

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN RURAL AREA

REPORT OF THE RESURVEY OF

MITHBAV

(DIST. RATNAGIRI, MAHARASHTRA STATE)

1959-60

Volume I : REPORT

M. B. Pakki

GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, PUNONA

Economic Change in Rural Area

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POONA 4**

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- 3 Sutarwadi
- 4 Ranewadi
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- 6 Bhandar wada
- 7 Lokewada
- 8 Nare wada
- 9 Jogal wada
- 10 Deul wada
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- 4 Vithoba
- 5 Gajba devi



Hills



Road



Cart track



Cremation ground



Quarry



Market



Weekly market



Fish curing yard

~~Silica Mines~~



Gram Panchayat



Post Office



Vaghobachi Vihar

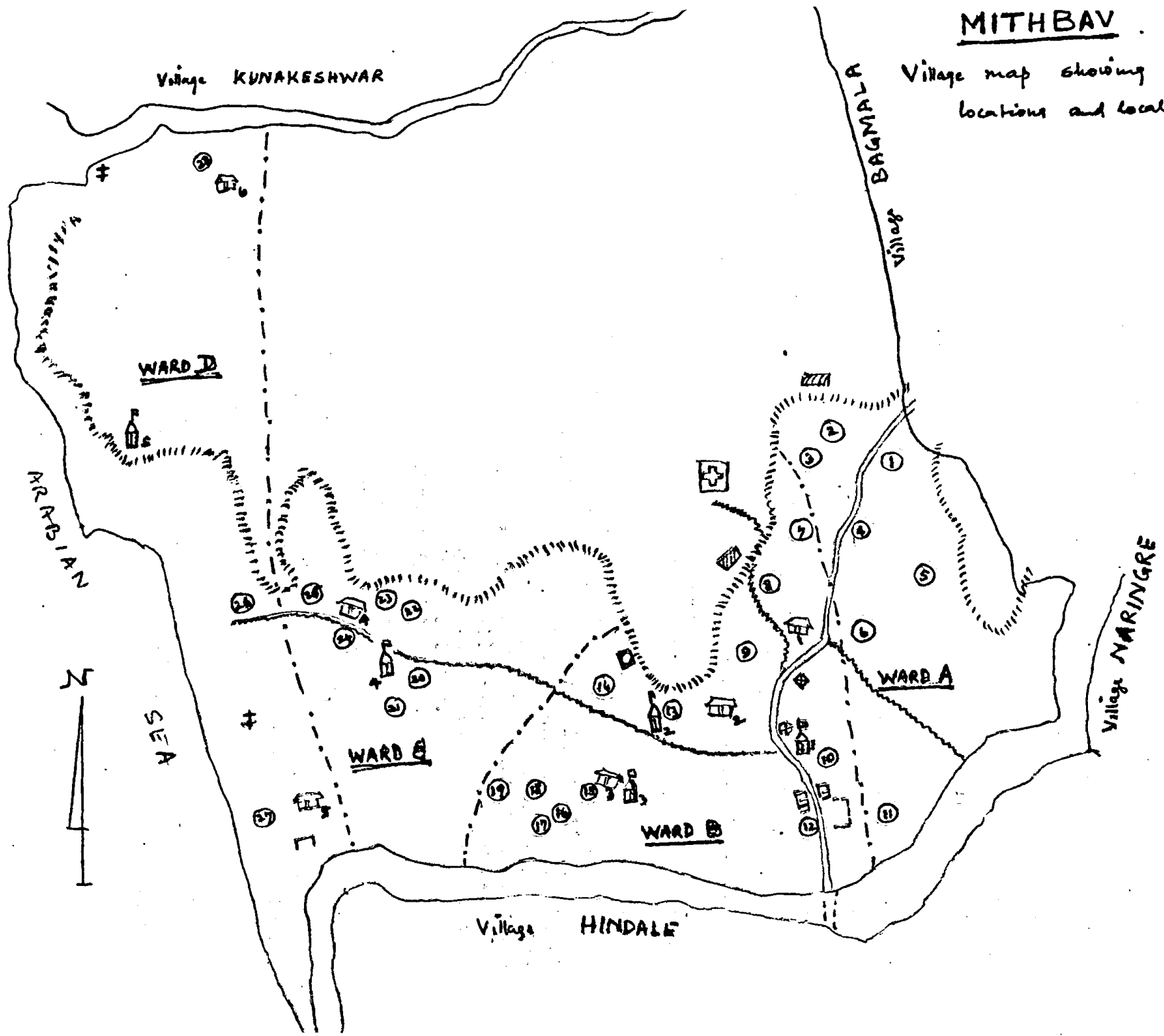


Maternity Hospital

Wards

MITHBAV

Village map showing important locations and localities



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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The resurvey of the village Mithbav in the Ratnagiri district of the Maharashtra State was undertaken by the Institute in the year 1959-60. The village was one of the set of six selected for survey in the project of continuous village studies, instituted by the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture, for studying socio-economic change in rural areas. The first-point survey of the village was carried out in 1954-55.

Section One

It is generally assumed that a resurvey, undertaken for studying change, necessarily involves the collection of data comparable with the earlier data and as such should strictly follow an identical plan of investigation. The individual items of information, the schedules employed, the coverage and time spread of samples should conform to the earlier pattern thus ensuring a high degree of comparability between the two sets of data.

Resurvey experience indicated that the assumption had certain obvious limitations. The sets of data so collected provided comparison of the two situations at different points of time. The assumption was valid to the extent such a comparison revealed the changes in the aggregates. The resurvey was however undertaken, by definition, to study the changes and the forces behind these changes. It was apparent that any change occurring in the village during the period

between the two static situations, would place certain limits on the comparability of the second set of data with the benchmark. (It should therefore be stated that, in the situation of

We give below some of the modifications relating to the investigational procedure, which go to qualify the assumption regarding comparability of data over a period of time, as were revealed during the resurvey of Mithbav.

The village might be found, at the resurvey period to have undergone certain changes which were unexpected and hence were ^{unavoidable} unexplainable on the basis of data collected earlier. Such a situation called for either a more intensive investigation of certain areas covered earlier in the normal course of the survey or fresh inquiries into fields not covered previously. It may likewise be revealed that there were certain gaps in the information collected earlier, especially in the case-study data. These gaps assume importance at the time of the resurvey investigation and analysis as the resurvey always gives and is meant to give a fuller understanding of the village. Finally the passage ^{of} time and the accumulation of survey experience might result into a substantial modification in the approach originally adopted toward such studies.

It may therefore be accepted that a resurvey, in the matter of actual practice at least, amounts not only to a repetition of the earlier survey in all its measurable aspects but also to an ^e extension of investigation into areas not covered earlier and fresh, wider and more intensive exploration of other areas as well.

In the particular circumstances of Mithbay, again, a part of the data was rendered incomparable owing to the practice of migration. It was found that about 10 per cent of families and 27 per cent of individuals had become non-existent at the resurvey point owing either to emigration or death. Likewise about 10 per cent of families and 23 per cent of individuals at the time of the resurvey had appeared in the village during the period under study. This meant that only one-point data was available in the case of these families and individuals. Comparability of data to that extent was lost altogether.

The resurvey of Mithbay was influenced, to differing extent, by ^{such} ~~the~~ considerations noted above. The General Family Schedule, our principal base of reference and construction of village aggregates, was enlarged during the resurvey to include the ^{enumeration of the} major assets of the family, details of production and expenses of the ^{business} unit, inventory of major consumer durables, consumption practices and the changes that have come about in these during the intervening period. The practice of large scale migration and the interruptions in it led us to include certain specific and more detailed questions regarding the mobility of individual earners. Two sample inquiries, of labour employment and consumption practices, not adopted in the survey year but had been introduced subsequently in all village surveys conducted by the Institute, were also included in the resurvey.

In the matter of approach, it was ⁺ though advisable to widen the coverage of the case-study to include all instead of a sample of the non-agricultural units in the selected

cluster. It was also thought that for a better understanding and analysis of change, those families recording important changes be studied in all their antecedents immediate to such changes, in order to get at the rationale of the change-process.

This modification in the approach was the result of two major considerations. The first was that the short interval between the two studies would not allow comparisons on an aggregative level on account of the specificities of the two agricultural years and the variations in price. These and such other factors would render all observed change inconclusive. However, this did not render unimportant, the need of aggregative analysis. We know that every change takes place and becomes meaningful only in the context of the total frame and has to be ultimately related to it.

The second consideration in this regard was the need to observe, individually if needed, change at the family or group level as it was at that level that change or the effort to change manifested itself in the first instance. The fact that our rural economy was predominantly agricultural and that in the case of Mithbav, the point of saturation had^{long} been reached in this regard, indicated that in the absence of any major incentive, the effort to change would be mainly manifested in the non-agriculture section.

A point in regard was that while it might be granted that the total change recorded by a village during a given period of time was the sumtotal of^{all} changes at the individual family level plus the changes on account of institutional and other

factors, the time at our disposal was too short to attempt to case-study every household. In the case of our particular village, the attempt was not considered necessary also because of the stagnant nature of the economy. The report may therefore be found to contain detailed studies of certain groups only.

It may however be mentioned here that, while the resurvey analysis of Mithav does not attempt to face the problem in all its detailed implications on account of the ^{large} size of the village, the question as to how ~~the~~ individual changes at the family level could be meaningfully aggregated ^{was} ~~is~~ one of the most important methodological issues thrown up by the resurveys.

The resurvey of Mithav employed four major schedules listed below.

- i) The General Family Schedule for every family of the village;
- ii) The Farm Business Schedule for the same sample of cultivators as were selected during the survey;
- iii) Employment Schedule for a sample of 60 labour families; and
- iv) Schedule for consumption expenditure of a sample of 60 families.

In addition to the above, other smaller schedules were also used to get more detailed information on production of fish during the resurvey year, on migration, ^{ownership} holding of bullock-carts, construction of houses, etc. Case-studies of all the non-agricultural occupations were undertaken. The institutional

life of the village was also studied in as many details as was possible.

The method of collecting the data remained unchanged. The resurvey was spread over the twelve months between June 1959 and May 1960 coinciding with the agricultural year. Our Field Investigator was stationed in the village throughout this period. The Research Assistant assigned to the re-survey visited the centre for ten days during every month. While the investigator filled in all the schedules with some local assistance, all the case-studies as well as studies of local institutions were done by the Research Assistant.

In the resurvey report that follows, the data is presented in a manner different from that adopted in the survey report. All the chapters may be found to contain, wherever possible, the aggregative frames for the two points of time, for the sake of comparison. Case-study information is largely used for purposes of illustration.

In chapter one, we give a brief account of the situation at Mithav at the time of the first survey in 1954-55, to serve as a background for the resurvey discussion that follows.

Chapter two is devoted to the study of migration, which was the principal force of change affecting the numbers and occupations of the individuals. The chapter precedes others because of the importance of the practice migration, to which the entire economy appeared to be geared to.

The third chapter on 'the people and their occupations', gives an account of the numbers, their demographic characteri-

sticks, their breakdown according to earners and the occupational patterns at the two points of time. The patterns are discussed for male and female earners separately.

In the fourth chapter, we present a comparison of the resources and investment of the village for the two points of time. Incidental reference to the operational aspects of some of the occupations may also be found in the course of the discussion.

Chapter five contains notes on some of the occupations and their operational aspects. The notes are studies of the respective occupations and their performance at the two points of time. They relate to cultivation, fishing, carpentry, construction of residential houses, and ~~trading~~ carpentry.

The next chapter deals with the consumption aspect of the village. It gives the consumption practices of the village, variations noted therein during the period of study, the cost of living and overall estimates of the requirements of village, etc. We also present data regarding the acquisition of durable articles in this chapter.

The corporate life of the village is described in chapter seven. We give the achievements of the village panchayat and the co-operative societies of the village as well as the behaviour of other social groups.

In chapter eight, entitled 'the people', certain case-studies, observations, interviews and impressions of the investigators are presented. These are essentially meant to fill in the gaps regarding the attitudes, responses and behaviours of the residents in their own setting.

Chapter nine presents income patterns and the village aggregates, and gives a view of the total village economy, in terms of value, its physical production, production of services, remittances, etc.

The last chapter attempts a summary of the resurvey findings and an assessment of the achievements of the village over the period of time.

Section Two

We give below a brief account of the village Mithbav as it existed in 1954-55, when the first survey of the village was conducted. The account is presented to serve the purpose of a background and as such is largely descriptive.

Mithbav was a coastal village in Ratnagiri, one of the coastal districts of the State of Maharashtra. The district lay between $15^{\circ} 40''$ and $18^{\circ} 5''$ north latitude and $73^{\circ} 5''$ and $73^{\circ} 5''$ east longitude and had an area of a little over 5,000 square miles and 17,12,000 inhabitants according to the 1951 census. The Arabian Sea lay to the west of the district, giving it a sea board of about 160 miles. The water shed of the Western Ghats, the Sahyadri hills, formed the other natural boundary on the east. The strip of land between the two boundaries was 30 to 35 miles wide and generally sloped towards the west.

The soil of the district was of a poor quality. About one-fourth of the land was under cultivation, the principal crops being kharif paddy and inferior cereals like Kagi and Kodra. The district, with its large strips of waste lands and

forests, grew a variety of fruit crops main of which were coconuts, betel nuts, mangoes and cashewnuts.

The district received its rainfall from the south-west monsoons, which increased from the coast to the interior, from 100" to 150". The rainfall was generally heavy and certain all over the district.

The principal agricultural community of the district was the Maratha community. The Brahmins were a land-owning class who leased out land for cultivation to the Marathas and the Bhandaris, an intermediate caste formerly engaged in coconut plantation and tapping of toddy. Since prohibition, they have been rendered tenant-cultivators. The Marathas were both the land-owning and cultivating classes. Trading of groceries and other goods was mainly in the hands of the Vaishyas. The Harijans, the untouchables, were engaged in agricultural labour.

The village, ^{Mithbav,} was situated in the low-lying coastal regions of the Devgad taluka, in the southern half of the Ratnagiri district. While the larger part of the taluka was at a higher level, about two to three hundred feet above the sea, Mithbav was situated in one of the pockets created by smaller mountain spurs jutting into the sea. The village was surrounded by hillocks and had to be approached through a winding mountainous road. The whole of this low-lying area was criss-crossed by rivulets which hindered movement, to and from Mithbav, in summer because the roads and tracks got broken by pits and mounds and due to running water during the monsoons.

A second physical characteristic of the village was that it was a corner village lying at the tail-end of the approach

road. It can be seen from the map that the southern boundary of the village was formed by a small river beyond which lay the village Hindale, the only village that had to get its supplies through and occasionally from Mithbav. A situation of this nature placed substantial restrictions on the village by preventing it from benefitting from the advantages of distribution or the through traffic of goods.

According to the revenue-records, the total land in the village measured a little over 4,000 acres. Of this land, nearly 98 per cent was recorded as under individual ownership. A third of this land was classified as permanent waste, or pot-kharab. The rest was termed 'cultivable' in the revenue records though in practice (we found that) only about 34 per cent of this was under actual use, either for growing field crops or for plantation purposes, in 1954-55. The remaining land was composed of red laterite rock, a type of soft porous rock used for house construction locally. A thin crust of soil on this laterite, wherever present, allowed the cultivation of some inferior millets. A considerable part of this land constituted the high lands above the central hill ranges running across the village. These grew a variety of thorny bushes, known as Kavalkath locally, which were burnt in the fields for supplying a part of the manure requirements, the burnt ash supplying the much-needed nitrate to the paddy crop.

The total area under cultivation as reported by resident families was 795 acres as against 875 acres recorded in the village records as under cultivation. This land was divided into 927 farm units, giving an average of 34.3 gunthas per unit.

A little over 50 per cent of these units were of the size 20 gunthas and below. The pressure of population and reluctance to part with the ancestral strip of land were the two main causes of this sub-division.

Land however small was retained in the family, to a greater extent because it usually contained the ancestral residential house rather than for productive purposes. It should be mentioned here that the village had no Gavthan area i.e. area earmarked for residential purposes and hence declared non-agricultural land. The majority of houses stood in plots which were under agricultural lands according to the village records.

The practice of migration brought back emigrant earners that had left the village generally for Bombay for employment. They returned to the village after retirement and had to retain the ancestral house as well as the pieces of land to house them and also to give them a little productive employment and income during their days of retirement.

The second important resources of the village was the sea. Sea-fishing was the principal occupation of the local fishing community of Gabits. There were two types of organizations following different techniques according to the specific areas of fishing. One of these was the Rapan or in-shore fishing by large dragnets employing about thirty persons at a time. There were ten such organizations, eight fishing on the Mithbav coast and two, while belonging to residents of Mithbav, fishing on the coast of the adjacent village to the north-west. Their capital resources, by way of boats and dragnets were estimated to value Rs. 42,000.

The second type was deep-sea fishing carried on ^{with} individually-owned nets and boats by groups of five to seven persons. There were 20 such groups with an estimated equipment of Rs. 46,000.

There were no other resources except the above. The village did not grow any commercial crops nor had any traditionally located industry or craft of its own. The rest of the capital equipment of the village was comprised of 25 bullock-carts, 10 sewing machines, three flour mills, 12 carpenters' tool sets and other working tools of craftsmen and ^{of} service personnel like the goldsmiths, the barber, the blacksmith, etc.

These were the circumstances in which the 1141 families of the village lived in 1954-55. The total population in that year was 5782 divided into 15 castes, three of which accounted for nearly 89 per cent of the population. The three castes were the Kahatrakulotpanna Marathas, the Bhandaris and fishing community of Gabits, all belonging to the intermediate order of the Hindu society.

The population presented a peculiar demographic characteristic. It was the preponderance^{ce} of females in the village giving a sex ratio of 776 males per 1000 females. For the working age-group the ratio fell further to 591 males ^{per 1000 females}. Another characteristic of the population was the unusually high proportion of non-adults, of the age 14 and below, accounting to 57.1 per cent of the male, 36.1 per cent of the female and 42.7 per cent of the total population.

In the matter of the total population, the village had

recorded, in 1954-55, a fall of 5.5 per cent over the 1951 census figure. Since a difference of this size could not be attributed to the difference in the method of enumeration alone, a comparison of the populations of all the villages in the taluka for the two census years, 1941 and 1951, was undertaken. It revealed that 42^{out of 60} villages had shown decrease either in the total number of males or females and that 22 out of the total of 60 villages in the taluka had recorded a net decrease over the 1941 population. We had concluded, subject to the margin of difference between the two methods of enumeration, that Mithav could be included in the latter category.

The unusual demographic characteristics and the depopulation trend were an outcome of the practice of emigration, to places outside the village and mostly to Bombay, for seeking employment; which dated back to more than a century. It was the only adjustment a deficit economy could make under an increasing pressure of population. The earlier practice of seasonal migration had ^{developed} strengthened into almost a tradition of working life-time migration to a large extent of on account of a rapidly developing urban centre like Bombay, which was directly accessible by the cheaper sea route. (We use the term 'tradition' here to emphasize the fact that the tendency to emigrate was observed to cut across all caste, income and occupational groups, during the first survey.)

A majority of these emigrant-earners sent remittances to their families at Mithav^{at the rate of Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per week}. (Their earnings were much higher, more than twice, than the incomes of their families in the

village. Their expenses of staying at Bombay were higher too, the result being that the size of remittance was small, amounting to about Rs. 210 per remitting earner-emigrant. This meant that the resident families ^{receiving} getting the remittances received on an average about 17½ rupees per month. In 1954-55, 300 families or 26.5 per cent of the total reported ~~exclusive~~ ^{major} dependence on these remittances, ^{receiving on an average Rs. 17½ per month}

The occupational ^{distribution} pattern of earners ^{in the village} showed a high bias ^{was as follows:} towards the primary types of vocations. Of the 76 per cent so engaged, cultivation accounted for 52, labour 13 and fishing 11 per cent. The rest were constituted into small groups pursuing different types of non-agricultural vocations like trading 4 per cent, processing 7 per cent and other services and profession 6 per cent and most notably salaried jobs like school-teaching and departmental services 7 per cent.

There were seven educational institutions in the village in 1954-55. Three of these were full-primary schools, a lower primary school, a school for fisheries, a secondary school teaching upto the B.S.C. examination and a primary teachers' training college. This substantial development in educational facilities in the village had taken place principally on account of contact with Bombay and the necessity of the emigration of young able-bodied earners from the village, who felt the need of a little educational equipment before leaving the village. The second reason was probably the early establishment of the principal primary school dating back to the 1970's.

The proportionately high level of literacy and education and the constant contact with Bombay was instrumental in

developing ^{a socially apathetic} ~~an individualistic~~ nature that ^{at the same time} was extremely conscious of its civil rights and was bold enough to comment on the administrative failures. The Village Panchayat of Mithbav was therefore found to be operating efficiently, at least to the extent of doing its routine duties and holding regular meetings. Probably on account of the same reasons, it was reported, that membership of the Panchayat was not sought after eagerly.

The village had also made efforts at co-operation. There were two co-operative societies, (i) a multi-purpose co-operative that was mainly formed for starting a fair-price shop during the days of food rationing and control; and (ii) a fisheries co-operative formed for the exclusive purpose of trading in fish so as to retain the profits going to wholesalers. In the initial years this society also ran a ration shop for the benefit of the locality. It should be noted that the society was conscious enough to making arrangements, by purchasing a goods truck, for transporting fisherwomen to places and weekly markets roundabout Mithbav for the sale of fresh fish.

The aggregated income of village amounted to Rs. 5,25,000, which gave a per family average of Rs. 465. The total income was comprised of physical production 57 per cent, salaries earned in departmental and Local Board jobs 13 per cent, trading incomes 5 per cent, other productive activities such as processing and services 7 per cent and remittances 24 per cent. The accounts of the village revealed a net debit balance of

Rs. 91,000 which was more than balanced by incoming remittances amounting to Rs. 1,25,000.

The village, as we found it during the survey of 1954-55, was thus a coastal village which balanced its budget by exporting labour on a significant scale and getting in return a part of the earnings made outside it. The two occupations engaging large numbers, agriculture and fishing, were pursued with traditional techniques.- Efforts at co-operation had not amounted to much because of the absence in the village of young and interested persons belonging to the village.

As against these disadvantages, the village had extremely good educational facilities, had developed, over a period of time, sound job yielding contacts at Bombay and had population which was, on the whole, conscious of its rights, alert and intelligent.

The situation in the village, as we found it in 1954-55, did not appear to offer much scope for any change of a basic nature. Along with other villages in the region, it had worked out a historical solution for balancing its deficits and reducing its great disadvantage of a growing population on a rigidly fixed and saturated base of production. Emigration appeared to have solved many of its problems.

In the main, the problems for which we had to seek an answer at the time of resurvey were those that would be brought about by the passage of time and the ^{home} practice of migration. These were the type of adjustments the residents or groups of residents would have to effect in the matter of numbers, occupations and pattern of living. Specifically they were, as conceived by us, (i) to examine if the external dependence had

increased, (ii) to study the shifts of population and the realignment of the occupational pattern within the village; and in this context to see how the village absorbed the new entrants, principally those that acquired adulthood and earner status during the intervening period and finally to study if the passage of time and for other circumstances had affected the rate of maintenance of its productive equipment.

In addition to the above, we were also interested in studying the operational aspects of the major occupations in order to locate shifts or functional changes indicative of more basic readjustments or trends. We had also to study the social institutions and behaviour and finally to attempt a closer understanding of the residents themselves with a view to seek corroborative evidence to our knowledge and assessment of the village over the period of time.

Chapter II

MIGRATION

The district of Ratnagiri represents the strip of land between the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. More than one-third of the district is under forest. The cultivated area formed about one-fourth of the total. The soil in this area is of an inferior variety. Heavy monsoon rains and the dampness of the climate do not allow cultivation of any other crops except kharif paddy and ragi, an inferior cereal grown in the region. The district in general is a deficit area that could produce barely one-half of its food requirements.

The deficit nature of the economy compelled the residents to go out of the district in search of employment, in the initial stages, for the duration of the dry season. The practice of migration, in the district of Ratnagiri, had been more than a century old. The Ratnagiri Gazetteer, 1880, quotes the report of Captain Wingate, Survey Superintendent of the Bombay Presidency, submitted in 1851, as saying:

'Though industrious and hard-working, the women and even the children sharing in the most toilsome field labour, they failed to grow grain enough for their support. Large numbers left the district in search of work. Brahmins, as civil officers and clerks and Marathas and Mahars in the Police and the Army, received in pay and

pension, a sum nearly as large as the whole district revenue. Besides this, an even larger sum was brought back yearly by the crowd of labourers who, starting from Bombay and the district around at the beginning of the fair weather (November), came back with their savings before the burst of the rains (June). In this way, without the help of manufacture, the district paid for its imports of grain'. (pp.242)-

Our survey in 1954-55 revealed that the village Mithbav exhibited all the major characteristics of the district. The practice of migration appeared as though it were one of the major vocations of the village. To a large extent, all types of economic activity of village seemed to be conditioned and often attuned to this practice. We had evidence to believe that a significant number of earners stayed and worked in the village only because they were unable to emigrate on account of socio-economic reasons or because their emigration was interrupted and they had to go back to the village after a few years of service at Bombay or elsewhere.

We present in this chapter data regarding the practice of migration and its movement over the period of five years between the two studies. Section one gives a brief account of the migration-situation of the village at the two points of time. Section two tries to assess the effects of the practice.

The term 'migration' is used here to denote the movement of population to and from the village. Those who left the village are called 'emigrants' while those that went to the village are called 'immigrants'. Movement to the village is termed 'immigration' and movement from the village 'emigration'.

Section One

A little over a hundred years back, emigration was of a seasonal character. Over the years the seasonal emigration gave way to a more permanent type of emigration. This process was assisted in particular by the rapidly growing industrial city of Bombay. The textile industry absorbed quite a large portion of the emigrants and the emigrants began to settle in Bombay for the duration of their working age and generally returned to their native place after retirement. It was also reported that during the initial period of the change-over, the emigrants used to visit the village during the early showers of the monsoons to cultivate or help in the cultivation of the family land.

The practice of emigration had begun as a matter of economic necessity. While this characteristic of the population movement still remained the single strongest motive, we found in 1954-55 that it had strengthened into a regular socio-economic practice in the sense that

even those who were not economically compelled to leave the village emigrated. The practice cut across all the caste, income and occupational groups. It was found that a large proportion of the families in each income group had some near-relatives staying and working in Bombay or elsewhere outside the village and that the lowest income group was not the only one sending large proportion of its earners outside the village.

As said earlier, the principal motivation behind this large scale emigration was the necessity of seeking some gainful employment which was either not available in the village or if available was not adequate enough. Among others, there were three reasons that appeared to have reinforced this practice. The first was the fact that average earnings outside the village were much higher than those obtainable in the village. The higher earnings were in their turn made possible by the year-round employment in Bombay and elsewhere. This was the second reason that strengthened the practice by giving the earner-emigrants a feeling of security and steadiness of employment. The third reason was of a non-economic nature. A job at Bombay meant sharing of the urban environment and conveniences as well as being with relatives and earstwhile friends who had left the village earlier. At the village end, a salaried job at Bombay acquired a prestige-value.

The mechanics of this emigration was simple and direct. An emigrant-earner, who had secured a job earlier, kept a look-out for likely vacancies and relayed the information to those in the village who were desirous of getting a job. In many cases emigrants left the village for temporary vacancies in textile mills and other places and in the course of time settled down to relatively more permanent jobs. Some of the emigrants visiting the village took their relatives or friends along with them to the city and looked after them till they secured some employment and even helped them in getting a job. A non-sample inquiry of immigrants after retirement revealed that 28 out of the 50 persons interviewed, had either found or helped in finding jobs for over 200 persons during the tenure of their service in Bombay.

In the case of emigrants that held primary teachers' jobs, the jobs were secured by directly applying to the Local Board authority that recruited the teachers. Emigrants so employed formed 12 per cent of the total number of emigrants and it was found that about 64 per cent of these were employed in places other than Bombay and mainly in the district of Ratnagiri. In the rest of the cases the place of work was Bombay. Emigration to that city accounted for 92 per cent of the total.

Emigration from Mithbav was coupled with immigration to the village for a variety of reasons. Except in the

case of primary teachers and other departmental personnel that went to Mithbav on transfer, these immigrants were persons belonging to the village and had left it earlier. A large proportion of these were wives and children, dependents of the emigrant earners at Bombay, sent back to the village for long or short durations. Some of the reasons for their being repatriated were lack of accommodation at Bombay, necessity of looking after the village household, help in the family occupation at the village, the education of the children, or the nature of work, such as service on transport vessel, of their earning males. There were also those who had left the village in search of job and had to return either because they could not find one, or were dismissed, or because the climate did not suit them. In some cases, the death of the aged father or brother compelled them to return to the village for taking over the responsibility of the household and look after the family cultivation.

We had inquired, during the resurvey investigation, about the emigration of male earners who were in the village at both the points of inquiry and the reasons for their return. A total of 230, or 31 per cent of the total number of males in the adult category, earners and non-earners put together, had emigrated and returned to the village prior to 1954-55. While one-third of these had returned for reasons of health, about one-fourth had

to return for assuming the responsibility of the resident family. About 30 per cent returned because of unemployment and 16 per cent on the termination of temporary jobs held by them.

The remaining 69 per cent of the resident earners at both points of time was composed of 55 per cent who had never intended to go to Bombay, more than two-thirds of these reporting an adequate and stable family occupation in the village as the prime reason for not emigrating and 14 per cent who had desired to go but could not leave the village for a number of reasons. Of the 103 so reporting 28 per cent could not go because of the responsibility of the family, 38 per cent because there was no surety regarding the securing of a job at Bombay and 23 per cent because they had no contact in Bombay that would find a job for them. In the rest of the cases, the reasons were indifferent health, opposition from home, etc. We should mention here that only three persons gave opposition from home as the reason for their not leaving the village.

We thus found, for the male adult population of Mithav in the survey year, that a little over half had stayed behind because there was an adequate and stable occupation in the village. Another 14 per cent had to stay behind, not by volition, but because of certain socio-economic circumstances over which they had no control.

Some of the general characteristics of emigration were as follows. Emigration occurred between the age 16 to 25 and more specifically between 18 and 20. A majority of the intending emigrants were not adequately absorbed by the village economy. A large proportion of these had either completed some stage of education or had left it. While a small proportion had reported unemployment, the remaining had reported the family occupation as their own. These occupations were of the primary type, such as agriculture, fishing or agricultural labour and employment in them, as reported by those in the above age group, was, more often than not, of a nominal nature.

The emigrants kept contact with their families in the village by sending remittances and visiting them periodically. The survey data had revealed that two-thirds of the emigrant earners were sending remittances, four-fifths of these sending them regularly. The remaining one-third did not send any remittances at all.

To a significantly large extent the sending of remittances was related to the practice, already referred to, of sending the wife and children home for a variety of reasons, principal of which was the lack of accommodation at Bombay. It was found that remittances home either dwindled or were stopped when the wife and children returned to Bombay to join the emigrant earner.

The practice of visiting varied likewise. Those

visiting the village and thus maintaining direct personal contact formed 72 per cent of the total emigrant earners, three-fourth of these reporting it as a regular practice. The rest did not visit the village at all. It was found that the proportion of these non-visiting emigrants was more or less constant at 28 per cent of all those that had emigrated at different periods of time in the past. It may be said that the village lost total contact with this component of the emigrant earners. This may also be called permanent emigration.

Before proceeding to discuss the migration situation at the two points of time and the changes revealed therein, we shall present a brief account of the change that came about in the population of the village during the period between 1954-55 and 1959-60. A more detailed description of this change is given in the next chapter specifically dealing with the population of the village.

The relevant data regarding the population of the village is presented in table 3.25. While the number of families was identical at 1141 for both the points of time, the population recorded a small increase of 30 individuals from 5182 in 1954-55 to 5212 in 1959-60. A crude attempt at computing the growth rate of the village by taking the two components of the population, the resident and the external, into account gave a rate of 1.28 per cent per annum. The actual increase of 30 persons amounted 0.60

per cent for the five year period or about 0.12 per cent per annum. Evidently the rate of emigration almost equalled the rate of growth and gave the village a stationary character. The reconciliation showed that over 90 per cent of the projected natural increase was absorbed by the outside world and mainly by Bombay.

The proportion that was actually affected by the influence of migration was about 27 per cent. The table shows that about 73 per cent of the population was present in the village at both points of time. The proportion that either ceased to exist on account of death or moving out of the village during the five years was almost balanced by the proportion that either came into being on account of births or moving into the village during the period. The respective magnitudes were 7 and 20 per cent in the case of death and emigration and 12.3 and 15.2 per cent in the case of birth and immigration.

The number of families remained the same at the two points of time on account of an identical number ceasing to exist in the village from the 1954-55 total and getting added to the remaining, on account of immigration and coming into existence of 'new' families by separation. This number was 117 and formed about 10 per cent of the total. Table 3.2 gives a detailed breakdown of these families according to reasons of their migration. It shows that of those that ceased to exist in the village, 26 were single-member families that disappeared on the death

of the member; 12 left the village on departmental transfers; three left the village on account of reasons such as loss of business; two became merged; and 67 left the village to join their earning members outside the village. Likewise of the 87 families that went to the village during the five-year period, 12 returned because of failure of the earning members to continue their jobs outside the village; 17 because of departmental transfer; 10 on retirement from their jobs and 48 because of difficulties of accommodation in Bombay or the need of their presence in the village to look after an ailing parent or the family cultivation.

We now present the migration situation of the village for the two points of time. The two are presented together for getting a comprehensive view as regards the principal changes that occurred during the intervening period.

Table 2.1 gives a castewise breakdown of the total number of male emigrant earners and their dependents as reported by the resident families of the village at the two points of time. We may broadly note that their number increased at the latter point of time. While the number of families reporting earners increased from 696 to 758, an increase of about nine per cent, the increase in the number of earners, inclusive of those temporarily unemployed but seeking employment, was of the order of 30 per cent, from 965 to 1255. It is obvious that the emigration that

occurred during the five-year period was to a large extent from families that had emigrant-earners at the earlier survey also.

The increase in the number of earners that worked outside the village and kept economic and/or social contact with the parent family at Mithbav was mainly due to two reasons. The principal reason was the emigration of 'new' earners that attained earning age and earnerhood during the five years. Secondly, some of those who had left the village before our earlier survey and who were schooling became earners, while outside the village, during the period under reference.

The second adjustment that affected the number of emigrant earners was due to the migration of whole households. The village lost contact of emigrant earners of those families, 117 in number, that became non-existent in the village at the time of the resurvey. Likewise it 'gained' emigrant earners belonging to the new households that came into existence, on account of immigration and separation within the village, at the resurvey point of time.

The table, also giving the average number of emigrants per reporting family for both the points of time, reveals certain broad characteristics of the emigration that occurred during the period. It may be seen that the overall increase of about 9 per cent in the number of families

reporting emigrant earners was shared inequally by the different castes. In particular, of the three major castes, the families belonging to the Gabits, increased by about 34 per cent as compared to the increase of about 5 per cent in the case of the Marathas and about 3 per cent in the case of the Bhandaris.

The increase of 30 per cent in the number of emigrant-earners proper, was ^{also} shared unequally by the different castes. The increase in the number of Gabit emigrant-earners at the latter point of time was of the extent of 48 per cent as compared to 30 and 24 per cent in the case of the Marathas and Bhandaris respectively.

The circumstance that led to the relatively greater emigration on the part of the Gabits are discussed elsewhere in the report (vide Chapter V). It may be briefly mentioned here that the occupation of fishing, mainly carried on by the Gabits, received a setback during the period. The supply of hemp, which was used for manufacturing nets and which was grown around the villages in the taluka, dwindled because of large purchases by non-fishing traders for export and as a consequence the normal annual replacement of nets could not take place. The only adjustment that could be made by those so thrown out of the occupation, was to leave the village and seek employment outside and mainly at Bombay.

We may also note the change that came about in the average number of earner emigrants per reporting family

on account of the increased emigration during the period. The Brahmins in addition to the three major castes of the village recorded increase in this matter. The increase per reporting family was almost uniform in the case of the Brahmins, the Marathas and the Bhandaris. It was however much less in the case of the Gabits, denoting, as observed earlier, emigration from new families.

It may not be supposed that the above included all the emigrants belonging to the village. There were others who, over the period of decades had settled outside the village and lost complete socio-economic contact with Mithbav. The above thus represent those that had some contact, social or economic or both with the village.

In table 2.2 we give a breakdown of the emigrant earners according to the period of emigration. The table does not include those whose date of emigration was not reported. While the non-reporting cases for 1954-55 pertain to those who emigrated to Bombay at a very young age and attained earnerhood there, the large number of non-reporting cases for 1959-60 include the above as well as the emigrant-earners reported by families that went to Mithbav during the five years.

It may be seen from the table that the proportion of each successive batch was greater than that for the previous five-year period, indicating an increasing trend. A comparison of the actual numbers that emigrated during the two five-year periods, 1950-54 and 1955-59 also shows

that the practice of emigration had strengthened. While we have not attempted to derive the rate of net emigration for want of other essential data such as the population of the village at each point of time, the net immigration to the village, loss of emigrants either by death or non-reporting on separation from the resident household in the village, we can see that while 252 earners emigrated during the five years prior to the first survey, the number increased to 270 during the five years under study.

The migration, of male earners, occurred as follows:

	Number of emigrant earners with socio-economic contact and reported in 1954-55		965

<u>Less</u>	i) Number of emigrant-earners returning to Mithbav or dropping out by death during the period	92	
	ii) Number of emigrant-earners dropping out of analysis due to disappearance of the family during the period (not reported in 1959-60)	<u>103</u>	<u>195</u>
	Number of emigrants with socio-economic contact and reported at both points of time		770
<u>Add</u>	i) Number of fresh emigrants during the period	270	
	ii) Number of emigrants that had left the village prior to 1954-55 who became earners outside the village during the period	98	
	iii) Number of emigrant earners reported by families that went to Mithbav during the period (not reported in 1954-55)	78	

iv) Number of emigrant-earners reported only in 1959-60	<u>39</u>	<u>485</u>
Number of emigrant-earners with socio-economic contact and reported in 1959-60		<u><u>1255</u></u>

The number of earner-emigrants that were outside the village at both points of time was 770. The number that had dropped out during the five years, on account of immigration to the village and the disappearance of families and their earners outside the village numbered 97. The number for 1954-55 thus amounted to 965 earner-emigrants.

The number that emigrated during the five years amounted to 270. In addition to these there were 78 earner-emigrant belonging to the 'new' families that went to Mithdav during the period. There were 39 more earner-emigrants outside the village at 1959-60 whose year of emigration was not reported. These had left the village prior to the five years under study but had not been reported in 1954-55. Thus there were 1255 earner-emigrants outside the village during the resurvey year of 1959-60.

In table 2.1 we had seen that the number of families reporting earners outside the village had increased from 696 to 758. In table 2.3 we give the extent of contact at the two points of time at the family level. For the purposes of this table, contact means either social or economic contact, or both. According to this table the number of families having socio-economic contact with

relations outside the village was 712 for 1954-55 and 803 for 1959-60. The difference of 16 and 45 in the two respective sets of figures was occasioned by the more comprehensive definition of contact. These families, excluded from table 2.1, had contact with relatives outside the village in the form of either non-earners, and mainly children, staying out of the village for education or the receipt of remittances from a distant and non-reported relative.

From the table 2.3 we can see the nature of increase in contact, economic or socio-economic, that occurred during the intervening five years. Of the 1024 families that were in Mithbav at both points of time, 266 families had no contact or remittances at both points of time. During the five years, we can see that 119 families gained fresh contact ^{due to emigration for the first time} and 28 families lost contact, consequent to the return of the emigrant or his death. We thus find that the proportion of families with contact had increased from 62.4 per cent in 1954-55 to 70.5 in 1959-60, in the case of the 1024 families in Mithbav at both points of time. ^{increase in the} The contact for the total village, taking into consideration the 117 families that disappeared from the village and the 117 'new' families, was also of the same order for the two points of time.

We have noted that migration of earners was accompanied by migration of dependents also. In the main these dependents constituted the 'broken' families that is the wife or the wife and children of the ^{emigrant-} earner. Apart from

the movement of the 10 per cent ^{or} ~~of~~ 117 families thus affected and details of which have been already given, we find that a total of 186 resident families were affected by this type of migration namely that of 'broken' families. Of these, 99 'families' returned to the village and 87 left the village.

All the 99 'broken' families that returned to the resident household in the village, did not constitute the 'normal' immigration of wives and children. The return of 22 families was on account of various socio-economic reasons such as retirement from service 5; death of an elder in the village household 6; unemployment, separation and sickness 3 each, and need to look after the family occupation and transfer, one each. Thus of the 99 families, 77 went to Mithbav as against the 87 that left Mithbav in the course of normal migration of 'broken' nuclear families.

^{Nov} In table 2.4 we give a breakdown of the emigrants according to the main occupation of the resident family in the village. It should be mentioned that these occupations belonged to the resurvey year of 1959-60. It was found that the occupational distribution of the families remained almost the same except in the case of some of the families engaged in agricultural labour and in the non-productive category in 1959-60. A few families shifted to agriculture labour on either the death of the resident

earner or because of emigration. Likewise a few families entered the non-productive category at the latter date owing to emigration of the earner during the intervening period and commencement of living on remittances alone. The number of families so affected was less than four per cent. A more detailed account of the changes in occupations during the five-year period may be found in Chapter III.

From the table it may be seen that the proportion of emigration increased substantially in the case of families engaged in fishing and in other professions like carting and house-building. In comparison the proportions from families in other occupations showed a decline. Columns 4 and 5 giving a proportionate distribution of the emigration during the five-year period and columns 8, 9, and 10 giving the proportionate extent of emigration as related to the situation in 1954-55, indicate the type of shift.

In Table 2.5 and 2.6 we give the distribution of emigrants according to jobs held outside the village and the occupation of the family resident in the village. Both the tables reflect the trend of change over the period during which the emigrants left the village and kept some sort of contact with the village at either of the two points of time. It may be mentioned here that these were not the total number of emigrants from the village for the period shown in the table. Some of the

earlier emigrants might have severed their contact with the village either because of separation, or closure of the household in the village on the death of the parents or because they struck roots at the place of work. A sufficient number might have dropped out on account of death. Likewise a sufficient number might have returned to the village either on retirement or because they were unable to continue in their jobs outside or because their presence in the village became necessary.

Some significant trends can be made out from the tables. While emigrants that left the village during the 30's and before the Second World War got employed in textile factories, in upper grade services like clerks and high school teachers and in lower grade jobs like peons, constables and bus conductors, those at a latter date sought work, to a larger extent, in the Port Trust, factories and other technical jobs. All through this period the proportion of those getting into the educational department as primary teachers increased continuously.

From the tables we also find that about two-thirds of the emigrants were engaged in labour work either in textile mills, the Port Trust or factories. Of the remaining, only 10 per cent were engaged in upper grade services such as clerks and high-school teachers. The rest were either primary teachers or those that worked as peons, postmen, bus-conductors or were employed in the police or

military services. It may therefore be seen that nearly 50 per cent were in low-paid jobs.

The next two tables, nos. 2.7 and 2.8, give the type of jobs held according to period of emigration for the two points of time. Here the assumption is that the jobs reported in 1959-60 were the same since the period of emigration and have not been changed. The tables denote the types of jobs that were available to and could be accepted by the emigrants from Mithbav over the period of time. It may be seen from 2.8 that the rate of absorption in all types of jobs except primary teaching decreased during the five years under study. The decrease was counterbalanced by the large proportion of unemployed. This indicated relatively greater difficulties of being absorbed in remunerative employment outside the village.

TABLE 2.9 presents the above data in a summary form and denotes the shift that took place during the intervening period in the pattern of the types of jobs held outside the village. The jobs held belonged to the resurvey year of 1959-60. It was, however, found that the change in the type of jobs held was negligible over the period of time.

It may be seen from the table that there was a substantial increase in Port Trust jobs. This was because of the proportionately greater emigration of Gabits.

Proportionately greater increases may also be seen in the

numbers employed in factories, other technical vocations, primary teachers' jobs, upper grade services and lower grade jobs. The relative increase in those employed in textile mills was small.

The marked change between the two situations was the increase in the proportion of unemployed emigrants. To a large extent these were the new emigrants that went out of the village during the five years. It may be seen that while the proportion of unemployed was 3.4 in 1954-55 it had risen to 9.3 in 1959-60.

Inquiries in the village also showed that emigration was getting more difficult and that those who had emigrated or those who intended to emigrate had to undergo a greater period of waiting before securing a job outside the village.

A part of this waiting had to be put in at the village end as can be seen from table 2.10 giving the age at emigration of earners that left the village during the ten years preceding the resurvey. We find that the mean age varied from 18.4 in 1950 to 22.3 in 1955. The change during the two five-year periods was from 20.15 to 21.29. The percentage distribution of the emigrants according to different age-groups for the two periods, as given in the last four columns also indicates this shift clearly.

In table 2.11 we give the annual emigration from the village as related to the type of jobs in the village at

the time of emigration. It may be seen that while the emigration of those that had reported some employment in the village went on increasing during the five years, the emigration of the unemployed showed a decline after the first two years. In the case of educands likewise emigration declined in the last year. This may be taken as indicative of the above fact that it had become progressively difficult to get jobs in Bombay and that the pace of emigration in the case of the unemployed and the educands slackened.

The table also shows the type of persons that emigrated. Nearly half of the emigrants were educands when they left the village. Regarding those employed in the family occupation, it should be mentioned that their employment was of a nominal nature. To a large measure, they were and felt 'unemployed' and hence left the village in search of a job. A majority of those in salaried jobs had left the village on departmental transfer.

While the above had actually left the village, there were others who had to remain in the village either because they had to look after the household or were too advanced in age to seek and get a job at Bombay. There were also the 'new' earners, those ^{who} had entered earnerhood during the five-year period under study. They had either completed their education or had discontinued it. They generally reported the family occupation such as agriculture,

labour or fishing as their own. These two sets of persons could not be isolated as it would be arbitrary to set down the level of income at which employment in the village became 'real' and effectively counteracted the need to emigrate.

However, we carried out a small non-sample enquiry of such persons, during the resurvey for getting some illustrative data. Twenty-eight persons between the ages 14 to 20, and who had either completed or discontinued schooling were selected for this random enquiry. Except two, all had reported some occupation. These were mainly family occupations. They were cultivation 12, labour 12, carting 1, and service in tea-shop 1. The remaining two were unemployed.

Of the 28, 16 expressed a desire to get a job outside the village and preferably at Bombay, when interrogated about their intentions. Six thought they would continue as they were and the remaining six could not give any preference. It appeared that the parents or senior family members of 15 were desirous of their seeking a job outside Mithbav; those of eight wanted them to continue in the family occupation of cultivation, rapan fishing, agricultural labour and carting and those of the remaining five did not want them to leave the home or village.

Only four expressly stated that their earnings at Mithbav were meagre and inadequate. Another four thought that they were not adequately employed at Mithbav, that

they did not wish to remain in the family occupation and that their friends with whom they would like to be were already serving in Bombay.

The majority, 14 in number, hoped that their income would increase if they get a job at Bombay. The remaining six were undecided.

While 12 had direct relatives (brothers and fathers at Bombay), four had some distant relatives and the remaining 12 had only acquaintances and neighbours.

Regarding difficulties of leaving the village, eight of them said that they had none who would try for a job for them. Seven were unable to go as there was no assurance of a job. Six said that they could not go as there was nobody to look after the family occupation. Three reported there was no halting place at Bombay where they could stay and try for a job. Of the rest two did not give information, one was too young to go and the last was an astamatic.

In table 2.12 we classify the reasons for emigration reported by two sets of emigrants, those that had left the village prior to 1930 and those who had emigrated during the period under study between 1954-55 and 1959-60. They are meant for a very broad comparison only since the attitudes recorded here were not put through a rigorous scale. It may be generally assumed that the principal underlying reason was the economic necessity of seeking

employment.

It may be seen that the proportion of those reporting inadequate family occupation has gone down. This may not be taken to mean that emigrants at the latter period were more comfortably settled. It was also likely that owing to greater emigration to Bombay and a larger quantum of remittances therefrom, the need to emigrate was less acutely felt by those in the second set.

The more important shift in the reasons for emigration is reflected in the next three groups. We find larger proportions leaving the village because of assurance of employment, preference for a job at Bombay and hopes for more remunerative work.

The practice of emigration and the subsequent contact with the urban city of Bombay had brought about a rapid increase in the educational level and educational facilities at the village end. There were seven educational institutions namely five full-fledged primary schools, a high school and a primary teachers' training college at the resurvey point of time. The number had not changed during the five years except that a middle primary school was converted into a full-fledged one during the five years. During the second point of time it was found that the level of education had gone up with more number of students of higher ages in the higher classes (vide Section Two, Chapter III).

One of the reasons for the spread of education was, as said above, the need to emigrate in search of employment. While a minimum attainment, upto the 4th standard primary education, was considered an absolute necessity so that the person, in case of emigration, could correspond with the family at the village, a higher education meant increased prospects of getting a better job at Bombay or elsewhere outside the village. Completion of one stage of education, either primary or secondary, generally facilitated securing of more comfortable jobs such as primary teaching, high school teaching, police constables and postmen etc. These jobs were more secure, assured graded increments in salaries and were relatively less hard as compared to jobs in textile mills, the Port Trust, or other factory jobs.

In table 2.13 we present the educational attainments of the emigrants. The table gives a period-wise classification of the 965 emigrant earners in 1954-55 and as well as the educational attainments of the 270 emigrants during five year period between the two surveys. It may be mentioned here that about 90 per cent, of the emigrants completed their education in the village.

It is apparent from the table that the level of education of the emigrants rose perceptibly over the period of time, with a consequent decline in the proportion in the emigration of illiterate persons. The number of emigrants who pursued higher studies also increased. A comparison

of the proportionate distribution of the 965 emigrants in 1954-55 and the 270 emigrants during the five-year period shows that the proportion of those completing the primary education increased from 39.9 to 48.9 per cent. We may find that the proportion of those completing their high school education also increased if we deduct those who had passed the matriculation examination prior to 1940 from the total, as prior to 1940 facilities for secondary training were not available in the village. We had already seen that there was a shift towards increased preference for and the actual securing of the more easier type of jobs during the five-year period (vide table 2.9). While the getting of a job depended upon other factors as well and a strict correlation between educational attainments and the type of employment could not be taken for granted, the relatively better-educated emigrants may be said to have tried for the more easier type of jobs. The process was in a way inevitable in the circumstances. A more difficult employment situation in Bombay meant greater waiting at the village end and also a compulsion to increase educational qualification on the part of the intending emigrants. The better qualified emigrants, in their turn, tried to get into the more secure, easier and non-technical type of jobs.

Table 2.13A brings out the extent of the continuous drain of relatively better educated persons from the

village. It gives the number, per 100 of reporting cases, of non-school going adults of the village as well as the emigrants outside the village at each point of time. The educational attainments, except in the case of the illiterates, denote certain accomplished stages of education.

A comparison between the two series for each point of time shows that the external component was generally better-qualified educationally. In particular we can see that while relatively a larger number of illiterates or those that discontinued education after the 4th standard stayed in the village, those that had completed their primary or secondary stage of education went out of the village for the sake of employment. They apparently thought that ^{they} had to go to Bombay or other bigger places in order ^{to} expect and get better remuneration or remuneration befitting their educational attainment.

The change between the educational attainments of the two external components can also be discerned from the table. Over the five-year period, we find that the number of illiterates as well as those that left education after the fourth grade, dropped from 12.6 to 9.8 and from 22.4 to 18.5 respectively. On the other hand, the number of those that had completed some stage of education, either primary, secondary or degree stage, increased at the latter point of time.

As noted earlier in the chapter, the emigration at

Mithbav was a matter of economic necessity. Earners had to leave the village in order to sustain themselves as well as their families both outside the village as well as the resident ones. The village thus received a part of the earnings outside the village, in the form of regular monthly remittances. The families receiving such remittances had to depend upon them to a significant extent since their resident income declined on the emigration of the earner. The fact that remittances were an important source of livelihood at the village end could be discerned from the fact that the remittances formed one-third of the total income reported by the families at the resurvey point of time.

In table 2.14 we present data relating to remittances received by the village at the two points of time. The table shows that while the average size of remittance in all size-groups increased, a larger proportion of the total was being received by families receiving larger-sized remittances. The proportionate distributions of receiving families and the quantum of remittances in each size indicate that at the latter point of time, a larger number of families received relatively larger-sized remittances.

Table 2.15 presents the same data in a more condensed form. The shifts can be more clearly seen. In particular it may be seen that while the proportion of families in

the first group, Rs.300 and below, decreased from 71.8 to 67.2 per cent and the quantum of remittance shared by them from 55.4 to 43.8 per cent, their relative benefit as measured by the percentage increase in average remittance (given in the last column), was the greatest, as compared to the second and third groups.

The increase in the average size, from Rs.235.3 to Rs.302.6, was occasioned by a variety of reasons, main of which were increased earnings outside the village and the relative worsening of the economic situation in the village as reflected in the ~~disproportionate~~ increase in the cost of living as compared to incomes within the village. The process of change however was not positive in all cases. Owing to the character of migration discussed earlier this general increase in remittances was accompanied by decreases also. We find that that while a number of families began receiving remittances during the second point of time, remittances were stopped altogether in the case of other families. The change occurred as follows :

Number of families receiving remittances in 1954-55		532
<u>Less</u> number of families in village whose remittances stopped during the five years	82	
<u>Less</u> number of families, receiving remittances in 1954-55, who left the village during the five years	<u>57</u>	
	139	<u>139</u>

Number of families in village receiving remittances at both points of time		393
<u>Add</u> number of families in village who began receiving remittances during the five years	174	
<u>Add</u> number of families receiving remittances in 1959-60, who went to the village during the five years	65	
<u>Add</u> N. R.	<u>12</u>	
	251	<u>251</u>
Number of families receiving remittances in 1959-60		<u>644</u>

It may be seen that taking the village as a whole the proportion of families receiving remittances rose from 46.6 per cent in 1954-55 to 56.4 per cent in 1959-60. The change came about by 139 or 12.2 per cent of families dropping out of the category and 251 or 22.0 per cent of families who began getting remittances during the five-year period.

The total village, however, included 117 non-existent families at ^{either of} the two points of time. Taking into consideration, therefore, the 1024 families that were resident in the village at both points of time, we find that the proportion of families receiving remittances rose from 46.4 per cent in 1954-55 to 55.4 per cent in 1959-60. The change came about by the dropping out of 82 or 8.0 per cent of families in whose case remittances stopped altogether and the entry of 174 or 17 per cent of families

who began getting remittances during the period under study.

In addition, there were other families whose remittances altered over the period of time. These numbered 57 the quantum of whose remittances decreased and 152 who began getting larger remittances. The numbers are not inclusive of the families whose remittances remained unaltered as well as those whose remittances varied within a small limit of Rs. 5 per month or Rs.60 per year, either way.

We give in table 2.16 the reasons for the stoppage of remittances in the case of the 82 above-referred families, as well as the 57 families whose remittances decreased substantially. The reasons have been inferred by studying the two situations of each family. We should also state here that our effort was to find out a single reason for the change. While the single reason may explain the change to a large extent, it should be kept in mind that there may be other reasons, operating concurrently, for the given change. It should also be mentioned that the attempt was to find out, in the main, an economic reason.

The table shows that the major single reason for stoppage of remittances was the stoppage of earnings outside the village either on account of the return or death ^{or} ~~of~~ unemployment of the emigrant earner or his alienation on account of separation. The nine cases in which

remittances stopped on account of increase in expenses outside the village included five cases of increase in family by emigration of wife and child, two cases of increased expenses of education etc. and two cases of indebtedness at the Bombay end.

In the case of the 57 families whose remittances diminished, the main reason was increase of expenses outside the village principally because the family stationed in the village joined the emigrant earner. In 10 cases the remittances decreased because of stoppage of earnings outside the village on either the return or death or unemployment of one of the emigrant earners. It may also be noted in particular that remittances diminished in the case of eight families in this group because of increases in resident incomes.

In table 2.7 we give the reason for the commencement of remittances as well as increases in remittances during the period of time. The main reason for commencement was the emigration of earners during the five years and the getting of employment by those who had left the village before 1954-55. Getting of employment outside the village almost automatically meant commencement of remittances. In the case of the next group whose remittances increased the largest single reason was the increase in the expenses of the village household mainly on account of immigration of the wives and children to the village. In 29 cases,

we could not infer any other reason except the increase in the earnings outside the village. About 16 per cent of the families received higher remittances because they had sent out fresh earners during the five years. In the case of 16, the main reason was the decrease in resident incomes.

As earlier, it may be repeated here that our attempt was to find a single reason for the change in the quantum of remittances. In some instances a number of reasons operated concurrently in order to bring about the change. The emigration of an earner resulted in the decrease in resident incomes which in its turn became inadequate because of immigration of the wife and children of the earlier emigrant. It could also be that the emigration of the earner during the five years or the getting of a job of an unemployed emigrant resulted in pushing up the total earnings outside the village and since the cost of living had gone up at the village-end, a part of the increased earnings were sent home.

The quantum of earnings outside the village rose during the five-year period on account of two reasons. Firstly the earnings of emigrants who had left the village prior to 1954-55 increased on account of regular annual increments in the cases of non-factory jobs like those of primary teachers, lower grade services, clerks and high school teachers. The earnings of those employed in textile mills, the Port Trust and other factories also increased

with the rise in the cost of living index of Bombay with which their wages were linked. In the second instance, the total quantum of earnings increased because of the employment of earlier unemployed emigrants as well as the employment of those who left the village during the five-years period.

The general size of earning was, however, low. In table 2.18 we give a classification of the emigrant earners in 1959-60 according to the types of jobs held by them and their earnings. It may be seen that of those, whose earnings were reported, more than 80 per cent earned less than Rs.1500 per annum or Rs.125 per month. About a third of these earned Rs.1000 or less per annum.

The practice of remittance depended upon a number of factors, social as well as economic. It also depended on the degree of attachment of the emigrant-earner towards those in the village household. We, therefore, find that of the 80 per cent or 954 emigrants, in whose case we could get the information in this regard, 622 or 62.6 per cent sent remittances regularly, 172 or 17.3 per cent sent remittances irregularly and 200 or 20.1 per cent did not send any remittances at all.

In table 2.19 we give the size of monthly remittance as related to the total income for both the groups of emigrant-earners, those who had emigrated prior to 1954-55 and those who left the village during the five years.

Only those of the emigrants who sent remittances regularly are considered for the purpose of this table. Secondly we have excluded from the former group the emigrant-earners belonging to the families that went to the village during the five years and the non-reporting cases.

The percentage distribution of remittance sizes for the two groups show that the former group sent, on an average, a larger-sized remittance than the latter. The apparent reason was that their earnings, on an average, were larger than those of the latter, who had emigrated during the five-year period. The mean size of remittance of the former was Rs.25.05 while that of the latter was Rs.22.14 per month.

We have seen that remittances were affected, to a significant extent, by the practice of sending or keeping the wife and children in the village. This practice was occasioned to a large extent on account of difficulties of accommodation, the nature of husband's work and the need to look after the family household. In table 2.20 we give a distribution of the total number of earner emigrant in 1955-60 according to the practice of living and the place of work.

It may be seen that about one-half of the total married persons kept their wives and children in the village, about half of these for want of accommodation, mainly in Bombay. Those that kept their wives in the

village because of the nature of their work included in the main, emigrant-earners employed in Port Trust services which necessitated their going away on vessels or being present in the docks all the time and those who went to Bombay during the five years and were not yet securely settled.

The practice of leaving either the resident household in the case of the unmarried emigrant-earners and the wives and children in the case of married ones resulted into a practice of going to the village once in a year. The practice of visiting was also facilitated by the sea-route via the taluka place of Devgad, 20 miles away from Mithbav. In table 2.21 we give the practice of remittance as well as the practice of visiting for the two points of time according to the major castes of the village. They are given as proportion of the total for the sake of comparison.

It may be seen that the practice of remittance on the whole increased along with that of visiting during the five years. In the case of regular remittances the practice shows a much larger extent of increase in the case of Brahmins as compared to the three major castes of the village. In the case of Mahars, the practice of regular remittances decreased but was offset by irregular remittances.

As regards the practice of visiting, we find that the proportions visiting the village regularly decreased, the

decline being the largest in the case of Mahars. The practice of annual visits appears to have been replaced by irregular visiting, the proportion increasing from 43 to 66 per cent. The regularity was affected, firstly because of the necessity of sending larger remittances to the village on account of the worsened economic situation, secondly because of the larger proportion of unemployed, especially in the case of the fresh emigrants and lastly because, as we have seen earlier, a larger number of families, the wives and children, joined the emigrants during the five-year period.

In the foregoing account, emigration of male earners only has been considered. There ^{was} ~~were~~ a small number of female earners also who had emigrated from the village. We now give a brief account of these female earners.

Of the total of 37 female emigrant earners, 31 had emigrated and were holding jobs prior to the survey year of 1954-55. The rest emigrated during the five-years period. Of the total, 7 were unmarried, 15 were married and 15 were widowed. Eighteen of these were illiterates, 14 had completed their primary education, 2 had completed their secondary education and 3 were graduates. Castewise 5 were Brahmins, 23 Marathas, 4 Bhandaris, 3 Gabits and one each, Devli and Mahar. Age-wise 6 were in the 15-25 group, 30 in 26-35, 6 in 36-45 and 5 in the 46-55 group.

The types of jobs held were primary teaching 18, 7 did

various types of labour work mainly textile labour work, 2 were self-employed and one was a clerk. The types of jobs held by the remaining 9 were not reported.

Of the six who emigrated during the five-year period, five were employed as primary teachers. In age they were 30 years and below. Their average earning was Rs.833 as against Rs.1090 of those that had emigrated before 1954-55. While only four of the earlier 31 emigrants sent remittances of Rs.20 per month to the families in the village, five of the six that emigrated during the five years sent remittances to the village.

Section Two

The migration situations of the two points of time as well as the magnitude and direction of change in emigration during the intervening period has been discussed in Section One. In this Section we give certain characteristics of immigration and go on to attempt an overall comparison of the two situations. The immigration aspect is dealt briefly as the immigrants, earners as well as dependents, formed a part of the village in 1959-60 and as such are discussed in Chapter III dealing with changes in population and their occupations in the village.

The total extent of immigration can be seen from table 3.25. According to this we find that the number of immigrants, exclusive of females given in marriage into

and staying at Mithbav in 1959-60, was 692 for the five year period. All these persons are termed 'immigrants' in the sense that they went to live in Mithbav during the intervening period of time. A part of these were comprised of the 'new' families that immigrated to Mithbav during the period. Among the rest a large proportion was made up of the 'broken' families, the wives and children of emigrant-earners outside, that were sent back to the village because of various reasons such as lack of accommodation, family contingencies like death or sickness of an elderly parent at the village-end etc. We have already seen that, during the period, other such families numbering more than the immigrant families left the village to join their emigrant earners.

The number of earner-immigrants was 136, distributed into all age-groups from 15 and above. They were distributed broadly into the age group 26 to 40 forming 36 per cent and the age group 51 and above forming 40 per cent. The latter group was made up of persons who had retired from service and had returned to their native village. The rest of the immigrants were composed of departmental transferees, holders of new jobs at the village and those whose emigration was interrupted for reasons such as health, loss of jobs or continued unemployment outside the village.

The latter, namely the immigrants whose emigration had been interrupted, formed about one-half of the total

immigrants. The major reason of their immigration to Mithbav was sickness or the non-suitability of the climate of the city of Bombay accounting for 40 per cent. The remaining returned on account of loss of jobs (20 per cent); assumption of responsibility of the household (16 per cent); and continued unemployment (10 per cent). No reason was given in the case of the remaining 14 per cent.

The account of migration leads to certain broad con-
clusions. As observed earlier, migration was a continuous process and as such created a number of impediments in the attempt to estimate the net rate of emigration over a period of time. In the case of some of the emigrants, the emigration resulted into a temporary movement of leaving the village and returning back within a short period of time. A second difficulty was the occurrence of deaths, of immigrants to the village and of emigrants from the village, that occurred during the intervening period. A number of households ceased to exist either due to death or total emigration of the particular household. During the period again, a number of 'broken' families returned to the village ^{while others} ~~as well as~~ went out to join their earners, for larger and shorter durations. All these movements could not be dated. This ^{lead} lead to the principal difficulty namely the estimation of the population of the village for each of the five years to which the emigration is to be linked to estimate the net rate of emigration.

However, the data presented under emigration indicate that the practice of leaving the village in search of employment strengthened positively during the intervening period. As a result of this emigration, of earners as well as their dependents, we find that the village remained almost stationary in its population, with a very small increase of 0.6 per cent during the five intervening years. The excess of growth, to a large extent, was shifted to places outside the village and mainly to Bombay. In table 2.22 we give the consumption equivalents of the population in the village and its external complement for the two points of time. It may be seen that while the increase was of the extent of 0.34 per cent at the village-end, it was 13.48 per cent outside the village. Of the total increase of 260.3 adult consumption units in 1959-60, more than 95 per cent were shifted to places outside the village.

The second change brought about by the greater extent of emigration was the larger benefit, received in the form a larger quantum of remittances, accruing to the village. The total receipts increased by 55.7 per cent from Rs.125180 to Rs.194920. The proportion of remittances to the total income of village increased from 27.7 per cent in 1954-55 to 33.3 per cent in 1959-60. In the context of the change in the total income of the village which increased by 29.7 per cent as against the increase of 35

per cent in the cost of living index, the increase in the proportion of remittances partly compensated the relatively smaller increase of 19.7 per cent in resident incomes (vide Chapter IX).

The increase in remittances came about, as we have already seen, on account of higher earnings by the earlier emigrants and the employment of the emigrants that left the village during the five years. The new emigrant-earners, in particular the 192 or 71.1 per cent, that secured jobs, earned on an average Rs.1105.8 as compared to an average of Rs.1402.1 earned by the earlier emigrants. In the context of benefits to the village, they sent on an average of Rs.265.7 or 24.0 per cent of their earnings to the village in the case of those remitting regularly. This could be well-compared with the average of Rs.167.1 that a resident earner (vide ^{chapter 9,} table 9.3) in the village earned in 1955-60.

Emigration also entailed certain long-term benefits. These would be reflected in the savings of the people over a period of time. It stands to reason to assume that people would not emigrate if emigration also meant living below the subsistence level outside the village as well.

The assessment of savings, however, presents a number of difficulties. Chief among these is the estimation of annual expenditure on consumption. We did not collect these data. The fact that there were savings of some kind

can only be demonstrated with the help of sample data collected from those who had gone to the village after retirement.

WE collected information regarding major expenditures and the reasons thereof, from 50 such persons. The inquiry showed that of the total reported major expenditures, 39 per cent were on marriages, 29 per cent on education 13 per cent on residential housing and repairs, 11 per cent on sickness and 8 per cent for purchasing land. We thus find that one-half the savings was spent for consumption purposes only. Of the other half a larger proportion was spent on education, which, as we have seen, was in the nature of a social investment in the context of the village.

The visible items resulting from these savings were the residential houses and the land purchased. It should be mentioned that the above expenditures were undertaken during the 30 or 40 years prior to the resurvey. The above proportions cannot be adopted for the period under study with altered price levels, higher educational attainments and changes in attitudes.

During the five year period under study, ^{however,} about nine acres of land forming one per cent of the total cultivated area of the village, had been purchased for Rs.21,750; new residential houses numbering 39 were built at a cost of Rs.60,375 and major repairs of 77 houses were undertaken for Rs.21,850. Together these expenditures amounted to about four per cent per year of the average total income

of the village: Our data show that to a large extent the above expenditures were financed either out of savings or provident fund moneys acquired from outside the village or by raising loans at Bombay or Ratnagiri.

As regards the capital stock we find that the total stock of capital declined during the period. The small increases in the acquisition of water lifts, new plantations and non-agricultural capital stock like sewing machines etc. amounting to Rs.9546 were offset by declines in the number of bullockcarts, Rs.1885, and fishing assets Rs.12054. The net decline was of the extent of Rs.4393. (Vide table 4.2). It may however be stated that while the disinvestment was occasioned by causes originating in the village, the investments, in particular the water lifts, the sewing machines etc. were, to a certain extent, financed from earnings outside the village.

Finally, the small savings, as reflected in post office savings, purchase of savings certificates and purchase of gold, amounted to Rs.25755 or Rs.5151 per annum (vide table 4.23) during the five-year period. Almost all these savings came from outside the village and represented the moneys brought home after retirement. These savings give an annual rate of about one per cent of the average total annual income of the village.

Chapter II

THE POPULATION AND ITS OCCUPATIONS

The chapter deals with the population of the village, its demographic characteristics and its distribution into different types of occupations, at the two points of time.

We have seen in the previous chapter that the period between the two investigations witnessed a constant movement of persons to and from the village. The second major factor affecting the population was the passage of time itself during which some persons dropped out on account of death and others were added^{to} on account of birth.

We therefore find that methodologically the total population of the village in 1954-55 cannot be completely identified with the total population in 1959-60. For the sake of comparability therefore we have divided the populations into different categories based on the residential characteristic of each group. The part of the two populations that was present in the village at both points of time has been kept distinct in order to facilitate the study of changes, demographic as well as occupational, that have occurred during the five years. The 1954-55 population is thus split into three groups, (i) the resident or 'In Mithbav' group as mentioned above, (ii) the group that dropped out on account of death and (iii) the group that left the village. Likewise the 1959-60 population is divided into three groups, (i) the resident or 'In Mithbav' group, (ii) the group comprising of the births during the five years, and (iii) those that went to Mithbav during the five years.

The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, we attempt a reconciliation of the two populations and discuss the changes that have occurred in the number of households and individuals during the period under study. Section two, presents the demographic characteristics and educational attainment of the two populations. In section three we give the occupational distribution and study the changes that have been revealed by our resurvey.

Section One

The population of Mithbav, according to our survey in 1954-55, was 5140 divided into 1130 households. The resurvey disclosed 47 cases of non-enumeration at the time of the first survey, ~~in 1954-55~~. While a majority of these were members of families covered by our investigation, the remaining were comprised of 11 families, mostly single member families. All these cases of non-enumeration, the individuals as well as the families, were identified as such by our investigator. It was also found that five persons, who were not living in the village, were enumerated as such and included in our survey population. The corrected population of the village during the 1954-55 survey was therefore fixed at 5182 persons divided into 1141 households.

The resurvey returned almost an identical figure as far as the population at the village was concerned. The population was 5212 divided into 1141 households. While the number of families remained unchanged, the population recorded an increase of 30 or 57 per cent over the 1954-55 figure.

It has been noted elsewhere that a comparison, undertaken

during the first survey, of the population figures of all the villages in the Devgad taluka for 1941 and 1951 censuses had led us to observe that Mithbav was one of the villages whose population either dwindled over a period of time or whose growth was not commensurate with the natural rate of growth. The abnormally small increase in the population of the village during the five intervening years appears to substantiate this conclusion.

In the general family schedule used for both investigations, we had inquired about the number of persons staying outside the village but having close socio-economic contact with the resident family in the village. On the basis of these data we attempt, in table 3.1, a reconciliation of the total populations belonging to the village, staying both within and outside the village in order to ascertain the magnitude of the growth in size due to natural causes namely births and deaths. In the table Mithbav I represents those staying in the village while Mithbav II represents the external component namely those belonging to Mithbav but staying outside the village. We assume that the two taken together comprise the 'total' village.

The reconciliation is done under certain obvious assumptions. For example, we have assumed that the population, comprising of both the internal and the external components, as returned in the 1954-55 survey, is the total population belonging to the village in that year. This is obviously not correct since there would be many other households, belonging to Mithbav and staying outside the village, that were either not reported by resident families or that did not leave anybody behind who could report them as nearest of kin. The second

assumption is that we have taken, as belonging to the village, all those families, who, while actually not belonging to the village, had gone to Mithbav either for salariable jobs or for the purpose of making a living by fishing, trading etc. prior to the 1954-55 survey.

In the reconciliation, we have excluded these transferee families that had gone to or moved out of Mithbav during the period under study. We have taken as belonging to Mithbav all those that moved into Mithbav during the five years for socio-economic reasons and shown them in the external component in 1954-55, since these were not reported in 1954-55. For ascertaining the 'total' population in 1959-60, we have added also to the external component all those belonging to emigrant families, non-existent in the village in 1959-60. It was however not possible to ascertain the change in their number during the period under study.

The reconciliation shows that the population of the 'total' village increased from 7614 to 8104 during the five year period. This increase of 490 amounted to 6.44 per cent giving an annual growth rate of 1.28, for the 'total' population of Mithbav. This may be taken only as the lower limit of the rate of natural growth. At this rate the resident population of Mithbav should have increased from 5182 in 1954-55 to 5516 in 1959-60 instead 5212 as returned by our resurvey. We however find that of the estimated increase of 334, only 30 remained in the village over the period between the two surveys. We therefore conclude that Mithbav belonged

to that category of coastal villages which, while not getting depopulated in the absolute sense of the term, made a disproportionate small addition to its size. In the specific case of Mithbav and for the period of five years between 1954-55 and 1959-60, we find that more than 90 per cent of the natural increase in population, 304 out of 334, had been removed from the village.

The apparently stationary state of the resident population of the village concealed significant changes because of certain offsetting movements of households and individuals. On the household level the movement came about as under :

Number of households in 1954-55	1141
<u>Less</u> : Number of households that ceased to exist in the village in 1959-60	117
<u>Add</u> : Number of households, 'new families', that moved into the village during the five year period	87
<u>Add</u> : Number of households 'new families', that came about by separation	30
Number of households in 1959-60	1141

Table 3.2 gives a year-wise movement of the households according to the circumstances or purposes of this movement. Since the families were non-existent, the purposes were either ascertained from the families in the neighbourhood or inferred from the earlier situation of the household. The purpose-categories under which they are classified are again a matter of judgement regarding their relative importance, as the immediate purposes were often more than one and were socio-economic in character. They could be reclassified under different

categories depending upon the purpose of such a classification. The second half of the table accounts for only 87 of the 'new' families as no yearwise dating of the remaining 30 that came to be formed by separation, was possible.

The 117 families that had disappeared from the village could be classified under three broad categories according to the reasons and purposes for their disappearance. Death of the head of the family was one of the principal reasons, for the disappearance of 33 families, 26 of which were single member families. Members of the remaining seven families left the village because of the death of the local head whose infirmities or sickness had necessitated their staying in the village. There were 12 families who had to leave the village due to the transfer of their earning males, who were mainly salaried persons such as primary teachers, talathis and police constables.

The largest group was, however, composed of families, numbering 67 (col. 7 + 8), that left the village to join their severed families or the single earning members staying outside the village and mainly at Bombay.

The second half of the table classifies the 'new families', non-existent in the village during the first point inquiry, according to the reasons or purposes of their moving into the village.

The largest group among these was made up of those, who, having their male members employed in jobs outside the village and mainly at Bombay, had been sent back to the village either because there were difficulties of accommodation or because their presence in the village was necessary for looking after

the household. These numbered 48 (cols. 15 + 16 + 17) out of the total of 87.

The second significant group, numbering 12 families (col. 14) was made up of those families that returned to Mithbav consequent upon the failure of their earning male folk to continue in their jobs. The failures took the form of either sickness due to unsuitability of the climate at Bombay, loss of jobs due to strikes or termination of the period of contract, termination of leave vacancies or continued unemployment. This portion of the immigration has been termed 'interrupted emigration' by us, to mean that part of the total immigration that would have continued to stay and work outside the village had it not been for the unfavourable circumstances. It was considered important to isolate such households, as these along with the cases of successful emigration, would denote the total extent of emigration.

There were two more groups of families that moved into Mithbav during the five-year period. The first of these, numbering 17 (columns 11 + 12), were the families of transferees in government department jobs such as primary teachers, talathis and police constables and those who secured employment at Mithbav. The other group was composed of ¹⁰ families that returned to Mithbav after retirement from the employment held by the principal earning male of the family, outside the village.

The formation of the remaining 30 'new' families that came about by separation, was occasioned by a variety of reasons, which were largely socio-economic in character. In a large

number of cases the reason for separation was vaguely and non-committally reported to be the 'inability to get along' or 'family quarrels'. Closer inquiries revealed the principal reasons or purposes to be as under :

Reasons for separation -----	Number of families -----	Of which number of families with remittances from Bombay -----
1. Inability to get along or family quarrels	15	8
2. Economic inability to shoulder responsibility	8	3
3. 'New' economic independence	5	3
4. Voluntary separation	2	-
	-----	-----
Total	30	14
	-----	-----

The reasons noted above were as reported by the 'new' families that came about by separation vis-a-vis the parent families. It is possible that the situation may show a different picture if it were viewed from the point of view of the parent families. The reported reasons themselves were likewise neither mutually exclusive nor the only responsible ones. It is generally known that ^{the} separation of a family is only the visual end-result of a number of socio-economic tensions that exist between ^{the} nuclear units staying together. Our classification may also reveal an effort on our part to locate, as far as possible, the 'economic' reasons for separation. It was felt that separations were either precipitated or facilitated by economic reasons

in a majority of cases.

It may be seen from the table that of the 15 families in the first group that separated because of their inability to get along together with the parent family, eight had an earner in Bombay sending home a part of his earnings. It generally happened that the wife, either left at Mithbav or sent back because of lack of accommodation, had to live within the remittances sent by her husband. These being of a modest size, between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 and below in a large number of cases, she was naturally anxious to reduce the claims made on it by all the members of the parent family, the incomes of the latter being generally low and of a kind nature. This anxiety presumably bred the discord resulting into separation.

In the next group, namely economic inability of the parent family to shoulder responsibility, there were eight families by separation, three of which received remittances.

The next group of families numbering five came to be separated from the parent family, when the 'new' earner in each of them attained earnerhood and made separation feasible. Of these, we find, three secured employment at Bombay.

Lastly, there were two families where separation came about in a voluntary manner. In one case the ageing parents divided the family land between their two grown-up sons and asked them to live separately in order to avoid future quarrels and ill-will amongst the brothers after their death. The second case was that of a labour household where the younger brother decided to live separately after marriage.

It may be noted that of the 30 families that came into

being by separation, 14 had an earner working outside the village and sending remittances to his wife and children stationed in the village.

Table 3.3 reconciles the resident population of Mithbav at the two points of time and broadly categorises the reasons of the changes that came about during the intervening period.

It may be seen that about 73 per cent of the resident population was present in the village at the time of both the survey and the resurvey. The proportion that either ceased to exist (on account of death) or moved out of the village from the total in 1954-55 and the proportion that either came into being (on account of birth) or moved into the village was around 27 per cent. The respective magnitudes were 7 and 20 per cent in the case of deaths and emigration and 12.3 and 15.2 per cent in the case of births and immigration.

Columns 4 to 7 in the table give the numbers that dropped out or were added to according to the reasons for doing so. We find that while 74 per cent of the total persons that dropped out from the 1954-55 population emigrated (the remaining 26 per cent being accounted for by death) from Mithbav, those that immigrated (exclusive of about 45 per cent added by birth) amounted to 55 per cent of the total that were added during the five year period. In actual figures this meant that apart from the changes on account of natural causes like births and deaths, the five year period recorded a total emigration 1039 persons as against a total immigration of 794.

Seen sex-wise, the actual overall change amounted to a decrease of 31 males as against an increase of 61 females in the

resident population at the time of the resurvey in 1959-60.

Section Two

This section presents some demographic features of the populations of the village at the two points of time. Towards the end of the section we discuss the educational attainments of the population and the changes therein.

Table 3.4 classifies the total number of households according to size. For purposes of comparison the households that existed in the village at both points of study have been kept distinct.

It has been seen that the population of the village increased only by 30 persons and the number of families remained the same. The average size of the family therefore remained almost stationary at 4.5 members per household.

It may be seen that the overall pattern of distribution remained almost the same, the variation being within a limit of two per cent either way.

The point worth noting is that the number of single-member families in the 'In Mithav' group increased from 107 to 144, mainly on account of emigration and separation.

Tables 3.5 to 3.8 give a castewise distribution of the populations broken into different groups as noted earlier. Table 3.9 summarises the data giving the average size of family for each caste-group at the two points of time.

It may be seen that nearly 89 per cent of the households belonged to the three major caste-groups, the Marathas, the Bhandaris and the Gubits. Next came the Mahars and the Brahmins with 4.1 and 2.6 per cent respectively. It may ^{also} be seen that the

average family-size in each of these major caste-groups changed very little and remained almost stationary over the period.

Tables 3.10 and 3.11 give the age structure of the male and female populations of the village into five year age-groups, for the two points of time. The tables show that the structure has not changed much. The small shifts in individual age-groups, when grouped under larger age groups, however, reveal that over the period of the five years, the proportions of those below 20 and above 60 have slightly increased, with an identical decrease in the middle age group, 21 to 60.

In table 3.12, we give the sex-ratios for broad age groups for the two periods of time. The first group comprises of non-adults, the second, adults in the working age and third, adults above 61.

The century old practice of migration had resulted in a preponderance of females as compared to males in Mithbav when we surveyed it in 1954-55. The sex ratio then stood at 776.5 males per 1000 females. We have seen that the small increase of 30 in the population actually came about by a decline of 31 in the male and rise of 61 in the female population. As a result the sex ratio fell to 750.2 at the second point of study. Age groupwise, we find that the respective sex ratios have also recorded a decline. The largest decline however can be seen in the working age group, denoting that comparatively there were fewer working males than in 1954-55.

Data regarding the marital status of the male and female population is presented in table 3.13. As was expected, the 1959-60 population containing births recorded during the five

year period, has a larger proportion of unmarried persons both in males and females. The significant fact to be noted is that while the excess of married females over married males was of the order of 360 at the first point of study, it increased to 487 at the resurvey point, denoting the strengthening of the practice, on the part of earner emigrants, to leave their wives in the village.

In the tables that follow we present data regarding the educational standards of school-going children according to caste for both the points of time, tables giving age and educational classification of educands in the major caste-groups in the village and finally the level of education for ~~the total~~ population of the total population at the two points of time.

At the time of the survey in 1954-55, the village had five primary schools, four of which taught upto the ^{vernacular-}final examination. These schools were well-spread over the village with separate schools for the two distant localities of Tambaldy^g the fishermen's locality on sea shore and Katwan, the locality at the north-western edge of the village.

The village had a high school teaching upto the eleventh standard for qualifying the students to appear for the Secondary School Certificate examination of the State Board. In addition, there was a primary teachers' training college, imparting courses on education and teaching.

It was apparent that the village was conscious of the benefits of education when we surveyed it in 1954-55. An addition^d point in this context was that quite a large number had taken to education as an occupation^{by} itself as could be seen from

table 2,7 showing a significant number of emigrant numbers employed as primary teachers outside the village.

During the resurvey, the situation remained much the same except that the middle primary school at Katwan was converted, by stages into a full primary school by 1959-60. The conversion was brought about in a co-operative manner ^{by amalgamation with} ~~with~~ the primary school belonging to the village Kunakeshwar across the ferry.

In 1959, the residents of the two localities, both called Katwan, formed a local development committee for the sake of amalgamating the schools and plan the construction of a pucca ^{stream separating the two localities.} bridge over the small ~~ferry~~. The two schools, teaching upto the 4th and 5th respectively, were amalgamated and converted into a joint full primary school in that year. The new arrangements were to have classes upto the second at both the places; standards 3rd, 5th and 7th were located in the Kunakeshwar Katwan locality and standards 4th and 6th at Mithbay Katwan locality. The teachers numbering five were distributed with two at each locality, the fifth one teaching the first two standards at the two places in the morning and noon. The co-operative also took the form of assisting poor boys with equipment of books and slates.

The existence of the schooling facilities could be attributed to the necessity, felt by the village, to emigrate to places outside the village for the sake of making a living. It was thought that a minimum educational equipment was quite necessary, at least to keep postal contact with the parent family in the village. Subsequent contact with the city of Bombay must have strengthened this attitude.

An evidence of this particularly heightened attitude towards the necessity of education was the fact that the construction of all the school buildings, including the principal primary school started in 1870, had been undertaken by the village itself. Funds were collected mainly from ^{emigrant-earners} local persons and other donors at Bombay, ^{-the} resident families also contributing a little. It was found in 1954-55 that the seasonal repairs and maintenance of all the schools, except the principal primary school, were undertaken by the respective localities as a matter of duty. The repairs of the ^{principal primary} school had ^{were done} been undertaken by Local Board, ^{which} had taken over the administration of all the primary schools, *before the survey year of 1954-55.*

The high school and the training college were started by the Kshatrikulotpanna Maratha Samaj, a social organisation of the local Marathas, situated in Bombay. The organisation also runs other schools at Bombay and other places. It is mainly a caste organisation founded mainly for the educational uplift of the youngsters belonging to the caste.

Tables 3.14 to 3.17 give a caste and educational standard-wise classification of the school-going population of Withbave at the two points of time. It may be seen that the number of educands had increased during the period under study. The increase as related to the number of educands at the earlier point of time was 20.2 per cent for males and 25.8 for females showing a slight rise for the latter. It may be pointed out here that the slightly greater increase in the case of females was possible because a smaller proportion was attending school in 1954-55 as compared to males. In the case of the latter it

was found in the earlier survey that almost all the children of the school-going age were attending schools.

Related to the total number of males and females in the village the respective proportions of educands had increased from 32.4 to 39.4 per cent in the case of males and from 14.5 to 17.9 per cent in the case of females.

In the next four tables, tables ~~3.18~~ 3.18 to 3.21, we give percentage distributions of educands, males and females according to age and educational standards for the principal caste groups in the village. The latter are grouped according to the observed practice of achievement, namely the fourth standard primary after which a large section discontinued education, upto the 7th primary, marking the completion of the primary^{stage 1} education qualifying the student for employment as a primary teacher and upto S.S.C., the next higher stage of completion of secondary education. Finally there were the students attending the primary teachers' training college on departmental deputation.

Regarding educational standards, it may be seen from tables 3.18 and 3.19, that there were a large number of students in higher classes in 1959-60, indicating that a larger number of students had continued education after the 4th standards. Caste-wise, we find that next to the Brahmins and Vaishyas which were the higher castes of the village, the Maratha caste had a relatively higher proportion of ~~the~~ educands in higher classes, especially in the high school.

The age-wise distribution of these educands, given in tables 3.20 and 3.21 shows that education was being pursued for a relatively older age in 1959-60 as compared to the earlier point of

time. Comparing the individual caste distributions to the total for the village, we find that there were educands of a higher age, particularly in the age group 16-20, belonging to the Maratha, Bhandari and Gabit castes. In the case of females we find that the Maratha and Gabits were sending girls of a higher age for acquiring education.

In tables 3.22 and 3.23, we give the educational attainments of the rest of the population, for males and females separately. The situation had remained substantially unaltered except for the fact that the proportion of illiterates decreased slightly, owing mainly to death and emigration. The slight increase in the proportion ^{of} the first category, namely those had studied upto the 4th primary, was due to the fact that, during the intervening five-year period some children from the 'too young' group in 1954-55, started taking education and left it after the fourth standard.

In the case of females the changes noted above can also be noted. The relative changes were of a higher degree because a large number of illiterate females dropped out on account of death and emigration. A larger number of females had taken and left education during the period under study.

Table 3.24 gives the distribution into educational categories of the total male and female population of village for the two points of time. To the extent that we did not inquire into lapses in literacy over period of time, the table does not give a true picture of literacy of the whole village for the two points of time. It may however be taken to indicate broadly the extent of literacy and changes therein for the whole village. In particular we find that while the overall decrease in the number of

illiterates was of the order of five per cent in 1959-60, the fall in the case of males was from 15.3 to 12.9 per cent and in the case of females from 55.1 to 47.5 per cent. Within the above referred limitation of the data, it may be said that, excluding the too young and the non-reporting group, the overall literacy of the village went up from 48.2 to 55.1 during the period between the two surveys.

Section Three

In this ^{section} we present the earner situations of the village at the two points of time. Before proceeding to the discussing the occupational distributions of males and female earners, we give a brief account of that section of the population that were below the age 15 and were not either earners or educands. In the table 3.25 we have called them non-adult non-earners.

The table gives the classification of the two populations according to earner status and the residential characteristic of different groups. The non-earning population is further split up into four categories. The 'too young' category includes all children of the age 7 and below, that were not attending any schools. In 'educands' we have included all those who were attending school, irrespective of whether they were non-adults or adults. The third category is already explained. In the fourth, 'the adult non-earners' we have all those of the age 15 and above that were not engaged in any gainful employment.

Since we have included ^{in this earner group,} all those, reporting engagement in some gainful employment or other, the category ^{of earners also} includes some non-adults ~~also~~. The non-adults however formed a very small

proportion of the total and numbered 8 males and 30 females in 1954-55 and 6 males and 20 females in 1959-60.

The non-adult non-earner section was composed of those children between the ages 7-14, that were either too poor to go to school or had some defect, either mental or physical, or were considered too young for school or for any work. Over the five year period we find their number as well as their proportions to the total population had decreased from 2.1 to 1.9 per cent in the case of males and from 5.1 to 3.8 per cent in the case of females. It may however be seen that inspite of the decreases, the number of non-adult non-earners of those in Mithbav remained almost the same with 38 and 39 in the case of males and 92 and 102 in the case of females for the two points of study respectively. It may be said that the passage of five years did not materially affect this section, since it was further found that some of them continued to be non-adult non-earners at the latter date.

Of the 38 male children in this category in 1954-55, 14 had begun attending school, 13 had become earners and 11 continued to be non-earners in 1959-60. The occupations they were absorbed in were cultivation, labour and fishing, all of them the household occupations to which they belonged.

In the case of females in this category, numbering 92 in 1954-55, only 20 continued to be non-earners, while the rest had taken to their respective household occupations such as cultivation, labour and fishing at the latter date.

Table 3.25 shows that the ~~total~~ numbers of earners and adult non-earners have changed differently in the case of males and females during the five years, in step with the small changes

within the total male and female populations. Proportion-wise we find that the two categories together formed 42.6 and 38.1 per cent in the case of males and 65.2 and 62.9 in the case of females. Taking earners separately, we find that the proportion of male earners had decreased from 35.2 to 33.8 per cent while that in the case of the female earners had increased from 33.6 to 42.2 per cent. It may however be pointed out that the decrease in the case of male earners was in part due to a larger number of children of higher ages taking education at the latter date as seen earlier.

The changes in respect of non-earning males and females in Mithbav at both points of time however were of a different nature, the male non-earners increased from 55 to 72 while the female non-earners decreased from 470 to 465. As said earlier, the population in Mithbav at both points of time, became older by five years, this fact pushing more persons into the non-earner category because of age. As we shall see later while discussing the non-earning adult population, the same phenomenon took place in the case of females; also, the total number however recording decrease because of participation in the joint occupation of household by females reporting household work at the earlier survey. It may however be noted here ^{that} the movement from the earner to non-earner ^{category} during the period of time or vice versa was of a complex nature, some of those non-working in 1954-55 on account of oldage, taking ^{to} up an occupation in 1959-60 ^{while} a fresh batch ^{dropped} went out on account of oldage by 1959-60.

The effect of the passage of time can be seen in table 3.25A giving the percentage distribution of the ages of male and female earners at the two points of time. The table also gives

20 year age grouping which brings out the point in bolder relief. It may be seen that while the shifts were small in the case of those in the middle groups, 21 to 40 and 41 to 60, it ^{is} ^{the} ^{etc} is significantly large in the case of age groups below and above indicating that the earner population was of a higher age in 1959-60, both in the case males and females.

In table 3.26 we have classified the male and female earners according to their caste to see if the changes in their number have affected the average number of earners per family in any particular caste. The two major castes recording such change were the Sutars and the Mahars, the average going ^{down} because of deaths and emigration of male earners in the case of Sutars and the adoption of some occupation by female earners in 1959-60 in the case of the Mahars. In the rest of the cases the pattern remained almost unaltered.

We now give brief accounts of male and female earners separately. We first discuss the changes that were revealed in the numbers in different earner categories, classified according to the residential characteristic of the earners. The changes ~~is~~ revealed in certain specific occupations are then discussed. This is followed by a brief account of the non-earners. The same pattern is followed in the case of female earners also.

Table 3.27 gives the occupational classification of male earners at the two points of time. While some of the occupations have been kept distinct, grouping has been resorted to in some cases engaging relatively smaller numbers individually. For each category of earners we have two columns, the first giving the numbers engaged in the respective occupations singly

and the second giving the total numbers engaged in each occupation or occupational group, whether pursued as a main or subsidiary occupation by an individual earner. For want of a happier term we have called this column 'Total of earners in the occupation'.

The occupations have been listed as they were obtained in the village itself. The occupation of fishing has been split into two categories : (i) 'fishing' which includes all types of fishing carried on by caste-fishermen, and (ii) 'Rapan fishing' or in-shore dragnet fishing undertaken by non-fishing communities like the Marathas and Bhandaris for the specific purpose of acquiring beach manure for cultivation. The second instance of splitting the occupations that were jointly carried is quarrying and construction, which were mainly in the hands of the Mahars, the local untouchable community. In their case, while some did the quarrying and dressing of building stone alone, others doing the masonry work also quarried the stone whenever building work was not on hand. The two operations have been kept distinct because of a difference in skill as well as the inclusion, in the 'construction' group, of two Maratha workers.

In the case of the group of 'carpentry and wood-sawing' on the other hand, the two groups have been taken together as the numbers engaged in woodsawing was relatively small. The difference between the two was that while carpentry required traditionally-acquired skill and was followed by caste Sutars, wood-sawing was a less skillful operation and was undertaken mainly by the Bhandaris.

There are in addition other groups in the occupational

categories, which combine two or more occupations. The first of these is 'other processing'. In this are included various occupations like flour-milling and dehusking of paddy, manufacture of clay idols of the god Ganapati, goldsmithy and others. In the category of 'Trade' we have included seasonal traders in mangoes and cashew nuts, in addition to grocery, stationery and cloth trading. 'Other salariables' include all those employed in departmental services like the police, the revenue, the posts and telegraphs and others not specified. This group is exclusive of those engaged in teaching, both in the primary schools, the secondary schools and the primary teachers' training college. It is kept separate to denote the group earning regular salariable incomes in the village in addition to teachers. The category of 'services' is also a composite one, ^{and includes} ~~including~~ personal services like barbering, ~~and~~ laundry services, ~~and~~ religious services and those providing music for ceremonial occasions. Under 'miscellaneous labour' we have included all those that were engaged in chopping fire wood, construction of stone fences around residential houses, relaying of tiled roofs etc. It may not be supposed that those engaged in the above type of labour activities did not undertake any type of agricultural labour work at all. They have been placed in the category as a larger proportion of their labour work was of the type mentioned above.

It may be noted from the table that only some of the occupations were carried on as single occupations as compared to others. Occupations like fishing, teaching and other salariable services fell in the former category while occupations like cultivation, agricultural labour, Rapan fishing, quarrying, other processing, construction and services fell in the latter category.

We have mentioned elsewhere that the village had a single crop of paddy providing employment for a period of five months from June to October. The village lay in the heavy rain belt of the monsoons which lasted for four months and during which movement or work in the open became extremely difficult. These two circumstances, apart from the small size of cultivated holdings, were largely responsible for persons taking to additional occupations. It may be noted that the occupations that were carried out as single occupation such as fishing, teaching and other salaried services were principally full-time occupations leaving little time for an additional occupation. In the case of other types we find that they were mainly seasonal occupations. Activities like Rapan fishing, quarrying, transport and construction could only be carried on during the dry season of eight months. In the cases of processing and services, it was found that while some of the families had ancestral land, others leased it for (i) putting the forced leisure during the monsoons for some productive use, and (ii) to make a little addition to their income

The table gives the occupational distribution of the earners according to their residential characteristic. It may, however, be seen that there are two important changes. The first is that the 'change' group among the earners at Mithbav at both points of time includes, for 1954-55, 21 individuals that were that were non-earners during the resurvey year, while the 'change' group for 1959-60 includes 23 persons that were non-earners in 1954-55, we have likewise made a separate category of 'new' earners to denote those who were present in the village in 1954-55 but were either schooling or had not attained earnerhood

though they had left education. This grouping was done mainly to denote the number that entered the status of earnerhood during the period under study. We find that from among those present in the village, 87 persons had attained earner status during the period of five years.

Table 3.27 gives the number of earners engaged in each occupational group singly and the total numbers engaged in it. While the data so presented helps us in understanding the occupational pattern of the village and the types of occupational combinations, ^{key} it fails to present the relative importance of a particular occupation to the person or the family, as the occupations are not weighted according either to the quantum of employment provided or the income earned by it.

Table 3.28 gives a more detailed break-down of the occupations in which the 469 earners in the 'no-change' group were engaged at both points of time. It may be seen that 45 per cent of the earners in this category, 213 out of 469, were engaged in their respective types of activities without any additional occupation. The rest of the 55 per cent had two or more occupations.

It may also be seen that a considerably large majority were dependent, in part at least, on primary type of occupations like cultivation, fishing and agricultural labour, either singly or in combination with other secondary types. We include in these, those engaged in Rapan fishing also as the occupation was mainly carried on in combination with cultivation. The proportion of earners in such primary type of occupations was 83 per cent for those pursuing it as single occupations and 76 per cent for those pursuing them in combination.

The next group of earners, categorised as the 'change' group in table 3.27, were those who lived in the village at both points of time and in whose cases some change in the occupations occurred. The changes were limited to the occupations obtained in the village only. A comparison of the group for the two points of time shows that the realignment of occupations in 1959-60 was almost of an identical pattern with that at the earlier point of time. Table 3.29 gives the occupational combinations of the 87 persons, from this group, who were engaged in some occupation or other at both points of time. It may be seen that the combinations achieved at the latter point are also identical with the former.

Table 3.30 lists the circumstances in which occupations were either abandoned or adopted. It is generally accepted that very often a change in occupation is motivated by a set of socio-economic causes which have been operating for a length of time. We also know that a desire to change one's occupation or adopt an additional one should be coupled with an opportunity for its materialisation. The table however lists single and presumably the most important reasons for the occupations abandoned, and reported by the respondents themselves. Though the table does not list the fact, we found that in four cases of abandonment of an occupation on account of oldage, the change was also motivated by improved economic circumstances on account of larger remittances from Bombay subsequent to successful emigration of the youngsters of the households during the five years between the two inquiries. It was likewise found that of the 12 cases of abandonment on account of non-profitability of the occupation, there were three in which physical inability, two cases in which

improved circumstances by way of remittances and one case of both physical inability and improved circumstances were the additional reasons.

We had not inquired about the reasons for the adoption of the new single or additional occupation in individual cases as it was our experience that such questions always returned the set response namely that the new occupation was adopted for economic reasons. The categories classifying the cases of adoption were therefore inferred on the basis of the overall circumstances of the household and prior knowledge of the village situation.

It may be seen from the table that of the 47 cases of abandonment, voluntary or forced, 26 were mainly on account of oldage that is the passage of time, 12 on account of unprofitability of the occupation, 5 because land was either reclaimed by the owners or was denied to the new separated household and the rest for either reasons inferred namely improved economic circumstances or unspecified. It is significant to note that the criterion of profitability of an occupation was applied only in the cases of trade and transport and not in other cases.

The second half of the table, giving the number of cases of adoption of occupations and their circumstances, denotes in the main, the type of employment opportunities available within the village and the circumstances of the village in general. There were 20 earners who adopted a new occupation because one of their earlier occupations had to be abandoned. It is significant that seven of these had to take to labour. The next group of 24 were those that had single occupation in 1954-55 and adopted an additional occupation obviously for economic reasons

and as said earlier its availability in the village. Fifteen of these had joined Rapan fishing groups where vacancies were created either because of death, emigration or oldage. Another four had taken to trading, mainly seasonal trading in mangoes and cashewnuts.

In the next group of eight earners, we find that the adoption of the additional occupation was the acquisition of the dead or aging parent's occupation. The last group of eight secured the salaried vacancies made available in the village either newly for the first time such as the vacancy of a peon and of a watchman in the new library and hospital respectively or created subsequent to the transfer or retirement of a former incumbent.

We have in the next group (table 3.27), 88 earners who dropped out of the 1954-55 earner population on account of death. Of these 29 were between the ages 21 to 50 while the remaining were above the age 50 and between 51 and 80. Of the total number we find a majority engaged in single occupations. The total numbers engaged in different occupations shows that the death of the 88 earners had resulted in the withdrawal of 109 ^{earning individuals} _{earning jobs in different occupations} earners in the village.

The group of earners that emigrated from Mithav during the period under study numbered 132. Of these 47 were between the ages 14 to 20, 43 in the age group 21-30, 32 between 31 and 50 and the remaining 10 above 50. These ages were as reported in 1954-55.

We find that the emigrants were to a large extent, 119 out of 132, occupied in single occupations. Nearly one-fourth of these occupations were teaching and other salaried jobs which

were transferable. More than half of the total emigrants had reported work in primary types of occupations like cultivation and fishing. In all these cases they were the household occupations of the emigrant earners. We also find that emigrants from these occupations belonged to the younger age groups.

These circumstances indicate that the reported employment in the family occupations was more of an arbitrary nature than real. In the absence of other opportunities they helped in the family occupation, which in almost all the cases was unable to absorb them. A pointer in this context was the fact that 40 of the total number of non-earning emigrants ^{in 1954-55} had reported unemployment. While the circumstances of a large number of emigrant earners were identical with those reporting unemployment, they had formally reported the household occupation as their own.

Table 3.27 denotes that the 1959-60 earner population includes, apart from those present in the village at both the points of time, two more groups, (i) the 'new' earners, and (ii) the immigrant earners.

The 'new' earners ^{were} are those that entered earnerhood for the first time during the period under reference after either completion or discontinuation of education. The village situation was such that 101, or more than four-fifths from among these had to take to the primary type of household occupation only. In particular a significant number had taken to agricultural labour.

It should be mentioned here that the passage of time ^{had also} pushed other persons ~~too~~ in the adult category, who would have become 'new' earners for the year 1959-60. In table 3.31 we estimate, mainly from the 1954-55 population, the number of 'new' entrants:

as well as new earners. While the former category is represented under the column 'Age 15 years and above', the latter is composed of the unemployed at both the points of time.

It is apparent from the table that of the 254 estimated new earners for the village in 1959-60, 150 or 59 per cent left the village mainly for seeking employment outside. About seven per cent remained in the village but were not gainfully employed. Only a third of the total found some employment in the village.

The employment of the 86 'new' earners may be more arbitrary than real. In this context we have had two indications earlier. We have seen from the sample of 28 apparently employed persons between the ages 14 to 20 (vide Chapter II) that a majority gave a preference to and aspired for a secure salaried job in Bombay. The second indication can be had from the earner emigrants which included more than a third in the ~~village~~ ^{in the village} group 14-20, who, while they had some reported employment, had left the village during the period under study.

Finally there was the group of immigrant earners that went to Mithbav during the period between the two surveys. From table 3.27 we find their absorption also followed the pattern of other groups. They were largely absorbed in primary occupations like cultivation and fishing in addition to the occupations like processing and trading. The immigrant earners included 23 persons that moved into Mithbav on departmental transfer.

Table 3.32 sums up the earner situation of the village during the two points of time. We have already seen that the passage of time and the movement of persons had brought about a reshuffle in the population. The table gives the magnitudes of

of this reshuffle in the case of earners. It poses against one another the alterations, in the number of earners as well as the total of earners in each occupation, brought about by the counterbalancing adjustments, in order to get a measure of the change over time. The measure of change is reflected in the average number of occupations pursued by earners in different categories at the two points of time respectively and is given in the last two columns of the table.

It may be seen that the number of earners that were present in the village at the time of both the surveys and as represented by the 'No-change' and 'change' group has remained almost unaltered. In the third category of earners giving in a broad manner the influence of the time factor, are the deductions, on account of death, of earners in the earlier earner population and the additions, on account of the acquisition earnerhood, to the earner population of 1959-60. In the case of the village Mithbav and for the period between 1954-58 and 1959-60, these two appear to have been of almost an identical size, 88 dropping out due to death and 87 entering as 'new' earners.

In the last category, however, we find that the number of the earner emigrants was much more than that of earner immigrants. While 132 dropped out of the earlier earners population, 90 entered the latter population. The net deduction^{of} 42 earners in this category was almost identical with the overall decrease of 41 in the total earner population in 1959-60.

In a slightly different manner, this situation is also reflected in the columns giving the total of all earners in each occupation. The totals have remained almost unaltered at 1208 and 1207 for the two points of time. The number of earners

however had fallen from 797 to 756. It is apparent that the smaller component at the latter date almost filled in the gaps created by earner emigrants, except the fact that a number of 'new' entrants had taken to cultivation labour, the total number of earners in which has increased over the period.

From the last columns it can be seen that the average number of occupations increased for all groups except of course the 'no-change' group. While the average was less for those in the third and fourth groups as compared to the 'change' group, their increase was relatively greater.

Regarding the pattern of distribution of the earners in the occupations we find, from table 3.27, that the changes noted are relatively of a small order and that the pattern remained almost unaltered.

We have observed that the passage of time, has been ~~an~~ ^{by either throwing out} an important factor in bringing about a change in numbers ^{earners} at the earlier survey and by pushing in 'new' earners. A study of the pattern of occupations of these 'new' earners affords an important indicator as regards change ^{or} ~~in~~ its possibilities in the village. We have already seen that except for those getting salaried jobs within the village, almost all the 'new' earners were reported absorbed in the occupations of their households.

A second indication in this context was ^{given by} the study of the occupational pattern of successor entrants at the latter date. By successor entrants we mean those 'new' earners who took over the maintenance of the family after the death or retirement from active life of the father or the elder brother. A closer examination revealed that of the 54 cases so located, 25 had left the village in search of employment, 24 had taken up the

household occupation pursued by the dead or non-earning elder and only five had got into occupations other than the household occupation. Of these again one had become a primary teacher, three had got small salaried jobs as servants in the village and only one had taken to trading in mangoes, while pursuing the occupation agricultural labour, pursued by the deceased.

It may be seen from table 3.27 that the number engaged in single occupations had decreased from 444 to 369. This decrease came about by the exit of 88 persons and the entry of 13 persons. This large disparity in the entries and exits suggests that over the period under study the situation at Mithav altered in a manner so as to render the pursuit of single occupations relatively uneconomical. In particular the larger exits were confined to cultivation, 23, fishing inclusive of Rapan fishing 21, miscellaneous labour 10 and other processing eight. The exits in carpentry and teaching were accompanied by a net fall in the total number of earners in the two occupations.

We have observed earlier that the situation as regards the total of earners in each occupation has remained almost identical for the village as a whole, the 54 cases of entries being offset by the 55 exits.

As related to the total of earners in each major or important occupational group, the overall change was of a marginal nature. These changes were however achieved by a process of exits by death and emigration and entries by new earners and immigration. More detailed accounts of the operational aspects of these are given elsewhere in this report (vide Chapter V). We give here in brief the circumstances that were responsible

for the change in ^{the} number of earners in the major occupations.

It has been seen that the village was under the strong influence of the practice of emigration of the able-bodied to Bombay for employment. A second important change that presumably strengthened the migration practice was the relatively high increase in the cost of living, from 100 in 1954-55 to 135 in 1959-60, as compared to the wages available in the village which remained almost unchanged. We had found that the two major occupations namely cultivation and fishing had reached their points of saturation at the time of the first survey. The period of five years between the two surveys did not witness any ^{improvement} development in the two occupations. The changes actually revealed were very small. Cultivation units declined from 927 to 923 while the ^{reported} land under cultivation increased by less than three per cent. ^{The total cultivated land of the total village as well as also} The cropping pattern ~~also~~ remained unchanged. In fishing, there were no net additions to the capital invested in fishing gear, the normal rate of replacement of nets and boats was maintained till the year 1958-59, the year prior to our resurvey. During the resurvey year, the total quantum of equipment recorded a fall because the normal replacements of nets were not undertaken owing to the sudden increase in price as also the scarcity of locally available hemp. ^{partially}

The circumstances may be taken to be ^{partially} responsible for the withdrawal, on balance, of earners from cultivation and fishing respectively. The relatively larger number of entries in cultivation labour could, in part, be attributed to the withdrawals from cultivation, while to a larger extent they were a result of higher costs of living in the village and lack of other opportu-

-nities. Since we have seen that a large proportion of the entries in agricultural labour were comprised of 'new' earners, we may conclude that they were in the nature of temporary ^{adjust} phenomena, the new earners undertaking agricultural labour as a matter of expediency, pending their getting a job at Bombay or elsewhere outside the village.

The numbers engaged in carpentry and woodsawing had decreased from 25 to 21 recording a withdrawal of four earners on balance. As may be seen in the more detailed study of this group (vide Chapter V), the withdrawal ^{was} ~~were~~ a result of ^{-the death of} four working carpenters. ^{In addition,} Two ~~other~~ carpenters working in 1954-57, had left for Bombay during the period between the two studies, reducing their number from 17 to 11. By way of entry, only one non-adult of 14 years age had taken up the profession on the expiry of his father. The group of woodsawers increased from eight to nine.

The occupation of carpentry appears to have been affected greatly during the five years, the number of earners dropping from 17 to 12. It was further found that of the seven youngsters who would enter the working force in the next five years, six would leave the village for jobs in Bombay. The occupation was thus the most affected, mainly by the influence of emigration, the earners leaving the village not because the employment in the village, which was more or less assured, was not gainful but because the possibility of employment at Bombay was much more attractive economically.

The second occupation to be ^{greatly} ~~strongly~~ affected by the changing circumstances was transport, mainly carting. It was

found that those engaged in carting had decreased by 10 from 26 to 16. Of the 13 withdrawals, four were on account of death and nine had left the profession, mainly because they had found it uneconomical, four reporting financial inability to replace the old cart or the bullocks. Nearly half of these families had left the village altogether. During the intervening period, however, three persons had adopted the profession, presumably because of the demand, left unfulfilled by the withdrawing carters.

The occupation had become uneconomical due to the more frequent services of the state bus service as well as the increased practice, on behalf of the village traders, to ~~fetch~~ ^{bring} their goods by the diesel truck. The mechanical transport was cheaper and speedier and could carry larger loads at a time as compared to the bullock-cart. A certain demand for the use of ~~this services~~ ^{the bullock cart} however continued to exist as shown by the fact of fresh entry into the occupation by three persons during the five year period. Except for the approach roads, the roads of the village were more in the nature of dirt tracks passing through rice fields ^{-that could be} traversed only by the bullockcarts. There were also some types of transporting jobs, such as carrying stone or earth for construction purposes, carrying traders' goods to the shops located in the interior of the village, transport of manure and of firewood etc. which could be done with the help of the bullockcarts alone.

In the profession of tailoring we find the numbers have increased significantly, from 9 to 12 males. It may be seen from table 3.34 giving the occupational pattern of females

that five female had taken to tailoring during the period under study.

The change in the number of male earners came about by two of them dropping out, one each by death and emigration, from the 1954-55 situation and five earners entering, two of whom were new entrants who began participating in the occupation of the head of the household. Of the remaining three who took up tailoring by the second point of study, two were immigrants, one a primary teacher doing tailoring as a subsidiary source of income, another an immigrant who could not secure a job at Bombay and the third, an unemployed youth in the village, who had learnt the craft during the period. Among the five females only one was a successor entrant in the sense that she carried on the occupation left by her deceased husband, ^{while} the rest had entered the occupations because of the necessity of adding a little income to the family income.

We thus find that tailoring, which needed comparatively little training and investment, was the only occupation, next to trading, which appeared to be attracting more persons. A third advantage of the occupation was that the inputs were, mainly of a non-material nature namely the skill and the labour of the tailor himself. The cost of materials such as thread, buttons etc. were very small. Almost all the tailors, while reporting a small proportion of dues ^{had debts} ~~owing to them~~, did not seem to mind them.

In the matter of female ^{tailors} ~~tailors~~, it may be mentioned that they sewed the garments of the females residing in the locality or nearabout wadis. Before the entry of these ^{females} ~~new entries~~,

this work, to a large extent, was presumably done by hand by other females. This type of sewing work was however not reported either in 1954-55 or in 1959-60.

In quarrying and construction, we find that a large proportion of the earners has remained the same. There were five exits, two by death, one by oldage and two by emigration. Of the five entries during the period, three who had reported agricultural labour as their occupation had joined the occupation, one was a new entrant by age and the fifth was an immigrant.

As said earlier, the occupation was in the hands of the Mahera community. It was found that during the period under study six left the village for Bombay. Of these two were in the occupation, one was an agricultural labourer, one an unemployed and two new entrants. It was also found that the occupation was not pursued by the sons on the retirement of the father in one family. The sons preferred to work as agricultural labourers only.

As would be ^{denoted} ~~pointed out~~ elsewhere (Chapter V) the construction part of the occupation was being taken away from the community by professional masons, who had been immigrating to Mithav almost regularly during the intervening period. The earners, particularly those in the community were gradually being reduced to quarry labour. This fact coupled with the extremely hardy nature of the occupation and increased education, was presumably responsible for the abandonment by some in the profession and refusal to enter by others, unemployed and new entrants, to take ^{to} the occupation.

The group continued to work in the occupation presumably because of increased house building activity during the period under reference. The larger demand for quarry work the partially offset the taking away of the construction work from their hands.

The occupational group of 'trade' in the table is a composite group. It includes grocery trade, other trading such as cloth, stationery goods, the bicycle and the sodawater shop, the bidi-shop, the hair cutting saloon, etc. It also includes persons engaged in seasonal trading such as trading in coconuts, mangoes and cashewnuts. There are again persons in this group who are engaged in trading along with other occupations like tailoring.

The occupation was found to be more or less steadily attracting persons in other occupations, with fewer exits of those in the occupation in 1954-55. In grocery trading, two shops were closed because of losses which went on mounting on account of non-payment of dues by customers. A new shop was started during the period. In other trading we find that there were six entries as compared to three exits, one of which by ^{-then} death.

On balance, the number of earners, increased by six, from 32 to 38. Table 3.27 shows that the increase was mainly due to residents in the 'change' group taking ^{to} trading in a larger scale than before. numbers.

It has been mentioned earlier that the cost of living, as manifest in the price rise of consumption goods, had increased from 100 to 135 during the five years. It may be pointed out

here that a large proportion of this rise was appropriated by the trading group. The occupation therefore showed greater stability as against other occupations.

Finally we find that the number of teachers had decreased from 42 to 31. This decrease was mainly the result of emigration of teachers, teaching in nearby village but staying at Mithbav. There were also teachers, numbering five, that lived in nearby villages and taught in Mithbav schools.

Among females engaged in education, we find that five left the village mainly on transfer or ^{for} joining their husbands after their marriage. These were more than replaced by new earners getting teachers' jobs and immigrants on transfer (vide table 3.34).

Table 3.33 gives a classification of the number of ^{male} non-earners in 1954-55 and in 1959-60 according to the reasons for not working. The reasons are as reported by the respondents.

For the situation in 1954-55, unemployment was one of the main reasons, only next to oldage. It is known that though unemployment exists in our rural areas, it does not often get reported, the general tendency being to report work in the family occupation of cultivation in most cases. We do not know nor have any data to estimate the cases of de-facto unemployment apart from those who had reported it as such. There were many more who while reporting work in the family occupation did virtually nothing. They were actually removable without in any way affecting the cultivation of the small family plot. From the table we see that out of the 80 that specifically reported unemployment, 40 had emigrated during the period under study.

The remaining 10 had taken to some occupation in 1959-60. The number of ^{persons reporting unemployment} unemployed had decreased in the latter year and formed 11.3 per cent as compared to 29.8 per cent for the survey year of 1954-55.

The next reason for not working was sickness, which was a matter of temporary ^{inability} emergency for not working. Of the 11 persons in 1954-55, we find six persons had died and two had emigrated by the year of resurvey. Of the three sick people that remained in the village, two had again started working by the year 1959-60.

The most important reason, taking into consideration both the points of time, for not working was oldage. Of the 53 not working for this reasons, two-thirds had died, and two had left the village to be with their sons at Bombay. We find that ^{eight} ~~eight~~ of the remaining 19, had taken to working in 1959-60. It may be seen from table 3.33 that the proportion for this category of non-earners remains almost the same for the two points of time.

In the case of more than one-fourth of the total at both points, no reason for not working was specified. In the table they are the non-reporting cases. A large majority of these could be placed under the category of 'oldage' if oldage were defined simply to be a matter of years after birth and the physical disabilities proceeding therefrom. We have however seen that eight out of 19 'old' persons in 1954-55, were working in 1959-60. The impression gathered from the family schedule indicated that cessation of work was often accompanied by an improvement in economic circumstances of the family consequent

to the new entrant in the family earning enough either in or outside Mithav so as to allow the aging parent restful existence for the remaining period of his life.

Table 3.34 gives the pattern of occupation/distribution of the female earners of the village, for the two points of time and according to their residential characteristics. The categories listed in the tables for male earners have been retained. The group of female earners resident at Mithav at both points of study and engaged in some economic activity or other, numbered 877 and 952 respectively and has further been divided into the 'no change' and 'change' category. While the 695 female earners belonging to the 'no change' remained unchanged, those in the 'change' category increased from 182 to 257. The numbers included non-earners at ^{alternate} ~~stagnate~~ periods of time and reporting some occupation at the point. It is apparent that a larger number of females resident in Mithav had taken to ^{work gainfully} ~~earning~~ by the year 1959-60.

The occupational grouping used in the case of male earners has been retained in order to facilitate comparison. It has to be mentioned here that in Mithav as elsewhere, certain occupations were specifically cut out for the females for obvious reasons. Cultivation in the case of females meant certain specific operations in the cultivation of the family plot, such as transplantation, spreading of manure, weeding, cutting the crop and harvesting. These were also the operations employing the females reporting agricultural labour work in addition to self-employed work such as collection and sale of hay, tending cattle, watering coconut and mango trees, etc.

Joint participation in fishing took the form of house to

house sale of the share of fresh fish caught by the Rapan organisations of which the male folk were members or the fish caught by their male folk in deep-sea fishing. To a certain extent this participation also meant curing of the fish that was in excess of demand for fresh variety and that fetched a price when cured and sold outside the village. To a smaller extent these females also helped in the preparation of beach manure of certain varieties of fish caught by the Rapan organisation to which their male folk belonged. This operation consisted of spreading the fish on the beach and relaying it. The last two operations namely curing of home-caught fish and participation in beach-curing were not ^{separately} reported.

The female earners in the category of 'other processing' were mainly those engaged in the manufacture of coconut fibre which were later twisted into ropes of desired length and thickness by the male folk. This group also included a few that were engaged in basket making and spinning of yarn needed for the making of nets.

The 'trade' category is a more composite one. It includes in the main, females engaged in selling fish as a matter of business, by initially purchasing it. A large number of these were heads of families with no male earners in the family. The rest included sellers of sweetmeats, vegetables, coconuts, etc. in weekly markets and sellers of firewood.

In the miscellaneous labour group are included all those that reported hawali work at the bus-stand, labour work at the traders and other type of work which could not be included in agricultural labour. The three females placed in 'services' category were domestic servants.

From the table it is evident that female earners at Kithav were mainly engaged in primary types of occupations such as cultivation, fishing and agricultural labour. The rest were distributed mainly in trading, miscellaneous type of labour and processing.

The patterns of combinations of occupations can also be discerned from the table. In more than 98 per cent of cases one of the two occupations was either cultivation or agricultural labour. This was true for both points of time. There were six cases combining trading with fishing which meant selling of home-caught fish and processing in 1954-55 and seven in 1959-60.

The 'change' group in particular recorded greater change than the rest. It may be seen that all the 167 females engaged in single occupations in this group had either changed their single occupations - the principal type of change being voluntary or compulsory abandonment of cultivation for agricultural labour work or vice versa - or had taken up an additional occupation. Likewise for the latter date we find that there were 206 females who had changed to single occupations. On the total more females had taken to an additional occupation in this group in 1959-60. In particular, the increase in the number of earners in cultivation is evident.

Table 3.35 sums up the female earner situations at the two points of time. The overall proportion that remained unaffected directly by either the passage of time or migration was 76.8 per cent against 74.4 per cent in the case of male earners. The table gives the deductions by death or emigration and additions

by new earnership and immigration of the remaining 23 per cent. In the last two columns the table gives a measure, in the form of the average number of occupations per earner, of the change over time brought about by the counter-balancing adjustments.

It can be seen from this table that the proportions ^{of} the 'change' and the 'emigration-immigration' groups had increased and those of the remaining two groups decreased during the period under reference. This meant that a large number of females from those resident at Mithbay at the two point of time have entered the earner category and more 'new' earners have attained earnerhood than their counterparts in 1954-59. On the negative side, we find that more females left Mithbay as compared to the number immigrant earners and that the proportion of the 'no-change' group, which remained constant numerically, fell down from 61.7 to 55.3 per cent.

The adjustments were slightly different in the case of employment of these groups. It may be seen that the second and third group, the 'no-change' and 'death-new earner' group, were having a larger proportion in relation to the total of earners in each occupations than the remaining two groups.

The total picture indicates that the percentage increase in the total of earners in each occupation, pursuing it either as main or subsidiary was slightly greater than the percentage increase in the number of female earners in the village from 1954-55 to 1959-60.

The last two columns, giving the average number of occupation per earning female show that the average had increased from 1.13 to 1.22. The female earners in the 'no-change' group continued to have the largest average. In the case of other

groups the increase was more or less identical in extent.

As regards the pattern of occupational distribution, we find the change was of a different nature as compared to males. The significant increase of 123 females in cultivation meant a greater reliance on family labour for minimising costs of cultivation as a large part of the female earners from among the 123 were joint participants. This conclusion becomes meaningful in view of the rise of 35 per cent in the local cost of living. The conclusion is further substantiated by the fact that per-acre inputs of casual labour at the latter date were found to be lower than at the time of the survey in 1954-55.⁶²

We also find that a significantly large proportion of females have reported agricultural labour as compared to the previous year. The increase was from 271 females to 316, an increase of more than 16 per cent. As seen above joint participation in the cultivation of the family plot had increased, thus taking off a part of the work done previously by casual agricultural labourers. The number of the latter should, as such, have decreased. The increase, in part can however be attributed to the increased cost of living, making everyone seek some avenues of adding a little income to the family income. While we do not have ^{the means} ~~data~~ to prove it, it may be that some females, who were actually engaged in agricultural labour in 1954-55, may have failed to report the occupations in that year.

Among ^{the} other changes the notable ^{one was} ~~are~~ the entry of five females in tailoring. We also find that that eight females had taken to 'other processing' in 1959-60. There was also an increase in the number of female earners in miscellaneous labour work.

Table 3.36 gives data regarding female non-earners and classifies them according to the reasons for non-working. The reasons given are as reported by the respondents.

It may be seen that none give 'unemployment' as a reason for non-working as in the case of male earners. This was because they had to attend to the duties of the household whether they were engaged in any gainful employment or not. A female for whom it was not possible to do gainful work on account of reasons such as sickness at home, temporary physical disability from child-birth, very young children, etc. or for whom it was not possible to secure such gainful work, reported 'household' as her occupation. While a small proportion of the females so reporting did not naturally offer themselves for such work, the rest did so, apart from participating jointly in the family cultivation. The 'unemployed' females therefore could be found in those included in the category of 'household work', ^{they however could not} ~~though they cannot~~ be isolated.

The second important reason, apart from 'household work', for not working was oldage. Females in the non-reporting category also fell in the 'oldage' category to a large extent. The total number of non-earners on account of oldage decreased from 334 in 1954-55 to 275 (inclusive of the N.R. category) in 1959-60. A major reason for this decrease was death.

The pattern of distribution according to reasons remained almost the same, while the total decreased from 747 to 607. The number of non-earners in Mithbav for the two points of time did not alter much, though we have seen that a number of females engaged in 'household work' in 1954-55 had taken up a gainful

occupation at the latter date. The offsetting reason was that the passage of time rendered more females unable to do any physical work. We can see that those in the oldage category from the 'In Mithbar' group increased from 104 to 131.

The group of non-earners owing to sickness was relatively small at both the points of time. The ailments were presumably of a temporary nature as we find that all the 18 females had taken to work in 1959-60. The 12 females non-working owing to sickness in 1959-60 were totally different individuals.

Chapter IV

RESOURCES AND INVESTMENT

This chapter presents a brief account of the resources and investment of the village at the two points of time. We begin with land which was almost the only major natural resource of the village and discuss the types of investments like livestock and implements, undertaken to exploit it. This will be followed by a discussion on investment and changes thereof in the remaining major occupations in the villages such as fishing, tailoring, other trading and professions etc. The section will end with an account of financial investments obtained in trading, teashop keeping etc.

The second section concerns itself with non-business types of investment such as residential houses to be followed by an account of investment of a collective nature namely the construction of roads and other types of utilities, the benefits of which are reaped collectively.

In Section Three we give a brief account of the indebtedness of the village at the time of resurvey.

A major limitation of the data we have at our disposal may be indicated here. The General Family Schedule employed at the time of survey in 1954-55, did not record any information regarding individually owned assets like livestock, implements, nets and boats, etc.

from each household. We collected these data only at the resurvey investigations. These data are, therefore, essentially of a bench-mark type. We, however, tried to date, at the resurvey point of time, the acquisition of an asset in certain cases and have made comparisons of the two situations by attempting projections in the past either of the data itself or estimates based on them.

Section One

It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that Mithbav was situated in a low-lying area created by the western offshoots of the Sahyadri hills jutting into the sea. One such hill-range, running east-west in a zig-zag manner through the village divides the village into two parts. The northern part is a plateau about 200 feet above sea level. This area forms about two-thirds of the village area and is mainly composed of laterite rock.

The southern part of the village is at sea-level and is comparatively better suited for cultivation. The soil is of a light brown colour and ^{is} was mainly sandy. Except for a small part of this land, which, being nearer the sea and besides the estuary, got submerged by tide water and the area utilized for residential purposes, all this low-lying land is under cultivation.

Table 4.1 gives the utilization of the village land for the two points of time. The figures in this table

were taken from the village records. While the figures for cultivated land and current fallow were approximate ones, the rest were arbitrarily computed. The changes were more in the nature of book adjustments. This can be seen from the figures of permanent fallow, Kharlands and of land under sea beach for the two points of time. It may be seen that while there is a decrease in area under permanent fallow and kharlands, the area under sea-beach has increased. The land under erosion was not shown in the records. It is the difference between the total individually-owned land and the land accounted for under other specific heads under C. We have called this difference as land washed away by erosion because it was explained that this particular area near ^{the} estuary gets bitten off either by the sea-tides or by a slight deflection of the current of the river.

We shall make a brief mention of an important tenancy legislation adopted by the then Government of Bombay, before proceeding to present the pattern of ownership and subsequently of cultivation of ~~the~~ land.

The act expected to bring about three important changes of a radical nature. The first of April 1957, was declared 'the Tillers Day' and on that day, by the provisions of the act, all tenants became owners of the land leased in by them. The act specified certain rates of compensation to the legal owners, in multiples of land revenue and to be paid by the new owners in twelve

annual instalments. The rates of compensation to be applied were to be decided by a tribunal, to be appointed by the Government, after going into individual cases.

Those owners of land who wanted to cultivate their leased-out land themselves, however, could get back their land, subject to the ceiling requirements, provided they satisfied the Government that cultivation was their principal means of subsistence. The act brought about the second radical change in this regard by laying down that the lands are to be cultivated on the spot personally by the owner so desiring. This provision was expected to curb absentee land-lordism which at Mithbav took the form of the owner holding a job at Bombay and at the same time getting rent from his tenant in the village.

The third important change brought in by the act was the virtual abolition, in effect, of the nature of land as an asset saleable at will. The act specified a list of priorities as to whom the land had to be sold, should an owner desire to do so. All the land, not desired by the tenant, reverted, not to the owner, but to the Government. Likewise all those who wished to sell off their land had to inform the Government and satisfy them as regards the priorities laid down in the act. These provisions were expected to check the tendency to dispose off the only means of livelihood of the family either to satisfy creditors or to raise money for contingencies.

The act, however, was not fully enforced at Mithbav till 1959-60, the year of resurvey. The village revenue officials had made ~~some of~~ the entries transferring lease-held lands to old and new accounts of holders. The tribunal to determine the amounts of compensations was also not appointed.

The principal reason for the non-completion of transfer entries was stated to be the complicated nature of land holding at Mithbav. In a large number of cases a land-owner at Mithbav, apart from owning land independently also owned a part of jointly-owned land along with his relatives. A second difficulty was the largeness of the number of accounts itself. The large number of accounts, 1319 in 1954-55 and the fact that the village land was divided into about 11,000 plots may give an idea of the immensity of the task. It was for this reason that it was not possible for us, during the year of resurvey to go into individual details of transfers on account of the legislation.

It was reported in the village that attempts ~~had been~~ ^{were} made to by-pass the provisions of the new law by those who desired to retain the leased-out family land. One of the methods was to pay the holding tenant money by way of compensation and persuade him to waive his protected tenancy rights as of a previous date. A short-cut to this was to alter the records by gratifying the village official.

The village official undertook to show the plot as under self-cultivation from two or three-years prior to the promulgation of the act so that as on the "Tillers Day", the owner held the land himself. The second method was to persuade the holding tenant, by paying him a compensation if need be, to give to the owner a 'Naukarnama', signifying that the tenant was in effect a paid servant of the owner and not a tenant. The details as to the number of owners who adopted the above practices and the area of land involved were not available to us.

In table 4.2, we present the effect of the act, as recorded in the village records upto the year of resurvey. As said earlier, the records were incomplete. The table also lists all cases of transfers of land that had taken place during the five year period.

The area that changed hands by sale during the five year period between 1950-54 was 758 gunthas. From the table it may be seen that the area transferred by sale decreased to more than half during the period under study. This decrease, in part, may be attributed to the tenancy act.

The transfers as per the tenancy act show that the records were obviously incomplete as the two sides show a large discrepancy with an area of 7450 gunthas as gained as against a loss or deduction of 2128 gunthas only. The accounts that gained by the act numbered 224, out of which 124 were new accounts. This meant that 124 landless

families became land holders in the village records. The number of accounts that lost land on account of the implementation of the act were 69.

Table 4.3 presents the pattern of ownership of land as reported in the general family schedule during the two investigations. The table also gives the pattern of ownership for 1954-55 as recast on the basis of data collected in 1959-60 i.e. during the resurvey. The general family schedule during the survey year was filled in by a local assistant recruited for the specific work. The resurvey data were, however, collected by the trained investigator of the Institute and on careful inquiry he reported that the data of land ownership returned by the survey schedules were not correct in a large number of cases. He was, in addition, instructed to note changes in owned and cultivated land during the five-year period and the nature of change.

The resurvey family schedule reported only 31 cases of change in owned land, 22 of increase mainly by purchase and nine of decrease mainly by sale. The area affected by these transactions was 452 and 375 gunthas respectively and was less than one per cent either way. These changes as well as the land owned by both the sets of 117 families, non-existent in the village at the first or the second enquiry have been adjusted while recasting the 1954-55 position from the 1959-60 data.

It may be seen that the total area reported as owned

in 1954-55 and that adjusted by us as owned in 1954-55 is almost the same. The number of families, however, shows a great variation. This variation was presumably due to two reasons. Firstly, there were a number of families, 53 as revealed by the resurvey data, that owned and cultivated land jointly. Almost all these families had reported, in 1954-55, separate ownership. The second reason was that a number of families holding leased land for very long periods, appear to have reported it as owned in the earlier enquiry. Land had been held, particularly by families for residential purposes on an almost nominal rent for over 60 years in many instances.

The size-distribution between the two sets of ownership distribution shows certain changes. Table 4.4, which is a condensation of table 4.3 giving only the broad proportions brings out this fact clearly. The adjusted distribution appears to be much more even than the one reported in 1954-55 showing undue concentration in the number of holders in the smallest class and in the area held in the largest class. In part this large variation can be ascribed to the changes in the agency of investigation and in part to changes on account of the effects of the tenancy legislation in 1957.

A comparison between ownership distribution for 1954-55 (adjusted) and that reported in 1959-60, shows that there is a large identity for the simple reason that there had not been much transfer of land during the period between

the two surveys. It was found, from the village records recording transfers of land by sale or purchase, that land transfers were generally small in Mithbav, namely of the order of 758 gunthas between the years 1951 and 1954. During the period under study the area changing hands fell to less than half the above figure (vide table 4.2). The reason of this fall may in part be ascribed to the coming into force of the tenancy act.

As referred to earlier, land ownership at Mithbav was generally made up of small-sized holdings mainly because of the adjustment that the economy has been making over the last century or so. The average ownership holding fell as population increased. This fall was accompanied by the increase in emigration for finding out a living outside the village. In most cases the owned piece of land was the only source of livelihood or shelter for those who returned to the village after a life time of service outside. In many cases this land situated the residential house also. This presumably made it still more difficult for the emigrating owner to liquidate his small and often uneconomic family holdings.

Table 4.4 brings out the nature of ownership in bolder relief. It may be seen that 67 per cent of the owners held one acre and less of land, together owning 20 per cent of the totally owned land reported. In the next size-group of 41 to 80 gunthas, 17 per cent of families held 18 per cent of land. Above this size-group, a smaller propor-

tion of families, 16 per cent of the total, held about 62 per cent of the total individually owned land.

The table gives the general characteristic of land ownership in the coastal districts of Maharashtra in general and in Mithbav in particular. It should, however, be mentioned that the table does not give the total pattern. We do not have information as regards the land owned by families staying outside Mithbav and not contacted by us at either points of inquiry. The usual reported custom was that an emigrating family entrusted the cultivation of its land either to a relative in the village, a neighbourer or a friend for the period it stayed out. This was a temporary arrangement and did not amount to leasing out on a tenancy basis. In a number of cases the emigrating family was a tenant family itself. As such, such transfers did not enter the village records. The land was taken back on return to the village. This practice explains the fact of the adoption of cultivation by immigrant families at the second point of time without reporting either purchase or leasing in of land.

Likewise the table does not reflect the total effects of the tenancy legislation of 1957. It has been mentioned earlier that the village records show 124 new account holders or owners as a result of book transfers of leased land as per the provisions of the Act. In practice, however, the General Family Schedule reported the leased in and out land

separately because, it was pointed out, the implementation of the Act was not yet finalised. The only effect of the Act, it was ascertained, was that the new owner began paying the land revenue of the newly owned land to the State in the capacity of an owner or account-holder while continuing to pay rent to the former owner.

We now present table 4.5 giving owned land, land leased in and leased out and the cultivated land for each size group for the resurvey year. The table principally illustrates the practice of leasing land at Mithbav. The total leased in land formed 22.7 per cent of the owned land and 32.4 per cent of the total cultivated land. Column 9 shows that in the group owning land below 10 gunthas, the leased in land amounted to one and a half times more than the owned land. This proportion goes on decreasing as the size of owned land increases.

The average size of leased in land was 29 gunthas. Among cultivators owning land the average size of leased in land was 34, the average for each size group of owners being more or less the same. There were 144 non-owning tenants who leased in, on an average 21 gunthas.

The area of land leased out was 7281 gunthas forming 15.4 per cent of total owned land. Assuming that all the land was leased out to cultivators within the village, we find that 3442 gunthas of land that was leased in was presumably leased from owners staying outside the village.

And since 96 per cent of the land owners within the village reported cultivation, this land, leased in from owners staying outside the village, was largely leased in by non-owning tenants in the village.

Before presenting the pattern of cultivated holding of the village and the changes therein, we give in table 4.6 the distribution of cultivated holding according to size groups as reported in 1954-55 and as adjusted for 1954-55 from resurvey data. As in the table giving the ownership holdings, there is a large variation between the number of cultivators and the total area of cultivated land. This was, to a great extent, due to the change in the investigating agency at the latter date.

Table 4.7 gives the distribution of cultivated land into size groups for 1954-55 as adjusted for 1959-60 and notes the change that has taken place during the intervening period. We find that the average cultivated size was 35.4 gunthas with 72 per cent of the cultivators cultivating land of that size and below. More than half of the cultivators (53.1 per cent) cultivated less than half an acre of land, sharing 13 per cent of the total cultivated area. In the size larger than the average we find the remaining 28 per cent cultivating 71 per cent of the total.

Over the period of five years, a large section of the situation has remained unaltered. The 'no-change' columns in the table show that 89 per cent of the number of

cultivators and 88 per cent of the area cultivated remained unaffected.

The change in the remaining came about as follows. Of the 148 cultivators in Column 6, 54 had left the village and 21 had abandoned cultivation altogether, ^{owing to the} resumption of land by the owners, emigration of male earners etc. In two cases cultivation was not done because of regular flooding of the land by sea water. The area which went of cultivation from these families was 887 and 417 gunthas respectively. Of the remaining 73, cultivators recording change, 34 had shown a decrease in cultivated land and 39 an increase in it. The change was of the magnitude of 1100 and 2085 gunthas respectively.

Of the 144 cultivating families affected by change in column 12, 71 reported adoption of cultivation in 1959-60 in addition to the 73 recording change in column 6. A large proportion of these were 'new' families that did not exist in 1954-55. These were 48 families, 43 that had immigrated to Mithbav during the period under study and five that were separated from the earlier joint families. Of the remaining, a majority had leased in land during the five years, only five reporting purchase. The area reported as under cultivation by these 71 families was 1221 gunthas.

The total area affected by the above changes was 904 gunthas. The effect of these changes can be seen in table 4.8 which is condensed from table 4.7. It may be

seen that the overall pattern of cultivated holdings remained almost unaltered.

We shall now consider the stock of capital invested in cultivation as represented by agricultural implements, draught cattle etc. We present, in the main, the 1959-60 situation as our survey schedule for families did not collect any data regarding the assets of the family in 1954-55. Projection of the resurvey data in these two instances for the 1954-55 situation was found to be impracticable for two reasons: (i) The only major agricultural implement was the wooden plough which was repaired every year and replaced after three or four years. The projection of the number of ploughs in the village for the year 1954-55 was therefore thought not possible at the investigational stage itself. We find that almost all the ploughs reported, with exception of 16 or 2.5 per cent of the total, had been acquired during the period under study. (ii) In the matter of livestock it was thought inadvisable to ask for the 1954-55 position. Livestock changed hands between the cultivators of the village as also the buyers and sellers outside the village as found elsewhere. We therefore asked for the acquisition by purchase or birth and disposal by sale or death, of livestock for the period of twelve months prior to the date of visit. The practice of sale or exchange of bullocks and other livestock within the village, however, renders it difficult to lay down the 1954-55 position on the basis of the sales, purchase and

death figures for twelve months only.

The Revenue Department of the State prepares a quinquennial census of major agricultural implements and livestock of every village. In the year 1956, falling within the period under our study, a census record was prepared. The number of ploughs reported was 370 as against 265 recorded in the earlier census. These figures were of an arbitrary character and may not be taken as indicative of more extensive or intensive agricultural activity. We have seen ^{that} the increase in cultivated area was of the order of 2.8 per cent, the increase having been occasioned by resumption of cultivation by resident cultivating families.

The resurvey General Family Schedule returned a total of 630 ploughs, 70 per cent of these were owned in pairs, that is two ploughs per reporting family. Inquiry revealed that the two ploughs were maintained in order to minimise the risk of complete stoppage of work in case ^{one of the} ploughs ^{breaks} breaks down. The second plough became immediately useful. Apparently breakage of ploughs during work was a frequent phenomenon. As mentioned earlier a plough lasted between ^{three} two and four years and being made of locally available wood and by the local carpenters, was of a limited use. This practice was also facilitated by the low cost of the plough.

The only other important agricultural implement was the water-wheels ^(persian wheels) fitted to the wells in the ^{family} yard. Of the total of 48 wheels reported at the time of resurvey, 37 were

operated by hand. The mechanism was a crude wooden wheel which could be turned by hand as also by the foot. The remaining 11 were operated by bullocks, who moved in a circle, rotating a central pivot that was connected with the shaft which in its turn turned the wheel supporting the small string of vessels. All the water wheels were used for the purpose of watering the coconut trees around the house.

Table 4.9 gives a classification of the wheels according to the date of their acquisition and the reported value. The average life of a hand-driven water-wheel was between seven to eight years after which it had to be replaced. The average cost of replacement was between Rs.25 to Rs.30. On the basis of the average lifespan, we find that of the 26 water-wheels acquired between 1955 and 1959, 20 were replacements and six ^{installed} ~~filled~~ for the first time. As we shall see later, this increase was occasioned by the increase in plantation activity during the five years.

In the case of bullock driven water-wheels, with an average life of 20 years, we find that new investment amounted to acquisition of one water-wheel only. The rest were replacements. It is interesting to note that there has been no investment during the ten year period between 1945 to 1954.

Table 4.10 gives the livestock population of the village for the two years of departmental census and during the

year of resurvey. Comparison of either between the two census figures or between the census figures and the resurvey data is not undertaken for reasons of arbitrariness in recording census figures.

In table 4.11 we give unit-wise holding of ploughs, water-lifts, and bullocks in order to give the pattern of holding of agricultural assets. The table gives a descriptive account rather than attempt any relation between the holding of units of different types of assets. We have noted that the most common type of holding was a pair of plough along with a pair of either bullocks or he-buffaloes. The table also reveals this pattern. There were 220 families holding two ploughs each and most of these had a pair of either bullocks or he-buffaloes.

Table 4.12 gives the number of ploughs and draught animals per cultivated acre of land. It may be seen that the holding of ploughs and animals per acre was highest for the group cultivating land between 31-60 gunthas. The average holding per acre of cultivated land, of ploughs and animals declined both in the case of smaller and larger size-groups.

The next important agricultural asset was the bullockcart. In the context of the village under study however it could not be considered wholly as one. Paddy cultivation is done in small banded plots, making it difficult for the carts to reach. Secondly, the need for maintaining a bullockcart for purposes of carrying the produce to the

market did not exist as all the produce was consumed in the family. The small number of carts were apparently sufficient to carry the manure to the fields and the produce to the owners' houses.

Thus we find that bullockcarts were mainly maintained as non-agricultural assets facilitating the owner to earn a part of his income by hiring out the cart. It was found that all those who had bullockcarts were engaged in the profession of carting. They carried traders' goods, building materials like wood, stone and tiles and sundry merchandise such as fish, firewood, etc.

Table 4.13 gives the number of bullockcarts reported during the resurvey year and classified according to the period of their acquisition. It also indicates the nature of acquisition as to whether the cart was a new asset or a replacement.

It should be mentioned here that there were 25 bullockcarts at the time of the survey. During the period of five years, their number decreased to 12 as can be seen from the table. As stated in Chapter III, the occupation was being abandoned for jobs outside the village and mainly at Bombay. The principal reasons were that the earnings in the profession were not adequate and that the cartmen found it increasingly difficult to raise money for repairs and replacements. Of the 13 carts that disappeared from the village, 10 were reported sold prior to winding up the

profession, no information was available at the time of re-survey in the case of two carts as the carting families emigrated from the village and one was reported to have rotted away.

The table shows that eight out of the 15 carts were replaced during the five-year period. The replacement was done by selling out the old carts and purchasing used carts. The three families that took to the carting profession during the intervening period did so also by purchasing used carts.

The large decline as well as the small increase was a structural adjustment of the transport sector as against increased preference for mechanical transport on the part of traders who were the principal consumers of the cartmen's services. In spite of the change-over, a certain minimum demand of transport within the village remained. The disappearance of more than half the carts, increased the pressure on the remaining ones as well as increased their earnings in the profession. The three new families entered the profession in order to share a part of this demand. Our data show that average earning per cart increased from Rs.131.8 in 1954-55 to Rs.206.7 in 1959-60, the total income from the profession declining by a small margin of six per cent from Rs.3295 to Rs.3100 for the latter period.

Among other investments in agriculture mention should be made of wells and plantations. Both our investigations did not record the ownership of wells. The village records

showed, in 1954-55, that there were 472 wells in Mithbav, 285 of these were styled as pucca wells as distinct from watering pits meant for watering coconut trees. The number of wells in the records remained the same for the resurvey year with an increase of five pucca and three kachacha wells for purposes of supply of drinking water with equal number of decreases in those meant for irrigation.

Our family schedule reported the construction of five wells at a cost of Rs.2711 and the repair of one for Rs.200 during the five year period. All these wells were meant for the supply of drinking water, the five new ones being constructed along with new residential houses.

Plantations at Mithbav included coconut, mango, cashew-nut trees, jackfruit trees, etc. Of these, the coconut and the mango were the commercial fruits and their plantation was undertaken by a majority of the residential families. The cashew plant was the third important product of the village in this context but its plantation was not undertaken. Small cashew plants grew up either on the sea shore or the slope of the central hill range and the owners reaped the harvest during the season. Where the number of such plants was large, they put up a fence during the season during February to May and either collected the seed from which nuts were decorticated or auctioned the plants for an agreed sum of money. The village records do not record the number of cashew trees.

Table 4.14 gives the number of fruit yielding trees at the two points of time as also the extent of new plantation undertaken during the period under study. The number of trees listed in the village records is ^{also} given for the two points of time.

It may be seen that the coconut was the principal fruit ^{tree} whose plantation was undertaken by a large number of families. The tree was also put to a number of uses; its leaves supplied roofing and shelter; the fibre of coconut husk was used for manufacturing ropes used for agricultural and building purposes; and the wood of the tree was used as house-building material. Plantation of the coconut tree mainly took the form of trees around the residential house. According to our estimates, the total area under coconut trees was about 210 acres, three-fourth of which was comprised of the yards around residential houses. The average number of trees in these yards was 46 per acre as compared to double the number in groves separately grown.

THE average yielding life of a tree was 60 years. On this basis and on the assumption that new plantation was undertaken on the death of an old tree, the number of plantations undertaken as replacements was 125 per year; of 625 for a five-year period. From the table we can see that the number of new plantations was 1025. To this extent, 39 per cent, ^{the plantation} it was new investment.

New plantation of mango-grafts of a highly valued

commercial variety increased much more evenly and rapidly during the five year period. All of this was new investment as the variety came to be cultivated in and around Mithbav during the post-war period.

The third type of fruit whose plantation was being introduced was the chiku fruit. The extent of plantation was very small and the tree was still a matter of individual preference rather than a commercial proposition.

The next important occupation engaging large numbers was fishing. The village had a coastal strip of about one and a half miles where fishing was done by one of the three major caste-groups of the village, locally called the Gabits.

The occupation could be broadly divided into three types of activities, namely fish-catching, curing of fish and marketing. The first could be further divided into in-shore fishing by dragnets by groups owning the equipment jointly and deep-sea fishing by smaller groups with individually owned nets and boats. Both the types of fishing required fishing boats and different types of gear. The latter types of activity namely fish curing and marketing required little capital equipment. We present below the capital engaged in the occupation as a whole at the two points of time.

The principal activity was deep-sea fishing by individually owned nets. The two main types of fishing were (i) the drift net fishing wherein the nets floated from the surface and drifted with the boat, and (ii) the stationary net fishing wherein the net sank to the floor of the sea and was

relatively stationary. Other types included deep-sea fishing by hook and line and fishing nearer the coast or in the creek with small lift-nets and throw-nets called yend and shendi respectively.

The season started in October and fishing was carried on till the end of May. The remaining four months of the monsoon rendered fishing hazardous owing to the stormy nature of the sea. The fishermen utilized these four months for the preparation of new net pieces for the following season.

In table 4.15, we present the reported holding of different types of individually owned nets classified according to the date of manufacture. Since the nets have an average life-span between three to five years, almost all the net-holding may be considered as acquired during the five years between the two studies.

The table shows that on the basis of an average life span of four years, the rate of replacement was equal to the rate of depreciation for each year except 1959. The value of new nets in the year 1959 shows a decline amounting to about 17 per cent of the depreciation. The replacements that year amounted to eight per cent only instead of 25 per cent.

This decline was caused by a circumstance, spurious in character. About 60 per cent of the fishermen households reported that no new nets were manufactured during the immediate monsoon season because of the development of an unexpected scarcity in the supply of hemp and the relative

rise in its price. It appears that a large part of the crop, which was grown in small quantities and in particular, to meet the demand of the fishermen in the region around, was purchased by regular upcountry dealers for export outside the district. The fishing community in Mithbav as well as the localities around solely depended on this supply. The sudden withdrawal of the supplies resulted in the price shooting up from Rs.15 to Rs.40 per maund. The inability to manufacture new netpieces for the ensuing season had apparently resulted in the emigration from a relatively larger number of Gabit households (vide table 2.1).

In table 4.16 we give a comparative view of the total investment in individually owned nets for the two points of time. The estimates for 1954-55 were based on a sample of 24 fishermen selected for special study in that year. The relative decline at the latter point of time is evident.

The abovementioned increase in the price of hemp, however, did not affect the joint-holding of nets of Rapan companies, the organisations that carried on joint dragnet fishing. They were organisations of about 30 fishermen, who contributed net-pieces to form the huge drag-net, operated the net jointly and shared the catch. Inquiry in this aspect revealed that members purchased the higher-priced hemp in order to manufacture the net-pieces of the dragnet. It involved a collective responsibility and failure in it would amount to the closure of the rapan type of fishing altogether. The collective type of fishing formed an important source of

income and provided continuity to the occupation when the season for deep-sea fishing, carried on with the help of individually owned nets, was slack.

The other important equipment of the occupation were the boats. In the case of dragnet fishing they were used for taking net into the sea and casting it. In individual fishing they carried the fishermen 10 to 20 miles into the sea along with their nets. Some of the boats owned by the dragnet organisations as well as individuals at Mithbav were built in nearby villages, either at Kunakeshwar or Hindale, the villages touching Mithbav in the north and south respectively. Some of these boats had also been bought from more distant places like Achra, eight miles to the south. A few of the boats, however, were also reported to have been built by importing carpenters who had particularly specialised in building boats, from outside the village.

Table 4.17 gives the data, collected in 1959-60, regarding the number of boats at Mithbav during that year according to the year of their acquisition. There were 56 boats, of which 11 were large-sized ones and owned by the ten Rapan organisations, eight operating at the seashore of Mithbav and two, belonging to the northern locality of the village but operating at the seashore of Kunakeshwar. The remaining 45 were individually owned.

The table shows that five Rapan boats and 13 individually owned boats were acquired during the five years. Twelve boats of the latter type ceased to be used for fishing purposes.

In the matter of the larger sized boats of the Rapan organisations, the members helped in the building of the boat. This resulted in lowering the value of the boat as compared to one that was purchased. In the case of the individually owned boats, the practice was to replace the old boat, after using it for about 15 years, by a new one. In a large number of cases, the acquisition was of a used boat, purchased secondhand. These facts rendered estimation of depreciation as well as replacement difficult. From the number of boats acquired during the five-year period, we find that replacements approximated depreciation in the case of the individually owned boats. In the case of boats of the Rapan organisations, we ^{assume that replacements were maintained for a shorter period} ~~find that the high rate of replacement~~ ^{by} disposing of two of the 13 boats owned in 1954-55.

Table 4.18 gives the capital structure of the fishing occupation at the two points of time. In addition to boats and nets, the occupation and mainly the Rapan organisations needed storage huts to store their nets and other fishing gear and the copper vessels used for sizing the Rapan nets with a protective coating periodically. Both these appeared to have declined in number and value.

Direct comparison of the two situations is rendered particularly difficult firstly because the data of one of the situations namely that belonging to the survey year, are estimates based on a small sample as against the 1955-60 situation, which recorded all assets directly; and secondly

because the valuation at the two points of time was done at current prices. It may, however, be seen that there had been an overall decline in the total capital equipment of the occupation.

In the non-agricultural sector of the village, including trading, other professions and artisan occupations, the two important services necessitating large capital investment were flour-milling and tailoring. In the rest of the occupations in this sector, listed in table 4.21, the capital needs were much smaller.

In the case of flour-milling, we found that there had been no change in the 1954-55 situation. The three flour-mills continued to operate, without any new ones being installed. During the resurvey year proper, one of the flour mills remained closed for about six months on account of major repairs to the engine. Another flour-mill had undergone major replacements, costing about Rs.300/-, during the period under study. No attempt has been made to estimate the rate of depreciation, and we have retained the value of the capital equipment reported in 1954-55, implying 'no change'.

Table 4.19 gives the total number of sewing machines in the village at the resurvey point of time classified according to the period of acquisition. Of the 20 sewing machines reported, one was owned by a tailor not belonging to the village but operating at Mithbav. The remaining 19 were owned by 14 families, one having four machines, two families

having two machines each and the rest one each. Of these 14, seven families including the three families having more than one machine, had tailoring at both points of time. The table does not include four machines owned by four additional families as these machines were not put to business uses. They were in the nature of consumer durables meant for the use of the households only.

Eleven of the above twenty machines were acquired at Bombay, one from Kolhapur, two in the village itself and six from ^{other} places in the district. Only two of the machines, one bought at Bombay and the other at Kolhapur were new ones. The rest were used machines at the time of acquisition.

It may be seen from the table that half the number of machines were acquired during the period under study. These half were valued at 59.9 per cent of the total reported value.

We bring together, in table 4.20, the capital invested in different types of activities in the non-agriculture sector, at the two points of time. This capital stock is exclusive of financial capital and represents furniture and fixtures and weights and measures in the case of trading establishments, fixtures and implements of trade in the case of semi-trading establishments like those of goldsmiths and tailors and mainly implement holding in the case of 'other occupations'. The values were reported by the respondents and have been retained.

The last ~~was~~ columns in the table give ^{idea of the} magnitude of the changes in capital investment in each activity in its relation to the change in the total, which was of the order of 20 per cent over the 1954-55 investment.

The increase in the number of sewing machines accounted for 47 per cent of the overall change. Next came the investment in 'other trading', which included three new shops started during the intervening period. In grocery trade one establishment was closed but some of the existing ones made additions to their fixtures. In the case of goldsmiths one new shop was started. In carpentry, one of the carpenter families acquired a secondhand oil engine ~~for running a~~ ^{subsequently fixed with a} mechanical saw, ^{together} both valued at Rs.300.

The table shows that there has been a general increase in the number of units in the non-agricultural sector, the number of tea-shops declined from 10 to 8, one grocery shop was closed and the units in wood sawing fell from 10 to 8.

The table does not contain, on account of difficulties in collecting the information, data relating to two trading establishments and a weaving unit that were started and abandoned during the five-year period. A grocer from Fonda, a trading centre 30 miles from Mithbav, had started a shop in Mithbav in 1955. A second shop, small in size, was started by an immigrant belonging to Mithbav. This shop sold tobacco, pan-bidi and sundry articles like soap-cakes, etc. Both the shops were closed during the period under study. In the case

of the weaving unit, however, the equipment such as looms and spindles was at Mithbav in the resurvey year but production had been suspended for the previous two years. The owner, a mechanic and a dealer in secondhand handlooms still hoped to restart production whenever conditions improved. A case-study account of this unit is given elsewhere.

In table 4.21 we present the total investment of the village, divided into three broad categories, agriculture, fishing and other non-agricultural occupations. In the case of the first two a further subdivision according broader items has been presented. Details of the data under each item have been discussed earlier in the section.

THE values listed for the 1959-60 situation have been retained as reported. In the case of 1954-55 situation also, the listed values were as reported in 1959-60 except in the case of non-agricultural occupations. Wherever periodwise classification was possible, as in the case of water-lifts, bullockcarts, boats, sewing machines etc. acquisitions done in 1954-55 and before have been taken for the 1954-55 period at values reported in 1959-60. In the absence of periodwise data we have assumed a no-change situation and have taken the same values for both the points of time as in the case of bullocks and ploughs in the agricultural occupation and some items in the non-agricultural sector as can be seen from table 4.21. In the matter of nets and other equipment in fishing the 1954-55 figures are estimates done at that time.

It may be noted that we have kept out the most important resource, namely, land. It has been excluded for reasons of difficulties in estimating the value of land under cultivation at the two points of time. ~~As seen earlier total cultivated land increased from 30917 gunthas in 1954-55 to 32709 gunthas in 1955-60, recording an increase of 5.8 per cent. Investment in this regard was negligible as most of the land belonged to families who immigrated to the village during the period between the two inquiries.~~

In presenting the data for purposes of comparison, the question of changes in the price factor has been assumed away. The range in quality in each type of investment, the difficulties in attempting a valuation of assets acquired second-hand years ago as well as the difficulties involved in getting prices of raw materials that went into the manufacture of locally-made assets like boats, nets, etc., rendered the task of separately estimating the values for the two points of time extremely complicated. Our data, however, shows that to the extent of the costs, of different types of services required and available locally or around such as those of carpenters, casual labour, etc., the prices remained almost stationary over the five years between the two studies.

The data presented in the table, denote within the above limitations, the general characteristic of the economy of Mithbav. The very small negative change of 1.91 per cent in the total investment may be interpreted, more as a symptom of

the stationary nature of the economy instead of a measure of decline.

We can also see the direction, rather than the magnitude of change that had occurred in certain activities. The number of water lifts had increased and new plantations had been undertaken in agriculture. The number of carts, however, had decreased to a great extent.

In fishing we find that there had been an overall decline. Apart from the fall in value, the number of units had also fallen (vide table 4.18). The overall decline in this occupation was of the extent of 12.7 per cent.

The only sector recording significant growth was the non-agricultural sector. The increase in this had been of the order of 20 per cent over the investment in 1954-55. In the main, we had seen (table 4.20) that this increase was a result of greater activity in trading and tailoring in particular.

Apart from the physical type of investment, of which an account has been given above, our data indicated investment effort of a financial nature. These data are presented in table 4.22.

The data are presented in order to show the type and direction of such investment. They have two obvious limitations. It is common experience that rural people as a rule do not report or are shy of reporting purchase of gold, saving certificates, etc. The magnitudes in such type of

data, therefore, becomes less meaningful. In a different context, the same shyness gets manifest while collecting data regarding the sale and purchase of gold on traders' account, known to ~~the~~^{be} undertaken by the goldsmiths of the village.

The second limitation is of a more basic nature. Purchase of gold, savings certificates, insurance etc. is primarily undertaken for reasons of security and saving. In the rural context, they are essentially savings, though such investment earns a little dividend over a period of time. This aspect of the investment is reflected in the selling off or disinvesting of these assets whenever a need for cash arises.

The table gives purchase and sale of saving certificates, termed 'small savings' and of gold. The year-wise breakdown does not suggest a steady trend of either purchase or sale. The data may, therefore, be taken to indicate the desire, and the stray efforts to save. It should be mentioned here that in a majority of cases of purchase of saving certificates, the invested money represented the gratuity or provident fund brought home by a retired immigrant.

Apart from the above, there were five cases of purchase of insurance of Rs.1000/- each. The two year data of deposits and withdrawals of saving accounts, collected from the post-office showed an excess of former over the latter. The excess was of the order of 25 and 19 per cent for the years 1958 and 1959 respectively.

Section Two:

In this section we give an account of the investment undertaken by the people of Mithbav for constructing residential houses as well as for collective benefits such as construction of roads, hospital, etc.

In table 4.23 we present the data of the residential houses in the village as reported in 1959-60. The houses are classified according to the date of construction, in ten-year periods, with a year to year spread from 1951 to 1959. As mentioned elsewhere in this report, these are not the total number of houses in the village. Since our general family schedule inquired about the residential houses alone, those owned by residents but utilized for non-residential purposes were left out. Likewise details of houses wholly rented out by an owner staying outside Mithbav were not available.

The values are taken as estimated and reported by respondents. As the effort to estimate the value of the ancient house gets increasingly mixed up with sentiment with the increase in period between the date of construction and that of inquiry, we have not totalled the values of houses built before 1950.

The table also gives a year-wise distribution of major housing repairs undertaken during the period between 1951 and 1959.

We have noted in chapter three that the two principal

reasons of coming into existence of new households were immigration and separation. These were also the reasons for building new houses or undertaking major repairs which in a number of cases took the form of adding a new room to the ancestral house for accommodating the immigrant or separated family. New houses were also built because of the increase in the number of residents with the passage of time.

Construction of a new house meant the availability of financial resources also. In the main these resources represented urban earnings in the form of gratuities or provident funds received on retirement or loans raised at Bombay and other places for the specific reason by an earning emigrant. In a few number of cases the amount invested in building a new house formed a small portion saved from the monthly remittance, received by the resident part of the family.

The table shows that a larger number of new houses were built in the latter half of the nine years between 1951 and 1959. While the proportion of the number of the houses built in 1955 and after was 68 per cent of the 86 dated houses, its total value was 78 per cent, thus indicating an increase in the cost of construction in latter years. In the case of repairs, the proportions were 77 per cent and 78 per cent respectively. It is presumable that the increased number of cases of major repairs were a result of the increased construction costs. We thus find that while 39 houses were built at a reported cost of Rs.60,375 during the period under study, major repairs of 77 houses were undertaken at about one-third

of the expenses incurred in building the new houses.

Finally we give the investment undertaken by the village collectively during this period. The type of construction or purchases are given yearwise with a breakdown of the contributions by different financing agencies in table 4.24.

Of the total investment valued at Rs.39080, one-third was contributed, as grants-in-aid, by the government and 26.3 per cent were spent from the Panchayat funds. The remaining 40 per cent were contributed by the public mainly as cash donations and to a small extent as donations of labour. Of these Rs.10562 had already been received while Rs.5248 were outstanding in 1959-60. The expenditure had initially been undertaken by raising loans at Bombay to the extent of the outstanding amount.

Section Three:

In this section we give a brief account of the nature of indebtedness of the village under study. The data presented belong to the resurvey year only. No details of borrowings were recorded at the family level at the time of the earlier survey.

The small extent of indebtedness and borrowing practice, the reported total loans outstanding at the time of inquiry amounting Rs.31524 or 5.4 per cent of the total income of the village, can be understood in the context of the nature of production and incomes of the village and the attitudes of

the people. The village grew a single crop of paddy, almost all of which was consumed by the family producing it. Of the total income about 84 per cent was received in cash, comprised of remittances, salaries of local departmental employees and sales of fish etc. We have also seen that the practice of emigration had brought the people into urban contact and resulted in higher educational attainment. These circumstances coupled with almost a submarginal standard of living had made the people extremely conscious in the matter of borrowing from others. It may be said that the people, depending on remittances to the extent of 33 per cent had learnt to adjust their expenditures to their incomes and to live within the limits of their incomes.

The general family schedule reported a total of 220 loans, giving an average of Rs.143.3 per loan. Of these 99 loans, the amount forming about 45 per cent of the total, were interest-free borrowings, raised from friend or relatives in order to tide over a financial contingency.

A total of 117 families reported indebtedness. As may be observed from table 4.25, giving a distribution of families according to the number of loans raised, nearly one-half of the families raised money by raising more than one loan. While 45 families could raise interest-free loans, the rest had to pay interest. We can see that there were 12 families whose indebtedness was partly interest-free.

In table 4.26 we give the number of interest-free and interest-bearing loans according to frequency of borrowing.

Of the total, only 30 per cent were single loans.

Tables 4.27 and 4.28 give a breakdown of the borrowed amount according to frequency of borrowing and size of loan, of the two varieties of indebtedness, interest-free and interest-bearing respectively. The table also give the average size of loan for each size of loan as well each frequency. The average size of loan for both type of borrowing was almost the same, the interest-bearing loans giving a slightly higher average of Rs.143.4 as compared to the average of Rs.143.1 for the interest-free loans. It may however be seen that the average sizes differed to a greater extent for each size group of loans. While the average loan was higher for the first four size-groups in the case of the interest-free category, we find that a larger number of loans in larger size-groups fell into the second category. Frequency-wise it may be seen that those in the latter category were larger-sized for one-loan and two-loan borrowings, their average sizes diminishing as the frequency increased. This meant that that larger-sized interest-bearing borrowings were generally single loans.

In table 4.29 we give a classification of loans according to size and purpose. It may be seen that 66 per cent of the loans were meant for consumption, 23 per cent for purchase of day-to-day necessities and about 34 per cent for marriages alone. About nine per cent of this amount was raised for other types of consumption, such as sickness and travel. The remaining 34 per cent of the total loans was

divided into three main categories, 17 per cent for the repair and construction of houses and education, 12 per cent for the sake of purchase of capital stock such as purchase of land and bullocks and construction of wells and cattle sheds and purchase of materials for the manufacture of nets, etc., and about five per cent for repayment of old loans.

Table 4.30 gives the amount of loan classified according to purpose and date of borrowing. Purpose-wise we find that the pattern is almost the same for both the categories, except that all the loans taken for repayment of old debts were interest-bearing ones. It may also be found that during the years nearer to the second point of survey, relatively larger amounts were borrowed for consumption purposes. The proportion of interest-bearing loans was also larger. Likewise we can see that interest-bearing loans amounting to Rs.450, were raised for educational purposes in 1958 and 1959.

Period-wise the amount of loans can be seen to be increasing over the five-year period. Of the total, about 50 per cent of the amount was borrowed during the five-year period between 1955 to 1959. The increases in successive years were sharper for the interest-bearing loans indicating relative worsening of the situation. Table 4.31, classifying the amount of loan according to size of loan and date of borrowing brings this fact into sharper focus. We find that there was a larger-sized borrowing of the interest-bearing variety, particularly in 1958 and 1959. The sharp increase

in the interest-bearing loans may also be indicative of the fact that such loans were more conscientiously repaid than the other variety.

In table 4.32 we present data regarding the size of loan and the interest rates charged. It may be seen that one-fourth of the loan was borrowed at the rate of 37 per cent per annum or as quoted in the rural areas, one-half of an anna per rupee per month. About 20 per cent was borrowed at half the above rate. At the lower end we find that about 30 per cent of the loan carried a rate of five or six per cent and another 10 per cent, an interest rate of nine per cent. All these were institutional loans, raised at the Teachers' Bank at Ratnagiri or from the Bank at Devgad.

In table 4.33 we give a classification of the interest-bearing loans according to purpose and security. It may be seen that a little over 30 per cent of the total interest-bearing loan was secured. The rest of the amount was borrowed on personal security, which in the context of Mithbav meant a personal knowledge of the debtor and the emigrant-earner related to him and the nature and composition of his income. Among the securities offered, salary of the borrower came first. The next major type of security was gold and gold ornaments. The proportion of loan raised against the security of land or buildings or coconut trees was the smallest at 2.8.

Of the 220 loans, 146 or 66.4 per cent were raised locally. Of the remaining 35 were raised within the taluka, 13 at

the district place and 17 outside the district. Of the 17, 15 were raised at Bombay through the earner-emigrants. The amount so raised was Rs.2505 or 7.9 per cent of the total. A little over half of this amount was interest-bearing.

In table 4.34 we give the incidence of borrowing, expressed as a proportion of the total income of the borrowing families. It may be seen that the incidence of interest-free loans was slightly higher than that of interest-bearing loans. The indebtedness was relatively greater for the smaller income groups, that of the first group more than half its reported total income. The incidence decreased to less than one-fourth for the last group.

The above account broadly indicates the nature of indebtedness of the village. In the following two tables we give a brief description of the change that occurred in the practice of borrowing during the period under study. The 117 families reporting borrowing in 1959-60 were asked as to whether they were indebted at the time of the earlier survey also. On the basis of this information we find that 70 families had to borrow money for the first time during the five-year period.

In table 4.35, we give a distribution of indebtedness according to the main occupation of the borrowing families and as split into the two categories, those that were indebted at both the points of time and those that began borrowing only during the period under study. The relative proportions of interest-free and interest-bearing loans was the same for the

total as well as the two categories given in table 4.35.

FROM the table, it may be observed that all the loans ^{taken} by those in trading were borrowed during the five-year period only. The proportion of loans borrowed during this period was larger than the average (column 8) in the case of the families in the non-productive category, other professions, labour and fishing. We also find that the average size of the loan increased from Rs.135.5 to Rs.148.5. Occupationwise we find that those in fishing borrowed about 40 per cent, those in salarieds being the next with about 18 per cent. We also find that the families in cultivation and in the non-productive category also borrowed to a significant extent.

Securitywise, we find that the loans, borrowed by the new debtors during the period of the five years under study, were proportionately more secured. In particular, about 93 per cent of the security in the form of gold and gold ornaments (vide table 4.33) was pledged by the new debtors. Likewise, 77 per cent of the loan secured against insurance policies was raised by them. Together they raised 64 per cent of the total secured loan.

SIMILARLY, of the total of the loan borrowed for investment in 'other business' (vide table 4.29), 85 per cent was borrowed by the new debtors. The proportion of their borrowing was 56 per cent in the case of the loans taken out for investment in agriculture. In the matter of the third important purpose, however, data show that all the loans raised for the purpose of education were raised by the old debtors.

In table 4.36 we present the above data according to the caste of the borrowing families. We find that the Gabits borrowed the largest proportion (column 8) as compared to other castes during the five-year period. The next caste borrowing more than the average were the Mahars. The average size of loan also increased in the case of the above two castes and the Marathas. Caste-wise, we find that 48 per cent of the total loan amount was borrowed by the Gabits while the Marathas came next with about 34 per cent. The proportions borrowed by the remaining caste groups were small.

Chapter V
OPERATIONAL ASPECTS

In the preceding chapters data regarding the numbers, the capital stock and changes therein at the latter point of time were presented. In this chapter we give descriptive accounts of the operational aspects of four occupations. These case-studies are presented in order to enable us to study the smaller adjustments made by and within individual sectors of economic activity since it is felt that an interval of five years is too short to bring about changes of significant proportions in the normal course of events.

The chapter is divided into four sections, each containing a detailed case-study of a major or important occupation. For the first two sections, on agriculture and on fishing, we present resurvey data along with comparable benchmark data. In the next two sections, on housing and house-construction activity and carpentry, the data mainly pertains to the resurvey year.

In the case of the rest of the occupations, the change in the numbers as well as capital stock was extremely small and the situation to an overwhelmingly large extent remained unaltered.

Section One:

Agriculture

The data presented in the previous chapters indicated

that the agricultural sector underwent a reshuffle during the period under study. The total reported area under cultivation showed an increase of about three per cent while the total land under cultivation remained the same. The farm units inclusive of area under plantations of coconut and mango on the other other hand decreased from 927 to 923 (vide table 4.7). The decrease came about by the exit of 75 units, of which 54 were by emigration and the entry of 71 units, of which 43 were by immigration of cultivation families. The pattern of distribution of cultivated holdings showed a small increase in larger-sized units.

These data, however, pertained to two points of time. In the absence of year-to-year data for the intervening period, it is not possible to qualify the above changes either as cyclical or secular. While the overall picture given by the very small decrease in the number of farm units and the small increase in larger-sized farms, indicated that there was a movement away from agriculture, a closer breakdown showed the two processes were not necessarily related directly.

Excluding the exits and entries caused by migration we find that within the village 28 families adopted agriculture as against 21 who abandoned it during the period under reference. Likewise we had seen that while 39 units increased in size, 34 units became smaller. A large part of the three per cent increase in the reported area under cultivation was on account of this reason. The area cultivated by the outgoing families nearly equalled that cultivated by the in-

coming families.

One of the major reasons responsible for these changes was the tenancy legislation of 1957 that converted all tenants into owners of land leased in by them. The legislation set into motion forces that were, to the extent of our resurvey, contradictory in character. On one hand the Act created a number of new owners, especially the fishermen families holding bits of tenanted land which being close to the sea was sandy and unfit for cultivation. On the other, hand, it led owners, who had leased out land, to resume it on the eve of the legislation and even after it. We have seen that that a significant proportion of the 21 families that had abandoned the occupation had done so because of such resumptions by the owners. A more detailed breakdown of the families whose cultivation holdings declined in size showed that 12 families were affected by the resumptions of the above nature. Among other less important reasons for the decline in size, there were two that may be specially mentioned. Six families reported that their holding declined in size because of the absence of adequate number of workers in the family, mainly male workers, for carrying on the family occupation. Another five reported that the reason was the lack of working capital for meeting the costs of cultivation. In a majority of the above cases the land under cultivation reverted to the owner. A group of five families reported that the natural calamity that visited the village during two successive years had had made them leave a part of their land,

that is those plots that were likely to be affected, uncultivated.

In the case of the 39 families whose cultivated land increased, 26 had resumed the land that had been leased out at an earlier date. In the rest of the instance, some had brought under plantations some of the waste land owned by them. In the remaining few cases the increase was on account of purchase.

We have noted that during the intervening five years 28 families entered the occupation of cultivation. Of these, 16 families had resumed their cultivated holdings from their tenants. Five were separated households and four households had escaped our enumeration in the survey year of 1954-55. In the case of the remaining three the land reported as under cultivation in the resurvey year was acquired by purchase, was an award and in the third case, a resumption from mortgage.

It may therefore be said that the apparent movement away from agriculture during the five years was primarily due to the effect of the legislation. As said before the excess of exits over entries owing to the practice of migration could not be categorised as a trend in the absence of year-to-year data.

The slight increase in the direction of farm-sizes getting bigger was also due to the effects of the legislation and not due either to smaller farmers selling away their land or the bigger farmers buying more land. As we have seen the

increase was primarily due to resumption of leased out land by the owners as a consequence of the legislation.

It has been observed earlier that the economy of the village Mithbav was a deficit one and hence migration-oriented. We have also seen (vide chapter II) that the practice of emigration had strengthened during the five years and that a larger number of families had emigrant-earners and remittances at the resurvey point of time. This practice of emigration was responsible in bringing about, in the agricultural sector a negative change during the period under study. As against the entry of 43 cultivating households into the occupation, households numbering 54 left the occupation and also the village.

FROM the point of view of the village as a whole, the proportional change amounted to about eight per cent, 71 households reporting entry into and 75 going out of the occupation. The proportions are indicative of a significant trend namely that of a movement away from agriculture. The movement was to a great extent influenced by the availability of jobs outside Mithbav and mainly at Bombay and to a lesser extent presumably by the adverse conditions of the occupation itself, viz. natural calamities, smaller yields, etc., in a period of rising costs of living.

The conclusion is also corroborated by the decrease in the number earners engaged in cultivation. While the total number of earners declined on balance, it also became older by five years. We had seen that 53 and 48 earners dropped

out of the occupation on account of death and emigration and that 63 and 39 entered it by way of attainment of earner status during the intervening period of time and immigration. In addition to the above changes 14 earners went out of the occupation on account of oldage. Thus we find that while 67 earners were pushed out due to the passage of time, 63 were admitted into it. Likewise we find that migration also accounted for a decline from 48 to 39. These changes resulted in a net decrease, from 486 to 473, of 13 male earners during the five-year period.

The change in the number of female earners was of a slightly different nature. The numbers that dropped out were 28 and 144 by death and emigration respectively while 92 and 138 entered cultivation on the attainment of earnerhood and immigration. In addition 65 females who were resident in Mithbav at both points of time and were placed in the non-productive category owing to their reporting of household work as their occupation at the earlier survey, reported at the time of the resurvey, cultivation as their occupation. These movements resulted in a net increase, from 782 to 905, of 123 female earners in cultivation during the period under study.

Cultivation on the part of female earners usually meant joint participation in the cultivation of the family farm. In the village Mithbav it also meant supervision of cultivation as well as participation for a number of families. The number of cultivating households without a single male

earner increased from 244 to 296 during the five years. Cultivation by the female heads of these families generally took the form of getting the family plots ploughed on a hire basis, the smaller cultivators undertaking the work for the straw produced on such plots for their cattle. The rest of the operations were undertaken and personally supervised by the female head herself. A more detailed scrutiny revealed that many of the females that had reported household work at the time of the earlier survey were prevented from doing actual cultivation on account of a temporary infirmity like childbirth or sickness.

The second important reason was the coming into earnerhood ~~again~~ of 92 females as against the exit of 28 females by death. These new entrants had either completed some stage of education or had left it for good. They helped in the household work as well as work on the family plot till the time they were given away in marriage.

Thirdly part of the increase in the total number of females in cultivation was presumably due to the increase in the local cost of living from 100 in 1954-55 to 135 in 1959-60. The females in farming households participated much more actively in order to bring down cultivation costs. Data from our extremely small farm business survey indicate that the proportions of the inputs of female family labour had increased at the latter point of time. Cultivation was carried out, to a larger extent, with the help of family

labour in order to minimise costs on hired labour.

In the matter of agricultural assets such as livestock and implements the situation remained more or less unaltered. It should be mentioned here that land under cultivation, in the context of the village Mithbav, meant both the land under fields crops such as paddy, ragi, etc., and that under orchards of coconut and mango. While the households engaged in field cultivation made use of ploughs and bullocks, those who had only orchards did not possess the implements and draught cattle. The major implement in their case was the water-wheel which was used for lifting water for the trees.

The additions or deductions from the stock of capital during the five years were few. Since we did not have comparable data for the survey year, we had assumed that the situation regarding the number of ploughs and draught cattle remained the same. The comparable farm business data also substantiated this assumption.

In the matter of the other implement namely the water-wheels, we have seen that 26 hand-operated and four bullock-operated water-wheels were acquired during the five-year period. Of these six of the former and one of the latter variety were in the nature of new investments and the rest were replacements.

In line with the small increase in the number of plantation implements noted above, our resurvey data show that there has been an increase in the plantation activity also. We have seen that of the total of 1025 coconut planted during

the five years, 600 were in the nature of new investments, the rest being replacements. In addition to the above the village undertook plantation of 437 mango grafts, all of which were new investments, indicative of a positive trend. The production of the new superior commercial variety of mango by grafting had been a post-Second World War phenomenon and has been on the increase.

We have seen that the organisational structure of agriculture remained almost unaltered at the resurvey point of time. There was no change in the total area under cultivation, especially of field crops. Area under plantations increased to the extent of planting of new trees. The changes in all the above as well as the numbers engaged were of a marginal nature so as not to disturb the organisational set-up. The proportionately large increase in the number of female workers was a spurious one as between the two points of investigation.

We shall now present some comparable farm business data collected for the same set of cultivators at the two points of time. In 1954-55 our sample consisted of 18 land-owning households out of whom 12 were engaged in the cultivation of field crops. At the resurvey we found that three of the above 18 had left the village for Bombay. Of the remaining 15, only nine were engaged in field cultivation during the resurvey year. The data therefore refers to the performance of these nine cultivators.

It should be mentioned that the data presented, while being comparable in the sense that it gives the farm business performance of the same set of cultivators, are subject to a major limitation which affects their comparability to a considerable extent. It has been observed elsewhere, that the business of agriculture was affected, at the latter point of time, by the inundation of fields by tidal waters during early monsoons. A similar calamity had affected the village in the previous year also. The plots nearer the creek in the south-west and those along the river bank in the south and south-eastern side were flooded by the tides. The deposits of sand and salty sediments affected the growth of the crop in its very early stages and our data reveal that all operations after sowing were abandoned.

The total area that was flooded was variously estimated. The talathi of the village estimated the area to be in the neighbourhood of 150 acres. According to ~~the~~ ^{The} investigator of the Institute, who was present in the village at the time of inundation, estimated that an area between 250 ^{200 to} ~~200 to~~ acres had gone under the tidal sweep. Our farm business data show that, to the extent of the area cultivated by the nine selected cultivators, the sown area so affected and given up as lost amounted to 25 per cent of their total sown area.

In table 5.1 we give the crop pattern of the village. The proportions under different crops are almost identical

as between village-record data for the two points of time. The proportions under different crops as revealed by the re-survey data also bear a close resemblance with the village-records proportions except that the former show a slightly less percentage under paddy, this being balanced by an almost rise in the acreage under orchard crops like coconut and mango. The distribution plainly reveals that of the land under field crops more than 50 per cent was under paddy alone. The crop next in importance was ragi, an inferior cereal, generally consumed by poor people. It may also be seen that about a quarter of the total land under cultivation was under coconuts and mangoes.

The last two columns of the table give proportions of land under field crops as returned by the sample cultivators for the two points of time. The proportion under paddy show a drop of about eight per cent, this fall being counterbalanced by an increase under harik, an inferior cereal of the region, grown on poor soil, termed ^{'uncultivable land'} ~~permanent fallow~~ in the village records. This type of land ^{grows} ~~grows~~ a wild bush which ^{is} burnt in paddy fields, ~~as~~ ^{is} manure. The decline in area under paddy at the latter point of time was caused by the flooding of the fields by tidal water.

In table 5.2, we present the personnel engaged in cultivation and the asset position of the selected cultivators. The situation remained unaltered in the matter of the number of earners engaged in cultivation, owned land and residential buildings.

In the matter of cultivated land six of the nine cultivators reported increase of the extent of three acres and eight gunthas. In two cases the increase in the cultivated area was on account of the flooding. One cultivator brought under harik, land that was permanent fallow and growing a wild bush. The second cultivator cultivated a piece of paddy-land that was left uncultivated at the earlier point of time because of periodical enundation, the plot being adjacent to the creek.

In two other cases two plots which were left fallow in 1954-55, one because it was too far away and the second because the cultivator, a carpenter by profession, was unable to get hold of a plough and a pair of bullocks at the proper time of ploughing.

In the fifth case two gunthas of land, previously left fallow was put under paddy by the reporting cultivator. In the last case, the increase in cultivated land was due to resumption of leased-out land.

Proportionwise we find that, of the reported increase of 3 acres and 8 gunthas, about 70 per cent was on account of the flooding of the land, about 18 per cent on account of resumption and the rest for other reasons already mentioned.

The increase in the value of cattle-sheds at the re-survey point of time was due to the construction of a new cattle-shed, at a cost of Rs.500, reported by one of the cultivators. The number of cattle sheds increased from

three to four during the five-year period.

In the matter of implements and draught cattle the situation remained almost unchanged. The reported value however showed^{was} a decline of about 10 per cent at the resurvey point of time. This may be taken in the nature of depreciation rather than disinvestment or loss.

During the resurvey we did not find any changes in the practices of cultivation. The region received a heavy rainfall averaging between 100 to 120 inches a year from the south-west monsoons for four months from the beginning of June. Paddy was the only crop that could grow in such a heavy rain area.

Ploughing was the only major operation that was undertaken with the help of draught cattle. On an average a plot was ploughed three times before it was considered ready for sowing. Plots nearer the residence of the cultivator were ploughed more frequently, some of the farmers reporting five to six ploughings.

Sowing was undertaken immediately after the first monsoon showers by the first or second week of June. The cultivators practised both the methods of sowing; The method under which a single plot was sown for preparing seedlings and the broadcast method. The latter method was much more in vogue and accounted for more than 85 per cent of the sown area. The plots were manured both before and after sowing, in particular where manure other than farm yard manure was used. The farm yard manure was mixed with the soil at the

time of ploughing. Other manures such as groundnut cake or beach manure was given after the sowing.

A more detailed breakdown revealed that of the total seed inputs at the latter date a larger proportion pertained to the better quality paddy as compared to the inputs in 1954-55. The change however could not be taken as a trend because of the small size of the sample as well as the absence of yearwise data for the period under study.

The next operation was that of transplantation when the crop grew to a height of about 9 to 12 inches. The only major operation prior to cutting and harvesting was weeding undertaken in the middle of July. Both these operations were largely done by female labour.

The course as well as the timings of the different operations remained unchanged at the time of the resurvey. There were small changes in per-acre inputs as can be seen from table 5.3.

The table presents per-acre inputs, according to the major operations, of male, female and bullock labour for the paddy crop for the two points of time. The sample being extremely small, no generalisations are possible. The table gives the performance of the nine specific cultivators at the two points of time.

The table reflects the effect of the natural calamity that occurred during the resurvey year. While all the land sown under paddy was harvested in the year of survey, we find that during the resurvey year, sown area amounting to

about 25 per cent had to be abandoned.

As regards inputs, we find that, within the limits of reporting deficiencies, there had been a general decline in the per-acre rates of all types of inputs. The decrease was the smallest, around five per cent, in the case of male labour days and manure inputs. Bullock labour days decreased by about 17 per cent while female labour days decreased by about 24 per cent. The decrease in seed inputs was of the order of 23 per cent.

We had observed earlier that the increase in the inputs of family labour, from 62 to 80 per cent in the case of males, from 74 to 80 per cent in the case of bullocks and from 66 to 76 per cent in the case of females denoted an attempt, on the part of the cultivators, at minimising the costs on hired labour. It has also been noted that the cost of living index of the village rose by 35 points during the five-year period. The two things taken together along with the fact of increase in the practice of emigration denote that agriculture which contributed less than 20 per cent of the total income of the village, was relegated, at the resurvey point of time, to a place of lesser importance. This is reflected in the general decrease of the inputs of various kinds.

The effect of the general decrease in outputs can be seen in the per-acre yield which decreased from 833 seers to 726 seers, a decrease of 13 per cent over the 1954-55 yield. The yield of straw, used as fodder locally shows an increase

from 23 to 30 bundles per acre.

In the farm business study at the earlier point of time, it was found that labour payments were made in cash to the extent of 86 per cent. The kind payments were comprised of straw, nine per cent and wages in the form of paddy, five per cent. The resurvey data show that the latter form of payment namely payments from the new produce in the form of wages was not reported at all. All labour payments, except payment of straw for ploughing, were made, in cash. As we have seen kind payments of this nature were inevitable on account of the existence of a large proportion of small farmers not owning cattle. A significant proportion of these were households without a resident male earner.

Likewise the resurvey data reveal that kind payment to artisans were also dispensed with. The two types of artisans at the village, the carpenter and the barber, were paid in cash for their services. Some of the cultivators had reported kind payments to these artisans at the earlier survey.

The type of small farming carried on in the village did not necessitate large finance. Part of the financing of cultivation was done either out of cash earnings from subsidiary occupations, remittance receipts ^{or} ~~on~~ temporary borrowings from friends and relations. In the few cases where no such arrangements were possible, the small cash requirements were raised by selling, in the weekly market, a part of the produce of coconuts. In the first survey, we

had found that out of the nine cultivators, only a single cultivator had reported raising of a loan of Rs.100/- for cultivation purposes. At the second point of survey, a second cultivator reported a loan of Rs.200/- for farm expenses in addition to the previous one who also reported a fresh loan of Rs.100. The relative absence of the practice of raising loans for financing agriculture is also evident in our data on indebtedness which show that of the total interest bearing loans, only 5.6 per cent were raised for agricultural expenses (vide Chapter IV).

In table 5.4 are given sourcewise incomes of the nine cultivating households at the two points of times. For the sake of comparisons the incomes at the latter point of time have been converted at constant prices. All incomes in cash have been deflated, notionally, by the increase in the local cost of living index, which is constructed from a consumption data collected from a set of households representative of the entire village rather than only farming households.

The comparison between the proportions of income from each source shows that the proportion of income from agriculture declined from about 19 per cent in 1954-55 to about 16 per cent at the latter point of time. On the other hand we find that two other sources, plantations and remittances, strengthened in their contribution, from 10.5 to 21 per cent and from 28.4 to 38.7 per cent respectively. These changes are more or less consistent with our aggregate findings regarding the village (vide Chapter IX).

The last columns, income^{at} of current prices, show an extraordinary large proportion of income from agriculture. This was because the harvested produce was converted at harvest prices. The paddy produce was an item that entered consumption directly and as such had partaken in the general price rise in the village. In this sense this proportion was fictitious as all the produce was consumed within the reporting households only.

Our resurvey aggregative data however reveal that some of the paddy produce was sold, in all instances to consumers within the village. The sales were occasioned mainly by the fact that a large section of the population preferred par-boiled rice which had to be processed from harvested paddy only. Paddy was purchased from neighbourers or other cultivating families in the village, was boiled and dried and later dehusked. We find that in a majority of cases of paddy sales, the sales were occasioned not because of a surplus production but either to oblige a neighbourer or to raise a little cash for making cash purchases. The sellers were families with an annual family income of Rs.700 and below and producing on an average, 16 to 20 maunds of paddy. While the quantity sold amounted to about 40 per cent of the total produce of the selling families, it amount to 11 per cent of the total production of the village.

Section Two:

Fishing

FISHING was one of the major occupations of the village,

carried on by the local fishing community of Gabits. The community was mostly settled in the coastal locality. While fishing was the main source of their livelihood, the Gabits had also entered other vocations, such as trading, salaried services, tailoring, etc. The proportion of those engaged in fishing had increased slightly from 84 to 85 per cent during the period under study.

As referred to elsewhere, the occupation employed two techniques namely, (i) deep-sea fishing carried on by groups of five or six persons with individually owned boats and nets, and (ii) shore fishing carried on by groups of about 30 persons with the help of jointly owned nets and boats. The latter, called Rapan fishing, was a type of co-operative organisation with traditionally evolved rules as regards contribution of net pieces, participation in fishing and net repairs and distribution of the proceeds. While the number of groups in deep-sea fishing were 23 at both points of time, the number of persons engaged declined from 136 to 131. There were six Rapan organisations belonging to the Gabits and operating on the Mithbav sea-shore. Two of these were mainly owned by Gabits belonging to Morve, a Gabit locality across the estuary to the south and not belonging to the village. While one of these was entirely operated by the outsiders, the other had five members belonging to Mithbav. The remaining four organisations were owned and operated by the Gabits of Mithbav.

THERE were in addition four other Rapan organisations owned and operated by Marathas and Bhandaris. Two of these carried out their fishing at the Mithbav shore. The remaining two, owned by Maratha residents of the distant north-western locality of Katwan, operated on the shore of Kunakeshwar, a coastal village to the north of Mithbav.

The four non-gabit organisations engaged themselves in fishing mainly to procure beach manure for their farms. The members did only shore-fishing and disposed of saleable fresh fish to local Gabit fish-selling women immediately after landing the fish. They neither sold fresh fish themselves nor undertake fish curing like the Gabits. As such the occupation was primarily a supplementary one. It also brought a little cash out of the proceeds of the sales of fresh fish and of a small quantity of beach manure left after meeting their own requirements.

In addition to the members of the above organisations there were also 24 persons engaged in Rapan fishing, 19 of which did not hold membership rights of any Rapan organisation. They were fishing labour who helped in pulling the dragnet ashore and in the landing of fish. A majority of these were attached to different Rapan organisations for the year as a matter of practice only. In this context it was reported that any known person, who having no work on hand, participated with a Rapan group, in dragging the net ashore was given one-half of the share entitled to a regular member.

The remaining five persons were regular members of other Rapan organisations operating on the Kunakeshwar shore.

DURING the period between the two enquiries the total number engaged in Rapan fishing increased by 14 from 214 to 228. This increase is partly reflected in the number of earners in table 3.27 showing an increase of four from 149 to 153. It should be recalled here that under "Rapan fishing" the table lists only those that were engaged in Rapan fishing to the exclusion of the deep-sea type. It has been mentioned above that a majority of the Gabit earners under 'fishing' also did Rapan fishing.

Fishing was carried on by means of boats and nets. Boats were generally ordered to be built or purchased second-hand from nearby fishing villages. A few of the boats, however, were also reported to have been built locally by importing carpenters, who had specialised in boat-building in particular, from outside the village. All the nets, however, were manufactured by those engaged in fishing and also by those engaged in Rapan fishing only. Hemp, grown in some of the villages around was used for this purpose. The fibre was processed and spun by hand.

After fish was landed, it was sorted out according to variety. A part of this was sold by auction generally to selling fisherwomen who ^{vended} ~~peddled~~ it around the village and other villages also. The remainder was shared equally between the members. A small part of the shared fish was cured by

the members at their house along with fish caught by them individually. The rest was sold in the village and around as fresh fish by the wives or relatives of the members.

The proportion of total production estimated as sold fresh was 55.6 per cent for 1954-55, as against 57.6 per cent for 1959-60. The small increase was due presumably to the increase in the local fish prices of fish. The rest of the fish was cured and sold by the fishermen themselves in interior villages and weekly markets.

The State Government had created a Salt Department in order to supply commercial salt on the spot and at subsidised prices to the fishermen in the State. The Department had a number of salt depots along the coast. The village Mithbav had one such depot for the last 45 years. It was called the Fish Curing Yard. The yard officer sold salt to fishermen on condition that the fish was cured in the yard itself. He also advised them regarding curing processes.

RECORDS of salt sold at this yard showed that the total quantity sold had increased from ~~ms.~~ ^{maunds} 579 in 1954-55 to ^{1564 ma} ~~1310.5~~ in ~~1955-60~~. ~~The quantity sold had jumped up since 1955-58.~~

^{The sudden jump in the offtake of salt}
~~This increase~~ came about in a particular manner. The principal reason was the fact that owing to the small quantity sold in 1954-55 and prior, the department was considering the closure of the Yard at Mithbav and shift it to Achra a coastal village about nine miles to the south. The officer

persuaded the local fishing community to use more commercial salt for curing instead of salt-earth, which was procured by scraping the thin layer of salt at low-tide and used as a curing medium. It is not known to what extent the unhygienic curing process had declined as a result. The fishermen were observed to be using the salt earth during the resurvey year also.

The resident fishermen, however, agreed to the proposal of the Yard Officer on the condition that salt should be allowed to be taken home for curing. This was against the rules of the Yard which stipulated that fish had to be taken to the yard for curing. It was however agreed that since individual catches were small, there was much wastage of time and labour in taking them to the yard. It was reported that the Yard Officials agreed to allow smaller quantities of salt to be taken away whenever the case seemed to be genuine. The practice however seemed to have become common. It was reported that almost half the quantity sold at the Yard was being exported to Morve, the fishing locality across the estuary and belonging to the village Hindale to the south of Mithbav.

As regards the numbers engaged in the occupation, we have seen (vide table 3.27) that, as in agriculture, the number of earners in fishing also recorded a fall from 136 to 131. The decline came about principally on account of the relatively low proportion of immigrants replacing the

exits by death. Likewise we also find that proportion of the excess of emigrants over that of 'new' earners was slightly larger in the case of fishing than agriculture. The overall decline was of the order of four per cent as against the three per cent decline in agriculture. The change was of a marginal character and we can say that the occupation, which was already found saturated in 1954-55, shared, along with agriculture, the movement of persons away from it.

The fact that fishing had become a relatively less remunerative occupation is also reflected in the larger proportionate decline in the number of earners carrying it on as a single occupation (vide table 3.27). It may be seen that while the total number in the occupation declined from 136 to 131, the decline of earners in fishing as a single occupation was from 123 to 112, that is a decline of about nine per cent. This indicates that proportionately a larger number of persons found it necessary to take to an additional occupation in order to increase their income.

A more detailed breakdown of the emigrants during the period under study revealed that the movement away from fishing could be partially associated with the relatively spurious occurrence of the sudden rise in the price of hemp just prior to the 1959-60 fishing season. Of the 17 earners in fishing that emigrated during the five years, we find that three left the village in 1955, two in 1956, three in 1957, two in 1958 and seven in 1959 that is in the beginning of the fishing season in the resurvey year. The mean age of the emigrants,

28, 19, 17, 15 and 35 also show that while the emigration during the four years from 1955 to 1958 was of the normal type, that in 1959 was occasioned by the unusual circumstances which compelled ~~the earners,~~ ^{working fishermen of advanced ages and who had been} ~~that had been in fishing~~ for a long time, to leave the occupation and seek employment outside the village.

We have also seen from table 2.1 that, during the five year period, a relatively larger number of Gabit households, as compared to those belonging to the other two major caste groups, had sent new earners outside the village. It was obvious that some of the fishing households, finding that ^{were unable to replace their equipment} their ~~inability to manufacture of new nets,~~ persuaded their new earners to go out and look for jobs. The proportionately greater number of emigrant earners from the fishing occupation can be discerned from tables 2.5 and 2.6.

In chapter IV (table 4.18) we had seen that the total value of the fishing equipment declined. The decline in individually owned nets was relatively higher than that in other equipment. In table 5.5 we present the average per operator capital equipment and production for the two types of fishing at both points of time. The table also provides the decline in the total equipment and production. While production figures for 1954-55 are taken from estimates from the earlier report, those for 1959-60 are actuals collected during the resurvey by means of a day-to-day schedule.

The occupation showed a decline both in per operator

equipment and production. While the decline was comparatively small in the case of equipment, it was much larger in the case of production taken at constant prices.

In the case of female earners in the occupation the change was also of a small extent, the number increasing from 128 to 132. This came about in the usual manner, numbers lost on account of death and emigration being replaced by new earners and immigrants respectively.

It has been noted in the chapter on migration that the proportion of Gabit earner-emigrants that had left Mithbav was proportionately larger as compared to those belonging to other castes. From table 3.5 we find that the proportions of earner-emigrants that left the village subsequently were 17.4 per cent in the case of the Marathas, 13.0 per cent for Bhandaris and 19.6 per cent in the case of Gabits. More than half of those that left their resident occupation for Bombay were working fishermen, engaged both in fishing and/or rapan fishing.

It has been reported that some of the working fishermen used to go to Bombay for seasonal work in the docks. The fishing occupation at Mithbav came to close by the end of May for a period of four months till the end of September. This period coincided with the cultivation season which drew a part of the upcountry dock labour away to their villages. The temporary vacancies so created were sought after by the temporary (seasonal) emigrants. Their number was about eight

to ten annually. It was however reported that the number of such seasonal emigrants for the year 1958-59 was comparatively large because of the scarcity of hemp.

It should also be mentioned here that all those who went to Bombay for the abovementioned temporary employment did not necessarily return after the termination of the vacancy. It should be noted that fishing was a whole-time occupation which did not allow for the adoption of a subsidiary vocation. The occupation was largely dependent on the vagaries of the sea and the availability of fish in the sea. The returns were also small as compared to others who had the possibility of adopting an additional occupation. The emigrating fishermen therefore tried to secure a regular job at Bombay once they left the village. The seasonal work in the dock presumably gave them an opportunity to go to Bombay and seek a more permanent type of employment.

A second important point in this context was the nature of the job itself. Fishing entailed relatively harder manual work in all seasons and meant staying in the distant locality. These characteristics drew the younger generation away from the occupation. It was found that with the increase in education and attainment of higher standards in it, the tendency had strengthened towards the end of the period between the two surveys.

The occupation, as we have seen, had almost become stagnant, without any possibilities of either improvement or

expansion. The techniques of fishing as well as manufacture of nets had not changed. For its raw material the occupation depended on the availability of hemp, the sudden increase in the price of which, had affected the occupation seriously. It had resulted in the decline of capital equipment and production and the withdrawal of personnel.

The withdrawal in its turn had been achieved at relatively larger costs. A castewise proportion of the unemployed ^{emigrant} persons to total emigrant earners shows that while it was 8.1 and 6.7 per cent for Marathas and Bhandaris, it was 13.0 per cent in the case of the Gabits.

The occupation at Mithbav had to encounter other difficulties during the period between the two surveys. As can be gathered from an account of the failure of the efforts of the fishermen described in a subsequent chapter, the truck owned by the Mithbav Fishing and Trading Co-operative Society and used for transporting fisherwomen sellers to distant weekly markets, was taken over by another society, that tried to improve the transport facilities by having an additional vehicle. ^{also} The additional vehicle got involved into an accident, the new society's efforts ended in what was described as a fruitless adventure and the earlier truck ^{also got} was disposed off.

The Gram Panchayat of Mithbav tried to secure more dependable and regular transport for the selling fisherwomen by requesting the State Transport authorities to provide a

bus specifically for them. The bus service, however, was withdrawn, after one month, by the authorities on the plea that the passengers were not punctual and that the vehicle could not be kept waiting. It became apparent that since the occupation was an irregular one and had to depend on the chance of availability of fish in the sea, it was not possible for any regular transport organisation to provide separate vehicles for the transport and sale of fresh fish outside the village.

As may be found elsewhere in the report (Chapter VII), the old co-operative society of the fishermen was reorganised with a young and enthusiastic secretary to look after its affairs. The new arrangement seemed to ^{be} good and on the whole promised to be beneficial in that the secretary was young, educated and not directly connected with fishing. His election provided one of the keenly-felt requirements namely that of young men who stayed in the village. During the year of the resurvey the new secretary tried to introduce mill-made yarn as an alternative net material in view of the aforementioned steep rise in the price of hemp. He also imported a small quantity of nylon yarn for the manufacture of certain types of net-pieces, in particular the central net-pieces of the drag-nets which have to be of a very fine mesh and strong enough to withstand the drag which is greatest at the centre. He was ^{of} ~~on~~ the opinion that the fishermen were not averse to the idea of using the new materials provided someone convinced them of the economies

patiently.

Section Three:

Housing and house construction

Mithbav, like other coastal villages in the district, is situated on the slopes of the spurs of the Western Ghats jutting into the sea. Habitation in the village therefore started on the slopes or in that part which was uncultivable and as far away from the sea as possible. With the gradual increase in population new localities came into existence on the western side, in between fields under paddy.

This characteristic of the location of residential houses may be observed from the village map. It may be mentioned here that Mithbav did not have a Gaothan, the area earmarked for purposes of dwelling as in the case of villages in the Deccan plateau.

TABLE 5.6 gives a distribution of the residential houses in the village according to wards and date of construction. The dating has been taken as reported and the data are subject to all the limitations such an attempt to recollect the date and value of constructions have. Likewise we do not possess data regarding the rate of obsolescence of houses of Mithbav. A comparison of the distribution of houses at the beginning of the century and towards the end of the sixties shows that while ward A had the largest number of houses, the density had totally changed during the intervening period of about 60 years. In the resurvey

year the last ward had the largest number of houses, followed by B, A, and C. The direction of the extension of the village is also broadly reflected in the table. The growth of Ward A was slower than the rest. Wards B and C grew at a comparatively more rapid rate in the decade of the thirties and the decade 1911-20 respectively. The last ward however showed rapid growth in the first decade, the twenties, the forties and the fifties. This movement was simultaneous with the movement of Gabit families, from a relatively interior locality, towards the sea shore.

A second characteristic of housing at Mithbav was the independent situation of almost every house, with a small yard of its own. The absence of a pre-demarcated Gaothan and the necessity to grow the family requirement of coconuts thus resulted in a village with randomly scattered localities.

The village therefore appeared uncrowded. Almost every house had coconut trees in addition to other local types consumed as vegetables or spicing agents. Those nearer the hill range also had mango-orchards of a commercial variety, the cultivation of which was on the increase.

The resurvey data on housing showed that 56 per cent of the total number of families stayed in independent houses, while the rest had to share the house with one or two families. Of the total of 842 residential houses, 640 had one family each, 135 two families each, 44 three families^{each}, 17 four families each, and 5 five families each. There was one house

with as many as six families.

Those that shared a house were mostly relatives and belonging to the same ancient family. They also jointly owned the houses. It was observed that a separation most often meant a separate commensal arrangement under the same roof by the separating family. *with*

The evaluation register of ^{-the} Gram Panchayat of Mithbav had recorded, for the purposes of the house-tax, 965 houses in 1954-55. Since the Panchayat functioned for the northern village of Bagmala also, a small proportion of the houses belonged to that village. During the period between the two studies 39 new houses were built.

During the resurvey year, our general family schedule returned 842 houses under residential use. Of these 29 had been rented and 17 were occupied by the relatives of the owners who were not in Mithbav at the time of the resurvey. Details regarding date of construction, value of the house, etc., were not available in the case of these 46 houses. No details as to the date of construction could be had in the case of three more houses. We had thus data for 793 houses for the year 1959-60.

There were the remaining houses about which no data were available. A significant proportion of these were the houses or buildings used for non-residential purposes such as shops or work houses. The houses of the village Bagmala formed a larger proportion of the total missing houses.

The data collected in the General Family Schedule are presented in Table 5.7 along with details regarding the major repairs undertaken. The table classifies the houses according to the year of construction. The values as reported by the owners have been retained. It should however be noted that both the value and ^{the} date had to be, in a large number of cases, conjectures or approximations made in 1959-60. More than three-fourths of the houses had been built by the ancestors of the present owners at a time when the price structure was entirely different. In the matter of dates also a certain amount guess work was involved.

Of the total of 793 houses, 153 that were reported to have been built in and prior to 1900 have been kept separate. The periodwise distribution thus relates to 640 or about 81 per cent of the houses built after 1900.

The table gives both five year and ten year distribution of percentages of the number and value of the houses. In the former the fact of non-precision of memory in reporting is evident. The ten year distribution is more even. Building activity appeared to be on the increase during the first four decades of the century. The average cost of building a house appears to have increased more or less at an even pace during this period. Thereafter the activity slackened progressively during the forties and the fifties. One of the principal reasons was apparently the sudden increase in construction costs as can be seen from the table. This period also coincided with the commencement of the Second World War leading to

a much greater rate of emigration, and thus affecting the activity directly. Separations were presumably postponed or did not result in building new houses since the male-earner felt less worried if his wife and children stayed along with the resident family under the same roof.

The last four columns of the table contain information regarding major repair expenditure undertaken by the owners. Although no particular limit on the reporting of the year of major repairs was specified, we find that only those repairs undertaken from the year 1948 onwards were reported. It was possible that the house owners who undertook major repairs prior to 1948 were either dead or away from the village at the time of the resurvey. The second possibility was that the data indicated one extreme of the duration regarding the retention of memory in the matter of dates. It should be mentioned here that in a number of cases major repairs meant construction of an additional room to accommodate a separation in the family.

Columns 10 and 11 give the number of cases of repairs and expenditure involved. It may be seen that the number of cases increased progressively during the decade of the fifties. It is apparent that the increase in building costs resulted in getting the decisions regarding construction of new houses either postponed or cancelled. It appears that these were replaced by decisions to undertake major repairs instead. It may be said that the people at Mithbav found more economical to undertake repairs than build new houses. Columns 13 and

14 of the table show that, while of the total construction and repair expenditure, 83 per cent was spent on new construction during 1951 to 1955, it declined to 73 per cent during the period under study. The proportion of expenditure on repairs went up to the same extent.

In table 5.8 we give data regarding the houses constructed during the ten years between 1950 and 1959. The houses are divided into four categories, categories B and C being almost the same except the type of roofing, the former having factory-produced tiles generally known as Mangalore-tiles while the latter had tiles of an indigenous variety, half-cylindrical in shape and made by potters in a village nine miles to the south of Mithbav.

The table gives some broad indications. It may be seen that preference for more permanent types of house had increased during the latter quinquennial period. Of the 57 houses built during this period, only seven were type D houses, which were the least permanent. Among the rest the shift toward type B houses, which is actually the preference towards the better looking and more secure factory-produced Mangalore variety is noticeable. We also find that while only two houses of type A were built during 1950-54, their number was eight in the latter five-year period.

It may be mentioned here that 20 of the 22 houses of type D belonged to the fishing community of Gabits. The remaining two were owned by Bhandari families, both engaged in cultivation and wood-sawing.

Twelve of the 20 Cabit families had earners at Bombay. These included all the five families owning houses of the value of Rs.200 and above. There were six such houses of the value of Rs.200 and above, the reason for the high value being the use of Mangalore tiles for roofing.

We find that poverty was not the only reason for building type D houses. The fishermen lived on the more or less isolated locality on the sea-coast which was sandy and did not contain the earth required for walls. They had therefore to incur additional transport costs to procure the material and very often had to buy it. On the other hand the material they used, namely woven and dry coconut-leaves were available on the spot, the locality itself growing a number of coconut groves.

A second reason for building type D houses was the size of the house itself. While in the interior village, separations were largely accommodated in the ancestral house with two or more rooms, the relatively smaller houses at Tambaldeg could not do so. A separation often meant having a new house itself. The result was type D house which cost little and could be built quickly.

An additional reason was the fact that some of the fishing families were immigrants to the village. They had gone to the village for making a living. Their immigration was facilitated by the fact of their having a relative in Mithbav. They were not sure as to how long they would stay at Mithbav and hence preferred to build the cheaper structures.

Five of the 20 type D houses belonged to immigrant families with their male earners at Bombay in 1959-60. Most of these, however, were separated ones from the older resident family of the village. They were not immigrants in the above sense.

More detailed scrutiny showed that the proportion of houses belonging to families with emigrant-earners at Bombay had also increased from about 56 per cent in the first five year period to 72 per cent in the latter. A non-sample random survey of the houses built during this period showed that to a large extent the finances came from Bombay. Out of the 10 stone houses the emigrants of nine had long-standing jobs at Bombay. Likewise it was found that building a house in the native village was one the major purposes of saving in the case of emigrant-earners.

House building was a composite type of activity requiring the services of the masons, carters, carpenters, wood-sawers, and the assistance of casual labour. Likewise it also meant raising of the finance needed and taking decisions as regards the design of the house, the materials to be used and the choice of different types of services.

In a substantially large number of cases the design remained the same. Peculiarities of the climate, the availability of house-building material and the agency entrusted with the work of construction were largely responsible for this. Except for the size which again was decided by convention, almost all the mud houses, types B and C, were of the tradi-

tional design with a half open verandah, a couple of rooms and a kitchen running across the full breadth of the house.

The designing of the stone houses, however, showed a good deal of change. The tiled roof was, however, a climatic necessity because of the heavy monsoons. In other respects the stone houses were more spacious, with larger and greater number of windows and better ventilation. While the rooms in the traditional houses were rectangular, the new stone houses had square rooms. They also contained bathrooms within the built-in area. In a few cases, they had cement floors also.

It should be mentioned in this context that of the two Maratha earners in the occupation of construction, one claimed specialisation in preparing plans of the proposed houses and working out the estimates for them, in addition to masonry work. He had worked as an assistant to a building overseer at Bombay for a number of years. He reported that his specialised services were requisitioned in the case of many of the stone houses built in Mithbav and also in the villages around Mithbav.

While the new houses built during the period under study were a net addition to the housing situation at Mithbav, particularly in view of the stationary nature of its population, the rate of house-building activity showed a progressive decline over the previous decades. In table 5.9 we give the percentage increase in living area provided by the houses built in each decade. Each percentage addition is the propor-

tion of the area built during the decade as related to the total built-area at the beginning of the decade.

The above table, as well as the following tables are constructed from a random sample of the housing data collected during the resurvey. Every fifth family was taken into consideration for the purposes of this sample analysis. Those that did not exist in the village in 1959-60 were excluded. The sample thus admits the houses in which the above families lived. In addition, all those families that shared the above houses are also taken into account for the purposes of this sample. We thus have 217 houses and 369 families, forming 33.9 and 32.3 per cent of the totals respectively.

From table 5.9 the rate of addition can be seen to be declining on the assumption that the rate of obsolescence was constant. The principal reason presumably was that pressure for building new houses in the resident village decreased because of the change in the character of emigration, namely that the earlier seasonal emigration was replaced by emigration of a more permanent character. Our study (Chapter II) has also revealed that as the practice of emigration strengthened, a shift of population took place rendering the village relatively more stationary in the matter of population. While the rate of emigration was smaller during the decades of the 20's and the 30's, the practice of taking the family to Bombay was also small, these two factors necessitating the construction of a larger number of houses as the population and the number of households increased.

Thereafter the additions can be seen to be declining. A part of the decline could also be attributed to the relative increase in house-building costs, particularly during and after the Second World War.

In the following tables we give data regarding the nature of housing situation in the village as affected by the age of construction, the type of construction and the crowding, as given by the number of households sharing a house.

In table 5.10 we give a breakdown of the houses according to the caste of owners and the period of construction. It may be seen that the higher castes, the Brahmins and the Vaishyas, lived in relatively recently built houses than the others. At the other extreme were the Mahars who lived in much more older houses.

In table 5.11 a classification of the houses according to the type and age of construction is given. We can see that of the pucca types, types A to C, the first two are relatively recent constructions. As seen earlier, the table also shows that the B type was being increasingly preferred to the C type, the point of distinction between the two being the roofing material. At the lower end of the table, we find that the kachcha houses, of the D type, pertain to a more recent period as they should. It should be mentioned here that some of these structures were converted into more permanent types, the B and the C types, as the circumstances of the families improved.

Table 5.12 gives the type of construction according to

the caste of owners. It may be seen that the higher castes owned relatively larger proportion of the stone houses than the rest. The table also shows that a majority of the D type of houses were built by the Gabits for reasons already stated. They also owned some of the permanent types.

We had seen earlier that new house-construction was undertaken primarily on account of separations from the earlier joint household. We have also seen that separations took place for a variety of reasons, the principal one being the small-sized remittance which compelled the 'broken' part of the nuclear household to separate and live independently under the same roof. Added to these, was the increasing cost of construction which presumably resulted in house-buildings decisions being postponed or dropped altogether.

The above circumstances resulted in a large extent of crowding. The last column in table 5.13, giving the age of construction according to number of families sharing the house, shows that 58 per cent of the houses were occupied by single families. The rest being shared by two or more families. The column also shows that the proportion goes on decreasing as the construction becomes older. This fact could also be taken to indicate that house-building was undertaken primarily on account of separation as stated earlier.

In table 5.14 we give data regarding the houses according to the number of families sharing and the caste of the owner. It may be observed that the houses belonging to higher castes were mostly inhabited independently. Next came the houses

owned by the Gabits that were occupied independently. At the lower end came those belonging to the Mahars and other intermediate castes which were largely shared by more than one family. The last column also shows that, for the village as a whole, about 58 per cent of the houses were independently inhabited.

In tables 5.15, 5.16 and 5.17 are presented data regarding the proportions of persons living and the average living area per person as related to the period of construction, type of construction and the number of families residing.

From table 5.15 we find that the proportion of persons living in the most recent houses was the smallest while the average living area per person was highest for the houses built in the decade of the 50's. Table 5.16 indicates that a small proportion of persons lived in the A type of houses and that its living area was the highest. We can also see that the average living area of type B houses was almost comparable with that of type C, though a large proportion lived in the latter. The small size of the last type is apparent.

Table 5.17 gives the state of housing amenities available for the people in 1959-60. We find that only about a third of the population lived in independent houses and its average living area per person was highest at 132.6 sq.ft. as compared to the village average of 102.2 sq.ft. The living area decreased as the number of households living in the house increased. The crowding is reflected in the proportions, 25

per cent living in two-family houses, 20 per cent living in three-family houses and the rest, 19 per cent, living in houses shared with three or more families.

A breakdown of the houses built during the period under study showed a small improvement in the average living area per person at 139.7 sq.ft. They were more independently inhabited, 65.6 per cent of persons staying in independent houses with 135.4 sq.ft. of average living area, 26.2 per cent however shared the houses with twoⁿ more families.

Certain additional information was collected, during the Resurvey, in order to enable us to observe the movement of house-building activity during the ten-year interval. A sample-schedule inquiring about some of the construction data was employed for this purpose. Information on details of construction of 18 out of the 96 houses built during the ten years prior to the Resurvey year was collected. We give below the results of this enquiry, split into two five-year periods for the sake of comparison. Table 5.18 gives, in the main, the changes in practices, such as reasons for building the house, sources of finance, and engagement of different types of services. The table is presented mainly to give a qualitative rather than a quantitative idea regarding these practices, because of : (i) the inadequate size of the sample, and (ii) the difficulty, expressed by many of the responding owners or their relatives, of either remembering, or estimating and in some cases complete ignorance of, the outlay of building expenses on different services and materials.

Since the sample is very small percentages are not attempted.

The table indicates certain broad trends, between the two periods. Columns 2 and 3 show that a larger number of houses were built, during the latter period, by families separated from the ancient household and desirous of having their own house. The next three columns reveal that house-owners had to borrow a larger proportion of the money, 31 per cent as against 23 per cent, during the latter period. Columns 7 to 14 give the distribution of houses according to the place from where the different types of services such as masonry, carpentry, woodsawing and carting were drawn by the house-owners. The overall impression we get is that during the five years during 1956-60 house-owners at Mithbav had to depend, in the matter of all the four types of services, on skills imported from outside Mithbav on an increasing scale.

The above observation however is subject to certain limitations. A more detailed inquiry revealed that in a number of cases, the location of the intended house was such that masons or carpenters across the ferry and belonging to the next village were more readily or cheaply available than the local ones. In three cases, the choice of services was decided by previous contacts of the house-owners. Masons, carpenters and wood-sawers at Mithbav, likewise accepted contractual work outside the village. A point in this context was the fact that of the 12 local carpenters, three were particularly preferred owing to their superior skill. Out-

siders were called in when these were either not available or when their terms were not acceptable to the intending house-owners.

Construction or the actual laying of the stone work, was, till about the early 50's, in the hands of the local Mahars, who had specialised in the quarrying and dressing of building stone. Since 1954-55 a band of masons reported to be hailing from Goa had started visiting Mithbav in search of work. Investigations during the resurvey showed that these professional masons had gained enough ^{acceptance in the village} admiration/as to claim a substantial portion of building work particularly of stone-laying work which would have otherwise been entrusted to the local Mahar builders. The increased preference for the visiting masons was based on a technical improvement introduced by them and also on their superior efficiency and speed. The technical improvement was of a two-fold nature. The mortar used by them required less cement than that used by the Mahars, resulting into a small reduction in cost. The new mixture was also said to have a stronger grip. Secondly the visiting masons did not polish the surface of the stones to be cemented. According to them the unpolished surfaces held together more firmly. The polishing time was thus saved.

In table 5.19 we present the pattern of distribution of the house-building costs for the two periods. The random sample is limited to four mud-houses for each of the two periods and hence very small. The choice was a matter of

necessity as itemised costs regarding different types of materials and services could be had in the case of these eight houses only. The sample data are given as illustrative material and the percentages denote broad variations only.

Columns 4 and 7 of the table give the proportion of work executed by agencies not belonging to Mithbav. The proportions are for each individual service. The value of tiles is not taken into consideration while deriving the proportion of total share appropriated by the external agencies. Without taking into account the actual magnitudes, it may be said that a significantly larger proportion of the building activity at Mithbav during the period 1956-59 was executed by external agencies as compared to that in the previous five-year period.

It has been stated earlier that till the year of survey, building work was in the hands of the local people and mostly the Mahars who quarried building stone also. Of the 47 Mahar families in 1954-55, 10 had no male earners, the male earners of 20 were engaged in occupations other than quarrying and construction and 17 families had a total of 21 earners in the occupation.

Three of the above 47 families left Mithbav during the period between the two inquiries and one family immigrated. This was a no-male member family. Of the 45 Mahar families in 1959-60, 9 did not have any male earners, those in 17 were engaged in occupations other than quarrying and construction, and the remaining 19 had a total 21 earners^{was} actively

engaged in the occupation.

The total number of earners in the occupation had remained the same. The status quo came about by five earners dropping out of the occupation and five others adopting it. Of the five who dropped out, two had died, one had retired and two had emigrated. Of the five that entered the occupation, three earners, previously engaged in agricultural labour had joined the occupation, one was an immigrant earner and the fifth a new successor-entrant. It should also be mentioned here that out of the four new entrants belonging to the families engaged in the occupation, two had emigrated and one had become an agricultural labourer. Only one had joined the occupation on the death of his father.

Income figures reported during the two inquiries show that while the average per earner income from the occupation increased from Rs.198.8 to Rs.238.1, its proportion to the total family income fell from 71.6 to 54.6 per cent. These figures relate to the years 1953-54 and 1958-59 when 6 and 13 houses were built in the village respectively (vide table 5.8).

The circumstances regarding the group engaged in wood-sawing appeared to be almost similar. The number of wood-sawers increased from eight to nine. The average per earner income from the occupation remained almost the same, Rs.193.7 in 1953-54 and Rs.194.4 in 1958-59. The proportion of income from the occupation in the total family income also remained almost stationary, being 37.8 per cent for the former and

39.9 per cent for the latter year of reference.

We have noted earlier that, in the case of both the above groups, a shift in the type of work had occurred. In the case of the local builders group, we had seen that a larger portion of the local demand was being appropriated by visiting professional masons. In the case of the wood-sawers, the installation of the mechanical saw by one of the carpenters and his accepting to execute the finer type of sawing work at a small reduction in rates had resulted in a part of the demand for their services being drawn away by the mechanical saw.

Both the groups had claimed a relatively greater share in the latter year, 1958-59. The character of the change, however, had been that they did the cruder and more preliminary type of work at the latter date. The local Mahar builders were, to a greater extent, engaged for quarrying rather than construction while the wood-sawers were engaged for doing the more preliminary type of sawing, such as felling the trees and sawing them into bigger and transportable boulders only. The increase in their earnings had been due to the overall increase in the building activity in the latter year.

A brief case study regarding the occupation of carpentry is presented in the next section.

Section Four:

Carpentry and Sutar Households

In this section we present a brief case-study of twelve households belonging to the caste of Sutars and engaged primarily in carpentry work either in 1954-55 or 1959-60. The detailed study is undertaken with two objectives in view. Firstly we were interested in studying the socio-economic behaviour of a single group over a period of time. Such a study facilitates more detailed inquiry of the individual circumstances of a family, the locale of initial manifestation of change. It needs to be recorded here that an attempt to analyse the motivations of ^{the} socio-economic decisions of the nature of emigration or continuation of education disclosed two important investigational limitations. The major limitation was the nature of response on the part of the rural people. Decisions of the nature noted above appeared to have been taken more as a matter of course rather than closely-reasoned-out deliberation. In the specific context of this study it was found that the younger persons were either just not interested in the family occupations or that their parents thought ^{that} they should continue their education and go to Bombay. Likewise the objectives behind all decisions leading to change on the individual level were said to be for 'making a living' or in a few cases 'for bettering the prospects of making a living'. The responses were of a gross nature and the respondents tried to conform to the broad behaviour pattern of the village. The second limitation in this respect was lack of the competence for such inquiries on the part of the investigators. Inquiries of

this nature presumably require training in certain specialised socio-psychological investigational techniques such as observation of individual behaviours as against the family and social group, ranking and construction of scales etc.

The second objective for undertaking the study of a group was of a methodological nature. In the complex pattern of a village economy, the overall restrictions and rigidities of an occupation or an economic activity could be highlighted only by undertaking studies of smaller groups. The importance of these often gets minimised or submerged in the larger aggregative study of the village. Secondly such studies facilitate the isolation of areas which would need greater probing as well as those that would be important from the point of view of policy. An example of this in the present study was the circumstances in which one of the carpenters installed a mechanical saw, the difficulties involved in mechanisation in rural areas and restrictions on their utilization.

There were twelve carpenter households at Mithbav at both the points of our investigations. The carpenters were a group of skilled workers who rendered essential services such as repairs of agricultural implements, construction of residential and other houses, production of articles for day-to-day living etc. A minimum of demand for their services was therefore assured. In other respects, the group shared, along with others, the educational facilities, availability of shop-credits, the practice of migration and the complex

of social belief and behaviour.

The locality in which the carpenters lived was called the Sutar wada, situated a little off the main approach road and flanked by the central hill range on the west. The twelve families were bound by kinship to one another, the heads of each present household two or three generations back being directly related. The twelve Sutar families lived in six houses, two sets of three families sharing one house each, two families living jointly in another house while three families had independent single houses to themselves. The last family, a widow with two children lived in a rent-free cattle shed.

The average carpenter began to earn his living i.e. attaining full earner status, between 16 to 18 years of age. All the present local earners had left the school during the 4th standard which was generally reached when the boy was about 10 to 12 years of age. The intervening years were generally spent in learning the craft and being of occasional help to the father or brother. Two of the present earners reported commencement of earning at the age of 12 and 14.

In addition to carpentry, majority of the carpenter families, ten out of the twelve, cultivated small parcels of land as a subsidiary source of income. The average cultivated land was 13.5 gunthas. Eighty per cent of the total land cultivated was leased-in.

The village Mithbav lay in an area that was subject to a heavy rainfall, between 100 to 120 inches on the average.

House-building or repair activity was, therefore, not undertaken during the four months of the rainy season. These four months were, to a large extent, barren of any gainful employment, except repairs of agricultural implements or urgent house repairs. The carpenters undertook cultivation of land to put a part of this period of forced unemployment to some productive purpose. They estimated that on an average, the carpentry work that was available during this period engaged them for about a month. Cultivation accounted for another month and a half with the result that they had to keep idle for about one and a half months.

Of the remaining eight months, they reported continuous work for six months between December to May. October and November were months of insufficient employment, when house building or repairs gradually picked up speed. Actual work amounted to about a month during this period. Thus during an average year, the carpenters rendered service for a total of about eight months, utilized one and a half months for cultivation of land and were unemployed for about two and a half months.

The 1954-55 survey revealed that the leading characteristic of the village was the tendency to migrate to Bombay either in search of employment or in search of more remunerative work. The carpenters also came under the influence of this tendency. Of the twelve present earners four had been to Bombay for employment but had to return to Mithbav, two due to sickness and two consequent to the death of the head

of the resident family. Of the remaining eight earners that had not left the village, three could not do so because there were none to look after the household, two were refused permission by their father and one could not go in the absence of proper contact at Bombay to secure a job and/or accommodation. One categorically expressed that he had no desire to go to Bombay. Only one earner, an old man of 75 reported that he did not go to Bombay as there was enough work in the village.

Three households had relatives at Bombay who had migrated 10 to 15 years before. They kept contact with the resident families, visited them annually, sent remittances and brought cloth, and, in two cases, carpentry tools also.

We now present a comparative study of the group at the two points of time under the following heads.

1. Change in numbers.
2. Technological change.
3. Capital stock.
4. Change in subsidiary occupation.
5. Migration and mobility.
6. Change in the composition of the total family income.
7. Overall change in incomes.

1. Table 5.20 brings out the change in numbers of the twelve households between 1954-55 and 1959-60. Those that have completed 13 years of age have been treated as adults.

The total population, as can be seen from the table,

has shown a decline. Additions to population were principally due to birth. Of the two females that came to live in Mithbav, one came in by marriage while the other returned from Bombay, where she was staying with her husband.

The reasons for deductions were more varied. The principal one appears to be ~~imm~~ migration. Even ~~imm~~ migrations were for different reasons. Two adult males left Mithbav for jobs at Bombay, two adult females to join their husbands at Bombay while the three children were sent to nearby places, a nephew to his parents and two children to their uncle at Devgad, the taluka place, for their education after the death of their father.

There had been five deaths. Four of these were adult males, all of whom were active earners in 1954-55. Of these, two, aged 40 and 50, died of tuberculosis, one aged 45 by asthma and the fourth by cholera at Bombay. The fifth death was that of a female child aged 9 years.

Matrimony was the main cause of reduction in the number of females. As many as four girls were given away in marriage during the five years.

During the five years seven male and three female children moved into the 'adult' category. In spite of the total increase in the number of male adults, it is found that the number of earners has declined from 17 to 12. This is due to the fact that while six earners have dropped out, four on account of death and two due to ~~imm~~ migration, only one, a 'new' adult of 14 has entered the working force. This single

case is an exception, as he had to assume the role because of the death of his father.

Table 5.21 classifies the 'new' adults according to age, occupation and aptitude or preference for work.

The table gives a fairly good idea as ^{regards quality of} the ~~'new' entrants~~ ^{can} into the working force during the next five years. One of them had already become an earner. The two that had left school and were doing nothing were likely to join their elder brothers at Bombay. Of the three that were schooling during the resurvey year two were to be sent for service by their parents while the third might continue his education till his S.S.C. examination. Only one, the 16 year-old who had never attended any school, was undergoing apprentice training under his father.

The overall decrease in the number of earners had resulted in an increase in per-worker dependence. The dependence ratio obtained by dividing the total dependents by the number of earners was 4.67 per earner in 1959-60 in the place of 3.35 in 1954-55. The ratio is a crude one and does not take into consideration either the financial assistance received by some of the families from their relatives at Bombay or the skill-status of the individual earners at Mithbav.

The age and skill classification of the local earners appeared to be an important consideration in the above context. Seven out of the twelve earners, by virtue of their skill and experience and the resultant status of independent

craftsmen, could negotiate and get house-building contracts. In the case of four of the remaining five, two could not get such contracts because of young age and hence a distrust in their ability to execute a contract independently, the third because of absence of skill and the fourth[^] because he was too old to undertake any such work. The last one worked along with his father and elder brother, both expert craftsmen, and as such did not have any occasion to work on his own.

2. In 1957, one of the families acquired a secondhand 5 H.P. diesel engine for Rs.300. The price, it was reported, was a nominal one as the previous owner had become a relative by marriage. The engine was lying with him in a broken condition. The new owner who knew all types of repair work acquired and repaired it. He fitted it with an 18" circular saw. The mechanical saw was put into operation during 1958-59.

The mechanical saw has been a distinct technological improvement. It has enabled the owner to manufacture about 300 packing crates for exporting mangoes during the season of 1958-59. Likewise, according to reports, it was hired by other carpenters for cutting smaller logs and plants for a change. The carpenter owning the saw, however, maintained that the saw was mainly for his own use, its use was made available to other carpenters as a matter of courtesy and at a nominal charge to cover fuel expenses and that he did not

earn any profit thereby.

While a single instance of this sort, does not allow for generalisations regarding the constraints in the policy of rural mechanisation, it nevertheless provides some clues regarding the difficulties involved. In the case of Mithbav, with its rough coastal setting, the principal difficulty was the inadequacy of good roads and transport. Within the village, the mechanical saw had to await for material to be taken to it while the woodsawyers could set up a scaffolding for sawing in the immediate proximity of the tree to be felled. The dirt tracks and the roads within the village also came in the way if the mechanical saw was to serve a larger region than Mithbav. While in the specific case the owner happened to be a carpenter who knew all types of repairs, the question regarding getting timely provision^{of} repair services and replacements was also an important one in this context.

Apart from transport, a second difficulty was the absence of adequate capital for investing in raw material for large-scale production in order to utilize the full capacity of the mechanical saw. Yet another difficulty in this regard was the absence of adequate personnel that could explore bigger markets for the articles produced with the help of the saw and could manage the disposal of the entire production. The owner expressed his total inability in this regard. He could neither do it himself, other working

carpenters in the village were hardly aware of the techniques of marketing and selling, and it was very difficult to hold back a prospective emigrant-earner for the work as the latter always believed in a secure salaried job at Bombay or elsewhere. As noted elsewhere the saw appropriated a part of the earnings of the woodsawyers and helped the owner in manufacturing wooden crates for exporting mangoes only. For quite a larger part of the year the saw was workless and idle.

Another technological change, noted on a small scale, was the use of sulphate as manure for paddy. This was reported by two families. The usual practice in all cases was to use either beach manure or groundnut cake. One family tried sulphate in 1956-57 because the above two were not available during the year. He had been using it since. The second family reported use of sulphate in 1959-60, again for identical reasons. The remaining eight families, cultivating land as a subsidiary occupation, continued to use beach manure or groundnut cake whichever was available and/or cheaper.

Yet another change in this respect was the cultivation of chillies in summer by one family since 1956-57. The ~~area~~ ^{area} average was very small namely one guntha only and the yield, valued at Rs.15 was entirely meant for home consumption.

3. The carpenters made some of their own tools. They also repaired them. The set of tools contained a variety of instruments with differing durability. It was therefore

difficult to compute the rate of obsolescence or replacement of the whole set.

A detailed inquiry revealed that under average conditions and availability of work a set could be used for a period between 5 to 10 years. For purposes of this study it was assumed that the average life of a set was $7\frac{1}{2}$ years which gave an annual rate of replacement of 13.33 per cent. Per-worker holding of tools given in the following paragraph has been computed on the basis of this rate.

Almost all the tools in use in 1954-55 were still being used by the carpenters. New tools, excluding the diesel engine and the saw, worth Rs.278 had been added during the intervening five years. During this period three sets have gone out of use because of the death or migration of the earners and no replacement had taken place in the case of two sets on account of death or oldage.

Though the rate of accumulation worked up to 70 per cent of the total estimated value of the old sets, the actuals per worker-holding, taking into consideration the going out of use of five sets did not appear to have changed. This was Rs.31.25 for 1954-55 and Rs.31.75 for 1955-60.

The actual effect of the addition during the five years, however, could be seen in the case of those working with the replenished seven sets. The per-worker holding of tools in their case was Rs.39, exclusive of the diesel engine and the saw. The difference, it may be seen was rather small and could be attributed in part to the crudeness of the

assumption.

Of the ten households having cultivation as their subsidiary occupation, four reported ownership of draught cattle. One family had suffered a total loss of its pair of bullocks during the intervening five years.

The number of cattle owned during the two points of time was eight, all bullocks in 1954-55 and six bullocks and two cows in 1959-60. The manner of holding had changed slightly. Of the three households possessing a pair of bullocks each in 1954-55, only one had a pair in 1959-60, another owned a single bullock while the third lost both his bullocks. One household owning a single bullock had acquired another to make a pair in 1959-60. The total values of livestock (as reported and without adjustment of depreciation) were Rs.460 and Rs.440 respectively for the two points.

There has, however, been investment and destruction of cattle during the five years. During the five years six bullocks valued at Rs.355 were purchased while eight bullocks, valued at Rs.490 were reported to have been lost due ^{to} accidents that is either killed by lightning or poisoned by jungle weed.

No significant change in the matter of indebtedness was observed. One family reported total repayment of its debt of Rs.250 during the five years. Two families had contracted debts, Rs.400 and Rs.175, during the same period. The rest were free from debts, except shop credits or small interest-free loans from friends and relatives.

4. Changes in subsidiary occupation were few. Only two households reported such changes. Cultivation had been discontinued altogether in one case because of inability due to old-age. The old man, aged 75, had cultivated his land till 1958-59 but had stopped during the resurvey year. The second household had cultivated, during the resurvey year, only half of its owned land of six gunthas, on account of lack of the worker consequent to the death of the earner in 1959. Eight of the remaining ten households continued to cultivate the same plots, either owned or leased in, during 1959-60. Two did not have any subsidiary occupation either in 1954-55 or in 1959-60.

5. It has been mentioned earlier that there had been three ~~out~~ migrations prior to 1954-55, the year of first survey. During the five years there were two ~~out~~ migrations. The years of migrations as well as the nature of jobs held there are given below :

- | | | |
|----|------|--|
| 1. | 1943 | Carpentry work in ^{The Bombay} Municipality Corporation |
| 2. | 1946 | Compositor in press and other press work |
| 3. | 1950 | Carpentry work in railways. |
| 4. | 1957 | Carpentry work in ^{The Bombay} Municipality Corporation |
| 5. | 1957 | Job in factory manufacturing watch cases |

It may be seen that three out of the five migrants continued to do carpentry work at Bombay. The four local earners who had been to Bombay and had to return due to sickness or for assumption of family responsibility had also

been engaged in carpentry^{work} at Bombay. It was only in the case of the two, that had taken up skilled jobs like compositorship in press or a job in a watch-case manufacturing factory, that mobility had taken place. The other three, it may be said, had gone to Bombay in search of better employment and earnings.

In this context, it may be pointed out that the emigrants had received higher education than those at home. Four of the above five, currently living at Bombay, had attained higher standards of education than all the local earners, three of whom were illiterates, the rest having left school after the fourth standard. Two of the above had passed their primary school certificate examination. Another two had reached up to 6th or 5th standards in primary (Marathi) instruction. It cannot, however, be categorically maintained that education has been directly responsible in inducing migration, particularly in the case of the three that did carpentry work at Bombay too.

6. There were three different types of demand for the carpenters' services. The first was house construction, in which the carpenters undertook to prepare, on a contract basis, all the wood work required. The wood was supplied by the house-owner. Repair work of houses, which can also be included in this type of demand, was also available to a significant extent, income from both these forming the largest part of the total earnings from carpentry. The second type

of work was production on order, namely preparation of pieces of furniture and wooden packing crates for exporting mangoes. The third and the smallest type by way of income and employment was repairs to agricultural implements.

The distribution of total income earned in the occupation during 1958-59 according to types of work done is given in the table 5.22.

Work under the last category namely 'casual work' was of the composite type. It included casual assistance on a daily-wage basis rendered in house construction in and outside the village, repair and manufacture of agricultural implements and house repairs. Twenty-five per cent of the income in this category could be, it was estimated, shifted to the first category namely construction of houses. Another 12 per cent could be added to the third category namely repairs, etc. to implements. The adjusted table, table 5.23 shows that housing construction and house-repairs brought in more than three-fourths of the total income earned in the occupation.

A little over 10 per cent of the total income (readjusted) was earned outside the village in house construction. Careful inquiry revealed that there has not been any significant variation in this proportion during the five years.

Table 5.24 gives the total family income itemised source-wise, of the twelve carpenter households for the years 1953-54 and 1958-59.

The significant points in the above table are the changes in the proportions of incomes due to different sources. The principal change is in the increase in percentage as well as actual sum of remittances received. The increase was, to a large extent, due to remittances sent by the two migrants during the five years. Two families that used to receive remittances in 1954-55 continued to receive them, though one family began to receive more due to the arrival to Mithbav of the daughter-in-law from Bombay while the other began receiving less due to the departure from Mithbav of the sister-in-law to Bombay.

7. Table 5.24 also brings out the overall increase in incomes, especially from two sources namely carpentry and remittances. While receipts from the latter source had more than doubled, earning from carpentry recorded an increase of 13 per cent over those in 1954-55. The total family incomes have gone up by 17 per cent on the aggregate.

Seen earnerwise, it is found that whereas the average income per earner was Rs.350 in 1953-54, the same was Rs.457 in 1958-59, an increase of the order of 30 per cent. The number of earners taken for arriving at the latter average is 14, that were actually operating in 1958-59. This increase can be attributed mainly to two reasons. The first was the decline in the actual number of earners at the latter date resulting in greater demand of their services. The second was the increase in the daily wage-rate which has gone up

from Rs.2-8-0 in 1954-55 to Rs.3/- in 1958-59.

It may be seen from the table that while the daily wage-rate had increased by 20 per cent, the overall increase in earnings from carpentry was only 13 per cent. This gap was due to the fact that the increased rate was available only for sundry repair work on a daily basis. The actual wage rate was much lower in the case of contractual work.

Almost all the major changes have been described above. Certain additional circumstances that appear to have a bearing on socio-economic change are mentioned below. These were of two types.

The first one was the sharing by outsiders of the aggregate demand for the carpenters' services. A significant part of this was the demand for construction and repair of fishing boats. The carpenters' reported ^{lack} ~~absence~~ of the specialised skill required. All this work was, therefore, executed by carpenters imported from outside.

Carpenters were also brought from nearby villages for house construction and major house repairs by people who either knew them personally or who could get better terms of contract. The extent of this importation of services was not known. It was also reported that persons not belonging to the caste or occupation sometimes undertook work of simple house construction or house repairs at appreciably lower rates and snatched away a part of legitimate demand due to the local carpenters.

The second was the non-utilization of the specialised skill of some carpenters, due mainly to the restricted demand in the village. Short case studies of two such instances are given below by way of illustration.

1. Shridhar Sutar has acquired, since his childhood and the years of his apprenticeship under the father different types of skills. He can repair almost anything including watches, phonographs, bicycles, petromax lamps, harmoniums, etc. in an expert manner. He has constructed the mechanical saw mill, referred to earlier, by repairing an old broken diesel engine.

He feels that his skill has not scope in a village like Mithbav. He would have liked to go to Bombay where his craftsmanship in carpentry and his other skills would have been called to ^{take} use. His father, however, has been withholding permission to migrate.

2. Sahdev Sutar has returned to Mithbav on account of ill-health. He was an expert turner in wood and claims with pride that he was the first to turn out a brush handle, a task that was considered almost impossible owing to its delicate nature.

After returning from Bombay, he has prepared a crude turning equipment powered by a huge wooden wheel. Likewise he has brought with him a heater, used in soldering work, presented by his friend. Sahdev complained that though he could turn out beautiful decorative work such as table and chair legs, window bars, etc., no such demand exists at

Mithbav. His heater was rusting due to absence of any soldering work.

We now put down some observations on the basis of changes noted earlier. The results of two surveys carried out at two points of time, the selection of these being arbitrary in itself, were compared in order to get to know the nature of forces operating in rural economy during a period of five years; in the present case in village Mithbav during the years between 1954-55 and 1959-60.

1. As far as the group under study is concerned, entry into the working force appeared to be slower than exists, caused by deaths and emigrations. All the four deaths during the five years have occurred at quite young ages. Ill health has also been responsible for the return of two of the present earners from Bombay. This propensity to contract diseases such as T.B., Asthama, etc., ^{was} is evidently due to poverty in the first place and the consumption of a single staple like rice without other nutritive foods like milk, vegetables, fruits, etc. It is felt that a technical diet survey may give more startling results.

2. The tendency to emigrate, which has been current in almost all coastal villages of the district for about a century and which was also observed and emphasized in the first survey of Mithbav, was another important factor that was responsible for decreasing the work force.

None of the five migrants, stationed at Bombay during

the resurvey year, were available for detailed questioning in order to elicit the actual and/or immediate cause of migration. Apart from reasons of a non-economic nature such as social prestige in the native village, lure of urban life and comforts and inclination to be with one's erstwhile friends who have already migrated, migration appeared to have been *mainly* induced either by a desire to get better incomes or a dislike of the hereditary occupation.

The carpenter produced goods of a semi-permanent nature (consumer durables). This and the restricted nature of local demand resulted in under-employment of the skilled craftsmen. It was seen earlier that the local carpenters got work for about eight months in a year. Employment in an urban city like Bombay, on the other hand, was continuous and throughout the year. Migration was also linked up with the availability of higher wage rates as well as scope for more skilled work. A different facet of the same was the increased dependence at home due to reduction of earners at home.

3. The small mechanical saw mill could be called a technological change in the sense that a part of the work hitherto done by hand had been mechanised. This had not, however, affected the local demand for the carpenters' services nor had the owner extended his field of operations. The saw mill was not put to other types of production such as large scale manufacture say of toys, handles, etc.

The use of sulphate appeared to be a change of a more fundamental nature in the context of the single crop and low

per acre yield of paddy in the village. It was, however, brought about, not for the sake of experiment or on account of a positive decision to increase the yield but only because local or locally available manure such as beach manure or cake was in short supply. Of the two using sulphate, one had been using it for the last four years, which fact could be taken as indicative of the direction of change for the purpose of this study of a small group of skilled workers in the village under study.

CHAPTER VI

INCOME PATTERNS AND CONSUMPTION

We discuss in this chapter, the changes in the resident as well as total incomes, the relative importance of occupations to groups engaged in them, the structure of family incomes according to sources and the pattern of incomes in different size-groups. The data presented are reported figures without any attempt having been made to modify them by taking recourse to estimation techniques.

Section two deals with the pattern of consumption of the village. The data presented pertain to the resurvey year principally. Consumer expenditures were collected, at the time of the earlier survey in 1954-55, as only a part of two sample surveys, the farm business survey and the survey of fishermen families. The data, therefore, pertained to specific groups of consumers and could not be taken as representative of all the groups in the village. However these data are also presented for purpose of a broad comparison.

In section three of the chapter, we give a brief account of the changing habits of the people as regards acquisition of the more durable articles of consumption. These data again pertain to the resurvey year.

Section One

Incomes

Incomes reflect the performances of an occupation and provides an important indication of its course over a period of time. In this aspect, it denotes the progress or otherwise of the economy of the whole village.

The data regarding incomes are, however, subject to two major limitations. In the first instance, it was found, that the word 'income' was often misunderstood by the rural people. It was taken to mean what might be broadly called 'saving'. Thus an agricultural labour household was prone to report no income at all, meaning thereby that it just managed to live on whatever it could earn. The peculiar misconception could and was set right wherever it was apparent. In other cases, an element of gross under-statement might have crept in. Secondly, all incomes tended to be under-reported for certain obvious reasons. The rural people appeared to retain the impression of earlier unhappy experiences when almost every inquiry regarding incomes or yields was invariably followed by a tax. In actual practice this was evidenced by the increased reluctance on the part of households with higher incomes to report the family income from all sources. Another reason for under-reporting was the weakness of memory itself aided by the absence of the practice of either accounting for or keeping track of production or expenses. Any effort on the part of the investigator to assist the respondent in estimating his income resulted in further under-estimation of incomes, on account of the tendency to exaggerate costs.

The general nature of the limitations of income data has been noted above. A further limitation, involved in the case of 1954-55 survey data, arose on account of the method of collection of income in that year. While earnings from independent occupations of earners and the remittances were recorded separately and added to the total income of the family, the earnings from the family joint occupation as well as unearned incomes and income from garden produce were lumped together without itemisation. In practice this amounted to inquiring about the average income from the family occupation for the previous years and accepting the figure reported. At the resurvey point however the sources were more specifically noted. This, we found, gave better income figures on the family level when added up. The absence of sourcewise estimation in 1954-55 has also rendered these data relatively less comparable with those collected at the latter inquiry. It will be shown later that there had been a misreporting to the extent of the value of garden produce in 1954-55, details of which were not asked at all.

Table 6.1 gives distributions of the families in different income groups. The incomes given in the table are total reported family incomes aggregated for the village. Likewise it should also be mentioned that they are incomes in money terms, a large part being the value of primary produce valued at current prices.

The table appears to indicate a shift in the general

income level, the average for family income increasing from Rs.400 to Rs.513 during the five years. While the number of families decreased from about 80 to 69 per cent in the first group, all rest of the groups showed an improvement with larger number of families in each as compared to the earlier position. It may also be noted that the income shared by each group in the total increased from 5 to 143 per cent by the first and the last income group respectively, with an overall increase of the order of 29 per cent.

The increase in the general income level has been due to the following reasons. Firstly primary produce like paddy, fish, mango, etc., was converted at current prices in 1959-60 some of which were higher than those in 1954-55. While large part of the fish and the mango crop entered the market and gave the reporting families the benefit of the increased prices, about 91 per cent of the paddy produce went into family consumption. To that extent, which in money terms amounted to about one-tenth of the total reported income in 1959-60, the increase in income was of an arbitrary character, because the market price of paddy recorded a steep rise from Rs.6 to Rs.15^{per maund} during the period under study.

The second important reason was the increase in the remittances received at the latter point of time. As noted earlier (vide Chapter II) the number of emigrant-earners increased during the five-year period. Earnings outside the village also increased on account of increase in the dearness allowances and regular annual increments of the earlier earner-

emigrants and the getting of jobs by fresh earner-emigrants.

In the third instance, the increase was due to increased incomes reported by some of the occupational groups most noticeably the trading ^{and} the salaried group, the former directly benefiting from the rise in general price level and the latter by virtue of the passage of time itself giving them a number of annual increments.

Fourthly, the increase was also due to a reason, negative in character. As noted earlier, the incomes, recorded in 1954-55 contained an element of under-reporting. In particular no specific account was taken of incomes from orchards and gardens (coconut and mango). According to our estimates incomes from the above amounted to about six per cent of the total reported income in 1959-60. (Vide ^{Chapter IX} ~~Section~~ ~~IX~~)

In table 6.2 we present income distributions of families according to the total income earned within the village. We find that after deducting the remittance component the percentage distribution for the 1024 families present in the village for both points of time becomes much more even.

The column 'blank', however, contained for the year 1954-55, 87 families a majority of whom reported no income except from remittances. For the year 1959-60 this had decreased to 31. This decrease was occasioned mainly because, as noted above, incomes from garden and orchard produce, were not recorded specifically in the earlier year. A large

number of the above 87 families reported, for the latter year, small incomes of coconuts and mango though remittances continued to be their principal mainstay. These therefore got into the first income group for the year 1959-60. We find that the number of families depending on remittances, as the only major source of livelihood apart from a meagre income from the garden, increased from 70 to 79 during the five-year period.

As regards the movement within different income groups it may be seen that 76 per cent of the 1024 families retained the same income group for both points of time. Of the remaining, 168 or 16.4 per cent recorded increase, 7.2 per cent being families wholly dependent on remittances but reporting some garden income in 1959-60. Lastly 7.3 per cent of the families reported decline in resident incomes, these including about 2 per cent of families, wholly living on remittances in 1959-60 but had small resident incomes at the time of the earlier survey.

Table 6.3 relates the incomes to the number of families and persons in each caste. In table 6.4 are given, according each caste, the average family incomes, proportions shared in the total by each caste, per capita income, and the proportion of resident income to the total family income. The table presents an overall view of the shift in incomes of each caste. Of the six major castes, it can be seen that the Vaishyas, mainly engaged in trading, and the Gabits show a relatively larger proportion in the total resident incomes

while the Brahmins and the Marathas show a decline. The Gabits also received a higher share in remittance while that received by the Marathas declined. In the matter of total incomes also, the increase of the Gabits increased from 18.8 to 22.9 per cent, the only other major community showing a substantial increase being the Vaishyas. The Brahmins and the Marathas received a smaller proportion. The Bhandari and the Mahar communities retained their share in the total at the latter point of time.

The shifts are better revealed in the per capita income. The overall increase was of the order of 28 per cent from Rs.88 to Rs.112. The Vaishyas recorded the highest increase of about 96 per cent over the earlier point of time from Rs.110 to Rs.214. They were followed by the Mahars, 47 per cent; the Gabits, 41 per cent, and the Bhandaris, 32 per cent. The per capita income of the Marathas increased by 26 per cent as against the village average of about 28 per cent. It may however be seen that, of the three major communities, their per capita income continued to be the highest.

The last two columns of the table give the proportion of resident income to total for each community. The general decline was of the order of 6 per cent from 72.7 to 66.7 per cent. This fall can be seen, to a smaller or greater extent in the case of all communities except in that of the Vaishyas, the trading community, which shows a rise of about 5 per cent in the resident component of its total income.

Table 6.5 gives broad reasons for change in total income

over the period of time as related to change in resident income in 1954-55. The families are those that were in the village at both the points of time forming 89.7 per cent of the total. All the families in the 'no-change' row are those whose incomes remained unchanged within a margin of 5 per cent either way. The category also includes cases whose incomes remained stationary on account of compensating changes. The proportion of such cases was less than 10 per cent of the total 'blank' cases.

It may be seen from the table in the case of the first group that out of 423 of the 818 families that had increased resident incomes, 354 or 84 per cent recorded higher total incomes in 1959-60. The principal reason was that for this group, resident incomes increased on account of conversion of agricultural produce at current prices in a large number of cases. The last columns give a broad idea of the reasons for the changed situation. We find that of the 593 families recording increase in the total income, the resident incomes of 72.2 per cent had also increased; the resident incomes of 10.5 per cent had decreased and those of 17.3 per cent had remained unaltered. Of the 184 families that had an overall fall in the total income, only 17.9 per cent had increased resident incomes; the resident income had also declined in the case of 55.5 per cent and in the case 26.6 per cent of families, the resident income was unchanged. Finally of the 247 families whose total income remained unchanged (within 5

per cent either way) the resident income of 27.9 per cent had increased, that 29.6 per cent had declined and had remained unchanged in the case of 42.5 per cent.

Seen reasonwise, we find that of the 593 families whose total incomes had increased, remittance was the reason of 43.2 per cent of the families, earning from local occupation accounting for about 51 per cent and income from orchards ('other income') accounting for the remaining 6 per cent. In the case of the 184 families whose total incomes declined in 1959-60, remittance was the cause in the case of 42 per cent, earnings from local occupation accounting for the remaining 58 per cent. Lastly there were 247 families whose total incomes changed within a limit of 5 per cent.

In table 6.6, the families in the highest income groups, Rs.1551 and above, are isolated in order to give an idea of the principal occupations they were engaged in at the two points of time and the reasons of movement in and out of the income group. It may be seen that the largest number, 12 out of 18 in 1954-55, and 17 out of 31 in 1959-60, was engaged in salaried services, mainly teaching. The next two occupations were cultivation and goldsmithy with two families in each in 1954-55.

Of these families, we find that only 7 families remained in the income group at the latter point. Another 7 dropped out of the group for various reasons. Occupational earnings declined in the case of one of the cultivators and a goldsmith.

The hotelkeeper discontinued his occupation on account of age. In the case of the three families in teaching, earnings dwindled on account of stoppage of remittances on separation of the joint household, death of the earning teacher and the retirement from service in the third case. The person employed in departmental service also retired. Of the total of 18 in 1954-55, 4 teachers left the village on transfer.

In 1959-60, this income group was composed of 7 immigrant families, 17 families whose income had increased and seven common families that were in the group at the earlier point. Of the 17, the single largest group was composed of teachers, the increase in whose income was caused by regular salary increments in the case of four, increment and increase in remittances in the case of one and new teaching jobs in the case of remaining two. The next largest group was those of traders, three recording higher incomes on account of normal increase in business and one having opened a cloth-shop during the five-year period. In the case of the two cultivating families the increase came about on account of increase in remittances. The earner in the fishing family in this group reported medical practice and income therefrom after he had received a medical diploma and registration. The family running the flour mill reported higher business earnings. Finally incomes, in the case of the last two families, increased on account of immigration to the village of two retired teachers on pension. Of the total of 31 in the group in

1959-60, seven families had gone to Mithbav, six on transfer and one, a doctor from the taluka place of Devgad, had set up practice in the village.

In table 6.7 we present the sourcewise breakdown of the incomes of each income group for the latter point of time only. The table also gives their proportionate distribution. It may be seen that the major sources for the first two groups were the remittances received from outside followed by those from primary types of occupations like cultivation, labour and fishing. The table shows a shift in the source as the total income increases. For the income group Rs.1051-1550, the principal source was salaried employment within the village followed by remittances and processing. In the next higher group we find that the proportion of income from salaried employment increases and remittances occupy the third place. In this group, trading was the second important source. In the last group, salaried employment accounted for about 44 per cent followed by remittances 11.3 per cent and trading about 10 per cent.

In table 6.8 we give incomes earned in different occupations, as grouped broadly in the table. These are incomes reported as earned in an occupation, pursued within the village. They do not include unearned incomes such as agricultural rent, house rent etc., garden produce such as coconuts and mangoes and remittances received from outside the village.

The table classifies incomes according to the importance

of their source to the reporting family. It may be seen that apart from families getting income from sources classified as main and subsidiary, there were 188 families having a little income from a third source also. The table gives the total incomes as averages per reporting family earned in each occupational group, whether followed as main, subsidiary or the third occupation. The number of families so engaged are therefore mutually inclusive. Finally the table also gives the share, of the total income of each occupation, earned as main, subsidiary or third source of the family.

These data pertain to the resurvey year only. As comparable frames are not available for the earlier point, no comparisons are made. Since there was no conclusive evidence to the contrary, we assume that to a large extent the pattern, of ^{the} importance of the occupational groups to the family and the total economy, was the same for the earlier point of time also. As we shall see later, the proportion of incomes earned within the village, inclusive of unearned and garden incomes, was 66.7 per cent for the resurvey year as compared to 72.3 per cent for the earlier year of enquiry.

For the purpose of this table, the category 'other professions' includes construction, transport and medicine; the 'services' group includes the families of the barber, the washerman and persons engaged in religious service; and the 43 families in last category of 'non-productive' include 36 families receiving pensions, five beggar families and two

reporting income from house rent.

As said earlier, the table gives an indication of the differing importance of various occupations, to the village economy as a whole. It may be seen that the occupation of cultivation ranks last in all the three groups, main, subsidiary and third, as well as in the total per family averages. Families engaged in agricultural labour received on an average greater incomes. Families with fishing as their subsidiary occupation ranked third in the ascending order, while families with trading as their main occupation ranked higher than the fishing families.

At the lower end of the scale were the salarieds earning the highest incomes in all groups except the third occupation group. Next to them were the families in 'other professions'. It should however be noted here that the higher averages in this group were, in the main, due to the higher incomes reported by families in the medical profession.

The total number of families in each occupation group and the per family averages reveal the state of each occupational group. Counting every family once in each occupation from which it has derived an ^{income} ~~occupation~~, we find that 40.3 per cent in cultivation received 21.1 per cent of the total income, 23.8 per cent in labour received 14.1 per cent of the total income and the 1.5 per cent in services received 1.2 per cent of the total. Income derived in these three groups fell short of the total average Rs.182.9 per family. In all

other occupations the proportionate share was larger than the proportions engaged. At the other end came the 3.4 per cent of families in the "salariate" category receiving more than one-fifth of the total income earned within the village. Those in 'other professions', 2.3 per cent in the total number of families, and earning 4.8 per cent of the total, came next.

A second point that may be noted here is the fact that for 45 per cent of the families engaged in cultivation the occupation was either a subsidiary or the third source of income. The proportion was similar for those in labour and fishing also. In particular it may be pointed out that in the case of those in the 'service' group, the occupation was the third source for more than half the total number.

In table 6.9 are given the total income situation of the village for the latter enquiry. The total income in this table includes, apart from the incomes earned in the pursuit of an occupation within the village, unearned incomes, income from garden crops and remittances. Receipts from coconut and mango plantations were kept separate as they formed a significant proportion of incomes of families engaged in all types of occupations. It was, however, an important source for the families engaged in cultivation. Out of the total 705 families engaged in and getting income from cultivation either as the main, subsidiary or third occupation, only 14 or 2 per cent reported plantation as an occupation. These have been included in that group.

The incomes are classified on the basis of main occupation in the table. As such the incomes from subsidiary or third occupations reported by an occupational group are those earned in occupations other than the particular occupational group.

Table 6.10 gives percentage distribution of the above data. It also gives the average total income per family in each group as well as the average earned from the main occupation, percentage distribution of the total income of the village in different groups as also the percentage distribution of the families according to main occupations.

It may be seen that next to those in the last group who by definition were those that did not pursue an occupation within the village, the families in cultivation received only 25 per cent from their main occupation, as compared to the average of 44.8 per cent of the total. The group depended primarily on remittances forming about 46 per cent of their total family income. Receipts from the garden formed one-fifth of the total. Labour came next with 42 per cent from the main occupation and 28 per cent from remittances. The third group in the order was that of the traders getting half its income from the occupation and 30 per cent from remittances. At the end came those engaged in salaried services getting 84 per cent from the occupation and only 5 per cent from outside the village.

The table also gives evidence regarding the comparative importance of each source of income to the occupational groups.

Apart from the earning in the main occupation, we find that those in 'other professions' received nearly a fifth of their income from sources other than main. This group was followed by labour, processing and services.

In the matter of receipts from garden crops, it may be seen that its proportion to the total is very much even except for those in cultivation and the salariables. For those pursuing cultivation plantation was a part of the occupation itself. As we had seen earlier (Vide Section One, Chapter V), income from plantation had increased at the resurvey point of time. The only resource available in the village was the land which was unfit for ^{fields} cultivation. The attempt was to utilize this land by planting coconut and mango trees. It was the only venue within the village for increasing production and improving ^{the} circumstances of the majority of families engaged in cultivation and depending to a large extent on remittances. The small proportion of receipts from garden crops in the case of salariables, however, was occasioned by the fact that a number of them were outsiders that had gone to Mithbav on transfer. They lived in rented houses or houses belonging to distant relatives or acquaintances and as such could not claim the produce of the trees in the garden.

The next column, giving the proportion of remittances received to aggregated income of each occupational group, reveals an important aspect of the village economy, namely, the proportion of dependence of external sources. Except for the 'non-productive' group, the group in cultivation depended,

to the extent of 46 per cent on remittances. The next group following 'cultivation' in this matter was the trading group with 30 per cent of its total income from outside the village. Those in fishing received nearly a fifth of their income from remittances. The remaining occupied intermediate positions.

Section Two

Consumption

During the resurvey of the village consumer expenditure data were collected from a sample of sixty families out of the total of 1141 families. Each family was visited four times during the year at an interval of three months. Information relating to cash expenditure on all the items of food, and non-food was recorded on the Family Expenditure Schedule, the reference period for all the items being one month. Fifty-eight families were eligible for final analysis.

The distribution of the sample families according to caste and occupation is given in table 6.11. Half of the families in the sample are Marathas, one-fourth families are Gabits and the rest are Brahmins, Bhandaris, and others including depressed castes etc. The main occupation of the majority of the families was cultivation of land or agricultural labour. However the land under cultivation was less than an acre in many of the cases and as such the income derived from agriculture was quite meagre (less than Rs.100 per year). The main source of income in half of the cultivating families was remittances. In the total sample nine families were

dependent exclusively on the remittances and another 18 families reported remittances as the main source of income. As the production from land was very limited it was used mainly for home-consumption and there were very few kind-transactions in the village, and the incomes were mostly in money terms. The Family Expenditure Schedule therefore, gives a fairly complete picture of the total consumption of the families in case of Mithbav. Table 6.12 presents the distribution of the sample families according to annual family income and the income per adult unit. More than three-fourths of the families have reported annual income below Rs.250 per adult unit. The family income varies between Rs.200 and Rs.1000, and only in the case of seven families it is above Rs.1000. The highest income noted being Rs.2045. As the range of income variation is not considerable it was believed that marked differences in the consumption pattern will not be observed between families belonging to different income groups.

The percentage distribution of the total expenditure is shown in table 6.13 for families belonging to different income groups. Food items are observed to absorb about 81 per cent of the total expenditure while the non-food items claim only 19 per cent. Forty per cent of the expenditure on food items is absorbed by rice and about 20 per cent by Jowar and wheat. Sugar accounts for about 9 per cent of the food expenditure and the shares of each of the other items like pulses, spices, oil, milk, etc. vary between two and four per cent. The

percentage expenditure on different items is more or less the same in all the income groups except the last, in the case of all the items. The percentage expenditure is markedly low in the last income group in case of cereals and high in case of sugar, gur, etc., and vegetables.

Among the non-food items fuel and lighting and pan and tobacco each absorb about one-fourth of the expenditure. Soap accounts for 13 per cent of the expenditure on non-food items and the rest is spent for the purchases of clothing, medicine, etc. Barring the item clothing etc. the percentage expenditure is more or less the same in all the income groups. In case of clothing etc. the percentage expenditure is higher in the last two income groups as compared to the first four income groups. The expenditure on clothing, medicine, travel, etc. accounts for only 7.5 per cent of the total expenditure. The share is rather low, because in Mithbav a number of families receive items of clothing, books etc. from their migrant relatives in Bombay and hence do not incur actual expenditure on these items.

Consumer Price Index

The information about the percentage distribution of total expenditure on different items is used below to construct consumer price index number for Mithbav.

The total number of items included in the index is 17. These have been classified into two groups, viz. Food and Non-food. The principle adopted in the selection of the items

has been to include every item which is important from the point of view of the expenditure of the family, while the list has been made as representative as possible, it was not possible to make it exhaustive because of the difficulties in obtaining price quotations. In cases where price quotations were not available for certain items it was necessary either to exclude the non-priceable items and to distribute the whole of the weight of such items on those included in the groups or to transfer the weight of such items only to those in the group with which they are related, e.g. to transfer the weight of mutton to fish etc. For the items in the food group the latter procedure was adopted thus assuming only that the price movements of the articles belonging to a given group will be more or less similar. The following transfers have been effected in the food group: (i) weights for arhar, mung etc. dals were added to that of tur dal, (ii) weights for green chilly, spices, etc. have been added to that of red chilly, (iii) weights for eggs and mutton were added to that of fish, (iv) weights for other vegetables and fruits were added to that of potatoes. The food group thus included the following items: rice (two grades and fair price), Gowar (fair price and other), wheat, tur dal, red chilly, onion, potato, sweet oil, coconut oil, milk, fish, sugar and tea.

In the case of non-food items it was difficult to include items in this group sufficiently representative, because of

the heterogeneous character and in view of the fact that it contains items like education, travel etc. which are not easily priceable. Out of the total weight of 18.63 of the non-food items, items accounting for 7.50 (i.e. about 40 per cent) had therefore to be excluded from the group, and the whole of the weight of these items viz. clothing, footwear, medicine, education etc. was distributed on the items included in the group. The other adjustments made were as follows: The weights for fuel and matches were added to that of kerosene and weights for bidi and pan were added to that of smoking tobacco.

Collection of Prices

Information about the prices was collected in the weekly markets held at Mithbav, every alternate week. The prices ruling in the market on that day were recorded by the investigator in the case of all the commodities which were for sale in the market.

In case of articles like milk fortnightly figures were not available. In such cases the prices ruling in the village during the survey period as reported by the investigator were used. For items for which fortnightly figures were not available arithmetic averages were computed for the survey period viz. 1954-55. Similar averages were also computed for the resurvey period viz. 1959-60. Price relatives of each item were then calculated on the basis of two sets of prices. The expenditure on the items included in each of

the two groups was equated to 100 and the weights of each of the items in the group were ascertained. The information relating to price relatives and the weighting diagram is presented in table 6.14. Weighting diagram is determined on the basis of the information collected during 1959-60 and not on the information available from 1954-55 survey because in 1954-55 it was possible to obtain information only from some 18 families from the village and the data related to two weeks only.

The price relative of each item is multiplied by its weight to arrive at the group index. The index for food items come to 139.04 and that for non-food items worked out to 119.13. For determining the general index, group index numbers are weighted by the total weights of the two groups, viz. 81.37 and 18.63, and the general index comes to 135.33. In the non-food group the items included accounted for only 60 per cent of the total expenditure on the group but for arriving at the final index the total group weight was kept intact.

No attempt was made to arrive at separate index numbers for different occupational groups as it was found that the pattern of expenditure was more or less the same for the different groups. The index ^{is} ~~could be~~ useful for the study of change in real income of the families from different occupational groups between the two points of time.

Consumption Pattern

The schedule recorded both the expenditure on different

items of food and the quantity purchased. Assuming that the quantity purchased is usually consumed within the given period, the quantities of different items of food consumed per day per adult unit were calculated and are given in table 6.15. The figures in the table under-estimated the consumption in the case of rice, milk, and vegetables because of the consumption of home-produced articles by some families. It was not possible to estimate consumption of fish because of the non-availability of quantitative data due to lack of standard measure. It will be observed from table 6.15 that on an average 5.25 ozs. of rice, 1.02 ozs. of wheat and 3.76 ozs. of *Jowar* were reported per day per adult unit. The quantity of rice appears to decrease from the first to the last income group. In case of rice, home-produced rice forms a considerable proportion of the total consumption. However figures of production for the survey year are not available. Therefore the figures of the previous year are shown in the table. These figures show an increasing trend with the rise in income, compensating for the decrease in the purchases of rice. The average consumption of other items is as follows: pulses 0.66; oil 0.22; sugar 0.66; gur 0.28; milk 0.29; tea 0.50; vegetables 0.55. There is little variation in the amount consumed between the different income groups except in the case of vegetables where the consumption is higher in the last income group. The price paid per seer was also examined for different income groups in the case of these items and was found to be more

or less the same in all the income groups. Thus there appears to be little difference in the pattern of expenditure or the consumption habits between families with different incomes.

The average consumption of the Mithbav families as revealed from the above analysis is very much below the well-balanced diet suggested for Indian conditions in the case of all the items. Before proceeding to analyse the data further to arrive at the nutritional values of the diet and study the deficiencies it was thought desirable to check the information available from the present survey with the diet survey conducted by the Gokhale Institute in 1954-55 and to compare the estimates of consumption for the village as a whole with the information relating to trade, imports, etc. (The nutritive value of Indian Foods and the Planning of Satisfactory Diets - Health Bulletin No.23.)

Diet surveys were conducted by the Gokhale Institute at six centres from the Bombay State in 1954-55. A ten per cent sample was chosen from each centre; the number of selected families in Mithbav being 113. Of these 95 families responded. These families were visited once during the last week of March 1955, and the quantity of cereals consumed during the day was estimated on the basis of actual weighting of the cereals. For the other items information was asked as to whether the items are consumed daily, weakly, monthly, etc., and the amount consumed together with cost for the period of

day or one week (when daily or weekly consumption) or one month (when consumed less frequently), was recorded on the schedule. On the basis of this information the quantity consumed per day per adult unit was computed for cereals and pulses. For other items like milk, sugar etc., quantity consumed per family was derived.

During the survey of Mithbav in 1954-55 two enquiries about consumer expenditure were undertaken. One included 18 families - mainly cultivators - and these were visited twice between January to May 1955. Information about quantity and expenditure was noted for all the items of consumption the reference period being one week for all the items of food and one month for non-food items. The other enquiry included 28 fishermen families. These were visited every week for 32 consecutive weeks between October 1954 and June 1955. Information about the cash expenditure was only recorded. To arrive at the quantity consumed the average prices collected from the market in 1954-55 were applied. Tables 6.16 and 6.17 give the information relating to quantity consumed per day as obtained from these different enquiries. The tables reveal large discrepancies in the information obtained from the different surveys. The 1954-55 figures are higher as compared to 1959-60 figures in case of all the items.

As noted above the figures collected through family expenditure schedule cover only the quantity of food for which cash expenditure was incurred, and will therefore under-

estimate the consumption in case of milk, vegetables etc. to a certain extent. The figures collected during the diet survey relate to one day or one week and as the unit of observation is very small the figures would be subject to a large margin of error. In the 1954-55 consumer expenditure survey the period of reference was one week. The figures are therefore likely to be over-estimated due to end-period effect. When the 1954-55 total expenditure figures for the 18 families are compared with the total gross income figures the income expenditure ratio comes to about 1.5 while it works out to 0.8 in the case of 1959-60 data.

On the basis of the figures of purchases collected in 1959-60 an attempt was made to estimate the annual purchases by the total families in Mithbav. The figures of purchases by the consumers are compared with the purchases by the traders in Mithbav (Table 6.8). Part of the sales (reported to be about 25 per cent) of the Mithbav traders are among the families from outside Mithbav. On the other hand there is also a possibility of under-reporting by the traders. The estimates of consumer expenditure are based on five per cent sample families and the sample gave a fairly good cross-section of the Mithbav families. The reliability of the estimate will be therefore mainly dependent on the quality of consumer expenditure data.

From table 6.18 it will be observed that there are large differences in the two estimates. It will be important to compare the information about the sales at fair price shops

as the information about the quota released is taken from Government records and is likely to be more reliable. There were certain families from outside Mithbav on the list of the fair price grain-dealers. The reported purchases by Mithbav families are below the quota of fair-price shops. In case of wheat the difference is rather large, but it was found that the wheat available in fair price shops was of a very bad quality and it was purchased only because it was compulsory to buy $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of wheat to get 1 seer of rice. The rest of the wheat was likely to remain unsold with the traders. In case of sugar the figure of purchases exceeds the figure of quota available to the dealers. But it was reported that sugar at a price slightly higher than the control price was being sold and was not reported by the traders. In case of commodities like rice, jowar, pulses, tea and kerosene the figures reported by traders are lower while in case of oils and gur the figures estimated from consumer data are lower. It was not possible to explain these discrepancies.

Thus when the 1959-60 consumer expenditure data are compared with information from other sources it is found that there are large differences in the data available from different sources and it is not possible to know how far the 1959-60 data are reliable on the basis of these comparisons.

Certain changes in consumption pattern may however be noted. Wheat was rarely consumed in 1954-55 while in 1959-60 it is consumed more frequently because of the compulsion in

fair price shops. Sugar seems to be consumed in larger quantity and groundnut oil is being substituted for coconut oil to a great extent.

Section Three

Consumer Durables

In this section we present data relating to the more durable articles of consumption. There are no comparable data as these details were not collected at the time of the survey in 1954-55. At the time of the resurvey, however, we tried to date the acquisition of the durable articles of consumption in order to enable us to present a sort of time series data indicative of a trend.

As could be reasonably ~~be~~ expected in the situation of a village like Mithbav, with its practice of continuous emigration, the resultant contact with an urban city like Bombay, increase in education and changes in attitudes, a certain trend towards modernisation and acquisition of articles more extensively used in cities only was visible. This trend was also observed in the matter of dress and other forms of behaviour in the village. We observed that the practice of going for a walk in the evening had increased during the period under study. The immigrants to the village, comprised of the teachers and the trainees of the primary training college as well as of the emigrant-earners visiting the village were seen to be wearing laundered and ironed clothes

of the city type. Yet another evidence of increased leanings towards urbanisation could be had by the increasing number of persons who visited the public reading room seeking news from periodicals and dailies. Their conversations showed that they were very conscious of the happenings in the outside world. They discussed the decisions adopted by the village Panchayat, expressed their opinions frankly and were prone to convey them to the members of the Panchayat. In the meetings of the Panchayat itself, the members were seen to express their opinions freely and discuss matters on hand thoroughly. Nor was the Harijan member any exception.

Table 6.19 gives a five-year periodwise distribution of some of the durable articles of consumption reported by households at the resurvey point of time. The table is intended merely to illustrate the fact of ^{the} growing usage of such articles in the village in recent times. The data are defective ~~at~~ a number of points such as memory as regards the data acquisition, the quality and design of the article, whether the article was new or used at the time of acquisition etc. Likewise, we do not know the number of different varieties of such articles that left the village along with emigrant families and individuals. We also do not possess the rate of obsolescence nor whether the article reported has outlived its utility period. The table only denotes the general increase in the acquisition of the various types of articles and in particular the more than proportionate increase in the acqui-

sition of articles like stoves, wrist watches and safety razors which indicates a gradual shift towards modernisation in living habits.

In table 6.20 we give a classification of all the reported consumer durables according to the period and place of acquisition, for the two points of time. The table includes, in addition to the articles in the previous table, furniture pieces like cots and cupboards, bicycles, radios, musical instruments like gramophones and harmoniums, and guns. Acquisition of these articles was relatively small during the period under study except that of the radios and the bicycles. The radios were purchased for individual use while the bicycles were a business investment on the part of a shopkeeper who rented them on hire, particularly to school children for pleasure riding.

The table also denotes that except for furniture pieces, almost all articles were acquired outside the village and mostly at Bombay. Even in the matter of furniture pieces, we find that a few pieces were bought outside the village.

Finally we can also see that while the value of locally acquired articles was less than that of articles purchased outside, at the time of the survey, the same had increased for the acquisitions during the period under study. One of the main reason for this was the increase in the price of locally-manufactured furniture pieces as compared to the prices of other articles purchased outside the village, during the period

under study.

In table 6.21 we give a classification of the number of families possessing combinations of the certain types of consumer durables at the two points of time classified according to caste. The articles selected for the purpose are (i) table and chairs, (ii) stove, and (iii) time-pieces and watches. Possession of the first two and their combination indicate an improvement in the manner of living on the part of the household while possession of the third was more in the nature of individual preference or need.

The table shows that over the period the number of families owning the ^{different types of} combinations had increased. Particularly noticeable was ~~in~~ the increase in the ownership of all the three types together, the number of such families increasing from 23 to 49 during the period under study. This increase was particularly large in the case of the Marathas, the next caste being the Gabits.

Chapter VII.

CORPORATE LIFE

In this chapter we present certain aspects of corporate life of the village as manifest in the organisation and functioning of formal village institutions like the gram panchayat and the co-operative societies.

The first point survey had revealed the village to be more in the nature of a rural suburb of Bombay with many of the attendant characteristics of such localities. These were, in brief, the practice of emigration, high percentage of literacy, inadequate productive resources within and the existence of a 'middle class' cutting across castes, vocations and incomes. The influence of the continuous contact with an urban industrial city like Bombay and the sense of isolation invariably experienced in such places resulted in the evolution of a certain independence of social behaviour, an aloofness towards village institutions and a tolerance to co-exist in the village which was apparently forced on many of the residents on account of the difficulties of accommodation at Bombay.

Mithbav was thus found, in 1954-55, to be a conglomeration of individuals, groups and 'wadis' instead of a 'village'. The absence of 'oneness' was very much apparent. The village residents, many of whom felt 'left behind' by their relatives outside the village, could be divided into groups, age, vocation or aspirationwise, with of course a good deal of overlap. Except in the matter of dependence or hope placed on a more or less secure employment outside Mithbav and particularly in

Bombay, these groups had little social or emotional cohesion.

Some of these groups could be broadly denoted. Firstly, there was the group of 'salaried' persons within the village who held regular jobs such as the teachers in the seven educational institutions, departmental personnel and the servants of the panchayat. All department personnel inclusive of the primary teachers were liable to transfer. The rest had come to Mithav for the specific jobs they held. As such they were not very enthusiastic of the affairs of the village. They also became segregated because of their comparatively independent and secure economic status which brought them a regular monthly income. Their education, interests and the immediate field of work also pushed them into a different class altogether. The final criteria separating them from the rest was the fact that they were the persons who had realised a certain goal and had come to be adjusted with their vocation.

The next group was made up of those that had some sufficiently remunerative occupation in the village. In this group could be included traders, tea-shopkeepers, tailors and those engaged in different types of services such as carpentry, carting etc., who were assured of a minimum demand for their services.

The largest group, however, was made up of the cultivators, the agricultural labourers and the fishermen. It was also the most complex group. It could be further subdivided into smaller groups such as those whose vocation fetched, either in terms of actual physical production or cash earnings, an income that could be considered sufficient; those who pursued an occupation

that either did not employ them fully or gave them a return below their needs; and lastly those who did report an occupation, generally the family occupation of cultivation, but were in effect almost unemployed. A large proportion of these depended, to a considerable extent, on remittances from outside Mithbav.

There were other smaller groups also. There were those who had retired after a long period of service, with or without a pension. There were households composed of the mother and children, that had to be stationed in the village for want of living space in Bombay. Finally there was the group of 'new adults', that is those that had freshly entered earnerhood, that awaited an opportunity to get a job in Bombay. As observed earlier, aspirations for a 'regular' job preferably at Bombay and dependence on remittance out across all the groups and sub-groups.

The groups mentioned above may not be considered as mutually exclusive. Nor is it possible to attempt any exclusive grouping to describe all the circumstances available at Mithbav. The attempt is done only to indicate the existence of different types of groups that lived in the village without sharing any feeling of 'one-ness' about the village. The institutional setup of the village can be more readily understood against the backdrop of these groups.

The Gram Panchayat

The Panchayat at Mithbav in its present form came into existence in the year 1941. Prior to that the affairs of the

village were guided by a village council, locally called the 'Bara-Panch' or the 'Twelve and the Five'. While the former included the Five along with other important offices of the Temple, the Five was constituted of the five local Headmen-households which formed the inner circle laying down the policy of administration and the rules of conduct for the village council.

The area of authority of the council was, in the main, the religious and social behaviour of the village. The traditional custom was to refer the disputes to the temple. The temple dispensed justice through the council, often advised by the 'elders' of the village chosen and invited, whenever felt necessary to give, decisions on specific cases.

The collection of the revenues and the maintenance of the village records was looked after independently by the Khots and the Kulkarni. Both these offices were included in the village council.

The village council appears to have ceased to function regularly and effectively since 1922, when, during the main annual festival of the village deity, the village dignitaries, or the Headmen, entered into a dispute regarding rights of precedence ^{to} of certain traditional honours. The festival had since been suspended. The festival actually served the purpose of demonstrating the authority of the temple and the village council. The suspension of the festival marked the beginning of the decline of influence of the council.

Stray attempts to resuscitate this as well as other temple festivals were made in 1939 and in 1950 but they failed to

enlist the enthusiasm of the village. The long interval and the strengthening habit of migration had presumably deprived the festivals of their earlier influence.

The village was thus without a civic authority for a period of about twenty years, when the present Panchayat came to be formed. The new authority brought the civic life of the village in direct contact with the district authorities.

We have it on good authority that the early years of the Panchayat were rather difficult. The reasons advanced were rather complex. The fact that certain individuals were to have the prestige of running the civic affairs of the village was not appreciated by all. The selection of the Panchayat members was considered to be arbitrary and unjust. Secondly it was said that rivalries cultivated outside were carried into the Panchayat forum with the result that there were factions and quarrels, heated discussions and inconclusive meetings. The Panchayat as a body could not evolve any constructive programme without its decisions being seriously questioned. An early scheme of the Panchayat, that of street lighting, ended in failure owing to the alleged activities of the dissenting elements in the village, who, it was said, destroyed the street lamps and filferred the chimneys. A number of members resigned and a new election was ordered.

The conflict in the re-elected Panchayat, it was gathered, was of a different nature. The Panchayat was almost always divided on matters of policy. While one section, that ^{was} formed by these in the younger age-group, wanted the Panchayat to under-

-take a number of schemes all at once and put them through immediately, the other section thought it inadvisable to do so on the grounds of responsibility towards the use of public funds.

The Panchayat at Mithbav had jurisdiction over the village Bagmala, the contiguous village to the north of Mithbav. The Panchayat, as we found it in 1954-55, appeared to have been working well. It assembled about twice a month, 22 times during the survey year, and did routine business such as collection of the house and other taxes, undertaking monsoon repairs to foot- tracks and bridges, pressing its development schemes at the district level, distributing certain medicines and medical equipment for use and making budgets. It had four committees, the School Committee, the Health Committee, the Road Committee, and the Committee for Justice, which exercised supervision over the respective areas assigned to them.

The Panchayat had proposed to the Government certain schemes under local development and five year plan projects in 1954-55. They were : (i) extension of the main approach road of the village from the temple of the village deity to the river ferry in the south, (ii) construction of a pucca bridge over the streamlet near the temple of Vithoba in the western parts of the village, and (iii) the construction of an office building for the Panchayat with provision for accommodating the proposed public reading room and library. These schemes had been accepted by the Government on the usual basis of their subscribing to the extent of 50 per cent of the actual expenditure, the remaining to be equally shared by the Panchayat and by the village in

the form of voluntary donations of labour. During the year of the first survey, construction of the Panchayat office building had already started.

The Panchayat had likewise supported a public demand for holding two markets during the week instead of the single one that assembled currently. The demand had since been sanctioned by the district authorities and the Panchayat was entrusted with the task of holding the second weekly market. The Panchayat had proposed in 1954-55 to acquire a market place of its own in order to enable it to levy a tax on the sellers in the weekly markets.

The Panchayat has been re-elected in 1956. A number of changes in the membership constituted in 1952 had already taken place on account of either resignation or emigration of some of the members. A majority of the members, existing at the time of re-election, continued to serve on the new Panchayat. Of the twelve general seats, only three had to be re-elected. The new members, it was reported, wished to serve ^{on} of the Panchayat. Meetings were held in the wards concerned and successful attempts were made to dissuade rivalry with the result that the three new members were elected unanimously.

The fact that new members offered to serve on the Panchayat and the fact of existence of some competition on this score may be considered significant. It has been observed earlier that civic life in Mithav was restricted to groups or localities only. As it is, the absence of 'one-ness' was reflected in the uncontested continuation of the nine members of the earlier

Panchayat. It was gathered that the experience was that persons had to be specially requested and persuaded to represent their wards on the Panchayat.

There were three reserve seats on the Panchayat, two for ladies and one for the scheduled castes. In 1954-55, only one of the two ladies' seats was filled but the lady had never attended any of the meetings. In the re-elected Panchayat both the reserve seats were held, one of the members, a high school teacher, attending the Panchayat meetings more or less regularly. The scheduled caste member had been replaced.

Table 7.1 gives the quarterly distribution of the number of meetings held, average attendance and the total number of meetings during the intervening five years between the two surveys.

It may be observed that, during the resurvey year, the activity of the Panchayat had declined considerably. This decline can be seen in the average attendance, the number of meetings during the year as well as the proportionate increase in the number of no-quorum meetings. The particularly small number of meeting in 1959-60 was occasioned by the absence of the regular secretary in the early months of the year.

A periodwise breakdown of the no-quorum meetings shows that about three-fourths of them had occurred during the first two quarters. This period coincided with the cultivation of paddy in the village. It may be noted in this context that eight of the twelve members were engaged in cultivation.

The Panchayat revenues consisted of grants from the

District Local Board and the Government, taxes on houses and certain specific occupations and fines and penalties collected during the ordinary course of administration. While the sources of the Panchayat revenues remained the same during the resurvey year also, there was a significant change in the proportion of the grants-in-aid allotted by the Government. From 1955-56, this was raised from 15 per cent to 30 per cent of the total revenue receipts of the village. The increase was meant to cover, in part, the salaries of the secretary and other servants of the Panchayat, which were previously subsidised by the Government directly. Another change has been the reduction, in compliance with a directive from the Collector, in the rates of tax on trading establishments. Tax on marriage has been dropped since the enforcement of the new Panchayat Act of 1958.

The new legislation has been enacted with the long-term objective of bringing about a maximisation of authority in the local administration at the village level, or what is known as the establishment of 'Gram-raj'. The act contains three important provisions towards the attainment of this objective. The first two of these concern the internal administration of the village and aim to bring about a greater integration. The Panchayats have been entrusted with the two basic functions of the Government namely the collection of the land revenue and the administration of justice. All Panchayat secretaries became Government officials by the act and all talathis had to look after the work of Panchayat administration. The Government had towards this end organised training camps for training both

these types of operatives. The scope of the Nyaya Panchayat, usually one of the sub-committees of village panchayats, had been enlarged to deal with minor non-cognisable offences and behaviour.

The third important provision was the creation of the Panchayat Mandal at the district level, with the Collector of the district as the ex-officio chairman. Members of the Panchayat Mandal were to be elected from among the Sarpanchas or the chairmen of the village panchayats in the districts. The Panchayat Mandal was^a supervisory body meant for co-ordinating the functions of the panchayats of the district and was to serve as the official link between^{ka} civic, revenue and judicial administration of the village and the State.

The Act was to come into force from June 1960, the month following the termination of our resurvey investigations. Study of the changes that were expected to come about in the operation of the Panchayat subsequently was therefore not possible.

All the schemes, proposed under the local development and plan project by the Panchayat at Mithbav in 1954-55 and earlier were found to have been completed by the time of resurvey. It had also carried out the construction of the first section of an all-weather road connecting the approach road with the coastal fishermen locality to the extreme west of the village. This road was proposed by the Panchayat as a local development project in 1955.

A major undertaking of the Panchayat had been the construction of a full-fledged maternity hospital, during the five years.

The scheme originated with an enlightened social worker who was posted at Mithbav by the Kshatrakulotpanna Maratha Samaj, the social organisation of the Maratha community in the region and functioning at Bombay. He came to stay at Mithbav in 1955. We shall briefly narrate the efforts done by the residents as well as the Panchayat to get a public dispensary for Mithbav before going into the details of the scheme of the maternity hospital.

During the year 1949-50, a socially inclined Congressman, employed in the high school at Mithbav, made^a/determined effort to secure a mobile dispensary for the village. The whole of the low-lying region in which Mithbav was situated, had long been feeling the absence of competent^e and speedy medical facilities. There were about half a dozen medical men practising medicine in this region but they were considered too few especially on account of the difficult terrain^e and lack of transport facilities, rough and seasonally inaccessible roads and scattered habitations.

The socially-inclined teacher finally managed to secure a mobile dispensary van as a donation from the All India Women's Council. The van however operated fitfully on account of the dearth of qualified doctors and technically efficient drivers.

The main cause of discontinuation of these medical facilities, however, was the non-selfsufficiency of the scheme. After initially financing the expenses of the unit, the A.I.W. Council stipulated that the scheme should collect at least one-third of its annual expenditure. The secretary-in-charge of the operations of the van and the attached doctor, prepared a scheme towards this end by doubling the nominal charges for medicine fixed earlier and by creating an annual membership of those

receiving benefits from the mobile dispensary. The scheme however never got into operation owing to certain domestic difficulties of the secretary which disabled him from moving from house to house for enrolling membership under the new scheme. The doctor attached to the mobile dispensary also left Mithbav for a new job. The mobile dispensary had been operated for a period of about three years with intermittent lapses.

In 1953-54, the Panchayat placed before the District Local Board, an urgent request to start a public dispensary at Mithbav. It assured the authorities of rentfree premises in the new Panchayat building to house the dispensary. The proposal was to subsequently convert the dispensary into a hospital of ten beds with a qualified M.B.B.S. doctor in attendance. The authorities had accepted the proposal in principle and the matter was being pursued by the Panchayat during our survey.

The social worker who went to stay in Mithbav in 1955 was a formal employee of the K. M. Samaj. He was highly educated and had spent a considerable part of his life in social service. On his arrival in Mithbav, a public meeting was held in the temple of the village deity. The meeting was sponsored jointly by the Panchayat and other responsible residents.

The social worker during this address drew ^{the} attention of the village towards the lack of many civic amenities in the village. He emphasised the need to undertake developmental activities like roads, dispensary, co-operative societies, public reading room and library, new and more extensive plantations, cold-storage of fish etc. He would safely denote here that a majority of the

suggestions made by him were known to the villagers, though mainly on an individual level. Likewise the villagers also knew the need to have and the usefulness of such schemes. The meeting immediately voted for two projects. The first was the undertaking to construct a maternity hospital and the second, the starting of a public reading room and library. Two committees were formed to go into the preliminaries of the schemes.

The Hospital Committee, under the guidance of the social worker, began to propagate the urgent need to have a hospital in and around Mithbav and managed to raise a subscription of Rs.900 for the purpose. The scheme was later entrusted to the Panchayat for two reasons. It was thought, firstly, that instead of an ad-hoc committee of villagers an institution like the Panchayat was in a better position to make appeals for funds from the public and secondly, the committee hoped to get the authorities interested in the project and accept it as a local development scheme through the agency of the Panchayat alone. Circumstances showed that the decision of the committee was a sound one as the Government did accept the scheme and granted a taxfree site for the hospital and part of the expenditure of the scheme.

The second scheme, namely that of the public reading room and the library, was however carried out by the committee itself because : (i) the scheme had to be insulated against changes in Panchayat membership and budgeting policy, and (ii) more particularly, as it had to be handled by the educated element in the village such as the school teachers but who did not serve on the Panchayat.

The Panchayat had, during the five years between 1954-55 and 1959-60, undertaken and brought about measures other than the major development schemes referred to above. We present below brief accounts of all the undertakings of the Panchayat in a chronological order.

1955

i) The Panchayat building started in the previous year was completed. The site, housing a former Local Board School, was acquired by the Panchayat for a three-room building for its own offices. The new building was built partly with the usable material of the old construction. The Panchayat had to spend Rs. 1200 for the building from its funds.

ii) Towards the end of the year the Panchayat had purchased 12 rat-traps for rent-free use in the village. They were loaned out to the residents of the village without any deposit and were returnable after four days at a time. According to the Panchayat records the rat-traps were used by more than 600 households during 1957 and 1958.

iii) The Panchayat had purchased, at a cost of Rs. 175, steel bars to construct permanent foundations for funeral biers on two cremation grounds, both on the sandy land near the sea.

1956

i) The construction of the extension of the main approach road of the village, from the temple deity to the river-ferry in the extreme south of the village, was undertaken and completed. The owners of the cultivable lands through which the road was laid, donated the land. Teachers and students of Mithav and the

village Hindale lying across the ferry were reported to have donated their labour. The total expenditure on this construction was Rs. 7300, half of which was borne by the Government.

ii) Since early 1955, the Panchayat had been requesting the State Transport authorities for allotting an exclusive bus on the final 90 mile-track or the land route between the village and Bombay, from Kolhapur to Mithav, at least during the first three months of the rainy season. The coastal steamer services between Bombay and Vengurla were generally suspended on account of heavy seas during this season and all passenger traffic from end to Bombay was diverted to the land-route via Kolhapur. The traffic was heavy particularly in the month of August on account of the festival of Ganesh Chaturthi. The single mail bus from Kolhapur to Devgad could not carry all the passengers with the result that the passengers were stranded for days on end at Kolhapur. This bus was started from June 1st, 1956, with the commencement of the rainy season. It had become a regular seasonal service since then.

iii) As part of its duties towards the maintenance of public health, the Panchayat kept stocks, for free distribution, patent medicines like quinine tablets. Since 1956, this service had been enlarged to include annually a variety of insecticides like Gammoxine powder, lbs. 10, D.D.T., lbs. 5, Berium Carbonate for exterminating rats, lbs. 12, and Potassium Permanganate, lbs. 4.

The Panchayat had likewise maintained a few items of medical equipment such as a hot-water bag, two enema pots, a dozen thermometers and a length of sheet rubber. In 1956, a

number of items were added to the above. These were two basins, two feeding cups, two eye-glasses, a syringe, a bed-pan, two sets of lemon-squeezers and two more hot-water bags. These articles were regularly and constantly made use by the residents. No deposits were taken.

1957

i) Mention has been made of the Panchayat supported public demand and subsequent sanction by the authorities to hold a second mid-week market at Mithbav. During the year the proposal was put into operation by the Panchayat by announcing it by beat of the drum in and around the villages dependent on the weekly market at Mithbav.

The Panchayat had, however, not been able to acquire the site of the present weekly market or any other suitably located place, so that it could levy a tax on weekly-market sellers. No such tax was in force during the resurvey year.

ii) Till this year, there was only one bus that plied between Mithbav and the taluka place of Devgad. This bus started from Devgad for Mithbav in the evening, stayed in the village for the night and left for Devgad early next morning. For this trip, the bus gave priority to passengers bound for Bombay. Persons intending to go to Devgad or to villages on way were therefore often handicapped or held up in the village. There was a second bus but it carried passengers from Bombay disembarking at Devgad for villages on way and to Mithbav. Its timings were synchronised with those of the steamer services. This bus was therefore highly untrustworthy. The Panchayat had been making repeated requests to

the transport authorities to run a second regular bus between Mithbav and Devgad. This second bus began operating in 1957 and the pressure was relieved to a great extent.

iii) During the year the region around the village was affected by the influenza epidemic which later came to be called the Asian 'Flu'. The Panchayat through its Health Committee invited expert opinion of the medical practitioners in the village. It sold, as a relief measure, A.P.C. tablets and Ayurvedic medicine at a nominal price.

iv) Late in 1957, the village came to be linked with the outside world telegraphically. The Panchayat at Mithbav had been trying since 1955 to persuade the Postal and Telegraph Department to open a branch telegraph office at Mithbav. Its efforts were supported, since the middle of 1956, by the Mithbav Gram Seva Mandal at Bombay. The Department started a branch telegraph office for a trial period of one year. The trial period was extended by one more year during the resurvey year.

1958

i) The construction of the maternity hospital building and the attached well was completed towards the end of the year. The scheme had been accepted by the Government and placed under local development project. The Government leased, free of revenue six acres of land and also sanctioned Rs. 8300 as its part contribution towards the expenses. The Panchayat had to incur some expenditure for laying down the approach road to the hospital site. The Panchayat sanctioned Rs. 1500 from its funds as its share in the scheme. The total expenditure was Rs. 25195,

Rs. 22558 for the construction of the hospital building, Rs.1895 for building the well and the approach road and Rs. 742 for the stone compound around the property. It may be noted here that a large part of this expenditure was collected through public donations.

ii) During the survey year 1954-55 the Mithbav Fishing and Trading Co-operative Society Ltd., owned a truck that carried fresh fish and fisherwomen to weekly markets and villages around Mithbav. The truck was book-owned by the Society but was operated by a driver who, also used it for carrying other types of goods. In order to organise transport for fresh fish exclusively, a new co-operative society was formed in 1955. This society took over the truck from the existing society, purchased a second vehicle and started operating its transport services. Due to reasons such as accident and wreckage of one of the vehicles and absence of supervisory personnel, the activities of the new society came to an end by the middle of 1957. The fisherwomen selling fresh fish were greatly inconvenienced by the absence of transport. The Panchayat, on their behalf, took the matter up with the State Transport authorities and pressed a request to run an exclusive bus for the transport of fresh fish. In 1958, the transport authorities allotted an exclusive bus for this purpose. After a trial run of about a month between October and November, however, the facility was withdrawn because of absence of regular minimum customers.

1959

i) The need to have an all-weather road between the

market place and the fishermen's locality to the extreme west of the village had been felt for a long time in the village. The two localities were connected by a sort of a cart-track that wound its way through rice fields and localities on way. During the rainy season the fields were cultivated and the standing water and the paddy crop hindered movement. The Panchayat had proposed in its local development plans construction of a higher level kutchra road along the sides of the central hill range. The construction of the first part of the proposed road was undertaken during 1958 at an estimated expenditure of Rs. 4000, one-fourth of which was borne by the Government. According to the scheme, half the work was to be done by voluntary donations of labour by the residents of the village. As this did not come about to the required extent, the Panchayat had to engage wage labour which increased the contribution of the Panchayat in the total budgeted expenditure.

ii) One of the earlier schemes, namely, the construction of a pucca bridge on the streamlet near the temple of Vithoba, was undertaken and completed during the year. The total expenditure on this item was Rs. 1650, three-fourths of which was done from Panchayat funds. Though the construction of the bridge was done by hired labour, there were some instances of voluntary labour donations especially for damming the running water of the streamlet during the construction of the bridge.

The account given above indicates that the Panchayat at Mithav had been much more active during the period between 1954-55 and 1959-60 than the five years prior. A number of the

above schemes had been devised, discussed and placed before the authorities by the Panchayat itself even before the arrival of the social worker.

It is however a debateable question whether all the schemes would have materialised during such a short period but for his presence in the village. According to public opinion in the village, the entire scheme of the maternity hospital owed its existence and execution to his untiring efforts. It was likewise stated that the performance of the Panchayat, detailed above, was due to his active guidance and help. In the concluding parts of the report submitted to the people on the completion of the hospital building, the Sarpanch of the Panchayat stated in unambiguous terms, on behalf of the Panchayat and the people, that the village could hardly have recorded the progress but for the spirit of service and interest shown by the social worker.

The report mentioned above listed many other schemes of public benefit proposed to be undertaken by the Panchayat. Some of these were rather ambitious ones like the scheme for water supply by taps, estimated to cost Rs. 50,000, the scheme for electricity costing about Rs. 15,000, acquisition of land for plantation for about Rs. 10,000, market-cum-village theatre for Rs. 25,000, etc. These schemes were being discussed and talked about but had not been proposed as either local development or plan projects. They however reflect the experiences, expectations and attitudes of the people of the village.

Finally we present percentage distributions of the income

and expenditure of the Panchayat for the intervening period. Table 7.2 gives the pattern of incomes and table 7.3 gives the pattern of expenditure.

It is evident that the receipts of the Panchayat on various accounts had to increase in order to enable it to put through the schemes it had undertaken. From Rs. 3600 in 1954-55 the income rose Rs. 12760 in 1957-58 and fell off to Rs. 4430 during the year of resurvey. The expenditure likewise rose from Rs. 2510 in 1954-55 to Rs. 12760 in 1957-58 and fell off to Rs. 3450 during 1959-60.

The percentage proportions in the two tables are derived from the annual statements of the Panchayat which were adjusted according to convenience. While the report presented by the Sarpanch states that the contributions from the public amounted to more than Rs. 10,000, the Panchayat accounts treat them as loans in the first instance. Hence we find a low proportion of contributions in the table 7.2. These were the contributions received at the Mithbav end only.

Co-operative Societies

It was observed in the introductory remarks of this chapter that the community at Mithbav was divided into various types of groups and that these groups had little social or emotional cohesion. The village lacked what we termed as 'oneness' which in a sense was a prerequisite of co-operative effort of any type. It is presumably for this reason that co-operation started as late as 1945 in Mithbav.

There had been present, since the beginning of the century,

a type of co-operative organisation among the fishing community called the 'Rapan Company', wherein about 30 persons came together, for purposes of inshore dragnet fishing, and formed an association with well-formed rules and regulations. The members contributed jointly towards the manufacture and repairs of the fishing gear and boats, and shared the total earnings. The association derived its sanction from tradition. In the main it was an occupational necessity.

The more formal type of co-operation came to the village immediately at the end of the Second World War. The reasons for forming the co-operative were also somewhat different.

It was reported that a committee of residents ran a fair-price shop on behalf of the Government during the period of the War. When food control measures^s were introduced, the Government specified licence-priorities for conducting ration shops. The list was headed by the co-operative society. The committee of residents at Mithbav formed into a co-operative society primarily to enable them to start a ration shop.

This society, started in 1945, was called the Mithbav Group Multi-purpose Co-operative Society Ltd. The membership, which was 27 to begin with, rose to 272 in 1952-53, when the society stopped operating because of losses incurred by the ration shop and the non-repayment of loans advanced by the Society to its members.

The society continued to exist in a moribund state during the resurvey year also. During the intervening years, the society took action against defaulting members in the matter of

repayment of its loans and collected about half of outstanding loans. Likewise it won a claim against personal property for a sum of Rs. 4638, due from its former chairman, who had reportedly used the Society's funds for personal benefit.

Apart from the above the society had not undertaken any other useful activity. We reproduce below some of the important remarks of the departmental auditor for facilitating a closer view of the situation and affairs of the society.

" ... The society was placed in the 'C' class in the first year. From then on it has been in the 'D' class all through. The membership register is not properly kept nor is complete. There is a balance of Rs. 135 by way of dividends payable. It is not distributed as yet nor is a list of members to whom it is due is attached. Three out of the seven members of the Managing Committee have taken loans and they are still overdue. The loans given by the Society are not being repaid regularly. Extensions of the credit period have not been given for admissible reasons. Loans have not been properly classified as 'overdue debts', 'doubtful debts', 'bad debts', etc. The Society has not paid interest on deposits. Passbooks of individual members for recording loan transactions, share capital account, deposits and interest charges etc. are not maintained. Receipts for non-member deposits have not been issued. The Society has not prepared its balance sheet. ..."

" ... The only notable activity on the part of the Society during audit year ending 25th March 1960 has been to file suits against outstanding debtors. The Society has thus managed to collect Rs. 1477. The total loan outstanding on the date is

Rs. 1381. Of this, action has been taken against loans for Rs. 1264 while that on the balance is still overdue. Three members of the Managing Committee are among the debtors. Action has been taken against two of these but not the chairman. All the three are disqualified to serve on the Managing Committee as per bye-law 41. The Society should seek repayment of their dues immediately. The Society should appoint a new Managing Committee and begin afresh. It should decide to stop loan transactions till the repayment of its total dues. The Society may undertake distribution of fertilizers on a modest scale provisionally..."

"... The Society has won its claim against its former chairman. The Society should get the relevant papers forthwith. The ex-chairman has surrendered, by way of security, lands worth the dues. The revenue records, however, do not reveal any encumbrance on this property. The Society should get the records regularised ..."

"... The Society has not issued proper receipts for dues received. The general meeting of the Society has not assembled since 15.10.1952. Office-bearers responsible for this should be brought to book. The three members of the Managing Committee with loans outstanding against them are disqualified to remain as members "

"... The ex-chairman had kept a large part of the Society's funds because of the absence of a Postal Savings Account in the name of the Society in the local post office. The Society should see that the practice is not repeated. A resolution to that effect should be placed before the Managing Committee."

In table 7.4 we present the balance sheets of the Society as on 30-6-1959 and 24-3-1960. No earlier balance sheets were available in the local records of the Society during the resurvey year. The figures have been summarised under broad heads.

It may be seen that while the liabilities have remained almost unaffected over the audit period of nine months, the assets show a slightly improved liquidity. The small decreases in share capital and deposits were presumably withdrawals on account. The figure of 'loans' includes the dues from the ex-chairman who has mortgaged his property by way of settlement.

The remarks by the auditor and the balance sheets of the Society presented above give conclusive evidence regarding the working of the society. An informal inquiry with responsible residents of the villages attributed the failure of the society to three reasons. They were : (i) the absence in the village of proper persons to manage the affairs of the society. 'Proper' according to them meant persons not merely competent to run the administration of the society but persons who were proud of their village and wanted it to make progress. The increasing preference for salaried jobs depleted the village of qualified and capable young men, leaving the matters of the village in the hands of those who had either no interest in the village or who were past their active age. (ii) As a result of the above, those in the village who were entrusted with the working of the society were mercenary in their attitude towards the society. These persons, many of them the 'left-overs' in the village, were mainly interested in their own well being and would exhibit

interest as long as they could derive personal benefits from the society. (iii) The last reason, which was also an important and justifiable one, was the poverty, prevalent to a large extent in the village, which prevented the efficient running of an institution like the society. It was common experience in the village, it was stated, that people were ^ureluctant to take loans and if they took loans, they found it difficult to repay them at the appointed time. Another reason, not stated explicitly but an important one all the same, was presumably the ^hheterogenous ^echaracter of the members in the Managing Committee.

The second co-operative society, the Mithbav Fishing and Trading Co-operative Society Ltd., that came to be formed in Mithbav was of a more ^ehomogenous character unlike the first one. This was established in June 1948, by members of the fishing community of Gabits, concentrated in the coastal locality in the extreme west of the village. The principal objective in establishing this society was stated to be the uplift of the fishing community. Immediately on its formation, however, we find the society starting a ration shop like the earlier society.

The society had, as one of its objectives, wholesale trade in fish caught on the shore at Mithbav. The society experimented with its ideas towards this end by firstly buying and curing for export fish on its own account. It had to abandon the effort as it resulted into a loss. Next the society entered, on behalf of its members, which comprised of

almost the whole of the fishing community of the area, into contracts with individual fish-dealers for the exclusive rights to buy fish at a predetermined prices caught and landed at the Mithbav shore. After a year or two, these arrangements also fell through. The society stopped its trading and other dealings in fish sale.

The society also ran a ration shop for a period of three or four years and wound up the enterprise when food-grains came to ^{be} decontrolled. The ration shop ended in a net loss to the society.

The single major achievement of the society was the provision of cheaper and quicker transport for the sale of fresh fish. The fisherwomen who were almost exclusively engaged in this activity, had to take their chance in the regular bus services of the village which were relatively scanty or had to cover long distances on foot. The society procured a motor truck for providing ready transport for carrying the fisherwomen to interior villages and weekly markets around Mithbav. The truck was available at anytime of the day, whenever fish was landed. It could cover a wider area also. The society charged half the current rates of travel for these women.

This arrangement was found to have been discontinued at the time of the resurvey investigations. It was taken over by a new co-operative specially formed for the purpose in 1955-56. The reasons leading to this end were as follows. The truck procured by the society was book-owned, the seller, a merchant

at Kolhapur who had agreed to sell his vehicle, creating a book-deposit with the society. The society entrusted, on a contract basis, the transport of fish and fisherwomen to a local person, a truck-driver by profession, on the condition that he gave priority to the transport of fish and that he kept the vehicle in proper working condition by making repairs and replacements whenever necessary. This person was to pay to the society a sum of Rs. 1250 and could operate the truck for transport of other goods whenever not wanted by the society. The owner of the truck was to be paid this sum as an instalment towards the price of the vehicle. The society was to become the complete owner of the truck ultimately. It appears that the contracting operator of the truck generally neglected the vehicle, failed to pay his instalments regularly and kept erratic timings.

The new co-operative purchased the truck from the society whereupon the single beneficial activity of the society came to an end. The society almost did nothing since that year.

We reproduce below some of the more important remarks by departmental auditors.

" ... The membership of the society has declined from 153 to 91 during the audit period (13-10-1955 to 20-10-1956). The balance sheet of the society is not prepared ... The society did not undertake any activity during the reference period, except that it has decided to sell the truck ... The conditions of sale have not been properly laid down ... They have not been properly observed ... The sale deed has not been prepared. The society has not sought permission of the department for selling the truck ... "

" ... The share capital of the society is declining. The society refunded Rs. 1800 against shares during the audit period. The Managing Committee and the members wish the society to be continued. The society did not call the annual general meeting in 1955 ... "

" ... The share capital of the society is fast declining. The society refunded shares worth Rs. 800 during the audit period (21-10-1956 to 15-12-1957)... The members however want to continue the society ... The motor truck account shows a loss of Rs. 7320. No depreciation has been charged since its purchase ... It was stipulated that the truck be sold by auction ... ^{It} has however been sold directly."

In Table 7.5 we present the balance sheets of the society at various points of time. The two significant occurrences during the period between the surveys were the gradual fall in the share capital of the society and the disappearance of the ownership of the truck from the society's records. The society had failed in all the three undertakings namely trading, ration shop and transport.

The causes of failure were not very different from those of the failure of the Mithbav Group Multi-purpose Co-operative Society. Principally they were the absence of able personnel and the inability to join forces for a common cause.

The fishing society exhibited some signs of resurrection during the resurvey year. The society appointed a new secretary, a young man educated upto matriculation and having a good deal of zeal and ideas. He had started a flour mill

at the fishermen's locality, had undertaken extensive gardening and plantation around his house in the locality, had reclaimed land for this purpose and has kept a goods truck operating between Bombay and Bangalore under the supervision of his brother.

As noted elsewhere in this report, the local fishing community had been feeling the strain of the disproportionately large increase in the price of local hemp, the material with which fishing nets were made. While as members they had to contribute their share of net-pieces to the Rapan organisations inspite of the price-rise, the 'normal' annual repairs and replacements of individual nets had to be foregone. The new secretary went to Bombay with a view to ease the shortage of yarn and brought with him nylon yarn worth Rs. 500 as an experimental measure, in January 1960. Four months later he imported another quota of yarn, worth Rs.450 when he found that he could persuade fishermen to give this yarn trial and could sell the whole of his first quota. He got this yarn through the Bombay State Fishing Co-operative Union at a subsidised rate. The nylon yarn was being used for the finer type of mesh, occupying the central portion of the net. Likewise he brought nylon fishing line along with fishing hooks from Bombay for sale to the members of the society at a price which was fifty per cent cheaper than the market price at Devgad.

The activities of the new secretary are described in detail in order to demonstrate the need of interested personnel

for the working of any co-operative organisation at a place like Mithbav.

The third co-operative effort which was started and abandoned during the five intervening years also demonstrated this absence of capable persons, in the village. This society, called the Mithbav-Devgad Joint Fishing Co-operative Society Ltd., was established in the year 1955. Its objective was specifically stated to be the taking over fishing transport from the local fishing society which was unable to manage it properly. The motor truck was being operated by somebody not interested in either the society or the community. The new society wanted to take over the fishing transport and run it more smoothly and efficiently. The society had members from Devgad, who were presumably invited to become members because of a probable lack of enthusiasm on the part of the local fishing community and/or their financial inability to become members. The share capital of the society was contributed by a limited group of twenty or twentyfive persons only.

The society was said to have made a spectacular start by purchasing a half-ton vehicle to begin with and^d acquiring the truck belonging to the existing fishing society within three months. It was also reported that some of the inspired members came on leave from Bombay to work for the society.

The society began transporting fish and fisherwomen in November 1955. The transport was regular during the next eight months till June 1956. The transport appears to have been suspended during the fishing season of that year commencing

in the month of October. It was restarted in February 1957 and after a brief run of about five days stopped suddenly owing to an accident to the smaller (half-ton) vehicle killing four persons. The truck had become unworkable for a long time already.

In this case again, local opinion attributed the cause of the failure of the society to the non-availability of personnel, either administrative like the secretary or technical like drivers and cleaners. The second major reason appears to be the top-heavy nature of its costs. The society employed two drivers at Rs. 80 and 60 and two cleaners at Rs. 50 per cleaner for running its vehicles.

In addition to the share capital the society raised money by getting deposits from its members and also raising loans from them. With this money the society purchased its vehicles. The entire business was in loss from the beginning. The truck and the half-ton vehicle were disposed off later.

No records were available in the village during the time of our resurvey except a few account books. The society's accounts did not appear to have been submitted for departmental audit. There were no audit statements available. It was not possible to know when or how the society was wound up.

Local opinion, however, carried an impression that the entire thing was a fraud and the work of an adventurer. The enthusiasm shown initially, the limitedness of its membership, the way in which the society raised its finances and finally the perfunctoriness of its operations indeed go strengthen

such an impression. While this impression need not be taken into consideration for the purpose of our study, it cannot be denied that the local fishing community has lost its one means of quick transport and that it would need a good deal of persuasion for undertaking such an activity in the near future.

Chapter VIII

THE PEOPLE

The two investigations of Mithbav referred to two situations, one in 1954-55 and the other in 1959-60. The accounts given in the foregoing chapters were mainly of an aggregative nature, comparing aggregative data over the period of five years. The discussion denoted some of the major forces of change such as demographic changes, the disproportionate rise in the cost of living and migration.

The comparison of the concrete and therefore measurable aggregates such as the human resources, land holdings, investments etc. gave certain indications of change, or absence thereof, that had come about in the village. Since the two studies were essentially ~~as~~ of static conditions, a comparison of the aggregates would only denote the areas where some change might have occurred, ~~thus only implying dynamics~~. These areas had to be further probed into for uncovering the forces at work.

As denoted earlier we had two major difficulties in this regard. Firstly, the ^{first} survey was of a pilot nature and did not attempt to take an inventory at the family level. The second difficulty was the size of the village itself which made it difficult to undertake a house-to-house case study programme.

In Chapter V as also in some places in other chapters we have presented case study data bearing upon the dynamics

of the village. It is however felt that they reveal very little of the day-to-day behaviour of the individuals in the village or the factors that affect their decision-making. This chapter is planned as an attempt to fill in some of the gaps in this regard.

The chapter gives a cross-sectional perspective of the behaviours of the people in their own setting. It is mainly of an impressionistic nature. The 'cases' were collected by the investigators during the course of the resurvey investigations, which entailed a great deal of meeting and talking with the people of the village. The 'cases' are relative to the year of resurvey as well as to the mental set-up of the investigators also.

These impressions, reactions, attitudes or 'cases' are presented in lieu of the attitudes of the residents which we did not attempt to collect in a formal schedule for a variety of reasons. The inquiry regarding attitudes was excluded mainly because the investigators did not have the technical competence necessary for such an inquiry. The experience regarding the nature of the responses of the average Indian respondent was also partly responsible for its exclusion.

As said earlier the chapter seeks to give some case studies providing illustrative indications regarding the behaviour of the people. The individuals selected were not necessarily representative. The second limitation was that

the studies were not 'complete' in themselves. They attempt to show certain aspects of behaviour that were considered relevant at the time. Thirdly they are mixed in character in that while some yield a little historical information, others give an attitude or opinion. Some of these are studies of economic efforts undertaken by some of the persons of the village.

The chapter is broadly divided into four sections, the first three bearing on the economic, socio-economic and the social behaviour respectively. These categories are again arbitrary and may be found to overlap in some instances. The last section attempts a summing up as regards the pattern of behaviour of the individual and the community, on the basis of the preceding ones. *It is drafted by the sociological section of the Institute.*

Section One

1) During the survey year of 1954-55, one of the residents was found to be experimenting with the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. It should be mentioned that he was a commerce graduate of the Bombay University and had held a regular salaried job before immigrating to Mithav for undertaking cultivation.

He had been cultivating paddy by the Japanese method for two years and had reported encouraging results. He had also reported that he had been consulted by other interested cultivators of the village in the matter of manuring, usage of improved seeds, etc. During the survey year he had sold

five maunds of improved seed grown on his farm in the previous year. He had visited the agricultural experimental farm at Fonda where results of experiments in paddy cultivation were available.

He had kept a poultry farm including a White Leghorn for breeding purposes. According to him the region was better suited for growing orchard crops with coconuts, betel nuts, mangoes and cashew nuts.

WE should also mention here the fact that he had to endure certain ridicule from some of the residents of the village. He was branded a fool for leaving a secure salaried job and taking up cultivation. Socially, he was observed to be isolated.

He could have been one of the important carriers of change had he persisted in the occupation. During the resurvey investigations however he was found to have left cultivation and emigrated to Bombay for a job. Inquiries within the village showed that the immediate cause of his withdrawal from the occupation was his inability to pay the instalment of a tagavi loan he had secured for constructing a well. It was reported that he was unable to sell his paddy for a better price in the village. A threat of foreclosure by the village Talathi, it was reported, forced him to dispose off his produce at available prices in the village and abandon cultivation altogether in disgust.

ii) During the survey year, a silica mine was being operated

after an initial closure in the previous year. The mine, though technically owned by a Bombay glass manufacturer, was the result of the efforts of a local person. The Bombay manufacturer could satisfy the statutory obligations of showing a credit of one lakh of rupees and was given the permission to operate the mines. The local entrepreneur supervised the work as a paid manager.

According to this person, the rate allowed by the Bombay manufacturer was much less than the market price of silica. He however could not do anything in the matter as the manufacturer was the de jure operator of the mine.

The mine was worked for a period of seven to eight months during the dry season. It employed a labour compliment of about 50 labourers, half of whom were females, employed mainly for carrying headloads of unearthed silica.

The total estimated production of the mine was worth Rs.16,000, or six per cent of the total physical production of the village.

The mine was the second instance indicative of probable change of an economic nature. It gave dry-season employment to about 50 persons and on the basis of the report of the manager, we expected a probable rise in production, providing a larger quantum employment at the time of our resurvey.

It was however found that the mine had been closed. The local manager had emigrated to Bombay for a job. The immediate cause for abandoning the venture was the stoppage of payment by

the Bombay manufacturer, on supplies received. The manager had already incurred shop-credits on behalf of and in part payment to the labourers. The disagreement between the manager and the Bombay manufacturer was probably regarding the rates. It was also likely that the local manager ^{might} could have contacted other buyers for a better price, a thing he was not entitled to do technically. The stoppage of payment by the Bombay manufacturer was presumably only a consequence.

iii) At the instance of the local manager of the silica mines stationed at Mithbav, an attempt to get the sanction for a scheme for erecting a pucca bund to prevent the tidal waters from inundating a cultivable area about 76 acres in size, was made in early 1956. The affected area was in the immediate neighbourhood of the creek and was being progressively submerged by the tides of the sea. A suitable bund would withhold the tides and enable normal cultivation of the area.

It appears that the mine manager had certain pulls at the collector's office at Ratnagiri. He got the scheme examined by the authorities and a Departmental overseer was sent to the village to make preliminary inspection and estimates. The Government also verified the willingness of the residents towards the scheme.

The Revenue Department thereafter prepared a scheme to undertake the construction of the bund. The costs of construction were estimated at Rs.7620. These were to be contributed, to the extent of 40 per cent, by the State Government, 50 per

cent by the owner cultivators and 10 per cent by the tenant cultivators of land in the area. This meant that the cultivators of land in the area had to contribute Rs.4692 towards the construction of the bund. The scheme was sanctioned by the Government under the Bombay Kharlands Act.

The news of the levy, however, appeared to have affected the cultivators concerned especially those whose fields were furthest from danger, adversely. The Mamalatdar of the taluka, received a number of applications from the owner cultivators and tenant cultivators of the affected area requesting him to get the scheme withdrawn. The applications explicitly stated that the land in question was not at all affected by tides and in fact yielded a double crop of paddy every year. This was a total misrepresentation of facts. They also stated that the fields in the area were regularly cultivated and that the cultivators did not think that there was any necessity of constructing the bund. The Government dropped the scheme forthwith.

The apparent cause for the agitation to get the scheme cancelled was reported to be the levy, proposed by the Government, for the purpose. It was however held, by some of the residents, that a levy of Rs.62 per acre, was not much of a burden for the affected cultivators, especially if the smallness of the size of individual cultivated holdings and the receipts of regular remittances were taken into consideration.

Some of the persons, who had supported the scheme initially and had later joined in the request to get it cancelled,

appeared to be genuinely sorry for their actions and the withdrawal of the scheme.

The passage of time and the widening of the mouth of the creek seemed to have made them revise their earlier reactions to the proposed bund. They reported that the area was more regularly being inundated by tides, and cultivation of the fields in the area had to be stopped more frequently. According to them they had lost a good opportunity and they were not sure the bund would ever be constructed again since the widening of the mouth of the creek would entail a much greater expenditure on construction, two or three times the originally estimated figure.

iv) In 1957, a carpenter from Mithbav acquired a secondhand 5 H.P. diesel engine which was lying in a broken condition with a person outside the village who later became a relative by marriage. The carpenter assured us that he had never intended to get an engine to start a mechanical saw. The acquisition was fortuitous. The carpenter, who was an exceptionally skilled person and knew all types of repair work, had acquired it at a nominal price of Rs.300, had repaired it himself and fitted it with 18 inch circular saw. The saw was put into operation in 1958-59, the year prior to the resurvey.

The mechanical saw had been a distinct technological improvement. The owner reported that it was used only for the purposes of the work taken by him and not for undertaking regular wood-sawing work, which was generally being done by

teams of woodsawyers with the help of a huge blade-saw. The woodsawyers however reported that the carpenter undertook to do the finer types of sawing wood at a rate slightly lower than ^{that} charged by them. The competition had affected them adversely and had reduced their work to felling of trees and sawing them into bigger boulders which were later transported to the mechanical saw for further finer sawing. The extent of work appropriated by the mechanical saw however could not be estimated.

Some of the carpenters also reported that they hired the mechanical saw for getting their material cut into planks etc. This was done for a charge. The owner carpenter however reported that he undertook to accommodate his 'brother-carpenters' at the time of their need and did not really earn anything by way of hire charges. He only charged for the fuel used.

The saw had been an obvious improvement in the efficiency of the carpenter, in that he could secure orders to manufacture 300-400 packing crates for exporting mangoes. Formerly their manufacture had to be distributed over all the available carpenters in the village.

It may be mentioned here that the mechanical saw could be run only by that carpenter because he could attend to the old engine everytime it stopped or broke down. Others were not ready even to entertain the idea of getting mechanical saws for themselves as, according to them, it involved constant

attendance and expenditure by way of repairs and replacements. They also thought that the village could not make use of another mechanical saw.

v) A person who started as a textile worker at Bombay and who had subsequently left the job for starting an independent business of purchasing and selling looms, started a small weaving establishment at Mithbav in 1955. According to him the establishment was delayed by about three years on account of the delay in getting loan from the State Government. He had applied for a loan of Rs.3000 three years earlier and had been successful in getting half the amount sanctioned. He was unable to produce a surety for the other half.

The weaving establishment had four pedal-looms and was run for a period of about a year with the help of a paid weaver and an apprentice. The establishment however had to be closed because the owner was otherwise engaged in his business at Bombay. There was no supervision of the establishment in the village and the salaries of the weaver and the apprentice fell in arrears resulting in their abandoning their work and leaving the village.

The establishment produced Panchas, a sort of undersized dhoti locally worn, and sarees. While the weekly market at Mithbav absorbed only a fraction of the production, the bulk had to be sold at Kankavli, an interior market place, forty miles to the southwest of Mithbav. Though the producer was able to sell his goods, the sales were slow because of the

absence of rebate, which was given on cloth produced by co-operative societies only.

The owner tried to start it again in 1958. The establishment ran for about a month in that year and had to be closed again because of similar type of difficulties. The owner was engaged in his business at Bombay. The looms were worked fitfully and the work was finally stopped. The operator fell ill and then left the village for Bombay.

The establishment continued to be closed in the year of resurvey. The owner however was thinking of restarting it. He was going to convert the pedal-looms into powerlooms. The conversion, which necessitated the purchase of a 10 H.P. diesel engine, would need a capital of about Rs.3000 according to the owner. He had not yet repaid his earlier loan of Rs.1500 in full. He had paid Rs.550 in eleven instalments up-to-date. He had been unable to secure a 'working subsidy' from the loan, owing to the closure of the unit.

The difficulties, according to the owner, were the adverse transport conditions and the situation of the village. The village was an ^{and} ~~an~~ ~~corner~~ village and did not offer scope for disposal of his production, which had to be taken to distant centrally located market places. A second feature of the local conditions, according to him, was the absence of competition. The traders were in the habit of selling goods on credit and attempting to recompensate their bad debts by quoting higher prices. The customer buying on cash was thus penalised.

To these difficulties could be added the practice, on the part of emigrant-earners visiting their native place, of making the purchases of a large part of the family requirement of cloth at Bombay and bringing it along with them.

The owner saw a peculiar advantage in having a weaving unit at Mithbav. The unit could serve as a place for training as a large number of emigrants from Mithbav went to Bombay to seek jobs in the textile Mills. After conversion into powerlooms unit; he hoped to get apprentices to operate his looms at a nominal stipend and thus bring down his costs. The apprentice would in turn get his initial training and also earn a stipend in the village.

vi) A carter by profession had opened a tea-shop in 1957 with an initial capital of Rs.100. Since he had to attend to carting, as well as the cultivation of the family land, he had appointed a servant at the tea-shop to attend to the customers. The tea-shop ran for about a year and could have developed into good business but for the servant who had to be dismissed for misappropriating part of the receipts. The servant left the village after dismissal.

The owner hoped to restart the tea-shop in the near future as the location of the shop was good. The shop was situated in front of the high school and training college and was assured of good custom. The owner had therefore continued to pay the rent though the shop had been closed for more than a year.

The owner was postponing the reopening of the shop because he was unable to get a good active man to attend. According to him, there was a dearth of active, young and dependable persons in the village as everybody was in a hurry to leave the village and get a job at Bombay. His own occupation of carting kept him busy and he could not abandon it.

Three or four years earlier, he had tried his hand at running a bicycle store in the village. The store was mainly meant for children who enjoyed bicycle-riding.

The bicycles, five in number, were acquired from a local grocer who had kept them for hire previously. After the store was closed, because of lack of customers, the bicycles were sold out to a person of a distant village.

The lack of customers was, according to the owner, due to the delapidated condition of the bicycles. They had to be constantly repaired and fitted with new parts which were not available locally. The roads of Mithbav were uneven, bad and tortuous and people did not hire the vehicles for ^{travelling} going longer distances. As such there was no steady flow of customers. Replacements or purchases of new bicycles were therefore an uneconomic proposition.

Commenting on his own profession of carting, the owner said that the profession was being gradually abandoned because it was getting increasingly difficult to raise capital for renewal or replacement expenditure. Apart from the greater infiltration of the truck, the difficulties of the

carters were that they could not raise enough money to buy bullocks or undertake major repairs or replace the carts. They could not get loans against promissory notes as they could do before. Likewise they could not sell the family land, for raising the needed capital, as easily as they could formerly on account of the new legislation which prevented such direct sales. The bullocks meanwhile became aged and the cart more worn. The result was that a number of carters abandoned the occupation and left for employment at Bombay.

vii) The owner of one of the flour-mills in the village was a young man who had studied upto the matriculation standard at Bombay. He had installed the flour-mill in Tambaldeg, the western-most locality on the sea shore, inhabited by the fishing community of Gabits, to which he belonged.

He had been elected, in the previous year, as the new secretary of the Mithav Fishing and Trading Co-operative Society. After assuming office he had been trying to initiate certain improvements. As noted earlier, the supply of hemp used for making nets dwindled and the price increased to two and a half times. The new secretary tried, during the re-survey year, to ease the situation by getting from Bombay, cotton yarn manufactured by some of the textile mills there. The local fishermen, who believed that mill-made cotton yarn could not replace home-produced hemp-yarn and had therefore been resisting it, purchased the relatively cheaper yarn to repair their nets. The new secretary hoped that the yarn

would be accepted as a good material for manufacturing new net pieces also.

The second advantage of this material, apart from its availability in required quantities, was that it was distributed through the Bombay Fishermen's Co-operative at a much cheaper rate as compared to market prices. The local society also stood to make a profit as the purchases of yarn were entitled to a rebate.

The new secretary also got from Bombay, for a fisherman at Mithbav, nylon yarn for manufacturing a special central net piece to prevent the escape of larger-sized fish from the drag-net. The nylon yarn was also to be used as fishing-line as it was strong and durable.

As said earlier the new secretary was an educated young man, a matriculate with a progressive outlook. He had fitted a water pump to the flour-mill engine for watering his coconut grove.

For the last two years he had been attempting to bring under paddy cultivation half an acre of land that was sandy and lying about a hundred yards near the creek. For this purpose he has been putting into this land sediments and deposits from the bottom of his well. He reported that three others were also seen digging up sediments after seeing him do it. Mention must also be made here of his experiment of putting dried moss into this land in order to increase its productivity. Moss is supposed to contain phosphates and

calcium.

viii) A young tailor also running a small aerated-drinks shop during the dry season was found to be in the process of erecting an oven (bhatti) for baking bread and biscuits in 1954-55. He had started the bakery in 1955 and it was functioning during the year of resurvey but only for a partial purpose.

For two years he had been thinking of taking to bakery ~~bakery~~ ^{bakery} bread as an experiment. Till then he had been producing biscuits which could last in good condition for a month or a little more. Bread however had to be disposed off quickly before it became stale and uneatable. The tailor thought that there was a good local market for bread as the habit imported from Bombay life was gaining ground.

The problem however was the difficulty of getting persons to hawk the bread in the different localities of Mithbav as well as in neighbouring villages. He had engaged several youngsters for the purpose but they had left the jobs after a month or two. He had offered Rs.40 per head by way of pay but the difficulty was, according to him, that the servants did not like the work of hawking bread in the streets of the village. Apart from being a little hard the job presumably was considered to be of a low status. The result had been that the tailor had stopped baking bread and had restricted himself to producing only biscuits in his bakery.

ix) The principal religious festival of the village was the Ganesh-chaturthi, the annual worship of the ^{god of learning} elephant-god,

which fell sometime in August-September. The normal procedure was to purchase a clay idol of the deity and instal it in the house for some days, ranging from one to eleven.

The idols were made by hand by some of the residents as a seasonal occupation. During the resurvey year there were ten persons preparing the idols. They ranged from the Brahmin to the Mahar by caste. The total number of idols was about 600.

About 100 of these idols were prepared for customers in the neighbouring villages. It was reported that there was quite a large standing demand from neighbouring villages because the local craftsmanship was greatly appreciated.

There were however two difficulties according to the idol makers. The principal difficulty was the transport which on many occasions damaged the idols. Secondly the idol-makers generally worked single-handed with the children in the locality helping them. They reported that production could be greatly increased if more expert workers were available. A third and perhaps a minor problem was the practice on the part of the local customers to get the idols on credit or at a price lower than was agreed upon earlier.

x) During the survey year, rice fields near the creek and along the banks of the river forming the southern boundary of Mithav, were inundated with tidal water rendering them temporarily useless for cultivation due to the deposit of salt. The bunds along the river bank were also seriously damaged.

One of the cultivators, a Brahmin by caste, appealed to

the State Government for financial assistance to reconstruct the damaged bund protecting his fields from the river water. According to his estimates, the cost of repairing and in some places reconstructing the bund was between Rs.800 to Rs.900. The Government authorities, after inspecting the site, were reported to have sanctioned a loan of Rs.150, at the rate of Rs.50 per acre on condition that he undertook the reconstruction of the bund. This amount was totally inadequate for the purpose and meant raising of an additional loan for the rest of the estimated expenditure. The cultivator refused the loan.

In the year prior to the resurvey year, the same cultivator had applied for relief for a different reason. Unusually heavy rains in 1958 had resulted in the rotting away of the paddy seedlings prepared by him for transplantation. He was advised by the Agricultural Assistant at Devgad to apply to the government for financial relief. His application was referred to the Revenue Department which informed him that there was no provision for such relief but that he could apply for and get only a tagavi loan. The cultivator dropped the matter forthwith.

This aversion to avail themselves of the facilities of short or medium term loans provided by the Government was found to be general. The village records showed that during the survey as well as the resurvey year, there were only two persons who had sought tagavi loans. One of them was common

for both the points of time. The people also knew that the Government were advancing medium-term loans, at Rs.30 per acre, for encouraging new plantations of coconut and mango. They were however reluctant to take the loans for the same reasons for which they did not take tagavi loans. Plantations meant waiting till the trees became fruit-bearing, locking up of ready cash and ultimate repayment of the loans. While some persons did undertake new plantation of trees, the existing trees, with the exception of mango plants, were generally neglected barring a little watering during summer. The trees did not get any manure at all. The general attitude towards plantation was that they were not sure if the family would continue to stay in the village in times to come. Whatever efforts were put in looking after the existing trees, particularly coconut trees, were put in mainly from the point of view of home-consumption.

xi) We had occasion to mention, in the case study of the carpenters in Mithbav in Chapter V, that the village could not make use of some of the skills acquired by some of them.

One of the goldsmiths in Mithbav likewise had sent his son to Bombay for specialised training in meena work, the art of setting and engraving in ornaments of patterns in colour. The son had returned after completing the four-years course. The goldsmith intended to keep his son in the village for assisting him. He, however, reported that his son was getting impatient to leave the village as there was no demand for his

specialised skill.

xii) We mention a few significant opinions and attitudes regarding the trading situation at Mithbav. These were collected during individual interviews with some of the traders.

From the traders' point of view, the principal single difficulty appeared to be the lack of capital for either expanding business or starting a new one. There were a number of lines which could flourish well at Mithbav but there was not enough money to start the businesses. The various lines that were thought profitable were exclusive medicine shops, stationery shops, a hair-cutting saloon, a shoe shop, an aerated drinks shop, a dairy and even one or two additional grocery shops. One of the cobblers thought that he could do better business if he could have capital to open a shop in the market. One of the bigger grocers thought that a firewood depot could be run quite profitably in the village.

Next to absence of capital, the method of purchases, namely the habit of buying on credit appeared to be the major difficulty. Every trader had to incur bad debts proportionate to the size of his business. While the nature of incomes, monthly salaries and remittances, made credit sales a matter of necessity to a major extent, the practice beyond a limit invariably resulted in losses and closures. The case of the grocery shop that was started and also closed down during the period of study was often cited. The dealer was from Fonda, a big trading and distributing centre immediately below the

hills and in direct daily contact with the Kolhapur city. He opened a grocery shop, began to sell on credit in order to compete with the established local grocers and in the process incurred huge bad debts. Two or three years later he had to close the shop and leave Mithbav because of heavy overdues and bad debts.

The traders were almost unanimous in blaming the practice of emigration in the region. It affected their vocation in two ways. Firstly the emigration of young people meant the snatching away of demand especially of certain goods like cloth, toilet articles etc. Secondly the continuous contact established with Bombay resulted in certain purchases being made in that city invariably and the demand for those goods was totally cut off as far as the village was concerned. Goods like cloth, medicines, books, stoves, fancy articles etc. were imported by emigrants visiting the village.

According to one of the grocers, the village suffered also on account of its peculiar situation. It was a sort of end-village without an adequate hinterland which it could serve as a distributing centre. The region did not produce much for the market. The village itself depended on a fixed ^{quantum} capacity of effective demand based mainly on salaries and remittances. The traders had therefore to share the more or less fixed quantum of demand and if for a given period a particular trader managed to push ahead it was always done by cutting into the share of others.

The stagnant nature of the economy with low incomes resulted in a large amount of buying on credit and subsequent default. The trader of Mithbav was placed in a predicament of which he could relieve himself only by keeping his prices high. He tried to distribute his losses or bad debts over his cash sales thus raising the price level and the general cost of living.

Section Two:

1) Sometime in 1959-50, an attempt to provide industrial training in the production of coir and coir articles was made by the then principal of the local high school. He succeeded in starting a training class with the help of the Cottage Industries Department of the State Government. The objectives in starting the class in the village were to exploit the coir resources of the village in a more remunerative manner and to provide employment facilities for the resident people. It may be mentioned here that coir is a fibre, prepared out of the outer husk of the coconut, and out of which rope is made and used for agricultural, building and other purposes. The skill required was a simple one, with the result that a large number of cultivators manufactured their own requirements of rope. A large proportion of the raw material, the coconut husks, was however used as fuel. In the first point report, this proportion was estimated at 60 to 70 per cent of the total.

The training class initially was conducted by one trained

instructor. Later an assistant instructor was appointed. There were ten trainees, four belonging to the Maratha and two each to the Brahmin, Bhandari and Gabit castes. A stipend of Rs.20 per month was paid by the department to each student. According to local opinion, the stipend was the chief incentive in seeking admission to the class. The second incentive, according to local reports, was the possibility of their being absorbed by the department after successful completion of the training course.

After a year's training, only one student was reported to have attempted to utilize his training for the purpose for which it was meant, namely better utilization of coir by manufacture of rope and mats. He tried for about a year and left the village for a job at Bombay. Another student was reported to have been absorbed by the department. The remaining eight did neither get jobs in the department nor did they try to put their training to practical use.

The training class ran for a year, and was closed in the next year as none sought admission.

ii) The Kshatrakulotpanna Maratha Samaj which runs the high school at Mithbav had acquired six acres of land at the foot of the central hill range from the Government for Rs.1500/-. The land was meant for growing field crops and plantations.

The Samaj had found that admissions to the high school were diminishing, in particular owing to the withdrawal of the Konkan Maratha Scholarships, by the State department on the

grounds of secularism. About 75 to 80 per cent of the students of the high school used to get the benefits of these scholarships. The Samaj devised a scheme under which deserving students, who were unable to pay the tuition fees of the high school could be admitted on condition that they put in some work in the fields and plantations acquired by the Samaj. The ^{school} free instruction was to be in return for the labour so put in.

The land had been temporarily entrusted to some local cultivating families for clearing, developing and making it fit for cultivation. These families were to cultivate the land for a period of three years initially in return for whatever they could reap thereby. Cultivation by students was expected to commence by the year 1957 or 1958.

The land was still being cultivated by the cultivating families during the resurvey year, 1959-60, the reason being that the land had not started producing a normal yield and required some more cultivation and development.

The reason for postponing the taking over of the cultivation by the high school students, was presumably the modification in the educational policy of the State Government. During the period between the two surveys the Education Department announced that all those students, the income of whose parents was less than Rs. ⁹⁰⁰ ~~1000~~ per annum, would be eligible for free secondary education upto the Secondary School Certificate examination level. This declaration seems to have removed the cause for which the scheme was devised by the Samaj.

iii) Reference has been made, in Section Two of Chapter III, to the formation of a local development committee by the north-western locality of the Katwan divided into the villages, Mithbav and Kunakeshwar. One of the objectives of forming the committee was the construction of a pucca bridge over the small stream that separated the two villages as well as the two parts of the Katwan locality.

The two non-Gabit dragnet (Rapan) organisations of the Mithbav-Katwan locality carried out their fishing operations on the shore adjoining the village Kunakeshwar. There were other aspects of socio-economic contact between the two parts of the locality. A pucca bridge over the stream was therefore a necessity. The existing bridge was partly an earthen dam erected by the residents of the two parts of the locality every year at the end of the monsoon rains. During the monsoons flood water washed the dam away rendering transport difficult.

The committee had decided to undertake the construction and had printed receipt books for acknowledging donations and contributions. The estimated expenditure was Rs.2000/- which was to be mainly raised by imposing a compulsory levy on the resident households and their emigrant earners. The committee was also going to seek some financial assistance from the Mithbav Panchayat and the Taluka Development Committee at Devgad.

We have also indicated the successful efforts, made by the above committee, in bringing about an amalgamation of the

two schools in the two parts of the locality.

We had noted, in the first point report that all the school-buildings in Mithbav had been built by the residents by raising funds through levies and contributions, the major proportions of which came from the emigrant-earners at Bombay. We had also found that except for the repairs of the principal primary school, the monsoon repairs of all the schools were financed and undertaken by the resident households of the respective localities surrounding the schools.

In the context of the above, we record an effort made by some persons in the village towards helping the students. The effort has however failed totally.

Sometime during 1957, a scheme to collect at a house-to-house level, paddy or other donations in kind or cash for helping the poor students of the village was undertaken, reportedly at the instance of the social worker stationed at Mithbav by the K.M.Samaj. The scheme was unanimously approved.

A small committee consisting some of the leading residents of the village moved from house to house collecting paddy donations. It was reported that the public response was encouraging enough and the committee could collect 8 to 10 mounds of paddy valued between Rs.125 to Rs.150. The social worker was later called away for other work and the work of distributing the proceeds to poor and deserving students was entrusted to another person. It was reported that a large part of the donated paddy was misappropriated by this person and the students

virtually received no assistance from the scheme except a few slates, pencils, and books. The scheme resulted into a scandal and had therefore to be dropped next year.

iv) An immigrant returning to the village after retirement had used a part of his gratuity money for purchasing 10 gunthas of cultivable land. He was about 60 years old. Both his sons were employed at Bombay and were staying there with their families.

The purchase was more of a fulfilment of personal desire than an economic investment. He was not sure whether any of his children would return to the village and cultivate the land after his death. He had bought the land as a matter of his own conviction to the effect that cultivation was the only secure occupation and that land alone would stand him in times of need.

v) We now indicate some of the attitudes, opinions and reactions of some of the resident people concerning their own socio-economic behaviour.

It was reported that till recently, as late as the decade of forties, there was a reluctance on the part of the emigrants to accept the job of a peon, which was considered of a low order. The average emigrant was willing to become a textile labourer or a port-trust worker. Work of a technical nature such as driving a bus, working at a lathe or in a press was not considered low. Our investigator corroborated this opinion. He found that the resident wife of an emigrant readily reported

that her husband was in the spinning or weaving department of a textile mill or a bus conductor or a postman or a police constable, while she hesitated to report that her husband was a peon. Generally she tried to evade the question by professing ignorance and in a number of cases our investigator found that the emigrant earner in question was a peon.

A second characteristic, reported as well as observed, was the preference given to jobs giving quick cash returns. Carpenters and builders reported that they were not sure of getting labour while undertaking contractual work because those who could assist would desert them for jobs yielding quicker cash returns. In 1954-55, the manager of the local silica mines had reported that his labourers, who were paid on a monthly basis, often failed to report for work if they managed to get work which was paid immediately in cash. This preference could be attributed, among others, to the poverty or the low level of living ^{which} might have made them prefer work for immediate cash, as it would enable them to buy badly needed provisions for the day.

According to some of the experienced people in the village this preference for cash and the consumption practices had a mutual bearing on one another. While our data regarding consumption cannot be used to demonstrate the validity of the reported practice, it was nevertheless reported that excepting the more 'steady-going' people including the Brahmins and some of the salarieds, there was neither orderliness nor restraint

in the type of things consumed by the rest of the families in the village. An income in cash, either earned in labour work in the village or received as a remittance, would be spent in getting better quality provisions, such as chicken, better variety of fish etc. In contrast the Brahmins were admired for their careful outlay on household items, buying some of the necessities in bulk when the prices were the lowest and drying and processing them at home for a year's planned consumption.

vi) One of the two grocery shops in the coastal locality of Tambaldeg, inhabited by the fishing caste of Gabits, was found to be in difficulties in 1959 and 1960. The total turnover for the year prior to the resurvey year was reported to have dwindled to about one-fifth of its size in 1954-55.

The shopkeeper held the tenancy rights of a centrally located piece of land which was annually used by the residents for celebrating the festival of Nam Saptaha, when for a period of seven days the idols of the deities Vitthal and Rukmini were worshipped with continuous singing of devotional songs. The celebration generally concluded with a drama-performance put up by the residents.

In 1957, the committee organising the celebrations decided to purchase the piece of land. There was a proposed plan to construct a semi-permanent hall for conducting the celebrations. The grocer however had the priority of the right of purchasing the land. It was reported that he refused to part with his claim. The committee appealed to the court of

law and in the suit it was proved that the shopkeeper had not cultivated the land for a number of years. His right to purchase the land was therefore waived by the court and the committee was allowed to purchase the land in question. The committee did so forthwith.

The incident, however, led to the social and economic boycott of the grocer who had gone against the wish of the community initially. It was reported that the family and the shop were virtually isolated for over a year. During the re-survey year, however, the boycott had become less rigorous. But the size of the turnover continued to be small.

vii) There was no change in the system of Baluta, under which certain of the village services were performed for an annual payment in kind. Interviews with the Balutedars, the persons rendering the services, indicated that the system has, if anything, deteriorated.

The principal Balutedar in Mithbav, was the carpenter. Implement holding being small, the practice was to get the repairs done by payment of cash instead of kind. The cost of routine repairs varied between Rs.0.50 to Rs.2 and the cultivators as well as the carpenters preferred the work be done against cash payments only. An additional reason was the fact, also disclosed in the first point survey, that the local production of paddy was much less than the consumption requirements. The cultivators were therefore reluctant to part with it.

The village had no blacksmith. The blacksmith that

worked at Mithbav belonged to a village called Kinjwade, about eight miles away from Mithbav. He attended Mithbav for two or three days in a week and worked strictly for cash.

The village likewise had no traditional barber. It was reported that barbers from nearby villages operated at Mithbav, some of them for annual kind-payment in some cases. Our farm business data for nine cultivators reveals that one cultivator paid baluta to the barber at harvest time, during both the points of time. . . These instances were however individual arrangements only, there being, as noted above, no traditional barber in the village.

There were in addition the temple-service Balutedars, the Gurav, the Ghadi, the Pujari and the Devli. The first three were entrusted with worship of various deities while the fourth had to keep the temple of the village deity clean and help in the worship. All these claimed Baluta rights by tradition. Except the Gurav,--there was only one Gurav family in the village.--the others exercised their right by rotation. In each only one family held office for a year. The local arrangement was that, instead of all the four of them going to all the cultivators of the village for getting the Baluta, the village was divided into four units, called Vakals locally, each vakkal being assigned to one of the four Balutedars for the baluta payment.

All the above four Balutedars had reported, at the time of the survey, that the Baluta dues due to them were being

progressively denied. The reasons advanced by the Balutedars were increased education, increasing contact with Bombay as well as the small and limited production of paddy, which got further divided with family-separations. According to them the system had deteriorated further since the survey year of 1954-55. They indicated that the system was adhered to by the older generation only and would cease to exist within one or two generations when the present set of old persons vanishes away.

Section Three:

In this section we attempt to denote certain aspects and impressions of the religious and social behaviour of the residents.

There were three public village deities at Mithbav which were respected and worshipped by all the people. In addition there were three privately owned temples, constructed either by individuals or the members belonging to a family group. Apart from the above six, three of the major Mankari^(Marathi) family-groups had their own places of worship.

The village as a whole used to celebrate certain annual festivals of the three village deities about 40 years ago. It appears that in that year there were some differences of opinion regarding certain rights of precedence among the Mankari families and the festivals were suspended. Attempts were reported to have been made to resuscitate the festivals once in 1939 and in 1950. They were in essence attempts to bring together all

the diverse elements of the village, but had failed. While the earlier differences continued to exist, it was felt that increased emigration had its effect of destroying, on the part of the younger generation in particular, the attachment towards the religious traditions and rituals of the villages. It was also said that emigration took away from the village the younger element on whose enthusiasm such festivals depended to a large extent for their success.

An incident, which has a bearing on the tensions between some of the Mankari families, had occurred in 1957, that is, during the period between the two studies. It appears that a person belonging to one of the five Mankari families and who was reported to be mentally ill, was seen visiting the temple of the Goddess Gajbai, one of the three village deities, situated on the western outskirts of the village and facing the sea. Later the ^{ancient stone} historical ~~idol~~ of the goddess was found to have been shattered to pieces.

The households belonging to the particular Mankari family-group, fearing the wrath of the goddess, assembled together for finding out a way to appease the deity and resolved to replace the idol with a new one. Their decision was also ratified by their emigrant-earners working and staying in Bombay and elsewhere. It appears that ^{a fund +} about Rs. 1500 ^{was} were collected by way of donations and contributions from among the units of the family-group and an idol of white marble was ordered from Delhi.

When the idol was delivered, some 150 persons belonging to

the family-group went from Bombay to Mithbav to participate in the installation ceremony. An elaborate ritual had been planned and preparations were made. The idol was to be installed by the head of the family group.

The installation however did not take place. It was said that according to tradition the senior-most Mankari family group had the privilege to perform the installation ceremony of any village deity. Member-families of this family group had informed the other family-group about these rights. The other family group was however of the opinion that since the idol had been damaged by one of their household, it was their own duty to instal the new idol. The dissenting senior family-group approached the Mamlatdar with a request to stay the installation proceedings till the privileges were decided by the court of law. The Mamlatdar despatched a police party to stop the ceremony and to take the idol into custody.

During the resurvey year the temple of the goddess Gajbai was without its idol.

Regarding individual religious behaviour it was stated that people continued to keep their trust in and to worship God. As an evidence it was reported that a majority of the emigrant-earners, on a short visit to the village paid a visit to the temple of the ^{Principal} village deity immediately after arrival and on the eve of their departure from the village. Likewise every newly-married bride and groom had to visit the temple immediately after the marriage.

The above may not be indicative of a faith or otherwise but the acceptance of a traditional ritual. There was evidence to show that the people, at least the resident component of the population, continued to place their trust in the village deities. The priest of one of the temples reported an income of Rs.200 for undertaking to invoke the opinion of the deity by a ritual. Likewise there were also some persons who were supposed to become possessed by supernatural powers on new moon days. These persons were consulted by many in difficulties like sickness, litigation, etc.

An incident evidencing this trust in the village deity was reported. It appears that the residents began to suspect one of the women of their locality, of witchcraft. The woman belonged to Malwan and was married to an emigrant-earner belonging to Mithbav. She stayed alone with her children. The locality imposed an almost total social boycott on the family. The woman got her husband to visit the village and look into the matter. He went to Mithbav and challenged the locality to prove their suspicion. The matter was taken to the temple of the principal village deity by common consent. The opinion of the deity was invoked and upon the deity's assurance that the woman was not a witch, the boycott was withdrawn.

As referred to earlier, the principal religious festival of the village was the celebration of the Ganesh Chaturthi, occurring in August-September. Clay idols of the deity were brought home and worshipped for an average period of five days.

The emigrant earners, who visited Mithav more or less regularly, generally visited it for this festival. It should be mentioned that this festival was a purely individual family celebration.

The village had three community celebrations during the year. All these were Nam-Saptahas, or the seven-day worship of the deities Vitthal and Rukmini. The principal of these was held at the Vitthal temple in the centrally located locality of Waghoba Wadi sometime in the month of Ashadha or July. The next one was celebrated by the Bhandari group sometime in December-January, in the locality called Bhandarwadi to the east of the main approach road. The third was celebrated in February-March by the Gabits at Tambaldeg, the fishermen locality near the sea.

The Nam-Saptaha celebrations were mainly social occasions. People gathered in the pendal where the idols of the two deities were installed. The people in charge of management invited Bhajan groups, that is small groups who regularly met for religious prayers and devotional songs, from nearby village for the occasion. The Saptaha ceremonies were generally concluded with a drama performance and a modest dinner to the active participants.

Regarding social behaviour, we shall indicate certain traits which were observed by the investigators and which might provide some clues as regards the proclivity towards change. As we have stated elsewhere in this report (vide Chapter VII)

the village community was composed of a number of groups whose attitudes, interests, and aspirations differed greatly. These groups could not be identified categorically, as significant proportion of the families fell into more than one classifying criteria such as caste, occupation, locality, education, domicile and the like. It was likewise not possible to attribute a definite characteristic to any particular group.

One of the general characteristics was that there was a good deal of isolation and the resultant formal behaviour between different groups. Each group, however composed, existed with others without interfering into their affairs. This ^{as a whole} isolated behaviour was an outcome of the independence of the individual families, who, being thrown on their own limited resources had to face their own problems. We have seen that emigration was more or less the only solution.

In this process, however, consideration of caste and locality were of primary importance. We have noted in the chapter on migration that those who held responsible jobs or could wield influence at Bombay had helped relatives as well as neighbourers in getting employment at Bombay. There were certain other instances of caste affinity also. A couple of tailors as well as a number of makers of clay idols reported that almost all their business patronage was provided by people only of their caste.

The Gabits and the Mahars were the two, more closely held, caste-groups in the village. The former lived a little

away from the residential localities of the village and were presumably held together by the hazards of their occupation common to all. The Mahars were the untouchables, the poorest caste-group in the village and comparatively the least educated. To a large extent they were engaged in agricultural and other labour work.

While the Gabits, who stayed separately, had less occasion to get involved with other caste-groups, the Mahars, though they also lived separately, had to come into contact with all the different castes. Presumably because of the tolerance bred by education and contact with Bombay, the village treated the Mahars much more humanely than elsewhere. The Mahar member of the Panchayat was observed to participate in the Panchayat meeting like all others and was not segregated. The village could also accept Mahar primary teachers. In their turn the Mahar did not appear to claim the patronage of any one caste or family.

During the year of resurvey, the conversion of the Mahars into Navboudhas took place. The Mahars invited some prominent residents, the social worker, the principal of the training college and others, to attend the ceremony. A convert Buddhist priest had gone to the village to officiate at the ceremony and initiate the Mahars into the new religion. While some of the members claimed that the entire Mahar community had accepted the new religion, it was observed that quite a significant section had not. The dissidents belonged to the

bigger of the two construction groups in the village. The Mahars were the traditional drum beaters of the village deity and on the day of the ceremony, it was reported that, the dissenting group recorded their protest towards the conversion by beating the drums louder and for a longer time.

Conversations held later with some of the leading members revealed that they had agreed to get themselves converted on account of the pressure that was exerted on them by outsiders. They were aware that the circumstances of the ^{Mahars} Harijans in the ^{coastal region} KONKAN, and in particular in Mithbav, were quite different and that they did not have to suffer at the hands of the caste Hindus. All the Mahar families reported Mahar as their caste even after the conversion.

The tolerance, individualism and the spirit of coexistence were apparently an inevitable outcome of the hardships they had to face in making a living in a village with scant resources, the single crop⁷ paddy, and absence of other employment opportunities. Likewise they resulted from the living habits imported from Bombay by returning emigrants.

The characteristic presumably explains in part the circumstances that led to the cancellation⁷ of the Kharland Bunding Schemes. The villagers had co-operated in community undertakings such as the school buildings, the maternity hospital, the reading room, etc. In the Kharland Scheme, however, it was a matter that concerned only a few individual families. The scheme could have materialised only if everyone concerned

were prepared to pay the levy. Some families, some individuals had apparently had thought that it was not worth their while, this resulting into the withdrawal of the whole scheme.

The absence of classes or class behaviour in the village could also be attributed to this attitude. We find that the families that fell into the income class above Rs.2000 per annum were those of either teachers or traders, that is, persons generally not belonging to the village proper. There was no high concentration of resources and majority fell in the income group below Rs.1500. The second reason, as stated earlier, was the city habits that were imported into the village which made for the formal, detached, ^{asocial} individualistic behaviour on the part of the individuals and families. We hardly observed anybody being sub-servient in his attitude towards others except of course the elders and the educated.

We have noted that ^{one of} the principal force of change had been the practice of migration. Apart from removing the eligible earners from the working force of the village and in return causing the quantum of remittances to increase, the practice also brought about changes which were not quite apparent. The principal change in this context is the adoption, to an increased extent, of urban habits or ways of living.

Some of the urban traits have already been noted. We have seen that at the resurvey point of time, a larger number

of students were attending schools. In particular the number of older students in higher standards had increased. In the matter of consumption we have seen that a large proportion, 12 per cent of the total expenditure, was expended on the habit of drinking tea. The large increases in the acquisition of durable consumer goods like stoves, wrist-watches and time-pieces, safety-razors, torches along with locally produced articles like tables and chairs also indicated the direction in which the manner of living has shifted.

We have noted in Chapter VII that there was no feeling of 'oneness' in the village, that the community was divided into different types of groups. Migration or life in Bombay was one of the causes that brought people together at the Mithbav end. It was natural that emigrants visiting the native village saw one another and formed a sort of a group. The families having emigrant-earners at Bombay also could be classified in a single group with many identical interests and problems. As evidence of this, we may cite the practice of escorting, to and from Mithbav, the wives and children of other emigrants, helping one another out with small temporary loans, carrying articles for delivery, etc.

Section Four

From the facts stated in the foregoing pages it is tried here to reconstruct a picture of the village Mithbav as a village community. The picture is, needless to say, a sociological interpretation.

The prime bases for a community to be so characterized are

the territorial integrity and community sentiment. In the first place the people constituting the community should occupy a common territory as the major scene of their actions, aspirations, and attachment. Secondly these are interdependent with the community-sentiment. The community sentiment is three-fold as MacIver has put it, viz., the we-feeling, the role-feeling, and the dependence feeling, i.e. the people should bear a sense of belonging to the community the individuals identifying themselves with the community, the feeling that each individual nurses that he has a part to play in the life of the community, and the feeling that each individual bears of his interests and actions being intertwined and tied up with the others in the community. This community sentiment, the collective conscience, is reinforced by the mechanical solidarity obtaining in the community by division of labour.

It is to be seen now in the light of these characteristics, how far the village Mithbav conforms to the concept of a community.

Although the village can be construed as a territorial isolate for purposes of delimitation of the community, it is not an isolated village notwithstanding the fact that it is situated at the end of a unilined avenue of transport and communication. Lack of self-sufficiency in economic subsistence has pushed the labour force of the village into outside world, solely or mainly into the economic frontiers of the urban centre Bombay. Migrating out to Bombay in search of employment

opportunities is the prime factor in influencing the life of the Mithbav people. The Migrants finding it difficult to set-up a home in Bombay due to accommodation scarcity and high cost of living leave their family members in the village itself. The major scene of their actions and aspirations being thus removed from the narrow orbit of the village to the great urban centre, they bear but little attachment to the village, except the link that they have with their own family members.. Their family members who remain in the village are mainly women, minor children, and old men who cannot continue in regular employment or have retired. Their subsistence is mainly dependent upon the cash remittances that they receive from Bombay from their earning members. They do not, most of them, play any functional role in the village life. They do not form a part of the division of labour in the village. Their interests thus not being tied up with those of others as far as the division of labour in the village is concerned their relations with the others in the village are formal and are maintained for their indispensability. The old men, having spent most of their life in Bombay live by the memories of their life there. Their variegated adulthood experiences are mostly associated with their life in Bombay and thus in the evening of their life they live as though they are outsiders in the village. This coupled with the norms of formal behaviour that they have inhaled from city life has made them asocial. The young in

the village also grow up into aspirants for employment in the city as the only goal to be attained. These aspirations are inbibed and nursed as a part of their socialization process. Most of the villagers thus identify themselves with the life in the city (Bombay), those villagers who have become successful Bombaymen, in matters of cash earnings, status and wealth indices, and behaviour patterns, forming a 'reference group' for them as a model for emulation. Naturally those who remain or have to remain in the village look upon themselves as failures in the struggle for survival, survival in this case being ^{the} security of a job in Bombay. The villagers also look upon them as failures. As such they grope under the complex of frustration and inferiority and bear an attitude of apathy towards the community and its affairs around them. They probably also feel that an injustice is done to them by the society, and in the work opportunities available in the village casually, occasionally, or seasonally, they try to make good the loss they incurred in not getting a job in Bombay. This may perhaps explain the fact that people who sit idle and spend their time, the whole day, in gossip either refuse to work as casual porters against a small but reasonable cash payment or demand exorbitant payment.

The geographical isolate of the village Mithbav therefore appears to have lost significance as the territory of a 'community', and the community sentiment, we-feeling, role-feeling, and dependence-feeling, of the villagers are not associated with the village. The instrumental forces for the

life and behaviour of the villagers are exogenous in the sense that they emanate from and are related to outside situation. The behaviour patterns of the villagers, at least a majority of them, cannot be understood or explained in relation to the socio-economic context of the village but has to be viewed against the background of the external forces. The people in the village are as if groomed and supplied to the requirements of the city economy, and in return get cash rewards in wages. The village thus forms a sort of suburb of Bombay the villagers acting as seasonal or long term commuters. The social organization found in the village more resembles that of an urban fringe community.

It may not be correct however to say that on no point or social aspect in the life of the villagers do their interests converge. There are certain situations and stages where the interests of two or more persons or of the village are identical or common. Where the interests are alike there may emerge a competition or co-operation, but the latter is more resorted to when the interests are common. Bettering one's economic lot is an urge which is similar to one and all, their success depending upon a ^{number} member of other things. In the first section of the foregoing pages dealing with the economic aspect we see a number of individual attempts in bettering their economic conditions. Most of them failed not because of lack of individual initiative but because of, possibly, entrepreneurial miscalculations. When the interests clash in matters of social prestige and priority we have seen how

it led to legal suits ending in obvious detriment to the community sentiment ensuring from the fusion of interests of two reputed families. It is in the case of common interests alone we notice some kind of co-operation formal or informal. One of such formal co-operation is crystallised in the Village Panchayat, although in details of working even here clash of interests take place, or the general apathy of the villagers and their asocial attitude towards any kind of co-operative associations shows up. The Kshatrakulotpanna Samaj is another such instance of formal co-operation. Here again the failure of the undertakings may not be due to lack of co-operative spirit, as it is due to in opportune pursuits. The interests here are common only to a section of the people demarcable on a caste basis, Such other associations are the Mithbav Fishing and Trading Co-operative Society, managed by the seemingly imaginative secretary, of the Gabits, and the local development committee of the people of the north-western locality of the Katwan, divided into two villages: Mithbav and Kunakeshwar. In the history of both these associations we have noticed that the co-operative efforts have paid certain dividends.

Common interests have given rise to spontaneous and informal associations as well. The namasaptahas held by the people of the central ^(Maradia) locality of Waghoba Wadi, by the Bhandari group at Bhandarwadi, and by the Gabits at Tambaldeg are the indices of such spontaneous co-operation although based on caste. Thus while it brings together people of a

certain caste it isolates them from others. This informal solidarity is so strong that it goaded the people to boycott a particular grocer who was unwilling to release the open space centrally situated for public use.

The informal co-operation is also noticed among the families whose members are employed in Bombay. Helping one another in times of need either in terms of cash or kind, or in any other way is noticed among these people.

A major handicap for all these co-operative agencies formal or informal that are symbols of corporate living, is the fact that a majority of the youths who are the pillars of such associations ~~are~~ either migrate out to Bombay or are oriented to employment in Bombay and therefore have lost interest in the local affairs.

Another handicap, if we may so say, is the fact that there is no hierarchy of power, political or economic. The old village economy and the ceremonial hierarchy with the Brahmin at the apex and the 'untouchables' at the bottom has dwindled as is seen in the foregoing pages, but it has not been replaced by any secular hierarchy except the village Panchayat which does not hold any attraction for the villagers. On the other hand, the Panchayat members are ridiculed. The village economy at present is such that it does not allow or has not allowed concentration of economic power in any one's hands. A large number of owners of the village lands are not residents of the village. It is pertinent to note also here

that most of the villagers belong to the income group of below Rs.1500/- per annum. Both in economy and politics the village therefore lacks leadership. What little leadership operates does so for a section of them. That, given leadership, the village might embark upon remarkable improvements is seen from the record of the social worker who was for some time residing in the village. But ultimately, not being a native of the village, he was overcome by and fell a victim to the general apathy and ridicule of the people and left the village. As it is, the village shows signs of formal co-operative efforts succeeding if they pay quick and sizeable dividends. Interest in quick cash returns is ^{the} one urban trait that is conspicuous among the Mithbav people.

In short, lack of employment opportunities and secure means of livelihood in the village, migrating out to Bombay for the same, the resultant lack of interest in the village life, and the failure if any leading to frustration and apathy, and the craze for quick cash returns has had a cumulative effect on the behaviour patterns of the people. Lack of leadership has added to these.

Chapter IX

VILLAGE AGGREGATES

In this chapter we present a breakdown of the village income so as to examine the broad aggregative situation of the village and the changes therein.

Table 9.1 gives the estimates of primary production of the village for the year 1954-55 and the resurvey year. For purposes of comparison the latter are converted at constant prices. On the basis of additional information such as the number of different types of fruit trees, the rate of new plantation, we have re-estimated their production for the year 1954-55. The rate of new plantation prior to that year and the rate of yield have been taken as constant.

In the case of field crops, the estimates are based on per acre yields as given by our farm business data and the total area under cultivation as given in the village records. While incomes from cultivation in the previous section were net of major cultivations costs such as labour, seed and manure, the estimates in the table 9.1 are of a gross nature converted at harvest prices.

It may be seen that the total primary production at the resurvey year, had gone down by about 21 per cent. Production of silica sand had ceased altogether. The principal changes were the decline in the production of paddy to 70 per cent and that of fish to the 56 per cent of the 1954-55

level. These declines were in part offset by increased production of coconut and mango.

The reasons for the declines and increases have been stated. In the case of paddy, the total area under the crop had declined to 75 per cent on account of the inundation of paddy fields by tidal sea water. Added to this, the per acre yield had undergone a decline of about 13 per cent, from 833 seers to 726 seers an acre. Production of fish dwindled on account of an overall decline in equipment as already seen. A second major factor in this regard was the relative uncertainty of the occupation as reflected in the occurrence of bad seasons for three years in succession. As regards increase in production of coconut and mango, we had already seen in Chapter IV, that fresh plantations were being progressively undertaken.

Table 9.12² gives a sectorwise breakdown of incomes earned in the village. All these incomes are net of costs except those in agriculture, which are net of material inputs only. Since they include cost of labour also, labour incomes are not shown separately in the table. The incomes in agriculture are inclusive of reported income (in 1959-60) from garden produce. As stated in the earlier section, these are not included in the income from agriculture for the year 1954-55. This fact is revealed by a little detailed analysis.

The total incomes, as reported in the family schedule, in the years 1954-55 and 1959-60 (at current prices) were

Rs.4,51,000 and Rs.5,85,390 respectively. The incomes from agriculture, labour and fishing taken together, in these totals were Rs.1,93,419 and Rs.2,31,467 respectively. Thus it appears that income from these occupations in 1959-60 was higher than that in 1954-55 by Rs.38,048. On the basis of farm business data, we find that this difference is of the order of Rs.76,641.

A somewhat detailed analysis of the family schedule income reportings show that the income from agricultural labour and fishing for 1954-55 involves considerable double counting and gross receipts. Thus income was equated to gross crop receipts from agriculture; no account of expense either of material or labour was taken. At the same time agricultural labour incomes were added to this. On the other hand no account of farm yard manure, straw etc. was taken. To get at a proper income it is necessary to add such receipts and deduct the expenses due to seed, manure, labour etc. In the absence of detailed data this is not easy. However, we find that the livestock receipts and expenses broadly equate one another, leaving an estimate of about Rs.25,000 by way of other material inputs like seed, manure other than farm-yard etc. It may likewise not be far from the truth to assume the labour expenses in 1954-55 to be of the same order as in 1959-60 (the wage rates had not changed). Thus if the two costs, seed and other manure inputs and wages Rs.25,000 and Rs.45,000 respectively, are

also assumed to be the same for 1954-55, and therefore deducted from the reported income from that period, we arrive at an income for 1954-55 that is more comparable with the corresponding figures for 1959-60. The difference between the new sets of income is now Rs.108,048. This is over Rs.31,407 in excess of the difference arrived at on the basis of farm business data.

This could be due either to over-reporting of incomes in the family schedules in 1959-60 or under-reporting in 1954-55. The latter is the more likely explanation. As stated earlier, no account was taken of the income from gardens (cocomut and mango). We have estimated this income for 1954-55 to be Rs.33,802 (vide table 9.11), which fairly clearly accounts for the difference noticed above.

An additional evidence in this regard was the fact that while none in the salaried occupations had reported any incomes other than their salaries in 1954-55, they reported incomes from garden produce, to the extent of 6 to 7 per cent in 1959-60. Likewise as mentioned in Section One many of the families, entirely living on remittances, reported such incomes in 1959-60 only.

The incomes in table 9.12² are money incomes and it may be remembered that all primary production, has been converted at current prices. We had seen earlier that a large proportion of agricultural produce was home-consumed, thus depriving the producers of the rise in market prices. The

table shows the changes in the proportion of different sectoral incomes to the total income earned in the village. The distribution may be seen to have been vitiated on account of the conversion noted above. Thus we find that agricultural income amounted to 47.3 per cent in 1959-60. The absolute increase in value in this case was of the extent of 86 per cent.

In the case of other sectors, and particularly in the case of processing, trading, other professions and the salarieds, the absolute increase was of the order of 14 per cent over those in 1954-55. The abnormal increase of 33.4 per cent in the case of services was occasioned because of the reporting of incomes, such as from ceremonial music and other religious services, in 1959-60 only. Likewise increase of about 63 per cent in the last group had been mainly due to reporting of certain types of unearned incomes like land and house rents in 1959-60.

The single instance of decrease was in the case of the fishing occupation. In the absolute, the fall was of the extent 16 per cent over the 1954-55 incomes. While the proportions of incomes for different sectors changed, we find that the ranking remained substantially the same except for the alteration of places by the fishing and salaried sectors.

The changes in sectoral incomes was accompanied by changes in the number of earners in each. In Chapter III we had seen that while the number of male earners declined,

that of female earners increased on account of the two major forces of change namely the passage of time and the practice of migration. In examining the percentage change in per-operator earnings, given in table 9.³ ~~B~~, we have converted the female earners into male earners according to the ratio of wages earned by them. One female operator is considered equal to $3/4$ of a male operator. We have used this ratio for all sectors except trading, salarimates and non-productive categories for obvious reasons. In these three sectors females have been considered on par with male operators.

It may be seen that while the total income increased by 35 per cent (vide table 9.² ~~2~~), the number of earners also increased, by 6.6 per cent from 2228.0 to 2375.75 during the five-year period. As a result, we find that the increase in the average per operator income was of the extent of 26.5 per cent.

In absolute terms, the change in the average per operator income was the largest for the salarimate group followed by those in the non-productive group, other professions, services, cultivation, etc. Percentage shifts, however, indicate that the services group ranked first followed by those in cultivation, other professions, non-productive, salarimates, etc.

Finally we attempt setting down the accounts of the village as against the rest of the world. The data are partly

reported and partly estimated and may be taken to reflect the broad ranges only. Tables 9.⁴ and 9.⁵ give the visible imports and exports of the village separately for 1954-55 and 1959-60.

Some of the items included in this account need be explained. We have retained all the items estimated in the survey report except for the imports in the weekly market. A quick inquiry of an average weekly market in 1959-60 showed that sales by sellers not belonging to the village amounted to Rs.795 giving an annual ^{imports} sale of Rs.41,340 or Rs.40,000. On the basis of the population of the region served by the Mithbav weekly market, we have adjusted this to Rs.20,000, that is one-half of the annual sales, as pertaining to the village. For the year 1954-55, this ^{estimate} ~~figure~~ is deflated by the increase in the local cost of living index.

It may be seen from the tables that one of the important items of exports, namely silica sand, forming about 20.9 per cent of the total exports of the village, has disappeared because of the closure of the silica mines in the village. Likewise one of the import items, namely the imports made by trading cartmen also disappeared due to abandoning of the profession by a number of cartmen during the five-year period. Exports of fish declined because of decreased production at the second point of time. We therefore find that while the imports increased by 33.2 per cent during the five year, exports declined by about 11 per cent. As a result the pro-

portion of net imports increased from 67.3 to 78.1 per cent.

In tables 9.⁶ and 9.⁷ we give, separately for the two points of time, invisible imports and exports of the village. Apart from the direct items such as remittances received and sent, departmental receipts and payments etc. the accounts include earnings made by external agencies such as the blacksmith, barbers, masons etc. as well as external earnings made by ^{local} artisans like sutars, builders, etc. ~~per-~~ ^{belonging} ~~taining~~ to Mithav. These items are more in the nature of notional adjustments and have been estimated on the basis of scant data. Earnings of barbers, visiting the village daily have been calculated on the basis of the number of adult and non-adult males less the earnings of the resident barber. In the case of external house-building services, the earnings have been computed on the basis of proportions earned by them (vide table 5.19) and the total value of construction for the year. On the export side, the external earnings of services of resident carpenters and builders represent proportions reported by them. We have also taken into account that part of the borrowings made from outside the village. All other items have been taken from available records, revenue, post and telegraph, Gram Panchayat and school records. Salaries of teachers, primary as well as secondary, and pensions have been taken as reported. Gram Panchayat grants for 1959-60 include, apart from the usual grants, grants for development purposes also. In addition,

we have adjusted the amount of public donations and loans raised for the construction of the maternity hospital in the village. The tables show the nature of adjustments the village economy has to make to attain a balance as against the external world. It may be seen that remittances received form the principal balancing item. Over the five-year period the proportion of this item increased from 52.6 to 55.7 per cent. Other export items such as grants-in-aid to schools, pensions and Gram Panchayat grants also increased at the latter point of time. The grants-in-aid to schools increased on account of receipts of fees, of about 82 per cent of high school students, from the educational department of the State subsequent to its policy of giving free secondary education to students, the income of whose parents was less than Rs.900. As a result of these increases the net invisible exports increased from 76.8 per cent in 1954-55 to 81.8 per cent in 1959-60.

The overall balance of the economy can be seen by comparing the net visible imports with the net invisible exports. We find that the village achieved a surplus at both points of time, Rs.28,880 for 1954-55 and Rs.48,096 for 1959-60. As proportions of the total village income the net export surpluses amounted to 6.4 per cent for 1954-55 and 8.2 per cent for 1959-60.

The village accounts above are presented principally for the sake of comparison between the two situations. The

data do not include all items of imports or exports as these were not available for the survey year.

We now present, for the resurvey year, certain additional data as regards imports and proceed to reconcile the different estimates of income and consumption.

In Chapter IV, we have seen that investments of varied types were undertaken during the five years between the two surveys. In table 9.⁸~~13~~ we give an itemised list of investments undertaken at the second point of time namely 1958. Since a part of these investment had to be imported, the table also gives the import component of the investment undertaken in the year.

As denoted in the table, some of the investments are estimates. In the matter of livestock, the value represents the net of purchases and sales of cattle for the year. This information was collected by our general family schedule. The value of ploughs was calculated on the assumption that the average life of a plough was five years and the average value Rs.7.50. One-fifth of the number of ploughs reported at the resurvey point of time has been attributed to the reference year. As regards the import component of the individually owned nets, we have attributed two-thirds of the total value, on the basis of information that it represents the value of raw hemp which is purchased and brought to Mithbav from nearby villages. The value of Rapan nets represents one-third of the total value of the drag-nets. This

is based on the information that the net undergoes a complete ^{replacement} transformation during a period of three years. Estimates of petromax lamps and other durable articles of consumption represent one-fifth of the total consumer durables acquired during the period under study. In the matter of house-construction and major repairs, the value of the import component represent the estimated value of tiles which had to be imported to the village.

The list of investment and expenditure items listed in table 9.13, however, does not exhaust all the transactions that occur in a village vis-a-vis the external world. We do not have information as regards the various types of consumption goods, like cloth and medicines for example, that are taken to Mithbav by visiting emigrants. We likewise do not know the flow of such articles from Mithbav by emigrating families. Data are also not available as regards the moneys or articles brought by students who go to and stay in Mithbav for educational purposes. Purchases of gold and silver ornaments outside as well as traders' balances in banks outside the village are also not known. One of the major items not taken into consideration is the investment on breeding, i.e. growing the young stock to its working age.

It may be seen from the table that the village undertook in 1958 an investment of the value of Rs.85,357, the import component of which valued Rs.30,895. These imports

need to be adjusted in table 9.15⁵ giving the export-import account of the village in 1959-60.

After adjustment of the above imports, we find that the net import balance increases to Rs.2,69,008. Deducting this from the net export balance of Rs.2,86,209 (vide table 9.17) we get an overall export balance of Rs.17,201 only.

In village income accounting, the total village income is taken to be the sum of consumption, investment and the net export surplus. These are given below:

Estimated Village Income in 1958:

Consumption (estimated on the basis of consumption data)	Rs.5,31,439
Investment (Table 9.18)	Rs. 85,375
Export surplus	<u>Rs. 17,201</u>
Total	<u>Rs.6,33,997</u>

The total income returned by the general family schedule however was Rs.5,85,390. Estimates of incomes generated in various sectors and available to the resident families of the village came to Rs.4,22,135. Adding remittances, Rs.1,94,920, we get the gross income of the village, of Rs.6,17,055. This figure amounts to 97.30 per cent of the estimated total income given above.

The attempt to reconcile production and imports of commodities directly entering consumption and the estimates of consumption given above also brings to light certain gaps

in our data. The total available production is arrived at by subtracting the fodder component. From this we deduct the exported portion and add traders' imports as shown below:

Income (Primary) Available for Consumption

Gross production of primary commodities (table 9.11)	Rs.294,445	
<u>Less: Fodder (Paddy Straw)</u>	<u>Rs. 27,420</u>	Rs.267,025
<u>Less: exported (Table 9.15)</u>		Rs. 64,040
<u>Add: Traders' imports (table 9.15)</u>		<u>Rs.302,618</u>
Total available for consumption		Rs.505,603
Total estimated consumption		<u>Rs.531,439</u>
Deficit on Consumption Account		<u>Rs. 25,836</u>

We thus find that the income, composed of production within the village and net of imports, that was immediately available for consumption, formed 95.1 per cent of the estimated consumption. It should be noted that while the estimates of income pertained to the accounting year, namely the year 1958, the estimates of consumption were based on data collected in and pertaining to the year of survey.

Chapter X.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

In the preceding chapters, we presented data regarding the village situation at the resurvey point of time in 1959-60, with comparable data pertaining to the first survey undertaken in 1954-55. A part of our resurvey experience pertained to the methodology of village inquiries, the limitations on the comparability of resurvey data and the difficulties as regards collection and aggregation of various types of changes at the family level. These have been briefly touched upon earlier. In this chapter we attempt a brief discussion regarding the process of change that was operative in the village Mithbav during the period of five years between the two inquiries.

It has generally been seen that the village economy had remained almost unchanged during the five years. The resources, the labour^{and} the organisation of production revealed only marginal adjustments, which normally occur over a period of time. The overall situation of no-change at the village-end may therefore be kept in view during the following discussion. The discussion is largely based on the minor evidences of change.

The facts of change, as revealed by our data, fall into two categories. Firstly there were the short-period changes, incidental to the resurvey year, 1959-60. It has been seen that the village had to contend with two sets of circumstances affecting the agriculture/and the fishing sectors. Inundation of rice-fields by tidal water resulted in lowering the production of paddy. Likewise a bad season coupled with the development of scarcity conditions in the availability of raw hemp

brought down the production of fish for the year. The unfavourable seasons affected the coast for three successive years and resulted in a decline in the capital holding and in particular the holding of boats, by compelling the fishermen to postpone the annual replacements and repairs. The increased non-availability of hemp also resulted in a decline in the net holding by individual fishing families. A further effect of the two circumstances was the emigration of a few working fishermen of more advanced ages to Bombay in search of employment.

The second category of change belonged to the variety that indicated adjustments of more fundamental nature and often a suggested ^a trend. While such changes could be only indicated, evidence as regards their long-period effect or occurrence is not available since we did not collect year-to-year data for the intervening five years.

The principal change that occurred at Mithbav during the five years was the strengthening of the practice of emigration. The practice of emigration was already established at the time of our first inquiry. Our task was therefore to see if the practice had gathered strength over the period or had weakened.

It has been mentioned that the practice of emigration for seeking employment was the economic necessity of the village with limited resources that could not sustain the growing population. The need for emigration was present at the both the points of our inquiry also. Other things remaining unchanged, the data at the resurvey point of time should have revealed a constant proportion of emigrants.

That the proportion had increased indicates that the village had to contend against, apart from the earlier constraint of limited resources, a different set of circumstances. The fact of emigration of working fishermen of more advanced ages consequent to the scarcity of hemp explains only a small part of the increase in emigration.

The single major circumstance that affected the whole village was the general rise in the price level. We have noted that rise in the local cost of living was not commensurate with the increase in locally earned incomes in that a large part of the principal produce of paddy did not enter the market. We have also seen that the prices of other produce like coconuts, mangoes etc. remained unchanged. The level of wages were also largely unchanged. The increase in the general level of incomes came about on account of the increase in remittances sent to the village. While we have no data to establish that the increase in remittances had occurred specifically owing to increase in the local cost of living, indications available at the village-end showed that the opposite was largely true. Relatively more people emigrated because living costs had increased and they could not be sustained on the incomes available within the village in addition to remittances.

The specific indications that suggested the above were in themselves small in magnitude. We have noted that the rates of inputs such as seed, manure and labour in agriculture declined at the latter point of time. The proportion of hired labour in the total per-acre labour inputs were also seen to have

declined. This coupled with the observed movement away from agriculture pointed to the fact that the increase in the cost of living cut into the resources earmarked for agriculture. It is known that traditional techniques of production became obsolete owing to the disruption of the cost pattern because of a rise in prices. The effect at Mithbav was that more persons emigrated. It may therefore be noted that the increase in emigration during the five years was mainly due to the aggravated economic situation precipitated by ~~on account of~~ the general rise in prices.

It is difficult to identify the force of change since the process of change is self-generating and multi-causal. It may be shown that the resources remaining the same, the changes in different sectors and the village as a whole, occurred because of the two more fundamental forces of change namely that of natural growth and the increase in the price level. However fundamental, they need not be identified as such in the context of our surveys. Our objective was to study the changes that occurred during the short period of five years only. We therefore note that the ^{increased} practice of emigration was the major cause of the complex pattern of changes that were revealed at the second point of inquiry.

The practice of emigration may indeed be categorised as the principal stabilising force of change according to our data. We have seen that it had operated as a corrective for the maintenance of the standards of consumption when the village accounts showed a greater deficit due to the rise in the cost of living. The quantum of remittances increased, their proportion to the village income increasing from 28 to 33 per cent.

In specific terms, we have seen, that about 60 per cent of the new earners entering the working force during the period had left the village. In addition about 17 per cent of the total number of earners at the earlier point of time had emigrated for employment outside the village.

A majority of the smaller adjustments in different sectors can be attributed to emigration either directly or indirectly. It was causal in maintaining the status-quo in the organisational relationship in different sectors by taking away the removeable surplus of labour which was constantly being reinforced by natural growth. In its indirect effects, we have seen that it was on account of emigration primarily that the village had extensive educational facilities, had come to use more modern amenities of life, like stoves, watches, etc.

In principal, the effort to identify a force of change should be made by its effects on the attitudes and aspirations of the people, who are the prime decision-makers. Living at a subsistence level and depending, to a significant extent, on the remittances sent by their emigrants, the people of Mithbav had become highly conscious of their standards of living. They sent their children to school regularly in order to give them a minimum equipment for life in Bombay. The education, in many cases, directly helped the emigrants in getting jobs.

Emigration also brought about a high degree of monetization at the village-end. People were particularly conscious of cash incomes and cash outlays. Both our surveys indicated that preference was given to work which gave quick returns in cash.

A bunding scheme, originally requested for by the people themselves, was later on refused because the State Government in undertaking the scheme, declared a small cash levy on the owners of the affected piece of land.

Finally emigration was causal in enlarging the mental horizons of the people. The people had definite ideas regarding the amenities of better-living, the concepts of better-living being initially borrowed from the urban city of Bombay. Thus we find that a number of schemes such as roads, a maternity hospital, a permanent bridge, more medical equipment etc. were undertaken by the Panchayat during the period. It is significant to note that a little over one-fourth of the total expenditure on the above was contributed by the people voluntarily. The preference shown for the more refined work rendered by the visiting masons is also indicative of the above.

We shall denote certain other changes that occurred at Mithbav during the period. In each case, the immediate cause ascribable to the change was other than emigration. In the first instance, we have seen that one of the carpenters had installed a mechanical saw. The technological innovation was presumably a result of the untimely death of some of the working carpenters, which reduced the supply of skilled workers. The significant fall in the supply of carpenters at the time of the resurvey as well as in the immediate future created a situation which pointed towards the importation, sooner or later, of some mechanical innovation that would fill in 'the gap'. The mechanical saw came to be installed a little earlier owing

to certain immediate fortuitous circumstances pertaining to the year only.

Secondly we have seen that the plantation industry had shown an upward trend. It had been debated in the village for a number of years whether under the circumstances, it was not the only way out. All the land that could be put under field crops and mainly paddy, had already been done. The village had a single kharif crop, double-cropping having been rendered impossible owing to the absence of water at subsoil levels. The only direction in which efforts at increasing production at the village-end could be undertaken, was to bring under plantation the slopes of the central hill range and the uncultivable waste which almost grew nothing.

The slow pace of this activity however was due to certain attitudes of the people of the village. The activity meant waiting till the plants became fruit-bearing. And those who undertook plantation were not sure if their successive generations would stay in the village to reap the benefits. Most of the plantations were undertaken by old or retired people who had come to stay in the village for good. The younger people, those that were schooling or those that had completed some stage of education, generally aspired for a job at Bombay, which at the village-end acquired a prestige value.

In the third instance, we have noted that the profession of carting was being given up progressively. To a significant extent this was a result of the penetration of trucks in the interior. According to the reports of carters in the village,

the profession was being abandoned, in the immediate instance, because of absence of capital or the opportunities to raise capital for purposes of repairs and replacements. In addition, the difficulty was enhanced since the enactment of the tenancy legislation which lay down a list of priorities as to whom a man could sell his land. While earlier, the carters could raise capital by either selling or mortgaging land, they could no longer do so. In addition it may also be recalled that the Panchayat had undertaken the construction of roads, inclusive of the extension of the main approach road till the ferry in the south. The truck could reach more interior places as result of these improvements. A part of the demand for carting was thus taken off.

To sum up the situation at the point of resurvey, it may be said that the village economy was employing its only tool of adjustment in an effort to maintain its standards of consumption against rising prices. It had found it necessary to strengthen its practice of exporting a part of its labour and so to increase its dependence on the outside world. The ^{only} changes that could be expected to have longer-term effects and as such secular in nature, were the three mentioned above, namely, the introduction of new technology, the stepping up of the plantation activity and the decline in carting.

In the particular context of Mithbav, however, the above changes, which are themselves subject to the overall constraints of the region such as the absence of personnel, capital and the market, have limited predictability. We have already seen that

the efforts of the two persons, the cultivator who experimented with the Japanese method of rice cultivation and the manager of the silica mines, had to be abandoned owing to the development of circumstances which could not have been foreseen at the first point survey. It may, therefore, be noted that the degree of predictability depends largely on the type of the village complex under study and its characteristic responses to change generated from outside. According to our understanding of the village, any attempt to improve its circumstances, appear to point towards increasing the equipment of the emigrants by providing more varied and higher technical instruction in order to make them more readily acceptable in the employment market at Bombay and other developing industrial centres, and secondly the provision of more secure employment and urban amenities within the region, by means of electrification, starting of industries, better transport facilities etc.