

BHADKAD

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF A VILLAGE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

(1915 AND 1955)

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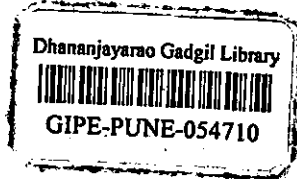
THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

BOMBAY 1.

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE FIRST SURVEY

The first survey of Bhadkad village was conducted in 1914-1918. The background under which this survey was undertaken forms necessarily an integral part of the narration. Though it would mean the recording of incidents of more or less a personal nature, it seems such a narration is essential in writing the history of the Bhadkad survey. The genesis of the first survey of Bhadkad dates back to the year 1912 when I submitted my report on "Agricultural Indebtedness in the Baroda State". On the basis of this report, the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad III, Ruler of Baroda (the Former Princely State) felt that much light needs to be thrown on the life and living conditions of the people. He therefore expressed a desire that Government should undertake socio-economic studies of the population residing in different parts of the State. He also suggested that a beginning in this direction could be made by taking up a sociological study of the servants of the Khangi Department (Household Department) of the Maharaja. Later, a village in the Savli or the Petlad Taluka should be undertaken for a detailed socio-economic study.

Accordingly, the sociological study of the servants of the Maharaja's household numbering about 926 was made by me in co-operation with Rao Bahadur Govindbhai Desai, the then Naib Dewan and Dr. Mayer, the Chief Medical Officer of the State. This survey was very comprehensive covering almost every aspect of the life of the servants—their economic, social and family life. Besides, a thorough medical examination of all the persons was also conducted as part of the study. This report was submitted in the year 1914 when the Maharaja desired me to undertake a village survey with special emphasis on the study of the living conditions and food habits of the people.

For this purpose, Bhadkad, a village in the Petlad Taluka of the Baroda District was selected. There were two reasons for its selection: firstly, Bhadkad was a village which was not influenced by the impact of urbanisation, and secondly we were promised all possible local help from the late Motibhai N. Amin, the father of the old Baroda Library Movement. Shri Amin promised us to get the help of his old pupils in collecting information. Two forms were prepared for the survey—one a General Form intended for the entire village and the second an Individual Form intended for each family to be investigated. It was our desire to collect information on practically all householders residing in the village. So we collected information on

all the 356 households in the village. The Government Departments like Agriculture, Revenue, Sanitation, also rendered all possible help. In conducting this survey, an attempt was made to cover almost every important aspect of the life of the people including even their social customs. In fact, we also thought of carrying out medical examination of the people on the lines on which some of the servants of the Khangi Department were examined. But this had to be omitted because we felt that the people here especially women would not readily submit to such an examination. In other respects, however, the survey was as complete as our knowledge on this subject then went. The Revenue Officer, the late Raja Ratna Sevklal Dalsukhbhai was actively associated with the first survey from its very beginning, and also worked as the special duty officer, in charge of Bhadkad Survey during the last year of the survey.

It is necessary to emphasise that at that time we had hardly any scientific surveys of this nature which could serve as a guide to us. Hence we thought the survey could be made comprehensive by including as many subjects as possible. Thus, it took us a fairly long time to complete the study and prepare a report.

It must be said that the people in the village offered their whole-hearted co-operation in the conduct of the survey. Mr. Himchandbhai, then a young man from the village, gave us two very interesting studies ; one, on the food habits of the people of various castes and on various occasions ; and the second, on what is called the crop-sharing system, i.e., the customary share in agricultural produce given to various craftsmen and village servants—such as Brahmins, carpenters, smiths, village watchman, and others—as a return in kind of the services they render to the farmers during the year. In addition to these studies, the revenue officer prepared a statement of the fragmentation of all the holdings in the village.

On the eve of the completion of the survey and when I was about to prepare the report, I was appointed as the Member-Secretary of a committee appointed to study the economic conditions of the people of the Baroda State in general. Thereafter, I had to go on long leave and thus my desire of preparing the report remained unfulfilled. The papers containing the investigation data and information, however, remained with me intact, and as I moved from one department to another, the thought of finishing the report was always in my mind, but it seems the right opportunity never came till I retired from the service.

THE RESURVEY

As President of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, looking at the original survey at this point of time, I felt that a resurvey of the village should be very useful. Such a resurvey after about 40 years, would give ample scope for gauging the progress of the village during the last four decades. The possession of papers of

the first survey was itself a unique opportunity in that we could have a picture of the village at that point of time. Only the papers relating to two special investigations viz. one on the crop-sharing system and the other on the fragmentation of holdings referred to above and some other statements were not with me. They were given to some one for publication and were never returned. However, some information about the crop-sharing system could be gathered from one of the 13 case studies conducted along with the main survey. A copy of this case study which is of special interest is attached to the report as it gives an interesting life study of a man in the lower grade of social life. It represents a customary system where payments were made in kind for services rendered during the year.

For the resurvey, we engaged the services of Shri Natvarlal Sevaklal Parikh who is well acquainted with the conditions in the rural areas of Gujarat and appointed him Research Officer, in charge of Bhadkad Survey. Bearing in mind the nature of the data and materials, as also the methods of the first survey, he collected, as far as possible similar information on more or less the same lines for the second survey so that it may be possible to obtain a comparative view. He made a socio-economic survey of the whole village consisting of all families therein.

The main and complete report of this survey is prepared in Gujarati. It is rather a big volume but contains a detailed record of social and economic conditions and changes in the village. It was thought advisable to prepare a summarised version of the report in English. This summary outlines the major findings of the two surveys and presents a fairly comparative view of the conditions of the village during two points of time namely, 1915 and 1955. The English report is drafted by Shri Natvarlal Parikh and is finalised by Shri S. Thirumalai, Research Officer of the Society.

While in the first survey, emphasis was primarily on the economic aspects of the village, in the resurvey an attempt has been made to present an analysis of the social aspects also. It is necessary to stress the impact of social conditions on the economic factors, especially in a country like ours where the influence of caste and creed is still not very inconsiderable. In the resurvey, we have, therefore, looked into all aspects of rural life—economic, social, cultural and religious—and have examined the economic data in the background of sociological conditions. This broadening of the compass of the resurvey is also applicable to some of the economic aspects, inasmuch as data on items like Housing and Clothing, which were not touched upon in the original survey, have been collected in the resurvey. Another interesting feature of the resurvey was that a regular house-to-house 'census' was taken of all households in the village and thus it has been possible to collect certain basic data pertaining to all families in the village. Naturally, at the time of the resurvey, schedules have also been revised and certain new features have been introduced.

This summary provides rich material in relation to aspects of considerable general interest such as the socio-economic characteristics of the village, its occupational structure, occupational mobility, growth of population and its impact on the development of the village, housing and employment, etc. As far as I am aware, such resurvey of a village is perhaps the first of its kind in Gujarat and it enables us to have an insight into problems confronted by a typical village during the process of growth over the last four decades.

SOME REVELATIONS

Many of the results revealed by this resurvey appear to have significance for the village economy in India in general. I may draw attention to what appear to me to be the more important of these.

It appears remarkable that in spite of the population growth of nearly 25 per cent during the last 40 years, the occupational structure of the village has not undergone any material change. Agriculture and other allied pursuits continue to be the mainstay of the village economy. Opportunities for non-agricultural employment show a definite decline with the extinction of some of the hereditary occupations of village artisans and craftsmen. This growing pressure of population on land resources has resulted in the predominance of small holdings which are on the increase. The bright side of the picture is that yields of crops show a slight improvement due to the relatively increasing use of manure and provision of irrigation facilities, through the installation of oil engines. The oil engines are symbolic of the technical improvements that the villages are now ushering in.

In regard to non-agricultural avenues of employment, the number of families employed totally or partially in village industries has decreased from 48 to 27, or by 41 per cent. This indicates that Bhadkad is no exception to the general trend of disintegration of the village economy and languishing of village industries in the country.

The decline in the number of money-lenders in the village from 63 in 1914 to nil in 1955 appears to be more apparent than real. Under the recent legislation, open money-lending on a legalised basis has almost disappeared. Unofficially, credit continues to be disbursed, possibly with the same unfair practices and exorbitant rates of interest. The total debt has increased in proportions during this period. The money-lending classes especially the Baniyas are practically disappearing. Among the merchant classes only a few shop-keepers have remained.

As open money-lending has disappeared in the village, it is reasonable to expect that the Co-operative Society, started in 1913, should have fulfilled the expectation of the sponsors. However, an examination of the conditions of the Society during the period 1951-55 presents a picture which is in sharp contrast to its initial, remarkable progress

in membership and sound position in financial results. In recent years, the Society which showed so healthy trends of development during the period 1913-17 is showing definite signs of decadence. Lack of proper local leadership and intelligent departmental guidance may be said to be at the root of its moribund condition.

The same trend is also visible in the working of Panchayat—another potent village institution. At the time of the first survey, the Panchayat was a live body, its members taking a keen interest not merely in the routine work but also in developmental programmes of the village such as the construction and repair of the village Chora, roads, Dharma Shala and in measures for improving sanitation, etc. It has now lost much of its vitality and as an officer of the District Local Board admitted, neither its members nor the villagers take any interest in its work. Many of the urgent needs of the village like water-logging in the *Sim* area have remained unattended to. Here again, lack of leadership has been responsible for turning it into a moribund institution. The co-operative spirit that expressed itself so forcefully among the village people formerly has practically disappeared now. The zeal and initiative with which the village people worked as one solid team are today absent. Guidance from higher local self-government institutions also seems to be lacking.

In spite of the facilities of medical relief provided by the opening of a dispensary in the village, the health conditions have remained the same. Malaria is extensively prevalent in the village. As for sanitation, the old Baroda Government maintained some sort of sweepers' service as part of the village administration. Now this function has been entrusted to the Village Panchayat which has neither funds to provide even a shadow of the old service nor the zest for carrying on the functions. Thus the roads and surroundings are left unattended to. There are hardly any private latrines. People use the open grounds surrounding the village.

In the matter of housing, a healthy trend is visible. The recently constructed houses show an unmistakable trend towards better houses, with more air and light and in some cases with separate kitchen and bathrooms.

In the sphere of literacy and education, there is a comparative improvement. Increasing use is being made of facilities afforded by the Library and Reading Room.

In regard to the incomes of rural families, the study has revealed some significant trends. While the percentage of "surplus" families, in the sense of families having income higher than expenditure, have increased, "deficit" families, in the sense of families having expenditure higher than income, have decreased during the course of these 40 years. There has also been an upward movement of families from lower to higher income-groups. The chronic poverty and indebted-

ness that appeared in the first survey has undergone a change for the better. The main cause for this improved level of incomes is the rise in prices during the period.

In the consumption habits of some families, the food components seem to have changed for better and expenditure on items such as tea and clothing have shown an upward trend. But in a majority of cases of the people in the lower grades, most of them live at a low subsistence level.

On the social side, the study has many important points to make. While caste rigidities in respect of inter-dining and inter-marriage still persist among the majority, there is evidence of relaxation of other external formalities connected with social contacts amongst castes. There is comparatively greater inter-mingling among the population. Most of the old social and religious customs and prejudices are losing their importance though they persist in varying degrees with different sections.

Thus a comparative review of the socio-economic conditions of the village in the first survey period and in the resurvey period goes to show that progress in development either in the economic sphere or in the field of social change has been visible though slow. The survey illustrates clearly the factors that resist development and the effects of piece-meal changes in the traditional institutions without properly conceived substitute organisations to replace them.

The purpose of this survey will be largely fulfilled if it goes to underline the importance of such resurveys both for purposes of concretely visualising the problems and process of growth and also for providing sufficient empirical material for framing of practical programmes. In such resurveys it is hardly necessary to emphasise the need for obtaining intensive case-studies. The latter alone can throw light on the intricate factors of economic growth and retrogression in the families or house-holds which constitute the units of village life and economy.

NEED FOR STUDY

I also take this opportunity to indicate the need for study of what can be broadly termed "urbanisation" in this part of Gujarat. Gujarat and Saurashtra offer an illustration of a distinct type of urbanisation. Though in this region there may not be any single centre of high-pitched economic activity such as Bombay, for instance, there is wider dispersal of urban units with higher productivity enterprises and these have had a very salutary effect on the rural economy of the region. Bhadkad forms a part of this progressive *Charotar* area of Gujarat. In this area, there is a chain of small towns viz., Bhadrans, Dharmaj, Sojitra, Vaso, Karamsad, etc. These townships are very well-developed almost on the lines of modern urban centres. That

is evident from the number and types of various institutions that have sprung up, for instance, in two of the townships viz., Bhadran and Vaso. The leading community of this region—Patidars—have shown a remarkable civic sense and have been able to develop institutions of every type—educational, civic, and conomic. Interestingly enough, the impacts of urbanisation have not percolated to the smaller villages around this chain of townships. This is visible even in the case of Bhadkad which is so near to an industrial centre, Petlad, where there are cotton mills and dyeing factories etc. Anand, where a flourishing dairy industry is located, is also not far from Bhadkad. In spite of this nearness, it is not clear, at any rate, at first sight, why villages like Bhadkad remain isolated. It is, therefore, felt that if a special study of this peculiar type of urbanisation is carried out, it would yield useful results. This becomes especially important in the context of the emphasis placed on decentralisation. The rural university of Vallabh Vidyanagar nearby seems to be the most suitable institution to undertake such studies.

21st October, 1957.

MANILAL B. NANAVATI
President.

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Shri J. M. Nanavati from the Society's office corrected the proofs and saw the book through the Press.

M. B. DESAI,
Hon. Secretary.

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CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND POPULATION

LOCATION

Bhadkad is a village situated in the north of the Petlad Taluka of Kaira District which is in the centre of Gujarat in Bombay State. It is bounded by the villages of Deva and Bantwa of the Petlad Taluka, on the east and south respectively, and the villages of Khandhali and Laval in the Matar Taluka on the north and Nandoli and Dethali on the west. It is only about 2 miles from the railway station of Deva on the Bhadrans-Nadiad line which connects all main lines of the Railways. Deva is about 12 miles both from Nadiad on one side and Petlad on the other. The village is also within easy access of the other railway stations of Sojitra, Vaso, Dabhau and Malataj.

It is not known when the village was originally settled for habitation. Only the history of the settlement in the village of the Patidar inhabitants, the most important section of the village community, is on record. The record is in the form of '*chopdas*' (diaries) written in hand and preserved by the Barots who are a caste by themselves. The members of this caste who specifically attach themselves to particular families and practice the profession of chronicling the main events in these families, are called '*Vahi Vanchas*' (Record Keepers). The profession has become hereditary and the '*Vahi Vanchas*' receive a fixed fee for this work from their clients. From a record of one such Chopda of the Barots, it is known that the forefathers of some of the Patidar inhabitants first spread into Prabhas Patan, Gokul, Mathura, Vrindavan and later on to Adalaj, and then migrated to Bhadkad in the Hindu-Vikram year 656 (600 A.D.). The record also shows that these families went back to Adalaj after 300 years and again resettled in Bhadkad in the Hindu-Vikram year 1252 (1196 A.D.). The reason for the *enbloc* migration of the families is not known. The yearly records of the settlement of the village show the enterprising spirit of the Patidars who were a socially mobile population. It is recorded that Dharamsi (Dharmashree) who was the first Patidar to resettle in Bhadkad made a pilgrimage to the distant Banaras, convened a meeting of his caste people, held a grand dinner party, and spent lavishly in constructing bathing places and distributing presents, etc. His family *Vahi Vancha* also received the present of a chariot with a pair of bullocks.

TABLE I
Population by Castes

Caste	Men		Women		Total		Families		Percentage of families	
	1915	1955	1915	1955	1915	1955	1915	1955	1915	1955
	Brahmin	8	18	14	14	22	32	10	7	2	2
Barot	1		1		2		1			
Valshya	47	21	49	15	96	36	23	8	0	2
Lohana		11		14		25		5		1
Patidar	212	258	164	191	376	444	113	95	34	27
Garasia	5	11	5	4	10	15	8	8		
Sadhu	0	8	1	8	7	6	8	2		
Gosal		8		2		5		8		
Rabari	18	11	18	15	20	26	0	4	1	1
Goldsmith	1				1		1			
Potter	8	3	4	3	7	0	2	1		
Carpenter	2	2	4	1	6	3	3	2		
Blacksmith	0	4	10	3	19	7	0	2		
Tailor	1		2		3		2			
Barber	11	30	7	19	18	49	5	8	1	
Baria		300		254		554		182		38
Gola		2		2		4		1		
Ravalia		11		8		19		5		
Bhol		12		8		20		5		
Shoemaker		3		2		5		1		
Vaghari		10		5		15		3		
Dhed	57	52	52	53	109	105	22	20	0	7
Chamar		1		1		2		1		
Bhangi		26		26		52		10	8	8
Muslim	20	28	20	18	40	46	17	18		
Fakir		9		18		22		6		0
Vora		8		10		18		2		
Christian		2		1		3		1		
Baria-Pagi		214		187		401		124		
Raval-Bhol										
Chamar-Mochi-Bhayi		37		20		57		14		
Barias-Pagis									34	
Others									18	11

POPULATION

The total population of Bhadkad was 1,516 in 1955. Of these, 832 were men and 684 women. In 1913, the year of the first survey, the total population of the village was 1,218 of which 658 were men and 560 were women. Thus in 40 years, the population of Bhadkad has increased by 298 persons or 25 per cent. This gives an annual rate of increase of about half a per cent. It is also interesting to note that there is a significant increase in the excess of men over women from 98 to 148.

The number of families in Bhadkad has decreased from 356 in 1913 to 345 in 1955. This may be either due to the complete extinction of families or the migration of some families to other places for occupational or social reasons. The number of families that has migrated is about 31. Some have left for other places in Gujarat and some to distant places within as well as outside India, such as Africa. These families visit the village occasionally.

The classification of the village population according to religion in the two survey periods is as follows:—

Population according to Religion

Year	Hindus (including Jains)	Muslims	Christians	Total
1955 ...	1480	86	—	1516
1915 ...	1116	40	8	1218

An analysis of the data shows that there has been an increase in the number of Hindus by 314 and Muslims by 37. The significant fact is that the Christian families have altogether left the village.

From an analysis of the population by caste in the two survey periods (Table No. 1), it is found that Barias form about 36 per cent of the population. Next to Barias are the Patidars who form about 29 per cent of the population. The Dheds follow with 6 per cent while the Muslims, Fakirs and Voras together form 5 per cent.

Out of 345 families, 115 families belong to the higher castes—the Brahmins, Vaishyas, Lohanas and Patidars—forming about one-third or 33 per cent of the total families in the village.

During the first survey also, the Barias together with Pagies etc., were the largest caste-group in the village. Next came Patidars who were 30 per cent of the total population. Dheds formed 8 per cent and Mochi, Bhangi, Chamar together made up 5 per cent. The percentage of Muslims and Fakirs was 4.

The percentage of higher caste families to the number of total families in the village was 41 in the first survey report. Generally the pattern of caste-composition of the population has not changed significantly. Some of the changes noted are that: (1) the families of Barots, Goldsmiths, Tailors, and Christians who were residents of the village during the first survey have left the village; (2) the families of Brahmins, Patidars, Garasias, Sadhus, Gosais, Rabaries, Barbers, Muslims, Fakirs, Voras (together) have increased. Vaishyas together with Lohanas, Potters, Carpenters and Blacksmiths have decreased; and (3) although the Brahmins and Patidars have increased in population, there has been a decrease in the number of their families.

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES AND ORGANISATION

LAND AREA

The total land area of the village is 2,093 acres. Out of this, the cultivable land is 1,950 acres. The land area is under four main types of soil, 43 per cent of the land being under goradu (yellow), 45 per cent under retar (sandy), 11 per cent under besar (brown), and 1 per cent black. The analysis of the soil made in 1915 is given in Table No. 2.

TABLE II
Soil Analysis : 1915

Sr. No.	Substance	Percentage			
		Goradu	Sandy	Besar	Black
1.	Finest Silt	5.35	2.91	4.10	9.00
2.	Fine Silt	5.27	3.50	5.10	4.74
3.	Medium Silt	3.56	2.20	3.18	5.16
4.	Coarse Silt	14.00	10.71	15.98	17.19
5.	Fine sand	60.89	6.84	64.48	54.52
6.	Coarse sand	10.50	12.84	7.26	8.89
7.	Loss on ignition	5.76	3.88	4.40	11.12
8.	Sand	86.06	89.76	7.68	75.64
9.	Lime	0.38	0.38	0.28	0.07
10.	Nitrogen	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05
11.	Potash	0.50	0.44	0.34	0.73
12.	Phosphoric Acid	0.13	0.09	0.11	0.14

Goradu land has suitable proportion of clay and is good for almost all *Jarayal* and *Bagayat* crops like kodra, bavta, tuvar, cotton, sugarcane and wheat. If this land is turned to Kyari, it will yield rice also in good quantity. Sandy land has greater proportion of sand, is comparatively inferior for cultivation and gives low yield of crops. Generally, juwar, bavta and miscellaneous grains are grown in this type of land. In besar land the proportion of clay is still higher and as the retentiveness of moisture in this land is greater, kodra, jowar, bavta, paddy and cotton can be grown. Black soil also has a high proportion of clay and is good for cultivation of cotton. It can also be utilised for winter crops such as wheat, gram etc. Paddy also can be grown in this land if adequate watering is arranged.

RAINFALL AND IRRIGATION

There is no facility for the recording of rainfall in the village. Therefore, the position has to be inferred from the trend in the Petlad

Taluka as a whole. During the period 1906 to 1915, the maximum recorded rainfall in the Taluka was 44" and the minimum was 25". Between 1915 and 1955, the maximum was 49" and the minimum, 15". The average annual rainfall for the area is 29".

The rains usually commence in the first or second fortnight of June, and end towards the close of September or the beginning of October. During this period, rainfall is not continuous; it breaks off several times for days, a week or even more.

Wells

During the second survey there were 72 wells—26 "pucca" brick ones and 46 "cuchcha"—as against 61 wells—44 pucca and 17 cuchcha in 1915; most of the cuchcha wells have either fallen down, or are in a dilapidated condition. Among the pucca wells, only 7 are in good condition and in use. The diameter of the wells is from 6 to 9 feet and the level of water is at about 45 feet from the ground or top. In winter the water level is about 10 to 15 feet deep. In 5 wells water is 1 "kos", that is not more than what can be drawn out by only one pair of bullocks. Again in 5 out of these 7, water is brackish. In the period of the previous survey, water in the wells was at a level of about 30 to 40 feet from ground surface or top, and was about 10 to 20 feet deep inside. Most of the wells had brackish water. The increase in the number of wells is 18 per cent. but pucca wells have decreased by 40 per cent.

Mode of Irrigation

In two of these wells oil engines are used for irrigation purposes. The water is sold to customers, during breaks in the monsoon and in winter. The area of land irrigated with this pump-water varies from year to year. The exact area under irrigation has not been recorded regularly but in the period of the previous survey in one particular year about 55 bighas of land are shown in the record as under irrigation. It may be noted that there were no oil engines at this time. Regarding the area under irrigation for the second period of the survey no estimate was available from official records, but there were two oil engines which were used for purposes of irrigation. The major portion of the irrigated area was only by one oil engine out of these two. Therefore, from the income statistics given by the proprietors of this oil engine it can be roughly estimated that the minimum area irrigated was about 200 bighas and the maximum was about 600 bighas. That indicates the improvement in facilities of irrigation provided by the installation of oil engines. This has considerably benefited agriculture.

HOLDINGS AND TENURE

Of the cultivable area, 1,292 acres are Sarkari and 618 acres are Barkhali. This area is comprised in 449 khatas (holdings)—as against

288 khatas in the previous survey. The average acreage per khata is now 4 as against 6 in the previous survey. With the increase in population, the average land per capita has also decreased to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres from $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The comparative position of the khatas is given in Table No. 3.

TABLE III
Land Holdings According to Size

Year	Size in Acres	Number	Year	Size in Bighas*	Number
1955	1 to 5	316	1915	1 to 5	172
	5 to 25	128		5 to 25	141
	25 to 100	10		25 to 100	14
	100 to 500	—		100 to 500	1
		449			288

* The size of holdings for the previous survey is in terms of bighas.
1 bigha = 10/17 acre.

An analysis of the size of the khatas during the two periods of survey discloses that the khatas of smaller size have increased while those of larger size have decreased. The overall position of the khatas shows that Bhadkad is a village of small peasant proprietors.

The classification of khatas on the basis of land revenue assessment (Table No. 4) shows that khatas with land revenue upto Rs. 5 and those with Rs. 5 to 20 have increased about double the previous number; there has been a decrease by about half in khatas assessed for revenue from Rs. 20 to 100. Those assessed for Rs. 100 to 500 have gone down by about 75 per cent. This corroborates the fact that small khatas have increased and large khatas have decreased.

TABLE IV
Holdings by Assessment

Land Revenue	Number of Khatas	
	1915	1955
Up to Rs. 5	188	52
Rs. 5 to Rs. 20	268	107
Rs. 20 to Rs. 100	43	108
Rs. 100 to Rs. 500	5	21
	449	288

The caste-wise classification of the khatas (Table No. 5), indicates a significant increase in the khatas held by Patidars and Barias whereas the khatas held by Brahmins have decreased by about more than half. In the case of others, the variation has been slight. About 31 khatas are held by women.

TABLE V
Khatas by Caste

Sr. No.	Castes	1915	1955
1.	Brahmin	21	8
2.	Tapodhan	1	1
3.	Barot	3	1
4.	Vaishya	5	3
5.	Lohana	2	5
6.	Patidar	188	220
7.	Garasia	20	28
8.	Baria	60	128
9.	Rabari	1	2
10.	Luhar	1	4
11.	Salat	1	—
12.	Potter	1	1
13.	Gardener	—	—
14.	Barber	4	5
15.	Ravnla	2	3
16.	Sadhu-Veragi	2	2
17.	Gosai	1	2
18.	Bhoi	—	3
19.	Dhed	1	10
20.	Bhangi	3	3
21.	Shoemaker	1	2
22.	Chamar	—	—
23.	Muslim	9	14
24.	Fakir	1	3
25.	Vora	1	1
		288	449

Land Held by Outsiders

125 khatas extending over 442 acres belong to owners who do not live in the village. The number of khātas owned by residents of Bhadkad is 324 comprising 1,518 acres. The average area of land per khata of residents of Bhadkad is 4 acres and the average per capita area is 1 acre. Most of the outside khatedar live in villages not very far from Bhadkad.

Outside Tenants

About 65 tenants living outside Bhadkad cultivate about 285 acres of land in Bhadkad. These tenants live in the villages near Bhadkad. 10 inhabitants of Bhadkad cultivate about 15 acres of land situated in other villages.

Cultivation by Self and by Tenants

Out of 1,950 acres of land, about 1,430 acres are cultivated by occupants themselves and 520 acres are cultivated by tenants, mostly on the Bhag system. The percentage of self-cultivated land is 73, while that of tenant-cultivated land is 27. The comparative percentages in 1915 were 58 and 42 respectively. This shows that land cultivated by occupants has increased, while land cultivated by tenants has decreased.

In the Bhag system, the occupant takes from the tenant, one-half of the monsoon crop and one-third of the winter crop. The land revenue is paid by the occupant. Some of the well placed occupants give manure free to the tenants. The expenses of cultivation are borne by the tenant. Generally the lease is entered into on oral contract. The land leased on cash rent also is negligible; cash rent per acre varies from Rs. 30 to 50, according to the quality and other factors of land situation. Formerly, it varied from Rs. 7 to 27.

Land Revenue Assessment

The average rate of land revenue per acre is Rs. 4-5-7 for Sarkari (Government land) and Rs. 2-11-0 for Barkhali land. The total land revenue of Bhadkad is Rs. 7,768-3-3 out of which Rs. 6,026-12-0 are from Sarkari land and Rs. 1,741-7-3 from Barkhali land. During the first survey, the amount of land revenue was Rs. 10,281-0-0. (Sarkari, Rs. 4,997-0-0; Barkhali, Rs. 5,284-0-0).

Local Fund Cess

Government also collects local cess from occupants at the rate of 3 annas per rupee of land revenue. At this rate the total amount is :

Land Revenue	...	Rs.	7,768-3-3
Local Cess	...	Rs.	1,447-6-9
			Rs. 9,215-10-0

Arrears of Land Revenue

During the first survey amount of arrears of land revenue was Rs. 3,951, while during the second survey it was only Rs. 54-11-6. The improvement in collections is largely due to absence of famine conditions, good crops, favourable prices and greater strictness in the realisation of revenue. This may also be partly due to the lowering of the incidence of land revenue during the second period.

Value of Land

The comparative value of land in the two survey periods, given in Table No. 6, shows that prices of land have increased from 3 to 6 times.

TABLE VI
Value of Land

Land	First Survey	Second Survey
	Rs.	Rs.
Good goradu land with well	200-400	800-1,000
Fair goradu land without well	75-200	500-700
Sandy	50-75	150-200
Besar	75-225	200-400
Black	20-70	100-150

Kyari land that is land good for paddy cultivation fetches about Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 more than non-kyari land.

CROP PATTERN AND PRODUCTION

Tuvar and other kathols, paddy, kodra, wheat, bajri, bavta, tal, tali, castor seeds, cotton and tobacco are the principal crops grown in Bhadkad. Besides these, marcha and vegetables are also grown. Kathol, wheat, cotton and tobacco are winter crops and the rest are monsoon crops. Over a large part of the area only one crop, mainly monsoon crop is cultivated. In some lands wheat is grown as a double crop after paddy is harvested. Generally tuvar and/or tal are sown along with kodra, while math or juwar is grown along with bajri or juwar. In sandy land, bajri is followed by juwar, and in goradu land kodra is followed by bavta, and kodra and bavta are sown after cotton. Again in goradu or black land, juwar is followed again by paddy or gram or wheat.

The details of crops grown and their acreage during 1946 to 1955 are given in Table No. 7.

Corn is grown in the largest part of cultivable area. Next in importance is grass cultivation; this is followed by kathol (coarse grain). The acreage utilised for corn cultivation is 76 per cent, for kathol, 7 per cent, and for grass, 16 per cent. In the first survey period, land utilised for cultivation of corn was 56 per cent, for oilseeds, 3 per cent and for fibrous plants and cotton, 6 per cent. On a comparison, we find that land utilised for corn cultivation increased from 56 to 76 per cent, land occupied by kathol cultivation rose from 7 to 11 per cent and grass area also increased, while the area under fibrous plants and cotton has decreased considerably. Sugarcane cultivation and growing of Kasumba have been discontinued. American cotton was grown during the first survey, but the results were not satisfactory. Some one or two farmers cultivated the same during 1955.

Yield of Crops

The comparative position of yield of crops, as well as of income and expenditure, during the two survey periods is given in Table No. 8. There is a rise in the average yield of paddy, wheat, bajri, math, juwar, and bavta; the rise in the average income and expenditure of different crops varies from 25 to 100 per cent; there is a rise from 2 to 6 times in the profits of different crops.

Trees

Examining the details of trees in the village in both the surveys (Table No. 9), we find that while there are 169 new trees, there has been a net decrease of 402 trees, that is to say the net decrease is about one-third. The mango trees, the prince among fruit trees, have gone down by 22 per cent. The rayans have decreased by 73 per cent, jambus, by 20 per cent, amlis by 40 per cent, and bordis by 35 per cent.

TABLE VII
Crop Pattern

(Area in acres)

Year	Corn	Kathol	Grass	Vegetables	Mashala	Sugarcane	Oilseeds	Kasunba	Fibrous crop	Total
1946 ...	1140	180	200	5	—	2	—	—	10	1577
1947 ...	1155	140	280	4	—	2	—	—	10	1591
1948 ...	1175	155	202	4	—	—	—	—	10	1587
1949 ...	1160	145	288	—	1	—	—	—	5	1597
1950 ...	1150	147	260	—	4	—	—	—	6	1595
1951 ...	1180	148	252	4	2	—	—	—	10	1597
1952 ...	1280	188	255	6	3	—	—	—	12	1941
1953 ...	1260	125	272	—	—	—	—	—	10	1672
1954 ...	1240	117	260	—	5	—	—	—	—	1617
1955 ...	1206	110	260	—	4	—	—	—	15	1670

TABLE VIII
Yield, Income and Expenses

Crop	Minimum		Maximum		Average		Income		Expenditure		Profit	
	1915	1955	1915	1955	1915	1955	1915	1955	1915	1955	1915	1955
	Paddy ...	—	14	—	30	20	25	42	115	30	70	12	45
Kodra ...	8	12	—	28	25	20	32	80	28	00	4	20
Tuwar ...	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bavta ...	—	10	—	26	10	18	17	60	12	40	5	20
Bajri ...	0	8	—	16	7	12	26	70	21	50	5	20
Kathol ...	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wheat ...	—	10	—	30	10	20	25	100	20	70	5	30
Sundhia grass Pulas ...	—	—	—	—	300	400	15	40	11	25	4	15
Cotton ...	—	6	—	10	—	8	20	80	20	60	9	20

TABLE IX
Details of Trees in the Village

Sr. No.	Trees	First Survey	Second Survey	Increase	Decrease	Percentage
1.	Mango	884	259	—	74	22
2.	Rayan	574	152	—	427	73
3.	Jambhu	25	5	—	20	20
4.	Aml	87	52	—	35	40
5.	Bordi	89	25	—	14	35
6.	Mahuda and others	181	350	169	—	98
		1,245	848	169	571	

METHODS OF CULTIVATION AND AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS

The calendar of agricultural operations is as below :

May—Manuring, cleaning headlands and wire fencing, removing the stubbles of cotton, tuvar etc.

June—The abovementioned operations continue till it rains. After rains begin ploughing, harrowing, and sowing of kodra, bajri and cotton; broadcasting of rice for seedlings.

July—Planting rice seedlings, sowing juwar, planting bavta, weeding and intersecting crops sown in June.

August—Weeding and intersecting.

September—Cutting bajri and juwar; cultivating cotton fields.

October—Harvesting rice; picking and thrashing bajri; harvesting bavta and rice; sowing rabi etc.

November—Sowing wheat and gram; ploughing kyari lands in a few cases only, harvesting kodra and tal.

December—Harvesting guvar, math, mug, urid, irrigating wheat.

January—Irrigating wheat; harvesting rabi and tal; picking first crop of tuvar.

February—Irrigating wheat; picking of cotton.

March—Harvesting of wheat; picking of cotton, picking of second crop of tuvar.

April—Picking remaining cotton.

These general timings vary according to differences in the seasonality of rains, time of ploughing, sowing, etc.

Details of manuring, ploughing, sowing, watering, weeding, harvesting and yield in case of each crop cultivated in Bhadkad are given in Table No. 10.

TABLE X
Agricultural Operations

Sr. No.	Name of Crop	Month of Sowing	Seed lbs.	Ploughings	Manure Carts	Waterings	Weedings	Inter-Culturings	Time of Harvesting	Yield Mds. of 40 lbs.		Fodder	
										Maximum	Minimum		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	
1.	Kodra mixed ...	Ashadha	Kodra Tal	7	1	5	as needed	3	4	Aso	12	28	1000
2.	Bajri ...	"	Tuvar	1	2	4	"	2	4	Bhadarvo	8	10	1200
3.	Juvar ...	Shravan	Math	40	4	—	"	—	1	Aso	2	10	1600
4.	Paddy ...	Ashad or Shravan		10	8	6	"	2	—	Aso	14	36	800
5.	Cotton ...	Ashad		7	2	5	"	1 to 3	5	Maha	6	10	3 karts of karanthi
6.	Bavta ...	Shravan		2	2	—	"	2	3	Maha	10	26	1500
7.	Chana ...	Aso		20	2 to 3	—	"	—	—	Fagan	8	16	—
8.	Tal ...	Bhadarvo		1	4	—	"	1	1	Fagan	2	5	—
9.	Castor Seed ...	Aso		5	4	—	"	—	—	Maha	8	7	—
10.	Sugarcane ...	Vaishakha	1200 pieces	12	15	80 to 45	"	15	—	Maha	15	100	—
11.	Wheat ...	Aso		80	1	—	5 to 7	1	—	Fagan	10	30	1200
12.	Rai ...	Aso		1	2	—	3	1	—	Fagan	2	6	—
13.	Methi ...	Kartak		12	2	—	7	1	—	Fagan	4	12	—
14.	Asarie ...	Kartak		2	1	—	4	1	—	Fagan	8	20	—
15.	Maroha ...	Ashad		3	10	12	12	3	3	Magshar	4	10	—
16.	Bringal (Vegetable)	Ashad		1	10	12	12	3	3	Kartak	20	60	—
17.	Rajagaro ...	Aso		1	6	—	4	—	1	Magshar	4	15	—
18.	Garlic ...	Kartak		160	5	10	15	2	—	Chaitra	25	60	—
19.	Onion ...	Magshar		5	20	20	17	1	—	Vaishakha	100	800	—
20.	Tobacco ...	Shravan		1/8	10	16	8	2	5	Magshar	5	16	—

Seedling

The seed sown in Bhadkad is mostly of local breed. Good grains are collected from fresh crops and they are mixed up with ashes and are preserved carefully in earthen pots. In 1955 some persons brought from outside cotton seed known as Vijay. One agriculturist started sowing the American variety cotton seed. During the first survey, seeds of kodra, bavta, paddy, bajri, wheat, juwar, tal, gram, tuvar, guvar and math were analysed by the Agricultural Department which found them generally clean, pure, healthy, even, mature, good and possessing good breeding capacity.

Manuring

The manure used in Bhadkad is the dung of buffaloes and bullocks, mostly local. A buffalo gives from about 7 to 10 carts of this dung per year, while dung from a bullock would be much less. The total dung of the village cattle is estimated at about 4,500 to 6,000 maunds per year. For good cultivation the dung required per acre would be about 10 carts. So the total quantity required for 1,900 acres would be 19,000 carts. But even at the conservative estimate of 5 carts of dung per acre the quantity required would be 9,500 carts. The collections of dung fall short by at least about 5,000 to 3,500 carts to meet even half of the estimated requirements. During the first survey, the manure from local dung amounted to about 3,000 to 4,000 carts. There is an increase by about one and a half times in the dung manure. The increase in dung is due to the increase in the number of cattle. Some persons conserve this manure in their field every year, while some do so in alternate years. The price of dung manure was formerly Re. 1 per cart, whereas now it is about Rs. 2. Some persons have used chemical manure for paddy cultivation. The yield is more but it is reported that soil fertility is affected.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

During the first survey agricultural labourers were paid daily wages from four to six annas each. During the second survey they are paid from 12 to 16 annas each in winter and summer, and from 16 to 20 annas each in the rainy season. The increase in the rate of daily wages is about 3 to 4 times. Besides the wage, labourers were and are given at noon, rotla, dal or vegetables, as free food by employers. Usual hours of work are from 8 a.m. to 5 or 6 p.m. with a recess of about 1 to 2 hours at mid-day. For drawing water by kos from well, wages paid to one labourer who worked with his own pair of bullocks were formerly 1 rupee 8 annas and now are about Rs. 8 in winter and Rs. 12 in the monsoon.

There was and is shortage of labour in Bhadkad in the rainy season. Permanent agricultural labourers are given by employers free food thrice a day, first in the morning, then in the noon, and lastly in the evening. Most of the agricultural labourers are Barias, Bhois, Vagharies, Dheds and Bhangies.

DRAFT POWER

There were 125 bullocks during the first survey, while during the second survey, there are 159. The increase is by 34 or 23 per cent. Formerly, the average number of acres of land per pair of bullocks was 53, but now it is reduced to 42. For intensive cultivation Bhadkad would require about 266 bullocks at the rate of about 25 acres a pair. So there is still a shortage of about 107 bullocks.

The bullocks in the village are either talpada, that is local, or Sindhi which usually come from Sind. The price of a talpada was formerly about Rs. 75 to 125, and now it is about Rs. 300 to 500. Sindhi bullock costs about Rs. 300. The increase in the price of bullocks is about fourfold.

In ordinary years the grass grown on Bhadkad land is sufficient for local feeding. But in times of famine or scarcity of grass it is purchased from outside. Bullocks are given green grass when it is available, and dry grass when it is not available; they are also given some grain, mostly guvar, about 4 lbs. a day, whenever possible. Besides this, in winter, they are fed with a mixture of til seeds, urid flour and molasses.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND CARTS

The number of agricultural implements is about 34. Some of them are made locally, and some are bought from outside. There has been an increase in their prices by about two to four times.

The number of ploughs is 127 while formerly it was 71. There are 72 carts against 42. The increase over the previous survey is by 58 or 80 per cent and 30 or 74 per cent respectively.

CLOGGING OF WATER

During the monsoon, sometimes when the rains are very heavy, water overflows from the tank in Bhadkad. As there is no outlet or passage for this extra water, it inundates about 300 bighas of land. This affects the yield of crops on this land by about 2,000 kuchcha maunds. At the time of the first survey also, the same hardship prevailed, resulting in considerable loss of labour and crops. There is, however, a *kans* (a native type of canal) which is found at a distance from the lake but now silted up. This does not appear to have been at any time connected to the lake but it should be possible by a suitable device to connect this canal to the lake and provide an outlet for the overflowing water during monsoon rains and thus prevent the damage caused to land and crops.

CHAPTER III
LIVESTOCK AND PRODUCTION
MILCH CATTLE

There are 15 adult cows and 392 adult she-buffaloes in the village besides a few calves and young ones of buffaloes.

Cows

Cows in Bhadkad generally belong to local Kankreji breed, and most of them are with Rabaries. The local price of these cows is about Rs. 150 each. The cow gives milk for about 7 months, the quantity of milk decreasing gradually. She gives some milk for some time even after this, but there would be great fall in its quantity. The period between two deliveries by a cow is $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 years. The cows' milk is sold in the village at the rate of 2 annas per pound; it is also taken to Deva, a village nearby and is sold there to a wholesale buyer, for dairy, who pays about only an anna per pound. The expenses on a cow for a period between two deliveries would be at least about Rs. 90. At the rate of one anna per pound, there would be hardly any profit, if the total yield of milk during lactation is about 1,500 pounds. But if the milk fetches 2 annas per pound, there would be a net profit of about Rs. 90 for this period. In any case, the calf delivered by the cow is a clear gain. A well-bred good calf would fetch from Rs. 50 to 150, according to age, breed and health, while the expenses of its rearing would be about one-third of the price.

There is no bull in the village.

Buffaloes

The owned buffaloes in Bhadkad are 168. They are mostly of Surti breed. The period between 2 deliveries by the buffaloes varies from about a year to two. A buffalo which delivers every year is called "Varshini". A buffalo usually delivers during the 10th month after pregnancy; her first pregnancy takes place at the age of about 3 years. She delivers for about 8 to 12 times during her life-time which is about 20 years. The period of lactation varies, but a good buffalo gives milk for about 10 months. The daily yield of milk of a good buffalo would be about 15 to 20 lbs. in the first month, after delivery, but the quantity of yield declines gradually.

At the present prices, the expenses of a buffalo between 2 deliveries would be about Rs. 300. If the total yield of milk during

lactation is 3,200 pounds, and if the same is sold at the rate of 3 annas, the profit would be Rs. 300.

The price of buffalo milk in Bhadkad is 3 to 4 annas a pound. But all the milk cannot be disposed off in the village itself, and a portion of it is sold outside Bhadkad. People make ghee also from milk. Ghee made out of these 3,200 pounds of milk would be about 200 lbs., which would fetch Rs. 400 at the rate of Rs. 2 per pound; under ghee production the profit would be Rs. 100 only for the period and hence it is more profitable to sell milk than ghee.

Caring of Young Buffaloes

Male issues of buffaloes are not cared well. Hence many of them die away in the very first year of their existence. Those which survive are sold away to merchants and their ultimate fate is slaughter by butchers if they do not die out of starvation and neglect. The she-calf of a buffalo is generally reared by the owner or his agent and on her first delivery, she is valued at about Rs. 120 to 200.

Protection of Dry Buffaloes

Some merchants take dry buffaloes from stables near Bombay or at other places and entrust the same to some persons in several villages in Gujarat, for taking care of them during the dry period. These buffaloes are transferred back to their masters, when they are nearing the period of delivery. The average period of the stay at Bhadkad extends to 7 months. The keeper is paid about Rs. 7 per month, and so he would receive about Rs. 49 per buffalo from the merchant. On an average, about 300 such dry buffaloes are harboured by Bhadkad people. So they get at least about Rs. 15,000 as charges for this business. As these buffaloes are fed on grass only from land, which may be his own or leased, he has hardly to spend cash for feeding or grazing. But there is one great disadvantage in this kind of upkeep. The dry buffaloes exhaust the grass which would otherwise legitimately be available for the local milch buffaloes owned by the farmers; and there is neither milk nor calf to the keepers. They also sometimes damage and eat away crops in private fields. There were actually 224 such dry buffaloes in Bhadkad during the second survey.

During the first survey, there were 38 cows and 221 buffaloes in the village. The price of cow's milk was $1\frac{1}{2}$ pice per pound and buffalo milk fetched 3 pice per pound. Every day about 25 maunds of milk were sent from Bhadkad to Dabhau, another village. There were 3 persons who collected this milk and sent the same to Dabhau. Each of them was getting a profit of about Rs. 150 to 200 per month. There was a dairy at Dabhau which made cream from this milk and sent it to Ahmedabad, through another dairy at Nar, a big village. On the average daily sales of milk to the Dabhau dairy at 25 maunds at the rate of 1 rupee per maund, the estimated annual income to Bhadkad was Rs. 9,000.

In respect of livestock resources and products, the comparative position is that there is a decrease in milch cows by more than 50 per cent; there is a 3 to 6 times increase in the price of cow's milk and 4 to 5 times in buffalo's milk. Formerly 1 pound of ghee fetched 8 annas; now it fetches about Rs. 2 showing an increase of 4 to 5 times.

But the increases in the prices of milk and ghee are counter-balanced by the increase in the cost of maintenance of cattle and by the increase in the cost of living of the cultivating population.

CHAPTER IV

NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

INDUSTRIES

Table No. 11 shows the vocations and industries other than agriculture and the number of families employed in them in Bhadkad during the first survey and the second survey periods. Out of the 16 occupations, 12 existed during the first survey. They employed 46 families. During the first survey, corn-piecing and grinding were not shown as whole-time occupations. Possibly, such work formed part of the household work. During the second survey, there are 11 industries, employing 27 families. The five important industries of handloom-weaving, smithy, ornament making, shoe-making and dyeing, which were carried on during the first survey are totally non-existent.

TABLE XI
Village Industry

Name of Industry	Families Employed			
	First Survey		Second Survey	
	No.	Caste	No.	Caste
1. Cattle Grazing	6	Rabari	4	Rabarries
2. Corn Piecing	—	—	1	Gola
3. Corn Grinding	—	—	1	Flour mill
4. Oil Pressing	—	—	1	Vora
5. Pottery	2	Potter	1	Potter
6. Carpentry	3	Carpenter	2	Carpenters
7. Masonry	—	—	3	Muslims
8. Smithy	6	Blacksmith	—	—
9. Handloom Weaving	14	Dhed	—	—
10. Tailoring	2	Tailor	4	Barber, Dhed, Muslim
11. Shoe-making	1	Shoe-maker	—	—
12. Ornament making	1	Goldsmith	—	—
13. Hair Dressing	5	Barber	4	Barbers
14. Drum-beating	4	Raval	5	Ravals
15. Striping of carcasses of dead animals	2	Chamar	1	Chamar
16. Dyeing of Hides	—	—	—	—
	46		27	

The number of families employed totally or partially in village industries has also decreased from 46 to 27 that is by 41 per cent. This indicates that the village of Bhadkad has been no exception to the general trend in the country to disintegration of the village economy and the languishing of village industries. During the second survey about a

dozen persons were employed, some of them partially, in bidi-making (tobacco bidi). This work was also seasonal.

Even among the 11 industries of the second survey period, 5 industries viz., cattle-grazing, corn-piecing, corn-grinding, masonry, and drum-beating are not whole-time occupations. The remuneration obtained in such pursuits does not cover even the necessary minimum family expenses. In reality, the number of small industries pursued regularly in the village is only 6 giving employment to 13 families. Even these occupations are run by land-holders or tenants, who derive the major share of their income from agriculture.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

There are 12 petty shops in the village, of which 3 are almost exclusively for the sale of bidies and betel (pan). The commodities sold in the other 9 shops are grains, condiments, ghee, molasses, oil, sugar, tea, kerosene, and some other miscellaneous items. A few of them sell piecegoods also. The sales are against cash, corn or on credit. In some shops sales on credit range from 33 to 50 per cent of their total sales. During the first survey, it was found that in case of cash sales, the price charged for the commodity was not only less than that charged for sale on credit, but the weight and quality of the article were to the advantage of the purchaser. The articles are purchased by the shop keepers from Nadiad, Vaso, Sojitra, and Petlad and are generally brought by cart or by railway trains.

Corn and some other agricultural produce of Bhadkad are sold outside, directly or through local agents. Some outside merchants also come to Bhadkad and purchase these items locally.

Vegetables are also sold in some village shops or by hawkers. Vegetables come largely from outside—mostly Nadiad and Vaso.

Out of the 12 shops, 1 is owned by a Brahmin, 2 by Vaishyas, 4 by Lohanas, 3 of which are comparatively big, 1 by a muslim, 1 by a Vora and 3 bidi-betel shops are owned by Patidars.

Business community

Vaishyas are hereditary businessmen and industrialists. Out of 8 Vaishya families in Bhadkad, one family is mostly staying out of Bhadkad; the second family comprises 2 very old widows, with no occupation; the third family maintains itself by money sent by relatives from outside; the fourth consists of only 1 person who lives by bidi-making; the fifth has 2 adult brothers, one of whom runs an intermittent petty shop and the other makes bidies; the sixth has a fairly big shop; the seventh, the successor of the richest money-lender in Bhadkad during the first survey, manages to maintain partly on the meagre income from land, but mainly on money sent by the eldest son from outside. This is the plight of the 7 Vaishya families in

Bhaddkad—belonging to the caste of hereditary businessmen supposed to be rich and prosperous ! But the eighth family among the Vaishyas is headed by an old man, who stays in the village, while his brothers, sons and their families have been staying at Baroda, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and doing business on a large scale in these places. One of these brothers, Mr. Himchand Kapurchand is the Managing Director and the Chief of Messrs. Jivanlal Limited (1919), a big, well-known firm of manufacturers of and dealers in aluminium vessels. But their factories, shops and offices are all hundreds of miles away from their home land of Bhaddkad.

Lohanas also are generally traders. Of the 5 Lohana families, 4 have shops and the adult male member of the 5th family is a teacher in the local primary school. This family is not a permanent inhabitant of Bhaddkad but is in the village, because of service. During the first survey, there were 10 Vaishya families and 13 Lohana families who were doing business. The number of the former has decreased from 10 to 8 while that of the latter has gone down from 13 to 5. The total fall in the number of families belonging to the castes devoted to business is from 23 to 13; that is by 55 per cent. This is a significant trend in the shift of hereditary occupation among these castes.

In the previous survey period it was noticed that the payment of a share of the produce at the harvest time by the agriculturists to the village artisans for the services rendered by the latter was prevalent as a uniform practice. This practice is still prevalent, but only partially, among those artisans who are residents in the village and who are following the traditional profession. With the introduction of cash economy and the migration of some of the artisan families from the village, the practice is not common among all the agriculturists and with all those village artisans who have given up the pursuit of their traditional occupations. In regard to those who receive a share of the produce, the Brahmin priest, the carpenter, the barber, the harijan sweepr and the cobbler may be mentioned. The Brahmin priest receives 10 to 20 lbs. of grain from their agricultural clients. The barbers are given 40 lbs. of grain per head served by them. The harijan sweeper receives one to two lbs. of grain. The cobbler gets one lb., mostly of pulse and bavta for repairing the shoes.

CHAPTER V
CREDIT AND CO-OPERATION

MONEY-LENDING

During the first survey, there were 63 money-lenders who had advanced loans to 254 persons in Bhadkad. Among these 63, 40 were local and the remaining 23 belonged to other places outside the village. The total amount lent was Rs. 73,006. The amount of borrowing according to security and purpose is shown in Table No. 12.

TABLE XII
Borrowings according to Security and Purposes

	First Survey	Second Survey
<i>Borrowings Security-wise</i>	Rs.	Rs.
On Personal Security	40,601	78,875
Against Land	13,285	10,650
Against Building	2,201	2,700
Land Revenue	3,084	—
Miscellaneous	3,552	50
Total ...	78,046	80,275
<i>Purpose of Borrowings—</i>		
For purchasing land	4,600	—
For paying land revenue	3,219	—
For purchasing cattle	7,105	—
For household expenses	9,818	—
For marriage expenses	15,400	—
For death expenses	4,381	—
Miscellaneous	28,588	—
Total ...	78,046	

According to these figures, the debt contracted for marriage expenses was about one-fifth of the total debt. The size of debt is indicated in Table No. 13. The average amount of debt of the indebted person was Rs. 351.5.

TABLE XIII
Size of Debt

Amount of Debt	No. of Debtors
Rs. 1 to Rs. 100	112
Rs. 101 to Rs. 200	52
Rs. 201 to Rs. 400	48
Rs. 401 to Rs. 600	14
Rs. 601 to Rs. 800	9
Over Rs. 800	19
Total ...	254

During the second survey, the Money-lenders' Act was in force with a number of regulations and restrictions on the mode and manner of money-lending, amount of loans, rates of interest, accounts of loans etc. to be complied with. Open money-lending on a legalised basis requires a license from Government. Therefore it has almost disappeared in the rural economy of Bhadkad, and so names of creditors and rates of interest would hardly be disclosed. Moreover, many persons manage to borrow from amongst themselves. Although the Money-lenders' Act has put checks on unfair practices and exorbitant rates of interest in money-lending, it has dammed the easy flow of credit so necessary to small and poor peasants and other craftsmen, many of whom are not "credit-worthy" in the modern sense.

On comparison, we find that debt has increased from Rs. 73,046 to 89,275 or by Rs. 16,229. However, the value of assets has also increased, as will be seen in the chapter on "Assets and Liabilities", and had it not been for "good years", "good yields" of crops and "good prices" which the agriculturists received against the sale of their produce, the volume of debt would have been much higher.

CO-OPERATION

The Co-operative Society was started in Bhadkad in 1913 with the objective of providing adequate and regular credit to meet the needs of the population of the village. At the time the Society was started, conditions were quite favourable for the mobilisation of resources and channelising the credit to those who were in need. The response from the people to the co-operative agency was also good. This explains the remarkable rise in membership of the Society from 10 to 44 in the very first year of its inception, and to 60 at the close of the second year. In the subsequent two years of 1916 and 1917, the membership fell slightly to 59 and 56 respectively but on the whole during the four years 1913-14 to 1916-17, membership had increased by 27 per cent. On the whole, during the periods of the first and second surveys, there has been an increase in the total membership of society by over 143 per cent, as is evidenced from Table No. 14. The composition of individual membership of society shows significant changes. In the period of the first survey, the membership of the Society was largely drawn from Patidars who formed 57% of the total; in the second survey period also their membership increased to 78.5%. In respect of Barias and Brahmins, the percentage of membership was low in the second survey period being 1.8% and 16.1% respectively, while Barbers and Shoemakers ceased to be members. Similarly, working capital had increased from Rs. 4,235 to Rs. 5,291, that is by nearly 25 per cent. The reserve funds had increased from Rs. 110 to Rs. 486, that is by nearly 336 per cent. The deposits from members rose from Rs. 268 to Rs. 800 and from non-members, the deposits stood at Rs. 1,600 in 1916-17. The increase on the deposits on the whole was by 788 per cent. The loans to members decreased from Rs. 3,902 in 1913-14, to Rs. 3,038 in 1916-17, nearly by 22 per cent, while outstandings

increased from Rs. 3,144 to Rs. 4,471 or by 42 per cent. In regard to recoveries there was hardly the necessity to resort to the process of law. In deserving cases, time for payment of arrears was extended. The Society in its turn was able to make regular repayments of amounts advanced to it by other institutions. Thus in the first period of the survey, the progress of the Society was considered quite satisfactory and high hopes were entertained of its future development as an effective agency of improving the conditions of the agriculturists through the supply of adequate and regular credit.

TABLE XIV
Composition of Membership of Society

Caste	First Survey		Second Survey	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Brahmin	2	0	1	1.8
Patidar	18	57	44	78.5
Baria	5	22	9	16.1
Barber	2	8	—	—
Potter	—	—	1	1.8
Shoemaker	1	4	—	—
Muslim	—	—	1	1.8
	28	100.0	56	100.0

The condition of the Society during the period of the second survey is in sharp contrast to the one previously recorded. In the year 1950, the Society was converted into a multi-purpose society providing besides credit, other services such as purchase and sale etc. The bye-laws were suitably changed. According to the bye-laws, the Society's authorised capital is Rs. 10,000 divided into 1,000 shares of Rs. 10 each. The liability of its members is unlimited, that is joint and several for the repayment of loans. Loans to a member for purchasing bullocks, cart or iron implements is not to exceed Rs. 300, and is to be repaid within 3 years. Loan for more than 3 years is not to exceed Rs. 500 in amount. Interest for such loans has been fixed at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ pies per rupee per month. Loans can be advanced upto 60 per cent of the market value of crops given as security to the Society. The rate of interest for such loans will be one-fourth pie less than the usual rate.

The condition of the Society between 1951-55 is indicated in Table No. 15. The membership has gone down from 27 in 1951 to 23 in 1955. The working capital has gone down from Rs. 2,658 to Rs. 2,257 or by 15 per cent. Advances to members have also shown a decrease from Rs. 1,400 in 1951 to Rs. 125 in 1954. Recoveries of loans from members have shown a decline from Rs. 2,595 in 1951 to Rs. 195 in 1955. The outstandings of the Society have increased from Rs. 1,313 to Rs. 1,805. Again there is a decrease of 14 per cent in share capital from Rs. 680 to Rs. 580, 100 per cent in compulsory savings from Rs. 140 to Rs. 60 and 64 per cent in loans and deposits from others from Rs. 1,389 to Rs. 480, while rate of interest has increased by 25 per cent.

TABLE XV

Comparative Progress of the Society from 1913-14 to 1916-17 and 1951 to 1955

	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Number of Members	44	60	50	56	27	28	27	25	28
Working Capital	4,235	4,888	5,245	5,291	2,053	3,816	3,122	2,022	2,257
Reserve Fund	110	119	375	480	1,081	1,081	1,160	1,248	1,248
<i>Deposits :</i>									
From members	208	150	—	800	—	—	—	—	—
From non-members	—	480	1,391	1,600	—	—	—	—	—
From Baroda State	—	180	130	790	—	—	—	—	—
From British India	—	300	1,261	810	—	—	—	—	—
Total (from members and non-members only)	208	630	1,391	2,400	1,380	3,231	1,202	—	480
Paid-up Share Capital	—	—	—	—	680	680	680	620	580
Compulsory Savings	—	—	—	—	140	60	—	—	—
Advances to Members	—	—	—	—	1,400	3,075	620	125	1,480
Advances received from Members	—	—	—	—	2,595	2,005	1,875	1,285	105
Loans to Members	3,002	4,772	804	3,038	—	—	—	—	—
Recoveries	758	3,568	698	3,081	—	—	—	—	—
Outstandings and Arrears	3,144	4,348	4,514	4,471	1,313	2,085	1,730	570	1,805
<i>Rate of Interest</i>									
To Bank	—	—	—	—	4	4	4½	4½	4½
To Depositors	—	—	—	—	4	4	4	4	4
By Members	—	—	—	—	6½	6½	7-13/16	7-13/16	7-13/16

When the condition as noticed between 1951 and 1955 is compared with the progress in the first period of the survey, it is found that the Society is practically in a moribund condition and the high hopes of development have not been fulfilled. The membership has fallen by 59 per cent ; loans and deposits due by the Society has decreased by 63 per cent ; and working capital has fallen by 57 per cent. Reserve fund has increased by 158 per cent ; advances to members have gone down by 53 per cent ; recoveries have diminished by 93 per cent ; arrears have been reduced by 59 per cent ; rate of interest paid by the Society has decreased by 33 per cent. Rate of interest paid by members to the Society has decreased by 16 per cent. Formerly no fees were charged on the Society for its audit and supervision. Now the Society is obliged to pay the same as per Government rules. The credit required by the members is estimated at about Rs. 10,000. The Society supplies only about 18 to 20 per cent of this demand. For the rest of their credit requirements that is 80 per cent, they have to resort to other agencies which are practically non-existent.

Though it is not possible to say when the deterioration set in, it is quite clear that while open money-lending by private agencies has disappeared, the Co-operative Society has not been able to substitute the private agencies as an effective source of credit. On the other hand, it appears that it has failed to fulfil its main function of providing credit till 1950 and also of credit as well as other services after 1950 when it was converted into a multi-purpose society. It did only some distribution work of a few controlled articles like sugar during the period of rationing in war-time.

During the period of 4½ years, 23 Officers from the Co-operative Department and the Co-operative Bank have visited the Society, for the purpose of audit, inspection, and supervision. The officers who had visited the Society seem to have been mainly concerned with their specialised routine work and none seem to have been concerned about the causes of deterioration of the Society which had shown promises of rapid development in the initial period of formation and organisation. Conditions cannot be said to be less favourable nor the people to have grown more irresponsible during this period. On the other hand, private credit sources are practically closed. There is an apparent trend of higher incomes ; and the people should be more anxious to make full use of the only agency left open to them to draw their needs of credit. Under these conditions, the inspecting officers could have shown more insight and initiative in recording the causes or factors which prevented the Society from fulfilling its purpose of a multi-purpose credit agency. Obviously, the lacuna seems to be in the fact that each officer has interpreted his responsibility as of a routine nature confined solely to the sphere of work, as directed from above and therefore it was not the function of any of these officers to have gone into the overall defects in the working of the Society in the course of the period of their inspection and audit.

The case of Bhadkad Co-operative Society brings to light the omission to provide in co-operative administration, a suitable system of continuous supervision and method of audit and the fixing up of responsibility which would not only disclose the trends in the general progress or otherwise of the Society but also the factors which influence these trends. It is only on such systematic and overall supervision that the Co-operative Administration at higher levels can devise suitable measures of rehabilitation and development of moribund or stagnant societies. The point for emphasis is that there is need for investing one official with the special responsibility of looking into the continuous overall development of the Society and also the provision of a Central Agency of supervision near at hand, an agency which would effectively supervise and guide the work of the primaries.

CHAPTER VI

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

The details of income by sources is given in Table No. 16. The details of expenditure are given in Table No. 17. The total income is Rs. 1,56,776 and the total expenditure is Rs. 1,35,598, leaving a net saving of Rs. 21,178 as against Rs. 31,196 of income, Rs. 40,985 of expenditure and Rs. 8,789 of deficit in the previous survey.

TABLE XVI
Village Income by Sources

Item	First Survey		Second Survey		
	Rs.	Percentage	Rs.	Percentage	
Agriculture	18,085	42	} 56	66,220	42
Grains	4,861	18			
Grass	200	1			
Vegetables	22	—			
Milk and Ghee	4,459	14			
Industry	8,616	11	80,286	19	
Trade and Commerce	—	—	6,777	4	
Agricultural Labour	8,825	12	16,770	10	
Industrial Labour	—	—	8,725	2	
Service	—	—	7,908	5	
Rent of Building	142	—	72	—	
Interest	618	2	800	—	
Miscellaneous	818	1	2,560	1	

TABLE XVII
Expenditure by Sources

Item	First Survey		Second Survey	
	Rs.	Percentage	Rs.	Percentage
Food	15,576	65	74,935	55
Clothing	5,076	21	31,400	28
House-rent	201	1	151	—
Lighting	765	3	2,261	1
Health-Medicines	—	—	1,877	1
Education	250	1	1,789	1
Entertainments	—	—	380	—
Addictions-Tobacco	1,185	5	6,468	5
Opium	42	—	—	—
Travel	—	—	1,165	1
Interest	—	—	1,801	1
Tax	—	—	74	—
Social Customs and functions	1,061	4	10,000	7
Miscellaneous	47	—	3,847	3
Expenses of Agriculture	16,632	—	—	—

The total expenditure accounts for 86 per cent of the income while the percentage of savings to expenses is 14. The averages of income, expenditure and saving per family are Rs. 454, 393 and 61 respectively. The averages of *per capita* income, expenditure and saving are respectively Rs. 103, 89 and 14. In the previous survey the averages of income, expenditure and deficit per family were Rs. 87, 115 and 28 respectively. The average *per capita* income, expenditure and deficit was Rs. 25, 33 and 8 respectively.

The families are classified according to the range of incomes in Table 18.

TABLE XVIII
Range of Income

Income Range	Families	
	First Survey	Second Survey
Up to Rs. 250	289	117
Rs. 251 to Rs. 500	27	135
Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	5	67
Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000		21
Rs. 2001 to Rs. 3000		4
Rs. 3001 to Rs. 4000		5
	321	345

There is a perceptible shift of families from the low-income brackets to higher income brackets during the period of the second survey. The number of families earning an income of Rs. 250 and below declined by 53.6% during the period, while the number of families in the income-groups Rs. 251 to 500 and Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000, increased by five-fold and thirteen-fold respectively. At higher level also, there are families which earned an income of Rs. 1,000 and above. The families in the higher income groups were conspicuously absent in the first survey.

Out of 345 families, 255 families have surplus income and 24 families have deficit income. In case of 66 families, income and expenditure are equal. In the previous survey, out of 356 families, figures of income and expenditure of 35 families were not received; so of the 321 families, 70 families had surplus income, while in the case of 251 families, expenses were more than income.

The comparative position is that there is an increase in income by Rs. 1,21,580, that is by 4 times. The total expenses have also increased by Rs. 84,613, that is by 3 times.

In the income per family there is an increase of Rs. 360, that is by five times. In the expenses per family the increase is by Rs. 178, more than three times. The deficit of Rs. 28 per family in the previous survey is now turned into a surplus of Rs. 61. The per capita income has increased by Rs. 78 or by four times.

The *per capita* expenditure has increased by Rs. 56 or about 3 times.

Formerly there was deficit of Rs. 8 per head, now there is a surplus of Rs. 14. Formerly 21 per cent of the families were "surplus families", now surplus families are 70 per cent. Formerly 78 per cent of the families were "deficit", now they are only 7 per cent. Obviously the increase in prices during the period should have contributed to the higher incomes and comparative prosperity of the population.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

The comparative position of total assets and liabilities of all the families in the two survey periods is shown in Table No. 19.

TABLE XIX
Assets and Liabilities

					First Survey	Second Survey
					Rs.	Rs.
Total Assets	...	...	...	...	1,38,042	8,77,525
Total Liabilities	...	...	...	...	78,046	80,275
			Net Assets	...	65,896	7,88,250

The assets are about 9 times more than liabilities. The averages of assets and liabilities per family are Rs. 2,543 and Rs. 261 respectively. The averages of assets and liabilities per head are Rs. 599 and 59 respectively. The average net asset per family is Rs. 2,282 and per head is Rs. 520.

The details of assets in the two survey periods are given in Table No. 20. Among the total of 345 families 344 families have more assets than liabilities; only 1 family has more liabilities than assets. The details of liabilities in the two survey periods are shown in Table No. 21.

TABLE XX
Details of Assets

Assets	First Survey		Second Survey	
	Rs.	Percentage	Rs.	Percentage
Land	70,496	51	3,06,150	41
Well	—	—	10,300	1
Implements	2,527	2	38,220	5
Cattle	15,300	11	04,560	8
Buildings	30,704	27	171,825	16
Furniture	—	—	39,980	5
Ornaments	10,500	7	55,900	7
Crops	—	—	83,650	10
Cash	2,107	1	550	1
Deposits	—	—	8,060	
Shares—Securities	—	—	260	
Advances	—	—	900	
Miscellaneous	1,087	1	7,100	2
Difference in percentage	—	—	—	
Total	1,38,042	100	8,77,525	100

TABLE XXI
Details of Liabilities

Security	First Survey		Second Survey	
	Rs.	Percentage	Rs.	Percentage
Land	13,235	18	10,650	12
Buildings	2,201	3	2,700	3
Ornament	3,034	4	—	—
Land Revenue	1,338	2	—	—
Personal Security	49,041	68	75,875	85
Miscellaneous	3,552	5	50	—
Total	73,046	100	89,275	100

In the previous survey the assets were about 2 times more than liabilities. The number of families in the village was 365. The averages of assets and liabilities per family were Rs. 390 and 205 respectively. The *per capita* assets and liabilities were Rs. 114 and 60 respectively. The net asset per family and per head were Rs. 185 and 54 respectively.

Out of 356 families, particulars from 35 families were not received. Among the remaining 321 families, 185 families had assets more than liabilities and 135 families had their liabilities more than assets, while

in case of 12 families, assets and liabilities were equal. 11 families had neither assets nor liabilities.

There is hardly any real increase in the physical capital of land, or structure. Therefore, the increase in the prices accounts for the apparent increases in the value of all immovable and movable properties and commodities.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION

RELIGION

In Bhadkad, out of a population of 1,516 persons, there are only 86 Muslims, Fakirs and Voras, 36 Jains and the rest 1,394 are all Hindus. Excepting for some distinct religious doctrines and practices Jains follow mostly the customs of the Hindus. All the Jains in Bhadkad are Vaishyas by caste. Among the Hindus of Bhadkad, Bhangies (Sweepers) are the strict followers of Kabir sect. A few Patidars belong to the Swami Narayan sect. However, the majority of Hindus are not strict adherents of any particular sect, but respect the different sects without any feeling of separatism or exclusion. Thus the Brahmins, the Lohanas, the Patidars and other castes in the village believe in and pay respect to Gods Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha along with their consorts—Savitri, Lakshmi and Parvati, besides other gods and goddesses such as Ganapati, Saraswati, Amba, Kali, Bahuchara, and also the incarnations such as Rama, Krishna and their consorts Seeta and Radha.

Temples

There are 5 Hindu temples in the village. Among these, 1 is dedicated to Goddess Bhadkadvasini, 2 are of God Shiva and 2 are of God Rama. In the temple of Goddess Bhadkadvasini in 'tribhangi mudra', the beautiful stone image is adorned with a girdle shining on the waist, with a saree and scarf smartly arranged, with a crown on the head with flowing waves of curls, with big earrings hanging from the two ears and a shining necklace. A part of this fascinating image has been broken and damaged. Moreover the image has been removed from its original *sanctum sanctorum*. There is an inscription on this image which reads that she was installed in Bhadkad on the 13th day of the bright fortnight in the month of *Posh* of *Vikram* year 1412. In the other 4 temples, 2 of which are temples of God Shree Rama, and 2 are Shivalayas, with the stone Linga of God Shankar, there are also some images of other deities. All the 5 temples are pucca brick structures. The 2 Shivalayas have round domes while the 3 other temples are covered with roofs. The total immovable property belonging to these 5 temples consists, besides buildings, about 28 bighas of agricultural land, while their movable property consists of the apparel, ornaments, utensils etc., meant for the use of deities. All these movables put together may be valued at about a couple of thousands of rupees. The income of these temples is derived from the yield from land and the offerings

in cash and kind given by devotees. The latter are not of considerable value. The expenses are also moderate.

Pujaries (Temple Priests) : There are 3 Pujaries ; one Pujari does the Puja (worship) in 3 temples, Bhadkadvasini temple and the 2 Shivalayas. He is illiterate, and unmarried. Each of the 2 Ramji mandirs has a separate Pujari. One of them is thoroughly illiterate with a literate young wife. The other is from the Uttar Pradesh and has studied 2 Hindi standards but not Gujarati. His wife is a Gujarati and can sign and read letters.

Religious Ceremonies

The Puja is a daily routine in the temples. On some festival days, Mahashivratri, Ramnavami, Gokul Ashtami, Deevali Holidays, Hindu New Year Day, on the first day of the month of Kartik and on some other ceremonial days, special Pujas, illuminations etc., are done in these temples, and a good number of men and women visit them and have 'Darshan' of the Deities. Normally, only a few visit them on ordinary days.

Besides these 5 temples there are 14 other shrines for worship.

1. Swaminarayan temple—a pucca building in dilapidated condition in which there is a "chhabi" (portrait) of Shree Sahajanandji Swami Narayan—the founder of Swami Narayan Sect in Gujarat and Saurashtra, who is believed to be God by the followers of this sect. The shrine is usually kept closed and only some devotees go there to light a "Deep" (a small light of ghee) and place flowers before the "chhabi". Vadtal, the headquarters of Swaminarayan Sect, is only a few miles from Bhadkad.
2. Chavadmata's *Gokh* (Altar)—a small empty cavity, without any image or picture, which is supposed to be the place of Chamunda Mata—the Goddess of Prowess. Every year on the 14th day of Bhadrapada month "*Homa*" sacrifice is performed in front of this *Gokh*, and a few persons go round the village, pouring milk and water on the earth. They also throw pieces of cotton yarn on the earth. Symbolically this means that the Village Deity (Gram Devata) is offered water, milk and clothing.
3. Bhathuji's *Dehri*—a small pucca temple with a dome in which there is an image of God Bhathuji who is supposed to cure persons suffering from the poison of snake-bites. Persons who are bitten by snake are brought here. A professional man called *Bhurva*, who is said to enter into the spirit, goes in a trance before this temple, chants some divine incantations (mantras) and sucks the blood from that part of the body of the patients which is bitten by the snake. Some patients are reported to have been cured by such process.

There are 11 Madhas—places dedicated to family deities of Rabaries, Barots, Barbers, Bhois etc. These are not regular shrines, and they have no images. They are just places of special consecration in which there may be a picture of some deity or a religious sign or diagram or just a vacant space spotted as holy. But each of this is believed to be the seat of some spirit or deity presiding over particular families or sub-castes.

Besides these places there are a few 'Dehris' outside the village which have been the place of (samadhi) death of the deceased saints.

There is also a 'Dharmashala',—a public rest house, which is a pucca building with a roof of galvanized sheets. At times, religious discourses are held here or 'bhajanas'—religious songs—are sung. A few villagers also sleep in this place.

The village has 2 *Bhajan Mandalies*—one is headed by Mr. Manibhai Patel, the President of the local Co-operative Society. Persons of this *Mandali* sing *bhajans* with faith and fervour. The other is a *Mandali* of Kabirpanti Bhangi led by an elderly person of their own caste who is treated by them as their Religious Chief.

Family Priests

Persons belonging to the five Brahmin families act as religious priests in the village. Each of this family is allotted a certain number of families in the village. And it is the right and the duty of each of this Brahmin family to do or direct all the religious Puja or ceremonies that take place in all the respective families allotted to them. In return the priests get from their customers remuneration in cash and/or kind. There is a schedule of fees for each of such jobs, but sometimes fees vary a little according to castes. All of these 5 Brahmins have studied in Gujarati schools. 4 of them have studied Sanskrit language and have been trained in the course of performing and directing religious Pujas and ceremonies. Three of them have a smattering knowledge of English language also.

CASTES AND CUSTOMS

Castes and Sub-castes in Gujarat

In Gujarat, besides Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, there are about 55 castes. Among Brahmins and Vaishyas there are 84 sub-castes in each and the Kshatriyas have 109 communal divisions. The details of these castes in Bhadkad are given in Table No. 22. In Bhadkad there are 18 castes among Hindus and 3, among Muslims. The Brahmins are regarded as the highest. Next comes the rank of Vaishyas,

who are followed by Lohanas, Patidars and others. The Patidars consider themselves higher than artisan castes such as potters, carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers, tailors and shoemakers, all of whom have their fixed rank in the ladder of castes. Chamars and Bhangies are considered lowest in the ladder, and Dheds have a place just above them. Marriage of persons of the higher caste with persons of lower caste or eating of food touched by persons of lower caste is deemed irreligious by the orthodox. Such action is held as socially penal according to custom and some religious scriptures. The highest punishment in such cases would be ex-communication from caste.

TABLE XXII
Castes in Bhadkad

Sr. No.	Castes		Number of families	Number of persons
1.	Brahmin	...	7	32
2.	Vaishya	...	8	36
3.	Lohana	...	5	25
4.	Patidar	...	95	444
5.	Garasia	...	3	15
6.	Sadhu	...	2	6
7.	Gosai	...	3	5
8.	Rabari	...	4	20
9.	Potter	...	1	6
10.	Carpenter	...	2	3
11.	Blacksmith	...	2	7
12.	Barber	...	8	49
13.	Baria	...	132	154
14.	Gola	...	1	4
15.	Ravalia	...	5	19
16.	Bhoi	...	5	20
17.	Shoemaker	...	1	5
18.	Vaghari	...	3	15
19.	Dhed	...	26	105
20.	Chamar	...	1	2
21.	Bhangi	...	10	52
22.	Muslim	...	13	46
23.	Fakir	...	6	22
24.	Vora	...	2	18
			345	1,516

Owing to contact with Western modes of life and introduction of hotels, restaurants, big factories, workshop, shops and offices, in towns and cities, and extension of railways and bus services carrying people to hundreds of miles, there have been the loosening of caste rigidities at least in towns and cities. But thousands of Brahmins, Vaishyas and some other castes do observe strictly or loosely these caste restrictions regarding food, at least in the village and within their caste, homes and families.

As regards marriage restrictions, numerous cases of marriages between persons of different sub-sections, sections and sub-castes may have occurred, but the percentage of such cases is very small indeed

Customs

There are mainly 16 ceremonies or *sanskars* which are both religious and social. These are:—

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Garbhadhan | 9. Upanayan |
| 2. Punsavan | 10. Veda |
| 3. Seemant | 11. Veda |
| 4. Jatkarma | 12. Veda |
| 5. Namakarana | 13. Veda |
| 6. Niskraman | 14. Keshant |
| 7. Annaprashan | 15. Samavartan |
| 8. Chaul | 16. Vivaha |

Out of these 16 *sanskars*, only the last is performed by the majority of persons, while the third, is performed by some only. Brahmins and some other castes perform besides these two, a few more, especially *upanayan*—the thread wearing ceremony. Many castes observe the ceremony of the first cutting of hairs of male child. But barring a few, to most of the people, these religious ceremonies are mainly ostentatious formalities for feasting and mere merrymaking and hardly a few persons observe and perform properly the rites or even understand the significance of the same.

The principal social ceremonies and functions in Bhadkad are betrothal, marriage, *seemant* and *jeeana*. Among these, marriage is the biggest and most important of all. In betrothal, some relations of the bride visit the prospective bridegroom's place, make a *chandla* on the forehead of the boy and present him, a cocoanut and some Rupees. This completes the main ceremony of betrothal. On this occasion, a family priest (Gor) and a barber accompany the bride's relations to the bridegroom's place or sometimes only they alone go and do this job.

In marriage, generally the bridegroom with his party goes to the bride's place, where bride's hand is placed in the hand of the bridegroom, and the bride and the bridegroom are made to utter promises and take vows that they will observe the enjoined marital obligations. The marriage ceremony is not only an individual or a family function but a social concern.

Seemant is held sometimes about the 7th month from the first conception by the wife, at the husband's place. Some families in some castes have either minimised or done away with *Seemant* which mainly consists in placing rice, cocoanut, etc., in the lap of the *Seemantinee*. The hair on the head of *Seemantinee* is combed on two sides, and *Sindur* is placed in the *Seema*, that is the central line between these two sides of the head.

Jeeana is possibly an abbreviation of *Jeevan* which means bringing of a person. In *Jeeana*, husband's relations go to the place of

wife's parents some weeks after the first baby is born and the wife's parents send their daughter and the first baby with these persons to the husband's place.

In betrothal, and *Seemant*, it is the husband's side which feeds the invitees and guests. In marriage, the parents of the bride feed the people and bear the responsibility. Besides, the bride's parents offer present to husband's relations, in cash and/or kind, on the occasion of marriage and *Jeeana*, and among some people during betrothal and *Seemant* too. The number, forms and amounts of these presents vary according to castes and the status, capacity and zest of the families giving these presents. The expenses of marriage among some principal castes in Bhadkad are given in Table No. 23.

TABLE XXIII

Expenses relating to Marriage

	<i>On Bridegroom's side</i>	<i>On the Bride's side</i>
Brahmins ...	Rs. 100 to 8000 or more.	Rs. 1500 to 5000 or more.
Vaishyana ...	Rs. 400 to 5200 or more.	Rs. 2000 to 5500 or more.
Patidars ...	Rs. 1500 to 3000 or more.	Rs. 1500 to 3000 or more.
Rabaries ...	Rs. 500 to 700 or more.	Rs. 800 to 1000 or more.
Barias ...	Rs. 500 to 900 or more.	Rs. 500 to 900 or more.
Barbers ...	Rs. 1000 or more.	Rs. 1100 or more.
Dheds ...	Rs. 1250 or more.	Rs. 500 or more.
Bhangies ...	Rs. 300 or more.	Rs. 500 or more.
Muslims ...	Rs. 600 or more.	Rs. 500 or more.

Among Patidars of Bhadkad there is dearth of brides. So some of them charge Rs. 1,500 or more for marrying their girls, and some Patidars have to pay big amounts of money to bride's parents on the occasion of their boy's marriage. Even among the Patidars there are several gradations of social status. There are 12 villages in Charotar district, the Patidars of which consider themselves superior to those of others (Kulinas). The Patidars of Bhadkad would be agreeable to enter into marriage alliance of their daughters with the sons of these superior Patidars but the latter will not be agreeable to give their daughters to the sons of Bhadkad Patidars. Some Patidars of Bhadkad have to bring brides from distant Saurashtra paying a high bridal fee. In fact, even among the Patidars of superior status each one of the families considers itself superior to the other. There is no evidence that these customs and restrictions regarding marriage have considerably changed.

According to *Shastras* and customs, divorce or second marriage by a woman after divorce or death of husband is not allowed among Brahmins and Vaishyas; no such incident has happened among them in Bhadkad, although both these are now allowed by law to all Hindus. Divorce or second marriage by a woman after divorce or death of husband is allowed both by law and custom among the lower or inferior castes.

Matrimonial Trends

In 1955, the number and percentage of unmarried, married and widowed men and women were as follows :—

	Unmarried	Married	Under widowhood
Men	410-50%	358-48%	57-7%
Women	230-84%	358-53%	90-13%
Total	640-48%	711-47%	147-10%

In 1955, the number of marriages performed among the inhabitants of Bhadkad was 35. Details of this according to castes are as follows.

	Men	Women	Total
Brahmins	—	1	1
Vaishyas	1	1	2
Lohanas	1	—	1
Patidars	3	—	3
Rabaries	1	—	1
Barias	17	6	23
Vagharies	—	1	1
Dheds	—	2	2
Bhangies	—	1	1
	28	12	35

Conventions and Discipline

Most of the castes, sub-castes, sections or sub-sections have their code of conduct in relationship, written or unwritten, and a recognised *Panch*, which means sometimes the whole assembly of all family representatives or a committee. The *Panch* meets from time to time, either at the request or requisition of some members of the caste or at the instance of its leaders, discusses and decides caste problems, passes resolutions and deals with the infringement of caste rules and conventions.

Customs in Death

Among Hindus and Jains, mourning is observed upto the thirteenth day from the date of death. During this period acquaintances and relations of the deceased come for mourning and solace. This custom is called "*Kan*". During these days and especially when persons come for "*Kan*", the women of the family, neighbourhood and relatives along with women visitors weep, and beat their breasts with hands. This weeping along with breast-beating in chorus is called "*Kutavun*". Sometimes the choir is in pathetic odes bemoaning the death of and remembering the deceased and other persons. These death verses are called "*Rajias*" or "*Marasias*". Frequency and

intensity of such weeping and breast-beating are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

In the case of the death of young persons, children are fed on some days from the 10th to the 13th day. But when old person or persons of mature age die, death dinners are held generally on the 12th or 13th day, when neighbours, relatives, friends and acquaintances of the deceased are invited and fed with full meals including sweets, by the family of the deceased. Sometime all the persons, men, women, and children of the sub-section, or section, or sub-caste or all the people of the village are also invited and fed. If this death dinner is held on the 12th day it is called "*Barman*", and if it is held on the thirteenth day, it is called "*Terman*". *Bar* means 12. *Ter* means 13.

1 Sometimes on or about the 13th day, some clothes, beds, utensils, etc. either belonging to the deceased or dear to him are placed on a bedstead, and in the presence of all persons, all these are given away as *Dan* (gift) generally to the family priest or at times to some relatives of the deceased such as sister's son. This is called "*Sarvani*".

Among Brahmins, Lohanas, Patidars, and some other castes, religious rites in which ablutions of water and offerings of flour-balls (*Pinda*), food etc. are made to the deceased, are performed under the direction of family priests by family of the deceased. This is called "*Shraddha*" which is performed on the 10th, 11th, 12th and the 13th day. Some people do this on only some of these days. Family priests are given fees—"Dakshina"—for this and in many cases they are either fed or given grains, ghee, sugar, vegetables, etc., for preparing meals from the same at their own house.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS—A COMPARISON

During the first survey, expenses of marriage among Brahmins ranged from Rs. 1,500 to 2,500 and some parents were taking money for marrying their girls. Vaishyas had to spend larger sums on marriage and some had to "buy wives", for a price ranging from Rs. 1,000 to 2,000. The expenses of marriage among Patidars varied from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000. In all these 3 castes, there was dearth of brides; and so, sometimes brides were "sold and purchased" at a price ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500. However, some Patidars did not take any money for marrying their girls, but on the contrary they gave a dowry of about Rs. 500 to the bridegroom. Barias had to pay about Rs. 150 to the bride's parents while marrying their boys. Among *Dheds*, bride's parents charged about Rs. 125 if the bride was young or unmarried, and about Rs. 500 if she was "big" or a widow who knew weaving. Among muslims a bride cost about Rs. 150 to Rs. 200. In case of deaths of old persons or persons of mature age, caste dinners were held on the 12th and or the 13th day which cost about Rs. 500 to Brahmins and Vaishyas; Rs. 100 to 300 to Patidars, and ordinarily less to persons of other castes.

Comparing the castes and customs during the first survey and the second survey, we note the following changes:—

1. The number of divisions among castes, sub-castes, sections and sub-sections has generally neither increased, nor decreased, barring a few small exceptions.
2. The institutions of ' *panch* ' in castes continues, but its hold, influence and power has been generally waning.
3. Some sections have written conventions, regulating caste customs and expenses and the tendency for such practice is increasing.
4. Attempts have been made to reduce amounts of money that are given as gifts on auspicious or inauspicious occasions. There have been also decisions and efforts to curtail expenses on social functions, and on occasions of *seemant*, death etc. feeding of caste fellows, and expenses have been generally decreasing; but expenses on marriage have, on the contrary, increased. This increase is due partly to the rise in prices of essential commodities etc. and partly to extravagance and luxury.
5. There is great laxity and freedom in the observance of restrictions in taking food prepared or touched by inferior or lower castes. But these restrictions are ordinarily observed at home and on occasions of caste dinners.
6. In case of marriage, husband and wife belong to the same caste, and among higher classes, to the same section.
7. There is still dearth of brides among Brahmins, some Vaishyas and Patidars.
8. The custom of giving a send off by parents to the daughter with her first baby, and expenses in clothes, ornaments, etc. for daughter and some of her relations on her husband's side still continues. But in modern times, some women have not to go to their father's place, for their 'first ordeal', and in such cases, the question of observing this custom does not arise at all.
9. Boys and girls are now betrothed and married at a later age than before, and some castes have resolved to reduce expenses relating to betrothal.
10. The practice of " *Palla* ", that is, gift of clothes, ornaments, and money by the bridegroom's parents to the bride generally continues, and the value of " *Palla* " has increased in some higher castes.
11. For the marriage of their sons, some Patidars of Bhadkad have still to pay money to bride's parents. Some have paid Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 3,000 to bride's parents on such accounts.

12. Some Patidars of Bhadkad have taken money from the bridegroom's side, for marrying their girls; it is said that such receipts varied from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 3,000. Some persons who take money in this way report that they take the same not as a price, but just to cover marriage expenses. On the marriage occasions, expenses regarding food, clothing, lighting, decoration, amusements and entertainments have increased. The increase is partly due to the rise in prices.
 13. Among Brahmins and Vaishyas, widows do not remarry. Marriage by widows of these castes is considered improper, immoral and irreligious. Widow marriage is not viewed similarly by some other castes, and so among them some widows do marry again; a second marriage by a widow may be due to economic or social reason.
 14. Among castes which believe in *Shraddh*, practice of its performance continues.
 15. "Death Dinners" have decreased, but they have not been still totally abolished.
 16. Weeping and breast-beating by women in unison, has become less, but is still common.
 17. The custom of (purdah) veiling her face by a woman in the presence of her husband's elders has become less rigid, but generally it does persist among women even now.
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CHAPTER VIII

STANDARD AND METHOD OF LIVING

FOOD HABITS

The people of Bhadkad are vegetarian except for the few muslims and a few from other castes. Even those muslims and other non-vegetarians eat meat only occasionally. All of them generally eat twice—first in the morning or noon and then in the evening or at night. Many of them take tea twice a day—once in the morning and again in the afternoon. Some people take tea only once—mostly in the morning. Persons who work on fields or do hard physical labour take breakfast too in the morning. Their breakfast consists mostly of *roti* made from bajri flour.

Higher Caste Menu

A special detailed study of the food habits and dietary of the various castes was made by Mr. Himchandbhai, in the course of the original survey. The study throws illuminating light on the food habits of these castes. The items in the meals of Brahmins, Vaishyas, Lohanas and some Patidars and a few others whose economic condition is good, are rice, liquid tuvar *dal* or thick tuvar *dal* and curry made from curds or buttermilk, *rotli* or *chapati* made from wheat flour, and vegetables. Some of them eat rice only once a day, either during the first meal or during the second meal. Sometimes they take *roti* made from bajri flour in place of *rotli* or *chapati* made from wheat flour, and replace vegetable by "kathol". They also take, sometimes, papad, pickles etc. and have also occasionally, *dhebra*, *bhajia* or some other 'farsan' preparation. Some of them take milk along with other items during their second meal. Those Patidars whose economic condition is not good use more bajri and less wheat in their meals, and take rice generally only once a day, preferably in the second meal. Otherwise other items of their food are mostly the same as those of the people mentioned above.

Barias

The food of the Barias generally consists of three meals—first in the morning, second in the noon, and third at night. These three courses are as under:—

First Meal

Rotla made from bajri or bavta flour along with tea, oil or pepper. Sometimes they take buttermilk with *rotla*.

Second Meal

Rotla made from bajri or bavta flour along with curry or vegetables.

Third Meal

Rotla made from bajri or bavta flour or rice and dal or kodri or khichdi with curry or buttermilk.

Barias generally take buttermilk whenever available along with *rotla*, rice, kodri or khichdi. Because of poverty they use bavta more than bajri, and eat kodri more than rice, as bavta and kodri are cheaper than wheat and rice. Their consumption of vegetables and milk too is much less than that of the higher caste people and only some of them have the luxury of pickles and that too, on some days only.

Artisans

The food of the artisans such as Potters, Carpenters, Blacksmiths and Barbers is usually similar to that of Brahmins, Vaishyas and Patidars, but as a rule they eat more bajri and less wheat, and with some of them khichdi is more frequent. Moreover, even though their items of food are similar to those of the higher castes, they are sometimes inferior in quality and taste.

Harijans

Among Dheds, the first meal consists generally of *rotla* made of bavta flour along with curry or vegetables, and the second meal also comprises such *rotla* and vegetables or curry. Sometimes they have kodri, khichdi and curry or rice and dal also. They take buttermilk also, whenever it is available. The Bhangies-Harijan sweepers-eat *rotla* made of bavta flour along with curry or vegetables, as their first meal. Their second meal consists of whatever foods people give them at night when they go abegging in the villages. This would be generally *rotla*, kodri, khichdi, rice, dal, *rotties* or *chapaties* made from wheat flour etc. As they are able to get free cooked food by begging at night, usually, they do not prepare their second meal.

Milk and Ghee

Brahmins, Vaishyas, Lohanas, some Patidars in good condition and persons who have milch cattle do take some quantity of milk. Even among these people, all persons in the family do not have milk daily, but as far as possible, their children are given some milk almost daily. Among artisans, Barias, Dheds, Bhangies and others, milk is only a rare occasional luxury. But some of the Barias who get milk from their buffaloes do take milk daily or frequently.

Other Preparations

People in Bhadkad prepare and eat sweets like shira, kansar, lapsi, ladu, puranpoli, doodha pak, etc., on festivals and when guests come to their house. But among the lower castes and the poor people, sweets would not be so frequent as among the higher castes and the rich people. Again ghee will be used less, or oil will be used in place of ghee by the lower castes or the poor people, and sometimes the quality of their preparations may also be inferior too.

Fruits

In Bhadkad, the following local fruits are consumed in the appropriate season :

Sitafal	...	...	...	...	Beginning of Winter
Bor	...	...	...	...	Winter
Kothan	...	...	...	...	"
Jambu	...	...	...	...	} At the end of summer
					} Beginning of Monsoon
Rayan	...	...	...	...	Summer
Mango	...	...	...	...	"

Besides these fruits, papaiyas, dadams, oranges, bananas etc. come into the village from outside and some people buy and eat the same.

The main differences between the food of those in good economic condition and that of those who are poor are as under :—

The well-to-do use rice and wheat more ; eat more vegetables, consume more milk, ghee, sugar, oil, condiments, spices, sweets and farsans etc. The poorer sections of the people use less of rice or wheat, and more of kodri, bajri and bavta, besides taking less or going without the other items mentioned above. The quality of the food in case of the former is good or fair, and poor in case of the latter.

The following are the main changes in food during the period between the first survey and the second survey.

- (1) Consumption of rice, dal and wheat has increased. Number of families eating these has also increased.
- (2) Consumption of vegetables and the number of persons eating them have increased. Formerly in the summer, vegetables used to come to the village from outside at the interval of 10 or 12 days ; now they come almost every day or third day.
- (3) Formerly 40 to 50 families among Patidars used to eat " Bhaidka " (porridge) 4 to 5 times a week. Now hardly any Patidar family eats this.

- (4) Formerly some Barias used to eat barley ; now nobody among them eats the same.
- (5) Formerly most of the milk in the village was exported outside for making cream. Now much less is sold outside the village. So people consume milk and ghee in greater quantities than before—at least the higher caste people and the people of means do consume them decidedly more.
- (6) Pickles are eaten more than before.
- (7) Consumption of sugar, molasses and condiments is greater than before.
- (8) Formerly hardly in any family tea was prepared daily. Now tea is being drunk in almost all families, and some people have it twice every day. This is the chief reason for more consumption of milk and sugar in the village.
- (9) Formerly there was starvation among some families, for want of sufficient food due to poverty. The number of families on starvation level has greatly decreased ; but some persons in the village do starve even now.

CLOTHING

Among the Hindus most of the adults wear white dhotee and white paهران or shirt which may be white or coloured. Some of them also wear half coat or jacket which may be coloured or white. On their heads, they put on white Gandhi cap or coloured cap. Many Barias and a few others tie 'safa' over their head. Some of the young men do not wear anything on their head, but many persons who work on the fields wear 'safa' or dhotee over their heads to protect them from heat or cold. A large number of men wear shoes ; some put on sandals, while some are barefooted for lack of means to buy footwear.

Adult women or married women wear "kabja"—blouse which covers their body over the waist, and "chania"—petticoat which covers the lower portion of the body from waist to feet. Over this chania and kabja they wear "sari". All these three are generally coloured and sometimes printed too. A good number of women wear "Sapats" or sandals.

Boys generally wear "lengha"—pyjamas—or shorts and shirt or paهران. All these may be white or coloured. Some boys wear caps and some do not.

Girls wear kabja and "chania", which is called "gaghari". Some girls wear "odhani" over this. "Odhani" is a small sari with length and width smaller than a sari. A full-fledged Gujarati sari measures 5

yards in length and from 45 to 49 inches in width. Instead of kabja and gaghari, some girls wear frocks which are replacing the former.

Among muslims men wear either dhoti or lengha or pyjamas, their other clothing apparel being similar to that of Hindu men. Muslim women wear "surval" from waist to feet and "paheran" covering hands and the body from neck to ankles. Over the paheran they wear "odhani". All these clothes may be coloured or white, and sometimes they may be printed also. Men wear shoes or sandals and women wear "sapats" or sandals.

Most of the cloth is mill-made. Only a few persons wear hand-spun khadi or cloth woven on handlooms. The percentage of persons wearing fine and superfine cloth is small, while that of persons using coarse and medium cloth is considerably large. The Brahmins, the shop-keepers and men of means use more of fine cloth while cultivators, labourers and poor persons have to use more of thicker and rougher stuff.

The apparels are generally of cotton. But Brahmin, Vaishya, Lohana and some Patidar women and some other women also keep silk or artificial silk apparel, which they wear on festive occasions. Among Brahmins men too wear silk dhotees during caste dinners and some religious ceremonies.

The cloth of Rabaries is in striking contrast to that of other Hindus. Rabari men wear very thick short dhotie, a short tight waist coat with scores of 'folds' fluttering round their waist, and long narrow sleeves extending to their waist, and a white or red 'safa' over their head. Rabari women wear short thick woollen skirts, cover their breasts with kapada and wear woollen odhani over both. Their attire is coloured, black, red, yellow, etc. and is sometimes studded with small, bright pieces of sparkling 'Abarak' or glasses. Only Rabaries have remained faithful to their ancient attire.

The following are the main differences in dress between the first and second survey :—

- (1) Formerly adults were wearing turbans, some daily and some on occasions. Now hardly any one wears turban. Instead, now many men wear caps and some go bare-headed.
- (2) Even the wearing of 'safa' round the head has decreased greatly.
- (3) The coloured cotton, silk or woollen caps or woollen coloured fur caps have been replaced by "Gandhi" caps which may or may not be khadi caps.
- (4) Only a few men wear coats now. Long coat is hardly seen in the village

- (5) No Hindu adult male used to wear lenghas before. Now some of them do wear the same.
- (6) Formerly, women used to wear "choli" or "kapadu" and later on "Polaka" with short flower-like blooming bulging sleeves, keeping their chest open in Victorian fashion. Now they have forsaken polkas and wear tight kabjas with tight sleeves.
- (7) In case of girls, frocks are fast replacing gagharis and kabjas.
- (8) Owing to the simplicity in clothing advocated by Mahatma Gandhiji, use of coats has decreased, and even "khes" also is hardly worn.
- (9) Formerly much of the cloth was foreign. Now most of the cloth is 'made in India'.
- (10) In spite of the propoganda for the use of handspun khadi, consumption of handspun khadi is meagre.
- (11) Consumption of fine cloth has been increasing.

HOUSING

The total number of house structures in Bhadkad is 529. Out of these, 484 bear census numbers, as enumerated in the year 1951. 301 houses are pucca brick houses and 228 houses are kachcha mud houses. 272 houses seem generally in tolerably good condition and 238 houses appear in bad condition. 19 have fallen down. 317 houses have roofs of deshi "nalias" (tiles) and on 212 houses the roofs are of corrugated galvanized iron sheets. 181 houses have storeys. Out of these, 5 are two-storeyed houses. 173 houses have their windows only in front. 111 houses have windows in the rear wall. Some houses have windows on side walls also. There is a separate room for kitchen in 62 houses. In the rest there is no such separate provision for cooking. 108 houses have a 'paniara'—a raised built structure for keeping vessels filled with water. In 118 houses there are 'pacci chokdi' so that water goes out of the houses. Only 3 houses have separate bathrooms. About 94 houses have full fledged good 'otlas', that is built open space in front of the house.

Habitation

In 349 houses people cook and live. In 43 houses they reside but do not cook. 18 houses are shops. In 27 structures, either temples, public institutions or offices are located. Only cattle are kept in 30 houses. The rest were found generally vacant.

Light and Ventilation

Houses with good sufficient light and ventilation are only a few.

TABLE XXIV
Ownership of Houses by Caste

Caste	Number of Families	Number of Houses
Brahmin	7	11
Vaishya	8	20
Lohana	5	17
Patidar	95	161
Garasia	3	2
Sadhu	2	4
Gosai	3	2
Rabari	4	6
Potter	1	2
Carpenter	2	1
Blacksmith	2	6
Barber	8	17
Baria	132	153
Gola	1	—
Ravalia	5	6
Bhoi	5	6
Shoemaker	1	1
Vaghari	3	3
Dhed	26	32
Chamar	1	1
Bhangi	10	13
Muslim	13	12
Fakir	6	5
Vora	2	3
Religious and public places, shops, workshops, offices, etc.	345	484
Total		529

Age of Houses

Out of 529 houses, about 50 have been built during last 10 years, about 125 within 11 to 20 years, about 75 during 21 to 30 years, about 50 within 31 to 40 years and about 100 during 41 to 50 years. Some are more than 100 years old.

The houses owned castewise are given in Table No. 24. The number of houses shown against some castes such as Brahmins, Vaishyas, Lohanas, Patidars, and Barias are more than the number of families in the castes. This is because some families have been staying out of Bhadkad and some families have become extinct. Barring a few exceptions the number of houses for each caste is generally even with the number of families in that caste. Compared to the houses of Barias, Dheds and Bhangies, houses of Brahmins, Vaishyas, Lohanas and Patidars are generally *pucca*, better and bigger. Most of the houses of the lower castes are *kachcha* and smaller; but the houses of Potter, Carpenter, Blacksmith and Barbers are "*pucca*" and better than those of Barias and Harijans. However, 2 houses belonging to Harijans are not only *pucca* but quite good also. A few houses belonging to Patidars have dexterous carving on wood on the front

side of their buildings. But these are old ones. To have such carvings now would be quite a costly affair.

In the houses of upper castes, there is general evidence of greater affluence in the possession of articles of comfort and luxury than what we see in those of the lower castes. Moreover, in the former, there are signs of greater attention to cleanliness and orderly display than those in the latter. Poverty of the lower class is one of the chief reasons for this difference in upkeep and appearance.

The changes in housing are as under :—

(1) Many people have begun to understand the advantages of light and air ; so some of them try to have as much of light and air in their houses as possible, and provide for more and bigger windows.

(2) Formerly men of means used to spend considerable money over carvings, decorations, etc. in their houses ; now, instead, they use their money in providing necessary facilities and conveniences in them.

(3) Formerly there were only a few separate rooms for kitchen : now their number has been increasing.

(4) Some persons have provided separate bathrooms in their houses. This is a new noticeable feature and a great convenience. There are no latrines, except one or two which are used by ladies and during nights.

(5) In old houses, the ground used to be dressed with cattle dung. Now some of the new houses have flooring of stone, cement or tiles. Now more cement is used in building houses.

(6) Formerly there were castor-oil lights in earthen bowls. They have been replaced by kerosene lanterns.

(7) In some houses, chairs and tables have usurped the place of *gadies* and *takias*. 'Pats' are also hardly seen.

(8) Formerly all houses had roofs of " *nalias* " ; now many have roofs of corrugated iron sheets.

(9) In some houses kerosene stove is used, in place of firewood for preparing food and hot drinks.

(10) In a number of houses pictures of what are called "Leaders" have been eclipsing old patriots, heroes and gods.

CHAPTER IX

HEALTH AND SANITATION

SANITATION AND CLEANLINESS

Except for a small number of families who keep their houses and surroundings clean, many families keep bullocks or buffaloes in front of or near their houses with the result that the dung and urine of these cattle, along with refuse thrown here and there by residents make '*falias*', '*mahollas*' and pathways, quite dirty. Besides children, even adults seem to have no civic consciousness. Government have ceased payment of salaries to Harijan sweepers, and the latter are absolved from the duty of sweeping and cleaning the village. In the absence of alternative local arrangement, voluntary or otherwise by any agency, the village remains unswept over long periods; only occasionally some leading persons in the village get the same swept by local sweepers, mostly by their personal influence.

Due to the housing of cattle in the same place, their dung, and urine, as well as other dirt, refuse etc., tend to the breeding of mosquitoes and bugs which suck the blood of men and cattle already emaciated for lack of nutritious food. Under economic pressure, a number of persons work under severe cold or in scorching heat under great physical strain. Some persons suffer through worries arising from economic or social difficulties, hardships, troubles and calamities. These are some of the main causes of ill-health and diseases in Bhadkad. During the first survey also, the village was noted for dirt, refuse etc. There were bugs, mosquitoes etc. which pestered people and cattle and affected their health. After very heavy rains, water used to collect in big pools around the village. This impeded passage and was detrimental to the health and sanitation of Bhadkad.

PREVALENT DISEASES

Cold, cough, malaria, asthma, lung troubles, pneumonia are the common diseases in the winter season, while in summer, people suffer from malaria, typhoid, diarrhoea, sprue and sometime cholera also. During the rainy season a number of persons are attacked by malaria and cough.

During the year 1954-55, 417 cases were registered in the Dispensary of Bhadkad, among which 261 were men and 156 women. The total number of days for which they took medicine is 1,087. The details of diseases and the number of persons treated in this Dispensary are given in Table No. 25.

TABLE XXV
Incidence of Diseases

Name of the Disease	Second Survey			Disease	First Survey*	Number of Patients
	Men	Women	Total			
Malaria Fever ...	42	36	78	Fever, Jaundice ...	18	
Pneumonia, typhoid and other Fevers ...	21	9	30	Consumption ...	3	
Diseases pertaining to breathing ...	49	16	59	Asthma-Cough ...	16	
Diarrhoea, Sprue ...	4	4	8	Barol ...	6	
Stomach pain, Indigestion, weakness	18	6	24	Gas trouble ...	1	
Dysentery ...	18	6	24	Blindness ...	9	
Constipation ...	17	7	24	Gout ...	3	
Heart diseases ...	5	2	7	Brain disease ...	2	
Eye diseases ...	25	20	45	Bone contamination	3	
Ear diseases ...	8	8	16	Jalodar ...	3	
Teeth and Mouth diseases ...	15	8	23	Paralysis ...	4	
Skin diseases ...	11	11	22	Deafness ...	1	
Accidental injuries ...	18	7	25			64
Scorpion and Snake bites ...	1	—	1			
Female diseases ...	—	5	5			
Gout, Rheumatism ...	—	—	—			
Kidney diseases ...	2	1	3			
Other diseases ...	13	10	23			
	261	156	417			

* Dependants of families only.

The significant points to be noted are that out of the total cases registered in the dispensary 63 per cent are men and 37 per cent are women. In each disease group, the number of men is greater than that of women, or at least it is not less. About one-fourth of the total cases were of fevers, of which 75 per cent are malaria. Diseases relating to breathing are about 14 per cent, not quite inconsiderable. Eye diseases are 10 per cent; teeth and mouth diseases, 5 per cent; ear-troubles, 3 per cent; and constipation, stomach pain, etc. more than 5 per cent.

Scale of Charges

The charges for medicine are only 1 anna per head per day. Injection fee is Re. 1 per every injection. Half the amount realised as fee is taken into the fund of the Dispensary, and the other half is paid to the Doctor. For a visit to a patient's house, the doctor is paid Re. 1/-. In delivery cases, he charges Rs. 15/- per case. The Doctor is allowed to retain these fees for personal use. The annual income of the Dispensary is about Rs. 1,200 which includes about Rs. 150 to 200 as case fees, about Rs. 100 as presents from local people on

marriage occasions, Rs. 300 by way of medicines and Rs. 300 as establishment grant from District Local Board and about Rs. 150 as local help.

The annual expenses are about Rs. 2,200 which includes Rs. 1,700 as establishment charges, Rs. 300 as cost of medicines and about Rs. 180 to 200 by way of miscellaneous expenses.

The deficit of about Rs. 1,000 to 1,200 is met every year by Sheth Himchand Kapurchand, of Bhadkad, who is now the Managing Director of Jeevanlal Limited, a well-known firm of aluminium utensils manufacturers.

Maternity Relief

There is no Maternity Home for cases of delivery. Nor is there any qualified midwife in the village. However, there are two local illiterate women who are experienced in midwifery and who do this job. In case of the birth of a boy, the fee paid is Rs. 2, but if a girl is born, the fee paid is Re. 1 only! Besides this fee, 5 to 10 lbs. of grains, ghee, etc., are given to the midwife.

The local Doctor also attends on delivery cases if he is called for this job. When a qualified midwife or a qualified nurse was called from Sojitra, Vaso, etc., the expenses were about Rs. 50 to 75. During the first survey, when there was no dispensary, Doctor or Vaidya in the village, the inhabitants used to avail of the household remedies and medicines; but if they did not get relief, some of them went to Doctors in Vaso or Sojitra at a distance of 4 to 6 miles for their treatment.

During the first survey, an attempt was made by the questionnaire method to know the state of health of the families in Bhadkad. The heads of 272 families were specifically questioned as to whether they were keeping fit or were suffering from any ailment. Out of these, the heads of 215 families or 80 per cent reported that they were in a fit condition. A further question was put as to whether any of their dependents were suffering from any disease at the time. The answer elicited for this question shows that among the dependents 64 persons were ailing from some disease or other. The incidence of the diseases among this group of dependents is shown in Table No. 25 under the first survey. The statistics relating to incidence of diseases in the second survey (Table No. 25) are taken from the records of the Dispensary.

CHAPTER X

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

LITERACY

Out of 1,516 persons in Bhadkad, 352 are literate ; they can read and write fairly well. This means that the percentage of literacy is 23. Of the 832 males, 297 are literate, and of the 684 females, 55 are literate. The percentage of literacy, among men and women are 35 and 8 respectively. The percentage of literacy caste-wise is given in Table No. 26. Among the higher castes, literacy is higher in Brahmins, Vaishyas and Lohanas whose occupations need knowledge of the "Three Rs." Literacy is not high among Patidars who are mainly agriculturists. Among the lower or backward castes, literacy is good or fair among Garasias, Sadhus, Potters, Blacksmiths, Barbers, Golas, Ravals, Dheds and Chamars, while it is less or much less among Gosaies, Rabaries, Barias, Bhois, Shoemakers, Vagharies and Harijans. Among the 2 Chamars—one male and one female, and the 2 adult Golas, one male, and one female, the males alone are literate. The high percentage of literacy noted among the backward classes is due to the comparatively less number of women in these families. Literacy is high among Muslims.

TABLE XXVI
Literacy by Caste

Caste	Percentage
Brahmin	31
Vaishya	47
Lohana	44
Patidar	26
Garasia	40
Sadhu	50
Gosai	20
Rabari	15
Potter	50
Carpenter	—
Blacksmith	28
Barber	37
Baria	16
Gola	50
Raval	31
Bhoi	10
Shoemaker	20
Vaghari	6
Dhed	25
Chamar	50
Bhangi	4
Muslim	30
Fakir	22
Vora	40

} 32

As compared to the present position, in the previous survey, there were 303 literates out of a total population of 1,218 persons. So, literacy has increased only by 2 per cent (excluding the children attending school). Including the children, the percentage of increase is from 25 to 34, that is 9 per cent only.

During the second survey among those who have received higher education, there is 1 B.A., 1 LL.B., 1 Chartered Accountant, and 1 who has studied Engineering at Kala Bhavan Technical Institute at Baroda. Besides these persons, there are a few who have received higher education in Colleges or have passed Matriculation Examination; but most of them have been staying out of Bhadkad, as they cannot find suitable gainful occupations in the village.

EDUCATION

There is a Gujarati primary school in Bhadkad run by the District Board. It is named as the Gujarati Local Board Mixed School. It is a co-educational institution. The School has a good building of its own, with a built in area of a 1,304 square feet and 4 class-rooms, each measuring about 25 × 15 feet, a small water-room and verandah. The flooring is of stone slabs and the roofing, tiled. The building has sufficient number of doors and windows to provide proper ventilation. It was built in 1932 at a cost of Rs. 7,000. One of the class-rooms is adorned with a picture of Pandit Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. Boards containing sermons and slogans are hung on the walls of every room. This building is on a high level, and there is also a compound around the same, which measures 4,815 square feet, and has 2 neem trees.

Standards and Teachers

In this school there are five standards and three teachers. The details of qualifications etc. of the staff are as under:—

Training		Salary	Dearness Allowance
		Rs.	Rs.
M. D. Sharma	Passed II year Teachers' Training College.	65	45
B. K. Thakkar	Passed School Final	35	35
N. F. Vankar	Passed School Final	35	35
		<u>135</u>	<u>115</u>

The total emoluments of teachers (including dearness allowances) are Rs. 250 per month.

Strength of the School

The number of pupils on the register of the school is 166, among whom 103 are boys and 63 are girls. 62 per cent of pupils are boys, and 38 per cent are girls. The strength of the school is given below.

Standards	Boys	Girls	Total
I	48	24	67
II	26	18	44
III	19	9	28
IV	8	10	18
V	7	2	9
	<u>103</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>166</u>

There are less number of pupils in the two higher standards which indicates that perhaps many of the pupils stay away in the middle of the course.

Language, Arithmetic and General Information are taught in all standards of this school, but in the fifth standard, History, Geography and Hindi are also taught besides these subjects.

Extra Curricular Activities

Children are made to do cleaning and sweeping everyday and gardening on some days in the School. They are also taken on tour or picnic 6 to 10 times in a year. The distance covered in such trips is from about 2 to 24 miles. The places of excursion include schools, exhibitions, and historical spots or natural sites. During such trips, children are accompanied by teachers who lead and supervise the "young pilgrims".

Equipment

The school is equipped with 3 maps, one each of Kheda District, India and Africa, 7 blackboards, and 5 bars with coloured rounds. There are 5 chairs, 4 tables, 30 benches, 1 cupboard, 1 mapbox, 1 record box and 1 clock. Out of 121 pupils who appeared at the examination held in April 1955, 78 pupils passed. The percentage of success was 64.

12 children of Bhadkad are being educated in the Anglo-Vernacular schools, situated outside Bhadkad. 12 other children of Bhadkad are permanently staying in other places with their relatives and prosecute their studies there. This is due to lack of provision for higher schooling in Bhadkad.

School Library

The school has a small library which has 227 books including text-books prescribed from year to year, biographies, maxim books,

short stories, and books chiefly meant for children and miscellaneous books. During the year 53 books have been issued to the pupils.

During the first survey, there were 3 separate schools in Bhadkad. They were : (1) Gujarati primary school for boys ; (2) Gujarati primary school for girls, and (3) Gujarati primary schools for the untouchables. In the boys' school there were 4 standards with 93 boys on the roll. In the girls' school also there were 4 standards with 34 girls on the register and the school for untouchables had also 4 standards with 30 pupils on the muster. The percentage of results in the examination in the first, second and the third schools were 60, 60 and 61 respectively.

The boys' school possessed 221 books, 14 maps and 36 wooden materials. The girls' school had 82 books, 3 maps and 43 wooden things, while the school for the untouchables was equipped with 4 maps and 7 wooden appliances.

There were 4 teachers in the boys' school and all were qualified. Girls' school teacher was also a qualified person. The total number of pupils in all the three schools was 157.

The main changes in education during the two survey periods are that the number of schools is reduced to one and the number of teacher to three. This has resulted in the saving of expenditure in the salary of teachers, but has impaired the efficiency in teaching. There is only a nominal increase in the number of pupils. When the population of Bhadkad has, during the last 40 years, increased by 40 per cent increase in the number of pupils in the school is only by 5 per cent. Formerly the percentage of girl pupils was 21 ; now it has risen to 38, which is a welcome feature. The teachers, all reside in the village, while they used to come from outside in the previous survey period. The equipment of the school has not been improved. On the other hand, it has gone down.

Public Library and Reading Room

There is a public library in Bhadkad called the Bhadkad Mitra Mandal Public Library. Mitra Mandal means Friends' Society. The Library was started in the year 1912-13. There is a permanent local committee to help and supervise the institution.

The Library is housed in its own building which has three rooms measuring 320, 231 and 120 square feet respectively. The roof of the structure is covered with corrugated iron sheets. The building was constructed in 1929 at a cost of Rs. 3,000. It is not kept clean for want of a permanent servant.

The Librarian is one Mr. Shashikant Vithalbhai Patel who renders honorary service. The library has furniture worth Rs. 405/10/-. It consists of 7 cupboards, 5 chairs, 1 stool, 2 benches, and 1 clock. There are 1,279 books in the library. Most of these are in Gujarati language. The subjects in which books are available are : (1) General ; (2) Dictionary ; (3) Philosophy ; (4) Ethics ; (5) Religion ; (6) Science ; (7) Medicine ; (8) Sociology ; (9) Art and Industry ; (10) Education ; (11) Literature ; (12) Poetry ; (13) Drama ; (14) Novels ; (15) History ; (16) Geography ; (17) Biography ; (18) Literature for Children ; and (19) Literature for Women.

Books are duly entered in the Book-Register and are noted in the issue book while lending them to readers and accepting back the same. In 1954-55, the number of persons who were issued books was 147, among whom 48 were men, 7 women and 92 were pupils. The books so issued were mainly short stories, novels, and religious books. Books on politics are read only by a few.

The reading room attached to the Library, has the following Papers and Periodicals.

1. Daily	...	...	<i>Jannabhoomi</i> , a Gujarati daily published in Bombay
2. Weekly	...	...	1. <i>Kheda Varhman</i> . 2. <i>Lokmat</i> published in Nadiad.
3. Monthly	...	...	1. <i>Pustakalay</i> , published in Baroda. 2. <i>Akhand Anand</i> , published in Ahmedabad. 3. <i>Balak</i> . 4. <i>Balmitra</i> . 5. <i>Ramakadu</i> .

The reading room is open from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. every day excepting Sunday.

During the first survey, the library had 522 books and about 50 books were issued every month. The library used to get *Hindusthan* which was a Gujarati Daily from Bombay and 2 Gujarati Weeklies—*Gujarati* from Bombay and *Sayaji Vijaya* from Baroda. It was also receiving the following periodicals:—

(1) *Navjivan* and *Satya* ; (2) *Satsang* ; (3) *Kelavani* ; (4) *Vaidya Kalpatarun* ; (5) *Dhanvantari* ; (6) *Visani Sadi* ; and (7) *Chitramaya Jagat*.

All these papers and periodicals were of a high standard and provided good news, views and a variety of material ranging from philosophy, religion and ethics to medicine, literature and social, economic and political subjects. During the first survey, the income of the library

included Rs. 33 as local collection, Rs. 33, aid from Panchayat, and Rs. 33, Government grant. The expenses comprised the following items:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Newspapers and Periodicals	44	0	0
Books	12	0	0
Furniture	12	0	0
Contingency	5	0	0
	73	0	0

The significant change since the last survey is that the Library has been able to build a structure of its own and expand its resources.

Income and Expenditure

The income and expenditure of the Library in 1954-44 were as under:—

<i>Income</i>			<i>Expenditure</i>		
	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.
Opening balance	165	10 3	Newspapers and periodicals	97	8 0
Donations	100	0 0	Books	87	8 0
Interest of fund	16	13 0	Servant	1	0 0
Government aid	75	0 0	Subscription	3	8 0
Sale of newspapers	15	3 3	Permanent Fund	16	3 0
Dividend on shares	1	8 0	Miscellaneous	9	9 0
				220	14 9
			Cash in hand	153	3 9
				374	2 6
Total	374	2 6	Total	374	2 6

The Government gives an annual grant equivalent to the amount collected locally, but this does not exceed Rs. 75/- per year.

The library is inspected by the Bhag Education Officer when he comes to Bhadkad to visit the School. Accounts are audited once in a year.

CHAPTER XI

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

For administrative jurisdiction, Bhadkad is in Petlad Taluka of Kaira District in Bombay State. The Head of District Administration is Revenue Collector, who is assisted by Deputy and Assistant Collectors and Mamlatdars. Deputy and Assistant Collectors are in charge of usually two, three or four talukas. A Mamlatdar is a revenue officer in charge of the taluka and works under a Deputy or Assistant Collector. Almost all other Departments have their District Officers, Sub-District Officers and Taluka Officers at district, sub-district and taluka headquarters.

A taluka comprises about 75 to 100 villages. There is a headman in every village, who is called Mukhi or Patel. He is appointed by Government usually for six years from among 'Matadars' in the village. His main duties are collection of land revenue and other taxes, remittance of collections to Government treasury, preservation of boundary marks of fields and village site, supervision over wells, lakes, canals and other means of water, protection of government properties and prevention of contagious and other diseases. He has also to preserve law and order in the village, and inform the Police in case of occurrence of a criminal offence or receiving a complaint of offence in the village. Usually one and the same person does both the revenue and police duties and so he is both a Revenue and a Police Patel. But in some villages there are 2 separate Patels for these two functions—the Revenue Patel, performing revenue functions and the Police Patel performing police functions.

The salary paid to the Mukhi is in proportion to the amount of land revenue collected by him according to the following schedule.

					Per cent
1.	Up to Rs. 1,000	...	...	...	3
2.	Over Rs. 1,000	...	...	...	2
3.	Over Rs. 2,000	...	...	...	1

Salary paid to the Mukhi is really low in view of the responsible and important work he is enjoined to do. But in official status he is the chief man and the first citizen in the village. He is the link between Government Departments on one side and people of his own village, on the other. He is supposed to work on the principle of '*noblesse oblige*'.

Talati

The Talati is a full time Government servant who collects land revenue singly or along with the Mukhi in the village, enters every receipt of revenue in the cash book and also credits the same in the ledger to the account of its representative holder. He also maintains a register of survey numbers, holdings, acres of each survey number and holding and names of registered holders and occupants of land. Besides this, he writes and maintains some other registers, and also writes accounts. He deals with petitions from local persons, and either disposes them off locally or sends them to higher officers for information and/or action. He receives written orders, and instructions from above for inquiry or action. He has to prepare and submit a number of statements to his superiors. So he is not only a collector of land revenue, and the village accountant, but an over-all village officer with every type of administrative work, lots of registers, papers and 'tumars', pertaining to his multifarious duties. He is the pivot of village administration.

The Talati is in charge of 1, 2 or 3 villages. If the village is big, there is one Talati for the same, but if the village is very big, he is sometimes provided with an assistant also. The area in charge of Talati is called a "Saja" which may consist of only 1 village or more. Talati is recruited by a Deputy Collector from among those who have passed the Vernacular Final Examination. He is also required to pass departmental tests. He is required by rules to stay in the "Saja" which he seldom does. Patel and Talati are the partners in village administration with joint and several responsibility and exercise considerable influence on village life.

Ravaniyas

Ravaniyas are village watchmen, as well as peons. They have to protect the village and the 'seem'. They also carry government letters etc. from and to their village and carry remittances of Government money also. They call persons who are summoned by government servants for government work.

The Village Revenue Administration

The revenue village servants of Bhadkad are governed by the rules relating to village servants of former Baroda State. In Bhadkad, there is one Mukhi, one Talati and five Ravaniyas. The Mukhi of Bhadkad is appointed for six years from among the Matadar families of Bhadkad who are 11.

The present Talati of Bhadkad is in charge of a "Saja" of 3 villages, whose combined survey numbers, holders of land, land revenue and other work are much more than those of other Sajas. As the Talati has to visit and work in all these places and the Taluka Headquarters, his efficiency in work is naturally affected, to the detriment of Government interest and public convenience.

During the first survey, the number of Government servants and their salaries were as under:—

	Number	Monthly Salary in Rs.
1. Mukhi	1	
2. Talati	1	
3. Jamadar	1	4
4. Ravania	10	3
5. Potter	1	1
6. Barber	1	1
7. Vartania	1	1
8. Sweepers	2	5
	18	

Servants from Jamadar to sweepers were in possession of tax-free land given by government in consideration of their services. This made up mostly for their meagre salaries in money. The Potter had to supply earthen utensils in the Chora and fetch water for the same. The Barber was required to sweep, wash clothes, clean utensils and light the lamps in the Chora. The Vartania's duty was to fill up pits and to remove obstacles on public ways, to strip off branches of trees that obstruct passage and carry Government records from and to the village.

Sweepers had to do conservancy work, to sweep roads and ways in the village, and to remove carcasses of dead animals from the village.

The services of the village servants like Potter, Barber, Sweeper have been done away with, and nobody is entrusted with the essential work that they were doing. This causes great hardship to Government servants who camp in village. In the absence of legal obligation, no one is willing to do these jobs, even if he is to be paid.

When superior officers camp in the Chora the Talati and the Mukhi use their influence and manage to persuade some local persons to do these jobs for a short time to please their superiors.

The Chora which is both a village revenue office and a Government Resthouse, was formerly in charge of Mukhi-Talati; now it is under the care and possession of the Chairman of Bhadkad Village Panchayat.

The Chora and its compound are not properly looked after. Formerly the Mukhi was the ex-officio Chairman of the Panchayat. Now the Panchayat elects its own Chairman; so now there are two rival leaders in the village. This diarchy which now prevails at bottom, is causing harm to the administration and public interest, specially when the Panchayat is not functioning satisfactorily.

Another feature noticed in the administrative organisation at the time of the Second Survey, was the unhealthy procedure of frequent transfers of the Talati. The result of this was that this key-officer of village administration could not continuously apply himself to his work with as much concentration and efficiency as it would have been possible otherwise.

The crimes which had occurred in the village, at the time of investigation were:—

- (1) Assault and Intimidation ;
- (2) Damage to and theft of paddy crops in the field of the head-man's uncle ; and
- (3) Theft.

The Village Panchayat

There is a Village Panchayat in Bhadkad formed in 1914. This Panchayat is now governed by the Village Panchayat Act of Bombay State. The number of members for this Panchayat, fixed by Government is 9, who are to be elected by the voters of Bhadkad village. One out of these 9 is to be a woman. The members elect from among themselves a Chairman who is called "Sar Panch".

During the last 5 years, the number of meetings held and resolutions passed were as under.

Year	No. of Meetings	No. of Resolutions
1951	3	0
1952	10	19
1953	5	0
1954	9	17
1955	1	2

These resolutions related mostly to local administrative matters, repair of chora and facility of a post office letter box.

During the same period, the receipts and disbursements of the Panchayat were as follows :

Year	Receipts			Disbursements		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1951-52	40	6	6	—	—	—
1952-53	1,081	2	8	1,243	10	3
1953-54	214	5	0	183	6	9
1954-55	100	1	0	93	8	0
1955-56	2,017	6	0	298	12	8
	3,453	1	2	1,669	5	8

The major portion of receipts are grants from Government excepting for a very small amount from auction and other odd sources. The Panchayat has not raised any funds by local taxation. It has also not done any work of public utility. Out of an expenditure of Rs. 1,649-8-3, Rs. 1,507-12-0 has been spent towards salary to staff and office expense which is 90 per cent of total expense.

The chief officer of Kaira District Local Board himself is of the view that the work of this Panchayat is neither regular nor satisfactory, and that members and people do not take interest in its work. During the first survey, the Panchayat was a live institution. It held frequent meetings, and discussed and passed important resolutions, including administrative matters, construction and repair of Chora, Roads, Dharma Shala, etc., sanitation and other beneficial subjects.

The works done in the village by the Panchayat, or at its instance during the first survey period includes construction of well for Harijans, raised platform on the lake, repair of wells, etc. The expenditure on these amounted to about Rs. 3,200. During the first survey one of the resolutions of this Panchayat embodied A FIVE YEAR PLAN of public work in Bhadkad.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

The survey has covered various details of the socio-economic living of the population of the village of Bhadkad. In studying the broad facts of the economic life of the people and the physiographic environments which conditioned the agricultural progress of the village, it is found that a major portion of the population has to depend upon agriculture and other allied pursuits for their maintenance. While population has increased nearly by 25 per cent, the area of agricultural land under cultivation has almost remained same, with a consequent decrease in the average of land per family from 6 and *per capita* from $1\frac{1}{2}$, to 4 and $1\frac{1}{4}$ respectively. This brings into prominence the increase in pressure of population on land which has in turn led to the sub-division of the bigger khatas (holdings), with consequential increase in the smaller holdings. The opportunities for employment in other pursuits have also decreased with the languishing of the traditional occupations of the village artisans and craftsmen.

While these basic facts bring out the fundamental deficiency in the organisation of agriculture, the impact of technical improvement, however small, is also noticed. A large part of the area has come under self-cultivation. There is an increase in draft power, and agricultural equipment (ploughs and carts). The increase in the average yields of crops particularly paddy, bavto, bajri, wheat and kather show that the agriculturists have not been behind in adopting improved methods of cultivation wherever facilities were available. This is evidenced still more by the fact that the area under irrigation has roughly increased from 55 bighas to 200 bighas rising upto the maximum of 600 bighas. The principal trends in agriculture clearly indicate that it is beyond the capacity of the agriculturist population to correct the basic deficiencies such as the increase in population or the lack of additional land for cultivation. But within the technical knowledge available and facilities provided, intensive methods of production have been demonstrably proved to have given advantage to them.

In regard to the livestock wealth of the village, it is found that the number of proprietary buffaloes has decreased. The rise in prices of agricultural products as well as livestock products have resulted in increasing the money incomes of the village population. This is confirmed by the data on incomes which shows that incomes have risen by about four times. Another fact of significance is that comparatively, the number of families having excess of income over expenditure is more and the village economy

as a whole seems to be in a state of surplus. The debts have increased by Rs. 16,229/- though it is reported that old debts have been redeemed. The contraction of new debts possibly indicates the demand for funds, for whatever reasons. May be this is due to the fact also that there has been a corresponding increase in the expenditure side on some of the essential items of the family budget. People with higher incomes and who can afford have taken to the consumption of more costly items of food. Tea which was a rarity has become a common beverage in almost every household with a simultaneous rise in the consumption of sugar. Similarly, the expenditure on clothing, particularly on finer varieties, has shown an upward trend. But in the majority of cases in the low-income group, all the activities of the population find their place at a low subsistence level, life being nothing more than a struggle to satisfy the prime necessities of existence. While the rise in prices and the rise in incomes have resulted in a perceptible shift from the group of low incomes to high incomes, the pattern of living in the low-income group has remained almost stationary or worsened.

The facts, on a comparative review of the socio-economic position of the village in the first survey period and the second survey period, show the stark reality that the progress in development either in the economic sphere or in social change has been very slow. Practically, conditions of stagnancy have prevailed over a period of nearly 40 years. Yet, the bright spot in this dim vista is the educated element of the community of the Patidars who can rise appreciably, when given a chance, to adjust themselves to the changing pattern of social behaviour. This can be observed from the rapid development of the larger Patidari villages, surrounding this village.

In point of health and sanitation, the village has gone from bad to worse though facilities for medical attendance and treatment have been provided. There is no hospital, no maternity home and no qualified midwife in the village. While the incidence of diseases does not give any specific indication that the health of the population has deteriorated, the disappearance of even the minimum code of civic responsibility prevalent previously in the maintenance of village roads etc. clearly shows that the corporate life of the village has been broken. There is a comparative improvement in literacy and education by nearly 5 per cent. As a result, perhaps, while caste rigidities in respect of inter-dining and inter-marriage still persist among the majority, there is evidence of the relaxation of other external formalities connected with social contacts between castes. There is comparatively greater intermingling among the population. At any rate, at least in the occupational structure of the economic organisation, caste is losing its hold.

A study of the caste customs shows that the rigid working of the social regulations among the different castes has not been very much loosened. The institution of '*Panch*' which is at once the caste as-

sembly, the caste executive and the caste judiciary still continues to hold its influence though in degrees the influence may be on the wane. While resolutions have been made for the reduction of expenses on social functions and ceremonies, expenses on marriages have actually increased. Practice of 'death dinners', though not very common as before, have not been still abolished. Such expenditure on marriage has far-reaching repercussions on the economic status of a family. The caste dinner still represents the close connection between the family and the caste and stands as a symbol of the influence of caste and the predominance of social values over economic interests. Restrictions on marriage are endogamous as well as exogamous. Usually, matrimonial alliance among Patidars is contracted even now within the social limits of the respective villages which are considered to be on equal status. Untouchability or prohibition of contact with Harijans, Sweepers and Chamars is not so strictly observed though members of these castes are not allowed entry into private houses and private temples.

In the background of the economic trends and the pattern of social customs and beliefs, what one finds is that the institutions which have been traditionally designed for co-operative work have become defunct. This fundamental change in the organisational set-up of village administration, did not provide an alternative for uniting the efforts of the village population towards better economic development and living. While the frame-work of administration was retained in the Village Panchayat, the latter became inactive on its being relegated to the position of a subsidiary agency next only to the village revenue administration. Therefore, the long period of neglect of a virile local institution like the Panchayat has contributed largely to the break up of the solidarity of community life which was so essential for economic development of the village. The people now do not take interest in the Village Panchayat and it does not perform any appreciable public service as reported. When one realises, how in Bhadkad, even as in any other villages, individuals find it difficult to make personal choices of improvement unless the whole group understands and considers to make similar choices the need for a group approach will become very clear. There is no institution which is more fitted for this purpose than the Village Panchayat, the spirit of which requires to be reinfused if the village has to progress. Similar is the case of the co-operative society. It is almost in a moribund condition and the facts of its working point to the necessity of greater and better efforts by the Department of Co-operation for the improvement and development of this Society as an effective agency for the economic progress of the village.

The case of Bhadkad is illustrative of the various problems confronting Indian Villages and Agriculture, the difficulties and handicaps of the Indian farmers and the social stratification and beliefs which have arrested the progress of the rural community. The differences are only one of degree, introduced by local conditions. Similarly, the magnitude of the task of reconstruction of a typical Indian village

which has had the impact of partial development due to facilities of communication and contact with the industrial centres of district is exposed. It is seen that the cultural development of the various groups of the population has varied and synchronised with their social contact with the urban structure of the society living outside the village. In this context, the survey also illustrates clearly the factors that resist development and the effect of piece-meal change in the traditional institutions without properly conceived substitute organisations to replace them. The problem in Bhadkad is therefore the same problem as that in many of the hundreds of thousands of Indian villages, viz., that of creating conditions for full employment and higher incomes and the need for visualising institutional changes which would so alter the pattern of the social and economic behaviour as to be responsive to this need for rapid economic development.

APPENDIX

A CASE STUDY

(The following is an English rendering, almost literal, of the very words of Gala Khuma, who narrated in his own colloquial Gujarati language and local style, the history of his family and condition of living. He was one of the 13 persons whose family cases were specially examined during the First Survey of Bhadkad).

We eat every year whatever corn is grown during that particular year. We do not eat *juwar* as it does not suit us. We sell off the same. We may eat *juwar* occasionally once or twice a month. In the morning we eat *roties*, in the evening, *Khichdi*. *Roties* are made sometimes from *bavta* and kodra. *Khichdi* is made of rice and Kodra. *Dal* is taken with both. Sometimes we eat *roties* both in the morning and in the evening. Sometimes we eat *Khichdi* in the morning. Sometimes we eat vegetables which we may get from the fields or buy from the market. In case we have no money, we buy vegetables against corn. We take red pepper along with *roties*. Salt worth half a rupee will last for two months. Now its rate is one rupee and twelve annas. Red pepper consumed per year costs about rupees two and a half. We put *haridra* in *dal* and vegetables. Its cost per year is one rupee. We mostly do not eat wheat; but two to three maunds of wheat are required per year. We have two buffaloes. One is dry. We take milk. The present yield is two to three pounds per day. We eat about a pound of milk every day and the rest is used for making ghee. Every day we eat five tolas of ghee. We take it in *Khichdi*, but not in *roti*. When our buffaloes become dry, we carry on without ghee. We have not bought it from outside. We bring free buttermilk from others, when we have no milk or ghee. We sell off surplus ghee; one maund of ghee was sold quite recently. I do not owe any debt. I had bought one pot of jaggery (molasses) at the rate of Rs. 5½. One such pot lasts for a year.

Clothing: I require 2 jackets, 2 dhoties and 2 *safas*. They cost Rs. 14. Women need three sets of clothes. Each woman needs clothing worth Rs. 24. Each person in the family requires a pair of shoes which costs from Rs. 2 to 5.

There is no expense for washing of clothes and no expense for fuel. One maund of castor oil is required per year. This is used in the cart also. I have a cart and 2 bullocks. I have my own house. It is a mud house. Every year country tiles worth Rs. 5 are required to replace the broken ones. I engage a daily labourer for the last 2

years. I pay him 4 annas a day. Food also has to be given to this labourer. I have 2 houses—one for residence, the other for bullocks. In the first there is a verandah and front room also.

For the fulfilment of a vow taken during the Plague epidemic, I had gone to pilgrimage to Goddess Amba. I have to feed Brahmins. This will cost us Rs. 50. I hold a feast for the propitiation of my deceased ancestors. This is called *tarpani*. Family *chroniclers* and *Bhawai* (native dancers) performers also visit the village. Fits due to goddess also occur. This costs Rs. 15. When man who claims to remove this by mantra is invited, we give him food to eat. We do not buy any medicine. We use only household medicines. The expenses for education are Re. 1 per year.

Land: I own 4 *bighas* of land. As a tenant, I cultivate 7 *bighas* on rent and 5 *bighas* on the basis of equal division of produce between the landholder and the tenant. Among these 16 *bighas* I had sown *Kodra* in 2 *bighas*, *bajri* in 3, paddy in 3, cotton in 3, *juwar* in 3 and *bavto* in 2.

From the produce of this land, *Kodra* maund 25, *Tuvar* maund 15, *juwar* maund 2, paddy maund 40, *bajri* maund 1, and *bavto* maund 1 are not sold. *Kodra* maund 1½, *tuvar* maund 2½, *bajri* maund 3½, *juwar* maund 2, paddy maund 2, *bavto* maund 2½ and cotton are sold. They have fetched Rs. 318. Tobacco required costs Rs. 5.

I had brought ¼ maund of cotton seed. Its rate was Rs. 1½. Other seeds were from my house. There is no expense for ploughing. The rate of daily wages to a labourer is 4 to 5 annas. The ploughman has to be given 3 meals a day. Others, only one meal a day. Labour charges have been Rs. 28. I had to pay Rs. 67 as rent.

Last year I had sold off the old bullocks and purchased new ones. For this I had to pay Rs. 25 as the difference between price paid and price realised. The depreciation for bullocks is Rs. 15, for implements Rs. 7. The carpenter is to be given 2 maunds of corn. For this he will repair implements. The blacksmith is to be paid 1 maund of corn per bullock. The barber is to be given 30 pounds of corn per man, and the cobbler, 1 maund of corn, but the *Patidar* will not give anything to him. (From the harvest ground, Brahmins, saints, beggars, Harijans, Bhangies, priests, and bards also take their share of gifts of corn).

Debt: I have no debt. What money I had, was spent in marriages. Son's marriage costs Rs. 200; daughter's marriage costs 250.

I have 2 buffaloes. The receipts from milk etc. are Rs. 195. The feeding expense is Rs. 100. The food consisted of 2 pounds of cotton seeds and 2 pounds of morias.

There is no expense for grass. I do not go to work as a labourer. Sometimes I used to take my cart for carting goods. I had earned Rs. 48 by this. Feeding of bullocks costs Rs. 50. Last year I had 50 maunds of *juwar* which lasted for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.

I have not purchased any ornaments. There is no income from trees; but last year I received 10 Rupees as income from trees.

There are no mango fruits this year. I have 3 or 4 mango trees.

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