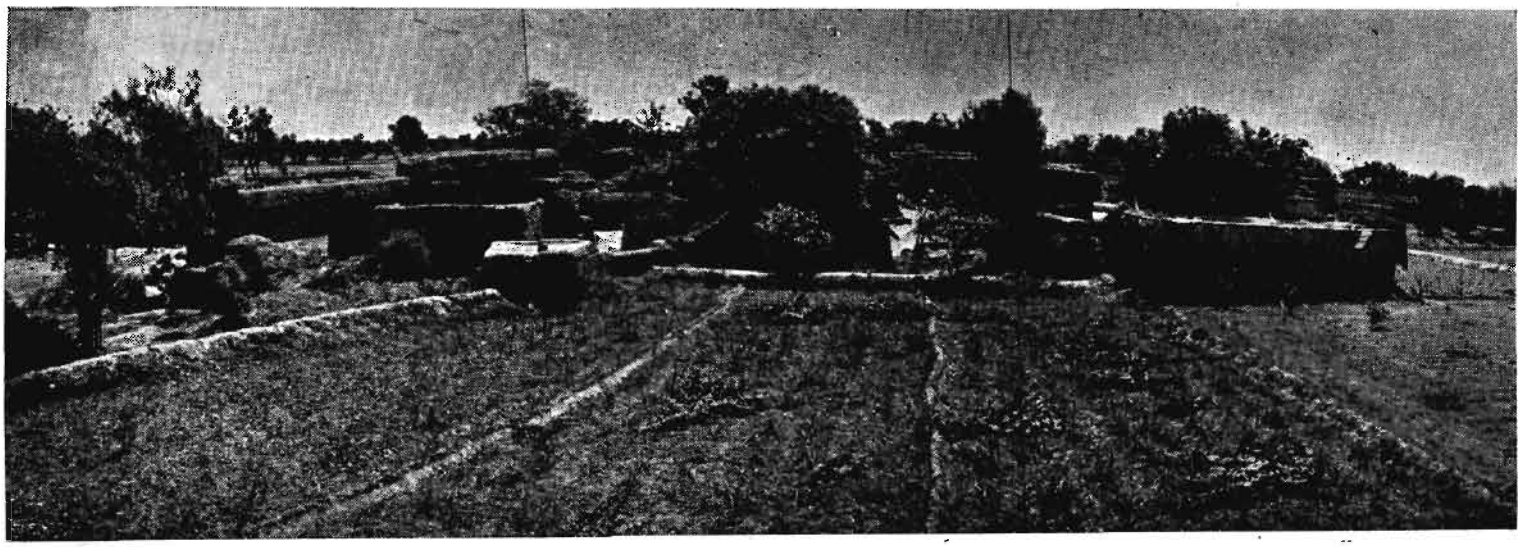
5. Field investigation in the village was carried out by Shri B. D. Sharma, Socio-economic Inspector, who had been borrowed from the National Sample Survey Organisation. Shri R. I. Verma, Deputy Census Superintendent, of the Uttar Pradesh, Civil Service, is responsible for supervising the investigation, marshalling the statistical evidence, analysing the data and drafting the report.

6. Opinions expressed and conclusions reached by the writer of this monograph are based on the results of the investigation. They are his own and do not reflect the views of the Government in any way.

LUCKNOW
The 4th December, 1962.

P. P. Bhatnagar
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Uttar Pradesh.

PLATE I



Beri Chahar from a distance

CHAPTER I

The Village

Beri Chahar is a large-sized village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Kheragarh, the tahsil headquarters and about 14 miles from Agra, the district headquarters. Situated in the north-east in Kheragarh tahsil, it is bounded by village Akola on the north and by villages Digrota and Kagarol on the south. It is flanked by village Beesaipur in the east and village Gharra Khurd on the west. The area of the village is 2,612 acres.

According to the Census of 1961, the total population of Beri Chahar, which included nine hamlets was 5,586 as against 4,803 in 1951. The population increased by 783 during the last decade (1951-61) giving a percentage increase of 16·3. The survey was conducted in one of its hamlets, Chhotia, which is in the neighbourhood of the main village. It has a sizeable population of 626 persons comprising 320 males and 306 females divided into 114 households. The Jats and Koris are the preponderating castes whose combined population of 356 persons accounts for 56·9 per cent of the total population of the hamlet. The main occupation of Jats is cultivation and of Koris weaving. The hamlet was selected for survey because of the opportunity it offers for studying the mixed economy of farming and weaving in a backward area of the district.

The village is situated on a level plain. Nature is not bountiful in its gifts to the village and its surroundings for there is no forest in its neighbourhood. There are a number of ponds which swell up during the rainy season and cause damage to standing crops. Water is not easily drained off and causes water-logging in the village. At other times of the year the ponds are shallow with a thin and slow current.

The village lies in an area of severe climate. It is cold in winter and the heat is intense in summer months. The *loo* (hot westerly winds) blows in May and June and fills the air with sand and dust. It is also subject to strong dust storms in these months. The monsoon breaks out in the beginning of July. Rainfall is rather sparse, the annual average rainfall being between 30 to 35 inches. It does not rain for more than a day or two at a stretch and more than half of the average rainfall of the year comes during the months of July and August. The rains cease at the end of September. The climate is delightful in winter. The days are warm and sunny but the nights are cold and uncomfortable in December and January. The temperature begins to rise in the month of March.

The general aspect of the area is dreary and monotonous like other parts of Kheragarh tahsil. There is no thick vegetation around the village but isolated patches of grass occur in its neighbourhood. The common trees are mango, guava, *bargad* (banyan), *neem* (Azidirachta indica), *pipal* (Ficus religiosa), *jamun* (Eugenia jambolna) and *babul* (Acacia arabica). There is very little to soothe the eye by way of wild flowers. *Pipal* and *neem* are grown principally for shade. They provide cool shade to animals tied during the day under them and to the weary travellers. Mango and guava are fruit trees planted in some orchards. They also grow sporadically in the fields and along roads. Mango and *jamun* trees provide timber for roofs, doors, agricultural implements, etc. but the wood of *babul* is used as fuel. *Jharberi* (berry) and cactus plants are used for fencing fields.

The wild animals that sometimes find their way to the village are fox, jackal, wolf and hyaena. The blue-bulls also wander in this area, though in small numbers. Among birds, house crow, sparrow, peacock, parrot, pigeon, snipe, grey partridge, wood pecker and different kinds of hawk, vulture and kite are common. The most magnificent of all, of course, is the peacock. Cuckoo is a migratory bird seen in summer in the village.

Snakes of different colours and varieties appear mostly in the rainy season. They are many and include the deadly cobra, the banded krait, as well as the harmless water snake. Lizards and frogs are also numerous.

The village is about fourteen miles from Agra. It is two miles in the interior from village Akola, which is on the first class metalled road only twelve miles from the district headquarters. The distance is generally covered by bus. The two-mile *kachcha* stretch is motorable in dry weather and is generally covered by bullock cart, bicycle or on foot. It is not easily negotiable in

the rainy season because of slush and, in places, is under water. Transport offers no problem to the villagers and the rich and the poor prefer to use buses which touch Akola every hour rather than travel by bullock-carts. Bicycles are also used as a means of transport by the villagers. The nearest railway station is Bhandai on the Central Railway about six miles from the village connected by a fair weather road.

Postal facilities are available in the village. The branch post office, under one of the school teachers, serves Beri Chahar and a large number of adjoining villages. Mail is delivered daily to the villagers but the village postman takes pretty long to reach the adjoining villages on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to post office for them. There is a letter box in Chhotia where the people post their letters and this clearance box is attended daily at 4 p.m. by the postman who comes to deliver letters and other articles. The nearest Telegraph Office is at Kagarol, about three miles away. Telephone facilities are also available there.

There are three wells within the hamlet of which only two yield good drinkable water, the water of the third well being brackish and unpalatable. It is used for washing clothes and household utensils. The Chamars are more fortunate in this respect, for their well situated in their *mohalla* yields 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often scarcity of drinking water in the hamlet and at this time large crowds of women gather waiting patiently to fill their pots at the sweet-water well. There is a pond in the hamlet which does not dry in summer. The cattle drink water and washermen often wash clothes there.

There is a crematorium in the south of the hamlet where Hindus cremate their dead. The Chamars and Balmikis have no separate crematorium but utilise a portion of it for cremation. It is situated in plot number 669 measuring 1·72 acres. The inhabitants of the main village as also of two adjoining hamlets, Naga Jet and Nagla Meera, also use this cremation ground. There is no fencing wall or shady tree there. The dead bodies of infants are buried near it. The Muslims bury their dead at the burial ground in the east of the hamlet in plot no. 507 covering an area of 0·15 acres.

There are three Primary Schools, a Junior High School, a branch post office and a *panchayatghar* in the village. Of the three Primary Schools one is in the main village and the remaining two in its two hamlets, namely, Garh Mukka and Garhi Kalia. The Junior High School is also in Garhi Kalia. These educational institutions are managed by the Zila Parishad. The Primary School situated in the main village is the oldest having been established in 1905. It is housed in a pucca building built by the District Board in 1916. It has five classes and an equal number of teachers including the Headmaster. The Primary School in Garhi Mukka is also old but it was closed down in 1940 soon after its establishment. It was revived in 1948 and is now located in a pucca building built recently from government grant and public donations. It has three rooms, two teachers and the Headmaster. The Primary School in Garhi Kalia was established in 1959 and the Junior High School in November 1961. While the Primary School has its own pucca building, the building of the Junior High School is under construction. Children of all communities are admitted to these schools and the old-prejudice against admitting children of Scheduled Castes has gone out. With the opening of two Primary Schools and a Junior High School in the village after 1947, education has been placed within the reach of a larger section of village community.

The *panchayatghar* was constructed by the Gram Sabha in 1960 almost in the centre of the village. It has a big hall with a wide open compound and is the nucleus of the organised, common and collective life in the village. It is here that the meetings of the Gram Panchayat are held and decisions are taken on all the important issues concerning the village. It provides the common sitting place and is also utilised to house guests or marriage parties.

There are two co-operative credit societies, one in the main village and the other in Garh Mukka. The former came in existence in June 1954 and the latter was established in April 1950. The membership of these societies is open to the agriculturists of the village. They provide short term loans to their members, as also improved varieties of seeds and fertilisers on reasonable terms.

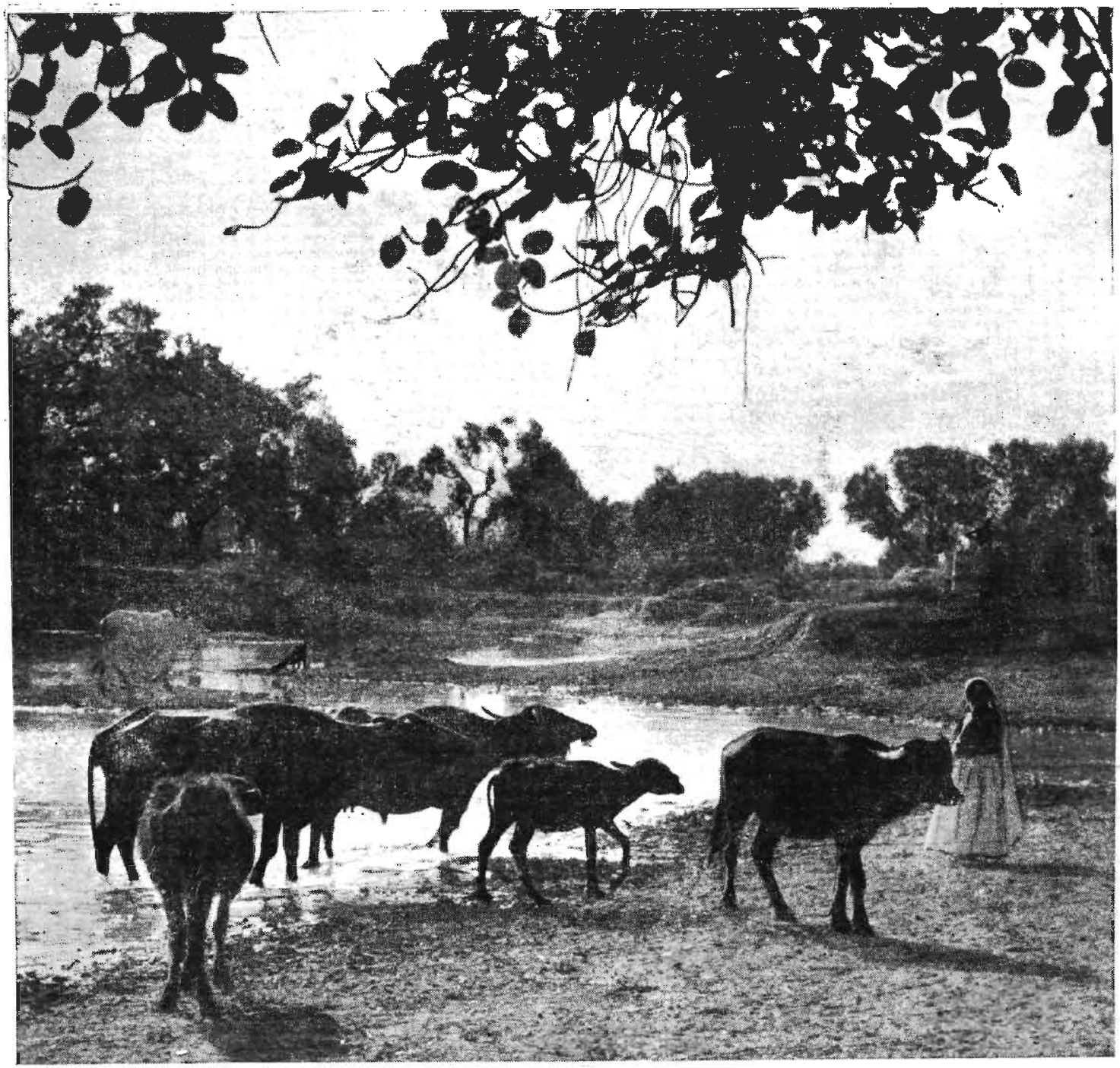
The village is covered by the Community Development Block with its headquarters at Kheragarh. The Village Level Worker who serves as a link between the villagers and the Development Block lives in the village. All the administrative institutions like tahsil office,

PLATE II



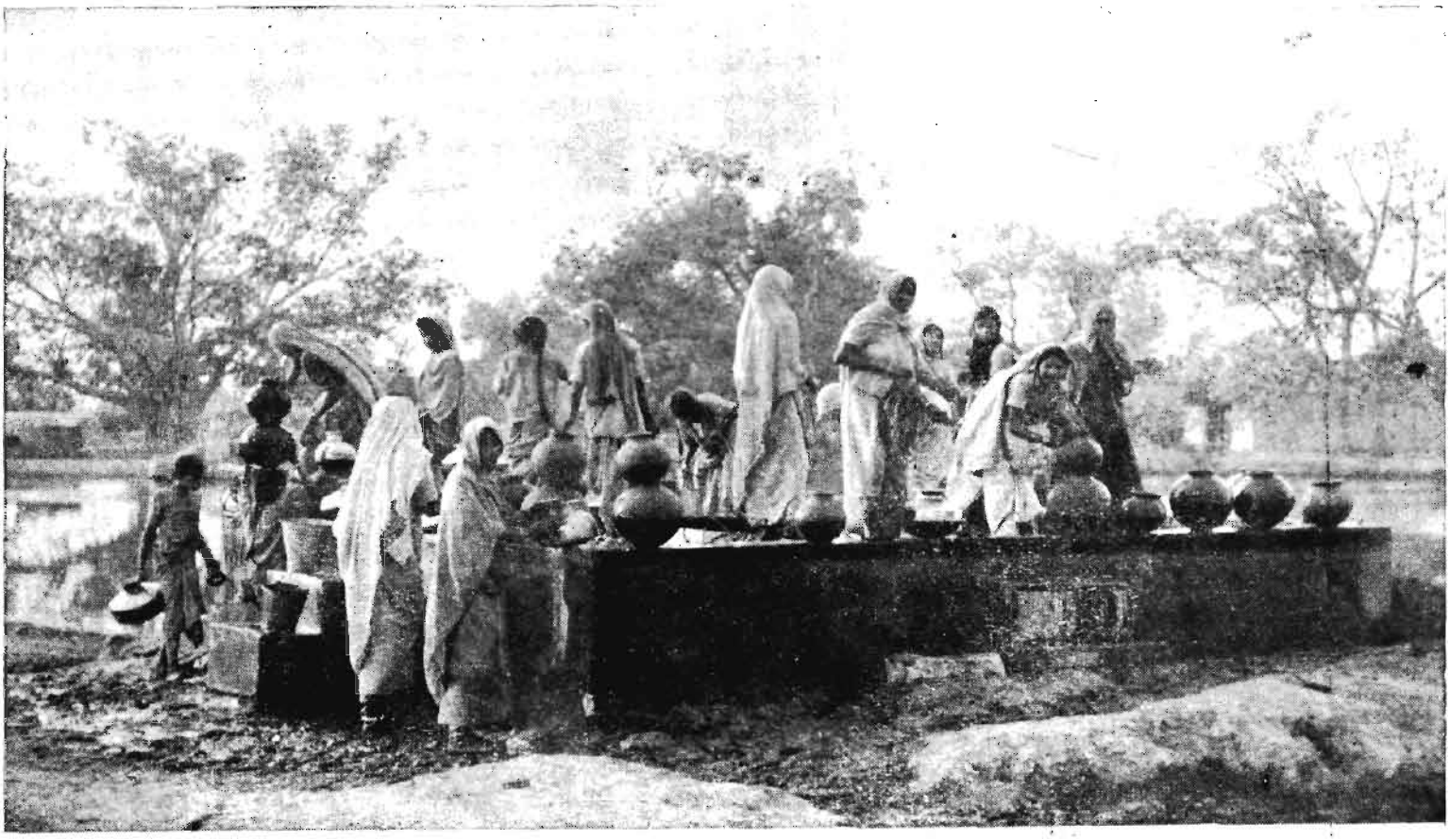
An old banyan tree

PLATE III



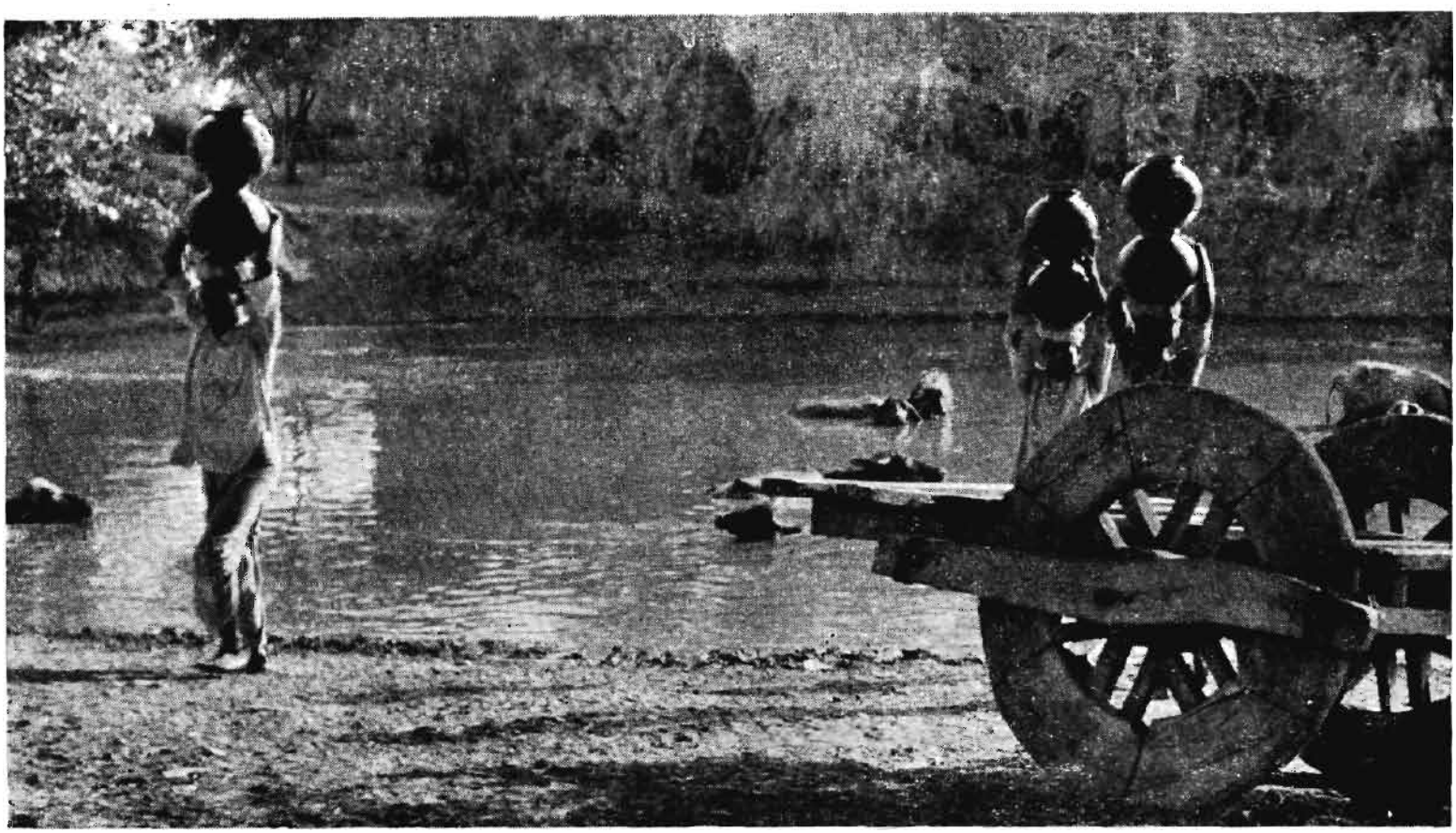
Cattle at the pond

PLATE IV



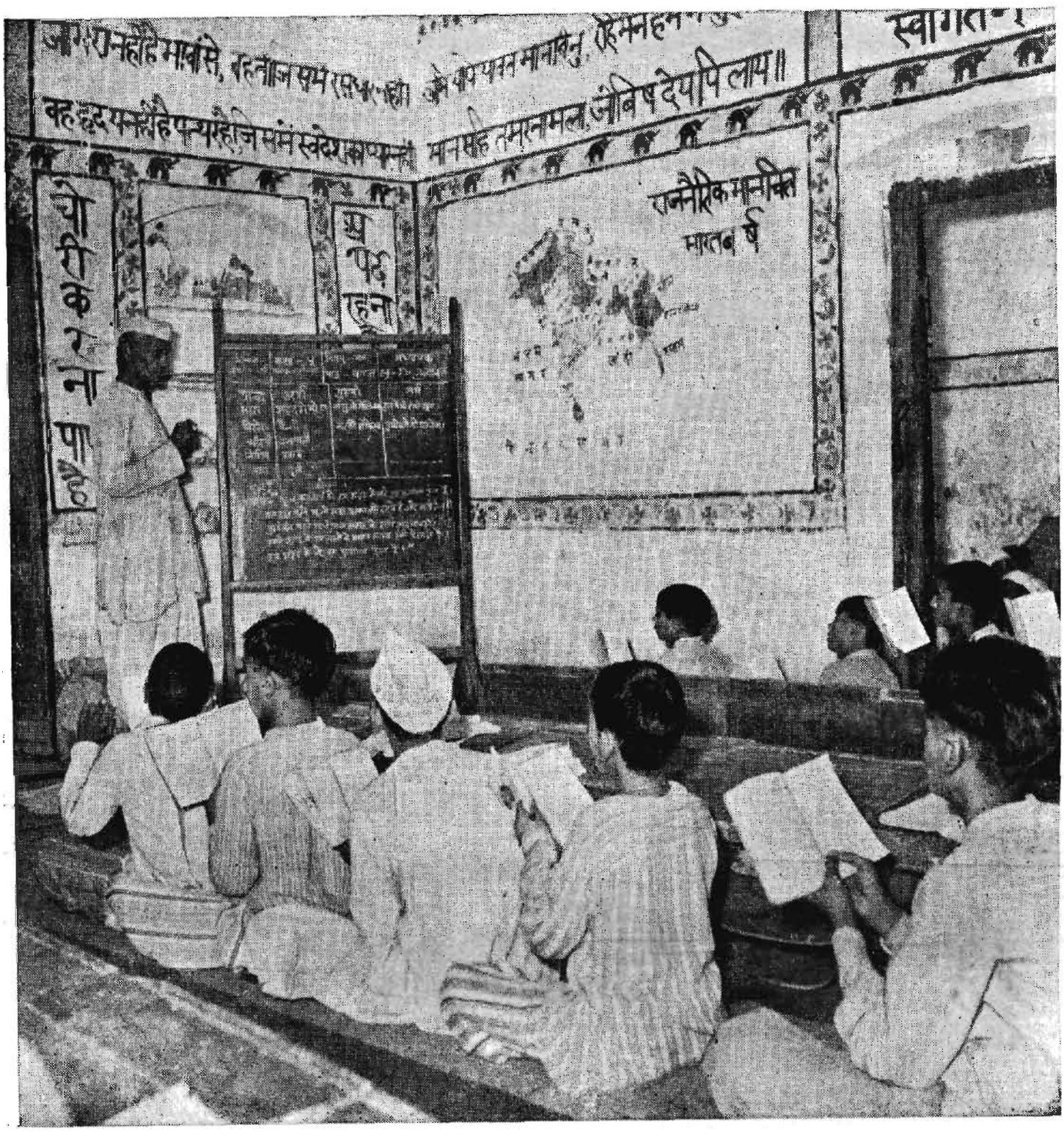
The village well

PLATE V



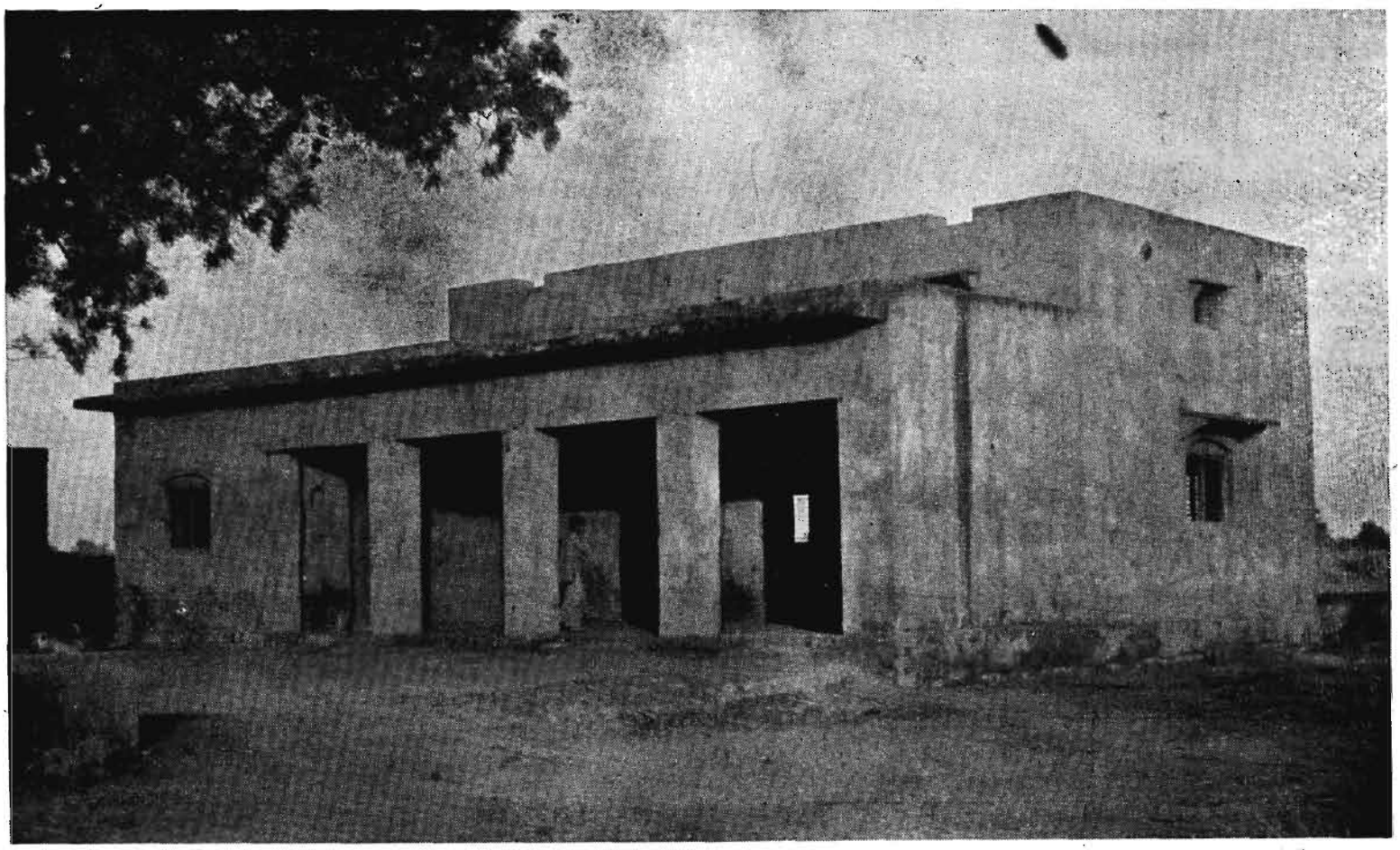
Village pond - a boon

PLATE VI



Teacher and the taught

PLATE VII



The Panchayatghar

PLATE VIII



Branch Post Office

police station and tahsil courts are located at Kheragarh. The nearest allopathic dispensary is in the border village, Akola where the maternity and child welfare centre is also located. There is another dispensary in the neighbouring village, Kagarol. The veterinary hospital is at Kheragarh. The headquarters of the Nayaya Panchayat is in village Digrota.

The important market is at Agra, the district headquarters, where various commodities are marketed and from where villagers import consumer goods. The nearest marketing centre from where the villagers purchase agricultural tools and implements and other necessities is at Kheragarh.

It is not known when the village Beri Chahar in its present shape was formed as no written record about its origin is available. An enquiry was made from the elderly villagers who gave some information which gives a general idea about the origin of the village. According to them the Chahar Jats are the decendants of Chauhans who came to Agra, Bharatpur and Gurgaon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They first settled at Hodil in district Gurgaon and then moved to district Bharatpur. Finally they scattered and settled in 242 villages of district Agra along the Khari. It is said that about the middle of the fourteenth century one Brij Lal Chahar first settled on the present site of the village. Gradually others came and settled down there and, in course of time, the village grew in population and influence. Chhotia was founded in the sixteenth century on account of spliting of a family that lived in Beri Chahar.

CHAPTER II

People and their Material Equipment

The population of the hamlet is 626 of whom 609 are Hindus and 17 Muslims. The Hindu population is divided into 10 castes with a fair proportion of Scheduled Caste population. The Jats predominate both in numerical strength and social status. The Table given below gives the ethnic composition of the population of the hamlet:

TABLE 2·1

Ethnic Composition

Caste/Community	No. of Households	Persons	Males	Females
HINDUS				
Brahmin	7	38	22	16
Barhai	1	2	1	1
Balmiki (S.C.)	1	9	3	6
Bhurji	1	13	8	5
Chamar (S.C.)	21	132	66	66
Dhobi (S. C.)	1	6	3	3
Gadaria	8	39	16	23
Jat	34	181	91	90
Kori	35	175	94	81
Vaish	2	14	7	7
MUSLIMS	3	17	9	8
Total	114	626	320	306

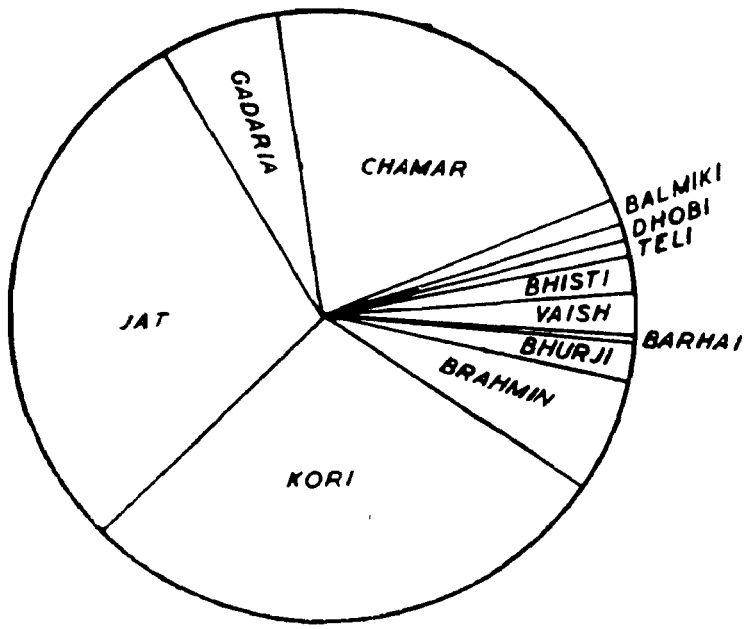
It would be evident from this Table that out of 114 households in the hamlet about one-third relate to Jats comprising 181 persons out of a total population of 626. Thus they account for 28·9 per cent of the total population of Chhotia. The Koris fall into second place constituting 28·0 per cent of the population. Next in numerical strength come Chamars, a scheduled caste, there being 21 households with a total of 132 persons. The other communities are of minor importance.

Among Hindus, the Brahmin community is at the top of caste hierarchy. There are 7 Brahmin households with a total of 38 persons accounting for 6·1 per cent of the population. They are Sanadhya and are very orthodox. They do not accept food from the hands of any but their caste fellows with whom they freely interdine and social contact between them is on a basis of equality. Their main occupation is agriculture; only one household being devoted to priestly avocation in a subsidiary capacity. The head of this family is the local priest as well as the astrologer. He officiates at the ceremonies of all castes, except those of the Balmiki, Chamar and Dhobi. They, however, consult him regarding the auspicious timing of agricultural operations or to perform marriage ceremonies. The villagers eagerly seek his astrological calculations specially on child birth about the planetary position and its astrological implications for the child as well as for other members of the family. They are treated with respect by all castes and communities in the hamlet.

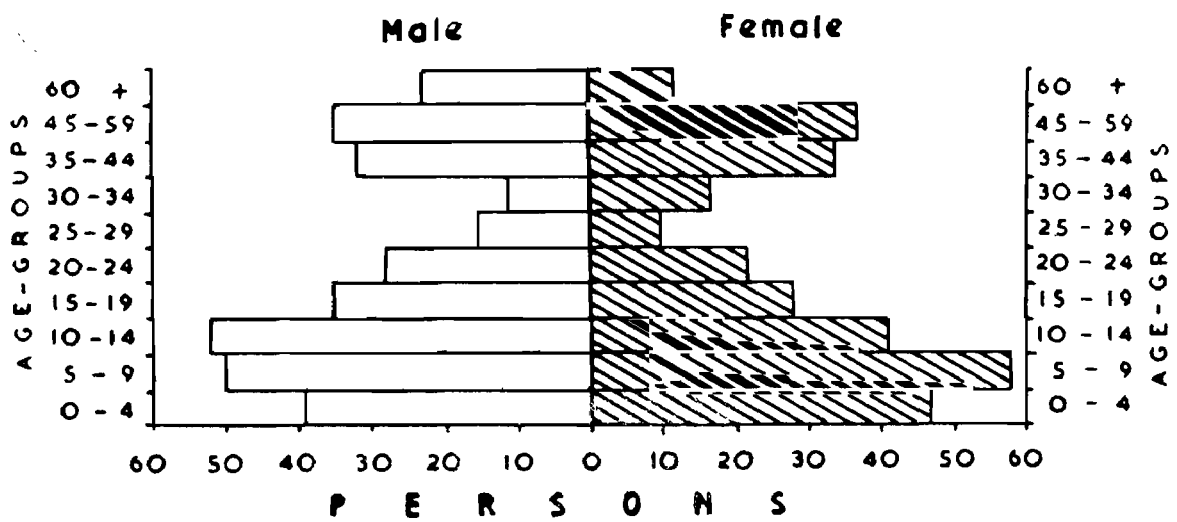
There are only two Vaish households comprising 14 persons divided equally in males and females. They are mainly traders but money-lending is their subsidiary occupation. They keep a small shop where they sell grain and general provisions for cash, although things may also be bought on credit by those who are known to them. They advance money on a high rate of interest usually between 3 paise. to 6 paise. per rupee per month. The money is also advanced against a mortgage. All castes, except the Brahmin, accept food at their hands, but they do not take food from those whose social position is lower than their own.

The Jats are the numerically important community in the hamlet. They are 181 in number divided into 34 households representing 28·9 per cent of the population. The number of males and females is 91 and 90 respectively. They are mainly engaged in agriculture. Out of 100 workers, 90 are agriculturists. The Jats are famous for their skill in farming and are relatively well-to-do peasants. Before the abolition of zamindari, they had all their cultivation done by their *assamis* (tenants), but now they do it themselves. They are hard workers, working unceasingly and patiently on their fields without complaint. They are, however, conservative in outlook and have developed some resistance towards the adoption of modern equipment, techniques and methods of farming.

POPULATION BY CASTES



POPULATION BY AGE-GROUPS



They belong to Chahar, Chaudhry, Phalwar and Dagar groups, the more important of whom are Chahar constituting 28 households with a total of 159 persons. Their social status is relatively high. They accept food at the hands of the Brahmins and Vaish who are higher than themselves but not from those who are lower.

The next numerically important community is that of the Koris comprising 175 persons divided into 35 households accounting for 28·0 per cent of the total population. Majority of them (50·9 per cent) are engaged in cotton weaving and are skillful weavers. They produce cotton fabrics of coarse varieties which are sold for cash. The weavers do not derive the maximum benefit out of their occupation due to lack of finance and organisation. They do not own the raw materials and as a result they are not in a position to maximise their profits.

The Koris adhere rigidly to their customs. Marriages are endogamous and they accept food from the castes higher than themselves only. The caste panchayat takes due notice of serious lapses and the guilty persons are punished. They do not suffer from any social disability and have free access to the places of worship and religious congregations. The Brahmin priest visits their houses and officiates on religious ceremonies.

The Barhai, Bhurji and Gadaria together constitute 8·6 per cent (54) of the total population divided into 10 households. All these castes, though at the intermediate level of the caste and social hierarchy in the hamlet, do not stand on equal footing with one another. There is permanent social distance between them. From the point of view of precedence, Gadaria occupies a higher status than Barhai and Bhurji. They accept food at the hands of all castes occupying a higher level in social hierarchy and do not suffer from any social disability.

Chamar, Dhobi and Balmiki belong to the Scheduled Castes and occupy a low position in the caste hierarchy. Economically they constitute the poorest section of the community. The Chamars are 132 in number equally divided in males and females constituting 21·1 per cent of the population. They do all sorts of work as labourers such as working on the fields in the sowing and harvesting seasons, repairing houses and cutting wood for fuel. 34 of them have taken to agriculture and are small cultivators; 2 have been given land for cultivation on *batai* basis; 6 are agricultural labourers and 8 have specialised in construction and repairing houses. They work either on daily wages or are given grain after the crops are harvested.

The Chamars are not untouchables but are not admitted to places of worship or religious congregations. The Brahmin priest does not officiate at the ceremonies in their houses. They use water of their own well for they cannot draw it from other wells. They, however, consult the village priest regarding the auspicious timing to perform marriage ceremonies.

There is only one Dhobi household in the hamlet comprising 6 persons (3 males, 3 females) following the traditional occupation of washing clothes. They get payment in kind, twice a year, from regular customers and from the casual ones, from 6 to 12 paise. per piece. They also wash *utahiah* (dirty clothes of women) at the birth of a child.

The Dhobis also suffer from social disabilities. They occupy a higher status than chamars but wash the clothes of all other castes in the hamlet. They live in the main *abadi* where there are houses of other castes.

The Balmikis (1 household, 9 persons) are on the lowest rung of social ladder. They stick to the traditional occupation of cleaning lavatories and lanes and streets in the village. They also make baskets and *soop* from bamboo and reeds but have not taken to agriculture.

They are untouchables and are not admitted to the places of worship. They are not allowed to draw water from the village wells. Instead they wait patiently near the wells and water is poured to fill their earthen pots. In the zamindari days there used to be considerable compulsion and many worked on fields and in the house of the zamindar without adequate remuneration. After the abolition of Zamindari, the conditions have changed and they no longer suffer from unreasonable harshness. They work either on monthly wages or grain is given, twice a year, at the harvests.

There are three Muslims households, two of which belong to Bhistis and one to a Teli. In all there are 17 Muslims including 9 males and 8 females constituting 2·7 per cent of the total population. Out of the three Bhisti workers, one is an agricultural labourer and two are engaged in rearing of livestock. Among Telis,

two have taken to agriculture and the remaining two are engaged in the traditional occupation of oil-expelling. They belong to the Sunni sect. The long residence and close association have brought the Hindus and Muslims in close contact with each other but they retain their socio-religious identities. They act as a separate group in the socio-religious matters but live happily with their Hindu neighbours and share their joys and sorrows.

Houses

There are as many residential houses as are the households in the hamlet. All the houses are *kachcha* and single-storeyed. They are constructed with the two fold purpose of providing residential accommodation for the family and storing space for agricultural produce and household goods. There is no set pattern or design of houses. The structure of a house may vary according to land area available, the caste and economic condition of the owner. The Chamar, Dhobi, Balmiki and the poorer sections among other communities live in the huts built of mud with thatched roofs. The walls and flooring are of mud with a small verandah in front used as a sitting space. The interior of the hut consists of a single room used for cooking, storing and sleeping and a courtyard where cattle are kept. The room is dark as window and ventilator are not provided. The roof is low and often leaky during the rainy season. The floor is damp because of mud. The cost of construction of a hut ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 700.

The average type of houses account for 48·2 per cent of the living accommodation. An average house has a thatched verandah through which lies the main entrance. As one enters the house he finds himself in a room which opens to a courtyard along the sides of which are built a few *kothries*. The well-to-do have spacious houses with 2 to 3 rooms, a kitchen, a grain store, a separate enclosure for the cattle and an extensive courtyard. The spacious type of houses are owned by a majority of Jat households—19 out of 34—and cost from Rs. 1,800 to Rs. 2,000.

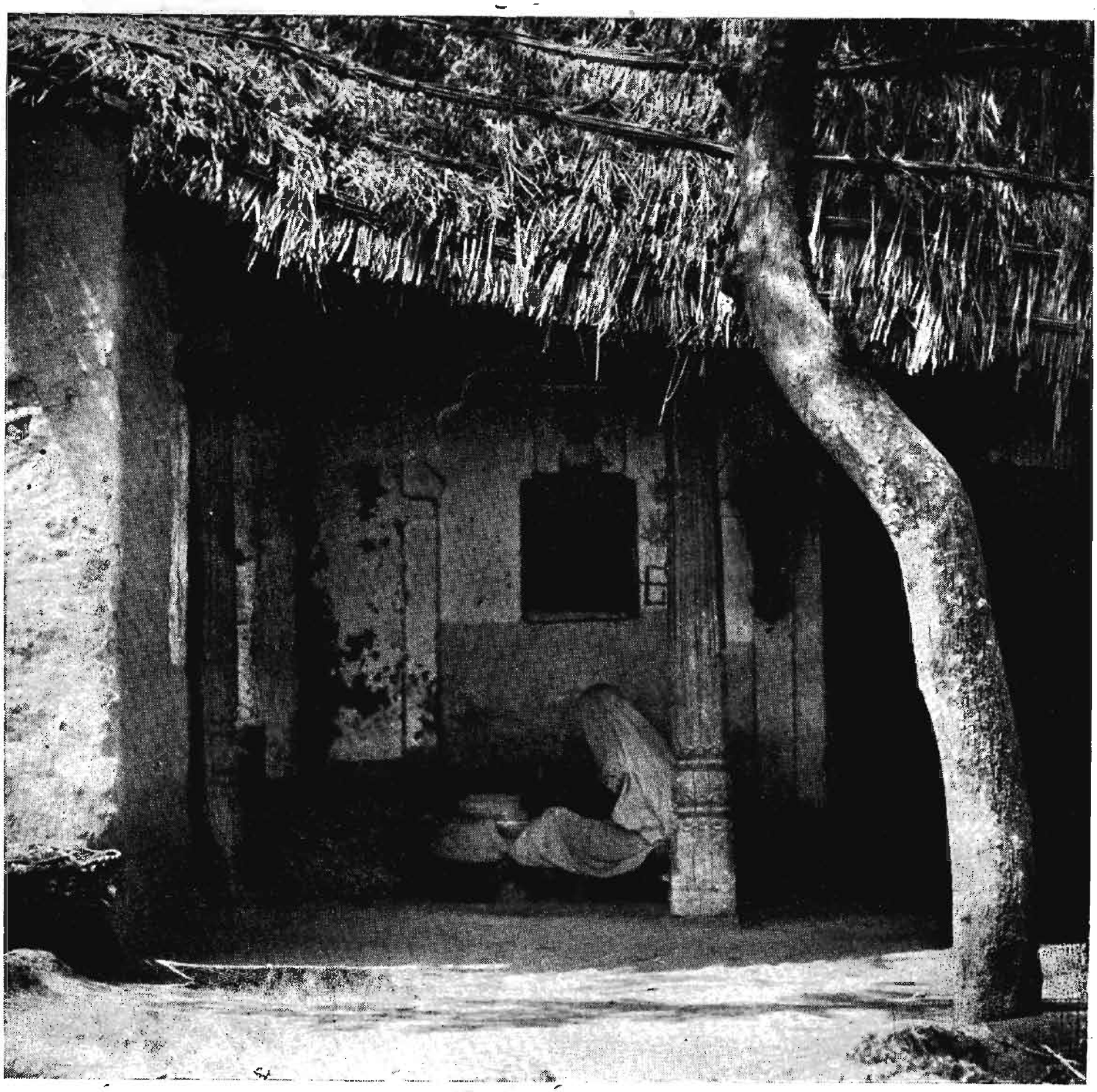
The materials used in the construction of a *kachcha* house are mud or unbaked clay bricks, bamboo and wood which are available locally throughout the year except the rainy season. The plinth is raised two feet above the ground level. The walls are made of mud or *kachcha* brick. The doors and their frames are made by the village carpenter and are marked as the construction progresses. The walls are raised to the roof level and thereafter the country wood rafters are laid lengthwise and thatched roofs in two to four slopes are constructed. Some houses have roofs of flat *desi* tiles obtained locally. They are placed over the rafters and are replaced, as far as practicable, every year. The roofs are slanting for draining the rain water. The walls are plastered with a mixture of clay and cow-dung from inside and outside and in some cases mud wash is given. The floor is then levelled by earth-filling. Windows and ventilators are not provided with the result that the rooms are dark and stuffy. Some houses, however, have a few openings left out in walls near the roof which serve as ventilators. In some houses square or round holes are provided in the front walls above the entrance gate for ventilators. The poor are helped in construction by relations and friends but the well-to-do usually employ a mason and a few labourers for the purpose.

There are no regular bath-rooms or latrines provided in the houses. All persons, young and old, go out into the fields to answer the call of nature. Children often ease themselves on road side. Men bathe at the village well and women usually take bath either under the cover of a cot or behind closed doors when the men are out. The house drains are *kachcha* and often overflow in the rainy season thereby providing breeding place for mosquitoes. They come out into the street, sometimes making tresspass difficult.

In winter, cattle are kept either in the cattle shed specially built for the purpose or in the thatched verandah at night and in the courtyard during the day. During summer they spend the day under the shade of trees and are kept in the courtyard at night. In summer villagers sleep out in the courtyard or in open, but in winter and in the rainy season they sleep indoors.

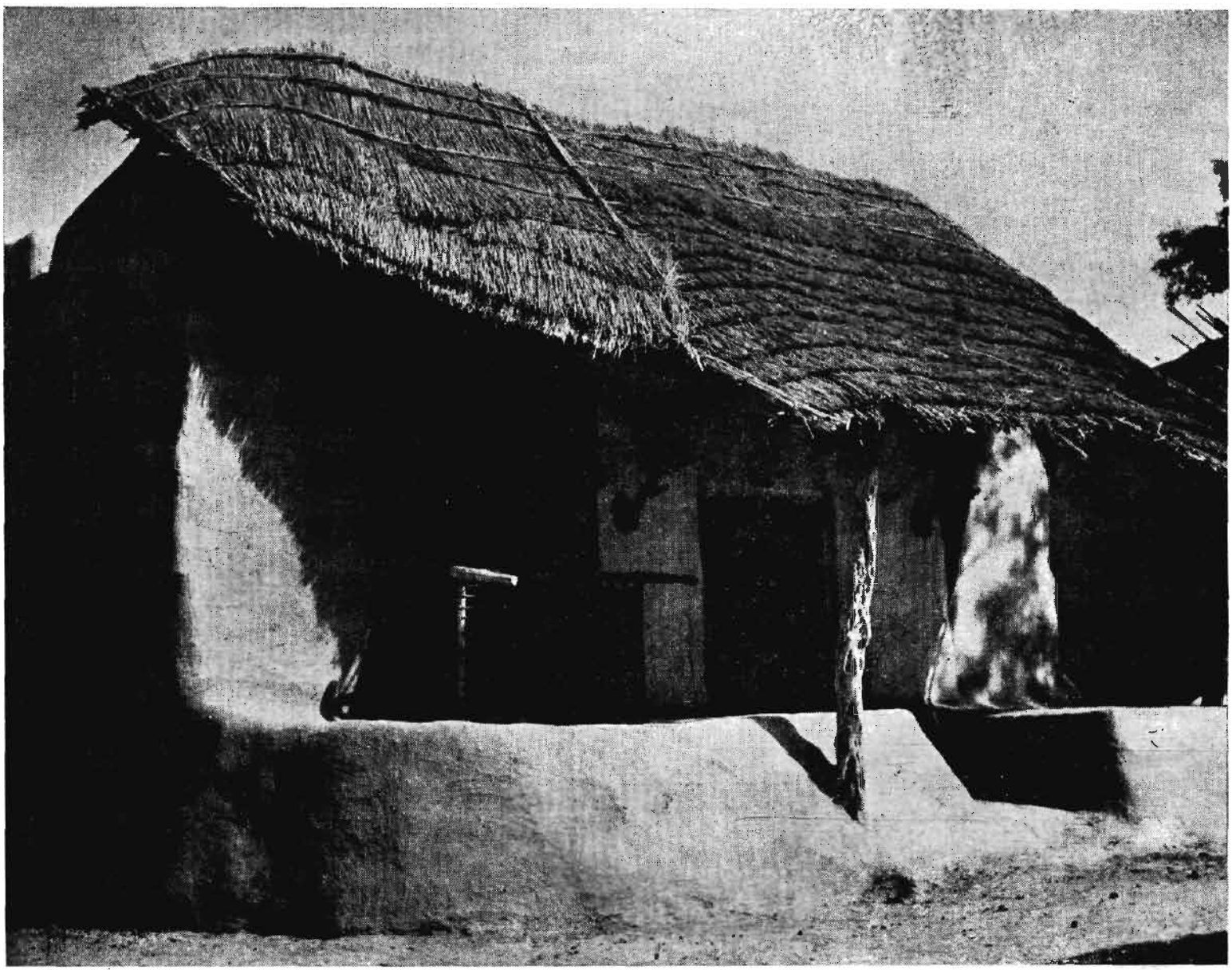
Among Hindus, the foundation stone of the house is laid on an auspicious day in consultation with a Brahmin priest. The head of the household worships the mother earth at the site of the construction and some hymns are recited by the priest invoking the blessings of the gods for successful completion of the house and proving it auspicious for the family members. Thereafter *gur*, grain and some coins are placed under the foundation stone. *Gur* is distributed among the

PLATE IX



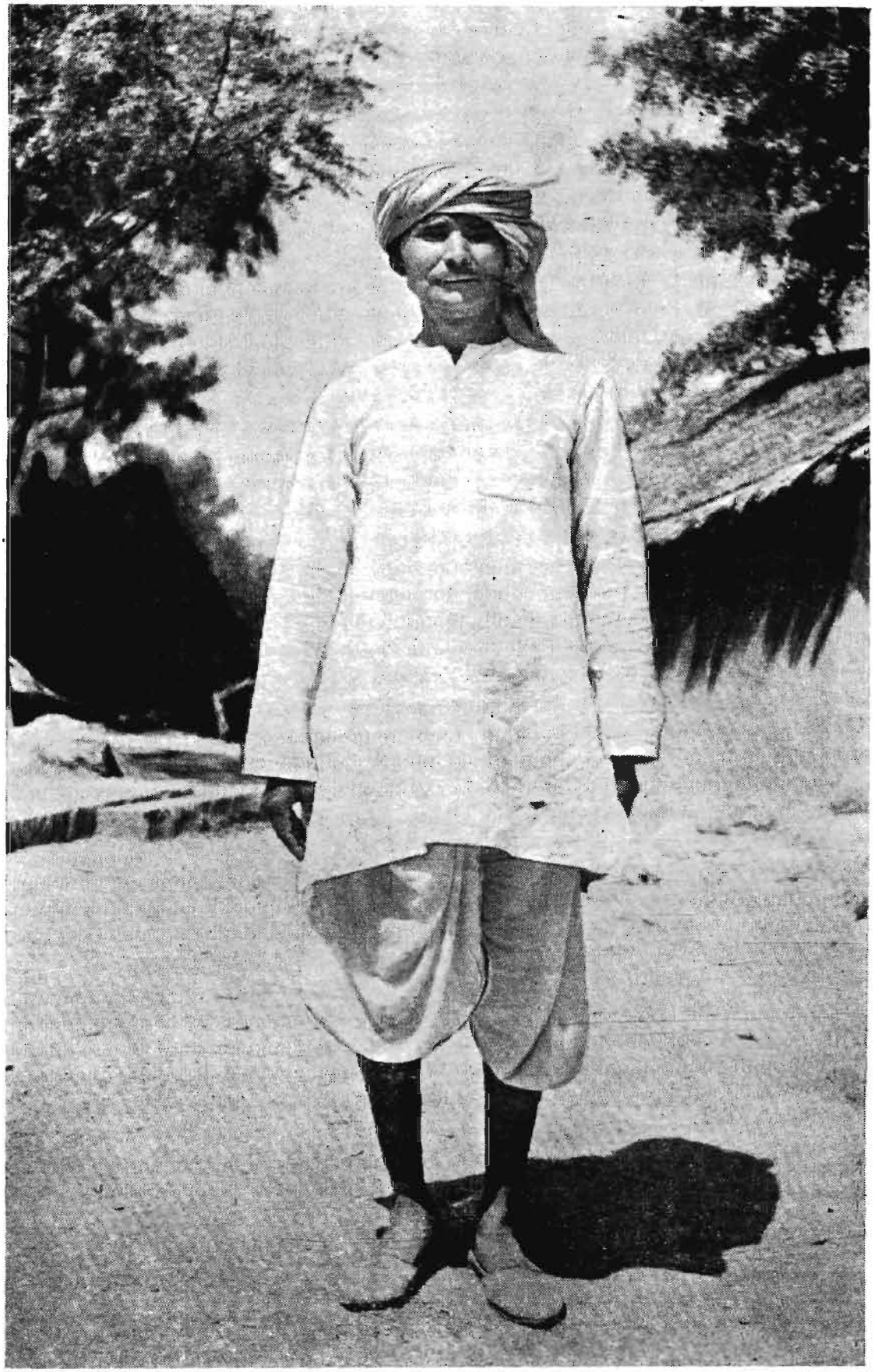
Inner view of a house

PLATE X



The main entrance

PLATE XI



A villager in *dhoti* and *kurta*

PLATE XII



The changing taste

persons present at the ceremony. Some money and *gur* are also given to the priest and the mason on this occasion.

When the entire construction is completed and the house is fit for habitation, a ceremony called '*Grah Pravesh*' is performed on an auspicious day fixed by the priest. The owner and his wife sit together wearing new clothes and the priest lights the sacred fire invoking the blessings of the gods. Thereafter the *Satyanarain Katha* is recited. Those who can afford give a feast to friends and relations. Such ceremonies are performed only by the Brahmins and Vaish. Certain well-to-do Jats also observe these ceremonies. The poor have a simpler form of ceremony in which the newly built house or hut is decorated with mango leaves and *gur* is distributed to the assembled guests. Generally the houses face east because of the belief that it is inauspicious to keep the main entrance of the house towards south. The Muslims, Chamars, Dhobisa nd Balmikis do not observe any ceremony in connection with the construction or occupation of a house.

The Table given below shows the number of households by number of rooms and persons occupying them:

TABLE 2·2

Houses according to Number of Rooms	No. of Households	No. of Family Members
With no regular room	...	...
One roomed	21	77
Two roomed	44	223
Three roomed	26	177
Four roomed	11	62
Five roomed and above	12	87
Total	114	626

Out of 114 households, 21 or 18·4 per cent live in single-roomed houses, the total number of family members being 77 or 12·3 per cent of the population; 44 households or 38·6 per cent consisting of 223 persons are in double-roomed houses; 26 households (22·8 per cent) with 177 family members live in three-roomed houses and the remaining 23 households consisting of 149 persons live in spacious houses having four or more rooms. The accommodation available for at least 57 per cent of the households can by no means be regarded as adequate because 18·4 per cent of the households live in houses having only one room each shared on an average by four persons and 38·6 per cent households have two-roomed accommodation occupied on an average by five persons.

Dress

The dress of the villagers is simple and they generally use clothes of coarse and cheap varieties. Men generally wear *dhoti* and baniyan while at home but put on shirt or *kurta* while going out. The *dhotis* are either of handloom or mill-made. The Muslim males wear the coloured *lungi* (loin cloth). The baniyan is used to cover the upper portion of the body. They wear coloured shirts, plain white pyjamas and cotton caps on Id and other festive occasions. In winter, the well-to-do wear woollen coats, sweaters and caps. Often woollen blankets are used for protection against cold in shivering cold nights of December and January. The youth of the hamlet wear half sleeve shirts and pyjamas or pants. School-going boys put on half-pants and shirts. The taste of young men and boys is leaning to the gaudy colours in the matter of clothes.

Hindu women wear the *dhoti* and blouse made of coarse cloth but old women, irrespective of the community, prefer to wear *dhotis* without blouses. Unmarried girls also wear blouses. The *dhoti* is mill-made or of handloom with a broad floral border. The Jat women wear *lehanga, dupatta, angia,* which is a sort of bodice and *orhni.* The Muslim women wear black-coloured tight *sutna,* the shirt and the *dupatta.* There is no prescribed dress for festive or ceremonial occasions. A few fancy clothes are kept for such occasions and are worn.

Widows among Brahmins and Vaish wear white *dhotis* and blouses. Women who have lost their husbands dress simply. They refrain from applying *sindoor* or *tika* on their forehead. The restriction as to the colour of the *dhoti* to be worn or the mode of wearing is not in force among Chamars, Dhobis and Balmikis.

The clothes are stitched by the village tailor. Those, who have gone out of have village and are in service get their clothes stitched in towns. The fancy clothes kept in spare by womenfolk for use at weddings and other festive occasions are of better quality of cloth though not better tailored than the ordinary wear. The villagers wash their clothes themselves but some get them washed by the washerman either on piece-rate basis or grain is given, twice a year, at the harvests. The washerman does not press the clothes he washes, for he has no iron.

The villagers are generally bare-footed. Those who can afford put on country-shoes made by the local shoe maker. Factory-made shoes are used by the well-to-do. Villagers generally put on shoes on ceremonial occasions or when they go out of the village.

Ornaments

The ornaments are generally made of gold, silver or nickel. There are a variety of ornaments worn on different parts of the body by village women. A list of some of the popular ornaments is given below:

Local Name	Metal	Use
Paizeb, Lachha and *Kara*	Silver	Worn on the ankels
Kardhani	Silver	Worn round the waist
Hansli	Silver	Worn round the neck
Guluband and *Hamel*	Gold	Worn round the neck
Karey and *Dastband*	Gold or Silver	Worn round the wrists
Armlet	Gold or Silver	Worn round the arm
Bali, Jhumka and *Bunda*	Gold or Silver	Worn in the lobes
Laung	Gold	Nose-pins
Nath	Gold	Worn on the nose
Hathphool	Gold	Worn on the fingers of the hands
Sheeshphool	Gold	Worn on the head
Bichhia	Silver	Rings worn on foot-fingers
Anguthi	Gold	Worn on fingers

All these ornaments are not worn every day nor does every woman possesses all of them. Ornaments made of gold are used by a few well-to-do families of Brahmin, Vaish and Jat. The poorer sections of the community prefer silver to gold ornaments. Married Hindu women wear *bichhia* and bangles as a sign of *sohag* i.e., married state. Unmarried girls only wear bangles. Widows do not use any other ornament except ear rings. Men do not use any kind of ornaments except the ring. A few Dhobis, however, wear *balis* in their earlobes. The village women wear heavy ornaments on festivals and occasions like marriage, birth, etc. They are made by a village goldsmith and are also purchased from Agra.

Furniture and Household Goods

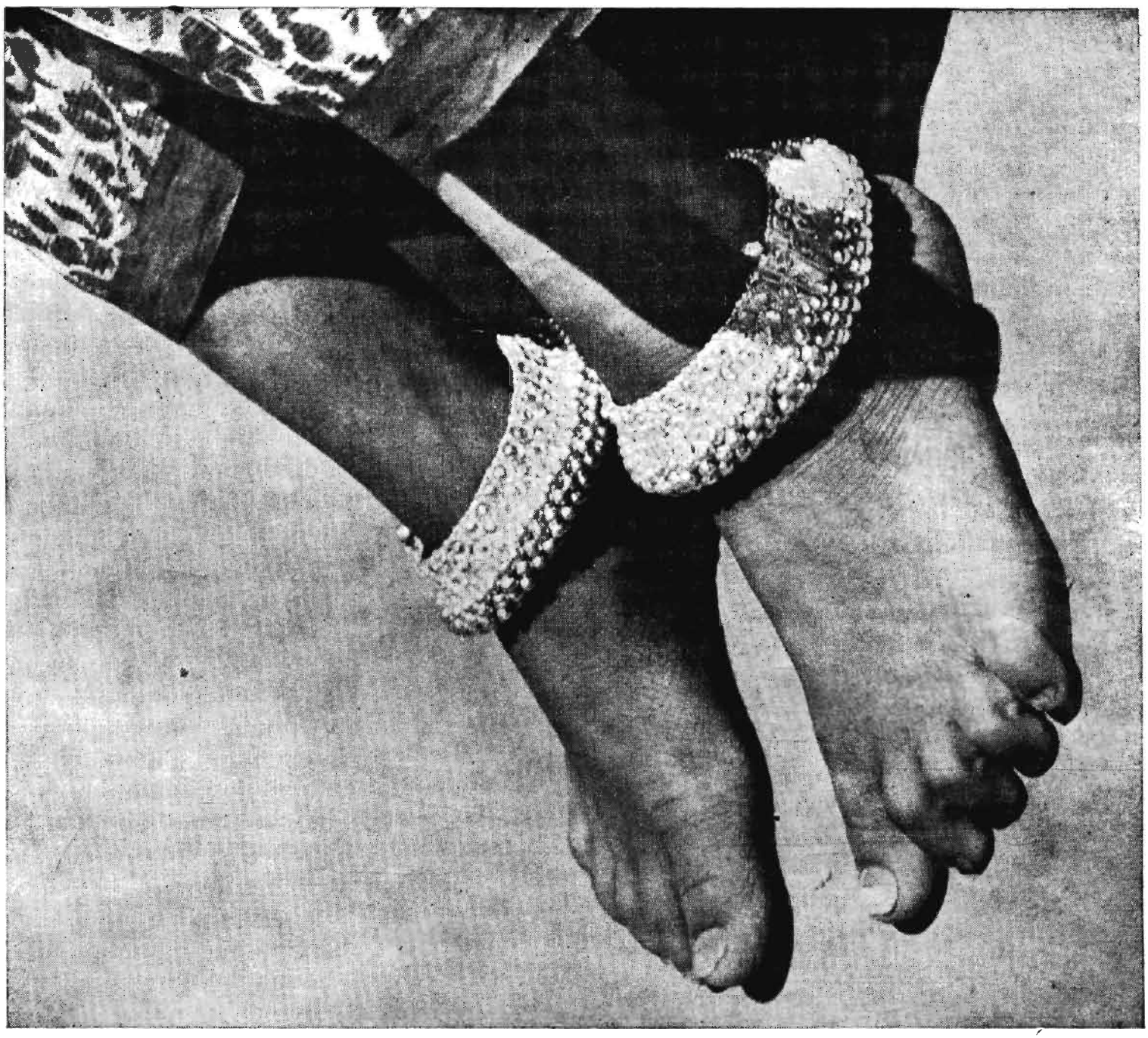
The villagers possess small items of furniture which is cheap, simple and durable. The common item of furniture invariably found in every house is a *khatia* woven across with *moonj* strings. It is not available for every member of the family. Many of them sleep on mats spread on the floor. The *khatia* is mainly used for sitting and resting during the day. The head of the household usually sleeps on it at night. Three households (Brahmin 2, Jat 1) possess newar beds. Two Kori and one Jat households possess wooden chairs and tables. Only a solitary Brahmin household owns a bench, a stool and a *jalchauki*. Only 20 families have wall-shelves (Brahmin 4, Dhobi 1, and 5 households each of Jat, Kori and Chamar). The furniture is made locally by the Barhais.

Consumer goods are used to a limited extent in the hamlet. Out of 114 households, 85 possess hurricane lanterns, 10 dry-cell torches, 1 kerosene stove and 31 bicycles. A Vaish family also possesses a patromax. Use of mosquito curtain is rare being confined to a solitary Jat household. Clothes are kept in wooden or tin boxes locally known as *sandook*. Grains are stocked in sacks or in *kuthia* which is a large receptacle made of mud. Hand-mill for grinding flour, the sieve, *ukhli*, the stone mortar, *Ukhal*, the wooden pestle and an axe for splitting wood are found in majority of households. No one has gone in for watches or have acquired sewing machines.

Utensils

Utensils commonly used for cooking food are made of brass, bell-metal, aluminium, wood and clay. Those used in the kitchen include *patili*, brass kettle used for cooking; *parat*, a brass basin for kneading flour; *karahi*, a large cup-shaped frying pan of iron; *karchhi*, a brass ladle for stirring and serving vegetables; *katori*, a bell-metal cup for eating vegetables; *thali*, a brass or bell-metal plate for eating food; *gilas*, a brass or bell-metal tumbler for drinking water and *balti*, a brass or iron bucket for carrying water. The water is stored in earthen pitchers. The Muslims generally use earthen pots for cooking food and for storing water. A few aluminium utensils like *rakabi* and *degchi* are also used for cooking and taking food. The use of *badna* which is a brass or aluminium jug with spout is common in Muslim households. The earthen pots are purchased from the local Kumhar and the metal utensils from Agra.

PLATE XIII



A woman wearing *paizeb*

PLATE XIV



Kardhani and Choori

PLATE XV



Cooking by the *choolah*

PLATE XVI



Children eating together

Food and Drink

Bejhar (mixture of barley and gram)is the staple food of the majority of villagers consumed throughout the year. Among the Brahmins, Jats, Vaish and Teli the use of wheat is common. Rice is also taken by them throughout the year. Villagers consume alike vegetables and pulses. *Urd* and *arhar* are grown in the hamlet and consumed in large quantities. Vegetables grown in the hamlet include carrots, raddish, potatoes, brinjals, cabbage and onion. The poor collect wild leafy vegetables for consumption. During winter, green leaves of mustard are cooked frequently and relished with *chapaties* of maize. Green and powdered chillis and spices are taken in sufficient quantities by all sections of people. *Khichari*, a hotch-potch of rice and pulse is also cooked for a change. Out of 114 households, 61 are non-vegetarians. They prefer goat meat and chicken to other types of meat. Fish and eggs are relished whenever available. The Brahmin, Vaish, Barhai, Bhurji and Jat are vegetarians and abstain from meat preparations. Even among the non-vegetarians meat is not taken every day but only once or twice a week depending on their economic condition.

Out of 114 households, 110 take food twice daily e.g., before midday and early in the evening and only 4 households take food in some form or other three times daily viz., in the morning, midday and in the evening. The midday meal consists of *roti*, *dal*, and vegetable curry. The evening meal is almost the same as midday meal. In the morning, the well-to-do take milk or *matha* with *chapatis* while the poor are content with stale *chapatis* cooked the previous night and taken with a pinch of salt.

The medium of cooking is mustard oil though vegetable oil is also consumed in a few households. Among the richer Jats, ghee is used for cooking food. The well-to-do and infants, all take milk. The use of *gur* is common and is largely used in sweetening milk and dishes. Sugar is purchased for use in meals prepared to entertain guests and relations. Sweets are prepared on ceremonial occasions.

Villagers eat very little fruit. When in season, mangoes, guava, *jamun* (Eugenia jambolna) and melons are eaten, more especially by children. People collect mangoes from wherever they can lay the hand on. Coconuts and bananas are bought for ceremonial occasions.

The use of tea is not common. The well-to-do Jats and Muslims, however, take tea in winter. The use of liquor is confined to Dhobis and Chamars on ceremonial occasions. Tobacco is both smoked and chewed. The usual form of smoking is tobacco in a clay pipe though *bidi* is also used freely.

Among the Brahmins and Vaish, men and women take *kachcha* (unfried) food in the kitchen after bath. Before eating they must wash their hands and feet. The lower castes like Bhurji, Gadaria and Kori are not particular about these restrictions. As a rule men eat first, women follow. The children are, however, served food as soon as the meals are cooked. The food is cooked by the housewife.

Customs and Beliefs

Birth

The birth customs are simple in all the castes and communities in the village. No prenatal ceremony is performed and the expectant mother leads a normal life except that she is not permitted to carry loads. She is not given chillies, *gur*, and food fried in *sarson* oil to prevent premature delivery. She is also not permitted to see the sun or the moon during the eclipse because of fear of deformity in the child.

The delivery generally takes place in the main living room. The *dai* belonging to Chamar caste attends at the delivery. She is called when the labour pains start and after the delivery cuts the umbilical cord with a pair of scissors and buries it alongwith the placenta. Then she washes the infant in lukewarm water and gives him a small feed of milk of cow or goat. The birth of a male child is heralded with joy. The time of the birth is noted and the priest is consulted about the planetary position at the actual time of baby's birth and its astrological implications for the child as well as for the parents and other members of the family. If it is a male child the *dai* is given two rupees, clothes and grains but at the birth of a girl she gets only a rupee and grains. The entrance door of the confinement room is decorated with mango leaves and swistika mark is made with *geru*. Knife is kept under the pillow to ward off evil influence.

Sutak (unclean period) is observed for ten days in the family. No offering is made or puja performed during this period. The mother is helped by the mother-in-law or some elderly woman of the house. She is

restricted from coming out of the room and is not allowed to mix with others. For three days she is given boiled water and is fed on milk and *harira* which is a liquid preparation of *gur* and spices cooked in ghee. She is given *khichari* or *roti* and vegetables from the fourth day. Non-vegetarian food or sour things are not given to her.

There is a simple ceremony on the sixth day of the birth known as *chhati*. A short puja of family deities is performed and women sing and dance to celebrate the occasion. The *dastaun* ceremony is observed on the tenth day of the birth. On this day the house is cleaned, and the old earthen *gharas* are replaced by new ones. The mother and the child are given bath and they put on new clothes. The *purohit* performs the *havan* and prepares the horoscope of the infant. A suitable name is given to the child and the ceremony ends with a feast given to friends and relations. In the case of the baby girl, the ceremonies are not observed on an elaborate scale.

Among the Muslims, the expectant mother is sent to her parents for the birth of her first child. Subsequent deliveries take place in her own home. The *dai* cuts the naval-string with a pair of scissors and buries it in the ground. The child is bathed and clothed by her. The grandfather or an elderly relation says the prayers. A date is then dipped in honey and a drop of it is put into the mouth of the new born. The *dai* is given two rupees and grains in case of male birth and a rupee and grains if a baby girl is born. An iron knife is kept under the pillow and a smouldering dung-cake is kept in the room to ward off the evil influence. The mother is fed on milk for seven days and thereafter she resumes her usual diet.

The *chhati* ceremony is performed on the sixth day. The relations from both mother's and father's side are invited and they bring with them gifts for the child. The mother and the child are dressed in new clothes on this occasion. On the seventh day, the mother is given bath and is allowed to come out of the confinement room. She wears new clothes and the utensils are washed and scoured. The head of the infant is shaved and the elders give him a name. Sweet vermicelli and sweet boiled rice are cooked for friends and relations. The baby is kept indoors for forty days. The mother is also out of the normal round of life during this period. She is bathed on the fortieth day. The mother's parents and other relations give the child money, clothes and toys on the occasion.

Marriage

Marriage is a common feature of the social life of the village. There are 273 married persons (136 men, 137 women) in the hamlet. Boys are usually married at the age of 18 and girls at the age of 16 years. There is no unmarried female above the age of 19 in the hamlet. There are only 9 males above the age of 20 who have not been married. Child marriage though prevalent, is fast dying out. There are only three married females in the age-group of 10-14. Marriages are endogamous but marriage in the *gotra* of the father or the mother is prohibited. No marriage has been solemnised in the hamlet in contravention of the marriage rules of the community.

Among Hindus, marriage is arranged by the parents of the boy and girl. The parents of the girl select the bridegroom. The marriage is not settled hastily. Before starting marriage negotiations, full consideration is given to the personal qualities, degree of education and economic prospects of the boy. The boy must belong to a good family, one with as much land as possible. The Jats are particular about this for they gain their livelihood from the land. The boy must be well brought up. After there have been many family consultations, the negotiations are started by a middleman who may be a friend or relative. If the negotiations proceed favourably, the father or an elderly relation of the girl visits the parents of the boy, the proposal is discussed and all the marriage terms are settled. The betrothal ceremony is performed on an auspicious day. The boy is seated on a sitting-board and he faces the Pole Star. The father of the girl places a *tika* mark on his forehead with turmeric liquid mixed with rice grains and gives him a few rupees and sweets. The boy's father distributes sweets or *gur* among the persons present at the ceremony.

After the betrothal an auspicious date for the wedding is fixed by the Brahmin priest of the bride's family. A fortnight before this marriage, *tilak* or *lagan* is sent by the girl's father. *Lagan* is a sort of reminder about the wedding drawn up by the *purohit* of the girl's family. It consists of a few Sanskrit verses, followed by the dates and time for various ceremonies. The *lagan patrika* is prepared by the *purohit* at a ceremony at the girl's house. The girl sits in front of a *chauk* (a square of flour) made on an area plastered with cow-dung. The *purohit* sits opposite her and recites a few *mantras* and thereafter he

sprinkles *haldi* (turmeric powder) on the *lagan patrika* and, with one rupee, it is wrapped with red *kachcha* thread and sent to the boy's house with a coconut, cloth, a metal plate, sweets, some cash, etc. according to one's means. The bride's brother, the pandit and a Nai go with it. A ceremony takes place at the boy's house where the *lagan* is delivered. The boy sits in front of a *chauk* and the *lagan* is read aloud. Thereafter the brother of the bride puts a *tika* mark on the forehead of the bridegroom and then the presents are delivered to him. The women sing songs and sweets are distributed to all persons present.

The ceremony of *tel* is observed a few days before the marriage. The ceremonial oil baths are taken by the boy and girl in their respective homes 5, 7 or 9 times according to the directions contained in the *lagan patrika.* They are so arranged in the boy's family that they end on the night before the wedding procession starts, and in the girl on the night before the wedding. The *tel* is first offered to family deities and is then smeared on the forehead, arms, knees and feet of the bridegroom by the sisters-in-law. *Ubtan,* a lubricant paste prepared of barley flour, turmeric and oil is applied on the body for smoothness and lustre of the skin. After it the boy is bathed by the Nai. These ceremonies take place in the bride's house and in the bridegroom's house separately and the timings may also be different.

On the day of the first *tel* a *kangan* or cotton thread is tied round the wrists of both the boy and the girl and many knots are given to it. A small iron ring, some grains of mustard seed and betel nuts are tied to the *kangan* in a small piece of cloth.

A day before the marriage, the women go for worship to the village well accompanied, if possible, by a band with a drum. On the evening of the same day the ceremony of the *mandha* is performed by five married male members separately in both the houses. In the bride's house, the *mandap* is set up in the courtyard and is decorated with mango leaves, flowers, buntings, etc. An earthen pitcher filled with water is placed inside the *mandap.* In the boy's house the *mandap* is a different structure consisting of a single bamboo pole placed in the courtyard.

The next day the bridegroom's party consisting of relations and friends leaves the village in good time in order to reach the bride's village by evening. When the wedding party arrives at the bride's village, it is received on the outskirts with great ceremony by the bride's people and are lodged in a house kept vacant and clean for their use. In the evening some members of the bride's family accompanied by Nai and pandit go to the *janvasa* for the ceremony of *barat lena.* The *purohit* of the girl's family puts a *tika* of turmeric and rice on the bridegroom's forehead and gives him some sweets. Thereafter the bridegroom dressed in wedding clothes with his face veiled by silvery threads hanging from the crown goes to the house of the bride in a palanquin accompanied by his relations and friends. A country band accompanies the *barat.* The party is received at the house of the bride by the relations and friends of the bride's family. A short puja is performed at the main entrance of the house. After the ceremony the marriage party is feasted with *poori, halwa,* vegetables curry, etc.

The marriage ceremony is performed at the time of *lagan* in the *mandap.* The boy's father sends clothes, bangles and one or two items of jewellery for the bride. The bridegroom sits on a sitting-board facing east. The family priests of both the parties light the sacred fire and chant *mantras.* The bride who is heavily veiled is then brought to the *mandap* by her maternal uncle and she sits on a sitting-board by the side of the groom. The bride's father and other relations wash the feet of the bride and the groom in a big metal plate. The hand of the bride with some money is kept over the hand of the groom by the father and as the priest recites some *slokas* he sprinkles a few grains of rice over it. The money is dropped in the metal plate in which the feet were washed. The ceremony is called *paipuji.* The other relations perform the *paipuji* in the same way. The priest recites some *mantras* and then asks the bride and groom to repeat vows after him. The groom promises to consult his wife in all things, to take her wishes into account and not to speak impolitely in the presence of his friends. The wife, for her part vows to be an obedient wife. After making these promises, the *phera* ceremony is performed. The bride's *purohit* ties the end of the bride's scarf to one end of bridegroom's *dhoti* and then they make seven rounds of the sacred fire. In the first four rounds the bridegroom leads and in the remaining three rounds the bride walks before the bridegroom. Women sing *mangal* songs showering blessings on the couple for a happy married life. The bride now sits on the left side of the bridegroom as his lawfully wedded

wife. After the ceremony, the bride and groom are taken to the inner apartments for worship of family deities.

Next day preparations are made for the *bida* or the going away of the bride with the bridegroom. At the time of departure of the bride, everyone bids her farewell. This is the saddest moment and tears flood the eyes of all those present on the occasion. The bride is usually sent in a *doli* and the *barat* returns in bullock carts.

When the *barat* reaches the bridegroom's village, the bride and groom are received at the main entrance of the house by the boy's mother. As the couple approaches the house, the groom's sister blocks the way and will not allow the bride inside until she hands over some mone

The next ceremony is the viewing of the bride's face for which those present give her a rupee or so. The bride is supposed to look down modestly as they view her face.

The last ceremony is locally known as *kangan kholna*. The bride and groom have to untie each other's wrist bands (*Kangan*) while the women watch them, singing songs. The elder brother's wife and other young women cut jokes with the groom and the bride at this time. The marriage ceremonies conclude with it.

Among the poorer sections of Bhurji, Chamar, Dhobi and Balmiki, the system of taking the bride in *dola* or *paipuji* ceremony is common. In a *paipuji* wedding, the ceremonies of *dwarchar*, *paipuji* and *phera* are performed at the bridegroom's house. The father of the bride takes her to the bridegroom's house where the marriage rituals are gone through. It reduces the marriage expenses substantially.

Among Muslims, the marriage negotiations are initiated by the parents of the boy and after their successful conclusion, *mangni* ceremony is performed on a day fixed according to mutual convenience. The girl's father and a few close relations visit the boy's house for the betrothal ceremony. He gives a few rupees to the boy and puts sugar in his mouth. The father of the boy distributes *shakkar* (raw sugar) or *gur* among the persons assembled on the occasion.

A date for the *nikah* (marriage rites) is fixed by the boy's family in consultation with a *qazi* (Muslim marriage priest). For three days preceding the marriage the bridegroom is bathed and massaged with a paste prepared of barley flour, turmeric and oil which gives smoothness and lusture to the skin. The bride is also anointed with *batna* before bath during this period. A day before the marriage, *sehra* is tied on the bridegroom's head. The relations and friends give him some money by way of *salaami*. After these ceremonies the bridegroom and the party go to the bride's village on the day of marriage and are comfortably accommodated at some suitable place. The groom's father sends clothes, a few ornaments, bangles, etc. to the bride which she wears after the *nikah* ceremony. Before the ceremony *tel* is applied on her forehead, arms, knees and feet. The bridegroom accompanied by his relations and friends goes to the bride's house on a horse, if one is available or in a palanquin. A country band usually accompanies the *barat*. The *qazi* accompanying the bridegroom reads out *nikah* under a canopy. The priest enquires of the bridegroom thrice whether he would accept the bride in every situation. The bridegroom agrees to do so. Similar question is posed to the bride but as she observes *purdah*, her consent is obtained through a *vakil* who is usually the father of the bride. The consent is announced to those present and *mehar* (alimony which the bridegroom will have to pay if he leaves his wife) is also settled. Ceremonies of fun and frolic then follow. The two are seated on a decorated bed but a screen is held between them. The groom is asked to read some passages from the Quran and to see the reflection of his wife's face in the mirror. The bridegroom and the marriage party are feasted on rice, mutton curry, ghee and sugar. The bridegroom is introduced to the relations and family friends of the bride. The last ceremony is that of *rukhsat*. The bride goes in a palanquin and the marriage party in bullock carts. A feast is given to the community on the occasion.

Death

The Hindus, as a rule, cremate their dead except children under five years of age who are buried. The bodies of persons dying of small-pox, cholera and leprosy are immersed in the river water. In case of death from snake bite and burns, the bodies are generally buried. It is usual to cremate an old person whose children and grand children are alive with great pomp and ceremony. If a woman whose husband is alive dies, she is consi-

dered lucky and her dead body is dressed in coloured clothes and the hair is combed before taking it out for cremation.

The dying person is placed on the ground and is made to give some money and grains in charity. As death approaches, *gangajal* is put in his mouth. Soon after death, word is sent to friends and relations in the village. The corpse is washed with water and then clothed in new unwashed cloth. The dead body is placed on the bier and is carried by four persons on their shoulders. As the procession moves along, the people say in regular strain, *Ram Nam Satya Hai* (The name of Rama alone is true). The body is rested once on the way to cremation ground where a *pind* or ball of barley-flour is deposited and then carried on. The pyre is arranged with seven to eight maunds of firewood on the cremation ground. The body is taken out of the bier and placed on the pyre with the feet facing the south. The eldest or the youngest son performs the last rites. His head and moustache are shaved and then he takes bath. Thereafter he goes round the pyre seven times holding dry grass in his hands. At the end of the seventh round the dry grass is set on fire with which he lights the four corners of the pyre. Ghee, *lac*, etc. are thrown into the pyre. When the body is burnt out, he performs the *kapal kriya* or skull-breaking ceremony of the dead body with a *lathi*. Some ghee is also poured on the smouldering pyre. After the dead body is fully burnt, the mourners return to the house of the deceased and take bath on the nearby well. They sit for sometime, chew *neem* leaves and then go back to their respective houses.

The family is ritually impure for thirteen days. No outsider is served with food or drink and no offering is made or puja performed in the household during this period. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased might harm the person who performed the last rites. He, therefore, carries with him an iron knife for thirteen days for it is thought that the spirits are afraid of iron. The *barbute* or *chhota karaj* ceremony is performed on the third day of the death . It is the first purificatory rite involving the cleaning of the house, washing of clothes and replacing all earthen pots used for cooking or for storing water by new ones. The male members of the family of the deceased get their hair cut near the well and thereafter they are feasted on *roti*, rice and curry. The *terhawin* or *bara karaj* ceremony is performed on the thirteenth day. Further purificatory rites are performed on this occasion which remove the ritual impurity of the household. On this day also near relations have a hair cut and bath. The head, moustache and beard are shaved on the death of the father or mother. A grand feast is given to the *biradari* on the death of an old man by his children and grandchildren otherwise a feast is arranged to which not less than thirteen Brahmins, relations and friends are invited. The period of mourning ends with this ceremony.

Muslim death customs differ from those of Hindus. On the expiry of a person the dead body is washed with water and is then dressed in a cloth twenty eight yards long with another *chadar* (five yards) to cover it. The body is then laid on the cot with its face towards Mecca. The bier is then taken to the burial ground in a procession with friends and relations following it. The *qazi* repeats *kalma* at a short distance from the grave and everyone says *namaz* for the peace of the departed soul. The corpse is then taken to the grave and placed in its bottom with the face towards Mecca. *Namaz* is again said and the face of the deceased is shown to everyone and the *chadar* is removed. The grave is then filled with earth and all those who accompany the bier put some earth into it. All the mourners then step forty paces from the grave and again say prayers for the benefit of the departed soul. They return to the house of the deceased and then disperse. There is no fire in the hearth for three days and the food is sent by the relations and the friends of the deceased for the family members. The *tija* ceremony is observed on the third day and parched grams and *rewri* are distributed among those present at the ceremony. The *chaliswan* ceremony is performed on the fortieth day. Prayers are said and a feast is given to the relations and friends. Those who can afford distribute grains to the poor.

In the event of death of a child under ten years, the dead body is wrapped in cloth, eleven yards long, and is buried. Sweetmeats are kept in the grave before burial. The bereaved household does not observe any other ceremony.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

The Table given below gives the classification of workers by sex into different occupational groups :

TABLE 3·1

Occupation	Persons	Males	Females	Percentage
Cultivation	144	84	60	49·0
Weaving	90	49	41	30·6
Agriculture Labourer	11	11	...	3·7
Rearing of Livestock	11	11	...	3·7
Mason	15	15	...	5·1
Basketry	4	4	...	1·4
Retail Trade	4	4	...	1·4
Washing clothes	2	2	...	0·7
Oil-expelling	2	1	1	0·7
Tailoring	1	1	...	0·3
Transport	2	2	...	0·7
Miscellaneous Service	8	3	5	2·7
Total :	294	187	107	100·0

There are 294 workers accounting for 47 per cent of the population composed of 187 males and 107 females. Out of these, cultivators account for 144 (49 per cent), weavers 90 (30·6 per cent), masons 15 (5·1 per cent), agricultural labourers and those engaged in the rearing of livestock 11 each and the remaining 23 are in other occupations like basketry, retail trade, washing clothes, oil-expelling, tailoring, transport and miscellaneous services. These figures do not include part-time workers who work in their spare time. The female workers are mainly engaged in cultivation and weaving.

The Table given below indicates the workers and non-workers by sex and broad age-groups :

TABLE 3·2

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	M	F	Persons	M	F	Persons	M	F
All ages	626	320	306	294	187	107	332	133	199
0—14	287	141	146	28	21	7	259	120	139
15—34	166	89	77	129	82	47	37	7	30
35—59	138	67	71	115	64	51	23	3	20
60 and over	35	23	12	22	20	2	13	3	10

The percentage of workers and non-workers in the hamlet is 47 and 53 respectively. The largest number of workers is in the age-group 15-34 accounting for 43·8 per cent, followed by the next age-group (39·1 per cent). The percentage of workers below the age of 15 is 9·5 and in the age-group 60 and over, 7·6. The proportion of workers in the lower and higher age-groups is, therefore, small.

Among non-workers females predominate constituting 59·9 per cent of the non-working population. Majority of the non-workers are in the age-group 0-14, there being 259 boys and girls not doing any work, out of the total population of 287 in that age-group. In all other age-groups females are mostly engaged in household duties. The proportion of males in the age-groups 15-34, 35-59 and 60 and over is small. In the age-group 60 and above their proportion is 0·9 per cent, being mostly dependants.

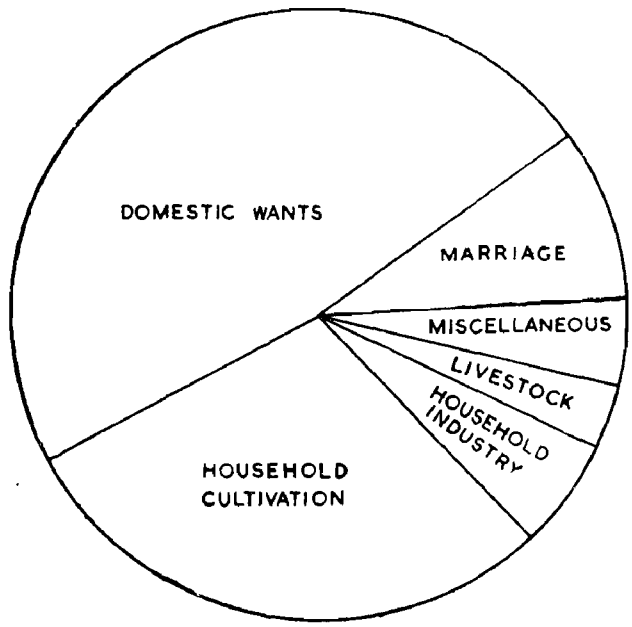
The Table given below shows the number of persons by caste and community in various occupations:

TABLE 3·3

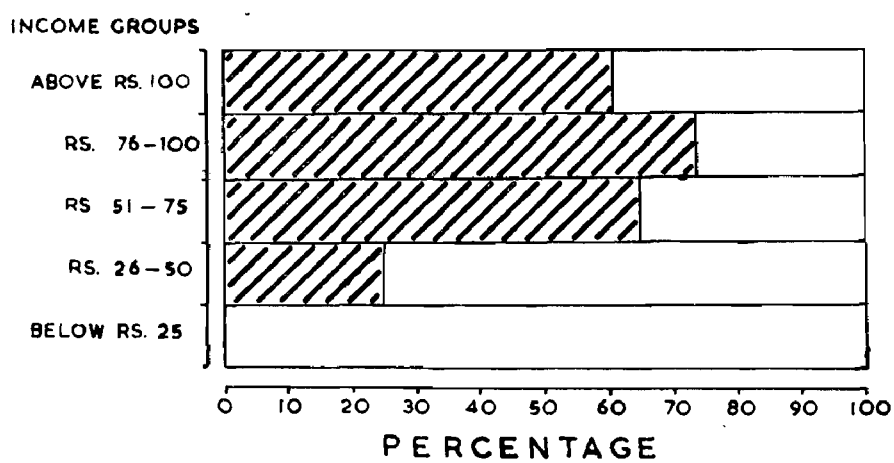
Occupation	Brahmin	Barhai	Balmiki	Bhurji	Chamar	Dhobi	Gadaria	Jat	Kori	Vaish	Muslim
Cultivation	6	...	...	...	36	...	8	90	2	...	2
Weaving	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	89	...	...
Agricultural Labourer	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	3	1	...	1
Rearing of Livestock	...	...	...	1	...	...	5	2	1	...	2
Mason	...	...	...	...	8	...	1	...	6	...	...
Basketry	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Retail Trade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
Washing clothes	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Oil-expelling	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Tailoring	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Transport	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Miscellaneous Service	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...
Total :	6	...	5	5	50	2	14	100	101	4	7

The Brahmins, Chamars, Gadarias and Jats are mainly engaged in cultivation which is the largest single

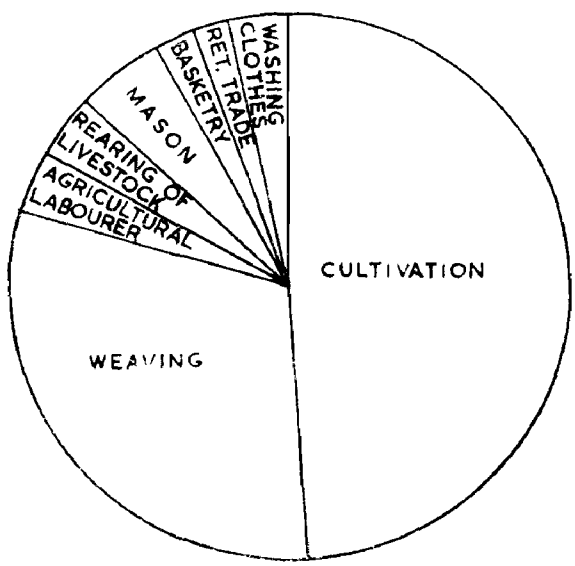
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES



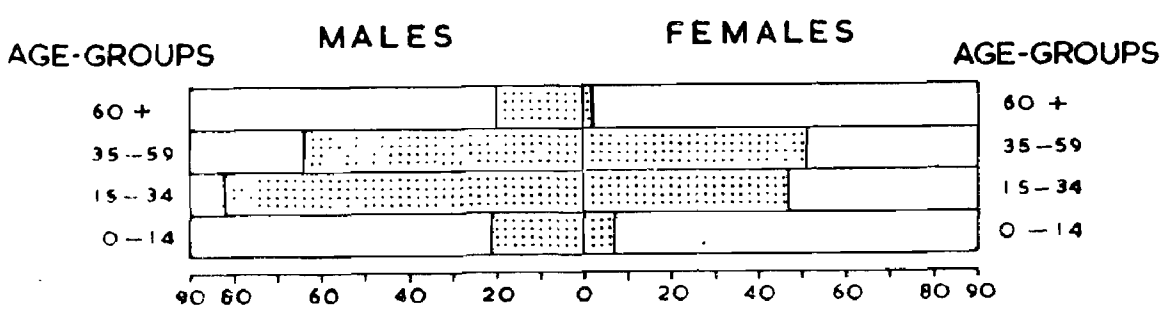
INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN



NUMBER OF WORKERS BY SEX & AGE-GROUPS



occupation in the hamlet. It is the traditional occupation of the Jats practised by men and women alike. The main occupation of Koris is weaving; 6 are masons, 2 are in cultivation, 2 in service and one each in rearing milch cattle and agricultural labour. The Muslim Teli family follows the traditional occupation of oil-expelling. The Vaish are engaged in retail trade of provision goods. The Balmikis are in service.

The total cultivated area in the hamlet is 275·5 acres. The Table given below gives the cultivated area caste and communitywise in the hamlet:

TABLE 3·4

Caste/ Community	Bhumidhari (in acres)	Sirdari (in acres)	Total land owned (in acres)	Percentage
Jat	58·4	89·0	147·4	53·5
Brahmin	17·9	26·3	44·2	16·0
Gadaria	...	40·2	40·2	14·7
Chamar (S.C.)	...	35·0	35·0	12·7
Kori	2·0	3·0	5·0	1·8
Muslim	3·7	...	3·7	1·3
Total :	82·0	193·5	275·5	100·0

It will appear that Jats own more than half (53·5 per cent) of the cultivated land in the hamlet. The percentages of land owned by Brahmin, Gadaria and Chamar are 16, 14·7 and 12·7 respectively. The land owned by the Muslims and Kori is negligible. The other castes in the hamlet do not possess any land. The following Table shows the number of cultivator households and the extent of their land holdings:

TABLE 3·5

		Number of Households whose holding is				
Caste/ Community	No. of Cultivator households	Less than 1 acre	Between 1 to 2·4 acres	Between 2·5 to 4.9 acres	Between 5 to 9·9 acres	Aboves 10 acres
Jat	27	...	1	8	12	6
Brahmin	7	...	...	4	2	1
Gadaria	6	...	2	2	1	1
Chamar	14	...	2	8	2	2
Kori	1	...	...	...	1	...
Muslim	2	...	1	1	...	...
Total :	57	...	6	23	18	10

It is evident from the Table that there is no owner household possessing less than an acre of cultivated land, 6 households have land varying between 1 and 2·4 acres, the holdings of 23 vary between 2·5 and 4·9 acres, of 18 between 5 and 9·9 acres and of 10 more than 10 acres each. In the hamlet, the holdings of about half of the land-owning households vary between 2·5 and 4·9 acres. The large-sized holdings of above 10 acres are held mostly by the Jats (6 households). They are better farmers and there is inborn love in them for the traditional occupation

The number of workers engaged in cultivation is 144 of whom 84 are males and 60 females. Among Jats the women are hardworking and help the menfolk on the fields. The Gadaria and the Chamar are also helped by their womenfolk in the agricultural work. The Brahmin women do not help in cultivation. There are only 11 agricultural labourers, mostly Chamars. They work on daily wages or grain is given to them on harvests. They simply carry out the directions of land owners without exercising any kind of control or supervision on agricultural operations.

Irrigation, Seed and Manure

The means of irrigation in the hamlet are canal, and *kachcha* wells. There are two distributaries which pass through the outskirts of the village. They are of little use to the hamlet as the area irrigated by them is negligible. Some dig *kachcha* wells in the fields for irrigation. They last for a year or two and are generally rendered useless in the rainy season. Cultivators largely depend on monsoon rain which in most years is not evenly distributed thus bringing disaster to cultivation. The yield from the land suffers due to inadequate supply of water for irrigation.

Villagers select the best grain at the harvests and preserve them till the next sowing. They also purchase seeds from big cultivators or the markets. Improved varieties of seeds are supplied to them by the Development Block. There are two methods of sowing seeds. First, the seeds may be thrown on the field at random when the soil is moist. This is known as broadcast method. Secondly, these may be sown in rows with the help of dibblers. The cultivators are always keen to use improved varieties of seeds for different crops for better yield.

Village cultivators generally use farm-yard or cow-dung manure. The cow-dung is stored in a pit and is covered with dry leaves, fodder waste and earth. The manure is taken out of the pit every sixth month for manuring the fields. The use of green manure has also increased. It is used by 22 families in the hamlet. The farmers sow *sanai* and *dhaincha* in the last week of June and the young plants are ploughed and allowed to decay in fields for enriching the soil. The use of inorganic fertilisers like ammonium sulphate and superphosphates is not common due to inadequate irrigation facilities. The use of chemical fertilisers is widespread in the village. During the agricultural year 1960-61, 102·5 maunds of ammonium sulphate, 5 maunds of ammonium nitrate, 46 maunds of superphosphates and uria were used. In the hamlet only 22 cultivating households used chemical fertilisers in small quantity.

Agricultural Implements

The agricultural tools and implements used in the hamlet are the age-old ones made by village carpenters. They use the *deshi* wooden plough which is a block of hard wood with an iron sole. It is guided by a handle and has a beam projecting in front by which it is drawn. Two bullocks are tied to the plough before use. The iron plough is used for tilling the land. The *patela* or clod-crusher is used to level the surface of fields. The spade has an iron blade fixed to the end of the wooden rod and is used for digging earth and levelling the uneven land. The axe is used for cutting wood for various agricultural purposes. The sickle is used for cutting crops. The other implements used by the cultivators are *khurpi* used for weeding, *gandasa*, etc. Dibbler is also used for sowing. A small cart is used for taking manure to the fields. Bullock-cart is a means of transport for all agricultural operations and is used by all agricultural households in the hamlet. It is a two-wheeled vehicle driven by two bullocks and can carry 30 to 35 maunds of manure. Mechanical implements have not found favour with the village cultivators because of backwardness of agriculture, low fertility of soil and limited financial resources. There does not appear any scope in the near future of their extensive use.

Livestock

The livestock resources of the hamlet consist of draught, milk and other animals. The number of draught bullocks in the hamlet is 63 owned by 38 households. The Jats, Brahmins and Chamars who are mainly engaged in farming possess them. They are either home-bred or bought from some neighbouring village or cattle fairs and are not of selective breed. The purchases made in the village are negligible. Cultivators who do not own bullocks either hire them or get them on mutual service basis. They are not sent out for grazing and are tethered in the open courtyard or under the shade of trees for the greater part of the day and are given *bhusa*, gram soacked in water, oil cakes, etc. to eat.

Cows and buffaloes are kept for milk and their dung is used as manure and fuel. They are 27 in number owned by 25 households mainly Jats, Chamars and Brahmins. The milk from these cattle is utilised by young children and old persons. There is no surplus milk available in the hamlet for sale. Buffaloes are valued more than the cows for a buffalo gives, on an average, 3 to 4 kilograms of milk daily for eight months while the average daily milk yield of a cow is between 1 to 3 kilograms according to breed for six months.

Rearing of goats and sheep seem to be the monopoly of Gadaria community. The five Gadaria households own 146 goats and sheep. There are 6 pigs owned by the solitary Balmiki household.

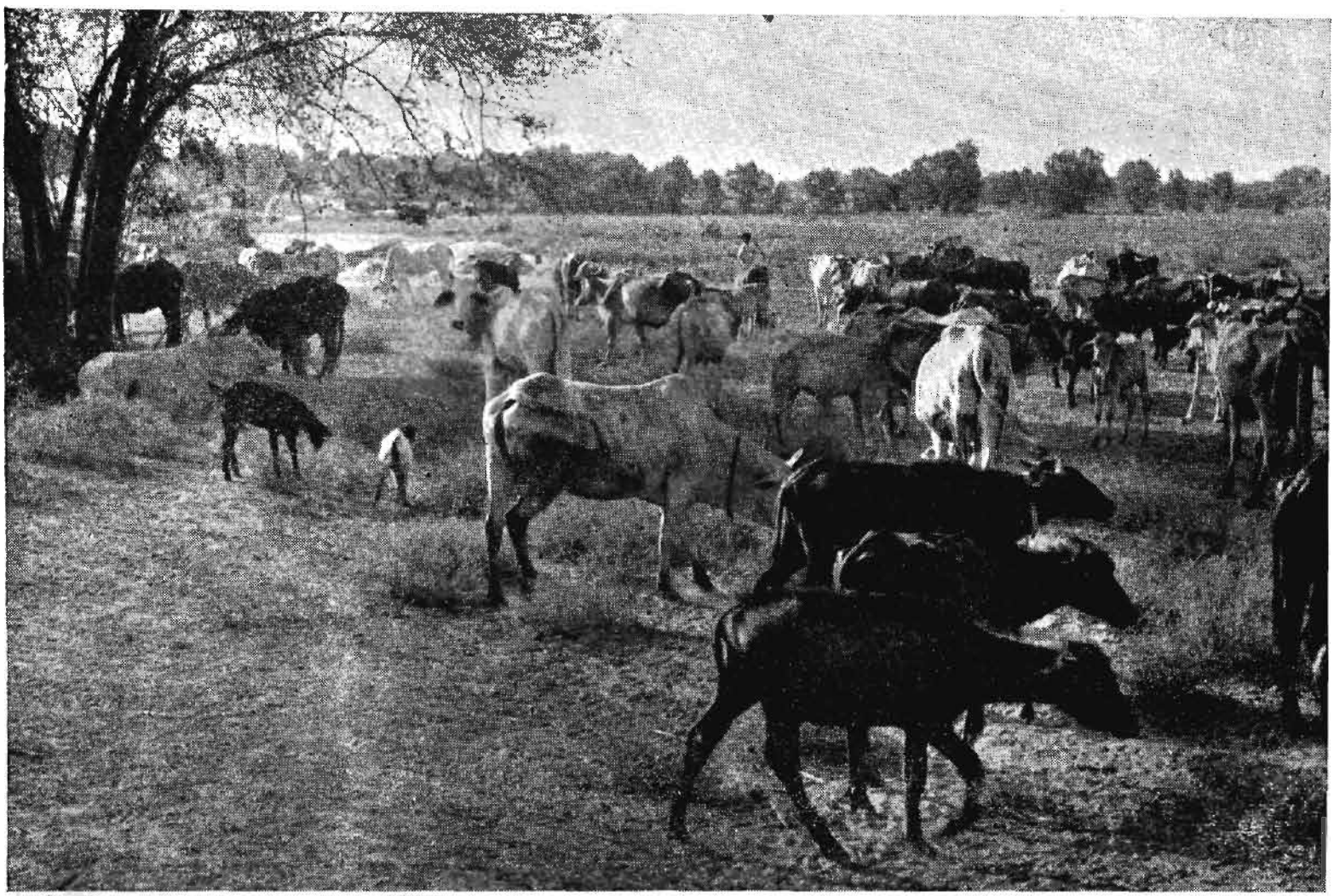
The grazing of cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep is either undertaken by the household or by the paid grazier of the village. In the former case an old person of the household takes up this work. In the latter case a paid grazier is jointly employed by a number of households and is generally paid a rupee or two from each household.

The animals are kept inside at night and in the open during the day. The well-to-do own cattle-sheds attached to the residential buildings or close to them. In summer they are kept under the shade of trees during the day but in winter or when the weather is not clear they are kept in the cattle-shed or inside the house.

Land Reforms

The abolition of Zamindari in the State in July 1952 has brought about important changes in the economic life of cultivators. The Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950 provided

PLATE XVII



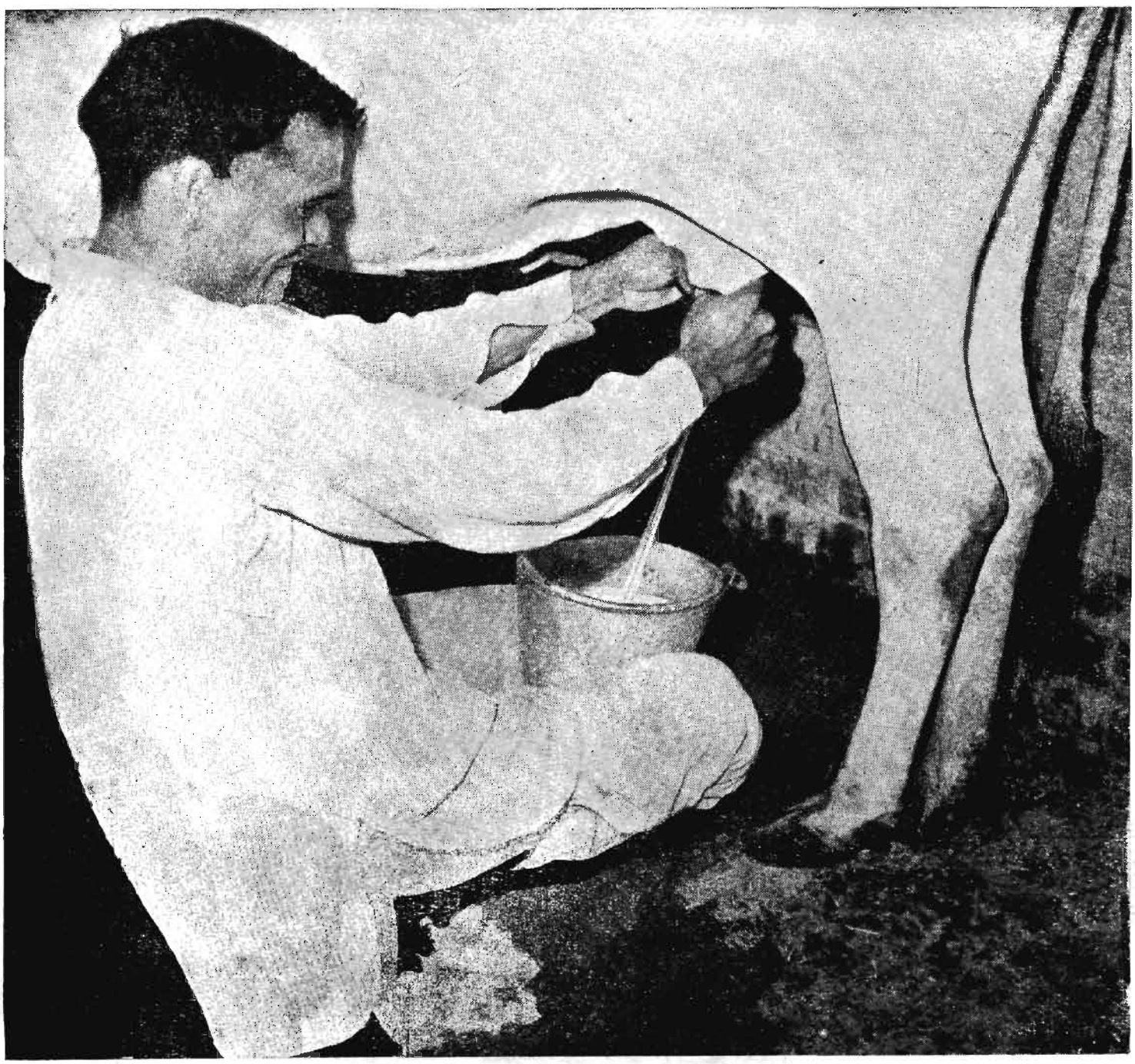
The cattle grazing in a pasture

PLATE XVIII



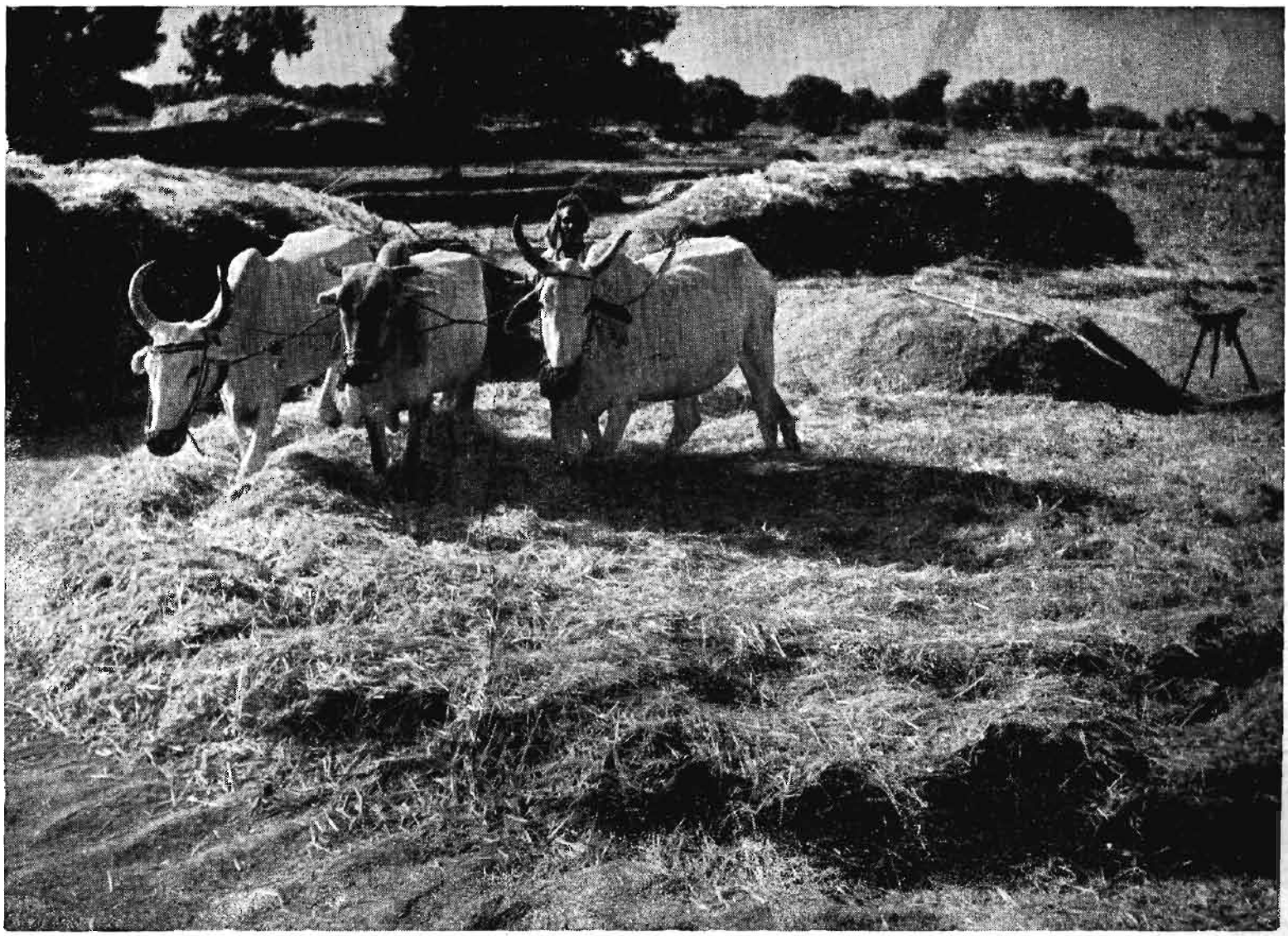
A woman making cow dung cakes

PLATE XIX



Milching the cow

PLATE XX



Bullocks treading on wheat stalks

for the acquisition of intermediaries rights on payment of compensation at 8 times of the net land revenue paid by zamindars. With the abolition of zamindari system, there emerged only four type of tenants, namely, Bhumidhar, Sirdar, Adhivasi and Asami. After sometime the Adhivasi tenure was also abolished. The intermediaries in respect of their *sir*, *khudkasht* and groves were classed as Bhumidhars. The tenants who paid an amount equal to ten times of the rent of their holdings also became Bhumidhars. The Bhumidhars have a permanent and heritable right in their land with the option to use it for any purpose. Their land revenue was reduced by 50 per cent of the existing rent. The Sirdars also have permanent and heritable rights in land, the right to use their land for any purpose connected with agriculture, horticulture or animal husbandry and to make any improvement. Asamis are non-occupancy tenants of land who do not enjoy stable rights. They are the persons to whom the land might be let by Bhumidhars or Sirdars who are incapable of cultivating the land themselves. The right of letting out the land is restricted to disabled persons such as minors, widows and persons suffering from physical or mental infirmity, etc. This restriction on the letting out of land is purposive and is intended to put a check on the re-emergence of the landlord-tenant system. All lands of common utility such as *abadi* sites, tanks, water channels, pathways, etc. are vested in the village community on behalf of which the Gram Samaj manages this land.

The abolition of zamindari has been a blessing to the cultivators. They no longer suffer from the fear of ejectment and have been saved from the arbitrary exactions of the zamindars. They pay the rent directly to the State and are free to bring about improvement on their land. The fixed rent, the simple living and the rise in the prices of agricultural produce leave them enough to live in comfort and security and inspire them to work harder.

Another measure of far reaching consequence is the Government scheme of consolidation of land holdings. The scheme was launched in Kheragarh tahsil which remained under the consolidation operations during the agricultural years 1364 to 1367. Realising that the problem of excessive fragmentation and sub-division of holdings had assumed serious proportions in the recent decades and that the small holdings lay scattered over a large area, sometimes even beyond the boundary of a revenue village, the State Government passed the U.P. Consolidation of Holdings Act in 1953 which seeks to check excessive fragmentation of holdings and to consolidate the existing scattered holdings into two or three compact blocks. The main object of the scheme is to minimise the number of plots of single landholder. The villagers generally realise the merits of the scheme and the logic behind its implementation but their co-operation to the desired extent is not forthcoming due to a variety of reasons. They feel that over and above the official cost of consolidation of holdings, they have to spend a good amount on filing objections and in fighting to get for them selves the proper *chaks*. Besides, the ignorance of the tenure-holders and the inexperience of the staff employed in the earlier stages did much to cool the enthusiasm of the cultivators. In addition they feel that there has been a constant bid to change the set pattern and introduce land reforms which do not give proper relief to them at the same time. These have created a feeling of uncertainty. It was laid down in U.P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act that no person would be allowed to acquire a new holding of more than 12·5 acres of land. The U.P. Land Holdings Ceilings Act has further put restrictions on the holdings. The U.P. Large Land Holdings Tax Act, 1957 is also an indirect restriction on big holdings. In this way the holdings have been further fragmented under the pressure of these measures with the emphasis on co-operative farming.

Principal Crops

There are two principal crops in the hamlet, the *rabi* sown in October and harvested in March-April and the *kharif* sown in July and reaped in September-October. The *zaid* or hot weather crop is not important.

Kharif Crops

Bajra is the principal staple crop of the hamlet. It is generally sown mixed with *arhar*. The plots are ploughed twice in early July. The seed is scattered by broadcast and thereafter the field is levelled. The sowing is over in the first half of July and sprouts appear in about a week. The crop is neither manured nor watered. The rain water is sufficient for it to grow well. The crop ripens in about three months and is reaped without stalk. The produce varies between 1½ and 2 maunds per *kachcha bigha*.

Maize is sown in irrigated fields. The field is ploughed four to five times and is well-manured before sowing. Sowing generally commences after the rains because the cultivators want to avoid labour and cost involved in watering. The crop is weeded twice, once after a fortnight when sprouts appear and again after twenty days. Fields are watered after every month, twice or thrice before harvesting. The crop ripens in October and the harvesting is over by mid-November. The output varies between 3 to 4 maunds per *kachcha bigha.*

Urd and *moong* pulses are sown after the rains in the beginning of July generally after one ploughing. Weeding is done by hand after a month of sowing. There was good yield of these crops in the agricultural year 1368 *Fasli* amounting to 2,104 maunds.

San or hemp was sown in a small area in the village in 1368 *Fasli.* The field is ploughed once before sowing. It is sown by broadcast in early July but the crop is not manured. The crop is ready in the middle of October and is reaped. The stalks are immersed in water for four to five days and the fibre is then peeled off the stalks. The yield of *san* in 1368 *Fasli* was only 16 maunds in the hamlet.

Sugarcane and *jowar* were also sown in *kharif* 1368 *Fasli.* The output of these crops was small.

Rabi Crops

Wheat is the main *rabi* crop sown on plots which mostly remain follow during the *kharif* harvest. It is also sown mixed with gram and mustard in the later part of October but the fields are ploughed at regular intervals, six to seven times, between April and October. The clod-crusher is used for breaking the clods and levelling the field. It is well manured before sowing. The seed is sown by broadcast and then the field is levelled. Dibbler is also used for sowing the seeds in rows. They sprout within a week of the sowing. The crop grows up about six to nine inches by December. Weeding is done by men and women only once in the beginning of December. Wheat fields are watered at least thrice and up to five times if there is no rainfall. The crop ripens by the end of March and is harvested in the beginning of April. Men carry the bundles of the dried plants to the *khaliyan* for threshing and winnowing. The threshing is done with the help of bullocks who are made to tread on the stalks after which the grain is separated by winnowing with a basket. The grain is stored in earthen pots in one of the corners of the living room. The straw is stored separately for consumption by cattle.

Gram is sown in unirrigated plots from the beginning of October to the middle of November. Gram fields are not manured and the winter rain is sufficient for the crop to grow well. It does not require intensive weeding. Weeding is done once only in early December. The crop ripens in April and the harvesting is over before the month is out. The average produce of gram in the hamlet is about 1½ maunds per *kachcha bigha.*

Barley is sown in the later part of October but preparation of the field starts in August with regular ploughing. Seeds are scattered on the field or are sown in rows with occasional mixing of mustard. The crop does not require abundant supply of water or manure. It ripens by the end of March and is harvested by the middle of April. Barley was sown mixed with gram in *rabi* 1368 *Fasli* yielding 333 maunds. The mixture of barley and gram is called *bejhar* and is the staple food of the poorer section in the village.

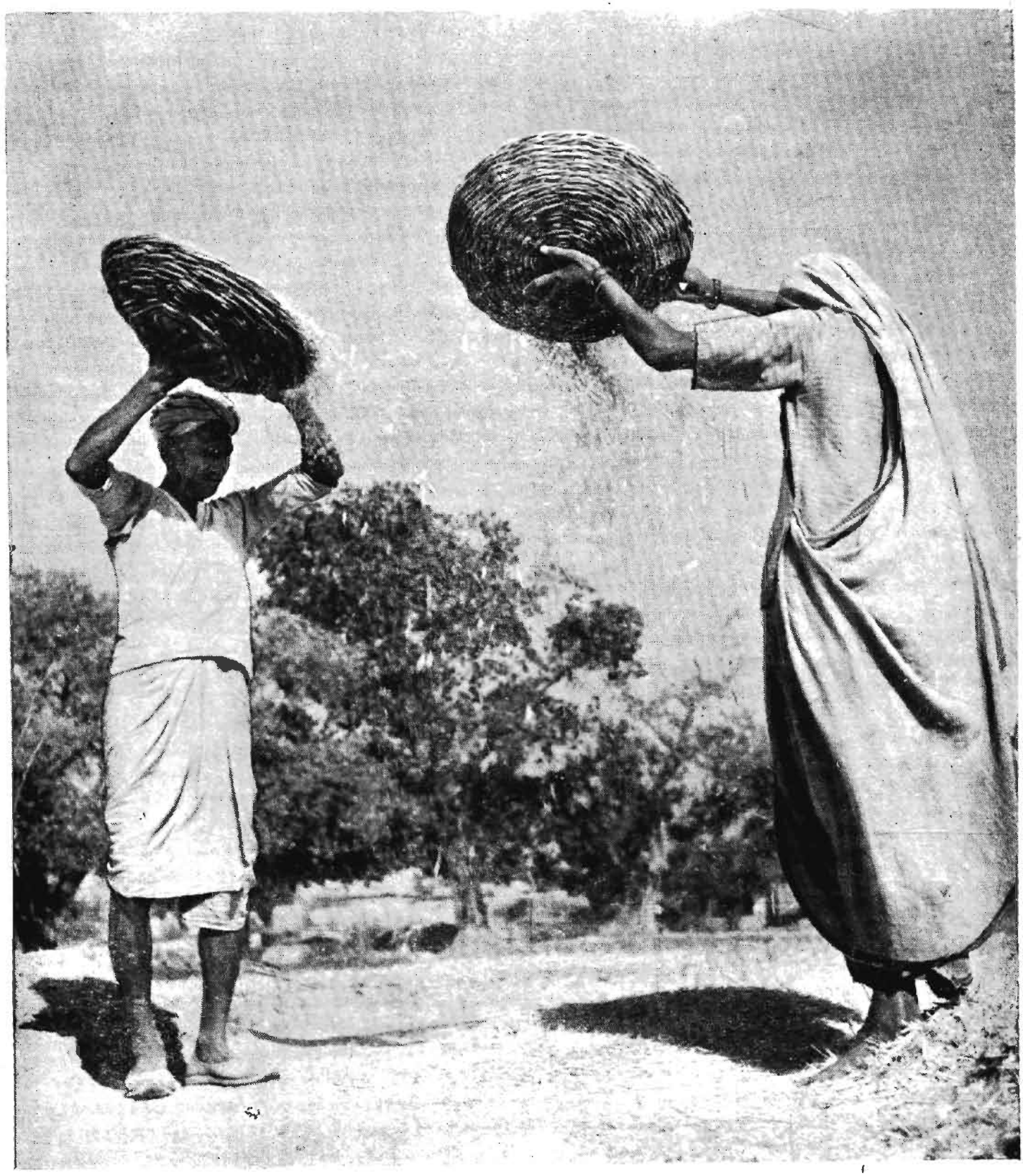
The yield of oil seeds in the hamlet in 1368 *Fasli* was 178 maunds. The output of fodder was 7,377 maunds in this agricultural year in the hamlet.

Crop Diseases And Pests

The crops are affected by insects, pests and crop diseases. The wheat crop is attacked by a disease known as *garibi* which spoils the corn. It is also affected by a disease called *kungi* which reduces the crop yield by about 25 per cent. It is mainly caused due to cloudy weather. Sugarcane is affected by red rot, stem borer and white ants. *Gandhi* bugs cause irreparable damage to *bajra* and *jowar.* They appear like a swarm of locusts and suck out milk from the plant when it is about to ripen. *Dimak* (white ants) causes considerable damage to most of the crops. The villagers try local remedies to uproot the menace. The Plant Protection Section of the Development Block has not been useful in combating the menace of pests and crop diseases in the hamlet.

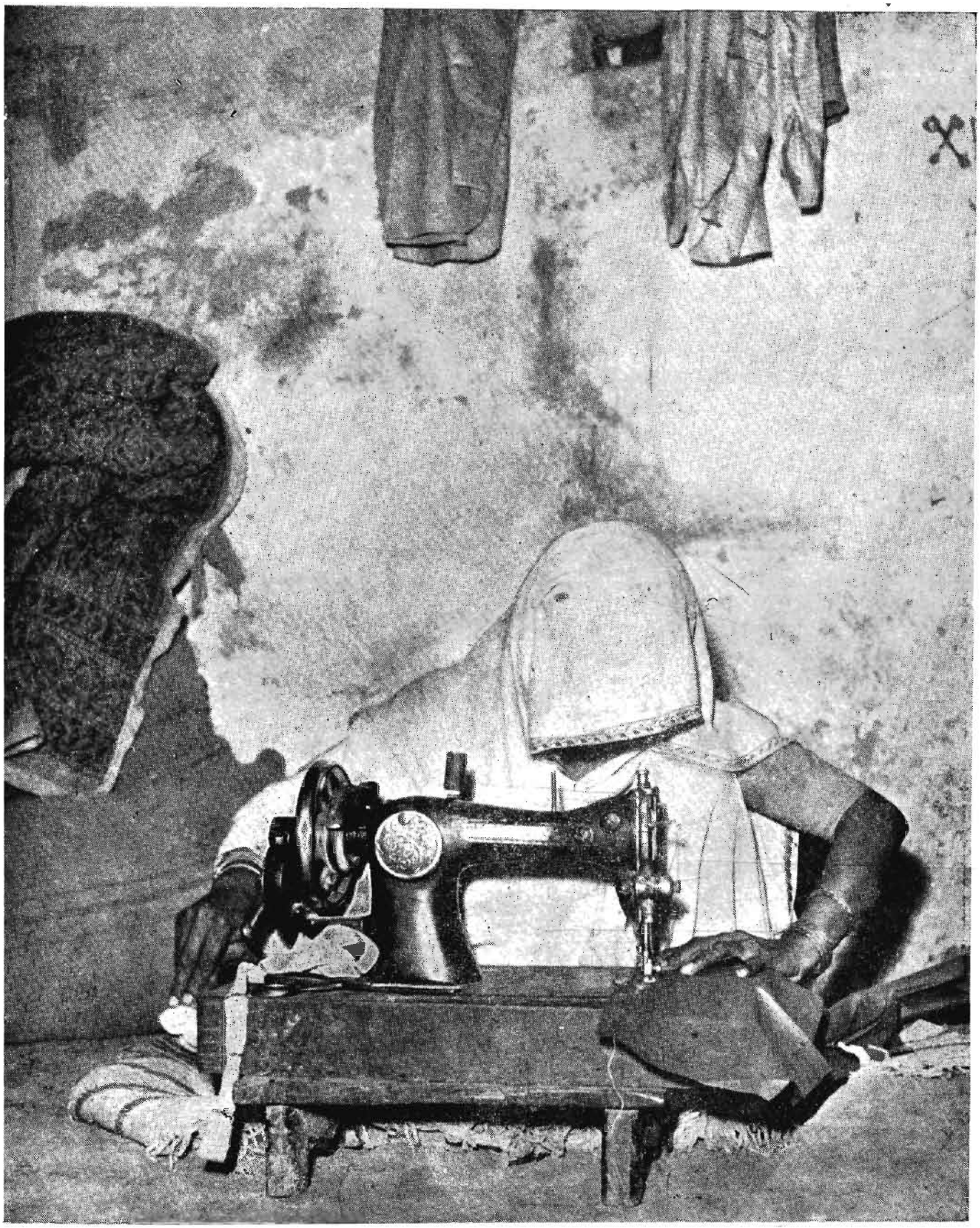
It is not considered necessary to guard the crops all the twenty-four hours. Going round the field once or twice during the day is considered enough. The

PLATE XXI



Winnowing with baskets

PLATE XXII



A woman at sewing machine

birds are, however, prevented from causing harm to crops by constant watching. In spite of all the care and watch, field rats, jackals, blue-bulls and birds cause damage to standing crops. The frost and strong winds also affect them considerably.

Agricultural Rituals

Cultivators observe certain rituals connected with the sowing and harvesting of crops in the village. Before the sowing of *kharif* crops, a simple ceremony called *harwat* is performed by the cultivators of all castes. The plough or the *kudal* is carried to the field for token digging or ploughing of field. In the evening pucca food is cooked in most houses and is taken.

Aghani is connected with the ritual of sowing and is observed on the full-moon day in *Agrahayana*. It is celebrated by every agricultural family after the sowing of the *rabi* crops. A feast of *kachcha* food including black gram rice, *roti* and gram, preparations is given to close friends and the *harvaah* (permanent servants). There is no such ceremony connected with the sowing of *kharif* crops.

Nava is the harvest festival celebrated twice a year, once in *Magha* and again in *Bhadra*. It is not observed on any definite date but is observed on an auspicious day fixed by the pandit. In the *Nava* of *Magha* the ears of wheat and in *Bhadra*, the ears of *savan* are worshipped. The grain is taken out and is mixed with *gur* and thereafter it is offered to Lord Shiva and other deities. It is served with the evening meal to every member of the family. *Nava* is celebrated by every agricultural family. The day is observed as a holiday and no work is done on the fields.

Village cultivators are very particular about auspicious days for beginning the agricultural operations. For sowing, ploughing, reaping and threshing, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are considered auspicious. They avoid all other days for these operations, as far as possible. Paddy is never sown on Saturday for that means bad luck. Cultivators do not sow wheat on Tuesdays for the fear that field rats would destroy the crop. Occasionally puja is performed so that they may be blessed with a rich harvest.

Agricultural Marketing

The Table given below shows the utilisation of produce in the hamlet during the year 1960-61:

TABLE 3·6

Product	Quantity produced annually (Maunds)	Quantity consumed annually by the producing households (Maunds)	Marketable surplus (Maunds)
Maize and *Jowar*	414	381	33
Dal	2,104	1,058	1,046
Sugarcane	25	5	20
San	16	8	8
Wheat	1,287	727	560
Gram and barley	333	274	59
Oil seeds	178	20	158
Fodder	7,377	6,182	1,195
Total :	11,734	8,655	3,079

It is clear from the Table that the producing households consumed 73·7 per cent of the total agricultural produce leaving 26·3 per cent of the produce for disposal within the village to non-cultivating households or in the markets at Kheragarh and Agra. The surplus produce is taken in bullock-carts to these towns and is sold to local dealers at varying rates often below the market rates. The cultivators cannot bargain due to lack of proper storage and transport facilities and poor economic condition. They live on the sale proceeds of their grain which enables them to meet the day-to-day expenses of their livelihood and helps them to tide over the financial difficulty.

Village Industries

Cotton weaving is the traditional occupation of Koris claiming 89 persons including 41 females. They are skilled weavers and stick to the traditional craft of the family. They work on their looms and are assisted by family members in different processes of weaving. They weave *garha*, *gazi* or *khaddar* chiefly used by the poorer classes. These products are rough and coarse made usually of hand-spun yarn. *Garha* is warm and durable used for making shirts or *kurta*, *dhoti*, wrappers, *razai* covers, etc., for men and *lehanga* and bodices for women. *Garha* and *gazi* are never bleached and are always of pale fawn colour.

The Gandhi Ashram has established a centre in the village for encouragement of *khadi* weaving. It provides yarn to the weavers and purchases the *khaddar* woven by them at certain fixed rates. Some persons give yarn to weavers paying at the rate of Rs. 1·25 per seer for

weaving. The Gandhi Ashram is rendering singular service by providing assistance to the weavers by supplying raw materials and marketing facilities.

The system of weaving is old. The yarn is tied on two wooden poles and starch is applied on it with the help of a brush. The thread is left in the sun to dry up to become stiff. Thereafter stick posts are fixed in the ground in a row to the length of the warp and two threads from end to end, one on each side of the posts, are spread. This process of revolving the yarn around the sticks is called *tana*. The thread is then transferred to reed bobbins about three inches in length and is fixed on the loom. The weavers use the old-fashioned pit loom which is simple in construction and can easily be installed. It can be operated without difficulty. The cost of the loom is about Rs. 60 which is within easy reach of weavers. The weaver while sitting on his seat moves the *haltha* (handle) and shoots the thread of the woof between the thread of the warp with the help of a shuttle for weaving cloth. The average daily earning of a weaver varies between Rs. 3 to Rs. 4.

The solitary Bhurji household is engaged in making large baskets used for carrying articles and produce. They are made of *arhar* stumps and cotton plants. The tools used in their manufacture are a sickle and an iron rod. The raw material is supplied by the cultivators or is locally purchased. The basket is made by twining technique in which the weft is twined over each and every warp. The artisan is either given grains at the harvests or cash payment is made. They are also sold in the neighbouring markets for cash.

Oil-expelling is the traditional occupation of the only Muslim Teli family in the hamlet. The family owns a *kolhu* operated by bullocks. The villagers give the oil seeds and either pay the crushing charges or grain is given at the harvests. The Teli is also given the *khali* (oil-cakes) for his service. The average monthly income of the household from oil-expelling is about Rs. 30 which is not sufficient. The demand for their work has decreased for the mustard oil obtained from factories is cheap and is purchased. The occupation has, therefore, become unremunerative.

There are two shops in the hamlet run by the two Vaish households. They deal in grocery and general merchandise. The grocer deals in *gur*, salt, match boxes, pulses, *sarson* oil, vegetable oils, kerosene, soap, *biri*, etc. The articles of general merchandise available in these shops are needles, combs, mirrors, buttons, lanterns, chimneys, stationery, etc. The articles of general merchandise and the grocery are purchased from Kheragarh or Agra and are transported either on bicycle or by bus up to Akola and then by bullock cart to the hamlet. They are brought in small quantities and are replenished continually. A major portion of the goods sold is generally reinvested in fresh stock. The shop-keepers have small resources and cannot afford to take risk in the business by making heavy investment.

Source of Finance

The chief sources of finance are co-operative credit society and village money-lenders. The village Co-operative Credit Society provides short term loans to its members. There are only 16 members of the Society from the hamlet. The rate of interest is low, i. e., 9 per cent but a second loan is not given unless the first is paid off. The Society feels difficulty in the realisation of loans for the money advanced is generally used on unproductive items like marriages, festivals, births, deaths, etc. Some members on account of their meagre resources are unable to repay the loans within time thus lending the Society in difficulty. The realisation of loans through coersive processes makes the Society unpopular and many are not tempted to become its members.

Majority of villagers borrow from village money-lenders on high rate of interest ranging from 3 to 6 paise per rupee per month. Though the rate of interest is exorbitant, but the villagers prefer to borrow money from them for they do not insist on security and do not claim the money back by a certain date.

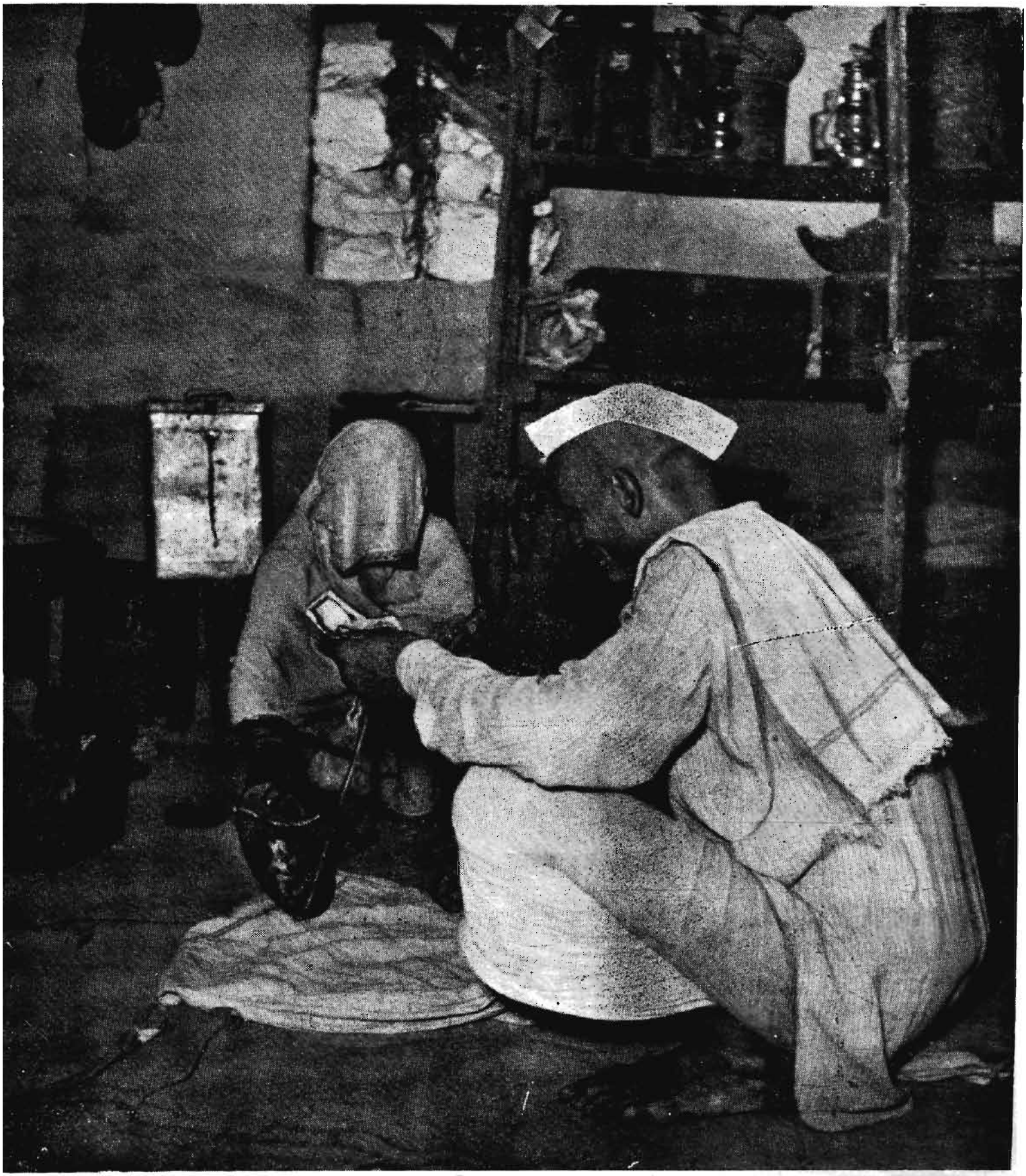
Indebtedness

The Table given below shows the extent of indebtedness in the hamlet according to income-groups:

TABLE 3·7

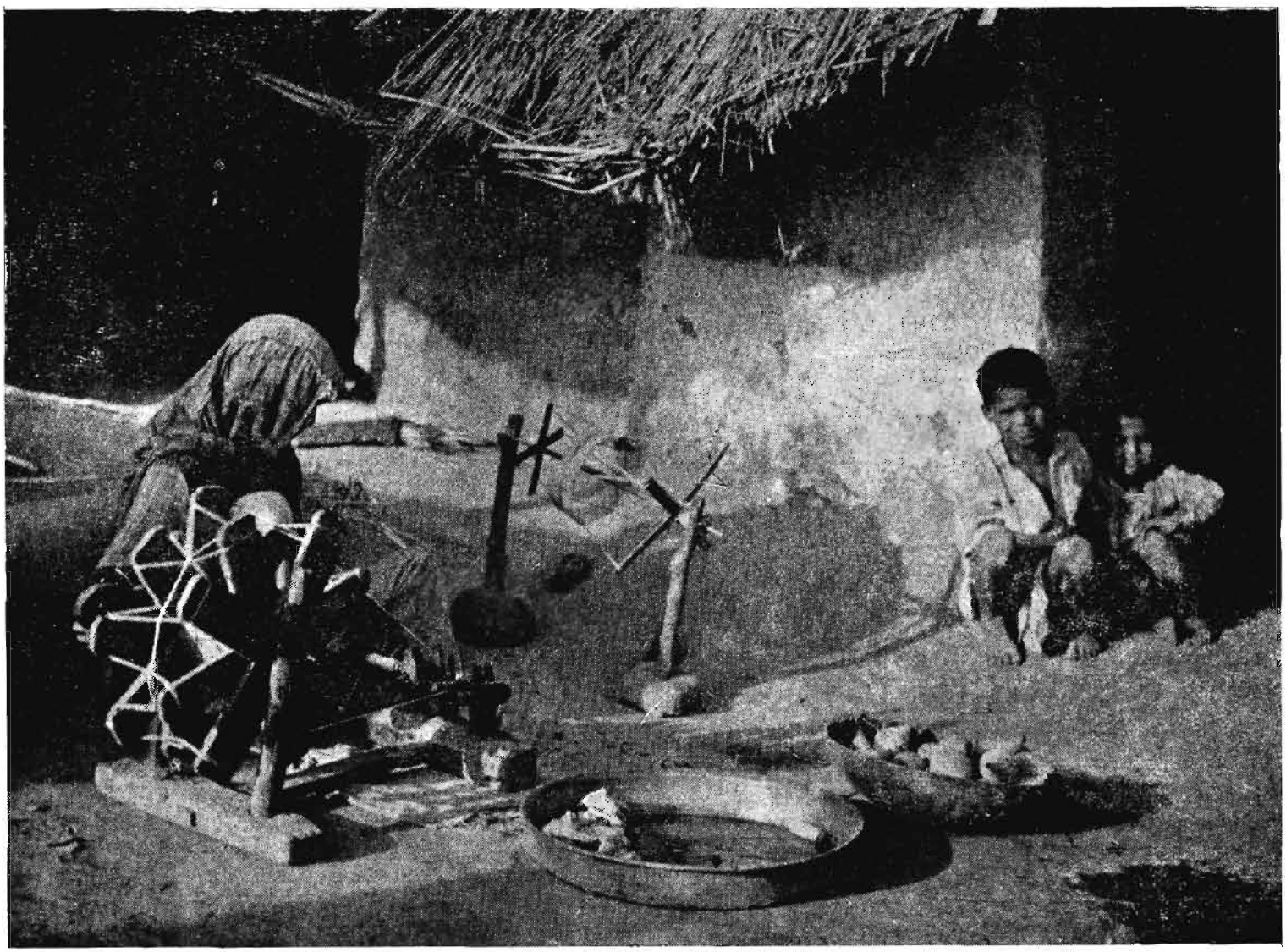
Income-group	No. of Households	No. of Households in debt	Percentage of Households in debt
Rs. 25 and below	4	...	...
Rs. 26 to 50	20	5	25
Rs. 51 to 75	32	21	65
Rs. 76 to 100	35	26	74
Rs. 101 and above	23	14	61

PLATE XXIII



A village shop

PLATE XXIV



Winding the yarn on *paraita*

PLATE XXV



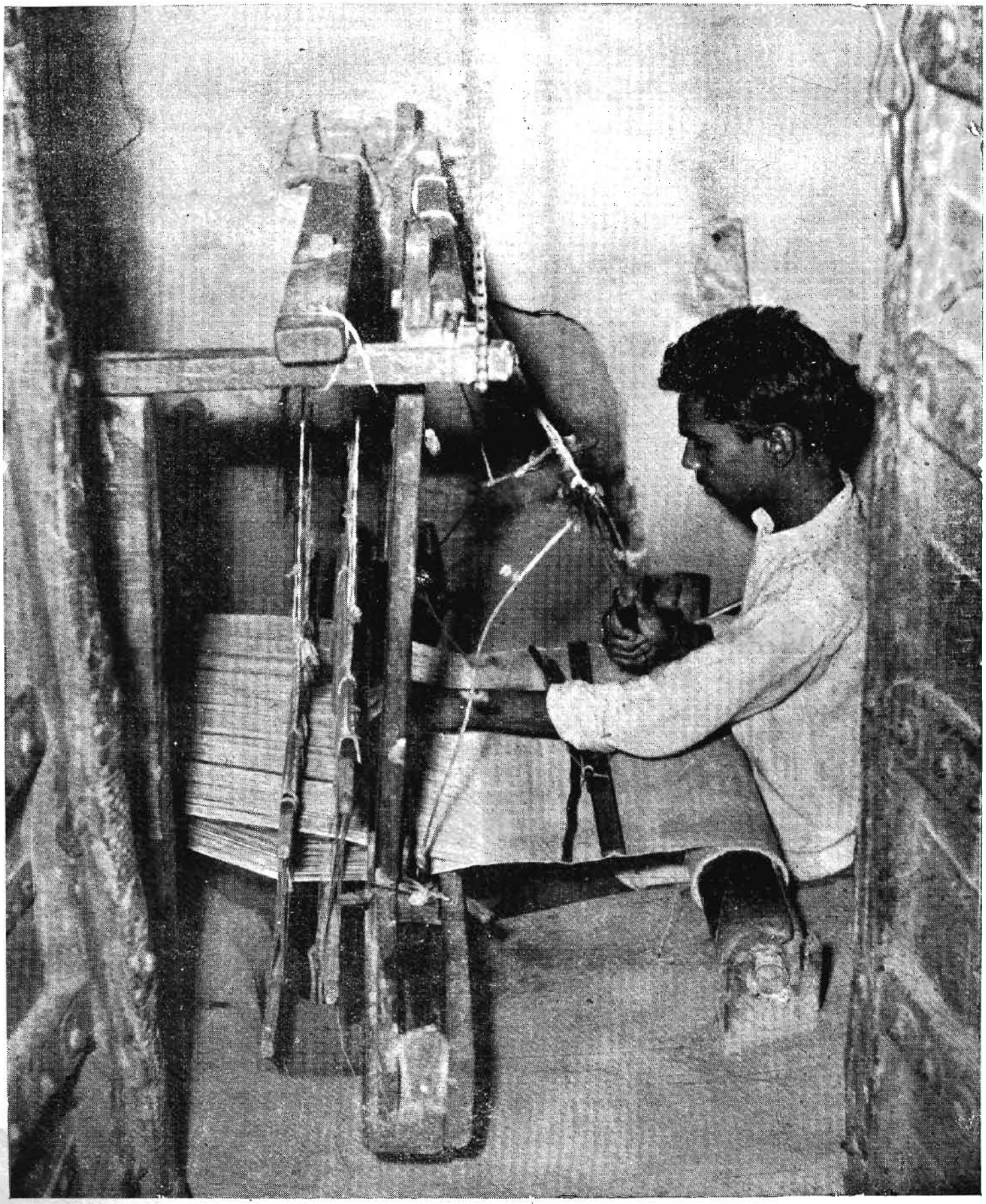
Arranging the warp

PLATE XXVI



Sizing the warp

PLATE XXVII



Weaver at the loom

57·9 per cent of the households in the hamlet (66 out of 114) are in debt, the total amount of outstanding debt being Rs. 26,860. The average amount of debt per indebted household works out to Rs. 407.

The main reason for indebtedness is the absence of co-ordination between the income and expenditure. The households in the income group of Rs. 25 and below manage to keep expenditure within limits. The percentage of families in debt is highest in the income-group of Rs. 76-100 (74 per cent). The percentages of families in debt in two income-groups of Rs. 26-50 and Rs. 51-75 are 25 and 65 respectively. In the income range of Rs. 101 and above only 14 out of 23 households are in debt.

51·3 per cent of total indebtedness is accounted for by domestic needs, illness and marriages. This part of borrowing becomes inevitable due to socio religious obligations and also because of ostentatious expenditure on marriages and other ceremonies. It is also due to the fact that people in the lower income-groups live on the margin of subsistence and they are forced to seek the help of money-lenders as soon as some special and unforeseen events are faced. The Table given below gives the details of expenditure on various items from the borrowed money:

TABLE 3·8

Items	Amount (Rs.)
Marriage	5,390
Liquidation of debts	100
Illness	50
Domestic wants	8,360
Household Cultivation	7,680
Household Industry	2,200
Livestock	2,100
Litigation	280
Miscellaneous	700
Total :	26,860

Since most items of expenditure are non-productive, the money is usually borrowed from money-lenders and pawn brokers. The interest charged is very burdensome and, therefore, the repayment of interest is as difficult as the repayment of principal. The burden can only be reduced if the villagers increase their income and make a serious effort to spend less on unproductive items of expenditure like marriages, religious festivals, etc.

Income

The following Table gives the average monthly income of different castes and communities in the hamlet:

Table 3·9

Caste/Community	Number of Households having a Monthly Income of				
	Rs. 25 and less	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101 and above
HINDUS					
Brahmin	...	...	2	3	2
Barhai	...	1	...	...	...
Balmiki (S. C.)	...	...	...	...	1
Bhurji	...	...	...	...	1
Chamar (S. C.)	...	4	7	7	3
Dhobi (S. C.)	...	...	...	1	...
Gadaria	1	2	1	4	...
Jat	2	4	4	9	15
Kori	1	8	17	9	...
Vaish	...	...	1	...	1
MUSLIMS	...	1	...	2	...
Total:	4	20	32	35	23

Out of 114 households in the hamlet, only 23 enjoy an income of over Rs. 100 per month. Of these, 15 households are of Jats, 2 of Brahmins, 3 of Chamars and one each of Vaish, Bhurji and Balmiki. The number of households earning a monthly income of Rs. 25 or less is only 4. The general range of income in the hamlet is between Rs. 76 and Rs. 100 (35 households) followed by the income range between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75. It is apparent that except 23 households where monthly income is over Rs. 100, the rest are marginal and submarginal households. Even this income is not regular for agriculture yields income only seasonally and is not always according to expectation for agriculture is mostly a gamble depending on weather conditions. Weaving yields income only when the final product is ready and this may also be delayed due to weather conditions like rains, etc., which may delay preparatory operations for weaving.

Expenditure

The budgets of 20 households for the year preceding the time of investigation were studied with a view to get an idea of the trend of expenditure in the hamlet. Of these budgets, three have been discussed below:

Lala Ram is a cultivator owning 5 acres of land. He belongs to Jat community. His family consists of his wife and two sons one of whom is married having a three year old son. They live jointly. Lala Ram is helped by his sons in cultivation. Except cultivation, there is no other source of income to the family. The average monthly income of the household from farming is Rs. 110. The details of expenditure are given below :

Items	Expenditure (Rs.)
Cereals, pulses and vegetables	45·50
Milk, ghee and oil	17·50
Other food items	8·81
Fuel and light	4·50
Clothing and footwear	18·00
House repairs	5·00
Miscellaneous	13·00
Total :	112·31

The expenditure outruns the income by Rs. 2·31. The expenditure on food items is 63·9 per cent of the total expenditure. There is no expenditure on the education of children as the grandson of Lala Ram is still very young. He has to borrow from the village money-lender to meet unforeseen expenses.

Chhotey who is Kori by caste is a skilled weaver owning his own loom. He is a widower. His family comprises of his brother's widow and her two children, a son aged 10 years and a daughter aged 3 years. The widow helps him in weaving. The average monthly income from weaving is Rs. 65. The items of expenditure are given below:

Items	Expenditure (Rs.)
Cereals and pulses	31·50
Meat and vegetables	5·50
Milk, ghee and oil	6·00
Other food items	5·75
Fuel and light	4·62
Clothing and footwear	8·00
House repairs	2·00
Education	2·00
Miscellaneous	3·00
Total :	68·37

It is a deficit budget as the expenditure outruns the income by Rs. 3·37. The percentage expenditure on food items is 71·3. The nephew of Chhotey is studying in the village primary school where no tuition fee is charged. The expenditure on books and stationery is, however, small. The household has to incur debt to meet the family needs.

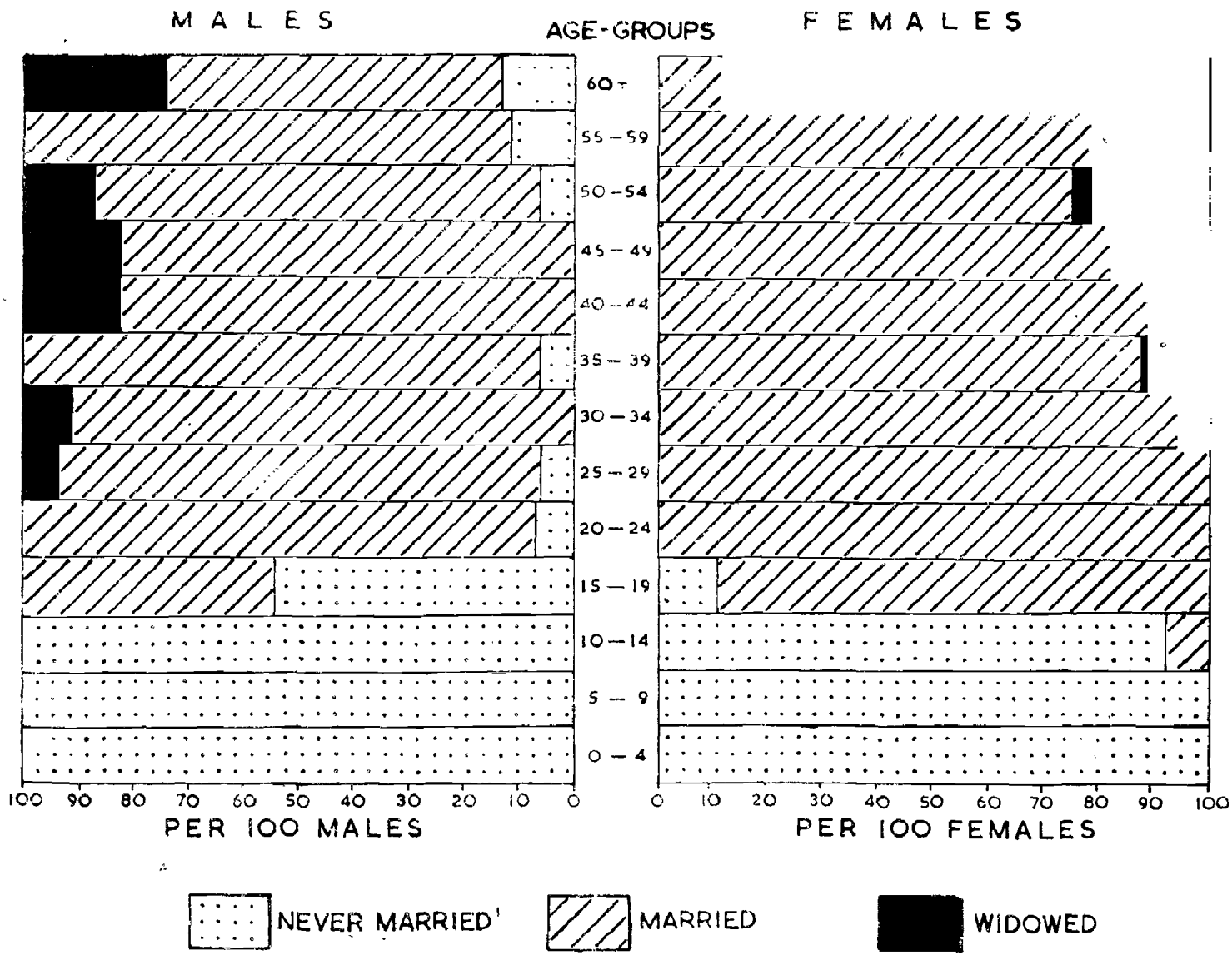
Smt. Bisso is a widow aged 50 years belonging to Kori caste. She has no issue. Her main occupation is spinning which yields her an average monthly income of Rs. 10. She also works as labourer on the fields giving her an income of Rs. 5 per mensem. The details of expenditure are given below:

Items	Expenditure (Rs.)
Cereals, pulses and vegetables	7·00
Milk, ghee and oil	2·00
Other food items	2·00
Fuel and light	1·50
Clothing and footwear	2·00
Miscellaneous	0·50
Total :	15·00

This is a balanced budget as Smt. Bisso manages to limit the expenditure within her resources. The expenditure on food items is 73·0 per cent. She is helped by the villagers when she is not in a position to work on account of illness, etc.

The study of the family budgets revealed that the main item of expenditure in the hamlet is food, i.e., cereals, vegetables, salt, spices and fats. The percentage of expenditure on food increases steadily on each successive lower level of income. The well-to-do spend more on clothes, footwear, fuel and light but on the lower levels expenditure on these items is proportionately less. The poor spend the least on the miscellaneous items like entertainments, medicine and other unforeseen domestic expenses. The expenditure on these items is more in households having an income of more than Rs. 100. The families in the income-group of Rs. 76-100 are comparatively better of for they have relatively smaller number of family members and their percentage of expenditure on the different items is in proportion.

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX & AGE GROUPS



CHAPTER IV

Social and Cultural Life

Population Characteristics

The population of Chhotia at the time of survey in 1961 was 626 comprising 320 males and 306 females. The population was distributed amongst 114 households. Out of the total population, 609 are Hindus and the remaining 17 Muslims. There are no Christians, Jains or followers of other religions in the hamlet. The Table given below shows the composition of the population according to age and sex:

TABLE 4·1

Age-group (Years)	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	626	320	306
0—4	86	39	47
5—9	108	50	58
10—14	93	52	41
15—19	63	35	28
20—24	50	28	22
25—29	25	15	10
30—34	28	11	17
35—39	31	15	16
40—44	35	17	18
45—49	22	11	11
50—54	27	15	12
55—59	23	9	14
60 and over	35	23	12

The sex-ratio in the hamlet is 950 females for every 1,000 males. The sex-ratio among the Hindus and Muslims is 960 and 890 respectively per 1,000 males.

There are 86 children (39 males and 47 females) in the age-group 0—4 and 108 children (50 males and 58 females) in the age-group 5—9. In both the age-groups females outnumber males. The children below the age of 10 constitute 30·9 per cent of the total population.

There are 156 boys and girls (87 males, 69 females) in the age-group 10—19 constituting 24·9 per cent of the total population. The number of young adults in the age-group 20—34 years is 103 (54 males and 49 females). The male outnumber the females by 5. They constitute 16·5 per cent of the population. The sex-ratio in the age-group 35—54 is almost equal for there are 58 males and 57 females who together represent 18·4 per cent of the population. The old persons in the age-group 55 and above number 58 (32 males, 26 females). The males outnumber the females by a margin of 6. They constitute 9·3 per cent of the population of the hamlet.

Marital Status

The following Table gives the marital status of the population in various age-groups:

TABLE 4·2

Age-group	Total Population			Unmarried		Married		Widowed	
(Years)	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	626	320	306	169	146	136	137	15	23
0—4	86	39	47	39	47	...	...	...	...
5—9	108	50	58	50	58	...	...	...	...
10—14	93	52	41	52	38	...	3	...	...
15—19	63	35	28	19	3	16	25	...	...
20—24	50	28	22	2	...	26	22	...	...
25—29	25	15	10	1	...	13	10	1	...
30—34	28	11	17	...	...	10	16	1	1
35—39	31	15	16	1	...	14	14	...	2
40—44	35	17	18	...	...	14	16	3	2
45—49	22	11	11	...	...	9	9	2	2
50—54	27	15	12	1	...	12	9	2	3
55—59	23	9	14	1	...	8	11	...	3
60 and over	35	23	12	3	...	14	2	6	10

There is no divorced or separated person in Chhotia. Half of the population in the hamlet (50·3 per cent) consists of unmarried persons, 43·6 per cent of the total population are married and 6·1 per cent are widowed. There is no divorced or separated person in the hamlet.

Among males 52·8 per cent are unmarried, 42·5 per cent married, and 4·7 per cent widowed. The corresponding figures for females are 47·7 per cent

unmarried, 44·8 per cent married and 7·5 per cent widowed. Of the married males, there is no person in the age-group 0—14, 47·8 per cent are in the age-group 15—34, 36 per cent in the age-group 35—54 and 16·2 per cent in the age-group 55 and over. Among the married females 2·1 per cent are in the age-group 0—14, 53·2 per cent in the age group 15—34, 35 per cent in the age-group 35—54 and 9·7 per cent in the age-group 55 and over. There is no unmarried girl above the age of 19 in the hamlet. Among males 35 years and over, only 6 persons were found unmarried. Child marriage still occurs here and there though fast dying out.

The number of widowed persons in the hamlet is 38 comprising 15 males and 23 females. Among widows, 18 were found in the age-group 45 and over as against 10 widowers in the same age-group. There is only one widow in the age-group of 30—34.

Birth and Death

The record of births and deaths is maintained by the Gram Sabha of the village. The villagers report births and deaths to the *Pradhan* but some of them remain unrecorded because of the negligence of the family concerned or of the Gram Sabha official entrusted with the work. The statistics of births and deaths in the village could not be known as the register was not available. However, the door to door enquiry in the hamlet revealed that 17 births and 10 deaths occurred there during 1960. The population of the hamlet is, therefore, following the general trend and is increasing. It was also pointed out that deaths generally occur due to fever.

Medical

There is no dispensary in the village but there are three *vaidyas* whose clientele is quite extensive. Most of the common diseases like cold, headache, fever, stomach-ache, scabies, etc. are regarded as natural diseases and are treated with herbal medicines. They are efficacious, cheap and easily available. There are two Government dispensaries in the neighbouring villages, Akola and Kagarol which are visited by the villagers for treatment of persistent headaches, intermitten fevers, continued stomach disorders, rickets, etc. In complicated cases, the patient is taken to Agra for treatment. Injections which were feared a decade ago are now eagerly sought for they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all ailments. Many still have faith in magic, divination, chants and spells and they are employed to ward off diseases. Small-pox is always attributed to the wrath of goddess Shitla. For this disease no medicine is administered for worship of the goddess is regarded as the only remedy for cure. During 1961, 55 villagers were treated at the dispensary and only one person consulted a private medical practitioner at Kheragarh. Treatment by a private doctor is expensive and only a few go to them in serious illness for treatment.

There is no maternity centre in the village but there is one in the adjoining village, Akola which is without a qualified midwife for the last five years. The local *dai* who is untrained and ill-equipped is called to attend at the delivery. She attended 16 women at the delivery in the hamlet in 1961. There was only one complicated delivery case during this period. The expectant mother was removed to Agra for delivery and treatment.

There is little prejudice against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of cholera inoculation because it causes pain and fever. The Village Level Worker who lives in the village vaccinated 123 persons against small-pox in the hamlet in 1961. The village has been covered by the National Malaria Eradication Programme. The staff regularly visits the village during monsoons and in summer to spray the houses with D. D. T.

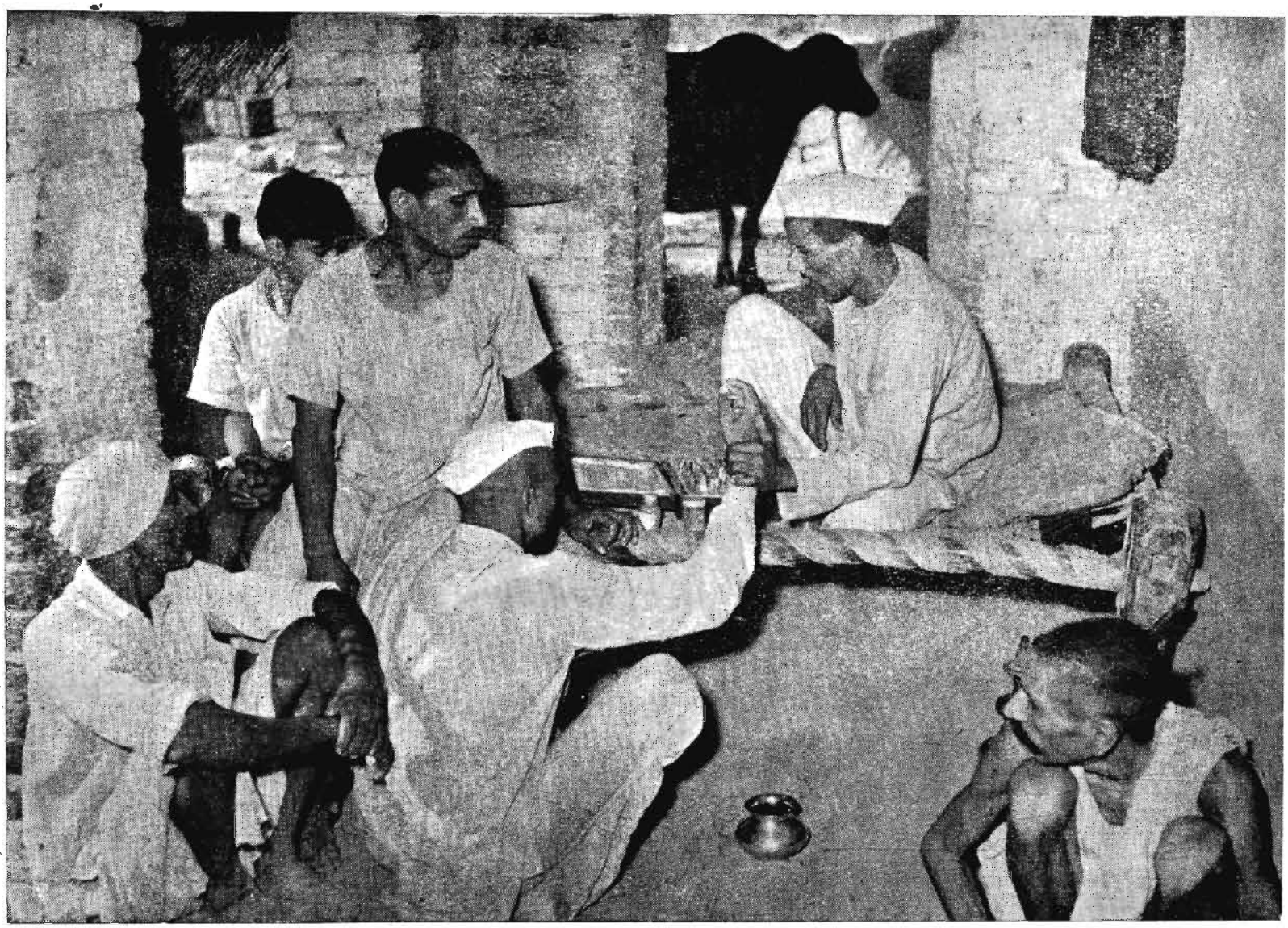
Literacy and Education

The following Table gives the literacy figures by age and sex in the hamlet:

TABLE 4·3

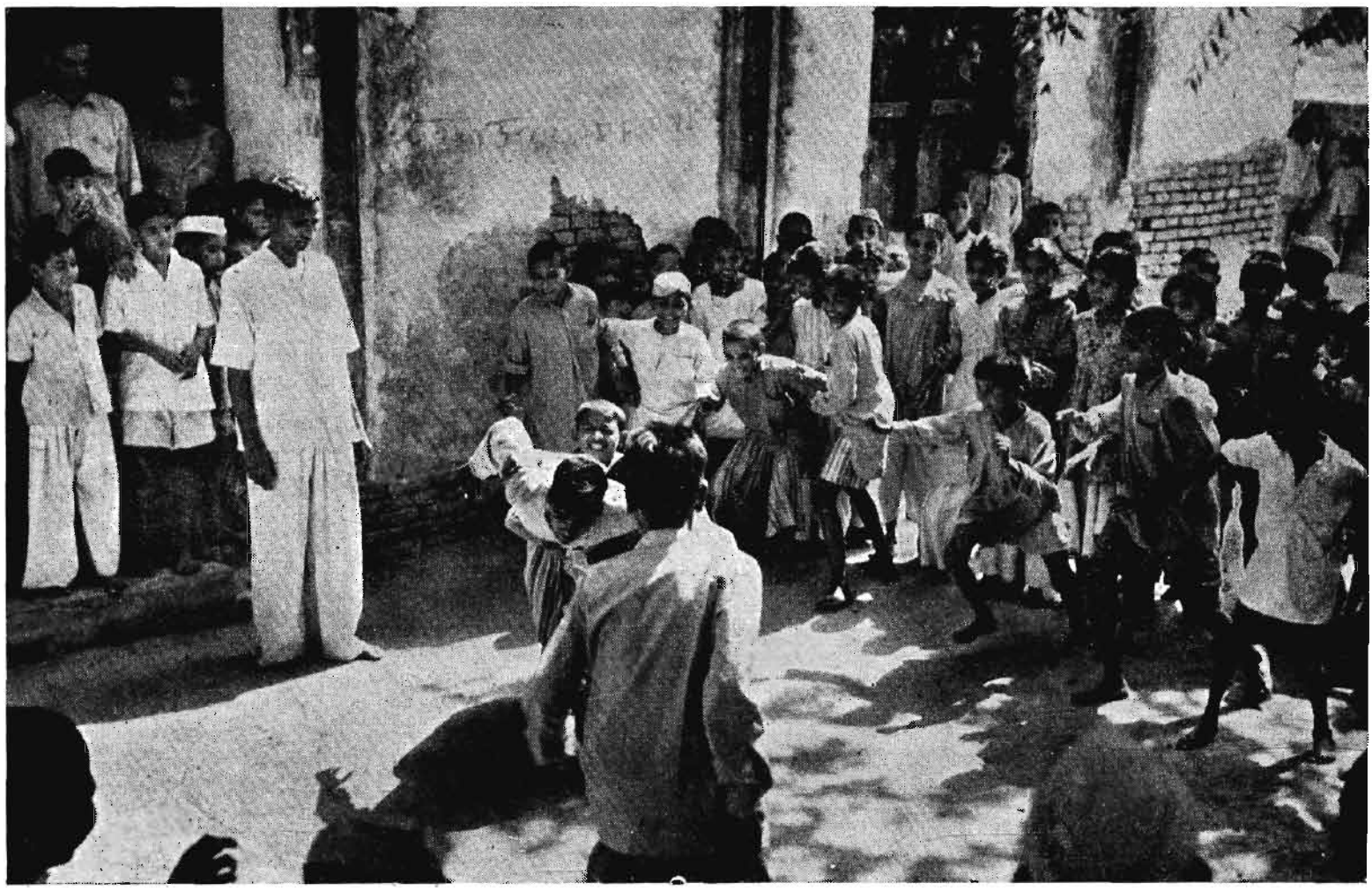
Age-group (Years)	Literate without educational standard		Primary or Basic		High School		Intermediate and above	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	53	2	35	4	4	...	1	...
0—4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—9	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—14	22	1	5	1	...	...	...	...
15—19	7	...	11	3	1	...	1	...
20—24	7	1	4	...	3	...	...	...
25—29	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
30—34	2	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
35—39	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
40—44	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
45—49	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
50—54	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
55—59	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
60 and over	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...

PLATE XXVIII



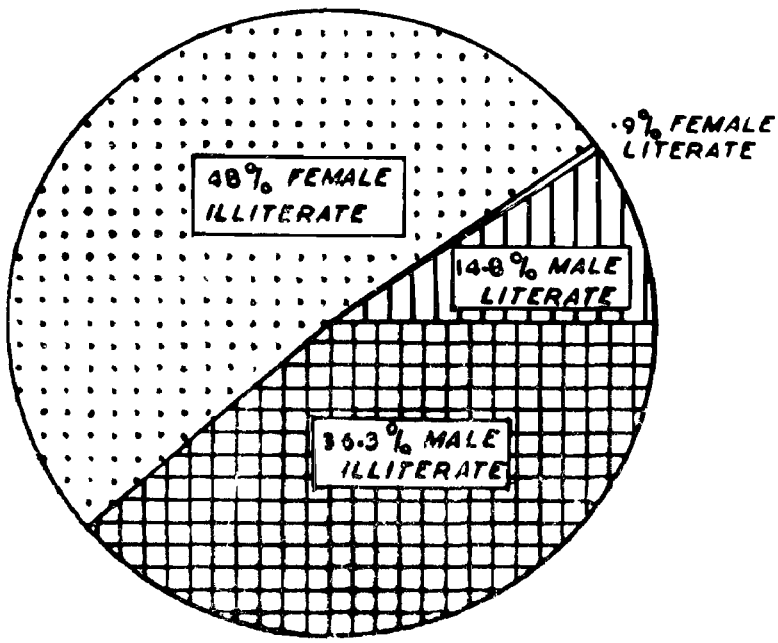
The village *Vaidya*

PLATE XXIX

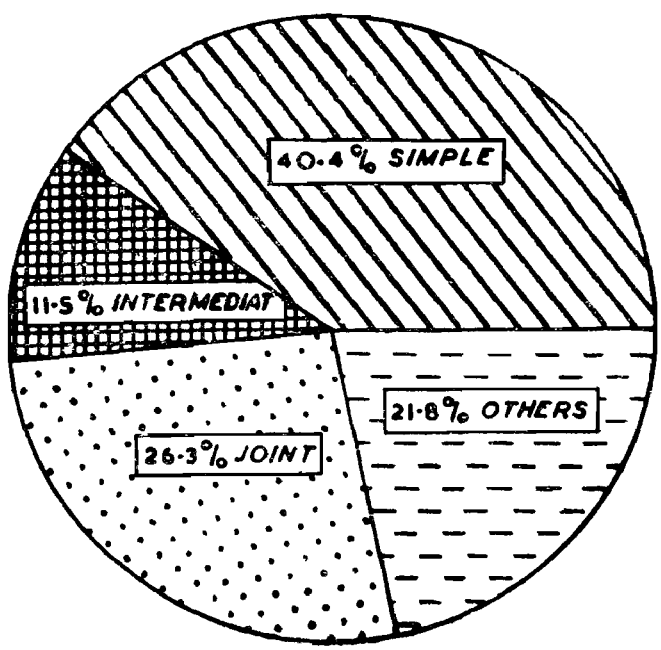


Kabaddi in the school

EDUCATION BY SEX



NATURE OF FAMILIES



There are only 99 literate persons in the hamlet out of the total population of 626. The rate of literacy works out to 15·8 per cent of the population. Among literates 93 are males and 6 females. The percentages of literacy among males and females are 94 and 6 respectively. 527 persons comprising 227 males and 300 females are illiterate. Among the literates, 55 persons (53 males, 2 females) had no schooling but can read and write a simple letter, 39 persons (35 males, 4 females) have completed primary school education, 4 persons (all males) have passed High School Examination and only one person is an Intermediate. The extent of literacy is greater in the age-group 10—14, 15—19 and 20—24. Thus in the first age-group the percentage of literacy is 29·2, in the second group 23·2 and in third group 15·1 of the total literates in the hamlet. The literacy in these three age-groups is more than two-thirds (67·5) of the total literate population. This shows that there is a greater inclination in the younger generation to study and they are making sincere attempts to make the best use of the educational facilities available in the village.

There is a Junior High School and three Primary Schools in the village managed by the Zila Parishad. The school-going children of Chhotia go to these schools for study for there is no school there. The Primary Schools afford facilities for study up to the V standard and the Junior High School up to the VIII standard. The children in the primary schools are taught agriculture, spinning and weaving besides other subjects of the primary school curriculam. Children of all communities are admitted to these schools and the old prejudice against admitting children of Scheduled Castes has gone out.

With the opening of a Junior High School and a Primary School in the village in 1961 and 1959 respectively, education has been placed within the reach of a larger section of village population. There is, however, lack of enthusiasm on the part of the parents to educate their children for the struggle for livelihood is difficult and it is hard to spare them when their work is of real assistance to the family. Female education is negligible due to the absence of a girls' school in the village and partly because the villagers are old-fashioned ridden with the belief that education of females is neither important nor worthwhile. The preference for early marriage is also an important factor in retarding the progress of female education in the village.

Family Structure

The families in the village have been divided into four groups for the purpose of study, namely, joint, intermediate, simple and others. The joint family consists of married couple living with married children or/and married brothers. The intermediate family comprises married couple and unmarried brothers or sisters or one of the parents. The simple family includes the married couple and their unmarried childrens. 'Others' refers to single members or unmarried brothers and sisters or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

Out of 114 households in the hamlet, 30 are joint, 13 intermediate, 46 simple and the remaining 25 families are classified under 'Others'. About one-fourth of the total families in the village are joint. Looking at the small number of joint families, it can be said that the joint family system is on the decline. In simple and intermediary types of families intra-family relationship is smooth as there is no internal friction among their members. In joint families, the father who is the head of the household dominates the scene and manages the family affairs. The family ties and cohesion begin to loosen as he advances in years and after his death many families split into smaller and independent units due to division of ancestral land and property.

Inter Caste Relationship

There is no social friction among the clean castes. The Jats, the Brahmins and the Vaish command influence and respect in the village community. Although they do not freely inter-dine with each other but the social contact between them is on a basis of equality. The Chamars, Dhobis and Balmikis are, however, at a decided disadvantage in matters of social intercourse. They are not admitted to places of worship and religious congregations. Members of clean castes do not accept eatables from them. When feasts are held on marriage etc. they sit separately and partake of the food after the other communities have eaten. The spread of education and free mixing of young people in schools have, to a certain extent, removed the social barriers but the youngsters are trained in such a way that discrimination from the Scheduled Castes becomes a second nature to them. The Chamars, Dhobis and Balmikis, no doubt, resent their degraded social status out they are conscious of the advantages of silence and do not voice their protests loudly in view of their dependent position in the economic structure of the community.

There is harmony in the relations between the Hindus and Muslims of the hamlet. The long residence and close contact have brought them in close contact with each other but both the communities retain their own socio-religious identities. There are only 17 Muslims in the hamlet who belong to Sunni division. They act as a separate and self-sufficient group but in religious matters, they do not seek the help, assistance or advice of their Hindu neighbours. They mix freely and share each others joys and sorrows.

Leisure and Recreation

There are few recreational facilities both for the young and the old in the village. There is no reading room or recreation club there. The non-working old folk generally gather in the *panchayatghar* or under the shade of trees and spend their time in gossip, talking of village scandals which find quick circulation. In the evening, persons returning from the fields assemble at the shop in the hamlet and talk of quarrels in the village, the prices of agricultural produce in the market, success or failure of crops, visit of an official, etc. There is idle gossip, loose talk and sometimes even scandals. Often they listen to stories, factual and imaginary, told by story tellers. Old men generally sit for a game of cards whenever they can find time for it. In slack season the game of cards and *Chaupar* are very popular.

Children amuse themselves with various games like *kabaddi*, hide-and-seek, hockey, etc. The game of *kabaddi* is played with great gusto both by young and old. It is a vigorous game played at a fast pace and calls for great reserves of stamina and skill. Hide-and-seek and hockey are also favourite games of boys. Hockey is played by school-going boys on the play-grounds of the schools. *Dangals* (wrestling bouts) are very popular and are frequently organised in the village. Many villagers also visit the *dangals* organised in nearby villages. During the rainy season, the *jhoola* (swing) is popular among girls and young women for it provides them a lot of fun.

The village has a *bhajan mandli* which arranges the programmes of *bhajans* and *kirtans* in the village. The *mandli* is very popular and provides a lot of entertainment to villagers by occasional programmes of *bhajans*. There are a few individual singers who regale the villagers with devotional and other songs. During the month of *Phalguna*, the villagers sing *phaag* in their free time. The younger people sing popular cinema songs sometimes. Villagers also visit a few small fairs held mostly in the neighbouring villages. Sometimes wandering acrobats provide good entertainment to them.

Religious Institutions

There is no temple or mosque in the hamlet. The Hindus have no belief in rigid observance of religious tenets and worship without distinction Shiva, Rama, Krishna and Vishnu. Some of the villagers have installed the images of deities in the houses and worship them. There are, however, two temples in the main *abadi*. A small pucca temple of Behariji was built about fifty years ago on a piece of land measuring 1·8 acres. It is built on a circular plan without any architectural beauty. Shri Tulsi Das, the *pujari* of the temple is responsible for its upkeep and management. Worship in the temple is performed occasionally during festivals or marriages and offerings made to the deity are claimed by the *pujari*.

Another temple built on a rectangular plan is of Thakurji. The *murtis* of other gods and goddesses are also enshrined in it. A saffron flag flies over the temple. The villagers visit it during festivals for worship and the offerings go to the *pujari*.

There is no mosque in the village, the nearest being in the adjoining village Kagarol. The village Muslims go there on Friday for *namaz*. It is also visited on important festivals for saying prayers.

Festivals

The following festivals are observed in the village Beri Chahar by the Hindus:

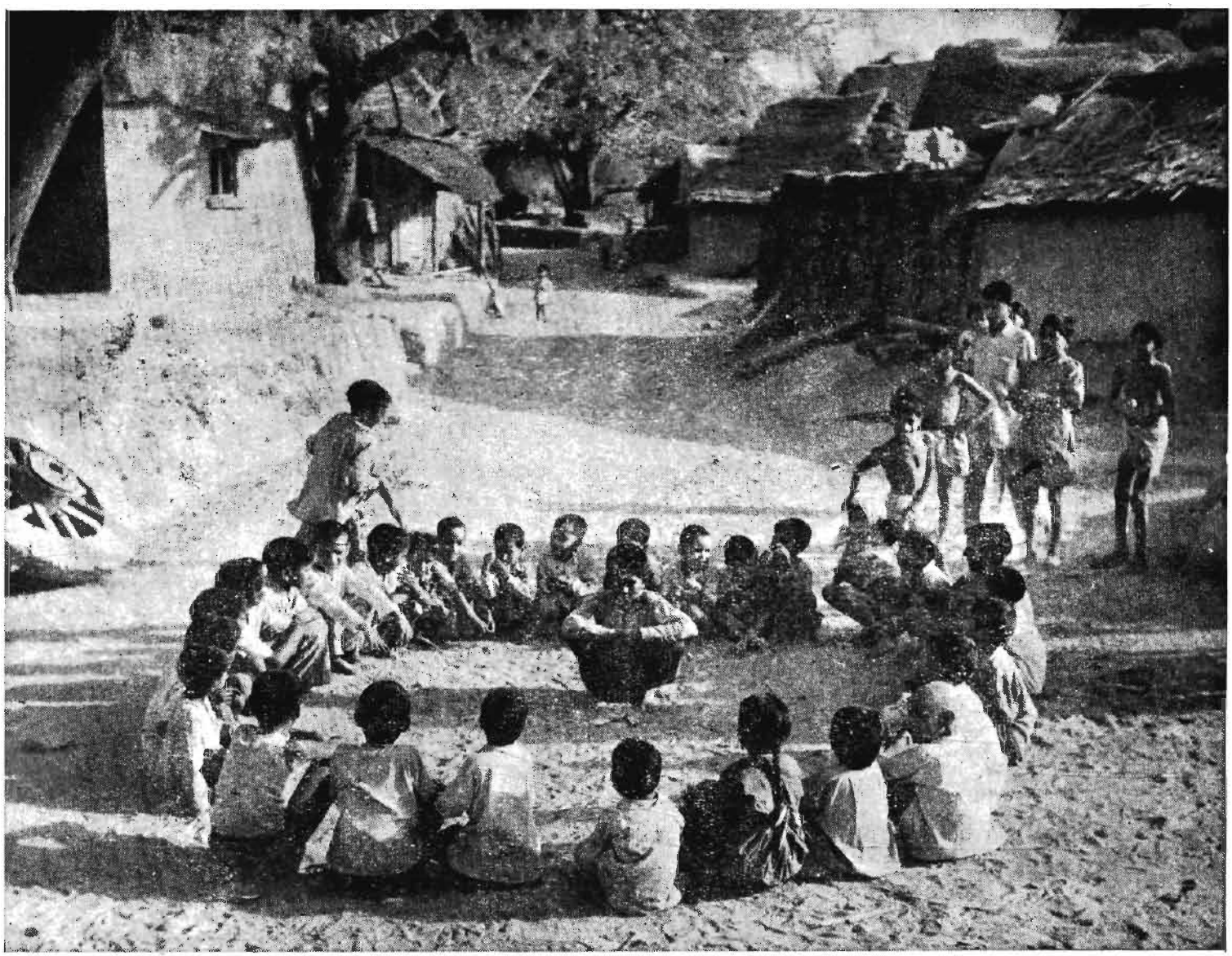
Holi is an important festival and is observed on the full-moon day in the month of *Phalguna* (February-March). It is a popular festival and has strong appeal for the younger folks. The Holi bonfire is burnt sometime in the night at an auspicious time fixed by the pandit. Wheat and barley ears are put in the Holi fire. On the morning of *Dhurairi* the people throw coloured water and rub *gulal* (red-oxide) on each other's face. There is a lot of merry-making and every one takes part in the celebrations without any consideration of wealth, caste or status. Special food is prepared in all households. The people wear new clothes, visit each other and offer greetings. The occasion is celebrated with enthusiasm and gusto by the females as well.

PLATE XXX



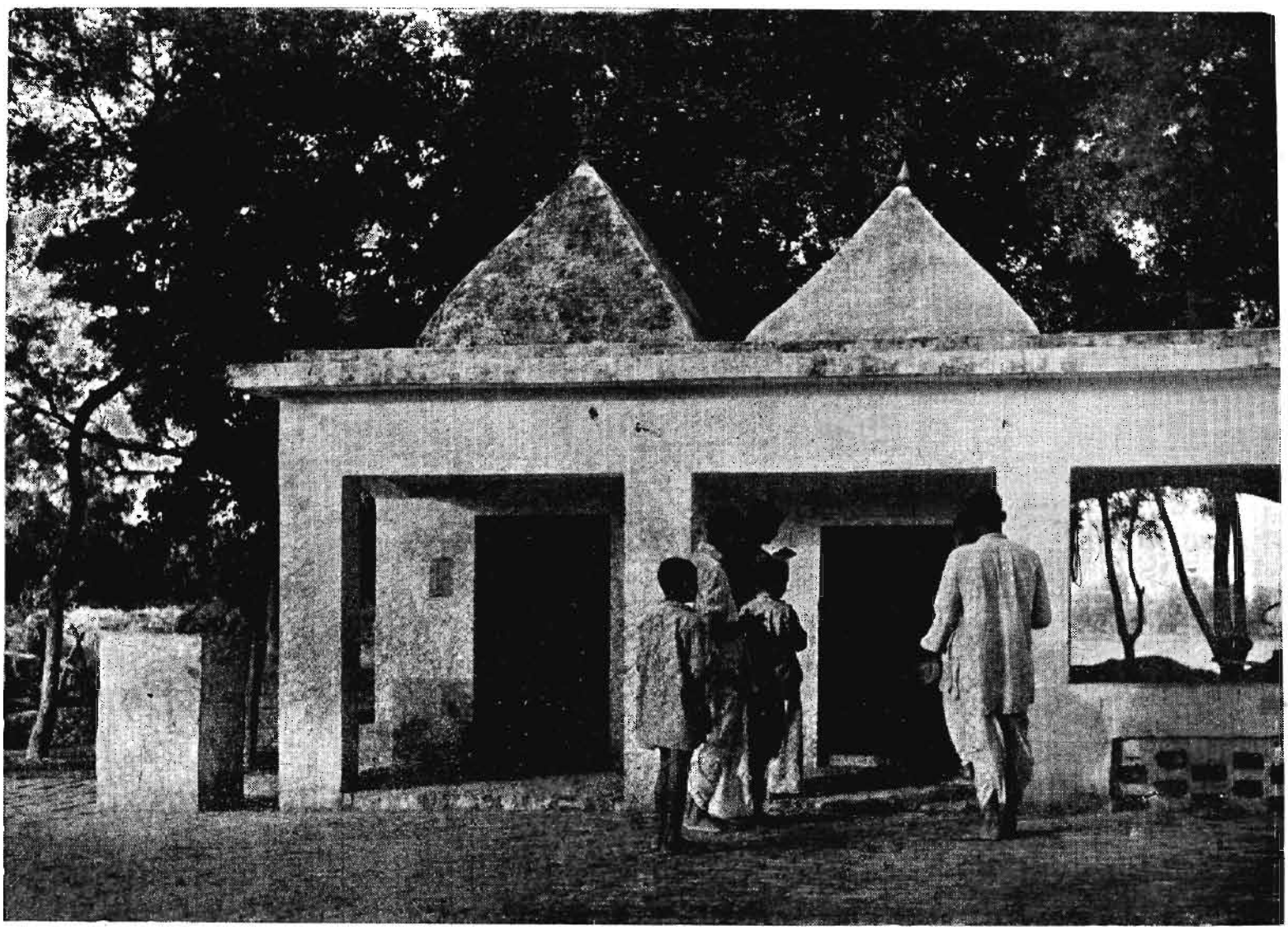
A game of *chaupar*

PLATE XXXI



Children at play

PLATE XXXII



A village temple

PLATE XXXIII



The village priest examining the horoscope

Janma Ashtami is celebrated to commemorate the anniversary of Lord Krishna's birth in prison. The festival is observed on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of *Bhadra* (August-September). The people keep fast which is broken at midnight at the time of the birth of the Lord. Devotional songs are sung and *prasad* consisting of fruits, sweets, etc. is distributed in some houses on the occasion.

Raksha Bandhan is celebrated on the full-moon day in the month of *Sarvana* (July-August). On this day a wrist band (*Rakhi*) of coloured thread is tied by the sister on the wrist of her brothers. This symbolises the pledge of the brother to protect her. The brothers in return give her some money as a token of affection.

Vijai Dashmi or Dussehra is observed on the tenth day of the *Shukl Paksha* (Moon-lit fortnight) of *Asvina* (September-October). It is an important festival of Hindus and is celebrated to mark the victory of Rama over the demon-king, Ravan (victory of Truth over Evil). This is the final day of Ram Lila. Many people go to Agra to see the fair and the burning of the effigy of Ravan.

Karva Chauth is a women's festival observed nine days after Dussehra. The married women observe a fast throughout the day. It is broken after the appearance of moon. They offer water from a *karva* (a small earthen pot) to the moon. To a Hindu wife the festival has a special significance as it is observed for ensuring the safety and prosperity of the husband.

Diwali or Deepawali is the festival of lights and is observed with due solemnity. It is one of the important festivals of the Hindus and is observed on the last day of the dark fortnight of *Kartika* (October-November). It marks the end of the rainy season. The houses are white-washed and the poor clean their dwellings and apply the plaster of cow-dung to the walls and the floor. The people worship Laxmi and Ganesh in the evening and thereafter the houses are illuminated, with a number of small earthen lamps. There is rejoicing everywhere and special dishes are prepared on the occasion. It is customary to leave a lamp burning all night at the place of puja because the people believe that Laxmi who is the goddess of prosperity visits the houses on Diwali night. The villagers indulge in gambling. It is the common belief that those who win on the Diwali night remain prosperous throughout the year.

Basant Panchmi, Shiv Ratri, Nag Panchmi, Kartika-Purnima, etc. are also observed in the village. The festival of Tij is celebrated in the month of *Sravana* (July-August) and brings joy to young girls and women. The Chamars and some other Hindus living in the hamlet also worship Shitla who is the goddess of small-pox.

The following festivals are mainly observed by the Muslims of the village.

Moharram is a ten-day period of mourning in the month of Muharram to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Hussain, the grandson of Prophet Mohammad. He was put to sword with other members of his family on the plains of Karbala by the forces of Yazid. On this day, *tazias* or paper models of the tomb of Imam Hussain are carried in procession and then buried. Sweet drink of water and sugar are distributed. There is no festivity during the period of mourning.

Shab-e-barat is celebrated on the night of 14th day of the Muslim month of Shaban. The village Muslims offer sweets and bread in the name of their deceased ancestors. They visit the graves of their deceased kin and offer prayers. It is believed that the spirits of the deceased ones come out of the graves and receive the offerings.

Ramzan is an important month for the Muslims. As far as possible most of the grown-up persons keep fast for the whole month. They take food and water before dawn and after dusk. The month-long fasting ends on the day of the new moon and Id-ul- fitr is celebrated on the next day with great rejoicing. The males go to *idgah* for prayers. Muslims wear new clothes, hug each other with affection and offer greetings. Special dishes specially *sewai* are prepared in every house.

Id-uz-zuha is celebrated on the 10th day of the month of Zilhij. The Muslims of the village go to the mosque for prayers in the morning before breakfast. On return a goat or ram is sacrificed for the household as it is not possible to sacrifice one animal for each member of the family. The meat of the sacrificed animals is sent to friends and relations.

The festival commemorates the sacrifice of Ibrahim who according to a story, on being ordered, by God to offer his son Ismail as a sacrifice, blindfolded himself and carried out the divine instructions. On removing the cloth, however, he found his son by his side and a ram slain on the altar. Both the father and son praised God who commended Ibrahim's implicit trust in Him.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Out of the total population of 626, 609 are Hindus and the remaining 17 Muslims. The Hindus wrorship their gods and goddesses and observe festivals and ceremonies. For them the life is practically an unending process for they believe in the transmigration of soul. It is believed that *moksha* or salvation which secures the emancipation of the soul from worldly obligations depends on one's action in the past life. They keep fasts, read the holy scriptures, observe the prescribed rituals and thereby look forward to shaping their destiny.

There is common belief in the existence of spirits and imaginary powers. They are feared and propitiated. Incredible, but interesting stories, are related of these spirits. It is believed that the evil spirits exercise power from evening to midnight and after that the benign spirits drive them away. The villagers believe that a woman who dies in a state of pregnancy turns an evil spirit. They generally avoid going to lonely places which are believed to be haunted and to burial and cremation grounds at night. Witchcraft is often suspected and amulets are eagerly sought to keep the evil spirits away.

The superstitions control the social structure to a great extent. The villagers believe in the auspiciousness of a particular time or period according to Hindu alamanac. One is forbidden to undertake journies towards the north on Tuesdays and Wednesdays; towards the south on Thursdays; towards the east on Mondays and Saturdays and towards the west on Fridays and Sundays. They consult a village pandit before undertaking a journey. The sight of an empty pitcher or of one-eyed person is considered inauspicious before starting on a journey. It is equally inauspicious if a cat crosses from left to right on the road or some one sneezes before leaving the house. The sight of a cow, a pitcher full of water, a quantity of curd or fish and the presence of a married woman are considered auspicious before going out. The villagers do not purchase cattle on inauspicious days i.e., buffaloes on Tuesdays, cows on Wednesdays, and horses and mares on Sundays. It is a bad omen if any snake or rat is killed while ploughing the land. If jackals howl in the day or a crow cries at night, people become suspicious and fear that some mishap might occur.

The Muslim section of the population follows the religious pattern laid down in the *Koran*. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day but in Chhotia some of the Muslim elders offer prayers either twice or only once a day and the rest on Fridays only. Fasting in the Ramzan is undertaken but only a few are able to maintain it without a break until the end of the month. There is no evidence of class distinction in them and they act as an independent group in social and religious matters.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

Caste Panchayat

The Chamars, Dhobis and Balmikis have their caste panchayats in the village. The jurisdiction of these panchayats is confined to the boundaries of the village only. Any dispute arising among these castes within the village is referred to the *Chaudhry* who decides it with the help of the elders. The office of *Chaudhry* is hereditary and on his death he is normally succeeded by his eldest son. If, however, he is not fit for the office due to physical or mental infirmity, it passes on to the next son. If he dies without any male issue, his nearest male relative takes up the office. The *Chaudhry* calls and presides over the panchayat meetings. If for some unavoidable reason he cannot take the chair, he deputes someone else to do so.

The meetings of the panchayat are generally held in the evening in the village of the person chiefly involved in the dispute. The person who is found guilty is no longer regarded as a member of the caste, but he can retrieve his lost position by paying the fine imposed by the panchayat or by arranging a feast to his fellow castemen. The panchayat normally decides cases relating to family quarrels, irregular unions, illegal sexual intimacy, petty thefts, etc.

The establishment of Gram and Nayaya Panchayats have weakened the hold of caste panchayats. The disputes formerly decided by them are now referred to Nayaya Panchayat for decision. However, caste panchayats have not completely lost their power and there still lingers a fear of heavy fines and large gathering for feasts among the people.

Gram Sabha

The statutory Gram Sabha is one of the most important institutions in the village. It was established in the village on August 15, 1949. All persons who have attained the age of 21 years and ordinarily reside within the village normally become members of the Gram

Sabha. A person who is not a citizen of India or is of unsound mind cannot become its member. Government servants, insolvents and those who have been convicted of an offence involving moral turpitude are not eligible for holding any office in the Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat.

The Gram Panchayat is the executive body of the Gram Sabha and has a smaller number of members elected for a period of five years. The Gram Sabha of Beri Chahar consists of 30 members of whom 16 belong to Jat community, 4 to Brahmin, 6 to Chamar, 2 to Muslim and one member each to Vaish and Barhai communities. The *Pradhan* is a Jat and is influential. In the last elections to the Gram Panchayat held in January 1961, the *Pradhan* was elected by ballot but the members were elected by show of hands. The *Pradhan* is responsible for carrying out the functions entrusted to the Gram Sabha.

The Panchayat has attempted the repair of village roads by *shramdan* (voluntary labour). It got pucca pavements constructed in the main *abadi* and in Chhotia, Nagla Jat and Garh Mukka to the extent of 200, 60, 100 and 90 yards respectively. It got five new wells constructed and eight repaired. The *panchayatghar* which is the nucleus of all organised activities in the village and two pucca buildings for primary schools were also constructed by it. It encouraged the villagers to dig compost pits. 628 compost pits were dug by the villagers in two years (1960 and 1961). The Panchayat has done good work yet still a number of problems face the village for its uplift. The Panchayat pleads the lack of funds for its negligence in tackling these problems. It is, to some extent, true that the income of the Gram Sabha is not sufficient to meet the growing needs of the village but the organised co-operation of the villagers can go a long way in making a realistic approach to the problems facing the village.

Nayaya Panchayat

The Nayaya Panchayat is the lowest rung in the judicial ladder. The village is under the jurisdiction of Nayaya Panchayat, Digrauta. It has 20 *panchs* headed by the *Sarpanch*, Shri Laxman Singh. Sarvashri Jagan Prasad and Duli Chand represent the village in the Nayaya Panchayat.

The Nayaya Panchayat is empowered to hear petty criminal cases under the Indian Penal Code and other Acts specified in the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947. It cannot award a sentence of imprisonment but can impose fine up to Rs. 100 on conviction. It also hears and decides civil and revenue cases. Revision applications against the decisions of the Nayaya Panchayat lie, in the case of a civil suit, to the court of the Munsif and in revenue and criminal cases to the Sub Divisional Officer. Lawyers cannot take part in the proceedings of the Nayaya Panchayat.

When a case is filed in the Nayaya Panchayat it is recorded in the register. The date of hearing is noted down and the complainant is informed of it. The Panchayat issues summons to the people concerned. The *Sarpanch* nominates the *panch-mandal* from among the *panchs* to hear and decide the case. The *panch-mandal* consists of five *panchs* and may or may not include the *Sarpanch*. The proceedings of the case are recorded by a literate *panch* in the presence of the parties. Atleast three *panchs* must be present at every hearing. The plaintiff is administered the oath but the defendant is not bound to take it. The judgment of the case is recorded and signed by the *panchs*.

During 1960-61, nine civil and four criminal cases were instituted before the Nayaya Panchayat. It had ten civil and eleven criminal cases of the year 1959-60 which could not be disposed of in that year. Of the 19 civil and 15 criminal cases, the Nayaya Panchayat could decide only eleven civil and five criminal cases during 1960-61. It was expected that the Nayaya Panchayat would be instrumental in dispensing justice without the usual delays and the costs involved in the city courts. This hope has not been fulfilled as the Nayaya Panchayat takes pretty long in deciding a case.

Gram Samaj

The Gram Samaj is entrusted with the management of the land which is vested in it as a result of the operation of the U. P. Zamindari and Land Reforms Act, 1950.

Reform Measures

Majority of the villagers are ignorant of the social legislation and other changes that are coming due to the advance of science. The abolition of zamindari and the consequent changes that have occurred in the land tenure system due to the enforcement of the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950 have benefitted the farmers. The tenants have now greater rights over the land which they cultivate. They are free from the

tyranny and unlawful exactions of the zamindars. The land revenue has been reduced and the tenants are free to bring about permanent improvements on their land. Out of the heads of 114 households interviewed, 80 (70.2 per cent) deposed that they have been immensely benefitted by the abolition of zamindari, 7 (6.1 per cent) reported that they have gained nothing by its abolition while the remaining 27 (23.7 per cent) adopted an attitude of indifference and did not express any opinion on the merits or demerits of the measure.

The scheme of consolidation of holdings had its full impact on the tenure-holders. They generally realise the merits of the scheme but their co-operation to the desired extent is not forthcoming. The villagers complain that the time taken in the implementation of the scheme has been pretty long and this has adversely affected improvement in land resulting in lowering of agricultural production.

Out of the heads of 114 households interviewed only 26 are aware of the prohibition of untouchability under law. The Chamar, Dhobi and Balmiki still suffer from social disabilities. They are not allowed to visit places of worship and cannot draw water from the wells used by clean castes. The physical touch with a Balmiki is still regarded as a pollution No eatables are accepted from them. The attitude of the higher castes is, however, undergoing a change towards them due to spread of education and changes in socio-economic conditions. The Scheduled Castes have also given up unclean professions like skinning of dead animals, etc. and are adjusting themselves to changed circumstances.

Child marriage is prevalent in the village though fast dying out. Very few know that the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 prescribes 18 and 15 years as the minimum age of marriage of boys and girls respectively. This minimum age of marriage is not adhered to in the village. The Act also prohibits polygamy in any form. Fortunately there is no man in the hamlet who has more than one living wife.

Out of the heads of 114 households interviewed, only 3 persons (2.6 per cent) stated that daughters should inherit the property of her father equally with his sons. These persons belong to Jat, Gadaria and Kori communities. Two of these persons are aged more than 50 years and the remaining one falls in the age-group 31-40. There has been no case in Chhotia so far when following his death, a person's property has been divided among his daughters and sons according to the provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act.

The system of giving dowry in marriage is in vogue in the village. The system is marked among the Jats, Brahmins and Vaish. In other castes there is no compulsion on the payment of dowry. Very few villagers are aware of the new legislation passed to regulate dowry. Even those who are expected to know pretend ignorance. The evil is too deep-rooted and strong public opinion can only eradicate it.

PLATE XXXIV



Enjoying a smoke

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

Chhotia, the hamlet of village Beri Chahar, is notable for its economic and social backwardness. The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture. The Jats who are numerically dominant in the hamlet are mainly agriculturists. Of late more persons have taken to agriculture in the hope of securing better income but they have not achieved as much success as they anticipated. This has been due to a variety of reasons, more specially due ro small holdings and age-old techniques of farming. The tools and equipments are outmoded, better breed of cattle are not available and the use of improved varieties of seeds is not common. There are, however, unmistakable signs of improvement in the method of farming. The use of improved types of ploughs is becoming popular. More households have started using chemical fertilisers and the broadcast method of sowing seeds is being gradually discarded in favour of sowing with dibblers. It is expected that with the improvement in the existing farming practices, the villagers may be able to raise crops which are not only sufficient for their consumption but are also available for sale in markets.

The Koris who form a sizeable community in the hamlet are mainly engaged in cotton weaving. Their method of weaving cotton fabrics is old and the output of finished goods is not sufficient to guarantee better returns. The weavers have not adopted modern methods of weaving and many labour saving devices are still unknown to them.

The villagers have not derived any significant benefit out of the community Development Block. They had expected much but the results have not, so far been, far reaching. They are of the opinion that much could be done if the Block officials had visited them often and patiently listened to their grievances. Some of them complain that the officials are neither experienced nor fully acquainted with the local conditions. It is hoped that in future there will be better co-ordination of the different activities carried out in the area and the experienced and sympathetic officers will be in a position to translate into action many of the hopes and aspirations of these simple folk.

In the village about one-fourth households are constituted as joint families. In the recent years cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. This has adversely affected the family solidarity and is gradually replacing the age-old joint family system. Inter household help in agricultural operations is also decreasing.

Literacy standards are rising but slowly in the hamlet. The literacy rate is likely to go up because of the establishment of a Junior High School and a Primary School in the village in recent years. The occupational structure of the inhabitants make it difficult for children to pursue studies beyond the primary standard. Agriculture and weaving are family occupations and call for all types of human resources, young and old. Even children have to do their bit and help the family to augment the income. It is only in rare cases that they get an opportunity to study. It will be difficult to achieve a higher rate of literacy among the villagers without change in their attitude.

A variety of socio-economic factors are influencing the life of the villagers. There have been noticeable changes in the dress and ornaments of the village people. The younger people prefer new style clothes cut and stitched in imitation of the urban style The males wear shirts, coats and caps. Knitted vests have become popular. Among women brightly-coloured and gaudily printed clothes are preferred. The use of mill made cloth is common. Trinkets manufactured in cities and factory made bangles are eagerly sought by women.

There have been significant additions in the articles of daily requirement. Aluminium utensils have become popular, glasswares are utilised and china cups and saucers are available in some houses. The use of kerosene lanterns is becoming common. Dry-cell torches, cheap fountain pens and sun glasses are also used.

Communications have also improved. Many persons take advantage of the bus service. There are a number of bicycles which enable the villagers to go out of the village. Carpenters, blacksmiths and barbers use factory made tools and instruments. The tailor

has a sewing machine. The Scheduled Castes are also changing their ways of life with the changed circumstances. They send their children to school where they sit and study with the children of higher castes. They have given up unclean professions like skinning of animals, etc. With the spread of education, the old orthodoxy is slowly disappearing giving scope to greater understanding and tolerance.

The first general election in 1952 and subsequent elections in 1957 and 1962 have brought considerable activity in the village by the political parties. Most of the villagers do not understand the intricacies of politics but the frequent political activity has made them conscious of their rights. The establishment of Gram Sabha and Nayaya Panchayat has fostered a sense of self help among the villagers. It has promoted local initiative and local leadership among them. Contact with the outside world is replacing traditional isolation. The Planning and Development Department has intensified the welfare activities. The study of Chhotia reflects in a small measure that new ideas are on the move and new forces are at work.

Tables

Table I : Area, Houses and Population

Village	Area in		Density	Number of Houses in Chhotia	Number of Households in Chhotia	Population of Chhotia		
	Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
Beri Chahar	2,612	1,057·06	153 persons per sq. mile	114	114	626	320	306

Table II : Population by Age-groups

Age-group (Years)	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	626	320	306
0—4	86	39	47
5—9	108	50	58
10—14	93	52	41
15—19	63	35	28
20—24	50	28	22
25—29	25	15	10
30—34	28	11	17
35—44	66	32	34
45—59	72	35	37
60 and over	35	23	12

Table III : Size and Composition of Households

Size of Households	Number of Households	Population	
		Males	Females
Single Member	6	2	4
2—3 Members	15	20	19
4—6 Members	57	141	142
7—9 Members	31	121	116
10 Members and over	5	36	25
Total	114	320	306

Table IV : Caste and Nature of Family

Caste/Community	Number of Households	Types of Families living in the Households			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Brahmin	7	3	...	2	2
Barhai	1	...	...	...	1
Balmiki (S. C.)	1	...	...	...	1
Bhurji	1	...	...	1	...
Chamar (S. C.)	21	6	3	11	1
Dhobi (S. C.)	1	1	...	...	...
Gadaria	8	4	...	1	3
Jat	34	13	6	7	8
Kori	35	17	3	7	8
Vaish	2	...	1	1	...
Bhisti (Muslims)	2	2	...	...	...
Teli ,,	1	...	...	...	1
Total	114	46	13	30	25

N. B. Simple family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children.
Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brothers or sisters or one of the parents.
Joint family consists of married couple living with married children or married brothers.
'Others' refers to single member or unmarried brothers and sisters or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

TABLE V : Households classified by Religion, Castes and Sub-castes

Religion	Caste	Number of Households	Persons	Males	Females
Hindu	Brahmin	7	38	22	16
	Barhai	1	2	1	1
	Balmiki (S. C.)	1	9	3	6
	Bhurji	1	13	8	5
	Chamar (S. C.)	21	132	66	66
	Dhobi (S.C.)	1	6	3	3
	Gadaria	8	39	16	23
	Jat	34	181	91	90
	Kori	35	175	94	81
	Vaish	2	14	7	7
Muslim					
	Bhisti	2	10	5	5
	Teli	1	7	4	3
	Total	114	626	320	306

TABLE VI : Age and Marital Status

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	626	320	306	169	146	136	137	15	23	...	...
0—4	86	39	47	39	47	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—9	108	50	58	50	58	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—14	93	52	41	52	38	...	3	...	...	...	...
15—19	63	35	28	19	3	16	25	...	...	...	...
20—24	50	28	22	2	...	26	22	...	...	...	...
25—29	25	15	10	1	...	13	10	1	...	...	...
30—34	28	11	17	...	...	10	16	1	1	...	...
35—39	31	15	16	1	...	14	14	...	2	...	...
40—44	35	17	18	...	...	14	16	3	2	...	...
45—49	22	11	11	...	...	9	9	2	2	...	...
50—54	27	15	12	1	...	12	9	2	3	...	...
55—59	23	9	14	1	...	8	11	...	3	...	...
60 and over	35	23	12	3	...	14	2	6	10	...	...

TABLE VII : Education

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate without Educational Standard			Primary or Basic			High School			Intermediate		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	626	320	306	527	227	300	55	53	2	39	35	4	4	4	...	1	1	...
0—4	86	39	47	86	39	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—9	108	50	58	104	46	58	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—14	93	52	41	64	25	39	23	22	1	6	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
15—19	63	35	28	40	15	25	7	7	...	14	11	3	1	1	...	1	1	...
20—24	50	28	22	35	14	21	8	7	1	4	4	...	3	3	...	...	...	...
25—29	25	15	10	20	10	10	4	4	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30—34	28	11	17	23	6	17	2	2	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35—39	31	15	16	29	13	16	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40—44	35	17	18	31	13	18	1	1	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45—49	22	11	11	20	9	11	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50—54	27	15	12	23	11	12	3	3	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55—59	23	9	14	21	7	14	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...		...	...	...
60 and over	35	23	12	31	19	12	2	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE VIII : Workers and Non-workers by Sex and broad Age-groups

Age-group (Years)	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	626	320	306	294	187	107	332	133	199
0—14	287	141	146	28	21	7	259	120	139
15—34	166	89	77	129	82	47	37	7	30
35—59	138	67	71	115	64	51	23	3	20
60 and over	35	23	12	22	20	2	13	3	10

TABLE IX : Workers classified by Sex, Caste/Community and Occupations

Caste/Community	Cultivation		Weaving		Agricultural Labourer		Rearing of Live-stock		Mason		Basketry		Retail Trade		Washing clothes		Oil pressing		Tailoring		Transport		Miscellaneous Service	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Brahmin	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barhai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balmiki (S. C.)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3
Bhurji	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chamar (S. C.)	27	9	...	...	6	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dhobi (S. C.)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gadaria	3	5	...	...	...	...	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jat	45	45	1	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	1	...
Kori	1	1	48	41	1	...	1	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Vaish	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhisti (Muslim)	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Teli (Muslim)	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	84	60	49	41	11	...	11	...	15	...	4	...	4	...	2	...	1	1	1	...	2	...	3	5

TABLE X : Households by Number of Rooms and by Number of Persons occupying

Number of Households	Number of Rooms	Number of Family Members	Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms		Households with five rooms and over	
			No. of Households	No. of Family Members	No. of Households	No. of Family Members	No. of Households	No. of Family Members	No. of Households	No. of Family Members	No. of Households	No. of Family Members
114	299	626	21	77	44	223	26	177	11	62	12	87

TABLE XI : Livestock

Caste/Community	Milch Cattle		Draught Bullocks		Goats & Sheep		Pigs		Camels	
	Households owning	Number	Households owning	Number	Households owning	Number	Households owning	Number	Households owning	Number
Brahmin	4	5	7	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barhai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balmiki (S. C.)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	...	...
Bhurji	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chamar (S. C.)	6	6	10	13	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dhobi (S. C.)	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gadaria	1	1	2	3	5	146	...	...	...	...
Jat	12	13	17	33	...	...	...	...	1	1
Kori	1	1	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...
Vaish	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhisti (Muslim)	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
Teli (Muslim)	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	25	27	38	63	8	151	1	6	1	1

TABLE XII : Annual Agricultural Produce of Cultivation run by the Households and its Disposal

Name of Product	Maize and *Jowar* (Mds.)	*Dal* (Mds.)	Sugarcane (Mds.)	*San* (Mds.)	Wheat (Mds.)	Gram and Barley (Mds.)	Oil seeds (Mds.)	Fodder (Mds.)
Quantity produced annually	414	2,104	25	16	1,287	333	178	7,377
Quantity consumed by the producing Households	381	1,058	5	8	727	274	20	6,182
Quantity available for sale	33	1,046	20	8	560	59	158	1,195

TABLE XIII : Indebtedness by Income-groups

Income-group	Number of Households	Number of Households in Debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Average indebtedness per Household in Debt
Rs. 25 and below	4	...	...	...
Rs. 26—50	20	5	25	180·00
Rs. 51—75	32	21	65	350·24
Rs. 76—100	35	26	74	435·19
Rs. 101 and above	23	14	61	532·14

TABLE XIV : Indebtedness by Causes

Causes	Amount of Debt	Number of Families in Debt	Source of Credit
(a) Marriage	5,390	8	Money-lender
(b) Liquidation of outstanding debts	100	1	,,
(c) Illness	50	1	,,
(d) Domestic wants	8,360	41	,,
(e) Household cultivation	7,680	25	Co-operative Credit Society and Money-lender
(f) Household Industry	2,200	5	Money-lender
(g) Livestock	2,100	3	,,
(h) Litigation	280	1	,,
(i) Miscellaneous	700	1	,,
Total	26,860	86	

GLOSSARY

Local term	*English synonym*
Abadi	Population
Agrahayana	Ninth month of Hindu calendar
Angia	A short blouse
Anguthi	Ring
Arhar	A kind of pulse
Assami	Tenant
Asvina	Seventh month of Hindu calendar
Babul	*Acacia Arabica*
Badna	An all purpose metal jug
Bajra	A kind of millet
Bali	Ear ring
Bargad	Banayan
Bara Karaj	An important ceremony
Barat	Bridegroom's party
Barat lena	Receiving the marriage party
Batai	Share-cropping
Bejhar	A mixture of wheat, barley and gram
Bhadra	Sixth month of Hindu calendar
Bhajans	Devotional songs
Bhajan Mandli	A group of singers of devotional songs
Bhusa	Chaff
Bida	Departure
Biri	Leaf-wrapped indigenous cigarette
Bigha	Local land measure
Biradari	Clansmen
Chadar	A cotton sheet
Chak	Plot of land
Chaliswan	A ceremony on the fortieth day
Chauk	A square made from flour at a ceremony
Chhota Karaj	A ceremony
Dai	An untrained nurse
Dal	Pulse
Dangal	Wrestling bout
Dastaun	A tenth day ceremony on birth of a child
Degchi	Sauce pan
Deshi	Indigenous
Dimak	White ant
Dhurairi	The day following the burning of Holi bonfire
Dola	A type of marriage
Doli	Palanquin
Dwarchar	A ceremony on arrival of the bridegroom at the bride's house on the day of marriage
Dupatta	Scarf
Gangajali	A metal container containing water of the Ganga
Garibi	Poverty
Gazi	A kind of cloth
Geru	Red-oxide
Garha	A coarse hand woven cloth
Ghara	Pitcher
Gotra	Non-localised patrilineal clan
Grah Pravesh	House-warming ceremony
Gulal	Red-oxide powder thrown at Holi
Gundhi	An insect
Gur	Jaggery
Haldi	Turmeric
Halwa	A delicacy made of wheat flour, syrup and ghee
Harira	A preparation of spices in ghee given to mother after birth
Harvah	A ploughman
Havan	Sacrifice in holy fire to the recitation of *mantras* or verses from scriptures
Hattha	Handle
Jamun	*Eugenia jambolna*
Janvasa	Place where the marriage party stays
Jharberi	Berry
Jhoola	Swing
Jowar	A variety of millet
Kabaddi	A type of game
Kangan kholna	A ceremony connected with the untieing of knots of *kangan* by the bridegroom and the bride
Kartika	Eighth month of the Hindu calendar
Karva	A small earthen pitcher
Kapal kriya	Skull breaking ceremony of the dead body
Khaddar	A coarse hand woven cloth
Khali	Oil cakes

Local term	*English synonym*
Khalihan	Place for storing, threshing and winnowing of grains
Kharif	Crop sown in the rainy season
Khatia	A bed woven across with *moonj* string
Khichari	A hot-potch of rice and pulse
Khudkasht	Self cultivation
Kirtan	Congregational prayer
Koran	Holy book of the Muslims
Kothri	A small room
Kudal	A spade-like agricultural implement
Kungi	An insect
Kurta	A collarless shirt
Lagan Patrika	A letter sent to the bridegrooms' house intimating the date of marriage and other rituals
Lathi	Bamboo stick
Loo	Hot westerly wind
Lungi	A loin cloth
Mandap	Canopy
Magha	Eleventh month of Hindu calendar
Magni	Betrothal ceremony
Mantra	Incantation
Matha	Whey
Mehar	Alimony
Mohalla	Locality
Moksha	Salvation
Moonj	A type of grass
Moong	A variety of pulse
Murti	Idol
Namaz	Prayer
Neem	*Azidirachta indica*
Nikah	Marriage rites among Muslims
Orhni	Headgear
Panch	An elected member of Nayaya Panchayat
Phagg	Songs sung during Holi
Phalguna	Twelfth month of Hindu calendar
Phera	Circumambulation of holy fire by the bride and the bridegroom
Pipal	*Ficus religiosa*
Pind	A cake made of barley flour used at the funeral
Poori	A fried piece of cake
Prasad	Offering of sweets, fruits, etc. made to the deity
Purohit	Priest
Qazi	A Muslim marriage priest
Rabi	Crops sown in winter
Rakabi	A metal plate
Rakhi	A coloured thread tied round the wrist
Razai	Quilt
Rewri	A kind of sweet
Roti	Bread made of flour
Rukhsat	A ceremony connected with the departure of the bride
San	Hemp
Sandook	Box
Sarson	Mustard
Sarpanch	An elected head of the Nayaya Panchayat
Satya Narayan Katha	A religious story
Savan	A coarse grain
Sehra	Silvery threads hunging from the headgear of the bridegroom
Sewai	Vermicelli
Sindoor	Red-oxide
Shakkar	Indigenous sugar
Shukla Paksha	Moonlit fortnight
Shramdan	Voluntary labour
Sohag	Married state of Hindu women
Soop	Winnowing pan
Sravana	Fifth month of the Hindu calendar
Sutna	A tight trouser of cotton worn by Muslim women
Tana	Warp
Tazia	Large paper model of the tomb of Imam Hussain
Tel	Oil
Terhvin	The thirteenth day ceremony of the dead in Hindus
Tija	The third day ceremony after death
Tika	Putting a mark on the forehead with turmeric paste and rice
Ubtan	A lubricant paste prepared of barley flour, turmeric and oil
Ukhal	The wooden pestle
Urd	A variety of pulse
Vaidya	A practitioner of *Ayurvedic* medicines

LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR STUDY IN UTTAR PRADESH

	District	Tahsil	Village	Revenue Number
1.	Uttar Kashi	Dunda	Birpur	44
2.	Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla	45
			Darkot	25
3.	Garhwal	Pauri	Thapli	55
4.	Almora	Ranikhet	Bijepur	51
5.	Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafiulnagar *urf* Raoli	161
			Mughalpura	175
6.	Budaun	Bisauli	Mirzapur Behta	110
		Budaun	Kachla Pukhta	21
7.	Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani Begum	8
			Barkhan	198
8.	Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira	174
9.	Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura	118
			Chapnu	332
			Sarari	224
10.	Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar	98
			Bilaspur	22
11.	Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli	71
12.	Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru	122
13.	Agra	Kheragarh	Beri Chahar	104
		Etmadpur	Chawli	47
		Bah	Pidhaura	109
14.	Etah	Jalesar	Baghai	91
15.	Etawah	Etawah	Udi	34
		Auraiya	Ayana	14
16.	Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj	17
17.	Allahabad	Soraon	Sarai Kesho *urf* Bagi	216
			Kalyanpur	24
		Phulpur	Bhadkar Uparhar	151
18.	Hamirpur	Rath	Qasba Khera	4
19.	Banda	Naraini	Akbarpur	2
20.	Kheri	Nighasan	Belapersua	122
			Bankati	...
			Lodhauri	492
			Rakehti	301
21.	Sitapur	Biswan	Kanduni	354
22.	Gonda	Balrampur	Suganagar Domri	383
			Rajderwa Tharu	312
23.	Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Gadia	124
			Dadra	20
24.	Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin	42
25.	Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumbha Dih	364
			Surhan	87
		Ghosi	Pakri Buzurg	444
26.	Ghazipur	Ghazipur	Para	64
27.	Varanasi	Varanasi	Lohta	123
			Mehndiganj	248
28.	Mirzapur	Robertsganj	Mitapur	104
			Gidhia	36
			Parsoi	70