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A VILLAGE IN TRANSITION
STUDY OF GULUMB, SATARA DISTRICT
MAHARASHTRA STATE

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C O N T E N T S

	Page
INTRODUCTION	(viii)
 CHAPTER	
I THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN THE PAST AND PRESENT	1
II CHANGES IN THE LAND TENURE SYSTEM...	30
III IMPACT OF TENANCY LEGISLATION	76
IV CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS ACT AND ITS OPERATIONAL LIMITATIONS	167
V LAND DISTRIBUTION	196
VI AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS	218
VII THE VILLAGE POPULATION AND MIGRATION	269
VIII OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN	318
IX PROGRESS IN EDUCATION	364
X HOUSING AND LEVELS OF LIVING	430
XI INDEBTEDNESS	445
XII RESUME AND CONCLUSION	458

LIST OF TABLES

Chap- ter	Table No.	Title	Page
I	1	Changes in the number of families by community group	23
	2	Number of persons from different community groups in 1942 and 1976	24
II	1	Nazarana and Quit-rent levied on Rastes	49
	2	Nazarana and Quit-rent on personal inams	51
	3	Quit-rent on temple inams	52
	4	Inam lands in Gulumb in 1940-41	59
	5	Assessment of private lands of Rastes	66
	6	Assessment of personal inams	66
III	1	Tenancy situation in Gulumb (1946-47)	93
	2	Tenancy situation in Gulumb (1957)	150
IV	1	Distribution of holdings by number of plots in a holding	186
	2	Distribution of plots in Gulumb by soil type	190
V	1	Transfer of lands belonging to Yadavs and Jadhavs	200
	2	Distribution of land in Gulumb according to community groups	207
	3	Distribution of families by size of land holding	207
	4	Average size of land holding by community group	209
	5	Distribution of families and the land held by size of land holding	211
	6	Distribution of families by size of land holding and community group	212- 213
	7	Distribution of families by size of land holding and size of family	215
	8	Migration in relation to size of land holding	217

Chap- ter	Table No.	Title	Page
VI	1	Annual rainfall at Wai (1953-1978)	219
	2	Irrigation wells in Gulumb in 1944-45	230
	3	Area under principal crops in Gulumb	238
	4	Second crops in the twice cropped area	238
	5	Area under irrigated crops in Gulumb	244
	6	Crop pattern in Gulumb in 1976	245
	7	Percentage of farmers cultivating specific crop belonging to different land holding group	248
	8	Average yields of different crops in Gulumb	249
	9	Distribution of cultivating families by size of land holding and cereal production in relation to consumption needs	253
	10	Disposal of agricultural produce in Gulumb (1937-38)	254
	11	Number of cultivating families reporting Baluta payment to different Balutedars	255
	12	Livestock and agricultural implements in Gulumb	259
	13	Ownership of bullocks by size of holding	260
	14	Fragmentation of land holdings (1976)	264
	15	Area under different crops in the block irrigated under Mahadev Dam	266
VII	1	Population of Gulumb village according to decennial censuses	271
	2	No. of males and females in Gulumb (1921-1971)	273
	3	Number of births, deaths and the estimated population of Gulumb for the period 1941-1976	277
	4	Place of residence of persons belonging to Gulumb village system	282- 283
	5	Returnees to Gulumb	285

Chap- ter	Table No.	Title	Page	
VII.	6	Residents outside Gulumb by sex and age group	287	
	7	Gulumb residents by sex and age group	289	
	8	Distribution of women by age and number of living children (1976)	291	
	9-A	Gulumb residents by age group and marital status (1942)	292	
	9-B	Gulumb residents by age group and marital status (1958)	293	
	9-C	Gulumb residents by age group and marital status (1976)	294	
	10-A	Marital status of Gulumb residents in 1958	296	
	10-B	Marital status of rural population in Satara district (1961)	296	
	11	Residents outside Gulumb over age 7 by marital status	298	
	12	Distribution of families by family size	300	
	13	Distribution of families by community group and size of family	301- 303	
	14	Distribution of households by composition of its members	310	
	15	Distribution of households by age of the head and composition of its members	311	
	16	Classification of household members from patrilineal group by nature of relation	313	
	17	Distribution of families by family type	315	
	VIII	1	No. of workers working in and outside the village	319
		2	Distribution of families by number of workers outside the village	321
3		Distribution of workers in Gulumb by principal occupation	322	
4		Distribution of workers in non-agricultural occupations	324- 325	

Chap- ter	Table No.	Title	Page	
VIII	5	Share of Baluta payment in total crop production	328	
	6	Relative share of different balutedars in the produce given in baluta payment	330	
	7	Baluta payment of cereals received by artisans and other village functionaries	331	
	8	Number of families in artisan and service castes and their occupations	332	
	9	Distribution of workers in Gulumb by subsidiary occupation	337	
	10	Distribution of workers working outside Gulumb by occupational category	338	
	11	Distribution of total male workers by occupation	341	
	12	Distribution of total female workers by occupation	342	
	IX	1	Literacy among men by age group (1942-43)	372
		2	Literacy among women by age-group (1942-43)	373
		3	School enrolment and attendance (1943-46)	375
		4	School enrolment and attendance (1947-1953)	379
5		School enrolment and attendance (1954-58)	382	
6		Distribution of boys and girls according to school standard	382	
7		Distribution of boys according to school standard	387	
8		Literacy among men by age groups (1958)	390	
9		Literacy among women by age group (1958)	391	
10		Educational attainment of men with schooling (1958)	393	
11		Educational attainment of men with high school education	393	

Chapter	Table No.	Title	Page	
IX	12	Educational attainment of women with schooling (1958)	398	
	13	Literacy among men and women by age group (1966)	400	
	14	Distribution of illiterate girls by caste group	400	
	15	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by principal caste groups	402-405	
	16	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by main occupation	406-409	
	17	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by size of land holding for cultivator households	410-413	
	18	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by urban contact and occupation	414-417	
	19	School enrolment and attendance (1958-1968)	418	
	20	Distribution of boys and girls according to school standard (1965-66)	418	
	21	Distribution of educands according to school standard (1966)	420	
	22	Educational level attained by men and women with schooling (1966)	420	
	23	High school enrolment (1969-1976)	422	
	24	Primary school enrolment and attendance (1969-1976)	423	
	25	Literacy among men and women by age group (1976)	423	
	26	Educational level attained by men and women (1976)	424	
	27	Distribution of males and females from different community groups by level of education (1976)	426-427	
	X	1	Materials used in construction of walls	432
		2	Materials used for roofing	432

Chapter	Table No.	Title	Page	
IX	12	Educational attainment of women with schooling (1958)	398	
	13	Literacy among men and women by age group (1966)	400	
	14	Distribution of illiterate girls by caste group	400	
	15	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by principal caste groups	402-405	
	16	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by main occupation	406-409	
	17	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by size of land holding for cultivator households	410-413	
	18	Literates by stages of education and no. of educands, classified by urban contact and occupation	414-417	
	19	School enrolment and attendance (1958-1968)	418	
	20	Distribution of boys and girls according to school standard (1965-66)	418	
	21	Distribution of educands according to school standard (1966)	420	
	22	Educational level attained by men and women with schooling (1966)	420	
	23	High school enrolment (1969-1976)	422	
	24	Primary school enrolment and attendance (1969-1976)	423	
	25	Literacy among men and women by age group (1976)	423	
	26	Educational level attained by men and women (1976)	424	
	27	Distribution of males and females from different community groups by level of education (1976)	426-427	
	X	1	Materials used in construction of walls	432
		2	Materials used for roofing	432

Chapter	Table No.	Title	Page
X	3	Number of rooms in the dwelling by family size in 1976	433
	4	Amenities and improvement in housing by community groups (1976)	434
	5	The amount of remittances received by community groups	443
XI	1	Incidence of indebtedness among families from different occupations	446
	2	Applications, recording loan transactions in Gulumb, filed with the Debt Adjustment Board	450
	3	(i) Membership of the co-operative credit society (ii) Rate of interest charged by the society (iii) Funds position and loan disbursement of the society	455
	4	(i) Membership of the Multi-purpose cooperative society (ii) Rate of interest charged by the society (iii) Funds position and loan disbursement of the society	457

LIST OF MAPS

Map No.	Title	After page
I	Satera District	XII
II	Eastern Part of Wai Taluka	1
III	Village Gulumb	2
IV	Village Gulumb - Gaothan	3
V	Cropping pattern - Land irrigated under Mahadev Bund	264
VI	Suggested cropping pattern for land irrigated under Mahadev Bund	265
Diagram	Age Pyramid	288

Introduction

Gulumb village from Wai taluka of Satara district, Maharashtra State has been intensively studied through economic investigations carried out by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics since the 'thirties.

The first survey of farm business in Wai Taluka in which Gulumb village was included was taken up primarily as a methodological project. Its objective was to find out whether survey method of farm business studies was applicable to Indian conditions and if so, what adaptations would be necessary by the peculiar circumstances in India. * 21 villages from the eastern part of Wai Taluka were covered in the survey and from these villages information about farm business was collected in respect of 400 farms in 1936-37 and 620 farms in 1937-38; 24 and 29 farms from Gulumb village were included respectively during the two years of survey. Details regarding area operated, farm implements, baluta payments, farm expenses in kind and cash, crop yield and disposal, livestock and livestock products, hired labour, family labour etc. were collected from the selected farmers. The results of the study are presented in the report "A Survey of Farm Business in Wai Taluka".

A comprehensive Socio-economic survey of Gulumb was subsequently planned and carried out during the period 1942-1945. In the year 1942-43 all the families in the village were interviewed with the help of a structured questionnaire that included information about the demographic characteristics and occupations of the family members, livestock and other assets, housing,

* A Survey of Farm Business in Wai Taluka, D.R.Gadgil, V.R.Gadgil, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1940, p. x.

indebtedness, crop pattern, production and income from different sources. The details regarding land-holdings, land transfers and land transactions available in the village records were noted down. In 1944-45 a plotwise survey was conducted covering information on soil erosion, bunding, well construction, crops grown, trees in the field etc. Farm business accounts which recorded daily the material and labour inputs and the expenditure thereon were maintained for 17 selected farmers.

The families from Gulumb, Kavathe and Ozarde covered in the farm business survey of 1937-38 were revisited in 1959-60 to study the changes in the agricultural business. Information regarding land ownership and leasing operations, land transfers, irrigation, crop pattern, material and labour inputs, farm expenditure, cultivation practices, supply of fodder and manure, production and disposal of produce, livestock and livestock products, agricultural implements and machinery, indebtedness was collected. The survey covered 28 farmers from Gulumb included in the 1937-38 survey and 11 farmers from among those covered by the farm business surveys carried out during 1942-45. Along with the 39 families originally covered the split-up units were also included in the study. The survey conducted in 1959-60 in the Agro-Economic Research Unit, thus covered in all 55 farmers from Gulumb. A similar survey was carried out in 1966-67 in the Agro-Economic Research Unit when the same farmers were revisited. The information collected in these three surveys is presented in the report, 'Wai Talukyachya Poorva Bhagateel Sheti Vikasachi Watchal (1937-38-1966-67)'. *

* by M.B.Jagtap, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, Marathi publication No. 15, 1970. Shri Jagtap has been engaged in the investigational work carried out in Wai taluka since 1937. The report is hereinafter referred to as 'Agricultural Development in Eastern Part of Wai Taluka'.

The information relating to the farm business has thus been presented in the two reports. However the other information, important among which are the details of land ownership, land transfers and other transactions, effects of tenancy legislation and Inam abolition was not analysed. The demographic information, information on education and occupations was also not examined. In mid 'sixties the work of examination of the statistics and other information was taken up and a detailed account of the family level changes in land ownership, effects of various land legislations, family organization, etc. was prepared. Due to the pressure of other works the study could not however, be completed. In the programme of Resurveys in the Agro-Economic Research Unit the village was again visited in 1974 when information about family composition, education, occupation, income, etc. was collected from the two communities in the village viz. Mahars and Dhangars, and an account of the changes noted over a period of 30 years has been prepared for these two community groups (in Marathi).

In 1976, a visiting student^{*} at the Gokhale Institute decided to take up Gulumb village for the study of the problems of rural development and change since extensive material was available for the village. She carried out a survey during 1976 with the help of a short family schedule covering broad demographic information, education, land ownership, occupation, migrant members

* Hemalata Dandekar, a Ph.D. student from California University, Los Angeles worked at the Institute during 1976-1977 to collect and analyse the field data.

and remittances. All the families in the village were covered in the survey. Subsequently, the comparable data from the 1942-43, 1958-59 and 1976 surveys were computer processed. Additional information regarding land use, crop pattern, crop yields, changes in agricultural practices etc. was collected at the village level. Consumer expenditure data were collected from 17 selected families. Information relating to different non-agricultural occupations was also collected.

The present report covers a span of about 35 years. The data base for the later period is however narrow, since the survey carried out in 1976 had a limited coverage. The analysis till 1958 is thus presented in great details while for the subsequent period the broad trends in relation to socio-economic changes and development are mainly examined.

The 1st chapter outlines the stages in village settlement in the historical times and the subsequent changes in the village community. The early land tenure system and the abolition of various Inam tenures in the later period are presented in Chapter II. The Tenancy Reforms Legislations from the early British times, till the present times and their impact in Gulumb are traced in considerable detail in Chapter III. The effects of the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act (1947) are reviewed in Chapter IV. In Chapter V, the ownership of land among the various communities and the size distribution of land holding and the changes therein are examined. An attempt is made in Chapter VI to assess the development of agriculture in the village as reflected in the improvement

in irrigation facility, changes in crop pattern, crop production, monetization. The demographic characteristics of the village population, the changes in

family organization and migration are examined in Chapter VII. Chapter VIII presents the data on changes in the occupational pattern together with some details regarding the non-agricultural occupations. The progress in literacy and education in the village is discussed in Chapter IX. In Chapter X, living conditions in the village, consumption pattern and levels of income are considered. Chapter XI deals with the debt transactions in the village and the working of the village level cooperative credit society. The implications of the development process observed in Gulumb over a period of about 40 years are indicated in the last viz. concluding chapter.

Our grateful thanks are due to the Gulumbkars who have very patiently cooperated with us for the last 40 years in our investigational work. We would also like to thank our associates in the Gokhale Institute who have helped in the investigational work, data processing, computations, and typing the report.

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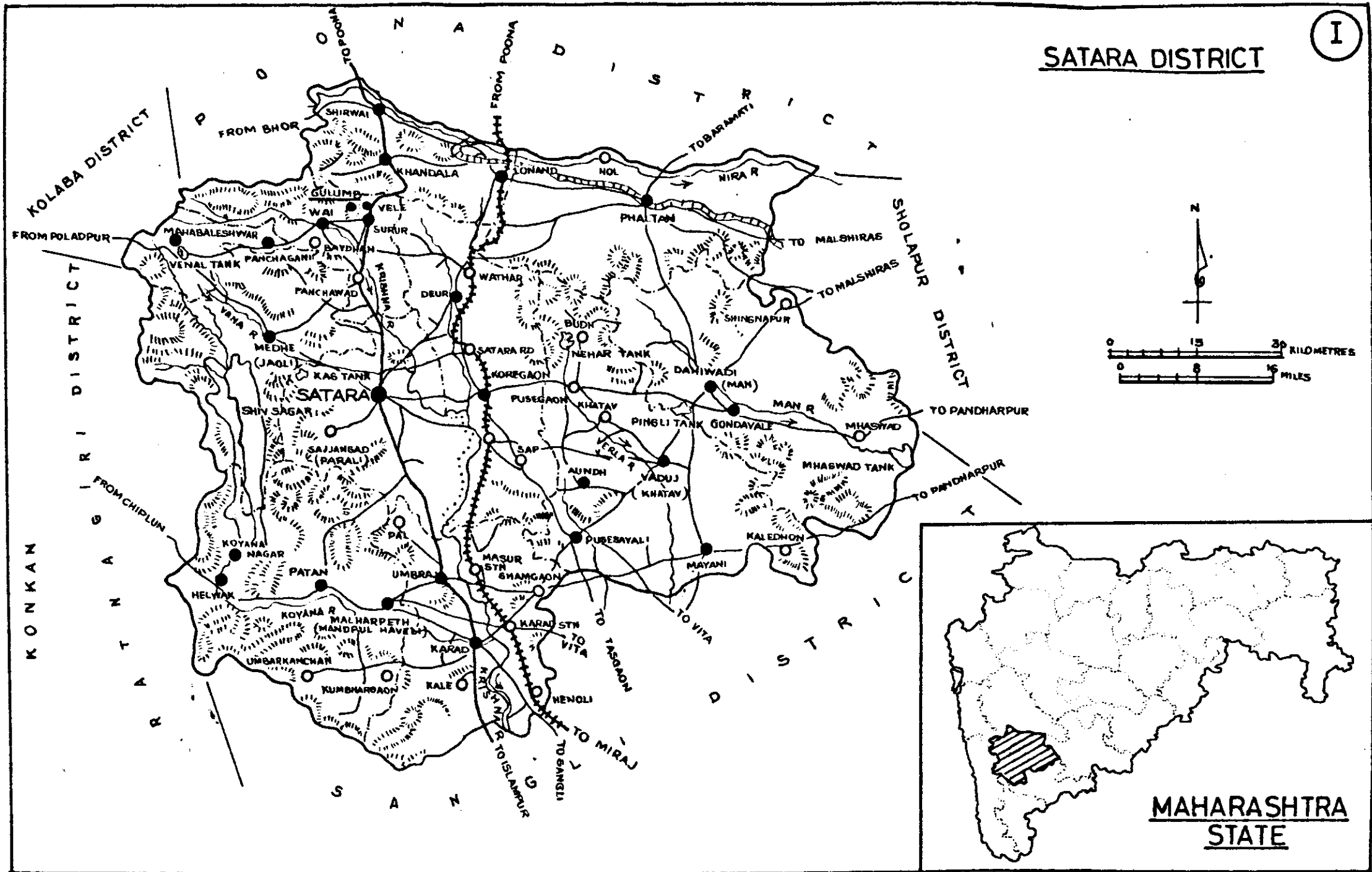
Sulabha Brahme

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

SATARA DISTRICT

I



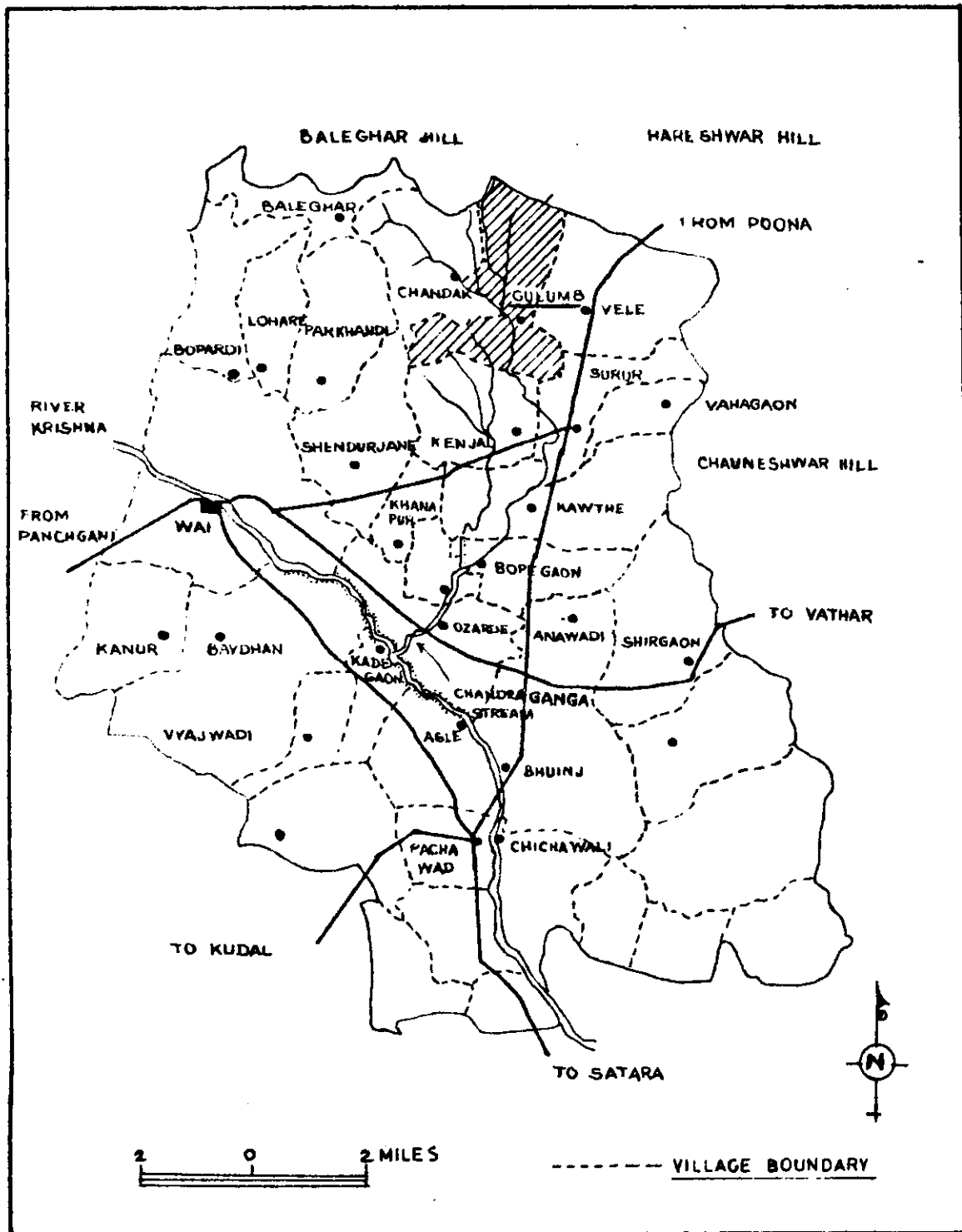
MAHARASHTRA
STATE

1. Gulumb Village

Gulumb is located in the north-eastern part of Wai taluka, Satara district. The village lies about two miles west of Vele located on the Poona-Bangalore National Highway. Vele village is 46 miles south of Poona and 24 miles north of Satara. Surur, the weekly market town located on the National Highway is two miles south of Vele. A road to Mahabaleshwar branches off the National Highway near Surur and Wai town, the taluka headquarters is located en route, seven miles west of Surur. The nearest railway station, Wathar, is at a distance of 18 miles east of Wai.

Gulumb could be reached on foot from Vele in 30 to 40 minutes. The approach road to the village can be negotiated by tractors, jeeps and other heavy goods transport vehicles but not by light motor cars. Reportedly even this road was not made until 1933-34 when the then British Governor of the Bombay Presidency visited Gulumb and the village of Kenjal which lies beyond. The villagers worked on the road to make it good enough for the Governor's car to pass on. In 1942-43 when the Gokhale Institute staff visited the village the road had deteriorated; so it was no better than a cart track. The Village Panchayat upgraded the cart tract between Vele and Gulumb to kaccha road by 1965 and the Panchayat maintains the road by spreading murum after the rainy season. The section of the road connecting Gulumb to Kenjal is better maintained since a bus service from Wai to Gulumb through Kenjal was started in 1975. This bus service is year round up to Kenjal which is now connected to the Surur-Wai road by pucca road; however the service goes up to

EASTERN PART OF WAI TALUKA



Gulumb only about five to six months of the year. During the monsoons the road gets damaged and after the rainy season it takes some weeks before the village can mobilize people so that the road is repaired enough to allow the bus to pass. The bus comes to Gulumb once in the morning and once in the evening and the resumption of the service is eagerly awaited by the village residents especially the college and eleventh standard students who commute from the village to Wai for their education.

The kaccha road from Vele goes right into the village. But there is also a foot path which branches half way off the road and climbs into a hill side. The entire hill is barren and rocky and is known by the name Badakal. The village lies on the other side of the hill and is not visible until one almost reaches the village. The first thing to come to sight is the top of the temple Bhairav, the village deity and soon we reach the temple. It stands on top of the slope on which the village lies and as we stand there, the village is seen on both the sides lying on the hill slope reaching upto a small stream.

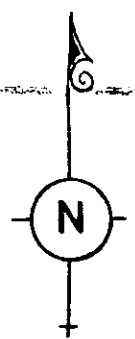
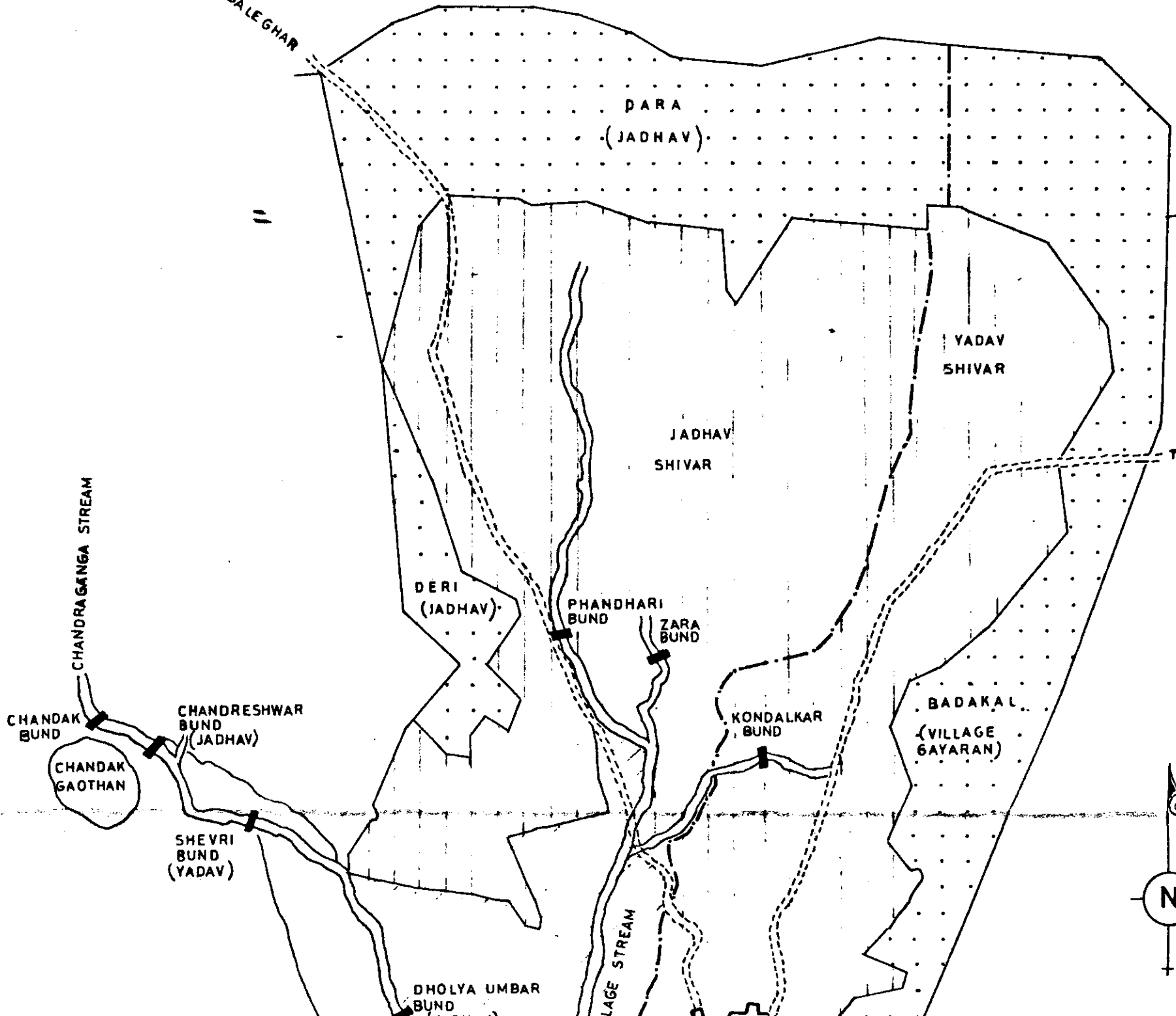
It is a village with a population of about 2600 or say about 500 houses or households. The houses are seen lying to the west of the temple of Bhairav, both on its left and on its right. As we stand there facing west, on the broad and well made steps of the temple, we see in front of us the main village street, going east-west. A furlong and a half or two furlongs along this road to the west lies the stream known as Chandra-ganga. The stream originates in a hill to the north-west of the village, but as it approaches the village, it looks as though it flows directly from the west.

BALEGHAR

FROM BALEGHAR

TO KHANDALA

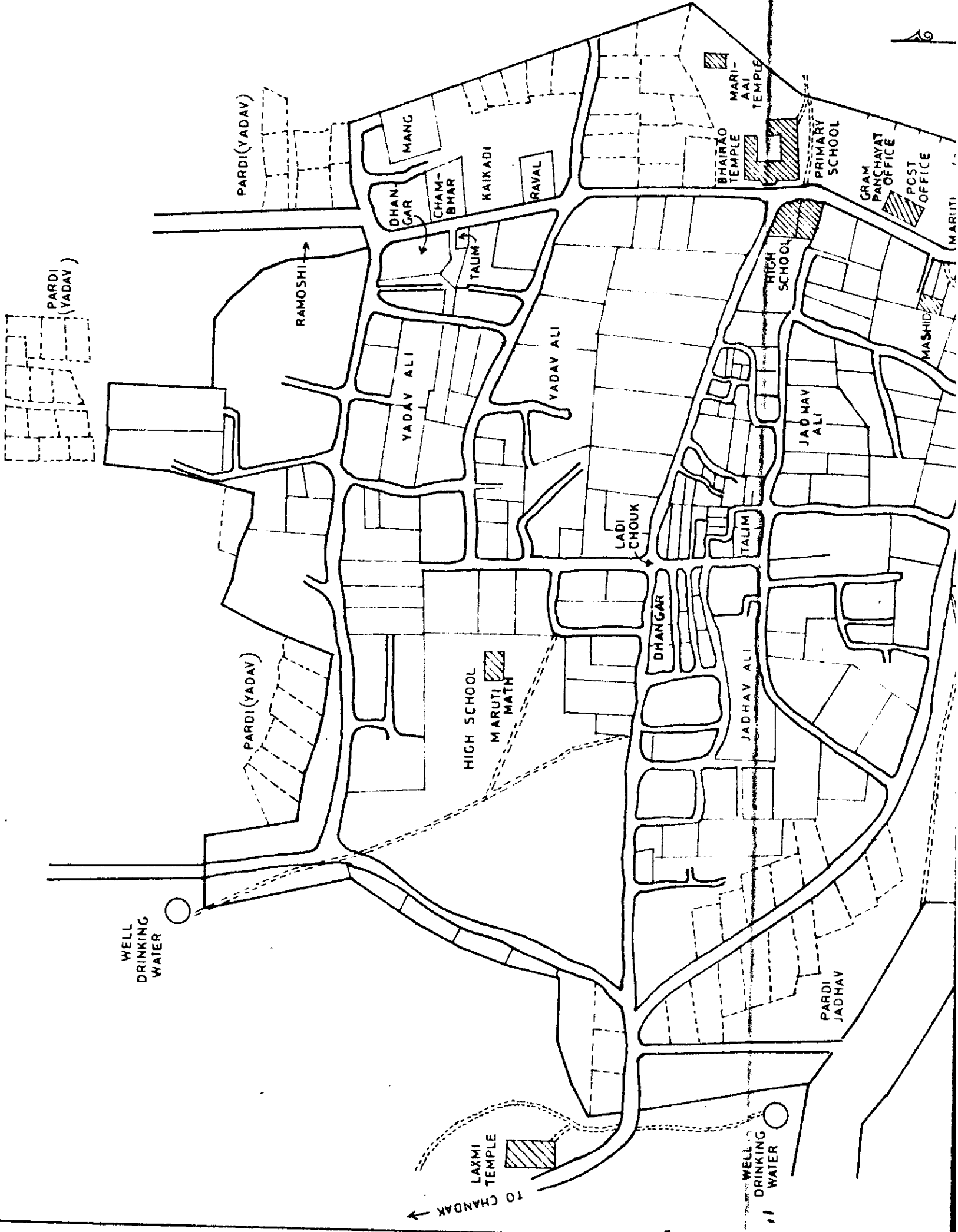
CHANDAK



As it reaches the hill slope on which the village is situated, it turns sharply to the south. It is on the eastern bank of this stream that the entire village houses are situated in a compact cluster. At the end of the main street, is the much smaller temple of Goddess Laxmi. At the eastern end of this street is the temple of Bhairav. Bhairav and Goddess Laxmi are the two principal deities of the village; the two are supposed to be brother and sister. Goddess Laxmi visits God Bhairav once a year on the occasion of His marriage which is renewed every year, festival is held in the village to celebrate this occasion on the full moon day of Chaitra, soon after the harvest is over.

As the story is told, God Bhairav came to preside over the destiny of this village much before the present settlement of the village came into being, and that means several hundred years ago. God Bhairav was settled here and a temple was built for him by some nomadic traders by name Pandhare who carried on grain trade on pack animals. The present village then did not exist and these nomadic traders used to camp on the hill slope on the bank of the stream Chandraganga. Presumably, these people used to trade grain across the range of the Sahyadri into the western coastal area called the Konkan because the story goes on to say that the Mother Goddess Laxmi came from the Konkan. She travelled in the hoof of a pack bullock and alighted here. So those nomads housed her in a separate temple. Goddess Laxmi has the reputation of being a rather stern Goddess and she insists on all the rituals being done properly. God Bhairav is believed to be much more gentle. Furthermore he has a reputation of being able to counter the poison of a snake bite.

IV



2. The Village Community

(i) Yadav and Jadhav: The present village settlement is six to seven hundred years old. It comprises mainly two lineage groups by name Yadav and Jadhav. The villagers do not know enough about when and wherefrom the original Yadavs and Jadhavs came. But they believe that the Yadavs¹ came from Devagiri near present-day Aurangabad and that the Jadhavs came from Verul near the same place. The Yadavs evidently came along with the Jadhavs. The Yadavs and the Jadhavs of Gulumb belong to the same devak group. As such, marriage between them is not permitted.

The Yadavs and the Jadhavs are Maratha by caste which is the major caste of Maharashtra. They also constitute the majority community in the village. In the village, there are about 140 Yadav and 110 Jadhav households and they live in two clearly demarcated wards separated by the main village street running east to west. The Yadav ward lies to the north of this street and the Jadhav ward to its south.

(ii) Khutekar Dhangar: In the midst of this Maratha settlement, there are to be found about 45 households belonging to another caste known as Khutekar Dhanagar. They are wool-weaving shepherds. Among them there is a lineage group by name Bhojane with about fifteen households who claim to be the original settlers of the village and they do enjoy a status and standing in the village which accords with this claim. Their houses are substantial and they are situated right in the midst of the village lying on both sides of the main street which divides the Yadav and Jadhav wards. There was in the village yet another

Dhanagar lineage group by name Khedekar who claimed equal status with the Bhojanes. The two groups again regarded themselves as related by blood and did not intermarry. But in course of time, almost all the Khedekars left the village so that in 1958 there was left in the village only a widow of that family and in 1976 there was not a single Khedekar family in the village. Bhojanes and Khedekars of Gulumb both had marriage relations with the princely family of Holkars of Indore.

It is unlikely that the Dhanagars acquired centrally situated house sites in a village already settled by the Marathas. It is plausible therefore that the two Dhanagar lineage groups, namely, Bhojanes and Khedekars were already settled in the village when the Yadavs and the Jadhavs arrived. There is also evidence to suggest that the Yadavs and the Jadhavs before they settled down on the present village site on the hill slope, lived in two separate settlements not far from the present village site. These locations are shown even today and are referred to as pandhar, which means the white soil, a term usually applied to house sites. Today, they are agricultural lands being cultivated by the Yadavs and the Jadhavs respectively. Nevertheless, their present owners often report old finds such as pots and utensils while ploughing. This is particularly true of the old house site of the Jadhavs. There, reportedly, even the remains of walls and plinths of houses were to be seen in early decades of the present century. It was then that the then owner of the land, one Malhari Bhau Jadhav, ploughed it all up and used the stones and the bricks to bund the field. The old house site

of the Yadavs was on the western bank of the Chandraganga and there stands today a temple of Mahadev.

It must have been years since the Yadavs and the Jadhavs moved from these old sites to the present village site on the hill slope. The Dhanagars were probably already there and the Yadavs and the Jadhavs settled by their side. The old sites were suitable for cultivation while the new site being on a hill slope was not so suitable. It was also better drained and was therefore more healthy to reside on. Therefore, once the Yadavs and the Jadhavs moved to the new site, they moved there wholesale and no one was left behind. In due course, the old sites were brought under the plough. The new village site being on a hill slope, does not have any soil required for the construction of houses and for the plastering of the walls. Therefore when any new construction goes up, the owner traditionally fetches soil from the old house sites, of course with the permission of their present owners. It is also customary for the villagers to repair the mud plaster on the walls of their houses every year and to give it a new thin coat by smearing the walls with mud. The housewives do this every year after the harvest and in time for the village festival celebrating the marriage of God Bhairav. The mud needed for this purpose has to be of a special quality and that is what the old sites supposedly provide. Therefore, every year, the womenfolk of the Yadavas and the Jadhavs fetch some soil from their respective old sites and their houses get, every year, a new coat of the old mud.

It is believed that the earliest village communities

in the Deccan consisted of small bodies of joint proprietors called the thalkaris. Thal is a block of land and referred to the surrounding tract of the country attached to a village. The thalkaris were the joint proprietors of the village and the surrounding land attached to it. When the Yadavs and the Jadhavs arrived, they settled down as the thalkaris. If the Dhanagars had been already there, presumably they had not occupied all the village lands. The Yadavs and the Jadhavs did not displace the Dhanagars but instead recognized their traditional proprietary rights. Subject to this claim of the Dhanagars, the Yadavas and the Jadhavs became the joint proprietors of the village. Even today, they regard themselves as such and are acknowledged by the others accordingly.

(iii) Mahar: There is to be found in the village yet another group which is as ancient as the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. It is a group of about 40 households belonging to a caste known as Mahar. In status and standing, it is the opposite of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. If the Yadavs and the Jadhavs were the proprietors of the village, the Mahars were its servants. Traditionally the Mahars were treated as untouchables and they served as village servants. A village community in Western Maharashtra included Mahar families who generally constituted 8 to 10 per cent of the total households in the village. The Mahars served as village servants by rotation. The number of families taking their turn of gavaki in a given year, varied from about four to twelve depending upon the size of the village. In Gulumb, these were 12 Mahars serving as village servants in 1944-45 the

total number of Mahar families in the village being around 30. The Mahars rendered a variety of services useful to the government and useful to the village community. They had the responsibility to deliver to the taluka headquarters the revenue dues collected in the village, carry official papers, messages, etc. between the village and the taluka headquarters at Wai, about ten miles from the village. They had to report theft or other crime to the police station located at Bhuij about six miles away. They assisted the village functionaries viz. Patil and Kulkarni and other officials visiting the village. The Mahar community was allotted small portion of the village lands for the service they rendered and each Mahar family had a share in this land. They were given a traditionally fixed share in the agricultural produce of the village for the services they provided to the village community.

The Mahar settlement in Gulumb might be as old as the main settlement of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. However, a story is told which suggests that the present Mahar settlement in the village is not quite the same as whatever it was originally and that it came into being at a somewhat later date, sometime in the 15th century.

The factual basis of this story is the fact that the Mahars of Gulumb bear the same family name, Yadav, as that of one of the two principal Maratha lineage group in the village. The story is then told to say that the present day Mahars of Gulumb are in fact a senior branch of the Maratha Yadavs in the village. The story runs thus:

There stands today in the midst of the Yadav ward, a large house which is known as the house of the Patil or of the village headman. The house is also referred to by another name, namely, Dhehalaj, which means the principal court. In this house there lived in the 15th century one Kumaji Patil and his four brothers. The village was then under the kingdom of Kassim Barid of Bidar and Kumaji Patil was the village headman. There were large arrears in the collection and payment of the village revenue and Kumaji Patil was warned. Finally, men from Bidar came with a warrant of arrest of Kumaji Patil. At the moment the Mahars of the village were celebrating what was called a buffalo festival in which a buffalo was ceremonially sacrificed and feasted upon. Kumaji Patil hid among the Mahars and to dispel suspicion of the men who had come to arrest him, he along with the Mahars joined the feast in which the beef of buffalo was being served. Kumaji Patil thus saved his life. Thereupon, the men from Bidar arrested a younger brother of Kumaji, one Ganapati, and killed him a little beyond to the west of the village. There is a small Ganesh shrine reportedly at the spot where Ganapati was killed.

After this incident, Kumaji Patil refused to return to his house and instead declared that he had become a Mahar and would rather live in the Mahar settlement. There lived in the Mahar settlement then a family of a Mahar named Pananak. Because Kumaji Patil decided to live in the settlement, the villagers reportedly drove away or killed the Mahars living there. Three Mahars were killed not far from the village. There

are shown today small shrines erected in their memory on those spots. Thus the original Mahar settlement was destroyed and Kumaji's family was settled as a Mahar family.

The original Mahars had agricultural lands in the west of the village adjoining the border with the village Chandak. These were located within the lands of the Jadhavs. Therefore, when the original Mahars were no more, the Jadhavs absorbed the lands into their own. At present the lands are owned by the Jadhavs. Nevertheless, they are still referred to as the Mahar lands. On the other hand, when Kumaji Patil was asked as to which lands he would have, he preferred the lands near the village. He was therefore given the present survey No. 6 adjoining the village site from Jadhav lands.

Kumaji had five sons. The eldest among them refused to be called a Mahar and left the village and never returned home. Yet another died in young age. The other three lived with Kumaji as Mahars. Kumaji built for them three houses and reserved a plot of land for the eldest son hoping that he would return. But he never returned and the plot had remained vacant until recently when the new school building was built upon it.

The story is told not by the Mahars alone. It is generally regarded to be a plausible story even by the Maratha Yadavs. The house of Kumaji Patil was in fact the most senior among the Yadavs. Its seniority is still recognized and in marriage functions the traditional privilege associated with this house is observed to this day. Therefore, if the story were

true, that would make the present day Maratha Yadavs in the village the descendants of the junior branches. Of course, that did not make the Mahars in Gulumb any the less untouchables. As untouchables they live in a settlement of their own, not far from the main village site but nevertheless separate. As we come from Vele by the approach road and reach the village the Mahar settlement lies on the left side and the main village settlement is on our right. The road separates the two.

(iv) Village artisans and professionals: The Mahars were the village servants par excellence. But the community also needed a few other servants. They were for instance the Chougula who was a kind of a personal assistant to the Patil namely the village headman, the Keli who was then a water carrier and who was also responsible for the upkeep of the village public hall, and the Rameshi who was a watchman. The community also needed a number of services in its religious life. It needed a Jeshi who was an astrologer and who knew the calendar and a Mali who was a flerist. Then God Bhairav and other minor deities needed certain services. These were provided by a Gurav who was a priest, a Gondhli who was a minstrel and a Kalavantin who was a songstress. In the annual marriage procession of God Bhairav, someone had to hold the torch. This was the duty of the Chambhar who was also a cobbler. Like the Mahar service all these services were provided for by means of small plots of land. In addition, most of them were also integrated into the baluta system by means of which the cultivators paid them each a small share of the

harvest. All these assignments of land were made in historical times and the respective service castes have been settled ever since then. However the village community could not, at any one time, keep more than one or two households of each type so that the continuity of lineage of the original families could not always be maintained. In most cases the present day artisan families have arrived in the village within the last three or four generations. The only exception seems to be the family of the Ramoshi, the watchman. The family bears the name of Chavan and apparently has been settled in the village since historical times. Ramoshis in a number of adjoining villages belong to the same lineage group. The Chambhar family of Gulumb bears the name of Pawar and hails from Kenjal. From there one Hariba Chambhar came to Gulumb and his grand and great grand children were in the village in 1958. The Mali family also hails from Kenjal. In fact, the family still lives in Kenjal and serves Gulumb.

There are two Muslim lineage groups in the village and they have been settled in the place for several generations. One is the family of Mulani who is a butcher. He is also the priest of the mosque and therefore some land was allotted to him. The Mulanis of Gulumb are Sayyad. The other group is of Atar whose traditional function is to supply to the villagers such articles of worship as powder of vermillion, turmeric and incense sticks. For this purpose, the Atar family was given some land in the village. The Atars are Pathan muslims.

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artisans such as the Sutar who is a carpenter, the Lohar who is a smith, the Kumbhar who is a potter and the Mang who is a rope-maker. The community also needed personal services of professionals such as the Nhavi who is a barber and Parit who is a washerman. They were usually accommodated within the baluta system whereby the cultivators paid them annually in terms of a small share of the harvest. Generally, they were not given any land but these they could purchase, the occupancy rights in land being transferable. Here again the present day families of most of the artisans and professionals in the village are not of old origin. They have arrived during the last three or four generations. However, the two Nhavi lineage groups in the village seem to have settled down long ago. They are by name Pawar and Kadam. Both of them have houses in the midst of the village. Pawars live in and serve the Yadav ward while Kadams live in and serve the Jadhav ward. In late thirties a third Nhavi family by name Sankpal came from Velang in Wai taluka. One of the two Sutar families in the village also has been in the village for several generations. It is Mahamuni by name and hails from Khatav in Satara district. From there one Limbaji came to Gulumb. His sixth generation was to be found in the village in 1958. The other Sutar family, by name, Dharmadhikari came from Wai and is related to the Mahamunis by marriage. The blacksmith family in the village is not Lohar by caste. It is also Sutar by caste. By name it is Dixit and it comes from the adjoining village of Kenjal. The Mang family in the village also comes from Kenjal. The Mang family of Gulumb is by name

Sankpal. Mangs of the same family name are to be found in a number of villages in Satara and Wai talukas. An ancestor of theirs served as an artillery-man in the army of Shivaji, the founder of Maratha kingdom, Sankpal, by his valour earned the title and rights of Sarpanch, that is headman of all the Mangs in the area. The rights are still vested in the Sankpal family. One Dharmaji Janrao of this family came from Kenjal and settled down in the village four generations ago. His family presently lives in the village.

Thus within the framework of the baluta system and by its means the land proprietors, the Yadavs and the Jadhavs provided themselves with the services of the essential artisans and professionals. To some of these were assigned small plots of land to settle down. Others could and many of them did buy small plots of land in the village. Nevertheless, they did not belong to the proprietary body of the village. They were all servants of the community. Within the baluta system each had its rights, duties and obligations. Generally, they were each numerically a small group, each belonging to a different casté. Therefore, in most cases, the continuity of the family was not maintained. Frequently, a family would be extinguished. But then some other came to take its place and the community was always provided with the essential services.

(v) Kochales: In the middle of the 17th century, a new element was added to the village community. A Maratha cultivating family by the name Kochale came to the village in distress. Therefore, the Yadavs gave it a part of their lands situated on the western

border of the village adjoining the villages of Chandak and Kenjal. There the family settled down in a small independent hamlet which in course of time came to be called Kochalewadi.

As the story is told, the Kochales before they arrived here bore the family name More and belonged to the family of Chandrarao More of Javali, an adversary of Shivaji. When Chandrarao More was defeated by Shivaji, the Mores left Javali, migrated to other places and changed their names for fear of persecution. A branch came to Gulumb under the name Kochale and settled down. There is a similar settlement of the Kochales near Dhavadi in Wai taluka and they are related to the Kochales of Gulumb. There is also a family by name Gole at Chandak, the village adjoining Gulumb and they too are supposed to be originally Mores. Some of the young Kochales of Gulumb have revived their old family name of More.

The Kochales are Maratha by caste. Also when they arrived at Gulumb, though they came defeated, they enjoyed a social status on par with if not superior to that of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. Therefore, when the Yadavs gifted away a part of their village lands to the Kochales, they conferred on the Kochales not only the proprietary tenure of the land but also the social distinction accompanying the tenure. The Kochales were thus accepted as the proprietors of Kochalewadi as much as the Yadavs and the Jadhavs were of the rest of the village and within the jurisdiction of the hamlet, the Kochales enjoyed the same social standing as the Yadavs and the Jadhavs did in the main village. For all practical purposes, the hamlet acquired an equal status independent of the main village.

Physically too Kochalewadi was situated at a sufficient distance from the main village for it to preserve its identity and independence. Presently it is a hamlet comprising only 34 households and still remains rather isolated and for many purposes independent of the main village. It is about one and half mile from the main village site and is connected with the main village by a cart track. During the monsoon, it becomes quite difficult to reach there from the main village. For administrative purposes, it has always remained under the revenue jurisdiction of Gulumb. It is also within the jurisdiction of the Gram Panchayat, that is the Local Government of Gulumb. There is however little other connection between the two. Kochalewadi has better communications with Surur which is about two miles to its south-east and with Kenjal which is only a mile to its south. It is placed under the jurisdiction of the post office at Surur. Surur has also a weekly market which serves Gulumb and Kochalewadi as well. For purposes of other shopping, the Kochales go to Kenjal as there is no greener at Kochalewadi. They also send their children to Kenjal for their school. Thus for all practical purposes the Kochales and the Kochalewadi is independent of the main village of Gulumb. The Kochales however have many marriage connections with the Yadavs and the Jadhavs of Gulumb.

That made the village. The small group of Dhana-gars who were probably the earliest of the settlers; then the main body of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs who probably arrived in the 13th or the 14th century; and finally the small group of Kochales who arrived later

in the 17th century. These constituted the main proprietary body and it has remained so since after the Kochales came. No major group arrived ever since then. The Mahars constituted the main body of village servants and it served the proprietary body probably ever since the Yadavs and the Jadhavs settled down. There was besides a complement of the other village servants, several artisans and service professionals. They were essential to the community and its agriculture and they were all provided for within the framework of the baluta system.

3. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN 1942-43

When we first visited the village in 1942-43, there lived in the village altogether 327 households distributed among the several groups as follows: Yadavs (101), Jadhavs (83), other Maratha families (36), Mahars (29), Dhangars (32) and Artisans and others (46).

Out of the above, the 101 households of the Yadavs, the 83 households of the Jadhavs and the 29 households of the Mahars were, among themselves, mutually related. The more closely related households lived in houses which were partitions of bigger houses, called wadas. Thus, the 101 households of the Yadavs could be grouped into more or less distinguishable 13 wadas; the 83 households of the Jadhavs into 6 wadas; and the 29 households of the Mahars into 3 wadas. The households living in different wadas were rather distantly related while the households living in the same wada were usually closely related. However, in every wada there were a few households who could establish no identifiable

relationship to any other household in the wada.

Thus among the 101 households of the Yadavs, there were 22 households with no identifiable relationship with any other Yadav households. Similarly, among the 83 households of the Jadhavs, there were 17 such households and among the 29 households of the Mahars, 12 could not indicate any definite relationship with other Mahar household.²

The 36 households of 'other Maratha families' belonged to Maratha families other than those of the Yadavs and Jadhavs. Fifteen of these belonged to the family of Kechales. No major group had arrived into the village since after the arrival of the Kechales. However, from time to time, isolated families came into the village and settled down. These were usually related by marriage to the Yadavs or Jadhavs. Somebody's mother or somebody's wife belonged to Gulumb or somebody's daughter or somebody's sister was given in marriage here. They came on the strength of such acquaintance and gradually settled down. Some of them inherited properties in Gulumb through their mothers or wives. Others acquired land by purchase and settled down. In 1942-43, there were only twenty and odd such families who had thus settled down in the village over the years. They were the following: Bhilares divided into five households, Bhatuse and Patne divided into three households each, Jagtap and Pawar divided into two households and single household each of Pansare, Bhandirge, Babar, Nikam, Shinde, etc. (For details see Appendix at the end of this chapter).

Most of these families have arrived in the village within the last two or three generations but a few have

been here for a longer time. But no matter how long they have been here, they do not belong to the proprietary body or the main body politic of the village. Because they are usually related to the proprietary body by marriage, they are politely referred to as the guests. They came as guests and should stay as guests. And that is how they stay. They do not interfere with or in fact carefully avoid being involved in the political life of the village.

The 32 households of the Dhanagars also did not all belong to the original settler family of the Bhojanes. Besides the Bhojanes who were divided into 11 households there were two principal Dhanagar lineage group namely Parakhe and Lambate each with 8 households. Besides, there were a few other Dhanagar families like Changan, Devade, Veerkar.

Among them the earliest to arrive were the Parakhes and Lambates. Parakhes hail from Kashti Tandali in Ahmednagar district and arrived in the village four or five generations ago. Since then they have purchased some lands in the village. But as they are acquired by purchase, the lands of the Parakhes are not to be found in a compact block as are the lands of the Bhojanes nor are the houses of the Parakhes centrally situated. Lambates hail from Upalane in Phaltan taluka. In fact they were the Patils of that village. They arrived in the village like the Parakhes four or five generations ago and have purchased some lands.

The other two Dhanagar families, Changan and Devade came to the village through their marriage connection with Bhojanes and Lambates. Changans hail from Phaltan. Malu Changan was married to the sister

of Vaku Bhojane of Gulumb and he used to visit the village frequently. In those days, Abaji Yadav Patil who lived in Gulumb had considerable moneylending business. The Dhanagar wool-weavers needed working capital for their business and Abaji Yadav had his clientele among them. When Malu Changan died, Abaji Yadav invited his sons to Gulumb and promised the necessary financial assistance to set up their business. So the four brothers together with their mother came to Gulumb and settled down. Later they purchased some land in the village. Devades came from Shirval. There, one Rama Devade was married to the sister of Bala Lambate of Gulumb. Rama Devade's wife gradually brought her family to Gulumb. Later they married their daughter to Khedekar in Gulumb who gave them building space to build their house on.

Dhamal and Matkar, Maratha by caste and Veerkar, Dhanagar by caste, were cases of widows who were married out of the village and who in their distress returned to the parent village protection.

Out of the remaining 46 households, 40 belonged to the artisan and service castes. They were as follows (number of households shown in brackets): Sutar namely the carpenter belonging to two lineage groups viz. Mahamuni (3) and Dharmadhikari (2), Lohar the smith (1), Chambhar the cobbler (3), Mang the rope maker (3), Kumbhar the pot-maker (1), Senar the goldsmith (2), Ramoshi the watchman (2), Parit the washerman (4), Nhavi the barber (4), Koli the waterman (1), Gurav the priest (2), Brahmin the priest-cum-astrologer (3), Mulani the butcher (5) and Attar the supplier of worship requisites (4). The village thus had an almost

complete complement of services. Besides there were settled two families of Teli the oilman, one family of Kasar who supplied glass bracelets to the village women and a family of Ravals, whose traditional occupation was to thread the combs for the handlooms. There were no handlooms in the village but the family serviced the handlooms in the surrounding villages.

This constituted the settled population of the village. On the outskirts of this settlement there usually live in makeshift huts a few families belonging to the nomadic communities such as the Vadars who are earth-workers, Beldars who are stone quarry workers, Kaikadis who are basket makers etc. These people come and stay for a few days, a few months or even a few years. They do not belong to the village. The villagers look upon them as passers-by. At the time we visited the village in 1942, there were only two such families; one of Beldar and the other of Kaikadi. Of these the Beldar was more or less settled and in fact had built a house in the village.

4. The Village Community in 1976

The total number of families in the village increased from 327 in 1942-43 to 493 by 1976. In some cases the family as a whole left the village or there were no surviving members in the family. All these units were thus lost to the village system. There were additions, again in some of these cases the entire family had outmigrated earlier and by 1976 returned back to the village. Such cases were noted mainly among the settled Maratha cultivating families. There were new arrivals from Brahmin, Shimpi, Mali community who had come to the village as teachers. In addition 2 Kaikadi and 11 Wadar families had come to the village in the intervening period. The original families staying in the village had grown into two

or more families. However, not all these are staying on in the village as separate family units. It was noted that in a number of cases the working men from the family had migrated to the city for work; the wife and children, however, would stay back in the village. In such cases, one of the brothers who stays back becomes the head of the family and lives together with the family members of his brothers and the household does not split. In certain cases after the split, the entire family had migrated. One finds that in 57 per cent of the cases the family unit in the village did not multiply between 1942 and 1976. In 17 per cent of the cases the ^{original} family in 1942 has split into two units, in 7 per cent cases in three units and in 4 per cent cases more than three units. 15 per cent of the families living in the village in 1942 are no more to be found in the village (Table 1).

The community composition of the village changed to a certain extent during this period. In the case of Kochales the number of families in the village has more than doubled. The number of families increased by about 30 per cent in the case of other Maratha lineage groups. The increase is minimal among the Mahars. In 1957 the Mahars discontinued the traditional work as village servants and consequently they lost one of the important sources of income viz. the baluta income. Their land holdings are very small (mostly below an acre) and they do not have any irrigated lands. In the absence of adequate means of livelihood in the village they have been forced to look for work outside, and the incidence of migration is relatively higher among the Mahar community. Some of the families have altogether moved out of the village system. In 1942 there were 29 Mahar families in

Table 1 : Changes in the Number of Families by Community Group

Division of families living in village in 1942 by 1976	Community Group								No. of families in 1942	No. of families in 1976
	Jadhav	Yadav	Pahune	Kochale	Mahar	Dhangar	Balutedar	Others		
	No. of families									
1 - 1	50	59	10	6	17	14	22	8	186	186
1 - 2	12	18	8	3	4	9	2	2	58	116
1 - 3	4	10	2	3	-	-	3	-	22	66
1 - 4	3	-	-	3	-	1	-	1	8	32
1 - 5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10
1 - 6	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	18
No family left in the village	12	13	1	-	7	7	7	1	48	-
New arrivals or Returnees	4	6	7	1	7	3	7	30	-	65
No. of families in 1942	83	101	21	15	29	32	34	12	327	
No. of families in 1976	112	137	39	34	38	45	42	46		493

the village; this number increased only to 31 by 1976. In addition 7 Mahar families have returned back to the village. During the last three decades the Dhangars have been losing their traditional kambal weaving business. Their land holdings are also small, the average in 1976 was 1.5 acres. As a result they have been seeking work opportunities elsewhere. Consequently the relative strength of the various communities altered to a certain extent in the period 1942-1976. The proportionate share of Mahars in the total village population declined from 8.8 per cent to 6.2. The share of Dhangars also declined from 9.7 per cent to 7.4 per cent. On the other hand the population of Marathas the principal landed community in the village increased from about 67 per cent in 1942 to about 70 per cent in 1976 (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of persons from different community groups in 1942 and 1976

Community Group	Percentage share in total village population (1942)	Percentage share in total village population (1976)
Jadhav	24.55	22.88
Yadav	29.86	31.55
Pahune	6.42	6.50
Kochale	6.05	8.60
Mahar	8.82	6.20
Dhangar	9.75	7.40
Balutedar	11.04	11.07
Brahmin	.98	.66
Muslims	2.22	2.59
Wadar		
Kaikadi	.31	2.55
Total	100.00= 1621	100.00= 2583

FOOTNOTES

- (1) If the Yadavs of Gulumb in fact came from Devagiri, they could be the descendants of the Yadav dynasty which ruled at Devagiri in the 13th Century. This was the last of the early Hindu Kingdoms in the south which ruled the territory between the Narmada and the Tungabhadra. At one time, around the middle of the 13th century, the kingdom extended upto the west coast and it is possible that the Yadavs came to Gulumb during these days of the expansion of the Yadav Kingdom. Or they might have come after the fall of their kingdom in the early decades of the 14th century.
- (2) Seventy-nine of the Yadavs, 66 of the Jadhavs and 17 of the Mahars could tell their mutual relationships. The simplest way to describe the relationship would be to indicate the number of groups these households would be reduced to if the related among them were combined. For instance, if all households of brothers or father-sons were combined and treated as joint households, the number of households would be reduced to as follows: 58 of the Yadavs 50 of the Jadhavs and 14 of the Mahars. If we go a step further and combine all households related as first-cousins or uncle-nephews, we would have only 39 households of the Yadavs, 31 of the Jadhavs and 10 of the Mahars. It will be noticed, that in all these groups, the households were mutually related through father or grandfather. Further, if we also combine households which were mutually related through the great-grand-father, we would have only 23 households of the Yadavs, 20 households of the Jadhavs and 8 households of the Mahars. If we could trace the relationships further behind such as through the great-great-grand-father, the number of households would naturally be reduced further. However, the present heads of households could not in general explain the relationships beyond two generations.

APPENDIXSettlement of Guests or Pahunes in Gulumb.*

The earliest to arrive in the village appear to be the family of the Patnes and probably it has been in the village for a rather long time. The Patnes have marriage relations with both the Yadavs and the Jadhavs and they have inherited substantial properties in the village. The family of Nikams arrived in the village because of its marriage relations with the Patnes. The family comes from Pimpare near Nira in Peona district. From there one Narayan Nikam came to Gulumb in 1880. His wife was related to the Patnes. Their son, Ganapati Narayan entered the police service and having served for 27 years returned and invested his life's savings in land in Gulumb. Presently, his sons live in the village.

Babar and Shinde came to Gulumb because their mothers belonged to Gulumb. The family of Babar hails from Kikli in Wai taluka. From there, one Ganu Bayaji Babar came to Gulumb. His mother came from Gulumb and Ganu Bayaji often lived with his maternal uncle in Gulumb. Later he married the daughter of Pandu Jadhav. Pandu Jadhav did not have a son and therefore Ganu Bayaji inherited the property of Pandu Jadhav. Presently his son lives in the village. The family of Shinde hails from Satara. There one Bahiraji Shinde was in the private service of the Maharaja of Satara and when the Maharaja was arrested and held in detention by the British Government at Brahmavarta in Uttar Pradesh, Bahiraji accompanied him there. He died at Brahmavarta. His wife was the sister of Vitheba Hari Jadhav of Gulumb and after the death of her husband, the

* The position as noted in 1942-43 is presented in the note.

widow came to Gulumb with her son Abajirao. Vithoba Hari died without an issue and he gave his property to Abajirao by means of a nominal sale deed. Abajirao himself spent most of his time in military service and then returned home. Later, his son Shivajirao also inherited his wife's property in the village. Both the families of Babar and Shinde are thus well settled on the lands inherited from their mothers and wives.

Pansare and Bhandirge came to Gulumb because their wives belonged to Gulumb. The family of Pansare hails from Supe in Poona District. From there one Shankar Pansare came to Gulumb. His wife did not have a brother and so she inherited her father's property in the village. Shankar Pansare had two sons and both of them presently live in the village. One of them, Ramu Shankar married in the village and he too inherited property from his wife. The family of Bhandirge hails from Kikli in Wai taluka. From there one Laxman Bhandirge came to Gulumb. His wife did not have a brother and so he inherited his wife's property. Presently, his grandsons live in the village.

Lehekars alias Pawars and Mhaskars came to Kochalewadi on the strength of their marriage connections with the Kochales and both have inherited land in Kochalewadi. Lehekars came from Annewadi about five miles from Gulumb. Mhaskars came from Vathar in Khandala taluka.

The family of Jagtap belongs to Ramadalabad about six miles from Gulumb. From there, one Yashwant Jagtap came here. His wife had a sister married in Gulumb. Later his son Kashiba married in the village. His wife had two brothers but both died with^{out} an issue.

So they willed away their land to the three sons of Kashiba. Presently, the three sons live in the village well-settled.

Bhatuses had no marriage connections in the village when the family came to Gulumb but presently it is well settled on the lands inherited from rather judiciously chosen wives. The Yadavs and the Jadhavs do not intermarry. An outsider therefore has many opportunities to establish marriage relations with both of them. The Bhatuses chose their opportunities well. The family hails from Jer in Wai taluka. From there one Babaji Laxman Bhatuse came to Gulumb. That was around 1874 when he purchased a house in Gulumb and settled down. He had three sons, Rama, Tatyaba and Rau and it is their families that are presently living in the village. Rama Bhatuse inherited property from his wife in the adjoining village of Kenjal. He sold it away and instead purchased land in Gulumb. The second son, Tatyaba was married to a Jadhav family in Gulumb and inherited property from his wife. Again, one of his sons Nana was married to a Yadav family in Gulumb and he too inherited property from his wife. Thus Nana Bhatuse has inherited properties both from his mother and wife; a Jadhav property from his mother and a Yadav property from his wife. The third son of Babaji Laxman was also married to a Jadhav family in Gulumb and his son was later married into another Jadhav family and he inherited the property of his wife. Thus within two generations the entire family of Bhatuse is well settled on lands in Gulumb.

Bhilaes and Goles did not inherit such properties.

Instead they purchased lands in Gulumb and settled down. Bhilares came from Dhagyachi Wadi which adjoins Gulumb and is situated on top of the hill to the north of Gulumb. From there one Vitheba Subhaji Bhilare came with his five sons, purchased land and settled down. His sons are presently living in the village. Until recently the family used to live in a farm house on their own land purchased in Gulumb and frequently visited their native village. The family of Gole came from Golewadi near Mahabaleshwar. From their a mason came to the village on a mason's job and settled down. Gradually he purchased some land and rented in more. His grandson presently lives in the village.

CHAPTER II

CHANGES IN THE LAND TENURE SYSTEM

1. Land Tenure in Pre-British Period

We have earlier referred to the fact that the early village communities in the Deccan consisted of small bodies of joint proprietors called the thalkaris. Thal is a block of land and referred to the surrounding tract of the country attached to a village. The thalkaris were the joint proprietors of the village and the surrounding land attached to it. The joint proprietary rights of the thalkaris over the village land however never amounted to absolute sovereignty. The community owed allegiance to whosoever was the local sovereign and paid him the land revenue which in ancient times took the form of the King's share of the produce of the land. However, the community was the community of joint proprietors, it presented itself to the Sovereign as such and was regarded autonomous in all its internal affairs. That did not again mean that the joint proprietary rights amounted to joint ownership or even joint cultivation of the village lands.

With the emergence of powerful and alien kingdoms, the village communities of the thalkar's gradually broke up and ultimately each landholder began to hold his land directly from the Sovereign. The thalkaris thus lost their pre-eminent position as the joint proprietors of the village and its land and became severally the tenants of the Government of the day. Nevertheless, their special status continued to be recognized and they came to be called the Mirasdars of the village. The Mirasdars were acknowledged to be the descendants or representatives of the old village proprietary body of the thalkaris and as such they

continued to be regarded, in some sense of the term, as proprietors of the soil. Therefore, though now they held their land from the Government, their rights of occupation were regarded as inalienable. It was only the lands not occupied by the Mirasdars or the lands deserted by them that truly belonged to the Government in the sense that the Government could dispose them off in any manner it liked. The Government usually rented these lands to temporary tenants called the Upris and in their tenure they were sharply differentiated from the Mirasdars. While the Mirasdars had an inalienable right of occupancy in their lands, the Upris were mere tenants-at-will, cultivating government lands at a yearly rental and at the end of each year they were free to go elsewhere. As distinct from the Mirasdars, the Upris enjoyed no privileges and bore no responsibility. Apart from the distinction of tenure, there also existed a social distinction between the Mirasdars and the Upris. In the village, the Mirasdars formed an aristocratic body having what might be called the 'freedom of the village', and they enjoyed precedence over the Upris at all feasts, festivals and formal occasions.

The term thalkari is no longer in common usage though some of the elder farmers still use the term thal for village lands. Certain blocks of the village lands have also names ending in the term thal as for instance Lambthal, meaning lands farther-away. The term Mirasdar is also not in common use. In particular, the Yadavs and Jadhavs do not refer to themselves as Mirasdars of the village. They usually express

their sense of proprietary rights by saying that they belonged to the village or simply that the village was theirs.

The distinction between the Miras and the Uprī tenures was clearly recognised during the Maratha period and a Mirasdar was hardly ever deprived of his land in any circumstances. In fact, the sentimental attachment of a Mirasdar to his ancestral field was taken advantage of in other ways and Miras lands were often taxed more heavily than others knowing that it was only in the last resort that a Mirasdar would surrender his land. The assessment on the Uprī lands was often considerably lighter so much so that in times of stress, a Mirasdar was often driven to desert his Miras and take up land on the Uprī tenure.

(i) Miras Tenure in Gulumb: The Yadavs and the Jadhavs, together with the small group of Dhanagars were the Mirasdars of Gulumb. There is no evidence of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs having ever deserted their Miras and take up land on the Uprī tenure their lands once they had settled down. The several Maratha families and a few Dhangar families which later came and settled down in the village from time to time were almost all related to the Yadavs, Jadhavs and the Dhanagars of Gulumb and they acquired their lands from the Yadavs, Jadhavs or Dhanagars either by inheritance or purchase. Consequently, though they were never admitted to the main proprietary body and never enjoyed, in the village affairs, the social distinction of the Yadavs and Jadhavs, they were not Uprīs either.

(ii) Inam Tenure in Gulumb: The village servants and functionaries held some portion of the land in the village under Inam tenure. The lands were granted to the village servants on condition that they continued to serve the community satisfactorily. Such lands and the corresponding tenure therefore came to be called Watan Inam. By Watan is meant duty or service and by Inam is meant is gift or grant. These lands were thus granted away for service and the tenure was subject to satisfactory service. There was yet another distinction. The Inam lands were generally held free of any revenue assessment. That was at the expense of the State. Such exemption of land revenue was in a sense the contribution of the State towards the provision of essential services to the community. In a similar way, the State provided itself with the needed services of a few officials to look after the functions of government in the village. They were chiefly two: the Patil who was the village headman and the Kulkarni who was the village accountant. The State provided itself with these officials on the same plan: it set aside plots of land to be occupied free of revenue by the officiating village headman and accountant. In Gulumb there were always two village headmen, one from among the Yadavs and the other from among the Jadhavs and they enjoyed the land free of revenue. There also used to be two accountants, one for the Yadavs and the other for the Jadhavs and they too were assigned revenue-free plots of land. There were also officers of the Government at the District, again chiefly two: the Deshmukh who was the District Collector or

Governor and the Deshpande who was the District Accountant. The Deshmukh was usually remunerated by means of a commission on the revenue collection but besides his private lands in the district were exempt from assessment. The Deshpande would also hold lands in a number of villages in the district and they too were free of assessment. Thus all the servants essential to government functions and to the social and religious life of the community were provided with revenue-free plots of land.

Grants of revenue-free lands were also made for the maintenance of temples, mosques etc. In Gulumb, for instance, there were such lands given for the maintenance of the temples of Bhairav, Narsinha and a mosque. Similar grants were also made for the maintenance of temples not situated in the village or for the maintenance of religious heads not necessarily resident in the village. In Gulumb, there were revenue-free lands in the name of Ekveera which is a goddess situated at Kinhai in Satara tehsil. There were also revenue-free lands assigned to Gosavis who are religious mendicants.

(iii) The Inamdars: Finally there were grants of land revenue made by the State. For in such cases, the land was not exempted from the assessment. The land was assessed as usual but the revenue was received not by the State but by the individual to whom it was granted. Such grants would be made to any individual whatsoever, sometimes for the maintenance of any secular or religious office, often for service alleged to have been rendered by a person or by his ancestors, or even out of mere favour and freak of the moment.

To confer such grants of land, of land revenue and of cash allowances and pensions of all kinds was the privilege of sovereignty and every ruler exercised this privilege both as a demonstration of his authority and as a means to consolidate his power. Moreover, such grants were often made not by the State proper but by numerous petty semi-independent chiefs in order to consolidate their own power. The grants could either be conditional when the grantee was expected to perform certain civil or military service to the State or they could be free from all conditions. However, in all cases of grants of revenue, the granting power only parted with its own right which in the case of occupied soil was confined to receiving the assessment and in no case, the rights of the occupants of the soil were disturbed. In fact, the grants usually contained a proviso that the pre-existing rights of occupancy were on no account to be interfered with by the grantee who was simply to take the place of the granting power and receive the assessment.

It was by means of one such grant that the entire land revenue of the village Gulumb had been granted away to an individual. The grant was made in the year 1773 by Madhavrao Ballal Peshwa, who was then the Prime Minister of the Maratha Empire. In that year, one Malharrao Bhikaji Raste was appointed the commander of the Fort Pandavgad near Gulumb and it was for the maintenance and upkeep of the Fort that the revenue of 37 surrounding villages was assigned to the Rastes. Gulumb was one of these 37 villages. In a sense, this was merely an administrative arrangement by means of which the revenue of the Government was assigned

to specific purposes. However, in less than 30 years, the Rastes fell from grace. In 1800, Madhavrao Anandrao Raste the then assignee of the grant, incurred the displeasure of the Peshwa Bajirao II, the then Prime Minister of the Maratha Empire. He was seized by the Peshwa and the Fort and the grant was attached and handed over for management to another person. However, the Peshwa himself was in trouble and in 1802, he was obliged to release the Raste and restore part of his property. In that year, probably seeing that the original grant had lost its purpose, that the Maratha Empire was in a bad shape anyway, the Rastes allocated a sum of Rs. 3050 from out of the revenue of Gulumb (then mentioned to be Rs. 3209.25) to the celebration of the festival of the River Krishna at Wai.

Neither the original grant of the village revenue to the Rastes by the Peshwa in 1773 nor its assignment by the Rastes to the celebrations of the festival of the River Krishna at Wai affected the Mirasi rights of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs, the Inam tenure of the many village servants and officials or the grants of revenue-free lands to temples etc. In short, the grant to the Rastes did not affect the village community in its internal organization and in its relation to the village lands.

2. Land Tenure Regulations in British Period

That was the situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the British took over the administration of the country. The first British Commissioner of the Deccan, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone made extensive enquiries into the subject and discovered

the existence of numerous Inams or grants of revenue-free lands and of land-revenue to individuals and also the distinction between the Miras and Upri tenures. His policy was to avoid all innovation unless such became absolutely necessary and he laid down his settlement policy in the famous Bombay Regulation No. XVII of 1827. On the first question namely of Inams, the second section of the Regulation declared that 'all land was liable to pay assessment according to its kind but that if a title to exemption from that payment could be set up, it would be respected provided that such title to exemption should under no circumstances bar the inherent right of Government to assess even the exempt lands in times of exigency and for as long as might be required'. On the second point namely the distinction between the Miras and the Upri tenures, the Regulation said nothing explicitly but implied that for purposes of settlement of the assessment, the distinction was not relevant. Third section of the Regulation stated as follows: "The settlement of the assessment shall be made with the occupant of the land. The cultivator, when the land is held by him direct from Government, is to be considered the occupant; and when it is not so held, the person having the highest right or holding recognized by the custom of the country or resting on specific grant, which intervenes between Government and the cultivator, is to be considered." Thus, as long as they held their land direct from the Government, there was no difference between a Mirasdar and a Upri; for purposes of settlement of assessment, both were occupants.

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In the case of Gulumb, neither the Yadavs and Jadhavs held their lands direct from Government. The Rastes intervened in between. As such the assessment was settled with the Rastes. The amount of assessment was also the same, namely, Rs. 3209.25, which was in the books of the Rastes and which the Rastes used to collect from the village prior to the establishment of the British administration. The British Government also recognised the claim of the Rastes to receive the entire land revenue of the village but now required the Rastes to pay to the Government a salami, that is a quit-rent of Rs. 1206.87, probably as a price of the settlement. The Rastes thereafter continued to collect the revenue of Gulumb as before, paid to the Government Rs. 1206.87 annually as Salami and spent the rest of it on the festival of the River Krishna at Wai. Nothing else changed as far as Gulumb was concerned. In particular, neither the rights of the Yadavs and Jadhavs in their ancestral lands nor the revenue they paid to the Rastes changed.

(i) System of survey and settlement: In spite of the anxiety of the British administrators to avoid all innovations, a change was taking place, though imperceptibly, as settlement operations progressed in the adjoining districts and in the neighbouring villages. As mentioned above, the Regulation of 1827 did not recognise the difference between the Mirasi and Upri tenures and in fact implied that the distinction was not relevant for purposes of settlement. In the same year, namely in 1827, the Government appointed Mr. Pringle, the then Assistant Collector of Peena, as an officer on special duty to devise a system of survey

and settlement for the Peena and the surrounding districts. The system of settlement evolved by Mr. Pringle comprised two operations: (i) a survey of all the cultivable lands field by field and (ii) an assessment of every field so measured. Thus the assessment was based solely upon the value of the land itself and not upon the status of the holder or the occupant. Also, as Mr. Pringle suggested, the assessment once fixed was to be guaranteed for a long period such as of 30 years irrespective of whether the land was held by a Mirasdar or an Upri. Thus the lines of difference between the Mirasi and Upri tenures were further smoothed down though still indirectly for nothing was done to change the relative conditions of the two tenures.

The change came with the famous Joint Report in 1847 by Mr. Goldsmith, Captain Wingate and Captain Davidson, the three Superintendents of Survey whom the Government had directed to hold a conference and make a report "for ensuring the results of the surveys being turned to the best account and maintained in their original integrity in the future management of the districts." The Joint Report laid down a complete system of survey and settlement the object of which was to modify and improve the conditions of tenure which was particularly necessary in the case of the Upri lands. The main disadvantage of that tenure at that time was its insecurity since the Upri, being merely a tenant-at-will, could be turned out at any time. This was removed by Rule 5 according to which "the only way in which the title of a cultivator to any field can be vitiated is through his failing to discharge

the assessment laid upon it." Thus, the system abolished the Upri tenure and it was replaced by a permanent occupancy with an assessment fixed by Rule 1 for a period of 30 years, the only obligation laid upon the occupant being that he paid the Government assessment. With such improvement in the conditions of the Upri tenure, the main difference between the Miras and the Upri was gone. There remained nevertheless the claim of the Mirasdars that their rights in land were inalienable even in the event of their failing to pay the assessment. Captain Wingate recommended that the Rule which made the occupation dependent upon the payment of assessment should be made equally applicable to the Mirasdars. This was done. With this, the last real difference between the two forms of tenure practically ceased to exist and the Mirasdars ceased to be distinguished from the other occupants of the soil, at any rate as far as their relations with the Government were concerned.

(ii) Survey and Settlement Operations: Survey and settlement operations were undertaken in one district after another in accordance with these rules. In Satara district, the survey and settlement was completed between 1850 and 1855. However, this did not cover Gulumb. As stated earlier, the entire land revenue of Gulumb was assigned to the Rastes. The British administration therefore called it an alienated village though what was in fact alienated, was its land revenue. Even after the Rastes were called upon to pay to the Government a certain amount of annual quit-rent, the responsibility of assessment and collection of revenue in the village continued to be regarded

the responsibility of the Rastes. This was true of all similarly alienated villages and consequently the system of survey and settlement adopted in the other villages was not extended to the alienated villages. In fact, section 216 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code provided that the provisions of the Code dealing with survey, assessment and settlement of land revenue, would not be applied to any alienated village except for the purpose of fixing the boundaries of the village. However, by section 88 of the Code, the extension of the survey and settlement was made a condition precedent to a grant of powers under that section to the holder of an alienated village allowing him to demand security for land revenue or to attach defaulters' property. This made it almost obligatory for the holder of an alienated village to allow the extension of the survey and settlement to the village. All the alienated villages were therefore surveyed and settled in due course. Gulumb was surveyed and settled under the British system for the first time in 1876 and its assessment was fixed at Rs. 3376.00 which was about the same as it existed in 1802 prior to the establishment of British administration. The assessment was revised in the first revision settlement in 1904 and was revised to Rs. 4445.37. It was again revised in the second revision settlement in 1926 when it was raised to Rs. 5802.21.

(iii) Bombay Rent-free Estates Act: With the beginning of systematic survey and settlement operations, it also became necessary to settle the claim to revenue and revenue-free lands more systematically. Subsequent to the Regulation of 1827 the matter of investigation

into the titles and settling such claims was left to the discretion of the district collectors and judges. As a result there was little consistency in the manner in which these claims were being settled. Therefore, in 1852, the Government passed the Bombay Rent-free Estates Act being 'an Act for the adjudication of titles to certain estates claimed to be wholly or partially rent-free in the Presidency of Bombay'. The Act empowered the Government to appoint Inam Commissioners 'to investigate,... the titles of persons holding or claiming against Government the possession or enjoyment of Inams.... or claiming exemptions from the payment of land revenue' and laid down rules for the adjudication of titles to estates claimed as Inam or exempt from payment of land-revenue. These rules were briefly as under:

(1) All lands held under a specific and absolute declaration by the British Government ... that they were to be continued hereditarily or in perpetuity exempt, wholly or partially, from the payment of revenue, are to be so continued according to the purport of the declaration.

(2) Any land held under a sanad declaring it to be hereditary shall be so continued according to the terms of the sanad provided that the grant was made, or specifically recognized by authority competent to alienate Government revenue in perpetuity.

(3) All lands uninterruptedly held as wholly or partially exempt from assessment for a period of sixty years before the introduction of the British Government, and then in the authorized possession of a grandson in male descent or male heir of the body of

such grandson, of the original grantee, shall continue to be so held so long as there shall be in existence any male heir of the body of the person who was incumbent at the introduction of the British Government, tracing his lineage from such incumbent through male heirs only.

(4) All lands uninterruptedly held as wholly or partially exempt from assessment for a period of forty years before the introduction of the British Government and then in the authorized possession of a son, or male heir of the body of a son, of the original grantee are to be continued for one succession further than that of the person who was incumbent at the introduction of the British Government that is, until the death of his last surviving son.

(5) Land held as wholly exempt from payment of revenue, or on partial assessment, the possession of which is not continuable under the preceding rules is to be resumed on the demise of the incumbent.

(6) All lands held for the support of mosques, temples or similar institutions, of the permanent character of which there can be no doubt, are to be continued permanently, even though their permanent continuance may not have been expressly provided for when they were granted.

(7) The lands authorizedly held by an official tenure which it is evident from local usage was meant to be hereditary, and has been so considered heretofore even though there be no sanad declaring it to be so, ... are to be continued permanently; provided the provisions of this rule are not in any way to apply to emoluments continued for service performed to the State, such as

the service watans of desais, sardesais, nadgaudas, deshpandes, patels, kulkarnis, mahars, talvars, whose claims are to be disposed of according to the rules which are or may be established for the regulation of such holdings.

(8) These rules shall not be necessarily applicable to jagirs, saranjams or other tenures of service to the Crown, or tenures of a political nature, the titles and continuance of which shall be determined as heretofore under such rules as Government may find it necessary to issue from time to time.

(iv) Exemptions from Land Revenue Act: Investigations under this Act continued for a period of 11 years and a number of claims were settled accordingly. However, the operations proved too slow and cumbersome. None of the Inams in Gulumb were yet settled when in 1863 the Government passed another Act called the Exemptions from Land Revenue (No. 1) Act of 1863 in order "to facilitate the adjustment of claims to exemption from the payment of Government land revenue and to regulate the succession to, and transfer of, lands wholly or partially exempt from the payment of such revenue in those parts of the Bombay Presidency to which the operation of Act XI of 1852 of the Legislative Council of India extended." The Act provided that:

(1) When the holders of land ... whose title to exemption has not been formally adjudicated, shall have consented to the terms and conditions hereinafter described, in preference to being obliged to prove their title to the exemption enjoyed by them, it shall be lawful for the Government to finally authorize and

guarantee the continuance, in perpetuity, of the said land to the said holders, their heirs and assigns, upon the said terms and subject to the said conditions.

The provisions of the Act did not extend to the following classes of lands: (i) lands held under treaty; (ii) lands granted or held as jagirs or saranjams or on similar political tenures; (iii) lands held for service; (iv) lands already formally adjudicated to be not continuable hereditary.

(2) When the Government shall have finally authorized and guaranteed the continuance, in perpetuity, to the holders, their heirs and assigns, of lands wholly or partially exempt from the ordinary payment or annual land revenue whose title to exemption has not already been formally adjudicated and who have dispensed with an enquiry into such title, the said lands shall be the heritable and transferable property of the said holders, their heirs and assigns, without restriction, - as to adoption, collateral succession or transfer; and such lands shall thenceforth be continued, in perpetuity, subject to an annual payment to Government. Such payment shall consist of:

(i) A fixed annual payment as nazaranna, in commutation of all claims of the Crown in respect of succession and transfer, and shall be calculated at the rate of one anna of each rupee of assessment; (being one-sixteenth of the assessment).

(ii) A quit-rent equal to one-fourth of the assessment.

Lands for which a judi, salami or other quit-rent or land tax under whatever denomination, is already paid to Government, instead of being liable to only

one-fourth of the assessment, shall in addition to the annual amount of such judi, salami, quit-rent or other tax aforesaid, be liable to a further annual quit-rent equal to one-fourth of the sum by which the annual or average annual amount of such judi, salami or other quit-rent or tax aforesaid may fall short of assessment.

Quit-rent and annual nazaranna imposed under this section shall be fixed in perpetuity, and shall not be liable to increase or decrease on any new assessment.

(3) Lands held partially or wholly exempt from the payment of land-revenue and already formally adjudicated to be so continuable hereditarily in perpetuity, may, at the option of the holder, be henceforth recognized... as the heritable and also the transferable property, not only of the actual descendants of the person to whose descendants inheritance may have been limited by the terms of the said adjudication, but also of all his legal successors by inheritance, including heirs by collateral succession and heirs by adoption, and their assigns; and thereafter the right of Government... to question the title to possession, or to exemption from the payment of land revenue, of any holder of the said land already so adjudicated to be heritable in perpetuity on the ground that he does not belong to the family to which title is restricted by the adjudication, is hereby abrogated; and in any case of recognition as in this section aforesaid, lands already adjudicated to be heritable, and to which such recognition applies, are henceforth to be held subject to the payment to Government of an annual nazaranna

calculated at the rate of one anna for each rupee of the assessment of the land.... which nazaranna is to be in addition to the partial assessment (if any) ordered by the terms of the formal adjudication under which the land has already been declared to be continuable.

Lands held wholly or partially exempt from the payment of land revenue on behalf of religious or charitable institutions shall, if already formally adjudicated to be permanently so continuable, be continued wholly or partially exempt from such payment of land revenue aforesaid, according to the terms of the adjudication; ... if not already formally adjudicated to be permanently so continuable, be declared to be so wholly or partially exempt from such payment of land-revenue aforesaid, subject, however, to the payment of annual quit-rent equal to one-fourth of the assessment.

It is however, hereby declared that lands held on behalf of religious or charitable institutions wholly or partially exempt from the payment of land-revenue, shall not be transferable from such institutions either by assignment, sale (whether such sale be judicial, public or private), gift, devise or otherwise howsoever and no nazaranna shall be leviable on account of such lands.

3. Survey and Settlement Operations in Gulumb

The original survey and settlement operations in Gulumb were completed in the year 1876 and soon afterwards all the Inams in the village were settled on the basis of the original assessment and in accordance with the provisions of the Exemptions from the Land Revenue

Act of 1863. None of the personal Inams in the village were previously adjudicated. They were therefore settled on the basis of (i) an annual nazaranna of one anna of each rupee of assessment and (ii) a quit-rent equal to one-fourth of the assessment. The Inam lands held on behalf of the temples and mosque were settled on the basis of a quit-rent equal to one-fourth of the assessment. The most important personal Inam relating to Gulumb lands was of course the grant of the entire village revenue to the Rastes. Because of the earlier ad hoc settlement the Rastes were already paying to Government a salami, which is a form of quit-rent, equal to Rs. 1208.63. An additional annual nazaranna and quit-rent together equal to 5 annas of every rupee of the amount by which this salami fell short of the assessment was therefore levied on the Rastes. The whole assessment of the village at the original settlement was Rs. 3376.00. The following (See Table 1) was made to determine the additional nazarana and quit-rent to be levied on the Rastes.

The reference to Kadim Inams in the above (Table 1) is to the Inams that were in existence prior to the grant of the entire village revenue to the Rastes. The grant to the Rastes did not affect the Kadim Inams and these lands had continued to be held revenue-free. According to the original survey and settlement in 1876, the assessment on these lands had amounted to Rs. 398.12 which in relation to the total assessment of the village was about 12 per cent of the total. These Inams could be classified into the following main categories:

	Assessment Rs.
Personal Inams	38.50
Temple Inams	83.50
Hereditary Service Inams	276.12
All Kadim Inams	<u>398.12</u>

Table 1. Nazarana and Quit Rent levied on Rastes

	Rs.
Total assessment	3376.00
<u>minus</u> assessment on Kadim Inam lands (older than the grant to Rastes)	- 398.13
<u>minus</u> assessment on Government lands	- <u>2.37</u>
Village revenue accruable to Rastes	2975.50
<u>plus</u> Quit-rent received by Rastes from Mahars	+ 42.00
<u>minus</u> miscellaneous expenses of Rastes in the village (petty grants to temples, etc.)	- 182.25
<u>minus</u> Salami (quit-rent) already being paid	- <u>1208.63</u>
Amount on which to charge nazarana and additional quit-rent	1626.62
Annual nazarana and additional quit-rent at the rate of 5 annas per rupee of the above amount (5/16th)	508.31
Old Salami (quit-rent) already being paid	<u>1208.63</u>
Net total annual payment to Government to be made by Rastes	<u>1716.94</u> =====

	Assessment Rs.
Personal Inams	38.50
Temple Inams	83.50
Hereditary Service Inams	276.12
All Kadim Inams	<u>398.12</u>

Table 1. Nazarana and Quit Rent levied on Rastes

	Rs.
Total assessment	3376.00
<u>minus</u> assessment on Kadim Inam lands (older than the grant to Rastes)	- 398.13
<u>minus</u> assessment on Government lands	- <u>2.37</u>
Village revenue accruable to Rastes	2975.50
<u>plus</u> Quit-rent received by Rastes from Mahars	+ 42.00
<u>minus</u> miscellaneous expenses of Rastes in the village (petty grants to temples, etc.)	- 182.25
<u>minus</u> Salami (quit-rent) already being paid	- <u>1208.63</u>
Amount on which to charge nazarana and additional quit-rent	1626.62
Annual nazarana and additional quit-rent at the rate of 5 annas per rupee of the above amount (5/16th)	508.31
Old Salami (quit-rent) already being paid	<u>1208.63</u>
Net total annual payment to Government to be made by Rastes	<u>1716.94</u> =====

(1) Personal Inams: The provisions of the Act of 1863 were applicable only to the first two of these categories: the Personal Inams after they were finally authorized and guaranteed by the Government to continue in perpetuity, were to become transferable freehold subject to the annual payment of a nazaranna of one anna and a quit-rent of four annas for every rupee of their assessment. There were four Personal Inams in the village and two of these belonging to Gosavis, who are religious mendicants, were settled according to these provisions. But the remaining two could not be declared continuable in perpetuity because their titles were not clear. One belonged to a Mali, the florist and the other to an Atar, a Muslim family who traditionally supplied the village with vermillion and similar perquisites of worship. But apparently in neither case, the Inams were held for the service. The titles were not clear and therefore these Inams could not be regarded, under the provisions of the Act of 1852, to be continuable in perpetuity; they were terminable and could be continued for a given number of lives. The provisions of the Act of 1863 therefore did not apply. However, in the meanwhile, the Government by an order dated 1st August 1864 had provided for the settlement of such terminable Inams as well on the basis of enhanced annual quit-rents. The order provided that (i) if an Inam continuable until the death of the last surviving son of an individual was at the time of the settlement in the possession of himself it should be subjected to one-half of the ordinary assessment less existing charges; (ii) if in the possession of his sons generation,

to two-thirds; (iii) if an Inam continuable until the death of the last surviving grandson of an individual was at the time of settlement in the possession of himself it should be assessed at one-third; (iv) if in the possession of his son's generation at one-half; and (v) if in the possession of his grandson's generation, at two-thirds. Apparently, the Mali and Atar Inams in Gulumb came under either the (i) or (iv) categories and both were settled and converted into transferable freehold by requiring them to pay an annual quitrent equal to half the assessment.

Thus all the Personal Inams were settled. Their assessment according to the Original Survey and the annual quit-rents together with nazarana levied upon them are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Nazarana and Quit-Rent on Personal Inams

Category of Inam	Assessment Rs.	Quit-rent and nazarana Rate	Quit-rent and nazarana Amount (Rs)
Ramadasi Brahmin Inam	16.00	at 5 annas per rupee	5.00
Sinhapuri Gosavi Inam	16.00	" "	5.00
Mali Inam	3.00	at one-half the assess- ment	1.50
Atar Inam	3.50	" "	1.75
	38.50		13.25

(ii) Temple Inams: The temple Inam, that is lands held on behalf of temples, mosques, etc., unless they were already adjudicated to be continuable permanently, were to be so declared on payment of an annual quit-rent equal to one-fourth of the assessment. They were not to become transferable free-hold and no nazarana

was to be levied on them for the purpose. There were four Devasthan that is temple Inams in Gulumb. None of them were already adjudicated to be continuable permanently and hence all of them were settled according to these provisions (Table 3).

Table 3. Quit-Rent on Temple Inams

Category of Inam	Assessment Rs.	Quit-Rent Rs.
God Bhairav Inam	29.50	7.37
Goddess Ekvira Inam	41.00	10.25
God Narasinha Inam	7.00	1.75
Mosque Inam	6.00	1.50
All Devasthan Inams	83.50	20.87

(iii) Hereditary Service-Inams: The Exemptions from Land-Revenue Act of 1863 did not provide for the settlement of (i) lands held under treaty; (ii) lands granted or held as jagirs or saranjams or on similar political tenures; and (iii) lands held for service. There were no lands of the first two categories in Gulumb but there were a number of Inam lands held for hereditary service. These were to be settled according to rules specially made for the purpose. The Hereditary Service Inams were classified into the following categories:

- (1) District Officers
- (2) Village Officers:
 - (a) Useful to Government
 - (b) Useful to Government and to the village community
 - (c) Useful to the village community
 - (d) Useless to both

The District Hereditary Officers were chiefly two: the Deshmukh who was the District Collector and the Deshpande who was the District Accountant. The British

administration had no use for them and there was no reason to continue their Inams. Nevertheless they were commuted on an ad hoc basis by levying a quit-rent of between 3 to 8 annas for every rupee of assessment. In Satara District, the quit-rent was levied at 4 annas per rupee, that is one quarter of the assessment. In Gulumb there were no lands belonging to the Deshmukh. But there were some lands belonging to the Deshpande, - Inam. They were settled as under:

	Assessment Rs.	Quit-rent Rs.
Deshpande Inam	37.00	9.25

There were some hereditary village servants whose services had become obsolete and were no longer needed either by the Government or by the community. Such was for instance the Potdar who was a silversmith and who used to assay all money paid either to Government or to individuals. With the introduction of standard coinage, he was no longer necessary. It was decided to assess these lands at half the full assessment. Also because there was no longer any service to be performed, they were converted into transferable free-hold. There were no Service Inams of this category in Gulumb at the time of the settlement.

There were of course a number of village servants useful to the village community. In Gulumb, there were two: A Joshi who is an astrologer and a Chambhar who is a cobbler. In their case, a quit-rent at one-quarter of the assessment was levied but the holdings being subject to satisfactory service being performed, were not converted into transferable free-hold. In Gulumb, the Joshi and the Cobbler Inams were settled as under:

	Assessment Rs.	Quit-rent Rs.
Joshi Inam	48.00	10.69
Cobbler Inam	4.50	1.12

There were also a number of village servants who were useful both to Government and to the village community. The principal among these were the Mahars. Their holdings were generally small and some of them were already paying some quit-rent. As their services were essential to Government, it was decided to allow them to continue without any change or without any levy of an additional quit-rent. Also because the holdings were subject to service, they were not converted into transferable free-hold. There were the following Service Inam of this category in Gulumb.

Category of Inam	Assessment Rs.	Quit-Rent Rs.
Chougala Inam	21.00	-
Keli Inam	11.00	-
Mahar Inam	58.00	42.00
Rameshi Inam	28.00	-

Thus Mahars alone used to pay a quit-rent of Rs. 42. They used to pay it to the Rastes and that was what they continued to do. All the other Inam lands, namely, of Chougala, Keli and Ramoshi were and continued to be completely revenue-free.

(iv) Patil and Kulkarni Inams: Finally, there were the village officers useful mainly to Government. They were chiefly two: The Patil who was the village headman and the Kulkarni who was the village accountant. The traditional sources of income of these officers were:

(i) the Inam land generally wholly exempt from payment of revenue; (ii) direct levies in cash and kind from the cultivators or compensation in lieu thereof; (iii) cash payments from the Government treasury. Both the offices were essential to the Government administration and hence it was necessary to settle them adequately. The principle of settlement was to provide adequate remuneration to these officers. A set of rules for this purpose were evolved by Mr. Wingate in 1851 and these service Inams were accordingly settled in most districts of the Deccan. In Satara district a slightly improved scale of remuneration was adopted on a suggestion of Mr. Rose, the Collector in 1860. But on the whole, the principles of settlement were not thought satisfactory and the whole matter was reopened in 1874. After considerable deliberation, a new set of principles were evolved and adopted in 1877. The service Inams of Patils and Kulkarnis were resettled on these principles at the time of the revision survey. In Gulumb, the original survey itself was done in 1876 and hence the settlement of the Patil Inam was made on the basis of the new rules.

The new rules fixed the remuneration of the Patil as under: For the first thousand rupees of the gross revenue of his village 3 per cent of assessment; for the second thousand 2 per cent; for the balance of revenue beyond two thousand 1 per cent. In addition, he was entitled to a special allowance of Rs. 10 in ordinary large places in the district. In Gulumb, the total remuneration came to Rs. 72. Besides the Patil was entitled to office and incidental expenses

at certain rates depending upon the population of the village. For the population between 1300 and 1400 which was the population of Gulumb then, the allowances were Rs. 15 for office expenses and Rs. 15 for incidentals. The remuneration and allowances of the Patil of Gulumb thus came to Rs. 102. The remuneration was to be paid in the first instance by way of the balance between the survey assessment of the Inam lands and any quit-rent which the Patil traditionally paid. If the balance was more than that needed for the purpose of remuneration, the excess was to be taxed at 50 per cent which was called nim judi or half quit-rent.

The remuneration of the Kulkarni was fixed as under: For the first thousand rupees of the gross revenue of his village 5 per cent of assessment; for the second thousand 4 per cent; for the third thousand 3 per cent; for the fourth thousand 2 per cent; and for the balance of gross revenue beyond four thousand 1 per cent. In addition he was entitled to a stationery allowance which for gross revenue between Rs. 3501 and Rs. 4000 was Rs. 9 per annum. The total remuneration for the Kulkarni at Gulumb after the Second Revision Settlement came to Rs. 146/--.

Even after an alienated village was surveyed and settled, its revenue collection and administration was left to the holder of such a village. However, among other conditions, the holder of the village consented to pay the village officers at the Government scale and to pay them at the Government rates. Accordingly after the original survey and settlement, the Rastes agreed to pay the village Patil and Kulkarni

at the scales of remuneration fixed by the Government. For certain reasons which could not be ascertained, at the time of the settlement the village Kulkarni did not possess any Inam land that is any revenue-free land. The Rastes, therefore, agreed to pay him the annual remuneration as per Government scale. The village Patil was assigned an Inam land and it was assessed along with the other village lands. The Rastes, therefore, agreed to pay him the annual remuneration as per Government scale. The village Patil was assigned an Inam land and it was assessed along with the other village lands. The Rastes seem to have adopted the practice, for accounting purposes, to collect from the Patil the entire assessment on the Inam lands as quit-rent and to pay him the full remuneration as per government scale. The revenue assessment of the lands of Patil Inam at the time of the original survey was Rs. 68.83. By the first revision survey done in 1904, it was raised to Rs. 102. That was also the salary due to the Patil in that year according to the government scale. Therefore, after the First Revision Survey, the Patil neither paid the Rastes any quit-rent nor the Rastes paid him any salary. The Patil held the Inam land free of revenue and the assessment on it was regarded his remuneration of the office.

(v) Office of Talathi: That was how all the Inam Tenures in the village were initially settled. In the year 1920, the service of the hereditary Kulkarnis was abolished and they were replaced by salaried village accountant called the Talathi. The revenue collection and administration of Gulumb thus gradually became

part of the general revenue administration in the district. In the year 1931, after the Second Revision Settlement in 1926-27, Government took over the entire village administration and the Rastes ceased to have all connection with the village as its Inamdar except for the fact that they continued to receive from the Government the alienated portion of the village revenue. The Government Talathi collected the revenue, kept the quit-rent due to Government from the Rastes and remitted the balance to them. Government also took care of the remuneration of the village Patil and his remuneration and the quit-rent on his Inam land was fixed according to the scale. The Rastes were also absolved of all sundry expenses they traditionally incurred in the village. They also ceased to receive from the Mahars the quit-rent of Rs. 42/-. The Mahars began to pay the quit-rent which the Rastes used to receive from the Patil and the Mahars and which now they ceased to receive. The government Talathi began to collect the revenue, keep the quit-rent thus adjusted due from the Rastes and remit the balance to them. The Rastes ceased to have anything to do with the village revenue administration. That was in the year 1931, over a hundred years after the British administration was established in the neighbouring villages.

In the following is a list of Inam lands as they existed in 1940. The quit-rents to which they were subject under the terms of the settlement were fixed in perpetuity and therefore had remained unchanged. In the meanwhile, the revenue assessment on the lands had increased, first by the First Revision Settlement

in 1904 and then by the Second Revision Settlement in 1926. Consequently, the amounts of land revenue alienated to the several Inams had increased considerably. They are shown against each Inam, in Table 4.

Table 4. Inam lands in Gulumb in 1940-41

Category of Inam	Cultivable area (in acres) Rs	Assess-ment Rs	Quit-rent Rs	Alienated Revenue Rs
<u>Personal Inams</u>				
Raste	1910.91	5131.53	1942.31	3189.22
Ramadasi Brahman	2.00	15.81	5.00	10.81
Puri Gosavi	8.15	28.88	5.00	23.88
Mali	1.75	5.25	1.50	3.75
Atar	5.12	4.56	1.75	2.81
<u>Temple Inams</u>				
Bhairav	16.25	59.13	7.37	51.75
Narasinha	3.76	9.19	1.75	7.44
Ekveera	15.60	82.88	10.25	72.63
Khairat Mosque	3.03	10.50	1.50	9.00
<u>District Offices</u>				
Deshpande	26.55	66.25	9.25	57.00
<u>Village servants useful to community</u>				
Joshi	16.85	65.81	10.69	55.12
Chambhar	4.65	8.84	1.12	7.72
<u>Village servants useful to Government and community</u>				
Chougula	21.60	36.75	-	36.75
Koli	13.32	19.69	-	19.69
Mahar	52.80	112.88	42.00	70.88
Ramoshi	18.00	47.25	-	47.25
Patil	54.90	113.87	111.50	22.37
<u>Total</u>	2153.74	5802.31	2151.00	3651.31

That was how the village was settled at the time we first visited it in 1942-43.

4. Land Tenure Regulations in Post 1947 Period

Thus in 1940, over 60 per cent of the land revenue of the village was alienated to the various Inams. Much of this alienation had lost its original purpose and

was no longer justifiable. Thus the principal Inamdar, the Rastes, had long ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the village. The Rastes lived in Poona and had an agent at Wai to look after their interests in Gulumb and a few other villages. The Government punctually sent to them over half of the land revenue of the village. The same was more or less true of the smaller Personal Inams. Thus the Ramdasi Brahmin Inam was formally held jointly by two brothers, Kashinath Buva and Dattatraya Buva Gosavi. But neither of them ever lived in the village and for several years the land was being operated by other persons either as tenants or as mortgagees-in-possession. The same was true of the other Gosavi Inam. For many years since 1891 to 1941, the land was formally shown in the name of one Geeta widow of Shankar Puri Gosavi. But none of her family ever lived in the village and the land was being cultivated by other persons again either as tenants or mortgagees-in-possession. Geeta had no son and she had adopted one Shivagiri Shankar Puri Gosavi. He too did not live in the village and in due course he disposed off the land firstly by a succession of mortgages and finally sold it off. By 1947-48, he had sold out the entire Inam land. The Mali family of Gulumb also never lived in the village but in the adjoining village of Kenjal. It never much cared for the small Inam land and for many years the land was partly cultivated by a share tenant and partly by a tenant who was shown as the permanent tenant and who probably paid no rent. Only in the case of the Personal Inam to Atar family, the land was being cultivated by the Atar families.

The land continued to be enjoyed in the village and in 1940 had been split up into several fragments.

Most of the Personal Inams had thus lost their original purpose and use. As for the Watan Inams of the District Hereditary Officers such as the Deshpandes, there was even less justification for their continuation. The British Administration had no use for these officers. The Deshpandes of Gulumb never lived in the village. For many years they had not even bothered to enquire about their Inam lands. The lands were therefore being enjoyed by persons who were formally shown as tenants but who hardly ever paid any rent. Nevertheless, because of the British policy to avoid radical reform or change unless it became absolutely necessary, these Inams and Watan had continued unchanged on the same terms on which they were settled in 1863.

(i) Bombay Paragana and Kulkarni Watans Abolition Act: With the end of the British administration in 1947, the first Popular Government in the State began to look into these Watans and Inams and decided to abolish those which had lost their use and purpose. The first to be abolished were the Paragana, that is the District Officers', and Kulkarni Watans. This was done by the Bombay Paragana and Kulkarni Watans Abolition Act of 1950 on grounds that 'the services appertaining to the office of hereditary District (Pargana) officer and to the office of certain hereditary village accountants (Kulkarnis) had ceased to be performed and it was expedient in the interest of administration of the State to abolish the pargana and Kulkarni Watans and to make provisions for the per-

formance of some of these functions'. The main provisions of the Act were as under:

Notwithstanding anything contained in any law, usage, settlement grant, sanad or order - (i) all Paragana and Kulkarni watans shall be deemed to have been abolished; (ii) all rights to hold office and any liability to render service appertaining to the said watans are hereby extinguished; (iii) all watan land is hereby resumed and shall be deemed to be subject to the payment of land revenue... as if it were an unalienated land.

A watan land resumed under the provisions of this Act shall be regranted to the holder of the watan to which it appertained, on payment of the occupancy price equal to twelve times of the amount of full assessment of such land within five years from the date of coming into force of this Act and the holder shall be liable to pay land revenue to the State Government in accordance with the provisions of the Land Revenue Code.

Provided that in respect of the watan land which has not been assigned towards the emoluments of the officiator, occupancy price equal to six times of the amount of full assessment of such land shall be paid by the holder of the land for its regrant.

Provided further that if the holder fails to pay the occupancy price within the period of five years, he shall be deemed to be unauthorisedly occupying the land and shall be liable to be summarily rejected in accordance with the provisions of the Land Revenue Code.

The occupancy of land thus regranted shall not be

transferable or partible without the previous sanction of the Collector and except on payment of such amount as the State Government may determine.

In the case of any land in respect of which the watan property consists of the whole or a part of the land revenue of such land, a sum equal to ten times the amount of such land revenue shall be paid to the holder.

In Gulumb, there were no lands belonging to the Kulkarni watan. There were however lands belonging to the Paragana watan, namely, the lands of the Deshpande Inam. At the time of the abolition, the particulars of these lands were as under:

	Cultivable area-acres	Assessment Rs.	Quit rent Rs.	Alienated Revenue Rs.
Deshpande Inam	26.55	66.25	9.25	57.00

In consequence of the Bombay Paragana and Kulkarni Watan Abolition Act of 1950, the Inam was abolished by an order of the Mamlatdar dated 27th February 1952. The above lands were thenceforth fully assessed. The Deshpande service was already commuted and the lands were not assigned towards the emoluments of the officiator. Therefore the Deshpandes could recover the occupancy of the lands by paying, within five years of coming into force of the Act, six times the full assessment, that is about Rs. 400. But they did not care to do this and the lands are now permanently lost to them.

The compensation to be paid to the watandars under the provisions of the Act, being ten times the alienated land revenue was paid, as provided by an Amending Act of 1953, in transferable bonds carrying interest at the

rate of 3 per cent per annum from the date of issue and repayable during a period of 20 years by equated annual instalments of principal and interest.

(ii) Bombay Personal Inams Abolition Act: The abolition of Paragana and Kulkarni Watans in 1950 was followed up by the abolition of the Personal Inams in 1953. This was done by the Bombay Personal Inams Abolition Act of 1952. By means of this Act, "all personal Inams and all rights legally subsisting in respect of such personal Inams were deemed to have been extinguishable and the Inam villages and Inam lands became liable to the payment of land revenue to the full extent of the assessment in accordance with the provisions of the Land Revenue Code. No compensation was payable on this account nor was the Inamdar liable to pay any occupancy price to secure occupancy rights. If the land was in actual possession of the Inamdar or was in the possession of a person holding it from the Inamdar but was not in the possession of an inferior holder as defined hereunder, the Inamdar automatically became the occupant of the land and became liable to the payment of revenue assessment to the Government. However, if the land was in the possession of an inferior holder on payment of annual assessment only, such inferior holder became the occupant of the land and became liable for the payment of land revenue to Government; in the latter case, the Inamdar lost all interest in the land.

In Gulumb, the most important Personal Inam was of course that of the Rastes. The Rastes were entitled to a large share of the total village revenue except for the assessment on the Kadim Inams. The position

of the Personal Inam of the Rastes at the time of abolition was as under:

	Cultivable area-acres	Assess- ment Rs	Quit- rent Rs	Alienated revenue Rs
Raste Inam	1910.91	5131.53	1942.31	3189.22

In accordance with the provisions of the Act, the District Collector issued the order to abolish the Personal Inams in the District on 19th April 1954. This was followed by an order from the Mamlatdar dated 12th February 1955. The village accountant acted on these orders and entered the abolition of the Inam and the levying of the full assessment on 1st August 1955.

A majority of the lands belonging to the personal inam of the Rastes were held by the Yadavs and the Jadhavs and the other families of the village as inferior holders on payment of assessment only. Their occupancy rights were older than the grant to the Rastes and therefore were not affected by that grant. In fact, in response of these lands, the interest of the Rastes was confined to only the land revenue. On the abolition of the Inam, the Yadavs and the Jadhavs became the occupants directly under the Government and became liable to payment of the assessment to the Government rather than to the Rastes. In practice, the change had taken place long before and they were already paying the revenue to the Government out of which the Government used to remit to the Rastes the alienated part. With the abolition of the Inam, the Rastes were no longer entitled to the alienated portion of the revenue amounting to Rs. 3189.22.

However, the Rastes held some of these lands as

occupants. These were mostly released out to ordinary tenants and not to inferior holders enjoying all occupancy rights. These lands were known as Sheri or private lands of the Rastes. The abolition of the Inam did not affect the occupancy rights of the Rastes. They continued to be the occupants but now liable to the full revenue assessment. In Table 5 are presented the particulars of these lands.

Table 5. Assessment of private lands of Rastes

Private (Sheri) lands of Rastes	Area (acres)	Assessment Rs
Grazing area on hill tops and hill slopes leased out	272.98	148.31
Cultivated area leased out	88.90	110.50
Area in public use	1.72	3.59
Total	363.60	262.40

The other four Personal Inams were abolished on the same basis. In Table 6 are presented their particulars at the time of abolition.

Table 6. Assessment of Personal Inams

Personal Inam	Area (acres)	Assessment Rs.	Quit- rent Rs.	Alienated revenue Rs.
Ramadasi Brahmin	2.00	15.81	5.00	10.81
Puri Gosavi	8.15	28.87	5.00	23.87
Mali	1.75	5.25	1.50	3.75
Atar	5.12	4.56	1.75	2.81
Total	17.02	54.49	13.25	41.24

On abolition of these Inams, the lands became liable to the payment of full assessment. They were held either by the original assignees, or other persons to whom they were duly transferred. Whoever was the actual occupant continued to be the occupant but now liable to full assessment.

(iii) Bombay Service Inams Abolition Act: Finally, towards the end of the same year, 1953, the Service Inams useful only to the village community were abolished. In Gulumb, there were two of its kind, namely, the Joshi and the Chambhar Inams. The Joshi was a kind of an astrologer-cum-priest. There were two Joshi families, one serving the Jadhav ward and the other serving the Yadav ward. Until the abolition of the Kulkarni service in 1920, the same families also did the work of the village accountant, for their respective wards. After the abolition of the Kulkarni service the families had therefore so much less interest in the village. By 1940, the family serving the Jadhav ward had left the village completely and had leased out all its Joshi Inam lands to Jadhavs. The Joshi family of the Yadav ward continued to be in the village and served both the wards. Nevertheless, most of its Inam land was leased out to the Yadav cultivators. In the meanwhile, another Brahmin family had come into the village and begun to perform the Joshi service. The Joshi service thus was more or less divorced from the Joshi Inam land. The families performing the service, did it for what little remuneration in cash and kind they were paid on each occasion they were called in.

The other community service Inam belonged to the Chambhar, the cobbler. However the Inam was not for the service as a cobbler but for another function which the cobbler was traditionally supposed to perform. In the village festival celebrating the marriage anniversary of the God Chhairav when the God was taken out in procession in a palanquin, the cobbler had the

duty to bear the torch. It was to remunerate this service that the cobbler was given an Inam land. There were altogether three plots of land, two in the Jadhav area and one in the Yadav area. The two plots in the Jadhav area had for long been possession mortgaged with a leading moneylender cultivator of the Jadhav ward and in 1942-43 had effectively passed out of the hands of the cobbler. As such they were resumed by the Government in 1944 and fully assessed. The plot in the Yadav area was still in the occupation of the cobbler's family but now subdivided into several parcels.

The Service Inams useful to the community were abolished by the Bombay Service Inams (Useful to Community) Abolition Act of 1953. The basis of abolition was the same as adopted for abolishing Paragana and Kulkarni Watans. On abolition, the lands became liable to the payment of full assessment and all liability to render service was extinguished. They were paid compensation for the purpose equal to ten times the alienated land revenue which formerly they used to retain to themselves. The compensation was paid in twenty years bonds as in the other case. Provision was made to regrant the resumed lands to the occupants on their paying an occupancy price equal to six times the full assessment within a period of five years from the date of coming into effect of the Act. Failure to pay the occupancy price made the occupants liable to summary rejection. The occupancy of the lands thus regranted was not transferable freehold.

The position of these Inams in Gulumb at the time

of abolition was as under:

	Area (acres)	Assess- ment Rs	Quit-rent Rs	Alienated revenue Rs
Joshi Inam	16.85	65.81	10.69	55.12
Chambhar Inam				
(1)	1.48	6.22	0.50	5.72
(2)	3.17	2.63	0.62	2.00

The part (1) of the Chambhar Inam was earlier resumed and made liable to full assessment. The other part of the Chambhar Inam and the Joshi Inam were abolished in 1954 according to the terms of the provision of the Act.

After the abolition in 1953, of the Service Inams useful to the community, there were left only two kinds of Inams: Service Inams useful to Government and the Temple Inams. These continued till 1957-58. After much deliberation, Government finally decided in 1958 to abolish the Service Inams useful to Government as well. By means of the Bombay Inferior Village Watans Abolition Act of 1958, all the inferior hereditary service Inams below the rank of the Patil were abolished. The Act abolished these Inams, extinguished all incidents appertaining to them, resumed the Watan lands and made them liable to the payment of full assessment. The persons affected received a compensation equal to seven times of difference between the full assessment and the quit-rent which until now the Watandars paid. There was also provision to regrant the resumed lands to the erstwhile Watandars on their paying an occupancy price equal to one or three times the assessment. The occupancy thus regranted would not be transferable or partible without the previous sanction of the government.

In Gulumb, there were four inferior service Inams useful to Government. They were Chougula, Koli, Ramoshi and Mahar. Chougula was a kind of orderly to the Patil. He was also responsible for looking after the personal conveniences of any government officials visiting the village. In Gulumb, the Chougula service had ceased to be performed for at least past fifty or sixty years. The Chougula Inam lands were being enjoyed by the Koli of the village. Therefore on grounds that the service was no longer being performed, the Inam land was already resumed in 1940 and assessed fully. It continued to be in occupation of the Koli but now fully assessed. The Koli was responsible for keeping the village public hall clean and provided with drinking water. There used to be two Koli families one serving the Yadav ward and the other serving the Jadhav ward. The two had their respective Koli Inam lands. But for several years, the Koli family of the Yadav ward had left the village. The Koli family belonging to the Jadhav ward therefore enjoyed both the Inam lands along with the lands belonging to the Chougula Inam. In 1958, when the Koli Inam was abolished, the Koli service was being performed more or less on traditional lines. The third inferior village service useful to Government was the Ramoshi. Ramoshi is a village watchman and might be regarded as belonging to the police service. At the time of the abolition of the service in 1958, the service was being performed satisfactorily. The last, but by far the most important inferior village service, was the Mahar service. The Mahar were kind of village messengers and the Mahar community was responsible for making available every

year a certain number of Mahars for duty. By an elaborate system of rotation, the 30 and odd Mahar families in the village used to supply the required number every year.

The above inferior services, though they were primarily useful to the Government were also useful to the village community. For instance, Koli not only provided drinking water in the village public hall but supplied the same also to private families. Ramoshi watches the standing crops at night. The Mahars acted as messengers to all and sundry, and presented themselves at call. They carried messages not only within the village but even to neighbouring villages. They were also traditionally required to carry firewood to the burning place for funeral. They were untouchables and were required to clear the dead cattle, skin it. In fact, because they were untouchables, all dirty work, which none else would do, fell on them. For the service to the community which these village servants performed, the community remunerated them by means of annual grain payments.

Mahars were not the only untouchables in the village, but they suffered the handicaps most because of the functions and duties they were under obligation to perform daily as village servants. They resented the service. They were numerically the largest untouchable community and were well organised. In 1957, the Mahar community in Maharashtra revolted against the Hindu religion and in order to escape the curse of untouchability, adopted Buddhism. With the adoption of Buddhism, the Mahars refused to perform the traditional village service. They made a distinction between

the service to Government and the service to village community; they argued that the Inam land was for service to Government which they continued to perform; but refused to do any service to the community and gave up the annual grain remuneration and the daily quarter pieces of bread. The village community did not quite accept the distinction but of course there was nothing they could do to force the issue in a legal manner. The revolt of the Mahars in a sense proved a signal for the abolition of the inferior village services.

The Bombay Government Inferior Watan Act, 1958 became Law on 20.1.1959. The Law was brought into force in various districts of the state in stages. In Satara district the Act was brought into force on 1.8.1959. The Government had to make alternative arrangements for the performance of the duties, which the Watandar rendered traditionally. The scheme of stipendiary Kotwals was therefore, evolved and brought into force.

The Law classified the holders of the watan land into

- (i) Watandars or persons holding through or from the Watandars
- (ii) authorised holders
- (iii) unauthorised holders: i.e. persons who had unauthorisedly occupied the watan lands or who had acquired any rights in respect of the lands in their possession from the Watandars in contravention of the provisions of the Watan law regulating transfer, alienation, lease etc. of the Watan lands.

In Western Maharashtra inferior village Watan lands existed in most of the villages and in many cases the lands were in possession of unauthorised holders. It was only in September 1963 that the Government could lay down the principles to be followed for the disposal of the lands in the possession of the unauthorised holders and issue orders in that behalf.

Lands in the possession of Watandars and authorised holders were to be regranted to them provided they paid the prescribed occupancy price within the prescribed period. The quantum of occupancy price required to be paid was equal to the full assessment or three times the assessment of the Watan lands depending upon whether such lands were unassigned or assigned for the emoluments of the officiators. However, many Watandars failed to make the payment within the prescribed period and this period was extended by the Government from time to time. The total period that was allowed was of six years. In cases where the Watandars failed to pay the occupancy price and the land vested in the Government, the Government proposed to dispose of this land by granting it to the former Watandars at the same price at which they could have acquired it before the expiry of the specified date.

In Gulumb, the position of these Inams at the time of abolition was as under: (Please see table on next page)

On abolition of these Inams on 1.8.1959, the lands became liable to the payment of full assessment.

The service Watans held by Revenue Patels in Western Maharashtra were abolished by the Maharashtra Revenue Patels (Abolition of Office) Act, 1962 which came into force on 1.1.1963. The terms and conditions

	Cultivable area	Assess- ment	Quit rent	Alienated revenue
		Rs.	Rs.	
Chaugula Koli	34.92	56.44	-	56.44
Mahar	52.80	112.88	42.00	70.88
Ramoshi	18.00	47.25	-	47.25

of the Watan land and its regrant were similar to those for the inferior village watans. The abolition of the Patil Watan entailed arrangement for appointment of the stipendary police patils in the village. It did not necessitate the appointment of the revenue patils, because their posts had been abolished and provision for the transfer of their duties and functions to the talathis was made in the abolition law.

In Gulumb there were 4 patils, 2 from among the Jadhavs and two from among the Yadavs. At a time two patils - one from the Jadhavs and one from the Yadavs served as police and revenue patil respectively for a ten year period and after the expiry of this period the other two would take the turn. The revenue patil in the village was assisting the talathi in his duties and the police patil attended to duties related to security of the village, record of birth and death etc. and was responsible for reporting theft and other crimes to the police station.

The patil Inam lands measured 54.90 acres, 29.72 acres in Jadhav shivar and 25.18 acres in Yadav shivar. The assessment of this land was Rs.133.87 of which Rs.111.50 was paid as quit-rent and Rs.22.37 was the amount of alienated revenue retained by the Inamdar.

The link between the patil office and the Patil Inam lands has disappeared over time the Inam lands being fragmented into 52 to 55 plots and in possession of various Jadhav and Yadav families. All the families except that of Balkrishna Maruti Jadhav, who served as Patils did not enjoy the Inam lands but rendered the service only in lieu of the annual salary, which ranged between Rs.60 to Rs.75.

With the abolition of Patil Inams the last vestige of the ancient system of hereditary service was removed. The only remnants of the old order was the Temple Inam which continues to-date.

CHAPTER III

IMPACT OF TENANCY LEGISLATION

1. Tenancy Reform - First Phase

(i) Land Revenue Code of 1879: During the British Administration, the relations between landless and tenants in Bombay Province were governed by the provisions of the Bombay Land Revenue Code of 1879. One of the objects of the Code as mentioned in the Statement of Objects and Reasons was to amend and improve the then existing law by determining more precisely than the law then did the relations between the landlords and their tenants. The word 'tenant' was defined to signify 'a person who held (land) by a right derived from a superior holder called his landlord or from his landlord's predecessor in title'. The word 'landlord' was not independently defined. These definitions were later modified by the amending Bombay Act IV of 1913. According to the modified definitions the tenant meant 'a lessee, whether holding under an instrument or under an oral agreement and included a mortgage of a tenant's rights of possession; but it did not include a lessee holding directly under Government'. The word 'landlord' was defined to mean 'a lessor'. The provisions governing relations between the landlord and the tenant are to be found in Chapter VII of the Code which is titled 'Of Superior and Inferior Holders'. The more important sections are 83 and 84 relating to the questions of the amount of rent payable by a tenant and the duration of his tenancy. They are briefly as under:

A person placed, as tenant, in possession of land by another ... shall be regarded as holding the same at the rent or for the services agreed upon between them;

Where by reason of the antiquity of a tenancy, no satisfactory evidence of its commencement is forthcoming

and there is not any such evidence of the period of its intended duration, if any, agreed upon between the landlord and tenant, ... it shall ... be presumed to be co-extensive with the duration of the tenure of such landlord and of those who derive title under him.

Nothing contained in this section shall affect the right of the landlord (if he has the same either by virtue of agreement, usage or otherwise), to enhance the rent payable, or service renderable by the tenant, or to evict the tenant for non-payment of the rent or rendering of the services, either respectively originally fixed or duly enhanced aforesaid.

An annual tenancy shall, in the absence of proof to the contrary, be presumed to run from the end of one cultivating season to the end of the next. The cultivating season may be presumed to end on the 31st March.

Thus under the Bombay Land Revenue Code of 1879 the rent was left to be agreed between the landlord and the tenant; and it could be in any form such as in cash, kind or even in services to be rendered by the tenant. Moreover, the landlord could (by virtue of usage) enhance the rent at any time and evict the tenant for non-payment of even the enhanced rent. The duration of tenure was also left to be agreed between the landlord and the tenant and apparently in the absence of an agreement, the tenancy was presumed to be annual running 'from the end of one cultivating season to another'. However, the Code recognized an important class of tenancy namely the one originating in antiquity 'where no satisfactory evidence of its

commencement was forthcoming and there was not any such evidence of the period of its intended duration'. In all such cases, it was to be presumed that the duration of such tenancies was co-extensive with the duration of the tenure of the landlord. In other words, the Code recognized a class of, what we might call, permanent tenants. Even in such cases, however, it did not affect the rights of the landlord to enhance the rent payable and to evict the tenant for non-payment of even such enhanced rent. What was more, the entire machinery of Government was at the service of the landlord to enforce recovery of rent. Section 86 of the Code laid down that "Superior holders shall, upon written application to the Collector, be entitled to assistance, by the use of precautionary and other measures, for the recovery of rent...payable to them by the inferior holders." The term 'superior holders' and 'inferior holders' used in connection with the landlords and the tenants were clearly understood as such and there was no question of ensuring an equal status to the two regarded as the parties to a contract.

(ii) Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939: It was to improve upon this situation that the first provincial governments formed by the Indian National Congress in the pre-Independence period enacted the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939. While moving the bill in the provincial legislature, the then Home Minister Shri Morarji Desai observed that the legislation was an attempt to adjust relations between the landlords and the tenants, that it was not at all revolutionary and that it only sought to remove opportunities for oppression by either side and to create conditions whereby stability would be

established between the two classes so that agriculture would be benefitted as a result. The Act conferred important benefits on all tenants generally and also created a new class of privileged tenants called the 'protected' tenants who were eligible for special benefits including the right of permanent tenancy. All tenants who were in cultivating possession of their lands continuously for a period of six or more years preceding 1st January 1938 were termed 'protected tenants' and were permanently protected from being evicted except for certain specified reasons and purposes. The tenants not protected in this manner were also given a security of tenure for 10 years.

The Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 was passed by the Legislature and after having received the assent of the Governor General, was first published and became law on 2nd April 1940. It was to come into force by a notification in the Official Gazettee. But in the meanwhile a general constitutional crisis arose. Differences between the Indian National Congress and the latter became sharp and the Congress governments in the provinces resigned. The Constitutional Government was thus suspended and the Tenancy Act was withheld from being applied to the whole Province. Later, powers were taken by the Governor's Act VII of 1941 to permit gradual and piecemeal application of the Tenancy Act and with effect from 1st April 1941, the Act was applied to only four districts, namely, Surat, Thana, West Khandesh and Dharwar. In particular, it was not applied to the district of Satara so that in 1942, Gulumb had remained unaffected by the operation of the Tenancy Act of 1939. Thus in the year 1942-43,

the landlord-tenant relations in Gulumb were still governed by the provisions of the Bombay Land Revenue Code of 1879.

(iii) The Bombay Tenancy Amendment Act of 1946:

After the end of the War in 1945, the Congress Government in the province returned to power on 2nd April 1946 and immediately extended the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 to the remaining districts with effect from 11th April 1946. At the same time the original Act was amended in one or two important respects. The reasons for the amendment as stated in the statement of objects and reasons of the Amending Act of 1946 were as follows: "The experience of the working of the Act in the limited areas to which it has been applied since 1st April 1941, has shown that the rights conferred on the tenants and the liabilities imposed upon the landlords have not been effectively enforced, as the tenant is too ignorant and illiterate and too much under the control of the landlord or the Sowkar (moneylender) to assert his right against the landlord or to enforce the liabilities imposed on the landlord under the Act. It is therefore necessary, if the rights conferred on the tenants are to be effectively enforced, to modify the relevant provisions of the Act, to shift on the landlord the onus of proving that the tenant is not entitled to certain rights conferred on him by the Act." The Amending Act of 1946 sought to do this by means of two important new sections it added. The first one related to the definition of a tenant. The original Act of 1939 did not define a 'tenant'. Hence the definition of a 'tenant' as given by the Bombay Land Revenue Code continued to hold,

namely, that "a tenant means a lessee, whether holding under an instrument, or under an oral agreement, and includes a mortgagee of a tenant's rights with possession but does not include a lessee holding directly under the Government." The Amending Act of 1946 in section 2A defined a 'tenant' as under:

A person lawfully cultivating any land belonging to another person shall be deemed to be a tenant if such land is not cultivated personally by the owner and if such person is not (a) a member of the owner's family or (b) a servant on wages payable in cash or kind but not in crop share or a hired labourer cultivating the land under the personal supervision of the owner or any member of the owner's family, unless the owner has within one year of the coming into force of the Bombay Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1946, made an application to the Mamlatdar within whose jurisdiction the land is situated for a declaration that the person is not a tenant.

The main purpose of this section was to shift on the landlord the onus of proving that a person cultivating his land was not a tenant, and this he was required to do within one year of coming into force of this Act. This was followed up by a similar provision in the definition of a protected tenant. The original Act of 1939 defined a protected tenant in respect of any land to be one who held and cultivated such land personally for a period of not less than six years immediately preceding the first day of January 1938. Because of the lapse of time since the original Act was passed this definition was duly amended to read as "a period of not less than six years immediately

preceding either (i) the first day of January 1938 or (ii) the first day of January 1945." This was Section 3 of the Act. The Amending Act then added a new section 3A on lines of the section 2A. It read thus:

Every tenant shall, on the expiry of one year from the date of the coming into force of the Bombay Tenancy Amendment Act of 1946, be deemed to be a protected tenant for the purposes of this Act and his rights as such protected tenant shall be recorded in the Record of Rights, unless his landlord has within the said period made an application to the Mamlatdar within whose jurisdiction the land is situated for a declaration that the tenant is not a protected tenant.

Thus again the onus was shifted to the landlord of providing that a tenant was not a protected tenant. The Act came into force on 8th November 1946 and the provisions of this section meant that all tenants existing on that day were to be deemed protected tenants whether or not they satisfied conditions of Section 3 unless the owner had moved within one year of that date to prove that a tenant was not a protected tenant.

There was yet another provision granting rights of protected tenancy. This was meant to protect the tenants who had been evicted from their lands after 1st of April 1937 or 1st April 1944. This was section 4 of the Act and it provided that every tenant should be

deemed to be a protected tenant if he had held and cultivated personally any land for a period of not less than six years immediately preceding either 1st April 1937 or 1st April 1944 and had been evicted from that land any time thereafter. The section provided that any tenant deemed to be a protected tenant under this section was entitled to recover possession of the land if within one year of coming into force of the Act, he intimated to the landlord that he was willing to hold the land on the same terms and conditions on which he held it at the time when he was evicted, unless the landlord was himself cultivating personally the land in question or was using it for non-agricultural purposes.

Thus there were altogether three sections under which the rights of protected tenancy were granted namely sections 3, 3A and 4. An important provision of section 3-A was that it required the recording of the rights of protected tenancy into the Record of Rights. The Record of Right was a crucial part of the system of Land Records in Bombay Province. It was first introduced in 1903. Until then the primary concern of the land record was to fix the responsibility for the payment of land revenue assessment on each parcel of land and to register such persons as 'khatedars' or 'registered occupants'. The Land Revenue Code of 1879 recognized the existence of rights in land other than those derived from the entry in the revenue records but did not provide for the recording of such rights. Such rights had always existed and were continually being asserted through the medium of the Courts but the revenue administration did not take cognizance of them unless the holders of such rights

were entered into the revenue record as the 'registered occupants'. This was convenient for the revenue administration as it saved the Government from the trouble of enquiring into the minutæ of land possession and of keeping up an enormous number of small accounts. But it also meant that the Government was never in possession of the full facts of the situation.

The Famine Commission in 1899 expressed a strong opinion that a proper record of all rights in land was essential to proper administration. Consequently, the Act IV of 1903 was passed providing for the preparation and maintenance of the Record of Rights in land. To start with the Record of Rights was kept as a purely statistical record. The revenue administration continued to be based on the system of 'khatedars' or 'registered occupants' and the Record of Rights though now maintained was kept separate. Finally, it was decided to amalgamate the Record of Rights Act with the Land Revenue Code. This was done by the Act IV of 1913 which repealed the earlier Record of Rights Act (Act IV of 1903) and incorporated the same as Chapter X-A of the Land Revenue Code. Section 135 B of the Code requires that (1) A record of rights shall be maintained in every village to include the names of all persons (other than tenants) who are holders, occupants, owners or mortgagees of land or assignees of the rent or revenue thereof, together with the particulars regarding the nature and extent of their rights and interests; and that (2) the same shall be entered in the record of rights with respect to perpetual tenancies and also with respect to tenancies of any other classes duly notified for

the purpose.

Thus there was no provision for the recording of rights of tenancies other than the perpetual tenancies unless they were specifically notified for the purpose. None had been notified until 1946 and hence only the perpetual tenancies appeared in the Record of Rights. This was of course not surprising because the other tenants had no rights worth recording. Nevertheless, section 135D(7) provided for such tenancies to 'be entered in a register of tenancies'. This used to be done in Village Form XII which was a crop register and the village-accountant was required to note the tenancy of each plot of land every year while he did the inspection of the crops plot by plot. Later in 1923 when the forms were revised the tenancy register was technically separated from the crop register, namely, the Village Form XII. The tenancy register was now termed V.F. VII-A in order to keep it distinct from the Record of Rights which was V.F. VII. For the convenience of the village-accountant, the three forms, namely, V.F. VII, VII-A and XII being the Record of Rights, the Register of Tenancies, and the Crop Register respectively were combined into a single card index; but in principle the three were distinct. Ordinary tenancies were registered every year in V.F. VII-A along with the inspection of crops to be entered in V.F. XII. They did not appear in V.F. VII. All other rights including the perpetual tenancies were recorded in V.F. VII. Section 3-A of the Bombay Tenancy Act as amended in 1946 now required that the rights of protected tenancy be recorded in the Record of Rights, that is, in V.F. VII.

This was an important innovation. The combined effect of the two sections, namely, 2A and 3A was that everyone who could be deemed to be a tenant within the meaning of 2A was to be regarded a protected tenant and his rights recorded in the Record of Rights unless the landlord disputed his claim. In fact, by means of a circular dated 30-6-1947, the Government directed that the persons satisfying the requirements of Section 2A should be entered as protected tenants as in the Record of Rights under Section 3A on or after 6th November 1947 in case their landlords did not successfully counter their claims or preferred applications countering their claims to be tenants and protected tenants within the prescribed period. The circular also directed that the entries in the Record of Rights under Section 3A should be finalised as soon as possible after 6th November 1947. Nevertheless, the village-accountant of Gulumb proceeded more cautiously. In February 1948, he entered the rights of protected tenancy only of those tenants who satisfied the provisions of Section 3, namely, those tenants who had held and cultivated the land for a period of not less than six years immediately preceding either 1-1-1938 or 1-1-1945. He had evidently some doubts about the manner in which the rights of protected tenants under section 3A who did not satisfy section 3 were to be recorded. He recorded their rights a year later, namely, in March-April 1949. He had not still recorded the rights of protected tenancy under section 4; for these tenants were in fact not on the land and he did not know. But finally in September 1949, he recorded these rights too.

The doubts as to the manner in which the rights of protected tenancy under section 3A were to be recorded in the Record of Rights which the village-accountant felt were also apparently felt by the higher revenue officers. These doubts arose in view of section 135C and 135D of the Land Revenue Code which prescribed the procedure by which the rights in the Record of Rights have to be entered. They are briefly as under:

Sec. 135C: Any person acquiring by succession, survivorship, inheritance, partition, purchase, mortgage, gift, lease or otherwise, any rights as holder, occupant, owner, mortgagee, landlord or tenant of the land or assignee of the rent or revenue thereof, shall report orally or in writing his acquisition of such right to the village-accountant within three months from the date of such acquisition and the village-accountant shall at once give a written acknowledgement of the receipt of such report to the person making it; provided any person acquiring a right by virtue of a registered document shall be exempted from the obligation to report to the village accountant.

Sec. 135D: (1) The village-accountant shall enter in a register of mutations (V.F. VI) every report made to him under section 135C and shall also make an entry therein respecting the acquisition of any right of the kind mentioned in that section which he has reason to believe to have taken place and of which a report has not been made to him under that section.

(2) Whenever a village-accountant makes an entry in the register of mutations he shall at the same time post up a complete copy of the entry in a conspicuous

place in the Chavadi (village public hall) and shall give written intimation to all interested persons.

(3) Should any objection to an entry made in the register of mutations be made either orally or in writing, it shall be the duty of the village accountant to enter the particulars of the objection in a register of disputed cases.

(4) Orders disposing of objections entered in the register of disputed cases shall be recorded in the register of mutations by appropriate officers and in appropriate manner.

(5) The transfer of entries from the register of mutations to the record of rights shall not be made until such entries have been duly certified.

(6) Entries in the register of mutations shall be tested and if found correct or after correction as the case may be, shall be certified by a revenue officer of rank not lower than that of a Mamlatdar's first karkun.

(7) The provisions of this section shall apply in respect of perpetual tenancies and also in respect of any tenancies notified by a notification under subsection (2) of Section 135B, but the provision of this section shall not apply in respect of other tenancies which shall be entered in a register of tenancies.

Accordingly the provisions of this section did not apply to the entries of the ordinary tenancies in the register of tenancies, namely, in the V.F. VII-A. These entries were made by the village accountant from his personal knowledge when he went round for inspection of crops plot by plot; they did not require notification to the parties concerned.

The question that now arose was whether the provisions of Section 135D applied to the entries of protected tenancy to be made in the Record of Rights under Section 3-A of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939. This would have been so if a notification had been issued under Section 135B(2) of the Land Revenue Code. But this was not done and was not considered necessary in view of the fact that Section 3-A of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 as amended in 1946, authorised the making of such entries straight-away in the Record of Rights. By means of a circular dated 26.9.1947 the Government therefore directed that Section 135D of the Land Revenue Code did not apply to the entries of protected tenancy under Section 3A of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939; that therefore these entries could be made straight into the Record of Right (V.F. VII), that is without prior entry in the register of mutations (V.F.VII); and that consequently, there was no need to give notices to the interested parties and in particular to the landlords being affected. This was not quite satisfactory. What was in fact being proposed was that the persons satisfying provisions of section 2A should be entered as tenants in the Register of Tenancies, namely V.F. VII-A which under the rules of Land Revenue Code required to notification to the parties concerned; later the same persons were to be regarded as protected tenants and their rights as such were to be recorded in the Record of Rights without any notice to the landlords being affected. Thus important rights of protected tenancy were being created and recorded against landlords without any notice to them. The Government sought to correct this anomaly by directing as follows

in the same circular: "In the case of tenancy entries under Section 2A of Tenancy Act, 1939, a Talathi (village-accountant) has to make field to field enquiries to find out details regarding the person cultivating, because in such a case the landlord should know that the field which was entered in V.F. VII-A as being cultivated by him personally will be entered as being cultivated by a tenant. This change may divest by law the landlord of some of his income from land, and in order to give him an opportunity to explain his position a notice has to be served on him." In short, the Government directed that notice should be served on the landlord when a person was being recorded as a tenant in the Tenancy Register against his land; but that no such notice was necessary when the same person was being recorded as a protected tenant in the Record of Rights.

(iv) Implementation of the Act in Gulumb: The village accountant at Gulumb while he made the entries of the rights of protected tenancy whether under sections 3, 3A or 4, always followed the procedure prescribed under Section 135D of the Land Revenue Code. He first entered the right of protected tenancy as a mutation in the register of mutations, namely, V.F. VI and served notices on the landowners being thus affected. It was no longer customary, if ever it was, to 'post up a complete copy of the entry in a conspicuous place in the village public hall' as required by section 135D (2). Later, after the Mamlatdar had visited the village and had duly certified the entries, the village accountant posted them in the Record of Rights namely V.F. VII. While making these entries,

the village accountant also took care to mention the section of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 under which each tenancy was being recorded as protected.

The Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 was extended to all the districts with effect from 11th April 1946 and the Amending Act of 1946 came into effect on 8th November, 1946. Therefore the Tenancy Register as it appeared in the year 1946-47 was vital to the enforcement of the Act. The village accountant must have taken special care to bring it up-to-date in that year. He was also directed to take special care while noting tenancy under Section 2A of the Act. As a result of it all and as it was finally entered, the Tenancy Register shewed that in 1946-47, a total of 585.3 acres of the village land was tenant-cultivated. This is less than the tenant-cultivated area in 1942-43 by about 100 acres but it is difficult to explain this drop. It is not impossible that some of the tenant-cultivated land was resumed by the landowners in order to avoid the recording of the rights of protected tenancy. However, it is more likely that though the plots of land were not actually resumed, the tenancy was disputed and hence not recorded. Whatever it might be, only 585.3 acres of the village land appeared to be tenant-cultivated as per the Tenancy Register and that formed the basis of the enforcement of the Tenancy Act.

In V.F. VII-A, the tenant-cultivated area corresponded to 247 separate plots of land; that is to say, the village accountant had recorded tenancy against so many plots. Next he proceeded to record the rights of protected tenancy in the Record of Rights as per

provisions of the Act. In February 1948, he recorded the right of protected tenancy under Section 3 of the Act against 75 of the tenant-cultivated plots. Their total area was 228.7 acres and altogether 34 landowners and 3 tenants were concerned. A year later, that is in March-April 1949 he recorded the right under Section 3A of the Act against 97 plots. The total area of these plots was 297.6 acres; they were owned by 49 owners and cultivated by 47 tenants. Thus the village-accountant recorded the right of protected tenancy against 172 out of the 247 tenant-cultivated lands but did not record the same in respect of the remaining 75 plots. Among these latter, there were 26 plots belonging to Devasthan (temple) Inam and it is possible that the village accountant did not quite know whether the provisions of protected tenancy were equally applicable to these lands. In any case, a majority of the tenants on these lands were of long duration and were secure in their tenure so that the non-recording of the protected tenancy could not do them much hard. There was also another plot which though not belonging to Devasthan Inam was in cultivating possession of a permanent tenant recorded as such in the Record of Rights; the recording of the protected tenancy in his case was therefore probably unnecessary. We might therefore presume protected tenancy in these 27 cases though the rights were not actually recorded. The area of these 27 plots was 20.3 acres and they involved 2 owners and 22 tenants. In the remaining 48 cases, there appear no evident reasons for the village accountant not having recorded the right of protected tenancy unless some of the landowners had represented

to him personally that the tenants on their lands could not be deemed to be protected.

The whole operation is summarised and presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Tenancy Situation in Gulumb (1946-47)

Type of tenancy	No. of plots	Area acres	No. of owners	No. of tenants
Protected tenancy recorded under Sec.3	75	228.7	34	43
Protected tenancy recorded under Sec.3A	97	297.6	49	47
Protected tenancy presumed though not recorded	27	20.3	2	22
Total with recorded or presumed protected tenancy	199	546.6	68	88
Ordinary tenancy	48	38.7	30	35
Total tenancy in 1946-47	247	585.3	84	106

In the above statement, the number of plots in different categories and their areas add up appropriately; but the number of owners and tenants do not add up in the same way. The reason is that in some cases, the owners or tenants owning or cultivating more than one plot appear in more than one categories. To sum up, protected tenancy was recorded or presumed in relation to 199 tenancies. The area of the 199 plots was 546.6 acres and it involved 68 owners and 88 tenants. On the other hand, the tenants on 48 plots remained as ordinary tenants. The area of these 48 plots amounted to 38.7 acres and it involved 30 landowners and 35 tenants.

In addition to the above cases, the rights of protected tenancy were recorded in respect of 30 other plots of land. In these cases the persons who were recorded as protected tenants were not in cultivating possession of the plots in 1946. But some of them did cultivate the plots for at least six years preceding the first day of January 1945 and thus were entitled to being recorded as protected tenants under Section 3 of the Act. There were 5 such cases. In the remaining cases, the persons had cultivated the respective plots for at least six years preceding the 1st April 1944 or 1st April 1936 and had left or had been evicted from the plots sometime after that. They were entitled to being recorded as protected tenants under Section 4

of the Act. It would seem that the operation of this section of the Act was a fairly complicated procedure for the village accountant to go through but he did it creditably well. In all, he discovered 30 cases where though the persons were not on land in 1946, they were entitled to being recorded as protected tenants either under Section 3 or Section 4 of the Act. He recorded their rights accordingly. That was in September 1949, that is nearly three years after the Amending Act of 1946 came into force in November 1946.

The total area of these 30 plots was 42.5 acres and altogether 18 landowners and 21 tenants were involved. The 21 tenants were of course not in cultivating possession of the plots in 1946 though they were recorded as protected tenants. In 11 cases, the plots were in fact being cultivated by the landowners. In the remaining 19 cases the plots were being cultivated by some other tenants. In fact, these latter

tenants were also entitled to be recorded as protected tenants either under section 3 or section 3A of the Act and the village accountant had actually entered their rights as such in 12 out of the 19 cases. Thus in the case of these 12 plots rights of protected tenancy were recorded in favour of two persons, one in actual cultivating possession of the plot and the other not so in possession. But that was all according to the provisions of law.

The law provided that the persons who were not in cultivating possession of the plots in 1946 but were recorded as protected tenants were entitled to recover possession of the plots if within one year of coming into force of the Act, they intimated to the landowners that they were willing to hold the land on the same terms and conditions on which they had held it earlier.

That time limit had passed long before the village accountant recorded their rights of protected tenancy and, except in one solitary case, no one had tried to recover possession of the land in question. As a consequence, their rights lapsed in due course, probably even before they were recorded. In a majority of these cases, the persons concerned had left the lands partly for reasons of their own and partly for reasons of the landowners but usually with a mutual understanding. Probably they never knew that they were entitled to recover possession. In any case some of them did not want to return to the lands in question and others did not want to take up issues with the landowners or with the other tenants now in cultivating possession of the plots.

In a few cases, the rights of protected tenancy

were recorded in favour of certain persons by the mere blind application of the law and there was no question of the persons wanting to recover possession of the lands in question. Thus, one Krishna Shreepati Yadav cultivated two plots of land as a tenant from 1934-35 to 1944-45. In 1945, he died accidentally of a snake-bite and his son was then too young to take up cultivation. The owner of the plots therefore leased them to two other tenants. The village accountant duly recorded the right of protected tenancy in favour of the new tenants under section 3A of the Act and also in favour of the deceased Krishna Shreepati Yadav under Section 4. Naturally, Krishna Shreepati or his young son did not recover possession of the plots and the rights lapsed. In another case, one Bhau Vithu Yadav had given a small plot of land of about half an acre to his widowed daughter Yesai for her subsistence. That was long ago in 1920. Between 1935-36 and 1944-45, a brother of Yesai, one Sadu Bhau Yadav used to cultivate the plot and give half share of crop to Yesai. Technically, that was tenancy and it was recorded as such in the Register of Tenancies. The village accountant therefore duly recorded the right of protected tenancy in favour of Sadu Bhau. Evidently, Sadu Bhau did not want to recover possession from his widow sister and the right duly lapsed. Later in 1957, when Yesai died of old age, the plot reverted to Sadu Bhau as the legal heir.

The recording of the rights of protected tenancy under section 4 of the Act thus proved to be a laborious and futile process. Even in the one case, where the previous tenant recovered possession of the land on

were recorded in favour of certain persons by the mere blind application of the law and there was no question of the persons wanting to recover possession of the lands in question. Thus, one Krishna Shreepati Yadav cultivated two plots of land as a tenant from 1934-35 to 1944-45. In 1945, he died accidentally of a snake-bite and his son was then too young to take up cultivation. The owner of the plots therefore leased them to two other tenants. The village accountant duly recorded the right of protected tenancy in favour of the new tenants under section 3A of the Act and also in favour of the deceased Krishna Shreepati Yadav under Section 4. Naturally, Krishna Shreepati or his young son did not recover possession of the plots and the rights lapsed. In another case, one Bhau Vithu Yadav had given a small plot of land of about half an acre to his widowed daughter Yesai for her subsistence. That was long ago in 1920. Between 1935-36 and 1944-45, a brother of Yesai, one Sadu Bhau Yadav used to cultivate the plot and give half share of crop to Yesai. Technically, that was tenancy and it was recorded as such in the Register of Tenancies. The village accountant therefore duly recorded the right of protected tenancy in favour of Sadu Bhau. Evidently, Sadu Bhau did not want to recover possession from his widow sister and the right duly lapsed. Later in 1957, when Yesai died of old age, the plot reverted to Sadu Bhau as the legal heir.

The recording of the rights of protected tenancy under section 4 of the Act thus proved to be a laborious and futile process. Even in the one case, where the previous tenant recovered possession of the land on

which he was given the rights of protected tenancy, he did not have to recover possession from the landowner. In fact, he recovered possession of the land from a sub-tenant to whom he had sub-leased it for a period of past seven years. The land belonged to the Rastes, the Inamdar of the village. The Rastes never looked after their private lands in the village very jealously and usually leased them out for long periods and for a nominal rent. The land in question was leased out to one Yeshwant Tatya Jadhav in this manner since the year 1932-33. In 1940-41, Yeshwant Tatya left Gulumb to seek fortune in Bombay and while he left, he sub-leased the land to one Balu Kashi Jadhav. In 1946-47 the land was still being cultivated by Balu Kashi Jadhav. The village accountant therefore duly recorded his right of protected tenancy under section 3 of the Act. But Yeshwant Tatya had also qualified for the same rights under section 4 of the Act, because he had cultivated the land for six years preceding 1st April 1937. Therefore the village accountant duly recorded the right of protected tenancy of Yeshwant Tatya along with the rights of Balu Kashi. In 1947-48, that is even before the village accountant had entered the Record of Rights, Yeshwant Tatya Jadhav, for his own personal reasons, returned to Gulumb and resumed his land from Balu Kashi, the sub-tenant. It was thus hardly a case of protected tenant recovering possession and the case of protected tenant recovering possession and the case had little to do with the right of protected tenancy granted by the Act. In fact, it was doubtful whether under the provisions of the Act, Yeshwant Tatya could have evicted Balu Kashi, a sub-tenant acquiring the

rights of protected tenancy and in actual possession of the soil. Later in 1950, the Bombay Revenue Tribunal clearly ruled that if a sub-tenant was in lawful cultivating possession of any land after the introduction of section 2A of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939, the original tenancy of the principal tenant extinguished and according to the amended section 3A of the Act the sub-tenant acquired the status of the protected tenant.

Nevertheless, everything said, and considering the complexity and enormity of the operation of recording the rights of protected tenancy in the Record of Rights, the village accountant must be said to have done a fairly good job of it though with a certain amount of time lag and a few errors of omission. The few omissions could as well be errors of oversight. There were no complaints and the whole operation passed off smoothly. Apparently neither the owners nor the tenants took much notice of whatever was being done to the Record of Rights. No one was really concerned.

This was so in spite of the fact that important rights were being conferred on the protected tenants. The most important of these rights was the virtually permanent tenure granted to the protected tenants. By Sec. 5 of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 as amended in 1946 a protected tenancy could not be terminated except in cases of (i) failure to pay rent, (ii) sub-letting or failure to cultivate personally, (iii) destructive acts permanently injurious to soil or (iv) use of such land for non-agricultural purposes. Thus a protected tenant was permanently protected as long as he behaved. However, this permanent security of tenure was severely limited by Section 7 of the same Act. By its means,

the landlord might terminate the tenancy of a protected tenant by giving him one year's notice if the landlord bonafide required the land (a) for cultivating it personally or (b) for any non-agricultural purposes. Evidently, this was a serious limitation on the security of tenure granted to the protected tenancy. One wonders whether the villagers were so well informed about the various provisions of the Act as to know even so early that in view of this limitation the protected tenancy did not mean much. More probably, they did not know enough what was around and did not care to know. In any case, neither the landlords nor the tenants bothered about what was being done with the Record of Rights. As a result, most of the tenants who were in the land in the year 1946-47 and some who had earlier left the lands earned the rights of protected tenancy.

The Act made no provisions for any future tenants ever acquiring the right of protected tenancy so that all tenants created after 8th November, 1946, would all be necessarily ordinary tenants. In view of this, the Act had taken good care to ensure security of tenure for these tenants as well. Sec. 23 of the Act prescribed that no lease of land would be for a period of less than 10 years and by Sec. 13A, all the security provisions of Sec. 5 were extended to the ordinary tenants as well. Thus, the ordinary tenants, to the extent of the contracted period which could not be less than 10 years, were as well secured in their tenure as were the protected tenants. In fact, for this limited period, they were actually better protected than the protected tenants. For the limitation of sec.7 was not extended to the ordinary tenants so that while the

protected tenancy could be terminated at any time on grounds of the landlord requiring the land for personal cultivation or for non-agricultural use, an ordinary tenancy could not be thus terminated until the expiry of the contracted period. Again, one wonders whether the villagers were indeed so well informed about this distinction in the security of tenure offered to the protected tenants and to the ordinary tenants and whether the landlords in fact knew that it was easier to resume land from a protected tenant than from an ordinary tenant. More probably, no one knew enough except for a general feeling that it did not matter either way. In any case, the landlords raised no objections to the recording of rights of the protected tenancy even when the tenants clearly did not satisfy the conditions of sections 3 and 4. Over half of the cases where rights of protected tenancy were recorded were of this kind. The village accountant recorded the rights because the landlords did not raise objections under sec. 3-A. What the tenants earned in the bargain was a permanent security of tenure in principle but severely limited in practice by the landlord's right to resume the land at any time for personal cultivation or for non-agricultural use. If the tenants had stayed as ordinary tenants they would have been secure in their places for at least a period of 10 years.

(v) Regulation of Rent: The Land Revenue Code of 1879 did nothing to regulate rent in any manner. It merely stated that "A person placed, as tenant, in possession of land by another ... shall be regarded as holding the same at the rent or for the services agreed upon between them." Thus the rent could be fixed in

any amounts and in any form including the performance of service. Apparently, it was also not uncommon to levy additional cess, rate, vero, huk or tax of all description on top of whatever rent was agreed upon. The Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 abolished the levying of all such additional charges. Section 14 of the Act read as follows: "Notwithstanding any agreement, usage or law it shall not be lawful for any landlord to levy any cess, rate, tax or service of any description or denomination whatsoever from any tenant in respect of any land held by him as a tenant other than the rent lawfully due in respect of such land." The section however failed to define what could be the lawful rent in respect of any land and in particular whether it could be in the form of service to be performed by the tenant. This was corrected by the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948, and payment of rent in the form of service or labour was finally prohibited. Section 9 of this Act read as under: "Notwithstanding anything contained in any agreement, usage or order of a Court or any law, no landlord shall recover or receive rent in terms of service or labour after a period of twelve months from the date of coming into force of this Act. Any landlord receiving rent from any tenant in terms of service or labour shall within twelve months from the coming into force of this Act, apply to the Mamlatdar for commuting such rent into cash." In Gulumb there were no cases of this nature in 1948. Apparently, the practice never existed in the village. There was also no evidence of any cess, rate, vero, huk or tax levied on a tenant. All rents were ordinarily paid in terms of either a share of the crop or in cash.

The main objective of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 was to create a class of tenants called the protected tenants and offer to them a certain security of tenure. It was evident however that the security of tenure would be meaningless without some kind of regulation of rent. The Act made the following provisions for the purpose:

Sec.5(1): The rent payable by a protected tenant shall be the rent agreed between such tenant and his landlord or in the absence of any such agreement the rent payable according to the usage of locality or if there is no such agreement or usage or where there is a dispute as regards the reasonableness of the rent payable according to usage, the reasonable rent.

Sec.12(1): For the determination of the reasonable rent of any land held by a protected tenant as such tenant the protected tenant or his landlord may apply in writing to the Mamlatdar within whose jurisdiction such land is situated.

(2): On the receipt of an application under subsection (1) the Mamlatdar after holding a formal enquiry in the manner provided by the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879, shall determine the reasonable rent of the land.

5 (3): In determining the reasonable rent regard shall be had to the following factors: (a) the rental values of lands used for similar purposes in the locality; (b) the profits

of agriculture or similar land in the locality; (c) the prices of crops and commodities in the locality; (d) the improvements made in the land by the landlord; (e) the assessment payable in respect of land and (f) such other factors as may be prescribed.

Thus the only material advance which the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 made in its provisions governing rent over the provisions of the Land Revenue Code of 1879 was that it gave the protected tenants the right to secure a 'reasonable rent' determined by the Mamlatdar after an appropriate enquiry. However, the principles laid down for the purpose provided little useful guidance to the Mamlatdars in determining the reasonable rent. Moreover, this right was limited to the protected tenants. This was corrected by the Amending Act of 1946 by means of a new section 14A which conceded the right to all the other tenants as well.

Though the Act of 1939 did nothing directly to regulate rent, it authorised the Government to fix maximum rent. Section 15 of the Act read as follows: "The Provincial Government may from time to time by notification in the Official Gazettee fix the maximum rate of rent payable by tenants for land situated in such areas as may be specified in the notification." The amending Act of 1946 added the following proviso: "Provided that the maximum rate of rent shall not exceed in the case of irrigated lands one-fourth and in the case of other lands one-third of the crop or its value determined in the prescribed manner." Later on 23rd November, 1946, that is within a fortnight of coming into force of the Amending Act, the Government issued a notification under

section 15, declaring one-fourth crop or its value as rent in the case of irrigated lands and one-third crop or its value in the other cases to be the maximum rate of rent. Thus for the first time maximum rent was fixed.

In Gulumb, the majority of the leases were for a crop share and they were all uniformly for half share of the produce irrespective of whether the land was irrigated or not irrigated. No notice was taken of the notification regulating the crop-share and the half shares continued as before. Cash rents were few and because of the recent rise in agricultural prices they were probably within the prescribed maxima. But of course no conscious effort was made to scrutinize them.

By means of a new section 15A, the Amending Act of 1946 also made an enabling provision for converting crop-share rents into cash rents. The section read as follows: "The Provincial Government may from time to time, by notification in the Official Gazettee declare that the rents payable wholly or partly as a crop-share in any area to which the notification applies shall with effect from a date specified in the notification be commuted into cash in the manner prescribed." A notification was issued on 14.1.1947 directing that in all backward areas inhabited by the Adiwasis etc., crop shares should be converted into cash rents. The notification however did not cover Satara district. Consequently, in Gulumb, the crop share rents continued and continued at the old rate without paying any heed to the provisions of law.

2. Tenancy Reform - Second Phase

(1) The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948: While the village accountant was still busy recording the rights of protected tenancy under the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 as amended in 1946, a new Tenancy Bill was being debated in the provincial legislature and even before the entries of the protected tenancy in the Record of Rights were finalised the new Tenancy Act came into force. It was called the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948 and it came into effect from 28th December, 1948. By its means the earlier Tenancy Act of 1939 as amended in 1946 was repealed. However, many of its provisions including the general provisions regarding tenancies and their duration as also the reservation of the special rights and privileges of the protected tenants were retained with only minor modifications. In particular no changes were made in the definition of protected tenancy and no new categories of protected tenants were added. Therefore, the entries of protected tenancy in the Record of Rights remained unaffected. The provisions in respect of the protected tenancies contained in Sections 5 and 7 of the previous Act as also the provisions of section 13A extending the security of tenure to the ordinary tenants were all retained in sections 14 and 34 of the new Act. In Section 14 (2) of the new Act, it was made clear that the security of tenure given to the ordinary tenants was limited to the contracted period which, as in sec. 23 of the previous Act, the new Act in its section 5 prescribed to be not less than 10 years. This section 5 of the new Act was later amended and improved upon

by an amendment of 1952 which laid down that in the case of ordinary tenants the lease would be in the first instance of not less than 10 years and that it would be automatically extended to another period of 10 years at the end of the first period and thereafter at the end of each 10 year period, unless at the end of any such period the landlord required the land for personal cultivation or for non-agricultural purposes. This further improved the security of tenure given to the ordinary tenants. Even under the previous Act, there was reason to believe that the security given to the ordinary tenant was to be preferred to the one given to the protected tenant. Thus both the protected tenant and the ordinary tenant were made secure in their tenure permanently as long as they behaved subject only to the right of the landlord to resume the land for personal cultivation or for non-agricultural use. The difference was that in the case of protected tenancy the landlord could resume the land and terminate the tenancy at any time while in the case of ordinary tenancy, he could do this only at the end of each 10 year period. In either case, of course, the tenant could terminate the tenancy at any time by surrendering his interest as a tenant in favour of the landlord. This was explicitly provided for in the same section. The amendment of 1952 however, required that the surrender should be in writing and should be verified before the Mamlatdar in a prescribed manner.

The Act had thus conferred important rights on the ordinary tenants as well. In fact in some respects they appeared to be even superior to those conferred on the protected tenants. There was however no provision

for recording these rights in the Record of Rights proper and hence the ordinary tenancies continued to be noted only in the Register of Tenancies, namely, V.F. VII-A. On the 27th February 1950, the State Government issued a notification under section 135B of the Land Revenue Code of 1879 and directed that the rights of ordinary tenancy as well be recorded in the Record of Rights. Apparently this did not reach the village accountant at Gulumb or he did not understand and act upon it. In any case, the rights of ordinary tenants in Gulumb were not recorded in the Record of Rights until five years later, namely, in April 1955.

All that the village-accountant seems to have done in 1950 is to bring up-to-date his Register of Tenancies. For the last three or four years he was busy trying to understand the Tenancy Act of 1939, its amendment in 1946, the new Act of 1948, and recording the rights of protected tenancy in the Record of Rights in accordance with the provisions of the Bombay Land Revenue Code of 1879 and the several circulars and notifications that came from the Revenue Department. Evidently therefore his routine work such as of noting the ordinary tenancies in the Register of Tenancies had lagged behind. In 1950, he brought this upto date. In that year he recorded 110 new tenancies; in the past three years 1947, 1948 and 1949, he had recorded only 29, 20 and 79 tenancies respectively. However, having done this he did not proceed to record the same in the Record of Rights as per Government notification. For the next four years again nothing much happened and the village accountant did not take much notice of what was happening either to the protected or the ordinary tenancies. Even his

Register of Tenancies was not kept upto date during this period. Then in 1954 he woke up again and brought upto date his Register of Tenancies. In that year, again, he recorded 129 new tenancies; in previous three years namely, in 1951, 1952 and 1953 he had recorded only 15, 6 and 31 new tenancies respectively. What was more important, he now proceeded to record the rights of these tenancies in the Record of Rights.

In the meanwhile, that is since 1947 to 1954, a number of tenancies had come into and gone out of existence. Because the Register of tenancies was not always kept upto date and in fact was only brought up only once during the period, namely, in 1950, a number of such tenancies would be unrecorded. Nevertheless, even from what was recorded, it seems that at least 158 tenancies had come into and gone out of existence during this period. They involved an area of 122.1 acres owned by 74 owners and cultivated by 65 tenants. They were of varying durations but obviously all of less than 10 years, the period prescribed by the Act. No one in fact took cognizance of the provisions of the Act in this respect. The tenancies were created and terminated to suit the convenience usually of the owners but sometimes also of the tenants. The owners had no right to terminate these tenancies even for personal cultivation so that the terminations must all be construed as cases of voluntary surrender on the part of the tenants. But if they were in fact voluntary surrenders, they were hardly ever made in writing and certified by the Mamalatdars even in cases where the tenancies were terminated after 1952.

Thus since 1947 upto 1954, altogether 419 new

tenancies were recorded in the Register of Tenancies and before the village accountant made up his mind to record their rights of ordinary tenancy in the Record of Rights, 158 of the tenancies were already terminated. There were thus 261 ordinary tenancies still existing when in August 1955, the village accountant decided to enter their rights in the Record of Rights. Before he did this, he had entered 4 new tenancies in the Register of Tenancies for the new year 1955-56. There were also a few tenancies remaining outstanding since 1946 as ordinary tenancies because the village accountant had not then entered their rights of protected tenancy. There were altogether 48 such tenancies but 35 of them were already terminated and only 13 had remained on the land. There were thus altogether 278 ordinary tenancies to be reckoned with when the village accountant recorded their rights in the Record of Rights. Actually, he entered the rights in respect of 247 tenancies and left out 31 tenancies presumably through oversight. The net result of this operation was as under:-

	No. of Plots	area Acres	No. of owners	No. of tenants
Right of ordinary tenancy recorded	247	243.5	100	84
Not recorded	31	22.5	26	26
Ordinary tenancies existing in 1955-56	278	266.0	114	100

While the village accountant was thus running through his Register of Tenancies in order to enter the right of ordinary tenancy in the Record of Rights, he discovered that in a number of cases where he had earlier

recorded the right of protected tenancy, the protected tenants were no longer to be found on the land. Therefore, in the middle of August, 1955, he duly cancelled all such entries. Earlier in 1947 and 1948 he had recorded 172 protected tenancies. There were besides 27 tenancies where we had presumed protected tenancies though the village accountant had not actually recorded them. Out of these 199 tenancies existing in 1946, 72 were cancelled in 1955. The tenants were not to be found on the land and the village accountant cancelled the entries. While cancelling the earlier entries, he generally stated the grounds for such cancellation. The most common ground was that the tenants were not in cultivating possession of the land for more than two years. He did not know why and he did not enquire. It was possible that the landowners wanted the lands for personal cultivation and hence terminated the protected tenancies. They could do this under section 34 of the Act of 1948 as it then stood. But that required a one year's notice on the part of the landowners and in none of these cases such a notice was given. It was possible that the lands were surrendered voluntarily by the tenants in favour of the landlords. A tenant could do this at any time under section 5 of the Act. An amendment of 1952 which had come into effect on 12-1-1953 required that such surrender should be in writing and should be verified before the Mamlatdar in the prescribed manner. This was not always done even in those cases where the tenancies were terminated after 1953. Only in 10 cases the surrenders were made in writing and duly verified. In the remaining

cases, the lands were either resumed by the landlords or surrendered by the tenants. The village accountant did not enquire. He merely cancelled the entries on grounds that the tenancies had ceased to be.

In 6 out of the 72 cases, though the conditions were not in fact very different, the village accountant thought it fit to give more solid grounds for the cancellation of the entry of protected tenancy earlier made. The tenancies related to Survey No. 600. The number is divided into 11 sub-divisions and is owned by 5 owners of the Ramoshi family. Only two of them, Bhiku Appa and Vithal Aba live in the village. The other three lived in the adjoining village of Vele. Out of the 11 sub-divisions, 6 sub-divisions belonging to 3 owners were share-rented by one Gunyaba Raghu Yadav since 1946. The village accountant had therefore accorded to him the right of protected tenancy under section 3A of the Act in 1948. In 1950-51, Bhiku Appa Ramoshi began to cultivate the entire land of the Ramoshi Inam. He argued that it was the service land and as he was the only one in the family rendering the Ramoshi (watchman) service, he alone was the rightful occupant. Apparently, this was considered reasonable and proper and the other owners in whose names the lands stood, did not raise any objection. Neither did the tenant Gunyaba Raghu raise any objection, he surrendered his tenancy. In 1955, the protected tenant was no more on the land and the village accountant could as well have terminated the protected tenancy on the same ground as he did in so many other cases. But now he discovered that the provisions of

protected tenancy did not apply to the Service Inam lands. These were primarily governed by the Bombay Hereditary Services Act of 1874 and hence the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1939 and the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural lands Act of 1948 had only a limited application to these lands. Section 7 of the Bombay Hereditary Offices Act of 1874 laid down that "Watan property assigned .. as remuneration of an officiator, and the profits of Watan property so assigned, shall not be alienated or assigned to any person whatever without the sanction of Government." Creation of rights of protected tenancy against the Watan lands violated this provision and hence the Service Inam lands were excluded from the operation of the Act. While cancelling the entries of protected tenancy against the Ramoshi Inam lands which he had earlier made, the village accountant therefore gave this as the reason rather than the fact that the tenancy had anyhow ceased to be.

This was of course formally correct. However, the village accountant was not quite consistent about it and he did not make the same note in similar other cases. For instance the Service Inam lands of Koli were similarly rented to one Mahamadbhai Mulani and the village accountant had recorded his right of protected tenancy. The tenant had given up the cultivation of the land in 1951 and in cancelling the entry earlier made the village accountant did not observe that the land in question was Service Inam land. He cancelled the entry merely on the ground that the tenancy had ceased to be.

As mentioned above, all the cases were in fact

either cases of resumption or surrender. Whatever they were, on private enquiry the tenants did not appear to have any grievance except in one or two cases. The tenants generally admitted to having surrendered the land either of their own accord or on a request made by the landlord. That was how the tenancies would be ordinarily terminated and they did not feel aggrieved. In a few cases, the tenants in fact admitted that they were not quite the tenants though the right of protected tenancy was recorded in their favour. For instance, one Jijaba Parbati Yadav had earned the right of protected tenancy against a plot of land owned by one Mahadu Vithu Yadav. Now, between the two, the owner was the poorer and because he did not possess any bullocks, he used to get the bullock operations on his land done by the so-called tenant. This was a standard practice in the village, namely, getting the bullock operations such as ploughing, interculturing and sowing done by another either for cash or more often in return of the stalks of the Jawar crop for use as fodder. On being brought to his notice, Jijaba Parbati admitted to having been wrongly recorded as the tenant and thus informed the village accountant who duly cancelled the earlier entry.

In another case, the person recorded as a protected tenant was in fact a farm servant and the owner, for reasons of his own, had purposefully got him recorded as the tenant. That was in the year 1944-45. Because of the war-time scarcity of foodgrains, the Government then used to procure compulsorily certain amounts of foodgrains directly from the cultivators.

The scheme was based on a scale of demands to be levied on the cultivators which increased steeply with the increase in the size of the cultivating holding. In order to avoid a larger levy demand, one Bajirao Genu Yadav got a farm servant of his, one Govinda Laxman Dighe, to be recorded as the tenant so that his cultivating holding would be split up into two. The village accountant therefore duly recorded the right of protected tenancy in favour of the tenant. When in 1947-48, the scheme of compulsory procurement ceased, Bajirao Genu took care to remove the name of the servant from the tenancy register. The farm servant admitted that he was merely a farm servant and was wrongly shown as a tenant.

In a third case, the person with occupancy rights was in fact a mortgagee in possession. The land in question was owned by one Sakharam Rama Jadhav and he had mortgaged it with one Keru Bala Jadhav in 1920. Since then it was in the cultivating possession of Keru Bala. In 1944, Keru Bala share-rented it to his brother Maruti Bala. In 1948, the village accountant duly recorded the right of Maruti Bala as the protected tenant. However, Keru Bala did not have a son and in 1950, he gifted away all his property to his nephew, Shankar Maruti the son of Maruti Bala, the protected tenant. In the meanwhile the original owner Sakharam Rama Jadhav had filed an application to the Debt Adjustment Board established under the Bombay Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1947. The application was decided upon in 1953, and by an award of the Board, the land reverted to the original owner, Sakharam Rama Jadhav. The protected tenant, Maruti Bala duly surrendered his tenancy.

There were only one or two cases where the termination of tenancy was not exactly voluntary though even here it was hardly a case of wrongfully agrieved tenant. Thus in one case, a landowner, one Sadashiv Dattatraya Kulkarni decided to sell a plot of his land. He was a Brahmin by caste and was serving as a mistry in the District Local Board at Satara. In view of the Tenancy Act he had decided to sell all his land in the village. That was in 1952-53. The land was leased to one Anna Tukaram Yadav. Another cultivator one Ramachandra Dada Parakhe was willing to purchase a plot of 1.1 acres of this land for Rs. 3000/-. But according to section 64 of the Act as it then stood, the landlord was required to make an offer first to the tenant in actual possession of the land. So, Sadashiv Dattatraya Kulkarni made an offer to Anna Tukaram Yadav. But the latter could not afford the price. Now, Section 64 also required that where a landlord intended to sell any land, he should first apply to the Tribunal for determining its reasonable price. Sadashiv Dattatraya Kulkarni had not done this and the price of Rs. 3000 was a sort of open market price. In fact, Ramchandra Dada Parkhe was willing to pay it. Under the circumstances, the tenant, Anna Tukaram Yadav could apply to the Tribunal and get the reasonable price determined. The price of Rs. 3000 was not regarded in the village as very high and it was by no means certain that the Tribunal would fix a much lower price. But it could happen. So Sadashiv Dattatraya Kulkarni negotiated with Anna Tukaram Yadav. He offered to sell him another plot of land of his, on which too Anna Tukaram had rights of

protected tenancy. Anna Tukaram agreed and surrendered his tenancy on the plot in question.

Later, Sadashiv Dattatraya Kulkarni did honour his word and sell his another plot to Anna Tukaram Yadav.

The other case was in fact a matter not between the landlord and the tenant but between the tenant and his sub-tenant. The land in question belonged to the Rastes. It was leased to one Sitaram Aba Yadav since 1936-37 and was in his cultivation until 1949-50. In 1950, Sitaram Aba died and his widow Shevanta sub-leased the land to one Savala Dhondi Yadav and herself went to live with her mother at Asavali. In 1955, Savala Dhondi was still cultivating the land. The village accountant therefore duly recorded his right of ordinary tenancy and cancelled the right of protected tenancy of the deceased Sitaram Aba Yadav. Later the widow Shevanta returned to the village and asked back her plot of land. But Savla Dhondi Yadav, the tenant in possession, did not oblige. Shevanta feels agrieved. She says she is helpless because she is a woman.

There were a few cases where the persons shown as tenants were in fact owners and the record was duly corrected. Thus Survey No. 392/5, an irrigated land of 0.125 acres was in the cultivation of Dinu Amrita Yadav for several years. He was also the owner of this plot. The adjoining plot which he owned was properly shown in his name. But this particular plot was shown for some years as belonging to Gopala Kusa Yadav who was the revenue Patil and Dinu Amrita Yadav was shown as the tenant. In 1948, he was duly shown as the protected tenant. When this came to his notice

in 1951, he represented. Fortunately, Khashaba Gopala, the son of Gopala Kusa was then the revenue Patil and he obliged. Since 1951-52, Dinu Amrita Yadav has been shown as the owner. There was another case where also Dinu Amrita was shown as the protected tenant. However, this was a different case. This was Survey No. 381/3 a plot of irrigated land measuring about 0.5 acres. This was owned by Dinu Amrita but he had given it to a widow sister of his for her subsistence. That was in 1934-35. The widow sister lived at Kenjal and Dinu Amrita Yadav continued to cultivate the plot but was shown as the tenant. In 1947, the widow sister adopted a son. Then fearing that the adopted son might lay a claim to the land, Dinu Amrita revoked the earlier settlement release. Since 1947-48, Dinu Amrita Yadav has been shown as the owner though because in 1946 he appeared as the tenant, his rights as a protected tenant were also recorded. In a third case, the owner had wilfully shown a brother-in-law of his as the owner and himself as a tenant. In 1941-42, Anna Dhondi Dere purchased Survey No. 75/1, an irrigated land of 0.825 acre. He had three step brothers and the family was still joint. Therefore for fear that the step brothers might claim a share in this land, Anna Dhondi preferred to show it in the name of a brother-in-law of his, one Krishna Bala Jadhav. In 1948, Krishna Bala died and the land was passed on to his son. For fear that this might cause worse complication, Anna Dhondi Dere caused a correction of the entry into the record on a request made by the son of Krishna Bala Jadhav.

There were cases where the persons shown as tenants were in fact owners but the lands were mortgaged and the original owners continued to cultivate the lands as tenants. Thus Survey No. 454/5, a plot of irrigated land of 0.675 acres was owned by Kesu Bhau Jadhav. In 1937-38, he mortgaged it for a sum of Rs.80 with Keshav Shreedhar Chandakkar, a Brahmin landlord-moneylender of Chandak. Kesu Bhau Jadhav continued to cultivate as a tenant and paid Rs.10 as the rent being the interest on loan. In 1947-48, he redeemed the mortgage but in the meanwhile he was shown as the protected tenant. Since then he is shown to be the owner.

In another Survey No. 175/7B, a plot of irrigated land of 0.25 acres was mortgaged by the owner Bhau Nana Yadav for a sum of Rs.500 with Vithoba Rama Nhavi (Barber) in 1946-47. Vithoba Nhavi lived in Bombay and to get round the provisions of the Moneylenders' Act of 1947, the mortgage was shown as a purchase. The plot continued to be cultivated by Bhau Nana as the tenant giving half-share of the produce to the mortgagee. In 1953-54, Bhau Nana redeemed the mortgage and the plot has been duly shown in his name since then.

Besides these cases of redemption of mortgage, there were also a few cases of genuine purchase by the cultivating tenants. Under Section 32 of the Act, a protected tenant was entitled at any time to purchase from the landowner the land he held from him as a protected tenant. If a protected tenant desired to purchase any such land, he was to make an offer to the landlord in writing stating the amount of price for which he intended to purchase the land and in case the landlord refused or failed to accept the offer,

the protected tenant could apply to the Revenue Tribunal for the determination of the reasonable price of the land. The right of the protected tenant to purchase the land cultivated by him was however limited by two conditions: Firstly the purchase must not result in the protected tenant holding more than 50 acres; this was a reciprocal limitation corresponding to the limitation which Section 34 had placed on the right of the landlord to resume the leased out land for personal cultivation, namely, that the resumption should not result in there being more than 50 acres of land in the personal cultivation of the landlord. This limitation was not serious for none in the village had a cultivated holding of more than 50 acres. However, the other limitation placed on the right of the tenant was more serious. It was that the purchase by the protected tenant should not result in the landlord owning less than 50 acres. The only landlord owning more than 50 acres of land in the village was Raste, the Inamdar of the village. All his lands were held by his tenant on nominal rents and the tenants were not interested in purchasing these lands. There was no other landowner owning more than 50 acres of land and hence none of the protected tenants were entitled to purchase any of the land on which they had the rights of protected tenancy. Nevertheless, a few protected tenants did purchase lands under their cultivation in the ordinary course of things, that is without recourse to section 32 of the Act.

Thus, Anna Dhondi Mhaskar of Kochalewadi purchased in 1949-50 two plots of land each of 1.15 acres. The plots were owned by two absentee Brahmin owners, one

Ganesh Narsinh Pavagi and one Manubai widow of Vishwanath Godbole. Both the plots were under the cultivation of Anna Dhondi since 1935-36. In fact, for reasons which could not be ascertained, Anna Dhondi was actually shown to be the permanent tenant on these plots. The two plots adjoined each other and Anna Dhondi owned and cultivated the land adjoining the two. He was therefore in a very privileged position both under the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1948 and the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation Act of 1947. When the owners decided to sell the plots, Anna Dhondi had the first priority under the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1948 and also, under the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation Act of 1947, the owners could not probably sell the plots to any body else because both the plots were of just 1.15 acres each and hence under the provisions of the Act, were regarded as 'fragments'. Therefore, Anna Dhondi could easily have applied to the Revenue Tribunal for the determination of a reasonable price. Nevertheless, he preferred to deal with the owners directly. The plots were not irrigated and were rather of poor quality. The assessment on one was just Rs.0.13 and on the other Rs.0.47. Anna Dhondi agreed to pay Rs.90 for the one and Rs.200 for the other. He said, once one went to the court, one never knew how long it would take and where it would lead to. In the meanwhile, the owner might sell the land to a third party and thus complicate the case. He wanted to purchase the plots, and he thought it was fair and expedient to pay the

market price. There were more cases of the same kind where protected tenants purchased the lands under their cultivation without reference to the Tribunal and paid the market price. Thus Yeshwant Tatya Jadhav purchased in 1949 a plot of land which was under his cultivation since 1932-33. The plot was owned by an absentee Brahmin owner, one Yeshwant Rangnath Kulkarni. The plot measured 4.9 acres of dry land and was purchased for Rs.800. In another case Bali Vaghu Kochale purchased in 1947 a plot which was under his cultivation since 1934-35. The plot was owned by Gopala Govind Kadu, a resident of Chandak, an adjoining village. The plot measured 1.2 acres of good soil and was purchased for Rs.750. In all these cases, the purchases were normal market transactions and the tenants neither sought nor received any assistance from Section 32 of the Act.

Thus in August 1955, when the village accountant had entered the rights of ordinary tenancy and had cancelled some of the defunct protected tenancies earlier recorded, there were left on record 395 tenancies; they involved an area of 698.9 acres owned by 130 landowners and cultivated by 135 tenants. At this time a rather radical amendment to the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948 was under consideration. The amendment actually came into effect from 1st August 1956. During this year, whether in anticipation of the amendment or in the ordinary course of things a number of tenancies were terminated. In fact, during the year from August 1955 to August 1956, altogether 83 tenancies were terminated. In the case of 75 of these tenancies, the village

accountant had earlier recorded their rights of either the protected or the ordinary tenancy. Therefore when later he cancelled these entries from the Record of Rights, he had to state the grounds for the termination of these tenancies. Again, in a majority of the cases, actually 48 out of 75, he merely stated that the tenancies had ceased to be. He did not state how and why. On private enquiries, it seemed that they were all cases of surrender either voluntary for reasons of the tenants or on request made by the landlords. In none of these cases however the surrenders were made in writing and verified by the Mamlatdars as required by law. However, there were no complaints. In 16 other cases, the surrenders were duly made in writing and the village accountant had recorded the fact while cancelling the entries.

There were besides cases of other usual manners of termination of tenancy. In 6 cases, though the rights of protected or ordinary tenancy were recorded, they were not indeed cases of tenancy. In 4 cases, the persons recorded as tenants were indeed cultivators having their own bullocks and they had undertaken to do the bullock operations on the plots of poorer owner-cultivators not having bullocks of their own. Thus Chaunu Pandu Jadhav was shown the tenant on a plot of land owned by Gulab Babu Jadhav; and Anna Dhondi Mhaskar was shown the tenant on three plots owned by Bala Bhau Yadav. When this was brought to their notice, both of them admitted having been wrongly recorded as tenants. In the other two cases, two tiny plots of land belonging to the Mahars were in possession mortgage with one Kondiba Raghu Gole and

he was shown the tenant. When the two Mahars, one Sitaram Dagadu and one Maina Malu repaid the loan, Kondiba Raghu gave up the land and the tenancy was terminated.

There was another case of possession mortgage but disguised as a limited purchase. A plot of 0.1 acre of dry land owned by one Balu Vithu Yadav was sold for Rs.150 to one Vishnu Krishna Yadav in 1952-53. Vishnu Krishna in his turn leased it to a brother of his, one Shankar Tukaram Yadav. Shankar Tukaram was duly accorded the right of an ordinary tenant in 1955. Next year, the original owner Balu Vithu Yadav re-purchased it for the same amount of Rs.150. That was the understanding. Shankar Tukaram therefore surrendered the land under advice from his brother.

There was a case involving two plots of land with an area of 0.7 acres together, where the tenancy was terminated as a result of a civil suit. The land belonged to one Shankar Gangaram Yadav. He was employed in Railways as an assistant Guard and used to live in Bombay. None of the family lived in Gulumb. In 1951 Shankar Gangaram rented his house to Khashaba Baburao Yadav and his land to a brother of Khashaba. In 1955, he retired and returned to Gulumb. He wanted his house back but Khashaba Baburao would not yield it, nor would his brother surrender his land. Shankar Gangaram thereupon filed a civil suit. The transaction was a fairly complicated one and was not entirely within the purview of the Tenancy Act. Shankar Gangaram won the case and duly obtained possession of his house and land. Under more cordial relations, he would not have terminated the tenancy because he did not intend to cultivate the land personally.

In the fourth case the plot in question is what is called Parde No. 1 adjoining the village site. It has an area of 1.1 acres. The plot belonged to the Rastes and was lying fallow for several years. In 1949-50, one Krishna Ramaji Yadav rented it from the Rastes for a period of 10 years on annual rent of Rs.10. But for the next two years, Krishna Ramaji did not cultivate it. This contravened the rules under Chapter IV of the Bombay Tenancy Act of 1948 and in 1953, Government took over the management of the land. In that year one Maruti Rama Mahar rented it from the Government and began to cultivate it. But apparently, the Mahar community had understood it as having been rented on behalf of the whole community. Therefore when Rama Maruti began to cultivate it all by himself, he was ex-communicated. Nevertheless, he stood the ordeal and continued to cultivate the land. In 1956, the Community Development Project proposed to build a village school in Gulumb. The village leaders proposed Parde No.1 as the site. They approached the Rastes and the Rastes gifted it away for the purpose. But Maruti Rama Mahar refused to surrender. Therefore the whole village boycotted him. The Mahar community would not allow him the use of their drinking water well. The villagers would not give him any work. He used to do some tailoring work as a supplementary business. They stopped giving him tailoring work too. Finally he broke, and surrendered the plot. It was a hard case. After having brought under cultivation a plot of land which for years had remained fallow Maruti Mahar suffered grievously first at the hands of his own community and then at the hands of the whole village community.

In a few cases, the cultivating tenants had also purchased the plots under their cultivation. These were all normal transactions in land and had little relation to the provisions of the Tenancy Act. Thus Jijaba Parvati Yadav purchased in 1956 a plot of land under his cultivation. The plot was owned by Maruti Babaji Dhamal who lived in Asavali and was under the cultivation of Jijaba Parvati since 1930-31. It was an irrigated land measuring 1.175 acres and Jijaba Parvati used to pay rent at Rs.50 since 1930 and at Rs.70 since 1941. When in 1956, the owner offered to sell the land, Jijaba Parvati purchased it for Rs.3000. Besides being a protected tenant on this land, Jijaba Parvati is a leading figure of the Yadav ward. Nevertheless, he did not bother to apply to the Revenue Tribunal for determining the reasonable price. In the same manner, Bhau Shreepati Lokare purchased the plot of Vishwanath Raghunath Chandakkar, a Brahmin landowner of the adjoining village of Chandak. The plot was under the cultivation of Bhau Shreepati since 1938-39. It measured 2.7 acres and Bhau Shreepati purchased it for Rs.2700 in 1955. There were more cases of this kind. Thus Anna Tukaram Yadav purchased from Sadashiv Dattatraya Kulkarni, an absentee Brahmin owner, a plot of 1.1 acre for Rs.1500. That was in 1955. Earlier, in 1952, the same tenant had surrendered his another land in favour of the landlord to enable him to sell the same to another person, because the tenant could not afford the market price. In another case, Appa Shreepati Yadav purchased in 1955 a plot of land from Kashinath Balaram Gosavi, an absentee owner. It was an irrigated plot measuring

0.6 acres and Appa Shreepati paid Rs.2000. These were all normal transactions and they were not confined to the protected tenants. There were also cases of ordinary tenants purchasing the plots under their cultivation. Thus Chaunu Krishna Jadhav purchased in 1955 a plot of land belonging to Govind Dhonddeo Kulkarni of Gulumb. The plot was under the cultivation of Chaunu Krishna since 1949-50 and it was only recently that his rights as ordinary tenant were recorded. The plot measured 9.5 acres of dry land and Chaunu Krishna paid Rs.1200.

In another case an ordinary tenant had cleverly manipulated a purchase in his favour. The land, an irrigated plot of 0.85 acres, stood in the name of Bhanu Nana Yadav in 1942-43. It was purchased by his father in 1918 from a widow. The widow died in 1944 and soon after, her heirs Laxman Bayaji Kochale, Vinayak Bayaji Kochale and Gangaram Sakharam Kochale filed a suit disputing the original sale. They won the suit and in 1947-48, they became the joint owners. In 1949, they jointly leased it to Ramachandra Nanaji Jadhav, a leading figure of the Congress party in the village. But the land lay in the Yadav area and Abaji Daulati Yadav, a leading figure of the opposite party interfered. He rented from Gangaram Sakharam Kochale his share of the plot and began to cultivate it. To avoid the dispute, Ramachandra Nanaji Jadhav surrendered his tenancy and in 1950, Abaji Daulati Yadav became the sole tenant. He cultivated the land from 1949-50 to 1954-55. Then in 1955, he purchased the half share of Gangaram Sakharam Kochale for Rs.2000. The other joint owners tried to resume their half share but Abaji

Daulati refused to surrender. The legal point now was that because of the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1947, the plot being a fragment could not be partitioned. Hence Laxman Bayaji Kochale and Vinayak Bayaji Kochale, the joint owners of the half share could not delimit their share. Taking advantage of this situation, Abaji Daulati neither surrenders the land nor pays any rent. He is in cultivating possession of the whole land and pays only the assessment.

All these purchases were normal transactions in land in the sense that no assistance was sought or received from Section 32 of the Act as it stood before the amendment. The only influence of the Tenancy Act that could be discerned was in the nature of the owners who were selling off their lands. The purchases of land by tenants narrated above and earlier involved in all 10 owners. All but one were absentee owners and half of them were Brahmins. The one resident owner was also a Brahmin. Thus probably as a consequence of the Tenancy Act and the increased security of tenure and privileges that the successive amendments bestowed on the tenants, the absentee landowners, among whom there was a preponderance of Brahmins, were trying to sell their lands before it was too late. The tenants in cultivating possession seemed to have taken no undue advantage of this situation. In general they paid fair market price. In the event and in view of the amendment of 1956, the landowners who sold off their lands earlier proved to have been prudent.

3. Tenancy Reform - Third Phase

The amendment to the Bombay Tenancy and

Agricultural Lands Act of 1948, which came into effect from 1st August 1956, affected most the section 32 of the original Act under which the protected tenants could purchase the lands under their cultivation, within certain rather severe limitations. The amended section summarily read as follows: "On the first day of April 1957 (hereinafter referred to as the Tillers' Day) every tenant shall be deemed to have purchased from his landlord, free of all encumbrances subsisting thereon on the said day, the land held by him as tenant." Thus the amendment amounted to giving immediate effect to the slogan that the soil belonged to the tiller. It enunciated the dual principle that in order to own any land one must cultivate it and that in order to cultivate any land one must own it. Accordingly, all tenants subsisting on any land on 1st April 1957, namely the Tillers' Day, were immediately to become owners of the land they cultivated as tenants.

This completely altered the character of the tenancy reform. In fact, it gave up the hope of reforming or regulating the tenancy of land and decided to abolish the tenancy altogether. The ownership of land was no longer to be permitted except for personal cultivation or for non-agricultural use. This came as a rude shock to the traditional concept of land ownership. The Yadavs and Jadhavs of Gulumb for instance, had always believed that as descendants or representatives of the original settlers, they had certain unqualified and inalienable proprietary rights in the soil of the village; and these rights were respected by all Indian governments until the advent

of the British. Even later, in spite of all that happened to the nature of occupancy of land over a period of hundred years since the Joint Report of Captains Wingate, Davidson and Goldsmith in the year 1847, the Yadavs and Jadhavs had clung to the idea that whatever the Government felt about it, they had a very special claim to the lands of Gulumb, and that they had an inherent right to make use of it in any manner they liked, now subject to, but only to the payment of Government assessment. The payment of Government assessment was no longer a sufficient condition to occupy land. To occupy agricultural land, one had to cultivate it. The special protection given to the protected tenants or the security of tenure for a period of ten years given to the ordinary tenants did not concern them. They somehow knew that the law was incapable of enforcing any such protection or security of the tenure against their will, if for no other reason, for the simple reason that the machinery of Government as they knew was inadequate to enforce the law vigilantly. But now if they failed to cultivate, they faced the immediate danger of losing their lands at one stroke.

(i) Implementation of the Act in Gulumb*: When in August 1956, the new amendment came into force, there were on record 306 tenancies. They involved an area of 613.8 acres owned by 100 owners and cultivated by 120 tenants. In some of these cases, however, though the tenancies still appeared in the Register of Tenancies and the rights of the tenants either as protected or ordinary tenants still appeared in the Record of Rights, in fact the tenants were

* The position as noted in 1956-1957 is presented in sections (i), (ii) and (iii).

no longer in cultivating possession of the lands concerned; they had surrendered the lands sometime ago and the tenancies thus stood terminated. In such cases, the landowners could get the names of the tenants removed from the Register of Tenancies and their rights as protected or ordinary tenants cancelled from the Record of Rights. They could do this under Section 14 of the Act. That section provided that the tenancy of any land could be terminated if, among other manner of misbehaviour, the tenant failed to cultivate the land personally. In such cases, the landlord was to give the tenant a three months' notice of termination of tenancy and then make an application to the Mamlatdar to secure possession. A number of landowners gave such notices to their tenants and made the required applications to the Mamlatdar. Until the end of December 1956, the Mamlatdar at Wai had received 33 such applications from Gulumb.

Section 29 required the Mamlatdar to hold an enquiry and pass such order on these applications as he deemed fit. Accordingly, the Mamlatdar enquired. In most cases, the tenants had genuinely surrendered the lands sometime ago. In a few cases, they were willing to say so. In some cases, they were now willing to surrender the land in favour of the landlords. Under the provisions of the Act, they could do this at any time. However, in such cases, the Mamlatdar was required to give them time to think over and satisfy himself that the surrender was in fact voluntary. As a result of it all, 44 tenancies involving 23 tenants were struck off the Register of Tenancies and their rights from the Record of Rights

cancelled. In three other cases, the persons shown as tenants were in fact not tenants; in one case, he was a mortgagee in possession and in the other two cases the so-called tenants had only undertaken to do the bullock operations on a contract. They admitted to this and their names were duly removed from the Register of Tenancies and their rights cancelled.

In one case, the tenancy was terminated ostensibly on grounds of non-payment of rent. This was a clear case of injustice to a poor tenant. He had paid the due rent regularly and everyone in the village knew it. Nevertheless, he became a victim to a local feud. The land in question belonged to the temple Inam of God Bhairav. It was customary to show two persons, one representing the Yadavs and the other representing the Jadhavs as the managers of the temple lands though in fact the community as such managed the lands. The practice was to lease the land to anyone who offered the highest rent and accordingly the land in question was leased to one Hari Teli since 1940-41. Hari Teli regularly paid Rs.90 being the agreed rent of the land to the village community and the same was utilised for the management of the temple. In 1951, Laxman Parvati Jadhav who was one of the joint managers, suggested that he would resume the land and agree to pay to the village community the same rent as Hari Teli paid. In fact, he was willing to pay a little more if necessary. This was opposed by the Jadhavs on grounds that it was not customary for the manager of the temple land to keep the land in his own cultivating possession. Nevertheless, in October, 1951, Laxman Parvati evicted Hari Teli from the land and

took possession. Consequently, in February 1952, Hari Teli assisted by some of the Jadhavs, filed a suit against Laxman Parvati and in August 1953 recovered possession of the land. In 1953-54, he paid the usual rent of Rs. 90 to the village community as before. But now Laxman Parvati would not take cognizance of the payment and insisted that the rent be paid to him personally. He also sought assistance from Mamlatdar for the recovery of rent; this was given but there was no way to recover rent from Hari Teli. The process was repeated in 1954-55 and again in 1955-56. In both the years Hari Teli had paid the rent to the village community but Laxman Parvati refused to take cognizance of the same. Finally in February 1957, Laxman Parvati filed a suit against Hari Teli and asked for eviction of the tenant for failure to pay rent for three successive years. In July 1957, the Tenancy Court allowed Hari Teli three months time to pay the three years' dues. Hari Teli could not pay the amount of Rs. 270 and in December 1957, Laxman Parvati evicted the tenant and took possession of the land with the standing Jawar crop which Hari Teli had sown. The matter did not end there. There were appeals and revisions but Hari Teli could never secure the possession of the land.

In April 1957, there were thus left altogether 258 tenancies on record, besides the one mentioned above which was then still under dispute. The 258 tenancies involved an area of 580.6 acres owned by 84 owners and cultivated by 110 tenants. The latest amendment required the transferring of the ownership of this area from the owners to the tenants. However,

before this was done, it was thought that the landowners should fairly be given a last chance to resume their lands and begin cultivating them personally. This was done by means of section 31 of the amended Act. The landowners already had the right to resume their lands from the protected tenants. But they had no such right against the ordinary tenants during the term of the tenancy which could not be of less than 10 years. Under section 14 of the Act, the landlords could terminate the tenancy of ordinary tenants during the term of the tenancy only for misbehaviour on the part of the tenants, such as non-payment of rent, neglect of the soil, failure to cultivate personally, etc. In order to give the landlords a last chance to resume their lands for personal cultivation, section 31 of the amended Act, overrode the provisions of section 14 and denied the security of tenure earlier given to the ordinary tenants. In fact, the new section declared that 'notwithstanding anything contained in section 14 ... a landlord may, after giving notice and making an application for possession as provided in sub-section (2), terminate the tenancy of any land (except a permanent tenancy), if the landlord bonafide required the land for (a) cultivating personally or (b) any non-agricultural purposes. Sub-section (2) required that the notice should be in writing, should state the purpose for which the landlord required the land and should be served on the tenant on or before the 31st December 1956; that a copy of such notice should at the same time be sent to the Mamlatdar; and that an application for possession, under section 29 should be made to the Mamlatdar on or before the 31st day of March 1957.

Some of the landowners of Gulumb had no intention to resume land for personal cultivation. They were absentee owners and they had never cultivated their lands personally. They had therefore acquiesced themselves into being dispossessed of their lands. The chief among them were the Rastes, the erstwhile Inamdar of the village. The Rastes had certain private lands in the village which they had leased out. They never appeared to be very jealous about these lands and the land had always been leased out at a nominal rent not much in excess of the revenue assessment. The Rastes were therefore not interested in resuming these lands any more. The private lands of Rastes measured 361.7 acres and were rented to 23 tenants. This in fact accounted for over half the leased land in the village. The other landowner in the same category were the Deshpandes. The Deshpandes of Gulumb never lived in the village. The tenants on their Inam lands were in the nature of permanent tenants who enjoyed the lands by paying only the quit-rent to Government. For many years now the Deshpandes never even bothered to collect the alienated revenue on the Inam lands. When in 1952, the Deshpande Inam was abolished, they did not care to recover occupancy by paying the requisite occupancy price. Consequently their lands had passed into the tenants of Government with effect from 1st May 1956. That accounted for another 26.6 acres and 4 tenants. The tenants on the lands belonging to the Devasthan (Temple) Inam were similarly secure on their lands except for the tenant on the Telak land of Bhairav Temple Inam who was recently evicted on grounds of failure to pay rent. Most other tenants were in the

nature of permanent tenants and the managers of the Inam lands were unlikely to resume these lands. The Devasthan Inam lands accounted for 28.6 acres of the leased area and involved 24 tenants. There were also a few cases of minors, widows and the like who could not possibly resume the lands leased out by them. Then there were cases where the owners and the tenants were related and where the transfer of ownership would either not occur or would be only nominal. Barring these cases, most of the remaining landowners gave notices to their tenants under section 31 and made applications to the Mamlatdar under section 29 to secure possession of their lands. By the end of December 1956, the Mamlatdar at Wai had received 56 such applications.

The right of the landlord to terminate a tenancy for cultivating the land personally under section 31 of the amended Act was subject to several conditions listed in section 31A to 31D. Anticipating that there would be a large number of notices and applications under Section 31, the Act had provided in Section 29, that while dealing with these applications the Mamlatdar should first decide, as preliminary issues, whether the conditions specified in section 31A to 31D were satisfied and that he should forthwith reject an application if he found that any of the conditions was not satisfied. These conditions were as follows:

31A: The land leased should be in the possession of the landlord continuously from 1st January 1952 to 1st August 1956; the income by the cultivation of the land of which he was entitled to take possession

should be the principal source of income for his maintenance, which would mean that his present income should be smaller than the income that would accrue to him from the cultivation of the land in question; if he had more than one tenancies under him, he would be entitled to terminate only the tenancy or tenancies which were the shortest in point of duration; the resumption should not result in the landlord cultivating more than the ceiling area which under section 5 of the amended Act was defined to be (a) 48 acres of dry land or 24 acres of seasonally irrigated land or paddy or rice land or 12 acres of perennially irrigated land or an equivalent combination of the three kinds reckoned in the corresponding proportions.

31B: In no case a tenancy shall be terminated under section 31, in such manner (i) as will result in leaving with the tenant, after termination, less than half the area of the land leased to him; or (ii) as will result in a contravention of the provisions of the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1947, or in making any part of the land leased a fragment within the meaning of that Act; (iii) or if a tenant has become a member of a co-operative farming society and so long as he continues to be such member.

31C: The tenancy of any land left with the tenant after the termination of the tenancy under section 31 shall not at any time afterwards be liable to termination again on the ground that the landlord bonafide requires that land for personal cultivation.

31D: If, in consequence of the termination of the tenancy under section 31, any part of the land leased

is left with the tenant, the rent shall be apportioned in the prescribed manner in proportion to the area of the land left with the tenant.

Some of these conditions were difficult to satisfy in most cases. In most cases, the landlords had held the lands in question continuously from 1st January 1952 and there was no difficulty on that score. The condition of the ceiling on the resulting cultivating holding of the landlord was also not serious because there was none in the village who would exceed the ceiling even if he resumed all the land leased out by him. The only exception was the Rastes and they did not want to resume land for personal cultivation. The most difficult condition to satisfy was that the existing income of the landlord should be smaller than the income to be expected from the land he was entitled to resume namely only half of what they had leased out. The requirement that the resumption must not leave with the tenant less than half the leased area would also almost invariably contravene the provisions of the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of the Holdings Act of 1947 for practically all the leased plots were of the size less than the standard area which for Gulumb was declared to be 2 acres of dry land and 1 acre of irrigated land and practically in no case were more than double that size so that resuming half of them would invariably make the area left with the tenant less than the standard area and hence what the Act called a 'fragment'.

No wonder therefore that the Mamlatdar summarily rejected most of the applications. He admitted only three applications for further enquiry. They were

three applications by three landlords against three tenants and in two cases the landowners were not even resident in the village. Thus Rama Vishnu Yadav lived at Asavali. He had leased out for half share all his land in the village amounting to 3.2 acres and consisting of 10 separate plots to Sarjerao Maruti Yadav. Some of these lands had been in the cultivation of Sarjerao since 1934-35. Nevertheless, the owner gave him a notice under Section 31. After further enquiry, the Mamlatdar later disallowed this application. In another case, Ananda Shreepati Yadav had leased in the same manner all his land amounting to 11.0 acres to Hari Babaji Yadav. After the Mamlatdar disallowed the application, the landowner had applied to the Revenue Tribunal. Recently while the case was still before the Tribunal, the counsels of the landowner and the tenant have reportedly arrived at a compromise by which the tenant has agreed to surrender part of the land. In the third case, the landowner Bajirao Genuji Yadav is a resident of the village and is himself a cultivator-cum-money-lender. He had leased out since 1954-55, two plots of his land measuring 0.9 acre to Kondiba Raghu Gole. One of the plots is dry and the other is irrigated and the two have been rented for cash rent. After the Mamltadar disallowed his application under section 31, the landowner also made another suit disputing the fact that Kondiba Gole was a tenant. He lost the suit in the court of the Mamlatdar wher@after he appealed to the District Court and lost. The tenant has been able to stand up to this mainly because of the support of the village level ruling party leaders.

Thus virtually in all cases, the landowners had failed to resume their lands under the provisions of section 31. This should have been obvious to them even from the conditions laid down in section 31A to 31D.

Not only did the landowners failed in their attempts to resume the lands under section 31, but in many cases the attempts recoiled on them badly. For once the tenants became aware of the rights they had earned under the tenancy legislation and they had their first taste of enforcing them against the expressed will of the landowners, naturally they pushed their advantage further. Seeing that they were in fact secure in their tenure, they began to look into the legal provisions regulating rent. Like the security of tenure which had evolved gradually since the original Tenancy Act of 1939, finally culminating into an impending obligatory transfer of ownership to the tenants, so the regulation of rent also had evolved gradually over the period though it was always difficult to enforce it in practice. The latest amendment of 1956 gave it a form which could be easily enforced.

(ii) Regulation of Rent: The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948 adopted in its section 6(1) the maximum rates of one-fourth and one-third notified earlier and added further in section 6(2) that the State Government may, by a notification in the Official Gazettee fix a lower rate of the maximum rent payable by the tenants on other suitable basis as it thinks fit. A notification accordingly was issued on 5.11.1952 and it fixed the maximum share rent in Satara district at one-sixth. However, the notification had no effect on the share rent in Gulumb

and they continued to be at half the produce. The Act of 1948 in its section 8 had also retained the enabling provision for converting crop-share rents into cash. But nothing much happened in that respect until the amendment of 1956. The amendment abolished for once the rents in crop share and at the same time prescribed the maximum and minimum on cash rents in terms of multiples of the revenue assessment. Section 8 of the amended Act reads thus:

(1). Subject to the provisions of this Act (a) but notwithstanding any law, custom, usage, agreement or the decree or order of a court, the rent payable shall be paid annually and in cash; (b) such rent shall not exceed five times the assessment payable in respect of the land or twenty rupees per acre whichever is less and shall not be less than twice such assessment, provided that where the amount equal to twice the assessment exceeds the sum of twenty rupees per acre, the rent shall be twice the assessment.

Section 9 of the amended Act, provided for fixing of the rent within the above limits. Its main provisions were as under:

Sec.9 (1) Subject to the maximum and minimum limits of rent fixed under section 8, the Mamlatdar shall fix the rate of rent payable by a tenant for the lease of different classes of land.

(2) In arriving at such rate the Mamlatdar shall have regard to the rents prevalent in the locality, the productivity of the lands, the prices of commodities and such other factors as may be prescribed.

- (3) The rate of rent so fixed shall continue for a period of five years and shall be liable to be revised by the Mamlatdar thereafter at the end of each successive period of five years: Provided the rate of rent so fixed, if not revised at the end of any such period, shall continue until it is so revised.
- (4) The rent payable by a tenant to his landlord in respect of any land shall be at the rate fixed under sub-section (1) : Provided that the Mamlatdar or the Collector, subject to the provisions of section 8, may at any time during any such period of five years, on an application made to him in this behalf: (i) reduce the rent, if he is satisfied that on account of the deterioration of the land by flood, or other causes beyond the control of the tenant, the land has been wholly or partially rendered unfit for cultivation, or (ii) enhance the rent if he is satisfied that on account of any improvement made in the land, at the expense of the landlord, there has been an increase in the agricultural produce thereof.

Sec.9A : (1) The rent payable by a tenant shall, subject to the maximum and minimum fixed under section 8, be the rent fixed under section 9 in respect of the class of land to which the land held by the tenant belongs.

(2) If there is a dispute regarding the class

of land to which any land belongs, either parties to the dispute may apply to the Mamlatdar who shall decide the dispute.

The Amendment came into effect on 1st August 1956 and soon after, the Mamlatdar of Wai issued a notification fixing the rent for all the lands in the taluka at five times the assessment. In the meanwhile, the landowners had started issuing notices to their tenants under section 31 asking them to surrender the lands. Under the circumstances, the tenants naturally took notice of the notification fixing the rent. The matter was precipitated because in some cases, the landowners having failed to evict the tenants under section 31, tried to evict them on ground that they had not paid the rent for over three years. Though the law had provided that the landowners should pass receipt for the rent they received, it was not customary to do so and the landowners had not generally passed a receipt nor the tenants had asked for one. Therefore when the landowners tried to evict the tenants under the pretext of not having received the rent, the tenants had no evidence of having paid. In consequence, in a few cases, the tenants had even to pay the rent of three years all over again. But now they paid at the prescribed rate and insisted on having a receipt. Thus Haribai, widow of Narayan Yadav had rented out four plots of land, one to Vishnu Rama Jadhav and the others to Anna Kesu Yadav. The plot rented by Vishnu Rama measured only 0.5 acres but it was an irrigated land and Vishnu Rama had planted guavas in it. That was since 1940-41. Vishnu Rama used to give half share of the crop to the widow

Haribai. That was more than fair. Nevertheless, Haribai served him a notice under section 31 and failed to evict him because she owned much other land. In retaliation, Vishnu Rama began to pay only the prescribed rent which came to only Rs.9.5. The same happened to the other tenant Anna Kesu Yadav. The three plots of land measure 5.4 acres and were in the cultivating possession of the tenant since 1949-50, on half-share. When Haribai served notice on him under section 31, Anna Kesu retaliated by paying only the prescribed rent which is only Rs.34.37.

In another case, the landowner Nathu Bhau Jadhav was afflicted with leprosy and therefore he had rented out his land measuring 2.175 acres to a co-brother-in-law of his. That was in 1954. When the new amendment came into force, Nathu Bhau requested his co-brother-in-law to surrender the land, but he did not oblige. Therefore Nathu Bhau served him with a notice under section 31. When that failed, Nathu Bhau served him with notice of eviction for failure to pay rent. Consequently, the tenant paid three years' rent but refused to surrender the land. Since then he began to pay only the prescribed rent which came to only Rs.43.50. Soon after Nathu Bhau died of leprosy and his widow was left without means. Somebody represented on her behalf and the tenant agreed as a matter of compromise to surrender the lands for a compensation of Rs.400. In order to pay this amount the widow had to sell a bit of compost-pit plot she owned in the village site and also whatever little she had in the nature of ornaments. But then the tenants changed their mind and refused to surrender. Thus the widow has lost all she had and has been left without means.

There have been more cases where the tenants have begun to pay only the prescribed cash rent. In all such cases, in order to ensure a receipt, the payment is usually made by postal moneyorders even within the village. In fact, in one case a brother pays cash rent to his brother who lives by his side and nevertheless the payment is made by postal moneyorder. The case is between Shankar Yeshwanta Yadav and Krishna Shreepati Yadav. The two are real brothers but because Shankar Yeshavanta was adopted into another family, his name changed from Shankar Shreepati to Shankar Yeshwanta. Nevertheless the two lived side by side. For several years now, Shankar Yeshwanta has been working in Bombay as a jobber in a textile mill. Hence for at least last 12 years, he had leased his plots together measuring 0.9 acres to his younger brother Krishna Shreepati for a cash rent of Rs.40. For some years, Shankar Yeshwanta lived in Bombay with his wife and children and no one of the family lived in the village. In 1956, he sent his wife and children home and they began to live by the side of the family of Krishna Shreepati. Like other neighbours, the two co-sisters-in-law once quarrelled on some petty matter of letting the drain water into one another's compound, and the brothers were forced to take sides. In consequence, Shankar Yeshwanta asked Krishna Shreepati to surrender his land and the latter refused. Then the matter took the usual course. Shankar Yeshwanta first served a notice under section 31 and then tried to evict the tenant for failure to pay rent. Krishna Shreepati who had regularly paid the rent all these years, paid the rent for the

previous three years all over again for which he had to sell a small plot of his, but he did not surrender the land. Then as another method, Shankar Yeshwanta transferred his land to the name of a young son of his who was still a minor and filed a suit to recover possession. But that too was lost. It was ruled that the land would revert to the owner when he attained majority. Thus Shankar Yeshwanta failed to secure possession of his land. In consequence, Krishna Shreepati has begun to pay only the prescribed rent which is only Rs.20.56. He sends it in the name of his sister-in-law who lives by his side. The money-order travels from Gulumb to Chandak which is the post office, from there on foot to Vele on the motor road and then to Satara by the motor mail service. Then it travels back and is paid to the sister-in-law of Krishna Shreepati. But that ensures a receipt for Krishna Shreepati. The receipt in its turn first travels the same way to Satara and then returns to Krishna Shreepati. But now he has the receipt and his brother shall not in future be able to file a suit for non-payment of rent.

But there were only a few such cases. All these tenancies where the tenants had begun to pay only the regulated rent formed only a small fraction of total tenancy. They involved an area of only 15.9 acres out of a total of 580.6 acres under tenancy. In the large majority of cases, the tenants continued to pay the old rents, either in cash or in kind, as they had done for several years before. The regulation of rent attempted by the amendment of 1956 had not yet taken any general effect.

To be sure, in a large majority of cases, the tenants had continued to pay the old rents because the old rents, rather than the regulated rents, were more favourable to them. Thus, a large part of the tenanted area was owned by the Rastes and was customarily leased at nominal rent, not much higher than the assessment. The same was true of the lands belonging to the Deshpande and the Temple Inams. The three accounted for 413.4 acres of the total tenanted area of 580.6 acres. The tenants on these lands were usually of long standing and were something in the nature of permanent tenants. They were usually acknowledged as such though their rights as such might not be recorded in the Record of ^Rights.

There were also a few other cases, besides the Rastes and Deshpandes, of absentee owners either not wanting to or not being able to extract much rent from their lands. They had allowed their tenants to occupy their lands on payment of only the assessment. For instance, a small plot of land of just 0.1 acre belonging to Narayan Vinayak Kulkarni is in the cultivation of Vishnu Aba Yadav for many years. The plot is too small to be bothered about and the Vishnu Aba did not pay any rent above the assessment. There is another similar case. A plot of land measuring just 0.7 acres belongs to Rama Maruti Nhavi (barber). Rama Maruti has been in Bombay for several years and does not care for the rent of the small plot of land. The land is presently being cultivated by Tukaram Kesu Mang on payment of assessment only. There is another plot of 1.3 acres belonging to the Gosavi Inam. There is on the land a seat of the Gosavis who are religious

mendicants and a temple of Maruti. The present manager of the Inam land is one Kashinath Balaram Gosavi but none of the Gosavis ever lived in the village. The land has been in the cultivation of Ramachandra Sakharam Kanade, the village Brahmin. He takes care of the temple of Maurti and enjoys the land. He is shown as the tenant but he pays no rent above the assessment. There is also a plot of land measuring 5.8 acres. It is jointly owned by three owners Vinayak Bayaji Kochale etc. The three neither live in the village nor are on good terms with one another. The three tenants therefore do not pay them any rent and enjoy the land on payment of assessment only.

There are besides several cases where the land-owners and the tenants are in fact close relatives such as brothers, brothers and sisters-in-law, cousins and the like. Though these are recorded as cases of tenancy, the so-called tenants are in fact care-takers and enjoy the land on payment of no more than the assessment. Thus Vishnu Krishna Yadav and Shankar Tukaram Yadav are brothers and still live in a joint family. Nevertheless, one is shown as the owner and the other as the tenant. In the same manner, Tukaram Shreepati and Bhau Shreepati Pawar are brothers. They are no longer a joint family. But Tukaram Shreepati has no male heir. Hence, he allows his brother to have the entire land. Bhau Tukaram cultivates the land and gives his brother just enough grain for his maintenance.

There are more cases of the kind. Tukaram Sakharam and Narayan Krishna Chambhar (c^bobler) are cousins. Tukaram Sakharam, the owner, lives in Bombay

and allows his cousin brother to have the land on payment of the assessment only. Bhiku Uma Yadav (Buddha), the owner of the land is a nephew of the tenant Mahadu Bala Yadav. He came in possession of a sizeable piece of land in the village Asavali through his marriage connection. He has therefore allowed his uncle to have his land in Gulumb on payment of assessment only. Kamala widow of Tatyā Holkar and Gaubai widow of Sakharam Bhojane are sisters-in-law. Kamala lives at Indore and is well off. She therefore allows her sister-in-law to have her land in Gulumb. Bajyaba Parvati Pīsal lives at Bopegaon and has other land in that village. He therefore allows his son-in-law Sadu Nana Yadav to have his land in Gulumb.

Thus in all these cases though the cultivators have been shown as tenants, they are in fact caretakers. They do not pay any rent to the owners. In fact, in a few cases, they have tended to usurp the lands. Thus Ramu Shankar Pansare is a tenant on a plot of land of 5.8 acres. The land is jointly owned by an aunt and a grand-aunt of his. The land has been in his cultivation since 1953-54 and originally he had agreed to give half share of the produce to support the two widows. But later he refused to pay anything. Consequently, in 1959-60, the grand-aunt willed away her share of the land to one Babu Tatyā Jadhav. But Ramu Shankar Pansare has been shown as the tenant and has the protection of the Tenancy Act. He therefore refused to vacate. There is another case of the same kind. The land in question belongs to Jija widow of Subha Yadav and is being cultivated by Gunyaba Raghu Yadav her brother in law. Originally, Gunyaba Raghu

used to give the widow half share of the produce. Then he began to give her just enough for her maintenance. Later he refused to give her anything. She being an old and helpless woman sought refuge with another brother-in-law of hers.

All these several cases account for 28.1 acres of the tenanted area. If this is added to the lands of the Rastes, and the Deshpande and the Temple Inams, we have 441.5 acres of tenanted land where the tenants for one reason or another are tenants only nominally and in fact do not pay much rent worth the name.

There were besides some cases where the persons shown as tenants were in fact mortgagees-in-possession and enjoyed the land in lieu of the interest on loan.

There were 11 such tenancies. In 7 out of these, both the owner and the tenant were from the Mahar or the Buddha community. In one more case, a Mahar had mortgaged his land with a Maratha cultivator shown as the tenant. The community is so poor that they have hardly any other assets to raise money on. It is usual therefore among the Mahars to mortgage their lands, often among themselves, for a bit of money.

The remaining two cases of mortgage were among the Maratha cultivators. The 11 cases put together accounted for 9.3 acres of tenanted land. If we add this to the 441.5 acres of tenancy where the tenants do not pay any rent, we have a total of 450.8 acres of tenanted land where the tenancy was not normal.

It is only on the remaining area of tenanted land, namely 129.8 acres, that the persons shown as tenants were tenants proper. In judging as to what extent rent regulation had become operative, it would be

appropriate to refer to this area rather than the whole area formally appearing under tenancy. As mentioned earlier, regulated rent had become operative only over an area of 15.9 acres. This is only 12 per cent of the area under tenancy proper. In the rest, share renting was common and the customary half share prevailed. The regulation of rent attempted by the amendment of 1956 had left it unaffected.

(iii) Tenancy Situation in Gulumb: The tenancy situation as it appeared on 1st April 1957 might thus be summarised (Table 2).

Table 2: Tenancy Situation in Gulumb (1957)

Type of tenancy	No. of plots	No. of owners	No. of tenants	Area acres
<u>Nominal tenancy</u>				
Land of the Rastes	32	1	23	361.7
Lands of the Deshpande	5	1	4	26.6
Lands of Temple Inam	29	1	24	25.1
Mortgages in disguise	24	12	11	11.9
Other cases	43	21	23	39.6
<u>Tenancies proper</u>				
Tenancies with regulated rent	25	12	12	15.9
Cases under dispute	18	3	3	13.2
Tenancies with customary rent	83	39	39	88.7
Total tenancy	259	84	110	582.7

It is instructive to look back and compare this with the situation as it prevailed 10 years ago, at the

beginning of the tenancy reform, namely in 1946-47. In that year, the number of plots under tenancy was 247; this was owned by 84 owners and cultivated by 106 tenants; the tenanted area amounted to 585.3 acres. We might as well put the figures side by side.

	Tenancy situation on	
	1st April 1947	1st April 1957
Number of plots under tenancy	247	259
Number of owners leasing out land	84	84
Number of cultivators renting in land	106	110
Area under tenancy (acres)	585.3	582.7

It is thus evident that 10 years of tenancy legislation and reform had not affected the total tenancy situation in the least. The extent of tenancy had remained unaffected. The reasons for which owners leased out their lands and tenants rented in lands for cultivation had remained very much the same. The only net effect was that in a small fraction of cases, the tenants had begun to pay regulated rents which were much below the customary levels.

In the light of this basic failure of the tenancy legislation the recent amendment aiming at the abolition of tenancy altogether appeared justified. As mentioned earlier, Section 32 of the amended Act declared that "On the first day of April 1957 every tenant shall be deemed to have purchased from his landlord.... the land held by him as tenant."

Accordingly, on the first day of April 1957, called the Tillers' Day, the village accountant proceeded to transfer the affected lands to the tenants. On that day, there were 259 plots of land held by the tenants. Of these he transferred 171 plots. They involved 486.8 acres of land owned by 42 owners and cultivated by 80 tenants. He did not transfer the remaining 88 plots. The result was briefly as under:-

	No. of plots	No. of owners	No. of tenants	Area (acres)
Transferred to the tenants	171	42	80	486.8
Not transferred	88	45	46	95.9
Total	259	84	110	582.7

Some of the cases where the village accountant did not effect the transfer were in accordance with the provisions of law. For instance, he did not transfer the lands belonging to the Deshpandes because after the abolition of the Deshpande Inam by the Bombay Paragana and Kulkarni Watan Abolition Act of 1950, as the Deshpandes did not care to pay the prescribed occupancy price and recover occupancy, the lands had passed into the hands of Government with effect from 1st May 1956. Under Section 88 of the Act, lands belonging to or held on lease from the Government were exempted from the provisions of the Act. In the same manner, lands belonging to the Ramoshi Inam were not transferred. Ramoshi service is classified as being useful to Government and under Section 88CA of the Act, these lands were exempted

from the operation of Section 32 of the Act. There were also a few cases where the landlords were widows and the village accountant did not transfer their lands to the tenants. Under section 32F of the Act such lands were exempted from the immediate operation of Section 32. Finally, the village accountant did not transfer the lands to the persons shown as tenants in cases where they were in fact mortgagees-in-possession. This was in accordance with the provisions of Section 25A of the Act which laid down that the tenancy of a land would be in the abeyance during usufructuary mortgage in favour of the tenant. We might bring together these cases of exemption.

Exemptions from Section 32

	No.of plots	No.of owners	No.of tenants	Area acres
Government lands	5	1	4	26.6
Service Inam lands	3	1	2	4.6
Widow landlords	8	3	3	10.8
Mortgages in disguise	24	12	11	11.9
Total	40	17	20	53.9

In the remaining 48 cases where the village accountant did not transfer the plots to the cultivating tenants the reasons were not clear. Also he did not seem to have been very consistent even in allowing the exemptions provided by the law. For instance, though he did not rightly transfer the lands belonging to 3 widows, he did transfer the lands in the case of 7 other widows. In fact, in one case of Sarsu widow of Narayan Yadav, he transferred two of her plots but not

4 others. In any case, the transfers made by the village accountant were understood to be only provisional.

For a final and complete transfer of the lands to the tenants the Act laid down an elaborate procedure. Briefly it is as under:

- Sec.32 G (1) As soon as may be after the Tillers' Day, the (Revenue) Tribunal shall publish or cause to be published a public notice in the prescribed form in each village within its jurisdiction calling upon
- (a) all tenants who under section 32 are deemed to have purchased the lands, (b) all landlords of such lands, and (c) all other persons interested therein, to appear before it on the date prescribed in the notice. The Tribunal shall issue a notice individually to each such tenant, landlord and also, as far as practicable, other persons calling upon each of them to appear before it on the date specified in the public notice.
- (2) The Tribunal shall record in the prescribed manner the statement of the tenant whether he is or is not willing to purchase the land held by him as a tenant.
- (4) If a tenant is willing to purchase, the Tribunal shall determine the purchase price of such land in accordance with the provisions of section 32H ...

Sec.32H(1)-(i) in the case of a permanent tenant who is cultivating the land personally the purchase price shall be an amount equal to six times the rent of the land; ... (ii) in the case of other tenants, the purchase price shall be ... such amount as the Tribunal may determine not being less than 20 times the assessment and not more than 200 times the assessment.

32K(1) On the determination of the purchase price, the tenant-purchaser (i) if he is a permanent tenant, shall deposit with the Tribunal the entire amount of the purchase price within one year from such date as may be fixed by the Tribunal; (ii) if he is not a permanent tenant, shall deposit with the Tribunal the entire amount of the purchase price (a) either in lump sum within one year from such date, or (b) in such annual instalments not exceeding twelve with simple interest at the rate of 4 1/2 per cent per annum on or before such dates as may be fixed by the Tribunal; and the Tribunal shall direct that the amount deposited in lump sum or the amount of instalments deposited shall be paid to the former landlord.

32(M) (1) : On the deposit of the price in lump sum or of the last instalment of such price, the Tribunal shall issue a certificate

of purchase in the prescribed form, to the tenant-purchaser in respect of the land. Such certificate shall be conclusive evidence of the purchase.

There are many details, which we have skipped. However, it would be evident even from this brief description that the proposed procedures were laborious and time-consuming. Presumably they were necessary to ensure legality of the transfer. In Gulumb village, the proceedings had not begun until three years after the Tillers' Day namely until 1st April 1960. However, reportedly, the proceedings were progressing village by village in the Taluka and were expected to reach Gulumb in due course.

In the meanwhile, most of the landlords were seeking exemption from the operation of the section 32 under the provisions of section 88C. This section provided as follows:

(1) nothing in sections 32 to 32R shall apply to lands leased by any person if such land does not exceed an economic holding and the total annual income of such person including the rent of such land does not exceed Rs.1500.

(2) Every person eligible to the exemption provided in sub-section (1) shall make an application in the prescribed form to the Mamlatdar.... within the prescribed period for a certificate that he is entitled to such exemption.

(3) On receipt of such application, the Mamlatdar shall, after giving notice to the tenant or tenants of the land, hold inquiry and decide whether the land leased by such person is exempt under sub-section (1) from the provisions of sections 32 to 32R.

(4) If the Mamlatdar decides that the land is so exempt, he shall issue a certificate in the prescribed form to such person.

(5) The decision of the Mamlatdar under subsection (3), subject to appeal to the Collector, shall be final.

Under Section 6 of the Act an economic holding was defined to be (a) 16 acres of jirayat (dry) land, or (b) 8 acres of seasonally irrigated land, or paddy or rice land, or (c) 4 acres of perennially irrigated land. With the exception of the Rastes, practically all the landholders of Gulumb had holdings below the economic holding. The other requirement that the total annual income of such person including the rent of such land should not exceed Rs.1500 was not difficult to establish in most cases though it would not be strictly true in some cases. It was natural therefore that most of the landowners should seek exemption under section 88C. The last date of application for obtaining the exemption certificate was 30th September 1958 and most of the landowners had applied. Many had already secured the exemption and others hoped to obtain the same in due course. Therefore it seemed that with the exception of the lands of the Rastes, there would be few tenancies which would not be exempted from the operation of the Section 32 of the Act.

In the meanwhile the tenancy relations continued as before. The impending transfer of lands from the owners to the tenants had apparently little effect. Of course in a majority of cases, the tenants continued undisturbed paying the same rent as they paid

before. This was however the normal pattern rather than any special effect ascribable to the tenancy legislation. For there were also cases of resumption by the owners and even of change of tenants, cases of purchase by persons other than the tenants and subsequent resumption and of course also cases of purchase by the tenants. As a result of all these, what appeared to be the normal movements, within two years of the Tillers' Day namely 1st of April 1957, nearly 15 per cent of the tenancies had been terminated. This is what we discovered by a field check of the tenancies during 1959-60. The position of the tenancies existing on 1st April 1957 appeared as under:

	No. of plots	Area (acres)
Continued in the cultivation of the original tenants	215	559.9
Purchased by the original tenants	7	9.1
Redemption of mortgage by the owners from the tenants	8	1.8
Resumption by the owners	16	6.9
Purchase and resumption by another person	1	0.2
Change of tenants	12	4.8
Tenancy on 1st April 1957	259	582.7

Thus in about 85 per cent of the cases the lands continued to be in the cultivation of the same tenants as in April 1957. In a few of these cases, the tenants had in fact purchased the lands under their cultivation. All such cases were however independent of the provisions of the Tenancy Act. There was no

reference to the Revenue Tribunal for fixing the price of the land. The tenants paid the market price and the owners duly sold their land. Then there were cases of redemption of mortgage. On paper these would appear as cases of resumption by the owners but the owners had earlier mortgaged their lands with the so-called tenants. These were all cases of Mahar (Buddha) lands mortgaged either with other Mahars or with Maratha cultivators. Because of the tenancy legislation, the mortgagees-in-possession felt more secured when shown as tenants and hence they were shown as such. On redemption, the lands duly returned to their owners.

There were also, of course, cases of resumption by the owners. These affected 16 plots of land with a total area of 6.9 acres. However they involved only 9 owners and 9 tenants. 5 of the 9 tenants confessed to having surrendered the land without any grievance. In 2 other cases, the surrender was not quite so voluntary. Thus Shankar Kondiba Jadhav, a poor tenant cultivated a plot of land (1.4 acres) belonging to Bajirao Nana Jadhav, a bigger cultivator in the village. The owner asked his land back and Shankar Kondiba surrendered it. In another case, two widows were involved. The owner of the plot (0.4 acres) was Shevanta widow of Sitaram Yadav. The tenant was Chandrabai widow of Savala Yadav. Shevanta wanted to resume her land but Chandrabai would not surrender. So Shevanta offered the plot to another person on tenancy on condition that the tenancy would not enter into the register of tenancies and hence in the Record of Rights. This person took possession and the existing tenant, widow Chandrabai could not help. The plot is now shown as being owner-cultivated. Thus

though formally it appears to be a case of resumption, in fact Shevantabai merely changed the tenants. As it might turn out she in fact substituted a more difficult tenant for a weaker one.

There were of course cases of explicit change of tenants. These would appear to be the most seriously contravening the provisions of law. However, on closer examination many of these cases somehow appear to be much less serious breach of law. Thus a small plot of land (0.1 acre) belonging to Raghunath Maruti Yadav was in the cultivation of Kesu Keru Yadav. The new tenant, Anna Keru is a brother of the old tenant Kesu Keru, who had no complaints to make. In another case, a plot of land (1.0 acre) belonging to Aba Bhau Jadhav was in the cultivation of Chaunu Pandu Jadhav. At any rate the latter was shown to be the tenant. When he was no longer there the plot was taken for cultivation by Pralhad Tatya Jadhav. The old tenant had no objections. In fact, he admitted that he was not a tenant at all, that he was merely doing the bullock operations on a contract. In another case, three plots of land belonging to Mahars (Buddha) with a total area of 1.6 acres were in possession mortgage with Mahadu Dagadu Yadav (Buddha) who was shown as the tenant. He needed his money back and so the possession mortgage was transferred to Dashrath Narayan Yadav (Buddha) who is now shown as the tenant. In another case, a small plot of land (0.1 acre) belonging to Sarsu widow of Narayan Yadav was in the cultivation of Bapu Ganu Yadav. Later the widow came in need of money and hence gave her plot of land in possession mortgage to Baban Maruti Yadav. The previous tenant

raised no objection. Then there was a case of land belonging to the Ramoshi Service Inam. The plot of land (1.1 acre) belonged to Shevanta widow of Maruti Ramoshi and was cultivated by Dagadu Rama Ramoshi. Both of them lived in the adjoining village of Vele. But next year, Babu Bhiku Ramoshi began to cultivate it. He claimed that the land was assigned to Ramoshi service and as he alone was performing the service, he was entitled to enjoy it. No one raised any objection. In fact, the Ramoshi service was abolished the same year.

There was another case of plot of land belonging to the Temple Inam of Goddess Ekvira. The plot of land (0.2 acres) was in cultivating possession of Bayaji Aba Yadav who was shown to be the Mirasi or permanent tenant. The permanent tenants on this temple land have been virtually owners and it has been a common practice for them to transfer the permanent tenancy by sale. For instance, Bayaji Aba had purchased earlier the tenancy from Bhau Nana Yadav and now he sold the same to Jaysing Shreepati Yadav. However, because the land belongs to the Temple Inam, apparently the purchase deed is nowhere registered or taken notice of. In the Record it merely appears as the change of tenancy.

There were cases where the owners were not resident in the village and hence the change of tenants was really a matter between the previous tenant and the new tenant. Thus a small plot of land (0.1 acres) belonging to Ananda Shreepati Yadav was in the cultivation of Hari Babaji Yadav who transferred his tenancy to Dhondi Bala Jagatap. The

new tenant had his other land adjoining the plot in question and it was convenient for him to cultivate it. The previous tenant obliged. There was another owner who did not reside in the village. He was Rama Vishnu Yadav. All his lands were in cultivating possession of Sarjerao Maruti Yadav. Not all the plots were in fact cultivated. Nevertheless, Sarjerao Maruti was shown to be the tenant on all of them. Two of these plots were fallow. One was a very small plot (0.025 acres) which was in fact an old well fallen into disuse and now almost filled up. It was useful to a neighbour Krishna Ramaji Yadav for setting up his sugar-cane crusher. Sarjerao Maruti obliged. The other plot (0.2 acres) was also lying fallow for several years. A neighbouring cultivator Dhondi Pandu Yadav could bring it under cultivation and again Sarjerao Maruti obliged. It is evident that though all these cases are technically cases of change of tenants, at least some of these might be judged as not contravening the provisions of law and some others would be regarded as cases of marginal justice.

The field check during 1959-60 also revealed a number of tenancies which did not appear in the Register of Tenancies on 1st April 1957. There were 42 such tenancies involving an area of 26.1 acres owned by 25 owners and cultivated by 21 tenants. Not all the tenants were quite new. Some of them had earlier been tenants on the same plots of land but had in the meantime either surrendered their tenancies for some time or had at least allowed their tenancies not to appear in the Register of Tenancies on 1st

April 1957. Some of the tenants were new in the sense that they had never appeared before on the same plots of land as tenants. That does not necessarily mean that they had appeared only after 1st April 1957. Some of them were probably already there on 1st April 1957 but had consented not to go on the Register of Tenancies. For even in 1959-60, most of them were unwilling to state that they were tenants. There were also a few cases of disguised possession-mortgages. In the following is a classification of the 42 tenancies which did not appear in the Register of Tenancies on 1st April 1957 but which were found during the field check in 1959-60.

	<u>Number of plots</u>	<u>Number of owners</u>	<u>Number of tenants</u>	<u>Area (acres)</u>
New tenancies	26	15	26	19.8
Old tenancies renewed	10	6	6	5.6
- Possession-mortgage	6	6	2	0.7
Total	42	25	21	26.1

In a majority of the cases, the owners concerned, actually 18 out of the 25, did not reside in the village. In some of these cases, there was not even a single member of their families in the village. In others, the wife and children or some old or invalid member was left behind. In the remaining cases where landowners resided in the village, they were themselves usually widows or old and invalid persons. In all cases the entire land was leased out but under the guise of service contracts. Even the tenants were unwilling to admit that they were tenants. They insisted either that they were working as farm servants or that they would do only the bullock operations under contract. In some cases, the services contracts were even formally executed. Evidently, therefore, tenancy was finding a new form in which it might survive.

(iv) Impact of Tenancy Legislation

The information regarding land held by the khatedars and the land transferred to the former tenants under the provisions of the Tenancy Legislation of 1957 was obtained in 1967 from the Village Records to assess the impact of the Tenancy Legislation. It was noted that major portion of the land which was earlier leased out got exempted due to a variety of reasons. 76.9 acres of land were under the Temple and other Inams. About 16 acres of land were owned by widows and about 3 acres by minors, servicemen and hence exempted. Land measuring 273 acres owned by the Rastes was only a grazing land and not fit for cultivation. In the case of about 60 acres the tenant was not entered as tenant on the tillers' day because of the mutual adjustments between the owner and the tenant. In effect an area measuring 148.3 acres or about 7 percent of the village land got transferred to the former tenants. 118.8 acres of land were purchased by the tenants under section 32(G) and for 29.5 acres the price was finalised and the instalments were being paid.

The 148 acres of land transferred to the tenants could be viewed in relation to the landholdings of the original owner and the erstwhile tenant. In these, 89 acres of land belonged to the Rastes who had been leasing it out to the tenants on a long term basis at a nominal rent. In the case of the remaining 58 acres the owners were not staying in the village but were leasing out the land on cash rent or crop share basis and the tenants benefited by the new legislation. Of the 148 acres of land transferred to the tenants about 9 per cent was received by tenants who owned no land. About 65 per cent was received by those who had individual holdings of

less than 5 acres of land. This, however, refers to the land in the name of individual khatedar. If there is more than one khatedar in a family and this is not rare, then the family holding would be larger. It is, therefore, difficult on the basis of the land distribution worked out using the data on individual holdings to know whether the land passed on to the small land owners.

It was noted that in cases where the lessor and the lessee belonged to Gulumb the land was not generally affected by the Tenancy legislation but the two parties came to some informal agreement. The land remained in the name of the original owner and in some cases he continued to lease out the land to the former tenant but now on an year-to-year agreement. The tenancy legislation, in short, helped eliminate the absentee landlords and the land passed on to the erstwhile tenants while the leasing operations within the village continued to a certain extent.

An attempt was made in 1977 to carry out a field check of tenancy situation. However both the landlord and the tenants were reluctant to divulge the information. It was noted that in some cases land was still leased out on crop-share basis wherein the owner and the tiller shared the costs of material inputs while the labour expenses were all borne by the tenant, and the land owner was given half the produce. Land is usually leased out to a close relative and on an yearly basis. These arrangements are however reported as the bullock work or heavy agricultural operations being carried on a contract basis, or the tenant is reported to be a farm servant. One of the major reasons for leasing out the land is the very small size of land holding so that the

land-base is inadequate for sustenance of a family. In such cases the men migrate to the city and the land is leased out. In some cases even when they stay in the village and work as agricultural labourers, they do not have bullock, implements and ready cash to manage even their small piece of land and lease it out. Some of the widows who did not have any male relatives to help find it convenient to lease out the land. The lessors in majority of the cases are small landowners who were unable to manage their lands but want to retain the right to land mainly as old-age security, so that leasing operations, though not officially recorded continue as per the convenience of various land owners. It was not, however, possible to work out an estimate of the quantum of land involved in leasing operations.

CHAPTER IV

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS ACT AND
ITS OPERATIONAL LIMITATIONS

The Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act was enacted by the State Government in 1947. It did not concern the ownership or tenancy rights in land. Nevertheless, it did affect such rights incidentally. The purpose of the Act was to provide for the consolidation of the already fragmented land holdings and to prevent their further fragmentation.

(i) Principles of revenue survey and settlement:

Curiously enough, the subject was given very serious attention, though in a different context, exactly a hundred years ago namely in 1847 in the famous Joint Report by the three Superintendents of Survey, Mr. Goldsmith, Captain Wingate and Captain Davidson. The Joint Report was concerned with the principles of Revenue Survey and Settlement and one of the first questions it addressed itself was what should be the unit of revenue assessment. There were two alternatives. One was to assess the 'holding' according to which the assessment would be placed upon the whole area held by an occupant whether situated in one place or not. The other was to assess the 'field' according to which the assessment would be placed upon individual 'fields', the village for which purpose being divided into separate parcels of land of a convenient size, each of which would be assessed on its merits as a unit independently of the 'holding' in which it might be situated. The second of the two alternatives was preferred on grounds that with a body of small proprietors the best system must be that which gives the greatest flexibility of transfer and allows the rayat to contract or enlarge his holding according to the state of his resources.

Having accepted the 'field' as the unit of survey and assessment, the Joint Report proceeded to lay down principles for dividing up the village lands into a number of 'fields'. There were of course the old ancestral sub-divisions recorded as fields in the Kulkarni's book. But these were frequently of enormous size and were also held by a number of separate occupants. The Joint Report suggested that to serve as a unit of survey and assessment the field should not be too large for an individual cultivator to deal with single-handed and though as far as possible it should be held by a single occupant, it should not be too small for the survey and administrative purposes. To satisfy these requirements the Joint Report proposed to adopt as the unit of assessment an 'area that could be cultivated by a pair of bullocks, as farming cannot be prosecuted at all with a less number than this'. For the Deccan the standard was laid down as: 20 acres of light dry-crop soil; 15 acres of medium dry-crop soil; 12 acres of heavy dry-crop soil; or 4 acres of rice land dry-crop soil. The survey units thus constituted were called 'survey numbers' and they were to have their boundaries permanently fixed by means of official boundary marks.

A cardinal principle of the Joint Report was that the survey number must be taken as the ultimate sub-division of land, beyond which further sub-division must not be allowed to proceed. As Wingate remarked: (his letter of 23rd December 1848) "the preservation of the integrity of the survey fields appears to me an object of such paramount importance as far to outweigh the hardship of saddling a cultivator with a little more land than he wants... If these means are so small

as only to enable him to cultivate a fraction of a survey field it would be a public benefit, in my opinion, to get the land out of his hands, and thus admit of the whole field in which his fractional share is included being transferred to some more substantial cultivator." This important object, Wingate thought, could be secured in the case of Government lands by the following measures:

The landholders as they existed at the time of the Original Survey were to be entered as "occupants" in the Government records; either of whole survey numbers or in cases where holdings below the minimum area had been combined to form a standard number, then of 'recognized shares'. (Rule 5).

In the case of numbers unoccupied at that time not more than one person was to be permitted to take up any number as 'occupant' except in the case of numbers assessed over Rs. 20 which might be entered in the names of two holders.

Further sub-division of these original occupancies was to be prevented by regulating their inheritance, transfer and resignation as follows: (i) In the event of the death of any occupant the survey numbers or shares standing in his name were to be entered in the name of his eldest son or next heir (Rule 6). (ii) In the case of 'recognized shares', if one share of a field was given up, either by resignation or decease of the share holder without heirs, then it was to be offered to the other shareholders, and if they or anyone else refused to take it up the whole survey number was to be relinquished (Rules 7 and 8). (iii) Transfer was to be made only of whole survey numbers or recognized shares (Rule 9).

In theory and on paper, the system was actually

introduced and successfully. In the eyes of the revenue authorities, the 'occupant' of the survey number or share was the person whose name was entered authorisidly in the Government records: on the death of such an 'occupant' the name of his eldest son or next heir alone was entered; transfer was permitted of whole numbers or recognized shares alone. Officially, therefore, sub-division, being unredognized, did not exist.

What actually happened however was that the people not having seen the Joint Rules and never having been informed of the limitations imposed upon them, proceeded to sub-divide their lands either on inheritance or for purposes of transfer as though no limitations existed. No practical steps were taken to prevent their doing so and the Courts enforced partitions so made without regard to the joint Rules which were not law and so had no binding effect whatsoever on the decisions of the Courts. The collector, nevertheless was not allowed by the Joint Rules to recognize them and consequently while he might by the order of the Court, partition a field among say a number of sons of a deceased cultivator and put them in possession of their several plots, he was compelled by the Joint Rules to enter the name of the eldest son only as heir in the Government records and the eldest son alone was technically regarded as 'occupant'. The result of this divergence was to establish two kinds of title to land - one founded upon possession recognized by the Courts and the other upon 'registration' recognized by the revenue authorities. As Gordon described it the history of 'occupancy' for the next 60 years was the history of the struggle first to reconcile and next to combine the two into one sensible and logical system.

(ii) Survey and Settlement Act (1865)

The first Survey and Settlement Act of 1865, recognised the fact of subdivision, but nevertheless refused to allow the original survey number or recognised shares to be divided into smaller numbers or shares, even though this might be absolutely necessary in order to carry out a partition order passed by a competent Court. To such lengths, in fact, was this principle pressed that clause 2 of section 14 of the Act directed that "when the decree cannot be executed without sub-division of a number or recognized share of a number, the Collector shall so report to the Court issuing the decree, and according to the orders he may receive from the Court, he shall either transfer the whole number or recognized share, undivided, to any party named by the Court, or sell the number, or share of the number undivided, and pay over the proceeds as the Court may direct." The result of these provisions was deplorable and led to strong protests from the Bench as turning partition suits into an expensive force. In the end, therefore, it was found necessary to amend this section and by Act IV of 1868, Section 17, Rule 2, the sub-division of survey numbers was permitted, subject only to a minimum area to be prescribed. By means of a notification issued on 29th May 1869 under this rule, the minima fixed for Satara district were $3 \frac{1}{2}$ acres for dry-crop land and $1 \frac{1}{2}$ acre of rice and garden lands. Further, by Rule 3 of the same section, permission was granted to Survey Officers at Revision Survey to sub-divide any survey number, or share, subject to the limitations of the minima prescribed. Even the original survey of Gulumb was done in 1876 and was therefore carried out according to the provisions of this Act.

These provisions were later incorporated in Section 98 and 99 of the Land Revenue Code of 1879. Section 98 required that no survey number comprising land used for purposes of agriculture only should be made of less extent than a minimum to be fixed from time to time for the several classes of land in each district by the Commissioner of the Survey. By means of a Government Resolution of 16th August 1905, the minima fixed for all districts of the Deccan were only one acre for dry-crop land and only a quarter acre for rice and garden lands. The Section 99 read as follows:

Recognized shares of the survey numbers shall be subject to the same provisions of this Act as are applicable to entire survey numbers, except that (a) it shall not be obligatory to demarcate such shares separately; and (b) if any such share is relinquished by the occupant absolutely under the provisions of Section 74, the occupancy thereof shall be offered to the occupants of the other shares of the same survey numbers in order of the relative largeness of the amounts payable by them respectively on account of the assessment of their said shares, and that in the event of them all refusing the occupancy of the said share, the assessment thereon shall, until such time as the entire number is relinquished by them, be levied from them in proportion to the amount of assessment payable by them as aforesaid.

By an amendment of 1913, this section of the Bombay Land Revenue Code was repealed and was replaced by a new section 117A. The new section read as under: (1) Survey numbers may from time to time

and at any time be divided into so many sub-divisions as may be required in view of the acquisition of rights in land or for other reason; (3) The area and assessment of such sub-divisions shall be entered in such land-records as the Governor in Council may prescribe in this behalf.

Thus the strenuous efforts to keep the original survey numbers intact were finally given up. At about the same time Mr. Keeting in his book "Rural Economy in the Bombay Deccan" drew attention to the acuteness of the problem of fragmentation of agricultural lands and the necessity of taking measures to check its growth. In 1916, a resolution was tabled in the Bombay Legislative Council calling attention to the necessity of checking the growth of small sized and scattered holdings but it failed to secure a majority. In 1927, the Bombay Small Holdings Bill was discussed but had to be withdrawn.

(iii) Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act, 1947: It took another 20 years before the subject was raised again. But this time in 1947 an Act was passed on to prevent fragmentation and promote consolidation of holdings. It was called the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1947. The Act deals with two separate though related subject matters. Chapter II of the Act deals with the treatment of fragmentation while Chapters III and IV deal with the subject of consolidation of holdings.

Chapter II begins by defining a 'fragment'. For this purpose sections 4 and 5 provide for the State Government determining and notifying what is called a 'standard area' for any class of land in any local

area. By 'standard area' is meant the 'minimum area necessary for profitable cultivation as a separate plot'. A 'fragment' is then defined to be a plot of land of less extent than the standard area. Section 6 of the Act requires that on notification of a standard area, all fragments shall be entered as such in the Record of Rights and that notice of every entry thus made shall be given in the manner prescribed for the giving of notice, under the Bombay Land Revenue Code 1879, of an entry in the register of mutations.

In order to promote consolidation of these fragments with the adjoining plots, Section 7 then requires that (1) No person shall transfer any fragment in respect of which a notice has been given under section 6, except to the owner of a contiguous survey number or recognized sub-division of a survey number; and (2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939, no such fragment shall be leased to any person other than a person cultivating any land which is contiguous to the fragment. In order to prevent further fragmentation, Section 8 prescribes that no land shall be transferred or partitioned so as to create a fragment. In its subsection (1), Section 9 declares that the transfer or partition of any land contrary to the provisions of this Act shall be void. However, all this is, in effect, nullified in subsection (2) of the same section which prescribes a penalty. It states that the owner of any land so transferred or partitioned shall be liable to pay such fine not exceeding Rs. 250 as the Collector may, subject to the general orders of the Government, direct. Presumably, all transfers or partitions in contravention of section (7) and (8) would be validated on payment of the fine.

(iv) Application of the Act in Gulumb: The Act was passed in 1947. By an order dated 11th July 1950, the Mamlatdar of Wai taluka made the above provisions for preventing fragmentation applicable to the taluka and declared that the following shall be regarded the 'standard area': 2 acres of dry land; 1 acre of irrigated land; or 1/2 acre of rice land. A year later, that is in August of 1951, the village accountant of Gulumb scrutinized the sizes of the plots as appearing in the Record of Rights, notified all plots falling below the standard area to be 'fragments', and entered them as such in the Record of Rights. Out of a total of 2325 plots in the village, he notified 2,026 plots to be 'fragments'.

However, the notification could not apparently prevent the transfer of fragments as it was intended under section 7 of the Act. In fact, during the 8 years since the notification of the fragments in August 1951, that is upto the end of June 1959, there occurred in the village altogether 82 recorded sales of land and 33 of these were clearly in contravention of the provisions of section 7. The classification of the sales is briefly as under:

	<u>Number of sales</u>	<u>Area acres</u>
Not involving a fragment	11	31.58
Fragment sold to the owner of a contiguous plot	38	18.40
Fragment sold in contravention of the provisions of the Act	33	29.70

Apparently, all transfers of land made in contravention of the provisions of the Act were validated by paying the requisite penalty prescribed by section

9 of the Act. For instance, the Record of Rights mentioned that the purchase of land by Khashaba Manyaba Yadav from Bhau Pandu Yadav was confirmed after a penalty of Rs. 40 was paid. Though the payment of penalty has not been explicitly recorded in the Record of Rights in all cases, the transactions were apparently confirmed by the same procedure. In all such cases, the transactions were recorded in the Record of Rights three or four years after they were registered.

In 7 out of the 33 sales in contravention of the provisions of the Act, the plots were sold to the sitting tenants. The Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holding Act did not explicitly allow such sales. The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948 also did not explicitly allow such purchases by the tenants until the amendment of August 1956. The amended section 32 of the Act lays down that "On the first day of April 1957 every tenant shall ... be deemed to have purchased from his landlord ... the land held by him as tenant." Section 32D then exempts this transfer from the operation of the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act. It reads as follows: "If the land held on tenancy is only a fragment the tenant shall be deemed to have purchased such fragment under section 32 notwithstanding anything contained in the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act, 1947. Therefore whatever the status of the sales to the tenants when they were actually made, they must now be regarded as in order. Moreover, all fragments under tenancy on 1st April 1957 would automatically be transferred to the tenants under section 32 of the Tenancy Act. Thus the provisions of the Tenancy Act

have completely nullified the provisions of Section 7 of the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of the Holdings Act.

Actually section 7 of the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act prohibits even the leasing of a fragment. If this were strictly enforced, all tenancies of fragments coming into existence after July 1950 would be null and void. But this was not done and several tenancies of fragments in contravention of the provisions of the Act were allowed. For instance, on 1st April 1957, there were 81 tenancies involving fragments all having come into existence after July 1950. In only 17 of these cases the tenants were owners of adjoining plots. The remaining were leased in contravention of the provisions of the Act. In the following are brief details:

	<u>Number of tenancies</u>	<u>Area acres</u>
Leases to owners of contiguous plots of land	17	5.6
Leases in contravention of the provisions of the Act	64	30.2

All the above fragments would be duly transferred to their tenants under the provisions of the Tenancy Act and notwithstanding anything contained in the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act. The position regarding future tenancies is not clear. Presumably, section 7 of the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act prohibiting lease of a fragment to any person other than the owner of a contiguous plot is still operative. But the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act of 1948 as amended from time to time nowhere explicitly recognizes this limitation on tenancy. According to

section 32-0 of the amended Tenancy Act, all future tenants shall be entitled within one year from the commencement of the tenancy to purchase from the landlord the lands held by them as tenants. The limitations of the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act in this respect are neither explicitly recognized nor explicitly set aside. However judging from the past and on the strength of section 32D of the Tenancy Act, it appears that , they would probably be set aside and that a purchase by a tenant would be regarded always in order. In that event, the provisions of Section 7 preventing transfer of fragments to persons other than the owners of contiguous plots would finally become a dead letter as all that was now needed, in order to sell a fragment to any declared person, was to lease the same to him, the Tenancy Act, taking care of the rest.

Restrictions on Fragmentation of Land:

(v)/The next section, namely section 8, prohibited the transfer or partition of any land so as to create a fragment, that is a subdivision of less than the standard area. The enforcement of this section apparently met with better success. In 1950-51, when the Act was made applicable to the village, there were 2325 separate plots of land recorded in the Record of Rights. Nine years later in 1959-60, there were only 2301. The reduction in the number was achieved by amalgamating in single plots two or more adjoining plots if they happened to be in the same ownership. By this process, the number of plots was reduced by 48. This was however no more than a formalisation of an existing situation and it could hardly be called an effect of the Act. The plots already lay side by side under one ownership though they were shown as separate plots in the Record of Rights. The Record of Rights is required to be rewritten every ten years and it was rewritten

in 1950-51. While doing this the cases of adjoining plots under one ownership were taken into account and such plots were amalgamated and constituted into single plots. This was the usual manner of rewriting the Record of Rights. It was possible however that in 1905-51 special care was taken to amalgamate such plots because of the Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act. It is obvious that the reduction in the number of plots was merely a formal correction in the Record of Rights and that it did not represent any real change on the ground.

While the number of plots was thus reduced by 48 by the process of amalgamation, 24 new plots were created as a result of partitions, purchases or mortgages. Though the number was small most of the new plots, in fact 23 out of 24, were fragments, that is of less than the standard area, and their recording in the Record of Rights was in contravention of the provisions of section 8 of the Act. Out of these 23 fragments, 4 were created for the purposes of digging of irrigation wells. Wells in Gulumb as in many other villages are usually constructed and owned jointly by a number of cultivators. Therefore when a well is constructed, the area under the well has to be constituted into a separate plot and recorded as such in the Record of Rights and shown as jointly owned by a number of cultivators. Even though this leads to a creation of a fragment, we might connive at it as it would not be regarded an improper use of land. However, the remaining 19 fragments were created in clear violation of the intentions and provisions of law. They were the results of partitions and transfers by sale or possession mortgage: 9 were the result of the partitions

and 8 the result of sales; one was a case of possession mortgage and the remaining one a case of redemption of mortgage. In 10 out of the 19 cases, the fragments were created by sub-division of plots which were not by themselves fragments, that is to say by sub-division of plots of more than the standard area. The remaining 9 fragments were the result of further fragmentation of plots which were already fragments. Thus the Act could not altogether check the creation of new fragments.

It is not that the people and the village accountant did not take cognizance of the provisions of the Act. In fact the number of new plots recorded in the Record of Rights since the enforcement of the Act was much smaller than the number that used to be recorded in earlier years. Thus in comparison with the 24 new plots recorded during the nine years from 1951-52 to 1959-60, there were recorded 136 new plots recorded during the seven years from 1944-45 to 1950-51, and most of them were fragments. The circumstances leading to the creation of new plots in the two periods were as under:

	New plots recorded during	
	<u>1944-51</u>	<u>1951-60</u>
Partition	127	9
Purchase, mortgage etc.	8	11
Wells	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	<u>136</u>	<u>24</u>

Thus with the enforcement of the Act, there was evidently an effective check on the creation of fragments by partition. Transfers by purchases etc. leading to creation of fragments were presumably validated by the payment of fine. However, the partitions leading to fragmentation were generally withheld, at least

from being recorded in the Record of Rights.

However this too was no more than a formal enforcement of the provisions of the Act. In fact, partitions continued to be carried out ever as before but now they were not entered in the Record of Rights. In 1959-60, there were at least 275 sub-divisions of plots effective on the ground but which were not entered into the Record of Rights. Except for a few, all these were fragments, that is of less than the standard area and it was as well that they were not recorded. A number of them were the result of partitions carried out even before 1950-51. They were then not recorded in the Record of Rights because there was not urgency to do so. This was true ordinarily of all the partitions. Later they could not be recorded because they involved creations of new fragments. Some of the partitions had occurred after 1950-51, and they were not recorded for the same reasons. Presumably, all these could be entered in the Record of Rights and thus be validated if the parties concerned paid the necessary penalty. But there was no immediate need to do this. In any case, the Record of Rights explicitly recognized the rights of the several parties by showing a partitioned plot as being held jointly by them and showing against each person the share he held. Thus the provisions of section 8, particularly those relating to partitions were enforced but in a very superficial legal manner.

So much for the provisions for promoting consolidation of existing fragments with the adjoining plots and for preventing creation of new fragments. The other important aspect of the situation dealt with by the Act is consolidation of holdings that is bringing

together as far as possible in one single block, different plots of the same holding. With this in view, Chapter III of the Act lays down the procedures for consolidation. The successive steps prescribed are as under:

Sec. 15: With the object of consolidating holdings in any village... the Government may declare by a notification ... its intention to make a scheme for the consolidation of holdings in such village... On such publication in the village concerned the Government may appoint a Consolidation Officer who shall proceed to prepare in the prescribed manner a scheme for the consolidation of holdings in such village ...

Sec. 16: (a) The scheme prepared by the Consolidation Officer shall provide for the payment of compensation to any owner who is allotted a holding of less market value than that of his original holding and for the recovery of compensation from any owner who is allotted a holding of greater market value than that of his original holding. (2) The amount of compensation shall be determined, so far as practicable, in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1) of section 23 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894.

Sec. 19: (1) When a draft scheme of consolidation is ready for publication, the Consolidation Officer shall publish it in the prescribed manner.... Any person likely to be affected by such scheme, shall, within thirty days of

the date of such publication, communicate in writing to the Consolidation Officer any objections relating to the scheme. The Consolidation Officer shall, after considering the objections, if any received, submit the scheme with such amendments as he considers to be necessary, together with his remarks on the objections, to the Settlement Commissioner. (2) The Consolidation Officer shall also publish the scheme as amended by him.

Sec. 20: (1) If within thirty days of its publication, no objections are received to the draft scheme.. the Settlement Commissioner shall confirm the scheme.

(2) If any objections are received to such draft scheme, and

(a) the Settlement Commissioner after considering the objections approves of the draft scheme... he shall submit the draft scheme. ... to the State Government together with the objections received thereto, or

(b) the Settlement Commissioner, after considering the objections further amends the scheme, the Settlement Commissioner shall publish the further amended scheme in the prescribed manner.

(3) If within fifteen days of the publication of a further amended scheme under class (b) of sub-section (2) - (a) no objections are received thereto, the Settlement Commissioner shall confirm the scheme; and (b) if any

objections are received, then the Settlement Commissioner shall submit such further amended scheme to the State Government together with the objections received thereto.

(4) Upon submission of a scheme... the State Government may, after taking into consideration the objections, either confirm the scheme, with or without amendments or may refuse to confirm it.

Sec. 21: (1) Upon the confirmation of the scheme.. as confirmed shall be published in the prescribed manner in the village... If two-thirds or more of the owners affected by such scheme agree to enter into possession of the holdings allotted to them thereunder, the Consolidation Officer may allow the owners to enter into such possession forthwith or from such date as may be specified by him.

(2) If two-thirds or more of such owners do not agree to enter into possession... all the owners shall be entitled to possession of the holdings allotted to them under the scheme from the commencement of the agricultural year next following the date of publication.

(2A) In enforcing the provisions of sub-section (1) and (2), the Consolidation Officer shall, if necessary, put the owners in possession of the holdings to which they are entitled under the scheme and for doing so may, in the prescribed manner, evict any person from any land.

Sec. 22: As soon as the persons entitled to possession of holdings under this Act have entered into possession of the holdings respectively allotted to them, the scheme shall be deemed to have come into force.

Sec. 23: Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time being in force, the rights of owners, or other persons having interest, shall for the purpose of giving effect to any scheme of consolidation affecting them be transferable by exchange or otherwise.

(vi) Potential for consolidation of Holdings in

Gulumb: It was mentioned earlier that in 1959-60 the village lands were sub-divided into altogether 2544 separate plots. These were cultivated by 355 cultivators resident in the village and a few others residing in the adjoining villages of Vele and Chandak. Let us examine to what extent consolidation of their cultivated holdings appears possible. Consolidation is not ordinarily done on the basis of cultivated holdings because it involves the transfer of ownership rights. Nevertheless, in view of the Tenancy Act, as the rights of ownership would soon be transferred to the cultivators of the soil, the present cultivated holdings rather than the ownership holdings represent more closely the future ownership holdings. We might therefore illustrate the possibility of consolidation on the basis of existing cultivated holdings.

As mentioned above, some of the village lands are being cultivated by cultivators resident in the adjoining villages. There are 175 such plots. If we neglect them, the remaining 2369 plots are cultivated by 355 cultivators resident in the village. Naturally, barring

a few cultivators, all have their holdings split up into a number of plots. In fact, there are only 41 holdings with a single plot. On the other hand, there are 66 holdings with more than 10 plots each and some of them have their holdings split up into as many as 34 plots. In the Table 1 are shown these details of the cultivated holdings and the number of plots contained in them.

Table 1. Distribution of holding by number of plots in a holding

<u>Number of plots in a holding</u>	<u>Number of such holdings</u>	<u>Total number of plots</u>
1	41	51
2	38	78
3	35	105
4	42	168
5	37	185
6	26	156
7	26	182
8	15	120
9	17	153
10	12	120
11-12	18	210
13-15	24	329
16-20	13	231
21-34	<u>11</u>	<u>291</u>
	<u>355</u>	<u>2369</u>

It would, of course, not be possible to consolidate each and every holding into a single block of land for the plots in a holding often belong to very different soil types. It would obviously be impossible to mutually exchange plots belonging to very different soil types. There is in the first instance the basic distinction between an unirrigated and an irrigated

plot. We might also make further distinction in each category. In an irrigated plot, the distinction mainly depends upon the sources and nature of irrigation. In Gulumb, major portion of the irrigated land is irrigated by local streams. However, some of the irrigated lands have the additional benefit of well water. This is important because the irrigation on the stream is not perennial but lasts only 8 months of the year. Besides there are a few plots which are irrigated solely by well water. We might therefore keep distinct these three categories of irrigated land, namely land irrigated on streams, irrigated by stream and well and irrigated on wells.

The unirrigated or the dry land might be classified by soil types. In Gulumb, it is possible to distinguish at least three broad soil types which we might call, Good, Medium and Light. There is in addition the land on the hill slopes which is good only for grazing purposes. We might thus distinguish altogether 7 different soil types and presume that an exchange of plots belonging to the same type would be possible. By thus exchanging one plot for another of the same type, it should be possible to consolidate in one block all plots of the same type and belonging to the same holding. If this were done no one would have more than one plot of the same type. To see the extent to which the number of plots could thus be reduced, let us see the present distribution of holdings and check how many plots belonging to each soil type a holding has. This is shown in Table 2.

Thus of the 355 cultivators, only 177 have one or more plots of the mixed irrigated type. Among

these, 51 cultivators have one such plot, 35 have two such plots etc. In the same manner, only 230 cultivators have one or more plots of the good unirrigated soil type and among these 99 have only one such plot, 49 have two such plots, etc. A consolidation scheme would aim at bringing together in one single block two or more plots belonging to the same cultivator. Thus the 35 cultivators who have each two plots of mixed irrigated land, would each get equivalent land cut in single blocks. As a result, there would be only 177 plots of the mixed irrigated type instead of the present 674. In the same manner, there would remain only 230 plots of the good unirrigated soil type in place of the present 559. Thus the number of separate plots would be reduced to 177, 87, 49, 230, 170, 166 and 2 of the respective types which add to a total of 881 in place of the existing 2369 plots. This might be regarded a measure of the extent to which the consolidation might be achieved. If this were done, the 881 plots would be distributed among the 355 cultivators in the following manner:

<u>Number of plots in each holding</u>	<u>Number of consoli- dated holdings</u>
1	104
2	82
3	91
4	54
5	20
6	4
Total	<u>355</u>

(viii) Consolidation operations in Gulumb: In September 1969 a meeting of the villagers was held to set up a panch committee to help consolidation work in the village. The Consolidation proceedings were not initiated until 1971 and they continued through 1974. Village forms such as form VII-XII were issued

on the basis of old survey numbers as late as 1975. In 1976 for the first time the new consolidated block numbers were entered in the village records.

For assessing the impact of the process of consolidation in Gulumb an area of irrigated land on the right bank of the Chandraganga stream belonging predominantly to the Yadavs and watered by channels taken from the small masonry dam, named Mahdey's dam, was studied. The total area of the block is 78.35 acres of which 19 acres are irrigated by flow irrigation, 55.65 acres by canal and well irrigation and the remaining 3.5 acres are under dry cultivation.

The area consists of 40 of the former survey numbers. When a field check was made it was found that there were 177 plots. When adjacent parcels belonging to the same farmer were treated as a single unit. Forty-three of these were affected during the process of consolidation. These 43 plots which changed ownership in order to form larger, contiguous blocks were of the following sizes:

Size of plots affected (in gunthas)	Number of plots
0 to 5	24
6 to 10	12
11 to 15	4
21 to 25	3
	<u>43</u>

It is apparent that most of the plots were small parcels of land. This can be partly explained by the fact that the area being studied is irrigated land in which plots normally are quite small and extensively subdivided. The 43 transactions led to the creation

Table 2. Distribution of plots in Gulumb by Soil Type

No. of plots	Irrigated			Not Irrigated			
	Mixed	Stream	Well	Good	Medium	Light	Grazing
Number of Holdings							
1	51	43	33	99	55	73	1
2	35	27	9	49	55	36	1
3	14	13	4	36	20	25	-
4	18	3	1	17	13	7	-
5	18	-	1	11	9	8	-
6	15	1	-	9	5	5	-
7	3	-	1	4	4	6	-
8	9	-	-	-	3	2	-
9	5	-	-	2	3	2	-
10	2	-	-	2	1	-	-
11	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
13	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
No. of holdings	177	87	49	230	170	166	2
No. of plots	674	154	79	559	480	418	3

of 30 newly consolidated blocks which were of the following sizes:

<u>Size of new consolidated block</u>	<u>Number of such blocks</u>
(in gunthas)	
0 to 10	7
11 to 20	12
21 to 30	5
31 to 40	<u>6</u>
	<u>30</u>

Thus, we find that even after the consolidation exercise all the blocks consolidated remain under the "standard size", which has been defined as being 1 acre for irrigated lands of the type under study, and must be classified as "fragments". The 177 effective plots of land in this section existing now are of the following sizes:

<u>Size of plot</u>	<u>No. of plots</u>
(gunthas)	
0 to 5	30
6 to 10	36
11 to 15	33
16 to 20	31
21 to 25	21
26 to 30	6
31 to 35	9
36 to 40	6
1 acre to 1 a. 10 g.	3
1 acre 11g to 1a.20 g.	1
2 acres to 2a.20 g.	<u>1</u>
	<u>177</u>

It is apparent from this that the consolidation exercise in Gulumb was not instrumental in increasing the size of holdings appreciably. Even after consolidation was completed, in the area under study all but 5 plots remained under the "standard size" and 130 or 74% were under one half acre. Those 5 plots that

were of the standard size had not been the result of consolidation efforts but had been of this size before the exercise.

In the consolidation legislature, as was mentioned earlier, transfer and partition of land so as to create a fragment is not allowed. An amendment in 1953 further adds a sub-section to say that any person, unauthorizedly occupying, or wrongfully in possession of any land, the transfer or partition of which, either by the act of parties or by the operation of the law, is void under this act may be summarily evicted by the Collector.

Under the new legislation consolidated blocks cannot be legally divided. However, it was observed that in the area of land we studied in detail for consolidation effects there were at least two cases where the plots had been portioned out between two brothers or cousins and they were proceeding to cultivate these lands as separate parcels. This is the situation only one year after the consolidation exercise had been completed, 1976 being the first year in which block numbers rather than survey numbers were used on the village forms. With the passage of time, more and more plots are likely to get thus sub-divided, without any legal record or documentation in the form of survey maps of the blocks, of the same. Lack of a mechanism to record rights of land will implicitly allow the strong arm elements in the village to appropriate land from the timid and the weak.

The objective of attempting to consolidate land holdings of individual farmers was to increase the area of contiguous land any one cultivator tilled.

The rationale was that if the small pieces of land a farmer owned, which were generally scattered around in the village area, were all together at one place a number of benefits would accrue to the farmer. For instance it would be easier for him to guard the crops before the harvest time; in the case of lands irrigated by channels from the stream it would be easier to construct more efficient irrigation systems; it would be possible to use more efficient appliances in tilling and ploughing the land, etc. However, as was pointed out earlier, consolidation of all the holdings an individual farmer owned into one piece was not practical since very often these holdings lie in different parts of the village area, in different soil types. However, consolidation within the same soil type should have been possible.

The rather minimal success in consolidation may be partly explained by the fact that there is a cultural resistance on the part of the cultivator, to part with lands that have been held in his family for generations. This sentiment is not difficult to understand when one looks at the longevity of land ownership in the village. As we have seen the Jadhavs have held certain lands and the Yadavs others since they come to the village in the 13th or 14th century and that is the way it has stayed pretty much to today. There is much talk when land is sold by Jadhavs to Yadavs instead of keeping it 'within the lineage group' and selling to another Jadhav.

Besides the factor of a sentimental attachment there is the fact that the farmer apprehends that given a chance his neighbour or any other farmer in the village will happily take over his land. Land is a scarce asset and most farmers would strive to add to it.

At any one time in the village there are numerous litigations going on over land. It is not surprising then, that there is an ingrained suspicion and distrust, especially on the part of the smaller farmers, when there is a move to change the land ownership in any way. Small farmers are relatively less able to afford litigation and usually less aware and informed of their rights so rather than jeopardize what they do own they would rather leave things as they are.

There is another question. Even if consolidation was more successfully achieved and each land owner had larger sized plots, given the fact that many farmers are basically growing food for their own subsistence, they will continue to grow small amounts of all the crops they need during the year. For example they will grow jowar, some gram and peas and pulses, vegetables, some groundnuts for home consumption and for providing cooking oil through the year. In this way, the farmer minimises the risk in any one year. Even after consolidation it is difficult to get the benefits of cultivation of a single crop in one block.

Another argument forwarded for having all the pieces of a holding in one place is that there is a saving of the area of land that is left bare between the crops of two adjacent owners. Sometimes if suspicion or enmity is high low walls or soil banks are constructed as divisions. However, when reasonably good relationships are maintained there is no barrier between plots. Sometimes people merely place a couple of stones to mark their property and cultivate upto the imaginary line between the two stones.

Coupled with all this is the fact that there is very little tradition in the village of successful co-

operative action in any sphere. The jointly owned flour mill, cloth shop, weavers credit and raw material purchasing society have all failed. There is no cooperative buying or selling of products except through the primary multipurpose society. Given the general apathy and low voluntary response to consolidation effort and the lack of cooperative spirit and little tradition of self-help through mutual adjustment not much is being gained by pursuing the consolidation exercise.

CHAPTER V

LAND DISTRIBUTION

(i) Land Distribution between Different Communities Prior to 1942 : In Gulumb the village lands lying to the south of the village site are naturally divided between two parts by the Chandraganga stream. The Yadavs took the lands lying to the west of this stream and the Jadhav took the lands lying to its east. The village lands lying to the north of the village site are similarly divided into two parts more or less following a small village stream which flows north-south and then into the Chandraganga stream near the village site. The Yadavs took the lands lying to the east of this line and the Jadhavs took the lands lying to its west. In other words, if we divide the village lands into four parts by running two lines, one north-south and another east-west and passing through the village site, the Yadavs took the two opposite corners south-west and north-east while the Jadhavs took the other two opposite corners. These lands are recognized and referred to as the lands of the Yadavs and of the Jadhavs respectively.

The Dhangars who were probably already there and had occupied a small block of land on the western bank of Chandraganga opposite the village site retained their possession. The Mahars were given a block of land for which, if the story of Kumaji Patil were true, was later exchanged for another block of land on which the family of Kumaji Patil was settled as the new Mahars. There were also a number of other village servants, namely, the Chougula, Koli, Ramoshi, Joshi, Chambhar, Mali and Atar. Smaller plots of land were given to them. Plots of land were reserved for the maintenance and upkeep of the temple of God Bhairav, a small temple of Narsinh and a mosque. Parts of the land reserved for the God Bhairav

were given for the village servants in the service of the God, namely, the Gurav and Gondhali. The plots of land given to Narsinha were given to a Brahmin for management and the plot of land given for the upkeep of the mosque was given to the Mulani for its management. Plots of land were also given in the service of Goddess, Ekavira Devi. This is a Goddess at a place called Kinai in Satara district and is worshipped by the artisans from a large number of villages in the district. The artisans of Gulumb also worshipped the Goddess and for that purpose annually made a trip to the place. It was to meet the expenses of this trip that plots of land were reserved in the village in the name of that Goddess. Plots of land were also given to some Gosavis who were religious mendicants. Finally, plots of land were given to the Deshpande who was the District accountant. All these several assignments were made in historical times and altogether they came to over 200 acres or about one-tenth of the total village lands. Finally, in the 17th century, when the Kochales came, the Yadavs gave them a block of land out of their own. That was how the village lands were parcelled out between the several constituents of the village community. Everybody enjoyed secure occupancy rights in the lands he held subject to the payment of land revenue. The only exception was the lands assigned to the Mahars, the other village servants and the other assignees described above. They held these lands revenue free.

In the year 1773 the entire village revenue was assigned to the family of Rastes. That did not affect the occupancy rights of the Yadavs, Jadhavs and others. There were however a few plots of land which were in

joint use of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs and no one particular family was responsible for the payment of its revenue. Therefore the Rastes undertook to pay the revenue of these lands and began to treat them as their private property. For instance there were two tiny bits of land adjoining the village site which were in joint use of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. One was what is now known as Parde No. 1 which lay unused for several years until recently when the village school was built upon it. The other was the small plot of land in which is situated the drinking water well used by the Jadhavs. Both these were tiny pieces of land measuring under two acres. But there were also three large areas which were being used by the Yadavs and the Jadhavs for grazing purposes. They were in fact the three hills lying on the western and northern border of the village. The hill lying on the western border was being used by the Yadavs for grazing their cattle and so were the two hills on the northern border by the Jadhavs. But no particular family of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs held proprietary rights in them and the Rastes treated them as their property.

The main constituents of the proprietary rights in the village lands at the beginning of the British rule in 1818 were the Yadavs, Jadhavs, Dhangars, Kochales, Mahars, other Inamdars and the Rastes. The extent of land owned by the several constituents in term of this historical allocation and which presumably had remained more or less unaffected until 1876 was as under :

	<u>Acres</u>
Yadavs	732.2
Jadhavs	825.4
Dhangars	14.0
Kochales	78.5
Mahars	52.8
Other assignments	198.0
Rastes	274.8
	<hr/> 2175.7

The proprietary rights in land enjoyed by the Yadavs, Jadhavs, Dhangars and Kochales were always transferable and could be sold or mortgaged. The rights of the Rastes in the lands privately owned by them were also presumably of the same kind. The rights of the Mahars and other village servants to whom lands were given for the performance of specific duties were not so transferable. Nevertheless, these could be mortgaged. The same was true of the lands given for the maintenance of the temples and the mosque. With the settled conditions following the establishment of the British rule, the transfer of lands was greatly facilitated and a number of plots of land changed hands. As a result, not all the lands originally belonging to the Yadavs and the Jadhavs were to be found in their possession in 1942-43. They had lost some of their lands to the other constituents and some also to later arrivals. The details are shown in Table 1.

Out of a total of 1557.6, ~~315.3~~ acres originally held by the Yadavs and the Jadhavs, they retained only 1055.5 acres in 1942-43. They had lost 502.1 acres,

Table 1 : Transfer of lands belonging to Yadavs and Jadhavs

	Lands originally belonging to			Transfers occurring between 1921-1942 Acres
	Yadavs Acres	Jadhavs Acres	Total Acres	
Original allocation to Yadavs/Jadhavs	732.2	825.4	1557.6	
Retained by Yadavs/Jadhavs	545.4	510.1	1055.5	
Lost to :				
Jadhavs/Yadavs	3.5	70.2	73.7	14.6
Other Marathas	37.8	133.9	171.7	69.5
Dhangars	4.2	50.2	54.4	25.3
Kechales	27.2	1.3	28.5	9.1
Rastes	77.6	11.4	89.0	--
Other Brahmins	4.0	17.8	21.8	1.8
Artisans & Services	24.9	16.0	40.9	8.1
Others	7.6	14.5	22.1	1.0
	186.8	315.3	502.1	129.4

which is about one-third of the original holding.

Presumably, most of these transfers took place after the establishment of the British rule and possibly even after the first Survey and Settlement in 1876.

It was possible to decide as to which of the transfers took place before 1920 and which after 1920. The information relating to the transfers occurring after 1920 is given in the last column of Table 1. Of the total land lost by the Yadavs and Jadhavs, 372.7 acres were lost by 1920 and 129.4 acres were lost during the period between 1921 and 1942.

In a majority of cases where the lands had passed out of the hands of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs during the period 1921-42, the transfers were by sale. But

there were also cases of other transfers such as by possession-mortgage or by inheritance to married daughters in the absence of a patrilineal heir or by gift deed in more or less the same circumstances. The details are given below :

Transfer of agricultural lands out of the hands of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs during 1921-42.

	<u>Acres</u>
By Sale	78.0
By possession-mortgage	25.4
By inheritance, gift, etc.	26.0
	<hr/>
	129.4

The transfer of land was of course not only in one direction. The Yadavs and Jadhavs while they lost some of their ancestral lands, also gained some from others. This was particularly true of the Yadavs. Thus the Yadavs gained 70.2 acres from the Jadhavs. They also gained 20.1 acres from the Inamdars and 2.6 acres from the Dhangars. The gains by the Jadhavs were small in comparison with what they lost. They gained only 3.5 acres from the Yadavs and 10.7 acres from the Dhangars. The landholding of the Yadavs and Jadhavs in 1942-43 was composed as under :

	<u>Landholding of Yadavs and Jadhavs in 1942-43</u>	
	Yadavs Acres	Jadhavs Acres
Ancestral lands retained	545.4	510.1
Gained from Jadhavs/Yadavs	70.2	3.5
Gained from Dhangars	2.6	-
Gained from Inamdars	22.5	10.7
Total	640.7	524.3

We have earlier mentioned that the Yadavs and the Jadhavs lost much land to other Maratha families arriving in the village and who were mostly related to the

Yadavs and the Jadhavs through marriage connections. These Maratha families, besides what they obtained from the Yadavs and the Jadhavs, acquired little from other sources. Their landholding in 1942-43 was composed as under :

	Landholding of other Maratha families in 1942-43
	<u>Acres</u>
Acquired from Yadavs	37.8
Acquired from Jadhavs	133.9
Acquired from Dhangars	0.4
Acquired from Inamdars	0.6
Total	<u>172.7</u>

Kochales kept their own and added substantially from the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. The same was true of the Rastes. We might combine with the Rastes a few outside Brahmins who too acquired some lands from the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. The Dhangars lost some bits to the Yadavs (2.6 acres) and to other Maratha families (0.4 acres). But they gained much from the Yadavs and particularly from the Jadhavs. The Inamdars, particularly the artisans and the services, lost 22.5 acres to Yadavs, 10.7 acres to Jadhavs and 0.6 acres to other Maratha families. But they gained a little more both from the Yadavs and the Jadhavs and thus more than kept their own. Mahars kept out of this give and take and just retained their own. In the following is shown how the landholdings of these several groups were composed in 1942-43.

Landholdings in 1942-43

	Kochales	Rastes & other Brahmins	Dhangars	Inamdars
Ancestral hold- ings retained	78.5	274.8	11.0	164.2
Acquired from the Yadavs	27.2	81.6	4.2	24.9
Acquired from the Jadhavs	1.3	32.2	50.2	16.0
	107.0	385.6	65.4	205.1

(ii) Changes in Land Distribution After 1942 : The information regarding transfer in land ownership between the period 1942-43 and 1958-59 is presented in Table 2. The land held by the various communities changed but marginally during this period. The major change noted is the loss of land in the name of Deshpande's which was transferred to the Government and of Kulkarni's which passed on to the Yadavs, Jadhavs and Pahunes who were previously tilling these lands as tenants. The Kochales added a few acres to their land. The enforcement of the Bombay Moneylenders Act of 1947, which reduced transfer of land through land-mortgage deals and the Bombay Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act of 1947 which placed severe restrictions on the transfer of existing fragments by stipulating that they could be sold only to contiguous land holders restricted considerably the land transactions in the village. The Mahars continued to retain their ancestral holdings and had not sold any land even though their landholdings are very small and in many families the men are working

in Bombay. The village artisans and professionals are facing a decline in the demand for their services and they are also seeking work outside the village. Similar is the case of Dhangars. However, the small and fragmented land-holdings are retained by most of the families.

The major change in the period 1958-1976 is the reversion of the lands held by the Rastes to the their erstwhile tenants. The grazing lands measuring 156.82 acres passed on to the Jadhavs and 116.15 acres to the Yadavs. The cultivable land measuring about 90 acres which was earlier leased out to the Jadhavs and Yadavs was transferred to the families who were earlier cultivating the lands. The Rastes were actually charging, all along, a nominal rent so that the change in the legal title did not make for any significant operational changes. Some of the lands owned by the Brahmins who never cultivated the land but leased it out were lost to the erstwhile share-croppers who came from among the Jadhavs and Yadavs. The share-croppers/^{who}were ~~was~~ earlier giving to the landlord half of the net produce benefited considerably because of the transfer of land ownership. They could now enjoy the total produce of the land and could effect improvement etc. because of security in ownership.

The lands held by the other community groups remained more or less the same as in 1942.

In 1976 almost all the lands owned by the various families from different communities were cultivated by the owners themselves. About 20 per cent of the land was operated through hire of bullock service for ploughing and other heavy agricultural operations. In the case of Nava Baudha families almost all the land was cultivated

on this basis. Only one per cent of land was leased out. Such cases were noted when the family migrated out and none was left in the village to look after the cultivation of land; yet the land was leased out and not sold in order to keep a foot-hold in the village. In nearly 30 per cent of the families there was no adult male in the family staying in the village. In that case the women had to manage the cultivation of land. The women, it was observed during the field study, find it difficult to cope up with farm management. Even if the woman is able, she is cut off, by social more that do not allow men and women to freely mix, from the grapevine that communicates information about new methods of cultivation, market prices, new legislation and so on. Traditionally she also does not undertake heavy agricultural operations like ploughing. Whenever possible the adult men working in the city come over to the village for a short period to attend to these operations, otherwise the women get these work~~s~~ done on hire. In such cases their work would usually be the last on the priority of the bullock owner, and they may not get the work done on time. If they have 5 acres or more of cultivable land they hire a servant on a yearly contract basis. If the women are not in a position to secure help from male relatives or afford to hire a labourer they lease out their land on the basis of informal personal agreement.

The land ownership in the village vested mostly with the men. In some cases the women were entered into the village record as owners but the effective control over the land holding of the family was with the male head of the family. It was noted that mainly the widows had a title to land which very often would be transferred

in the name of the son or the adopted son when he reaches adult age or if there is no son at times to the son-in-law. Till that time the widow is in control of the land and it was observed that the farming operations were usually carried out with the help of some male relatives, like son-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. or else hired male servant. Most women had very small holdings. Of the 30 women who were operating the land on their own, in nearly 80 per cent of the cases the size of holding was below 2 acres and only in two cases it was as much 6 acres each. The small piece of land that these women owned was often given to them to provide for their maintenance and the farms were operated usually for meeting the personal consumption needs and not on a commercial basis.

(iii) Distribution of Land Holding by Size : So far, the ownership holding as recorded in the village records was considered. Now the information regarding land holding as obtained through the household survey is considered.

In 1942 there were 301 land owning families in Gulumb and the cultivable area owned came to 1995 acres. This includes nearly 200 acres of land located outside the village but owned and cultivated by the Gulumb residents and excludes the lands from the village owned and cultivated by the outsiders. The distribution of the land-owning families by the size of land holding is presented in Table 3. The families below 2 acres of land formed about 24 per cent of the total families and held less than 4 per cent of the land. At the other end, 10 per cent of the total families with above 15 acres of land-holding together held 31 per cent of the land.

Table 2 : Distribution of Land in Gulumb According to Community Groups

Community Group	1942	1958	1976
	(Land held in acres)		
Yadav	640.7	644.0	874.4
Jadhav	524.3	529.0	704.3
Kochale	107.0	110.7	116.4
Pahune	172.7	189.8	186.4
Dhangar	65.4	62.5	65.6
Mahar	52.8	52.8	52.3
Balutedar	106.0	97.0	102.9
Brahmin	95.3	50.3	26.4
Raste	363.6	362.5	-
Others	22.1	23.7	20.1
Temple	25.4	25.4	25.4
Government	-	26.6	-
Village	-	1.2	1.3
Total	2175.3	2175.5	2175.5

Table 3 : Distribution of Families by Size of Land Holding

Size of Land holding (Acres)	1942		1976	
	No. of Families percent	Land held percent	No. of Families percent	Land held percent
Below 1.0	13.95	1.23	14.79	1.49
1.00- 1.99	9.63	2.16	18.55	4.88
2.00- 4.99	27.91	14.73	34.59	21.66
5.00- 9.99	27.25	29.83	21.55	28.17
10.00-14.99	10.96	19.67	5.26	12.26
15.00-19.99	4.32	10.66	4.26	13.80
20.00 & above	5.98	21.72	1.00	17.74
Total	100.00 = 301	100.00	100.00 = 399	100.00

There were considerable differences in the size of land-holdings by community group. Among the Mahars 18 out of the 28 families had a holding below one acre each, 9 families between one and 3 acres each and only one family had above three acres of land, the mean size of holding for this community group being less than one acre. The Balutedars and Dhangars also had relatively small land holdings, the median size of holding being 2.6 acres in their case (Table 4). The median size of holding varied between 6 and 7 acres for the Yadavs, Jadhavs and Pahunes and it was 7.8 acres for the Kochales. The Maratha group together formed about 67 per cent of the village population and owned 67 per cent of the land. The Mahars on the other hand constituted nearly 9 per cent of the total village population but held about 2 per cent of the land and the Dhangars with about 10 per cent of the population had about 3 per cent of the land. Twenty two per cent of the land was owned by the Rastes and Brahmins - the absentee landlords.

The number of land-owning families increased to 399 by 1976 and the proportion of non-landowning families increased from 8 per cent in 1942 to about 20 per cent in 1976. The average size of land holding declined from 6.6 acres in 1942 to 5.0 acres in 1976 (averaged over the landowning families).

Information relating to the split of land holdings in the period 1942-1976 was examined. It was noted that in more than half the cases the size of holding in 1976 was smaller than that in 1942. In nearly 15 per cent of the cases it increased due to purchase of additional land, acquisition of land by the erstwhile tenant after the 1957 tenancy legislation or through gift, adoption

Table 4 : Average Size of Land Holding by Community Group

Community Group	1942		1976	
	Size of Land Holding (acres)		Size of Land Holding (acres)	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Jadhav	8.0	6.6	6.8	5.5
Yadav	7.6	6.0	5.9	5.0
Pahune	8.9	7.0	4.6	3.5
Kochale	8.2	7.8	3.5	3.1
Mahar	1.2	.8	.9	.8
Dhangar	3.3	2.6	3.0	2.7
Balutedar	5.9	2.6	3.7	2.1
Other	5.0	4.0	3.3	1.7
Total	6.6	4.2	5.0	3.3

and other transfers. In a little over 10 per cent of the families the lands were no more in the name of the original owner or their descendants. The land has been transferred to some distant relative or to the son-in-law as there was no direct heir or sold out mainly because the entire family out-migrated on a permanent basis. In the remaining i.e. about 20 per cent of the cases the family remained in the same land holding size group as in 1942.

In 1976 one third of the families in the village had a land holding below 2 acres and they together held about 6 per cent of the village land. On the other hand 5 per cent of the families with above 15 acres of land holding held about 31 per cent of the land; this included the grazing lands of about 250 acres, excluding this their share was about 21 per cent in the total land. All the big/^{land}owners except two were from the Maratha community.

About 15 per cent of the land in the village was under irrigation. Converting the wet land into dry land equivalents at 1 wet acre = 4 dry acres, the size distribution was worked out and is given in Table 5. It will be seen that in terms of dry acres, 36 per cent of the families in the land holding size groups upto 5 acres had a share of about 10 per cent in the total land in 1942 while in 1976, 53 per cent of the families came within this group and held only about 16 per cent of the land.

The distribution of the families from different community groups by the size of land holding in terms of dry acres is presented in Table 6. In 1976, about 30 per cent of the families owned more than ten adjusted

Table 5 : Distribution of Families and the Land Held by
Size of Land Holding

Size of Land Holding (adjusted acres)	% Land in Group	Cumulative Percentage	% Families in Group	Cumulative Percentage
<u>1942</u>				
Upto 1.00	0.5	0.5	8.6	8.6
1.01- 1.50	0.4	0.9	3.3	11.9
1.51- 2.50	1.7	2.6	8.3	20.2
2.51- 3.50	2.9	5.5	9.0	29.2
3.51- 5.00	3.3	8.8	7.3	36.5
5.01- 7.50	9.4	18.2	14.0	50.5
7.51-10.00	12.9	31.1	14.3	64.8
10.01-12.50	10.0	41.0	8.6	73.4
12.51-20.00	23.1	64.1	14.6	88.0
Above 20.00	35.8	100.0	12.0	100.0
<u>1958</u>				
Upto 1.00	0.5	0.5	8.6	8.6
1.01- 1.50	0.8	1.3	6.1	14.7
1.51- 2.50	1.7	3.0	7.8	22.5
2.51- 3.50	3.3	6.3	10.0	32.5
3.51- 5.00	5.4	10.7	11.1	43.6
5.01- 7.50	9.2	20.9	12.8	56.4
7.51-10.00	14.6	35.5	14.8	71.2
10.01-12.50	11.0	46.5	8.6	79.8
12.51-20.00	17.6	64.1	9.8	89.6
Above 20.00	35.9	100.0	10.4	100.0
<u>1976</u>				
Upto 1.00	0.6	0.6	8.8	8.8
1.01- 1.50	1.2	1.8	8.5	17.3
1.51- 2.50	3.3	5.1	13.5	30.8
2.51- 3.50	4.8	9.9	11.8	42.6
3.51- 5.00	5.9	15.8	10.8	53.4
5.01- 7.50	9.9	25.7	13.0	66.4
7.51- 10.00	11.5	37.2	10.5	76.9
10.01-12.50	11.8	49.0	8.3	85.2
12.51-20.00	17.4	66.4	8.5	93.7
Above 20.00	33.6	100.0	6.3	100.0

Table 6 : Distribution of Families by Size of Land Holding and Community Group

Size of Land Holding (adjusted acres)	Jadhav			Yadav			Pahune			Kochales			Mahars		
	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976
	No. of Families														
Upto 1.00	-	2	4	2	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	18	15	23
1.01- 1.50	2	3	7	-	2	9	1	1	2	-	1	4	3	8	7
1.51- 2.50	7	8	18	5	4	14	-	-	2	-	-	4	3	8	5
2.51- 3.50	6	13	8	6	7	13	-	5	9	1	3	14	3	2	2
3.51- 5.00	6	8	10	8	11	12	1	6	4	2	5	4	-	1	1
5.01- 7.50	11	14	14	14	15	22	6	6	7	2	4	5	1	-	-
7.51-10.00	13	13	13	17	24	19	3	5	3	4	4	-	-	1	-
10.01-12.50	6	11	14	15	12	14	2	3	1	2	2	1	-	-	-
12.51-20.00	15	13	12	17	14	16	4	1	3	4	2	1	-	-	-
Above 20.00	15	12	8	15	18	11	3	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
No land owned	2	2	4	2	5	5	1	4	5	-	-	1	1	6	-
Total	83	99	112	101	114	137	21	38	39	15	21	34	29	41	38

(Contd.)

Table 6 :

Size of Land Holding (adjusted acres)	Dhangars			Balutedars, Brahmins			Muslims			Total		
	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976
	No. of Families											
Upto 1.00	3	5	1	1	2	1	2	3	4	26	31	35
1.01- 1.50	2	3	4	2	3	1	-	1	-	10	22	34
1.51- 2.50	5	5	5	4	3	4	1	-	2	25	28	54
2.51- 3.50	5	1	1	3	3	-	3	2	-	27	36	47
3.51- 5.00	4	5	6	1	3	6	-	1	-	22	40	43
5.01- 7.50	3	3	2	5	3	2	-	1	-	42	46	52
7.51-10.00	4	5	5	2	1	2	-	-	-	43	53	42
10.01-12.50	-	1	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	26	31	33
12.51-20.00	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	-	44	35	34
Above 20.00	-	0	-	2	1	2	1	1	1	36	37	25
No land owned	5	10	19	14	24	41	-	1	5	26*	60*	94*
Total	32	39	45	36	48	62	9	11	12	327	419	493

* Includes Wadar-Kaikadi families who did not own any land; the respective numbers were 1, 8 and 14 in 1942, 1958, 1976.

acres of land, among the Jadhavs and Yadavs while the corresponding proportion among the Kochales and Dhangars was about 5 per cent.

The distribution of the families by the size of land holding in terms of dry acres and the family size is presented in Table 7. The average family size increases with the size of land holding, though the dispersal around the mean is considerable. In 1942, the mean family^{size}/in the smallest holding group of upto 2.5 acres was 3.9 persons, it increased gradually in the subsequent groups and was 7.3 in the last group of 20 acres and above. In 1976, the average family size was the same as noted in 1942 in the first two land holding groups. However in the middle groups the average family size was around 5 persons in 1942 while in 1976 it was 6.0 in the 3rd group and 7.0 in the 4th group. In the last group it was about the same as noted in the 1942. The land man ratio has gone down from 1.40 acres in 1942 to .82 acres in 1976.

As a result of reduction in size of holding it is becoming progressively difficult for many families to make a living on agricultural income. Particularly in view of the fact that the area under irrigation has not increased and the productivity of land through intensive cultivation has not gone up significantly it becomes necessary for many families to seek additional source of income. The landholdings in the village are by and large small and the scope for agricultural labour work is limited. There is hardly any scope for expansion of non-agricultural occupations at the village level. Consequently larger number of families are sending out

Table 7 : Distribution of Families by Size of Land Holding and Size of Family

Size of Land Holding (adjusted acres)	Size of Family				Total
	1-3 persons	4-5 persons	6-7 persons	8+ persons	
No. of Families					
<u>1942</u>					
Upto 2.50	34	9	14	4	61
2.51-5.00	23	14	6	6	49
5.01-10.00	32	23	20	10	85
10.01-20.00	9	25	29	7	70
Above 20.00	4	8	6	18	36
No land owned	14	7	1	4	26
Total	116	86	76	49	327
<u>1958</u>					
Upto 2.50	37	30	12	2	81
2.51-5.00	31	30	12	3	76
5.01-10.00	35	31	22	11	99
10.01-20.00	9	19	20	18	66
Above 20.00	3	4	6	24	37
No land owned	31	15	8	6	60
Total	146	129	80	64	419
<u>1976</u>					
Upto 2.50	59	38	19	7	123
2.51-5.00	30	35	18	7	90
5.01-10.00	13	32	26	23	94
10.01-20.00	4	17	21	25	67
Above 20.00	3	3	6	13	25
No land owned	40	29	18	7	94
Total	149	154	108	82	493

workers to work in the city. One finds a relation between the amount of land held per adult male person in the family and the per cent of workers out migrating. Information relating to the distribution of families by the amount of land owned per adult male (persons of 18 years age and above living in and outside Gulumb are taken into consideration) and the number of families sending one or more male adults to work outside the village together with the information on the proportion of male adults outside the village to the total male adults is given in Table 8. The families with no male adult member are left out. In 1942, over 40 per cent of the male adults had out migrated in the size groups of upto 4 acres of land per adult male, except for the size group of 0.1 to 1.0 acres where this proportion was 33 per cent. There is a decline in the proportion of out migrants as the size of land holding increases and in the last group of 10 or more acres per adult male it was 22 per cent. By 1958 there was a small increase in the ^{percentage} of adult male out migrants and by 1976 the proportion was as high as 62 per cent in the land holding size group of below one acre per adult male while for the holding size groups of 5 acres and above the corresponding percentage was about 20. It was noted that in the larger holding size groups if there were three or four adult males in the family, one or two would migrate to the city to supplement cash earnings while the others managed the family farm.

Table 8 : Migration in Relation to Size of Land Holding

Own-Land per adult male (acres)	1942			1958			1976		
	No. of families	B	C	No. of families	B	C	No. of families	B	C
No land owned	23	60.8	48.9	52	38.5	40.2	80	42.5	38.3
Below 1.00	50	44.0	33.0	71	62.0	51.0	106	75.5	62.5
1.00- 1.99	47	65.9	40.0	69	66.6	47.8	120	73.3	50.2
2.00- 2.99	32	62.5	42.1	56	67.8	50.5	51	60.7	45.8
3.00- 3.99	33	65.9	42.1	39	61.5	50.6	39	58.9	42.9
4.00- 4.99	29	44.8	35.0	20	55.5	39.5	26	57.7	39.6
5.00- 5.99	20	40.0	30.3	14	50.0	38.1	16	22.5	16.6
6.00- 6.99	18	44.4	29.4	16	37.5	28.6	6	33.3	18.2
7.00- 9.99	13	53.8	26.7	24	45.8	30.6	9	33.3	23.1
10.00 & above	18	22.2	22.2	15	20.0	18.1	4	-	-

B = Percentage of families with at least one adult male migrant.

C = Percentage of adult male migrants among total male adults.

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

1. Agro-climatic Conditions

(i) Rainfall: Gulumb village falls in an area classified as having sufficient rainfall for dry agriculture. Information about the daily rainfall is available for Wai about ten miles to the West of Gulumb. The statistics relating to rainfall at Wai are presented in Table 1. These would broadly reflect the conditions at Gulumb. The average annual rainfall at Wai is about 1000 mm. About 10 per cent of the total precipitation is received in April-May. This helps the presowing operations. The rainy season starts in June. The south-westerly monsoon rains are received between the months of June and August and this accounts for about 65 per cent of the annual rainfall. This is followed by north-easterly monsoon rains which last till November. The date of onset of rains, the distribution of rainfall in a season and the total rainfall in a year vary considerably from year to year. Consequently the farmer has to adjust his crop pattern according to the conditions in a particular year. This region rarely suffers from deficiency of rains. It was only during the state-wide and very severe droughts of 1971-1972 that the rainfall was deficient in this region also.

(ii) Soils: The village lands measured 2691.69 acres. The total area was classified as under in 1926.

<u>Land-use</u>	<u>Acres</u>
Cultivable lands	2175.54
Unculturable waste	239.85
Free grazing	218.93
Under village site	35.02
Under streams etc.	21.18
Under roads and paths	1.17

Total	2691.69

Table 1 : Annual Rainfall at Wai (1953-1978)

Year	Season				Total
	Summer	Kharif	Rabi	Winter	
(Rainfall in mm)					
1953	127	464	117	-	708
1954	49	637	115	7	808
1955	54	280	495	-	829
1956	162	1025	726	-	1913
1957	99	885	571	10	1565
1958	176	810	181	-	1167
1959	172	750	250	-	1172
1960	48	517	493	-	1058
1961	40	690	82	-	812
1962	168	547	138	92	945
1963	31	539	59	-	629
1964	30	593	269	18	910
1965	61	762	53	76	952
1966	169	788	293	50	1300
1967	63	599	176	115	953
1968	21	553	369	-	943
1969	-	663	204	-	867
1970	188	374	140	-	702
1971	75	214	110	-	399
1972	11	289	178	-	478
1973	61	613	291	-	965
1974	56	311	416	-	783
1975	29	453	423	-	905
1976	40	878	185	9	1112

Note: Summer = March, April, May
Kharif = June, July, August
Rabi = September, October, November
Winter = December, January, February
Each year starts from March

It is possible to classify the cultivable area into four classes according to the quality of the soil. They are as under:

<u>Soil type</u>	<u>Acres</u>
Irrigated land	337.04
Heavy soil dry land	492.70
Light soil dry land	1072.85
Grazing on hill slopes	272.95

Total	2175.54

Most of the wet land is irrigated by the waters of the stream Chandraganga. The water is drawn by means of small field channels taken off the stream at several points where the villagers put temporary bunds across the stream.

We have already referred to the fact that the village lands are divided into two nearly equal areas which are generally referred to as the Yadav lands and the Jadhav lands. The heavy soil dry land appears in two blocks, one in the lands of the Jadhavs. The block of heavy soil in the lands of the Yadavs is known as the 'Kolak'. The block of heavy soil in the lands of Jadhavs is not referred to by a single name. There are different names to its different parts, such as, Thikan, Gaval, the Lower lands. The light soil dry area appears in three blocks, two blocks in the lands of the Yadavs, known as the Lands of the Wadi and Dara or Pattya and one block in the lands of the Jadhavs, known as the Dara.

The grazing lands are on the slopes of three hills. One of them is on the western border of the village and adjoins the lands of the Yadavs. It is known as 'Wagh dara'. The other two are on the northern border

of the village and adjoin the lands of the Jadhavs. They are known as 'Dara' and 'Deri' respectively. All the three hills were owned by Sardar Raste, the erst-while Inamdar of the village. Traditionally they rented the grazing lands to the Yadavs and the Jadhavs respectively. The lands could be used to graze the cattle during monsoon and winter.

The free grazing land or the so called village Gayaran is not worth the name. It is on the slope of the hill which adjoins the village site. It is known as 'Badakal' and nearly the whole of it is an open rock. It has little soil cover and there grows nothing except very inferior short grass. It is entirely unsuited for the cattle. Farmers with sheep and goat are seen sometimes roaming around with their flocks in search of what little grazing the sheep might discover.

2. Irrigation

Irrigated lands could be considered as the cream of agricultural lands and are naturally greatly valued. The agricultural progress, i.e. an increase in the agricultural production that the village could show over time has been mainly due to its irrigated area. In 1926, the irrigated lands measured 337 acres mostly located on the banks of the Chandraganga stream.

(1) Flow irrigation: It was earlier mentioned that the stream Chandraganga originates in the hill to the north-west of Gulumb and then after flowing through the village Chandak, it enters the lands of Gulumb. There it sharply turns towards the south and after flowing through Gulumb, Kenjal, Surur, Kavathe, Bopegaon, Pande and Ozarde, flows into the river Krishna, about 10 miles south of Gulumb. In all these villages, the stream has

been bunded at a number of places irrigating land on both its banks. The first bund from which a channel takes off to irrigate lands of Gulumb, is actually situated within the boundary of Chandak to the north-west of Gulumb. Here on the banks of the stream, there is a temple of Shiv known as Chandreshwar and the bund is known as the bund of Chandreshwar. By means of a channel which takes off this bund, about 45 acres of Gulumb land was irrigated. This land lies on the bank of the stream and has been part of the lands of the Jadhavs and is known as Choudai.

About a furlong down the stream and inside the boundary of Gulumb, there is the second bund. This is known as the bund of Shevari, Shevari being the name of a large silk cotton tree which used to be at that spot. By means of a channel taken off this bund, a little over 100 acres of land was irrigated. This is on the right bank of the stream and has been part of the lands of the Yadavs.

The third bund is known as the bund of Dholya Umbar - dholya means big and Umbar is a species of Ficus tree which is on the spot. A channel taken off this bund, irrigated about 16 acres of land on the left bank of the stream and belonging to the Jadhavs.

The fourth and the last bund on the stream is near the village site and located near another Shiv temple known as Mahadeo. The bund is known as the bund of Mahadeo and irrigated over 90 acres of land on the right bank of the stream and belonging to the Yadavs.

We might summarise the irrigation on the stream Chandraganga thus:

<u>Name of the bund</u>	<u>Side of bank</u>	<u>Acres irrigated</u>
Bund of Chandreshwar	Left	45.40
Bund of Shevari	Right	104.35
Bund of Dholya Umbar	Left	16.43
Bund of Mahadeo	Right	91.12

	Total	257.30

The entire area is in a single block and is only divided by the stream. The area irrigated on the right bank is 195.47 acres and belonged to the Yadavs. The area irrigated on the left bank is only 61.83 acres and belonged to the Jadhavs.

In addition to the above irrigation supplied by the stream Chandraganga, there is some more irrigation on the banks of another smaller stream called the Village stream. This stream originates in the hill north of Gulumb and after flowing through the village lands flows into the Chandraganga stream near the village site from its left bank. The lands through which the stream flows all belong to the Jadhavs and they have put three bunds on this stream one below the other. The three bunds put together irrigated over 60 acres of land in one compact block. The details are as under:

<u>Name of the bund</u>	<u>Area irrigated</u>
Bund of Zara	18.35
Bund of Pandhari	16.43
Bund of Kondalkar	28.46

	Total
	63.24

The 63.24 acres irrigated on the Village stream are all on the right bank of the stream and are in a single block. Besides they adjoin the 61.83 acres block of irrigated lands on the left bank of Chandraganga. Thus, between the Chandraganga and the village stream lies a

block of 125.07 acres of irrigated lands. It belonged mostly to the Jadhavs except for a 2.5 acres irrigated on the bund of Kondalkar which belonged to the Yadavs.

The remaining 16.5 acres of irrigated land was in two isolated blocks. There is a stream flowing on the eastern border of the village, between the village Gulumb and the village Vele. The stream is referred to as the stream of Vele. Jadhavs had put up a small bund on that stream and they irrigated 5.42 acres of land off that bund. There is a temple of Mhasoba near the bund, and the bund is referred to as the bund of Mhasoba. The remaining 11.08 acres of land were irrigated on wells. These lands belonged to the Jadhavs. That accounts for the 337.04 acres of irrigated land in the village.

The situation in 1942-43 when the village was surveyed was substantially the same except for the fact that there was some addition in the area irrigated by wells. By 1958 the block of 45 acres known as Choundai of the Jadhavs irrigated off the bund of Chandreshwar was no longer under irrigation. A new dam across Vele stream was constructed irrigating about 30 acres of land and a few new wells were added.

(ii) Bund of Chandreshwar: The bund of Chandreshwar was situated near the temple of Chandreshwar within the boundary of the village Chandak. In 1944 the residents of Chandak decided to repair the temple Chandreshwar and they needed building stone for the purpose. There was good stone available in the hill called Gulumbdara to the north of Gulumb. This is one of the grazing hills of the village. It was in the name of the Inamdar Raste and was rented out to the Jadhavs. Formally, it was in

the possession of one Jagannath Tukaram Jadhav. The residents of Chandak duly sought his permission and quarried some stones. But before the stones were removed to Chandak the Jadhavs of Gulumb objected. There was much argument but the Jadhavs would not oblige. They themselves removed the stones and brought them to the village. There, in front of their own gymnasium, they built a platform. The residents of Chandak had thus a grievance against the Jadhavs of Gulumb.

As mentioned earlier, the bund of Chandreshwar irrigated the lands of the Jadhavs and the bund was within the boundary of Chandak. The bund was built of large stone slabs but the construction used to be temporary. Every year, after the first flood waters receded, the Jadhavs used to reconstruct the bund. That year, in the month of August while the Chandraganga stream was in high floods, the residents of Chandak, one late evening, pushed out all the stones of the bund in the flooded stream. All the stones of the bund were thus washed away and no trace of the bund was left on the ground. In this, the residents of Chandak were aided by the Yadavs of Gulumb for they had their own grievance against the Jadhavs.

The matter was reported to the police and a criminal case was filed against 16 persons, 4 from Chandak and 12 from Yadavs of Gulumb. The case lingered on for nearly 2 years, first in the Taluka court at Wai and then at the in the district court at Satara. Every house of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs was contributing towards the court expenses. Finally, all the 16 persons were acquitted for want of evidence.

The matter did not end there. As a counter to the criminal suit the Jadhavs had filed against the Yadavs, the Yadavs filed a civil suit against the Jadhavs. It concerned the use of water by the Jadhavs off the bund of Chandreshwar. About furlong from the bund of Chandreshwar down stream, there is another bund called the bund of Shevari which irrigates the lands of the Yadavs. Now in between these two bunds, a small stream flows into the Chandraganga, on its left side. The channel taking off the bund of Chandreshwar and before it reached the fields of Jadhavs, used to cut across this stream and the Jadhavs used to collect the waters of this stream into the channel. The Yadavs objected to this and argued that the Jadhavs had no right to waters of that stream and that because of this, the lower bund of Shevari did not receive adequate water. In support of their argument, the Yadavs quoted the earliest irrigation records of 1901 called the Bandhara Patrak, in which it was mentioned that while the bund of Chandreshwar had water flow equivalent to 2 water lifts, the bund of Shevari had the water flow equivalent to 3 water lifts. The case dragged on for four years from 1945 to 1949, first in the Taluka court at Wai and then in the district court at Satara and the objection raised by Yadavs was upheld. The Jadhavs wanted to appeal to the Bombay High Court but were advised that it would be futile.

The loss of the water of this stream was material. Without these supplementary waters, the channel off the bund at Chandreshwar was inadequate to irrigate the 45 acres of Choundai. The annual construction and repair of the bund and the channel was not therefore worth it.

As a consequence, from 1948 the Jadhavs ceased constructing the bund and irrigating the Choudai lands of 45 acres.

A water charge over and above the normal revenue assessment had to be paid for the Chaundai lands. The water charge amounted to Rs.140 per annum. The Jadhavs appealed that as the land was no longer being irrigated, it should be exempted from the water charge. But this was not accepted on grounds that the water was available and the owners could use it. Therefore, the Jadhavs had to pay the water charge. The land continued to be classified as irrigated eventhough it had turned dry.

The village thus lost 45 acres of irrigated land. The loss was primarily of the Jadhavs. The loss was however partly made up by another irrigation bund which the Jadhavs were able to develop. The Jadhavs were already drawing water from the stream on the border between Gulumb and Vele and irrigated 5.42 acres of their land. In 1957, they put up another bund up the same stream and brought under irrigation an additional 30 acres of land. The story of this development is as under:

(iii) New bund on Vele stream: The stream on the border of Gulumb and Vele flows from north to south and enters the lands of the village Surur which is to the south of Gulumb. There are a few bunds on this stream which irrigated the lands of Vele on its left bank. But the bund of Mhasoba was the only bund which irrigated the lands of Gulumb on its right bank. After it enters the village Surur, there are again a few bunds which irrigate the lands of Surur. The residents of Surur thought that it was possible to irrigate additional area -

of Surur on this stream if they could put a bund up stream somewhere above the bund of Mhasoba which irrigated the lands of Gulumb. This was in 1956 and they duly sought permission of the revenue department to put the bund and in fact started the construction. The bund was to be somewhere above the bund of Mhasoba which irrigated the lands of Gulumb and the residents of Gulumb naturally raised an objection that such a bund if allowed would affect the water available off the bund of Mhasoba. The objection was upheld and the residents of Surur had to give up their scheme.

The scheme was taken up by the residents of Gulumb particularly by the Jadhavs. It was evident that by putting up a bund it was possible to irrigate quite considerable area of Gulumb on the right bank of the stream and belonging to the Jadhavs. The lead was taken by one Shankar Ganapati Nikam, a Maratha family related to the Jadhavs. Shankar Niakam himself had considerable land in the place that could be irrigated by the new proposal. He duly sought the permission of the revenue department in January 1957 and immediately started the construction.

The entire work was executed cooperatively by the group of farmers who were likely to be benefited. It was estimated that a total of 40 acres of land could be irrigated and it was agreed that every farmer should contribute one person per acre of his land likely to receive irrigation. There thus gathered a team 40 men and they started working on the bund and the channel. The 40 men were working for a period of 2 months. Besides specialised labour had to be hired. For the

purpose the group collected a small fund on the basis of Rs.5 per acre of area irrigated. After the bund was constructed and water impounded, the channel was constructed mainly guided by the course of the impounded water. The channel had to pass through difficult terrain involving bridging and trenching and had to be nearly a mile long. The impounded water provided irrigation for about 30 acres of land in 1957-58.

The work was done entirely by local initiative. The group did not receive any technical guidance in the matter. There were heavy premonsoon rains in May, 1958 and the stream was in high floods. It breached the new bund and washed it away completely. The Jadhavs, therefore, chose a new site for the bund, a little upstream and realigned the entire channel. As the time was short, over 125 persons were working for two weeks before they could restore the bund. It did irrigate 30 acres of land in 1958-59 as in the previous year.

The permission to construct the dam and irrigate land given in 1957 was only for a year and the Jadhavs did not renew it in 1958. They were therefore warned by the revenue department that they had used the water without authority and therefore might have to pay penalty. However, ultimately the offence was apparently connived at. Next year, in 1959, they were again given permission with the clear understanding that it was only for one year. So it would go on from year to year. It was considered that even more land could be irrigated on this channel but because the whole project was viewed as temporary, some of the owners were unwilling to bring their lands under irrigation.

No new dams were constructed after 1960. The Taluka Panchayat Samiti* took up the work of replacing the earlier kaccha bandharas across the Chandraganga stream by pacca bunds during 1964-1967. The approximate cost of construction of these four bunds was Rs.50,000. The construction of these bunds did not add to the water storage capacity but saved the work of rebuilding the bunds which had to be taken up every year after the rainy season.

(iv) Well irrigation: The water supply available through the dams did not usually last beyond the month of January-February. The supply also fluctuated from year to year depending upon the precipitation in the particular year. A number of wells were therefore dug up near the streams to supplement the water supply when the streams go dry. The wells date back from over 100 years. The distribution of the irrigation wells by duration as noted in the survey carried out in 1944-45 is presented in Table 2. Of the 39 wells in use in

Table 2: Irrigation Wells in Gulumb in 1944-45

Duration	No. of irrigation wells		
	In use	Not in use	Total
Over 100 years	19	6	25
51 - 100 years	6	3	9
26 - 50	6	4	10
11 - 25	4	6	10
6 - 10	3	3	6
Upto 5 years	1	1	2
Total	39	23	62

* This scheme was taken up when VP from Gulumb was the chairman of the Taluka Panchayat Samiti.

1944-45 thirty wells were only supplementary in nature providing irrigation to 245 acres of land. There were only nine wells which were used as independent source of irrigation for watering about 35 acres of land. The net area irrigated in 1944-45 was as follows:

Mixed	244.5 acres
Canal only	74.8 acres
Well only	34.8 acres

34 out of the 39 wells in use were pacca wells built mostly in stone masonry. The average diameter was 18'. The depth varied between 35' and 65' the modal depth class being 45' to 55'. It was expensive to construct a well in a black soil location, the cost in such a case being around Rs.3000 for a pacca well while in lighter soils and under favourable conditions the cost was about Rs.1500. The wells which were not in use were mostly kaccha wells, 7 were not completed due to inadequacy of water, 3 were not maintained due to dispute over the shares and 10 were not completed or not kept in good repair mainly due to financial difficulties.

The scope for digging supplementary wells was nearly exhausted by early 'forties. In the period 1944-1958 work on 16 new wells was started. Of this only one was of supplementary nature. The supplementary well was taken up due to the dispute over the use of a well earlier shared by the Jadhavs and Yadavs. Five of the 15 new wells which were dug to serve as independent source ^{of} water were located in Kochalewadi where well-digging is quite expensive because one quickly strikes hard rock which involves blasting work. One well which struck ample water was completed at the expenditure of Rs.10000. The other four wells could not tap adequate

water supply; only one was completed with pacca construction, another was kaccha construction and two were left incomplete. Of the 10 wells in Gulumb proper - 5 were kaccha wells, 2 of these were only bhudakis* and 3 were pacca wells - irrigating about 28 acres of land. One well remained incomplete. Work on another well shared by 13 farmers was started in 1953 and an amount of Rs.12600 was spent; the work could not be then completed and was later on taken up again in 1962-63. The kaccha wells involved an expenditure of about Rs.1200 per well, while the cost of pacca well varied from Rs.3000 to 5000. Most of these wells were shared by a number of cultivators. A total expenditure of Rs.82000 was involved for the wells which were newly constructed and brought into use, while an amount Rs.24000 was involved in the construction of wells which were left incomplete. In addition one old well was repaired and brought into use after major repairs. Major and minor repair work for the old or new wells involved an expenditure of Rs.31500. In two cases the wells could not be brought into use even after some expenditure was incurred to repair the wells. If the expenditure on completed wells, renovated wells and the major repair work is taken account it worked out to Rs.112000, irrigating an area of about 35 acres; this works on an average to Rs.3000 per irrigated acre. The source of finance for well construction was generally the savings of the earning members working in Bombay.

In the period 1958-1976, work on 13 new wells was

* bhudaki - A 15' to 20' deep pit dug by the side of a stream to collect the stream water which is then lifted for irrigation purpose.

taken up. The work on two community wells which was started during the 1972-73 drought period by the State Government remained incomplete. Of the 11 private wells, work on 7 wells was completed. Most of these works were completed during the 'sixties. All these are pacca wells.

About 17 acres were brought under irrigation, involving an expenditure of Rs.77000. Of these Rs.19000 were taken as advances from Land Development and other Banks, Rs.15000 were put in by one farmer out of his earnings from farm business and a grocery shop in the village and the rest of the amount was mainly raised from outside savings. The per acre cost came to about Rs.4500. Of the 17 acres newly brought under irrigation, 2 acres are put to sugarcane cultivation and the rest are put to cultivation of wheat, winter jowar and gram. The work on one well which was abandoned in the earlier period was completed at an additional cost of Rs.15000, so that the total cost worked out to about Rs.28000, irrigating about 20 acres of land. Work on 4 wells has remained incomplete. This involved an expenditure of Rs.39000. Of this Rs.8000 were raised through bank loans. A loan of Rs.15000 has been sanctioned for completion of the work on one of the incomplete wells.

The number of wells in operation for irrigation purpose in 1976 was reported to be 55. Of these 30 are providing supplementary irrigation. The area under well irrigation is about 100 acres. During the period 1944-1976 nearly 70 acres were brought under well irrigation. The total expenditure involved for well digging amounted to about Rs.2.5 lakh.

The water was earlier drawn from the wells with to help of bullock drawn mhots. The village was electrified in 1964 and the mhots were fast replaced by electric pump sets. In 1976 there were 45 pump sets in the village.

Very few new wells are being constructed in Gulumb due to a variety of reasons. Well digging is a gamble in the Deccan trap region. There is no full-proof method available to fix up the location scientifically so as to strike water-rich fissures. The investment may go waste if it is not possible to tap adequate water supply at a reasonable depth. Besides there are only a handful of owners who have block of land measuring 5 to 7 acres so that he can afford to go in for a well on his own. These are well-off farmers and in most cases they already have a well. In other cases it has to be joint venture. The siting of the well, sharing of costs and distribution of water poses a number of problems. In case some of the owners are unwilling to join the venture due to lack of finance or trust the scheme cannot be taken up. Since the whole venture involves a considerable amount of uncertainty the mutual distrust and suspicion increases if the well proves to be unfruitful and some of the partners withdraw; consequently the work remains incomplete and the resources invested go waste. The government tried to implement the scheme of community wells during the 1972-73 drought. This also faced several difficulties (i) There was the problem of getting the land for well digging (ii) the problem of sharing of costs of construction, maintenance, responsibilities of repayment of loan and proper sharing of water between the beneficiaries. The work on community wells in

Gulumb has remained incomplete as is the case of several thousand community wells in other villages of Maharashtra.

Proper tapping and utilization of underground water resources is thus considerably hampered because of fragmentation of land holding, and the risk element involved in well digging. Unless the land owners cooperate so that the risk and the benefits can be shared and there is mutual trust and understanding it is difficult to make much further progress in well irrigation in Gulumb.

A joint venture by the Nava Boudha community to construct a bhudaki (shallow well) near the village stream was mooted in 1976. All the landholders from the Nava Boudha community joined in except for a few elderly persons who had their reservations. The initiative was taken up by some younger members working in Bombay. It is proposed to dig a bhudaki by the village stream and lift the water from the bhudaki to irrigate nearly all the 50 acres of Nava Boudha lands. The community raised a sum of about Rs.500 by sale of Babhul trees in their lands and through individual contribution and contributed labour to dig the bhudaki which is dug upto a depth of about 15'. They are, however, facing a number of problems in making further progress. The scheduled caste landowners are entitled to receive concessional loan and subsidy for well digging and the community was preparing to apply for the loan. They have to provide evidence from the village VII/XII records as to their land rights. However, they could not get this extract reportedly because the talathi maintained that the Mahar lands were recorded as Government lands since the Mahars did not pay the occupancy price after the abolition of Mahar Watans in 1959. When the records

were referred it was found that the land was regranted to the Nava Boudha, erstwhile Mahar; families by November 1977 in 15 cases. It was reported in March 1978 that because of a variety of procedural and technical difficulties raised they are not able to obtain the loan finance and unless they get the necessary funds any further progress is not possible. A joint endeavour taken up by the poorest section in the village is thus hampered because of their weak position.

(v) Percolation tanks: During the 1972-73 drought work on three percolation tanks was taken up one in Vele, one in Gulumb and one in a small settlement named Chorachiwadi near Gulumb. The bandhara of percolation tank at Gulumb breached during 1974-75 rainy season and was subsequently repaired by the Zilla Parishad. It was reported that the water supply of some of the wells in the Jadhav block in Gulumb has improved after the construction of the percolation tank at Vele.

(vi) Bunding: The village lands are largely situated on sloping ground so that bunding operations to prevent soil erosion are vital. The bunds are usually made of piled up stones and are about 2 feet high. After a few years the level of the field rises because of the layer of soil that gets accumulated near the bund in every rainy season and it becomes necessary to raise the height of the bund. It is also necessary to repair bunds after the rainy season. Many farmers are thus usually busy with bunding work of some kind or the other after the kharif harvesting work is over. The labour for the work is mostly contributed by family members. Some outside labour is employed mainly to get

the stones excavated. The stone slabs are obtained from the nearby hillocks.

In 1944-45 there were 2300 plots in the village, of these 630 plots were bunded. Bunding operations are necessary where the lands are sloping and also in plots which are under wet cultivation where it is imperative to have level land to ensure proper irrigation.

Information about the expenditure incurred for additions and repairs to the bunds was collected in 1958-59. It was estimated that an expenditure of Rs.80 thousand was involved for this purpose in the 15 year period. Bunding operations are essential to maintain the soil cover and thus the agricultural productivity and a sizable amount of the expenditure made for land improvement went into bunding works. It was reported that it is not possible, in majority of the cases, to raise funds from agricultural business and unless funds flow in from outside it is difficult to take up bunding work.

3. Crops: Cultivation and Production

The total area of the village is 2691.5 acres and of this 2175.3 is classified as cultivable. This includes the grass land, permanent fallow, and other fallow. Nearly 560 acres of land fall under this category. About 1620 acres were put to crop cultivation.

(1) Crop pattern in 1944 and 1958: The crop pattern as noted in 1944-45 and in 1958-59 is presented in Table 3. 51 per cent of the gross cropped area was under bajra and 32 per cent under jowar in 1944-45. The other crops occupying 3-5 percent of the area were wheat, gram and groundnut. A very small area was put to cultivation of crops like turmeric, sugarcane, onion, ghevada. The

Table 3: Area under Principal Crops in Gulumb

Crop	1944-45 (acres)	Percent	1958-59 (acres)	Percent
Bajra	917.8	51.3	448.6	22.9
Jowar	573.8	32.1	999.7	51.1
Wheat	53.2	3.0	39.8	2.0
Rice	6.9	.4	15.0	.8
Gram	81.8	4.6	150.9	7.7
Ghevada	10.0	.5	39.3	2.0
Vatana	6.3	.4	7.2	.4
Turmeric	21.8	1.2	22.6	1.2
Potato	.6	-	65.5	3.3
Groundnut	70.7	4.0	100.1	5.1
Sugarcane	15.9	.9	48.6	2.5
Other crops	29.9	1.6	19.8	1.0
Gross cropped area	1788.7	100.0	1957.1	100.0
Twice cropped area	164.2		338.3	

double cropped area was 164 acres in 1944-45 and it increased to 338 acres in 1958-59. Consequently, even though the net cropped area remained almost unchanged in this period, the gross cropped area recorded an increase by about 10 per cent. x

Table 4: Second Crops in the Twice Cropped Area

Crop	Area (Acres)	
	1944-45	1958-59
Gram	81.8	150.9
Winter jowar	24.1	138.0
Wheat	53.2	39.8
Other crops	5.1	9.6
Total	164.2	338.3

There was an extension of both gram and winter jowar as a second crop. It should be mentioned that gram is almost exclusively taken as a second crop following bajra. Winter jowar is usually sown on land which is left fallow during the monsoon season. It can be taken as a second crop following a very short crop during monsoon season such as potato, ghevada and vatana. It is only on heavy and irrigated soils that it can be taken as a second crop following bajra.

Another important change apparent is the relative position of bajra and jowar. In 1944-45, bajra was the dominant food crop with winter jowar taking the second place. In 1958-59, the position had reversed. This will be seen from the following:

	Area under Bajra and Jowar	
	1944-45	1958-59
	(Area (acres))	
Bajra	917.8	448.6
Winter jowar	549.7	861.7
Winter jowar (second crop)	24.1	138.0
Total	1491.6	1448.3

Thus the combined acreage under bajra and jowar remained more or less constant - it declined to a small extent - but the relative positions of bajra and jowar were completely reversed. It is a common practice to take bajra and jowar in rotation; that is bajra and jowar are sown every alternate year. Bajra is a monsoon crop and jowar grown here is a winter crop. Therefore the usual rotation is as under:

Monsoon	Winter	Monsoon	Winter	Monsoon
Bajra	Fallow	Fallow	Jowar	Bajra

In good soils, bajra is followed by gram as the winter crop and is then later followed by jowar in the following winter. The rotation in that case appears as under:

Monsoon	Winter	Monsoon	Winter	Monsoon
Bajra	Gram	Fallow	Jowar	Bajra

The reversal of the relative positions of bajra and jowar is almost entirely due to the above rotation and there is little evidence to suggest that bajra is being displaced by jowar. The rotation also causes a fluctuation in the area under gram; for in the year in which good soils are sown under bajra, the same is followed by gram as a second crop.

Increase in the area under cash crops like potato, ghevada, groundnut and sugarcane is noted during the period. The cultivation of potato increased markedly in this period as it is a lucrative crop. It is possible to grow winter jowar after the potato crop is harvested so that the cultivation of potato does not result in decrease in the area under staple cereals. However, the two deterring factors are the prohibitive cost of cultivation and the high element of risk.

Potato seed has to be purchased from outside and it is usually imported from Khed-Manchar area from Poona district. Potato cultivation also involves considerable expenditure for manure and fertiliser. The availability of potato loan from the Village Co-operative Credit Society made it possible for a larger number of farmers to go in for the cultivation of potato. However, at times the farmers incurred considered loss in the

venture, because of the poor quality of seed, incidence of pest, fluctuations in market price etc. The area under potato therefore, fluctuated from year to year, failure in one year leading to a reduction in the acreage, good returns in another year resulting in the expansion of the area under the crop.

Ghevada is the other crop which had gained ground. During the second world war period, prices of pulses shot up due to shortages and the crop of ghevada turned out to be a paying crop. Cultivation of ghevada unlike the potato crop, does not involve large expenditure or risk element. It is a short duration kharif crop viz. 2.5 months, and is followed by cultivation of winter jowar. In the 'thirties it was cultivated only as a mixed crop, however, later it was taken as an independent crop replacing bajra in most cases.

The area under sugarcane, again a crop demanding considerable working capital for purchase of seed, fertilisers and irrigation, recorded a significant increase. Even though the crop is not open to much risk like potato, the returns were uncertain due to violent fluctuations in gur prices. However, during the war-period the prices of gur remained attractive and the farmers tried to extend the area under sugarcane. In the later period the area under sugarcane varied from year to year again because of the fluctuations in gur prices.

Introduction of C.O. No. 419 variety of sugarcane to replace Pundya a local strain also led to an increase in the sugarcane area. C.O. No. 419 is a hardy variety and can withstand longer dry spells.

The sucrose content is higher. It is also less susceptible to be damaged by fox, dogs, etc.

Another cash crop viz. turmeric again involves considerable expenditure for cultivation and requires irrigation facility. It is planted in August and is harvested in March. The cultivation of turmeric and sugarcane is within the reach of mainly the substantial cultivators who can arrange for the necessary working capital and have assured irrigation water supply.

The area under groundnut has increased to some extent. The pasarya variety of groundnut was generally grown. It is a kharif crop of 5 months duration, so that double cropping in the area is not possible. However, it needs good soil cover. In lighter soils upatya groundnut - a variety of 3.5 months duration is cultivated. It is easy to harvest and therefore the monkeys eat it up and it is difficult to protect the crop. It is used mainly for oil extraction. Another variety known as Japani which is a four month crop covered a small area in the 'forties. The oil content is higher as compared to pasarya variety and therefore the variety gained ground and by late 'fifties it was the main variety in vogue. Coriander was usually taken as a mixed crop with groundnut.

Chilli was earlier grown as mixed crop with turmeric mainly for domestic consumption. It is a lucrative crop and can be taken if the water supply is assured. The area under chilli recorded some increase in this period. Small area was also put to cultivation of onion mainly during the kharif season. The area did not show any change over time.

There was not any significant fruit gardening or vegetable cultivation in the village.

The area under sweet potato - a root crop which served as staple food during the rainy season for small farmers when they face a shortage of cereals had been losing ground. The crop is not important as a cash crop and was replaced by sugarcane.

(ii) Irrigated crops: In 1944-45 a total area of 354.1 acres was under wet cultivation. Including the double cropped area the gross irrigated area came to 440.1 acres. The cereals occupied 60 per cent of the irrigated area and the pulses about 10 per cent.

(Table 5). Sugarcane, turmeric, groundnut each covered around 5 per cent of the irrigated area. Among the cereals almost the entire wheat area was under wet cultivation, while in the case of groundnut about one-third of the cropped area received irrigation. The corresponding proportions in the case of jowar and bajra were 24 and 13 respectively.

There was only a small change in the irrigated area by 1958-59. The gross irrigated area was about 450 acres. The cereals and pulses together covered nearly 60 per cent of the irrigated area. The major change was the increase in the area under sugarcane and potato. The irrigated area under these crops increased from 16 acres to 46 acres and less than one acre to about 38 acres respectively between 1944-45 and 1958-59. The gross irrigated area formed about 23 per cent in the gross cropped area.

(iii) Crop pattern in 1976: It was not possible to obtain information regarding the crop pattern from the village records as the records were not upto date.

Table 5 : Area under Irrigated Crops in Gulumb

Crop	1944-45		1958-59	
	Irrigated Area (Acres)	Percentage share in irrigated area	Irrigated Area (Acres)	Percentage share in irrigated area
Bajara	121.1	27.5	40.2	8.9
Jowar	138.5	31.5	188.7	42.0
Wheat	51.5	11.7	32.8	7.3
Other Cereals	-	-	-	-
Gram	33.7	7.7	15.8	3.5
Other Pulses	-	-	-	-
Ghevada	7.8	1.8	35.2	7.8
Potato	0.2	-	37.6	8.4
Sugarcane	15.9	3.6	46.2	10.3
Turmeric	21.8	5.0	21.5	4.8
Groundnut	25.3	5.7	12.5	2.8
Other	24.3	5.5	19.0	4.2
Total	440.1	100.0	449.5	100.0

The household survey carried out in 1976 did not cover information relating to agricultural business. The data collected during the 1970-71 Agricultural Census are, therefore, used. The crop pattern for Gulumb village as obtained through the Agricultural Census are used with some modifications. Information regarding the area under turmeric was obtained through field enquiries. The latest figures of educational cess which is levied on the sugarcane acreage were used to see whether there is any increase in the area under sugarcane. Enquiries were made to ascertain the extent of the spread of hybrid jowar, ghasar matki and ghevada. The data on crop acreage presented in Table 6 can be considered as approximately representing the current crop pattern.

Table 6: Crop Pattern in Gulumb in 1976

Crop	Area under the crop (percent)
Bajra	14.1
Hybrid jowar	8.7
Ghasar matki	9.4
Rabi jowar	42.4
Wheat	1.0
Paddy	.5
Ghevada	2.9
Gram	.7
Other pulses	2.8
Turmeric	.2
Potato	1.4
Groundnut	5.6
Sufflower and other oil seeds	4.3
Sugarcane	4.7
Other crops	1.3
Total	100.0 = 2125 acres

The area under cereals has remained around 75 per cent. However, there is a change in the composition of cereals grown. Area under bajra is considerably reduced mainly because of very low yields of bajra and it is replaced by ghasar matki - an inferior variety of jowar or hybrid jowar. Hybrid jowar has gained in importance. It was however, reported that cultivation of hybrid jowar may not spread much further because the risk of failure is considerable if the rains are untimely. It is also more susceptible to pest. The area under gram, matki, black gram and other pulses is declining. The yield of pulses has not increased over time. Consequently the crop is receding in importance. Actually from ecological point of view it is a valuable crop as it helps nitrogen fixation. However, the immediate monetary returns being relatively low, it is mainly grown for home consumption. The area under ghevada is increasing and it is grown for market.

The area under groundnut has further increased and the Japanese variety is generally cultivated. The turmeric crop in the village has received a set back. During the drought of 1972, the crop was partly lost and it is quite expensive to re-establish the crop. The area under potato has also decreased, because of the risk and uncertainty element, the farmers are trying to shift to sugarcane wherever the water resources permit. Area under sugarcane doubled during this period.

Sugarcane is the most lucrative crop and also is free of risks due to factors like pest, quality of seed, excess or untimely rains etc. The main element of uncertainty is the price fluctuations in gur. This will also be removed soon as the sugarcane will be delivered

to the sugar factory at Bhuj. The prices paid by the factory are pretty stable. Water resources and financial resources permitting the farmer shifts to sugarcane cultivation immediately. However, the resource requirements of sugarcane being quite high it is mainly the substantial farmers who can take to sugarcane cultivation. It was observed that the small cultivators are trying to cultivate some sugarcane, but the number of such cultivators is small. Even in the case of farm size group of 5-10 acres it is possible to put only half an acre or one acre under sugarcane. Even then, they face the problem of lack of ready cash to buy and apply fertilizer in time, inadequacy of water supply. Only five cultivators in the village had each 4 to 5 acres under sugarcane and these were the substantial farmers owning 15 to 25 acres of land each with 6 to 10 acres under wet cultivation and these were the leading families of the village. The variety of sugarcane presently because of better yield grown in the village is C.O.No. 740. It is preferred because of better yield.

There are certain differences in the crop pattern between the cultivators of different size of land holding (Table 7). The difference is noteworthy in all the cash crops particularly in the case of sugarcane. In 1966 only 16 per cent farmers reported cultivation of sugarcane while the proportion in the case of large farmers was as high as 84 per cent. Data on crop pattern by size of holding are not available for the period beyond 1966.

In 1976, 80 per cent of the area was put to cultivation of cereals and pulses and about 5 per cent to safflower and other oilseeds used for home consumption. The farms are, thus, still operated as production-

Table 7 : Percentage of Farmers Cultivating Specific Crop Belonging to Different Land Holding Groups

Crop	1937-38			1966-67			
	Small	Medium	Large	Small	Medium	Large	Without bullock
	Proportion of farmers cultivating the crop			Proportion of farmers cultivating the crop			Proportion of farmers cultivating the crop
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cash Crop:							
Groundnut	78	83	94	75	95	98	80
Sugarcane	21	34	25	39	59	84	16
Turmeric	56	67	45	34	66	62	24
Potato	14	16	27	14	22	50	10
Chilli	7	-	4	32	48	58	18
Onion	14	21	34	14	34	47	10
Food Crop:							
Bajra	100	100	100	56	79	79	71
Paddy	-	-	3	15	29	62	9
Ghevada	-	5	6	32	52	60	38
Jowar	100	100	100	97	100	100	98
Gram	50	75	83	31	48	70	38
Khapali	43	52	42	31	48	36	18
Wheat	28	29	46	17	38	55	27

Note: Small farmer = 0-5 acres of operational holding, Medium farmer = 5.1 to 10 acres, Large farmer = Above ten acres.

Source : Farm business studies of Gulumb and two adjoining villages viz. Kavathe and Ozarde carried out in 1937-38, 1959-60 and 1966-67 by Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Agricultural Development in Eastern Part of Wai Taluka (in Marathi), M.B.Jagtap, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1970, p.25.

cum-consumption units. No farmer specialises in production of specific cash crops say sugarcane, potato, oilseeds. It becomes necessary to take up a number of crops in view of the quality of soil of the particular field and water availability. Each farmer usually allocates certain land to meet his requirements of foodgrains, fodder, and if possible oilseeds, chilli and vegetables and tries to raise some cash crop to meet his cash needs. The smaller farmers can take to production of broad beans, groundnut, hybrid jowar while the bigger landowners grow sugarcane, potato, chilli, etc. The yields of different crops record some increase in the period 1937-38 -

1966-67, excepting the bajra and groundnut crops. (Table 8). During the subsequent decade, introduction of hybrid

Table 8 : Average yields of different crops in Gulumb.

C r o p	1937-38 Kg. per acre	1959-60 Kg. per acre	1966-67 Kg. per acre
Groundnut - Pasarya	465	380	321
Groundnut - Japanese	-	373	217
Sugarcane (in terms of Gur)	1484	2199	2674
Potato-Kharif	1438	2570	2370
Potato-Rabi	1642	1994	4000
Bajra	75	56	48
Jowar (Shalu)	162	130	206
Paddy	283	327	468
Gram	48	78	103

Source : Agricultural Development in Eastern Part of Wai Taluka, (in Marathi), M.B. Jagtap, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1970, pp. 93-100.

jowar and improved varieties of wheat brought about some increase in the average yield of these crops. However, the area under wheat is small and declining. Hybrid Jowar covers about 9 per cent of the cultivated land. The yield of winter jowar which is now the main cereal crop of the village does not record any substantial increase, During the last 15 years some of the better lands got diverted to cultivation of cash crops like sugarcane; this partly offsets the increase in the yield due to the improved strains introduced.

The total irrigation water supply increased to a certain extent during the period 1958-1976, due to the addition of new wells in Gulumb; however the area irrigated did not change significantly because of the change in the cropping pattern. By 1970 sugarcane, a voracious water consumer, used up a large quantum of the irrigation water as it covered almost 100 acres of land and accounted for almost 30 per cent of the net irrigated area. Because of such increase in the area under sugarcane - a twelve month crop - the double sown irrigated area occupied earlier mainly by wheat and winter jowar declined from about 100 acres to 30 acres.

(iv) The Supply of Foodgrains : Even though 80 per cent of the cultivated area is put to production of cereals and pulses, as the yield levels of these crops continue to be low the production of foodgrains in the village is not adequate to meet the needs of the village. The deficit was worked out in 1942-43 on the basis of accepted standard of requirements of foodgrains in vogue in the village.

In a joint family if it becomes impossible for the daughter-in-law to live peacefully and there are

constant bickerings, quarrels, etc., the practice was to set a separate quarter for the quarrelsome daughter-in-law and her husband and they would be supplied with adichari i.e. half a seer by measure, of foodgrains - per person. The farm would continue to be jointly operated and managed. In cases where provision for a single widowed aunt or other distant relative was to be made, she was provided with sari and choli and three mounds of cereals and pulses annually. On the basis of these practices the per person requirement of cereals was worked out and it came to 180 Kg. per person per annum. It was estimated that in 192-43 there was a shortage to the extent of 1/3 of the total requirements of the village. The extent of deficit a family faced will naturally vary with the land available per person in the given family.

In 1976 no quantitative information relating to agricultural production was collected from the individual families. The estimates of production were worked out on the basis of information relating to cropping pattern obtained from 1970-71 Agricultural Census and the information collected from a few farmers of different sizes relating to the production of various crops. Even though there was an increase in the total production due to some increase in the average yield yet the estimated deficit was to the extent of about a third of the total requirements. Now there were more non-cultivating families in the village and the average size of holding has also decreased to a certain extent. Ninety four families were non-cultivating and of the 399 cultivating families only 123 reported that they were self-sufficient in foodgrains production and of these about half had some surplus which they marketed. Among the rest of the 276 families about 20 per cent

reported deficit ranging from about 1 to 3 months of the year, 50 per cent had deficit for 4 to 6 months and the rest faced a deficit situation for more than half the year. The self-sufficiency or otherwise was obviously related to the size of land holding. Only a few of the smaller land holders were self-sufficient if these were single or two person units. None of the families with more than 7.5 acres of land holding reported deficit for a duration of over six months. (Table 9).

If the average period of deficit is worked out on the basis of above information it works to about 5.5 months while for the village as a whole the estimated period of deficit was about 4 months. It was noted that half of the families facing deficit situation purchased the foodgrains in Gulumb and Wai either from grocer's shop or from cultivators, and the rest obtained their supplies mainly from the fair price shop in the village

(v) Disposal of Agricultural Produce : The surplus cereals are sold by the farmers either at the regulated market at Wai or in the weekly/^{market}at Surur where the farmers may sell at retail or in bulk to a merchant. Some quantity of foodgrains is sold within the village also when the small farmers in short supply of foodgrains approach the bigger farmers. Potato is sold through the commission agents and the crop is usually shipped to the Bombay market. Gur is sold in the regulated market at Wai or Poona, and turmeric in the regulated market at Wai. Ghevada is usually sold to merchants who visit the village to

Table 9 : Distribution of Cultivating Families by Size of Land Holding and Cereal Production in Relation to Consumption Needs

Cereal Production from own farm in relation to consumption needs	Land Holding* in Acres										Total
	Upto 1.00	1.01- 1.50	1.51- 2.50	2.51- 3.50	3.51- 5.00	5.01- 7.50	7.51- 10.00	10.01- 12.50	12.51- 20.00	Above 20	
	No. of Families										
Surplus or Sufficient	1	1	5	8	14	15	18	20	21	20	123
Deficit of 1-6 months	7	11	28	29	28	31	24	13	13	4	188
Deficit of 6-12 months	27	22	21	10	1	6	-	-	2	-	88
Total	35	34	54	47	43	52	42	33	34	25	399

* Land holding in dry acre equivalents. One wet acre taken equal to four dry acres.

collect the produce. Groundnut is mainly retained for home-use. The marketed quantity is again sold at the regulated market at Wai.

The extent of marketing of various crops has increased during the last three decades. In 1937-38 it was noted that only about 30 per cent of the total produce of the village was marketed; this proportion varied considerably between different crops, ranging from about 80 per cent in the case of turmeric and potato to about 5 per cent in the case of Bajra, Wheat

Table 10 : Disposal of agricultural produce in Gulumb (1937-38)

C r o p	Percentage of total produce	
	Sold	Given in kind
Groundnut	46.9	26.9
Sugarcane (gur)	56.7	16.3
Turmeric	82.3	11.9
Potato	77.8	8.3
Chilli	30.6	8.9
Bajra	6.6	17.6
Jowar	8.4	19.3
Wheat	3.5	14.7
Gram	11.2	9.9
Black gram	4.7	15.7
Safflower	1.5	11.2
All Crops	30.6	17.2

functionaries are paid a traditionally fixed share of the annual village produce was still in operation and considerable portion of the produce was used for baluta payment. Of the total produce used for kind payment about 60 per cent of used for baluta payment 25 per cent for kind payment to labour mainly at the harvest time and the rest was given in crop share payment.

The baluta system has not totally disappeared even by 1976. The baluta service essential for maintenance of agricultural implements viz. carpenter and blacksmith is still in vogue to some extent. (Table 11). Those who render personal service are now paid more in cash than in kind.

Table 11 : Number of cultivating families reporting baluta payment to different balutedars.

Balutedar	No. of families reporting <u>baluta</u> payment	
	1942	1976
Sutar	180	97
Lohar	195	110
Chambhar	192	103
Mang	185	35
Kumbhar	194	83
Parit	188	50
Nhavi	209	67
Mulani	199	60
Koli	187	25
Gurav	197	93
Ramoshi	188	2
Mahar	204	-
Joshi	10	1

The number of families reporting baluta payment has decreased considerably. The quantum of baluta payment is also drastically reduced. The cultivators now prefer to get most of the services on cash payment and sell whatever surplus foodgrains they have

and cash crops they grow. The practice of payment in kind to labour at the harvest time is almost totally discontinued. A few cases were noted where the land was rented out for cultivation on half-crop-share basis.

In 1942 about 50 per cent of the total produce was retained in kind for home-consumption, seed, etc. This proportion declined to about 40 per cent by 1976 in terms of gross value of agricultural produce. Because of the increase in the high value cash crops like sugarcane and almost total elimination of payment in kind, the proportion of sales in the gross value of agricultural produce worked out to about 60 per cent. The extent of monetization in agriculture has increased considerably in the 35 year period between 1942-1976. The war-period, during which the prices of agricultural produce shot up due to scarcity situation, brought the agriculturists into the market to a larger extent; this was effected mainly through reduction in traditional kind payments. There was also some change in the crop pattern, the farmers shifting over time to cultivation of sugarcane. As a result the extent of marketed produce increased considerably.

4. The Farm Business

(1) Farm Expenditure : There is increased monetization in the farm expenditure. In 1942 the tax payment, purchase of potato or turmeric seed, payment to casual labour and some purchase of fodder and manure were the main items of cash expenditure. The agricultural inputs were, thus, supplied from within the rural economy. No factory manufactured inputs were used directly in agriculture. The implements supplied by the balutedars needed some metal while the other raw

materials viz. wood, coal, earth, fibre again were supplied from within the village system.

The cash expenditure formed about 45 per cent in the total farm expenditure¹ in 1942-43. The taxes due to government accounted for 40 per cent of the cash expenditure and cash expenditure for seed, labour payment, fodder purchases and other expenditure had a share of 10 to 15 per cent each.

The major changes in the agricultural practices during the last 30 years have been (i) introduction and rapid increase in use of fertilizers from early 'sixties, (ii) replacement of bullock drawn mhots by electric pumpsets during the 'sixties, (iii) introduction of new varieties of crops like hybrid jowar and increase in cash expenditure for purchase of seed, (iv) use of pesticides. Because of these factors the cash expenditure has increased considerably. In addition the practice of kind payment is also no more in vogue. The major kind inputs now are the fodder, some manure and seed of local varieties of cereals and pulses.

In 1976 the cash expenditure formed about 72 per cent in the total expenditure. The composition of the expenditure changed significantly. The share of government dues decreased drastically as the land revenue charge did not increase from 1930 and there was only a small increase in the local fund cess (12 nps. per Re. of land revenue in 1937-38, 80 nps. in 1966-67 and Rs.2.2 in 1976). Now the expenditure on fertilizer claims as much as 31 per cent of the total

1 In calculating the farm expenditure, the computed value of family labour is not taken into consideration.

farm expenditure and labour payment 26 per cent. The other noteworthy change is that now nearly one third of the agricultural expenditure is spent on factory-made products. The dependency on factory sector for the supply of agricultural inputs is a major change in the agricultural sphere.

(ii) Draught Power and Agricultural Implements :

The traditional wooden plough got partly replaced over time by iron plough. During the 'seventies four tractors have been purchased by the leading landholders in the village. These are used for ploughing and other operations by the owners and some of the cultivators hire in the tractor service. The fragmentation of land holdings and the lay of the terrain do not make it possible to use tractor in a large way. The tractors are often used for transport of sugar cane to the sugar factory and of people to the town of Wai.

The bullocks still constitute the major source of draught power for agricultural operations. (Table 12). The number of working bullocks was 266 in 1942 and the number has remained more or less constant in the last 35 years, while the number of cultivating holders has increased. As a result the number of bullockless families has increased (Table 13). They get the ploughing and other agricultural operations done on hire and often find it difficult to get these done in time. The bullock owners attend first to the work on their own land and then extend hire-service. In certain cases where there was no adult male person in the village to look after the farm operations, the women do not have bullocks but they get the heavy agricultural

Table 12 : Livestock and agricultural implements in Gulumb.

	Numbers		
	1942-43	1958-59	1976
Bullock	266	264	259
Cow	127	194	226
Buffalo	127	142	227
Goat	279	291	177
Sheep	353	200	400
Bullock Cart	64	70	N.A.
Wooden plough	12	22	N.A.
Iron plough	12	16	N.A.
<u>Mhot</u>	61	N.A.	N.A.
Oil engines/electric pumpsets	-	8	45

operations done on hire. The rate of ploughing is Rs.100 per acre by bullock plough, as well as by tractor.

The bullock carts are still in use for local transport. For long distance movement tractor, trucks and buses are used. Most of the wells are now fitted with electric pump sets, and use of bullock power for the purpose of water lifting is rare. There is no other change in the use of agricultural equipment and machinery in the village.

(iii) Family Labour and Hired Labour : The farm still continues to be operated as a family farm. The agricultural operations like ploughing, interculturing operation, weeding, harvesting, etc. are done more or less manually with the help of bullock power. The

Table 13 : Ownership of Bullocks by Size of Land Holding

Year	No. of Bullocks	Non Cultivator	Size of Land holding*					Total
			Upto 2.50	2.51- 5.00	5.01- 10.00	10.01- 20.00	Above 20.00	
No. of families								
1942	0	25	60	35	36	9	3	168
	1	1	1	13	36	20	4	75
	2	-	-	1	13	41	15	70
	2+	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
	Total	26	61	49	85	70	36	327
1958	0	60	77	58	43	17	1	256
	1	-	3	17	37	19	3	79
	2	-	1	1	19	28	22	71
	2+	-	-	-	-	2	11	13
	Total	60	81	76	99	66	37	419
1976	0	93	118	68	42	18	4	343
	1	1	2	14	19	15	2	53
	2	-	3	8	32	31	14	88
	2+	-	-	-	1	3	5	9
	Total	94	123	90	94	67	25	493

* Land holding in dry acre equivalents. One wet acre taken equal to four dry acres.

traditional division of labour between the sexes, the men attending mainly to the bullock work and the women taking up the weeding work persists. Harvesting work is shared by both. The younger boys and the old men take the cattle for grazing. For harvesting work some casual labour is usually hired to complete the work on time. The plough work is done on hire by smaller cultivators because they do not own a bullock. There are very few families in the village working exclusively as casual labourers. The number of attached servants is also quite small (five in 1976).

In 1942, the family labour contributed, about 65 per cent of the work days involved in agricultural operations, 15 per cent of the work days were supplied on mutual exchange basis and only 20 per cent of the work days were contributed by the hired labour. If we consider the break up by sex, the contribution of work days by men and women was almost equal in the case of family labour. The female labour hours formed about 30 per cent of the total work days worked on exchange basis and constituted almost 70 per cent of the hired labour work days. The average number of work days put in for agricultural operations worked out to be about 55 per cultivated acre; the number of work days needed varied from about 15 per acre in the case of moog to about 400 per acre of sugarcane. The variations were related to factors like the duration of crop, intensity of cultivation, nature of harvesting operation, etc.

The total requirement of labour hours increased by 1976 because of the increase in the area under crops like sugarcane, hybrid jowar. It was estimated that on an average about 73 work days were required per acre and of these about 70 per cent were contributed by the family labour. The use of hired labour together with the work done on mutual exchange basis accounted for 30 per cent of the work days in 1976. The work days put in by women formed about two thirds × of the hired labour days.

(iv) Persistence of Family Farming : The farms are thus still largely operated with the help of family labour and the major portion of the area under cultivation is still put to production of cereals, pulses, groundnut and other oilseeds, vegetables, etc. needed for home consumption. As the area under wet cultivation has not increased, the cultivator continues to be dependent on the monsoon for agricultural production and adjusts the crop pattern according to the onset of monsoon and rotation requirements. He also continues to go in for a variety of crops in view of the soil conditions and also to reduce the risk element. Labour is hired on a casual basis mainly to meet the peak-load labour requirements. The basis of agricultural productive activity has not thus changed even though there is increase in monetization. As the size of holding is gradually getting smaller and smaller the farm does not provide adequate work and income to all the working members in the family unit. Consequently larger number of men are migrating out during their work life, but the interest in the land is maintained. As a result the number of

farm units is increasing and agricultural production is serving as one of the sources of income for many farm units. The village agriculture is not moving on to the phase of intensive cultivation, significant increase in the use of capital equipment and sizable improvement in productivity. It was noted that in real terms the per acre value of gross production recorded an increase by about 25 per cent in the 35 year period. The number of persons dependent on agriculture increased to a greater extent so that the value added per person working in agriculture declined, by about 10 per cent, (in real terms) during this period.

The problem of ecological imbalance is becoming more acute in the village. Before the advent of the British rule, the use of forest and pasture resources was regulated by custom and the village community held some responsibility in conserving these natural resources. It is noted that over the period of last 150 years, the pastureland is reduced in size, the marginal lands being brought under cultivation. The reduced size of pasture meant over-grazing and deterioration of village pastures. The hills around the village are totally denuded, the trees being used up over time for timber and mainly for fuel purposes. The pasture and the forest resources are being indiscriminately used and no replacement of trees is attempted. This has accentuated the problem of soil erosion and the investments in bunding made by individual farmers hardly make up the continual loss at the village level. Successive subdivision of land and resulting fragmentation of holdings is accentuating

the problem. Despite the attempts at land consolidation, nearly 40 per cent of the plots in the village are less than half an acre in size. (Table 14). Unless

Table 14: Fragmentation of Land Holdings (1976)

Size of the plot Gunthas	No. of plots percent	Size of the plot				No. of plots percent
		A	G	A	G	
0 - 4	8.9	1	0	1	19	12.3
5 - 9	10.7	1	20	1	39	6.1
10 - 14	11.2	2	0	2	39	6.3
15 - 19	9.4	3	0	3	39	2.6
20 - 29	16.8	4	0	4	39	2.0
30 - 39	10.5	5 - 0 & above				3.2
Total						100 = 1804

A = Acre, G = Guntha

Note - In the above 1804 plots of 452 individual holders are taken into consideration. In addition there are 974 plots in the name of 214 joint holders.

the land and the water resources of the village are considered as a whole and scientific measures for bunding and levelling, drainage and afforestation are worked out it is difficult to preserve the **resource** natural/base of the village.

(v) Potentials of cooperative cultivation: An attempt was made to see the benefits that could be reaped if a compact area is treated as one block and crop pattern worked out in view of the natural slope, drainage and soil conditions. The area taken up for this purpose was measuring 78 acres presently divided into 177 blocks and irrigated under the Mahadev dam.

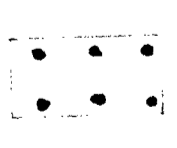
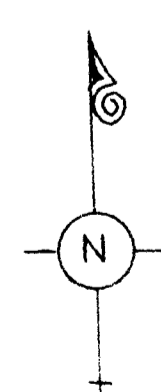
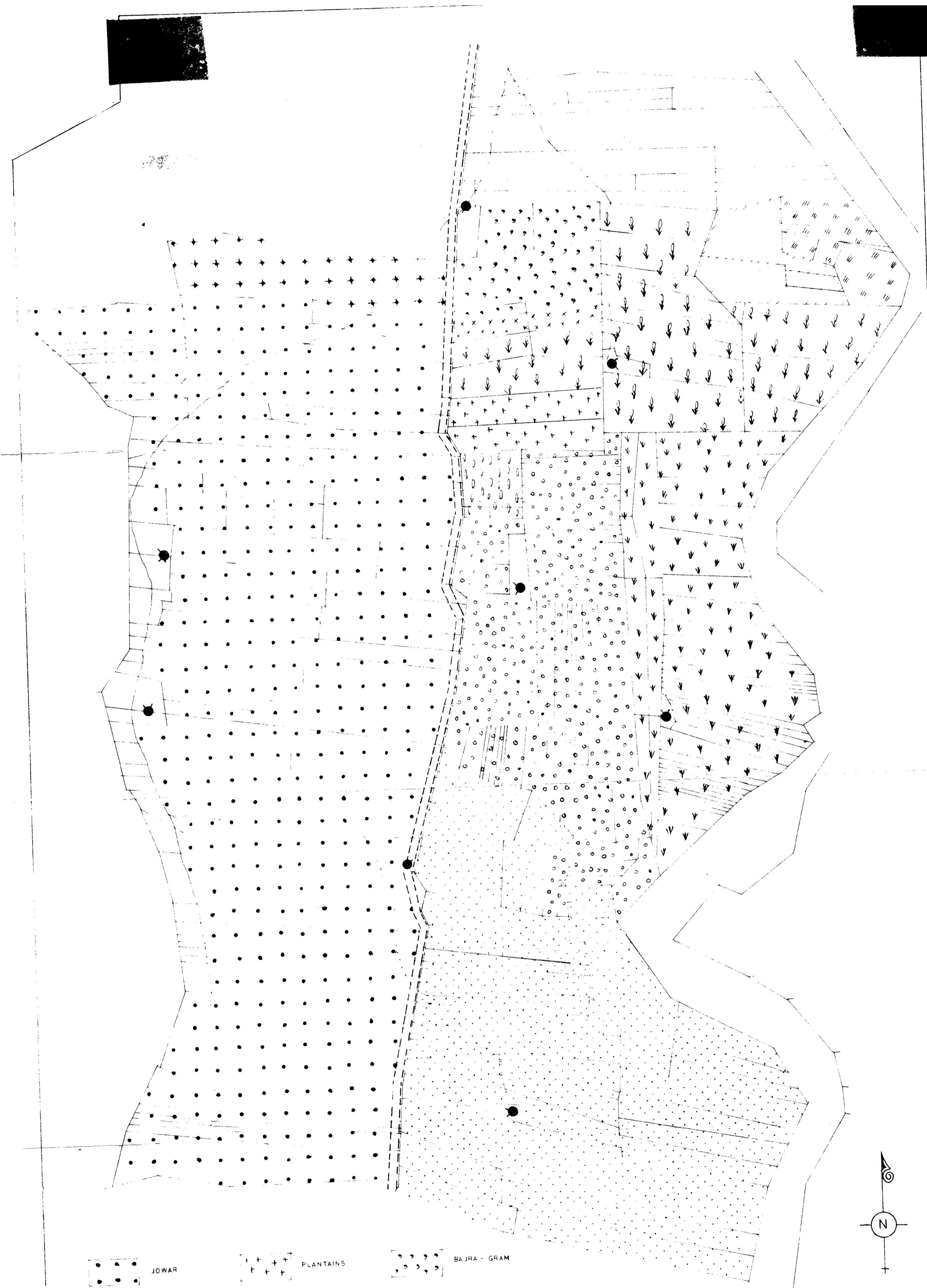


	SUGARCANE		GROUNDNUT		TURMERIC
	TURMERIC		PLANTAIN		WHEAT
	JOWAR		GRAM		POTATO
	WHEAT		GRAM		POTATO
	GRAM		POTATO		TURMERIC

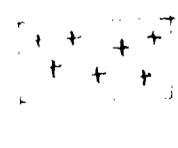
CROPPING PATTERN FOR
LAND IRRIGATED UNDER
MAHADEV BUND
(1965-1966)

SCALE - 1" = 1 1/2 CHAIN
 0 2 5 7 10

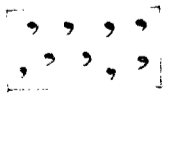
About 56 acres were irrigated with the help of flow and lift irrigation, 19 acres by flow irrigation alone and three acres did not receive any irrigation. The cropping pattern observed through field observation in 1965-66 is indicated in Map V. The area under different crops is presented in Table 15. Of the 94 acres of gross cropped area about 45 per cent was under cash crops like sugarcane, turmeric, potato, ghevada and the rest was mainly under cereals and pulses. Map VI shows the crop layout if each crop was grown in a contiguous patch. The area under each crop is kept the same as it was noted in 1965-66. The new layout makes it possible to take advantage of the slope and drainage of the land; there would be an estimated saving of two acres in the matter of inter-plot bunds and divisions; ploughing and hoeing operations would be facilitated and use of mechanisation such as tractor ploughing and levelling would be possible. It was noted that there were 53 bullock owners and 26 cultivators did not own a bullock. The former put 50% of their land under cash crop while the corresponding proportion in the case of latter was 25%. It was reported that lack of adequate farm equipment and working capital made it difficult for the smaller owners to put larger area under cash crops or to use the irrigation facility intensively. If the block is treated as a single unit and ploughs, other agricultural implements and bullocks are used for the cultivation of the entire block the existing equipment would be adequate for the cultivation of the entire area. It was noted that as many as 33 cultivators were cultivating sugarcane and 32 cultivators



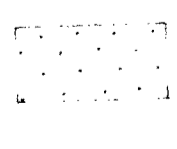
JOWAR



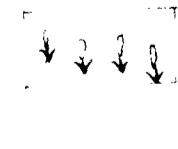
PLANTAINS



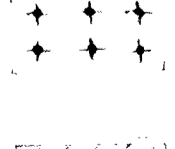
BAJRA - GRAM



SUGARCANE



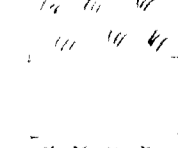
BEAN - WHEAT



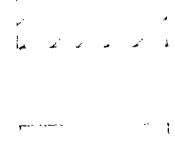
GROUNDNUT



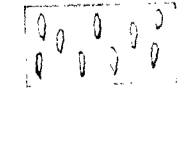
TURMERIC



RICE - WHEAT



OTHER



CORIANDER - WHEAT



PEAS - WHEAT



WASTE LAND



WELL



GRAM

**SUGGESTED
CROPPING PATTERN FOR
LAND IRRIGATED UNDER
MAHADEV BUND**

SCALE - 1 INCH = 2 1/2 MILE

Table 15 : Area under Different Crops in the Block
Irrigated under Mahadev Dam (1959-60)

Crop	No. of Fragments	No. of Cultivators	Area under Crop (Acres)
Perennial			
Sugarcane	54	33	15.45
Turmeric	35	32	7.22
Banana	9	8	1.10
Limboni	1	1	.10
Kharif			
Bajra	9	8	1.55
Paddy	10	10	1.28
Groundnut	16	14	2.95
Ghevada	42	30	6.92
Watana	5	4	.50
Potato	29	23	8.90
Onion, Carrot etc.	4	4	.65
Rabi			
Jowar (Meni)	82	43	29.50
Shalu	28	21	7.38
Gram	6	6	.81
Wheat	59	46	8.95
Safflower	1	1	.05
Potato	5	3	.40
Garlic	10	10	.40
Fallow	33	18	3.28
Double Cropped	86	55	19.05

were growing turmeric in small patches scattered over the area. Consequently there was a considerable loss of water in transit and disputes over water distribution were frequent. If these crops could be grown in single blocks irrigation could be planned systematically and the available water resource could be used to extend the area under intensive cultivation. x
x
x

Although this scheme of cooperative cultivation makes sense from a rational and efficiency point of view it is actually asking for a drastic change in the way farmers operate to-day in the village. Confrontation and an aggressive/defensive stance is to be replaced by mutual trust, cooperation and equal sharing of work and of benefits. Presently when a small patch of land is held in common around the irrigation well no one will take the minimal effort required to plant some productive trees or plants precisely because the land is under common ownership and anyone will come and take away the produce. The common owners do not get together and decide to make the effort and share the little product that may accrue nor does any one of the cultivators reason that even if 80% of what he might grow on this land with a very minimal effort is stolen he is still 20% better off. The preservation and maintenance of trees and pasture land or such village level problems remain neglected due to fragmentation of interests.

The prospects of cooperative cultivation were discussed with villagers from different land-size groups. It was found that the felt need to cling to whatever small plot of land one owned as a security

so that one is not pushed to starvation in the old age or in case of widowhood and the mutual mistrust make the scheme of cooperative farming unacceptable to most cultivators in the village. The unequal size of land holding and thus the unequal economic strength make the smaller holders apprehensive of the dominance of the big landowners and they fear that the cooperative endeavour may result in their losing even their small piece of land, and the sole means of livelihood. Cooperative cultivation is not thus, considered feasible by many of the villagers.

CHAPTER VII

THE VILLAGE POPULATION AND MIGRATION

1. Population Profile

From the manner in which the village community came to be settled and the very small numbers it later admitted into itself, it might appear that the community constitutes a closed group, very much isolated from the rest of the world. This is not quite true. In fact, a large exchange of population between Gulumb and the villages in the neighbourhood has been taking place throughout its history of settlement. However, the fact has remained disguised because of the patrilineal structure of the community. It was earlier mentioned that the Yadavs and the Jadhavs of Gulumb regard themselves as of the same devak group and they do not intermarry. They have marriage relations with only the few other Maratha families in the village. Therefore, when it comes to marrying their sons and daughters, the Yadavs and the Jadhavs have to seek connections usually outside the village. The same is true of the Dhangars and the Mahars. In fact, with Mahars, all their families in the village are related by blood and they must seek connections outside the village. With artisan and service castes such as Sutar, Nhavi, Chambhar, Parit, Mang, each caste group has only a few households in the village and these too are usually related by blood. These castes, as many others, cannot marry outside the caste. Therefore, these too have to seek marriage connections only outside the village. As a consequence, practically all the daughters of Gulumb are married out of the village and practically all the daughters-in-law are married into the village from outside.

After the winter harvest is over by the end of

March, for the next two or three months, viz. April, May and part of June, until the monsoon sets in and it is time to return to the land, it is the marriage season. The villagers are busy marrying their sons and daughters. It has been a tradition that after the marriage the daughters-in-law come and stay briefly in their new homes but soon after go back to their parents' homes. Then for a month, Ashadh of the Indian calendar, when the farmers are busy sowing their monsoon crops the newly married are not supposed to see each other. Therefore, it is only during the next month, Shravan, that the daughters-in-law return to the new homes.

Throughout the course of the settlement of the village community, the reproduction in the village matched more or less the losses due to deaths - due to old age, disease, war and famine. Apparently, until recently, the population had not much more than replaced itself. With the establishment of the British administration, war and armed violence ceased to be. With the improvement in communications, famine began to take a smaller toll of life. With the improvement in public health, epidemics such as small-pox, cholera and plague became less frequent and less virile. All this resulted in a decline in deaths and in an increasing balance of births over deaths. As a consequence, the village community gradually began to more than replace itself.

(1) Changes in village population : The village population at the time of decennial censuses beginning with 1901 as recorded in the village is given in Table 1.

Table 1 : Population of Gulumb village according to decennial censuses

Year	Village Population (No. of persons)	Increase per 1000
1901	1263	
1911	1323	48
1921	1230	-70 -
1931	1450	179
1941	1558	74 -
1951	1830	175
1961	2060	126
1971	2604	264

There was only a small increase in the village population during the decennium 1901-11. The increase was only of 60 persons which was less than 5 per cent of the population in 1901. During the next decennium 1911-21, there was actually a fall in the population. This was because of the great epidemic of influenza which raged all over the country during 1918-20. The loss of life during this epidemic was in fact so great that the population in 1921 was smaller than twenty years ago in 1901. Since 1921, the population has steadily increased in each decennium but at varying and fluctuating rate. During the decennium 1921-31 the rate of growth was almost 18 per cent. The rate of growth a decennium later was almost the same. But in between, namely during 1931-41, the rate of growth was low being less than half the rate of growth during the preceding and the following decennium. During the decennium 1951-61, the rate of growth was about 13 per

cent while it was as high as 26 per cent in the decennium 1961-1971.

The fluctuating rates of growth during the successive decennia since 1921-31 might be partly due to variations in the number of births and deaths and the resulting balance of births over deaths during the periods. But much more than the possible variations in the births and deaths, it was the migratory movements of the population from the village to the cities, particularly the city of Bombay and vice versa that were responsible for the varying rates of increase in successive periods. For many years now, at least, from the turn of the present century, a number of men from the village have sought employment in the city of Bombay. This number has grown over the years but not without fluctuations. For instance, the Depression of the 'thirties caused many workers to return to their villages. Subsequently, as industrial conditions improved, they returned to Bombay. The men usually went to the city singly leaving their families behind and thus were still attached to the village. If they failed to make a satisfactory living, they would return home. They would in many cases return to the village after retirement.

A reflection of the migratory movements of the population from and to the village is found in the relative numbers of men and women in the village population. Among the migrants there is a marked preponderance of men. Therefore, a large migration away from the village results in a decline in the number of men relative to the number of women; and a return of the migrants to the village results in an improvement of

this number. The numbers of males and females in the successive census years since 1921 are given in Table 2.

Table 2 : Number of males and females in Gulumb (1921-1971)

Year	Popula- tion	Number of males	Number of females	Males per 1000 females
1921	1230	579	651	889
1931	1450	680	770	883
1941	1558	711	847	839
1951	1830	838	992	847
1961	2060	937	1123	834
1971	2604	1202	1402	857

A marked decline in the relative number of men is noted in the decade 1931-1941. The sex ratio was worked out on the basis of the survey data in 1942-43. In that year there were 816 men per 1000 women living in the village. A further decline in the relative number of men can be due to out migration of men around 1942. In 1951 the number of men per thousand women increased to 847. The significant migration during the 1951-1961 decade is reflected in the lowering of the proportion of men in the village by 1961 while in 1971 the sex ratio was as high as 857. The population of the village recorded a large increase in this decade. In 1976 the sex ratio declined to 815 men per 1000 women. A large movement of men out of the village was noted during the 'seventies. The variations in the relative number of men in the village thus broadly concur with the fluctuations in the rates of growth of the population in the village.

(ii) Births and Deaths in Gulumb : There is

maintained in the village a register of births and deaths known as the village Form No. 14. It is one of the duties of the village Police Patil to record in this register all births and deaths occurring within the limits of the village. We might compare the recorded births* and deaths during the last two decades with the census counts of the village population in 1941, 1951, 1961 and 1971.

Population at the Census in 1941	1558
<u>Plus</u> births during 1941-50	+785
<u>minus</u> deaths during 1941-50	-546

Population to be expected in 1951	1797
Population at the Census in 1951	1830
<u>Plus</u> births during 1951-60	+786
<u>minus</u> deaths during 1951-60	-381

Population to be expected in 1961	2235
Population at the Census in 1961	2060
<u>Plus</u> births during 1961-70	+769
<u>minus</u> deaths during 1961-70	-331

Population to be expected in 1971	2498
Population at the Census in 1971	2604

Considering the recorded births and deaths, the population to be expected due to natural increase is worked out. The actual count at the census would be different from the expected figure due to migratory

* The married women go to their parental home for delivery particularly in the case of their first delivery and in that case part of the births noted in Gulumb are those to daughters of Gulumb residents who are married out. Assuming that those could be taken as a proxy to indicate the births to daughters-in-law who have gone out of the village for delivery the village data on births could be used.

movements. For instance, on the basis of the census population in 1941 and the births and deaths during 1941-50, we would expect the population in 1951 to be 1797. Actually the census count in that year was a little more, namely, 1830. The difference is quite small suggesting that there was not any significant net migration. On the other hand, on the basis of the census population in 1951 and the births and deaths during 1951-60, we would expect the population in 1961 to be 2235. Actually, it was much less, namely 2060. The difference would have to be attributed to net out-migration from the village during 1951-60. This is well supported by the fall in the sex ratio during this period.

Thus, clearly, it is because of the large out-migration from the village during the decade 1951-60 that the rate of growth of the population during this decade appears smaller than the growth during the previous decade. In fact, it conceals a much larger natural increase during 1951-60. Thus if we confine our attention to births and deaths, the balance of births over deaths during 1941-50 amounted to 239. The annual natural increase works to 14.4 per thousand. On the other hand, the balance of births over deaths during the decade 1951-60 amounted to 411. The annual natural increase comes to 20.6 per thousand. Thus evidently, the natural increase of the village population during 1951-60 was almost one and half times as much as it was during 1941-50. In 1971 the Census population is more than the expected. The increase could be mainly because of the immigration of about ten teacher families after the opening of the high school in the village in 1969 and of Wadar families

for stone and earth work in bunding operations.

(iii) Changes in Birth and Death Rates : We might examine the record of births and deaths year by year and try to locate as to when the decline in the birth rate and the still greater decline in the death rate occurred. (Table 3).

The population shown against 1941 in Table 3 is the census count in that year. The population figures shown for the subsequent years are derived by adding the balance of births over deaths in each year. The factor of migration is not taken into account in working out the estimated population. The births and deaths during each year are expressed in the last two columns, per 1000 of the population in that year thus derived. The average birth rate during the decade was 48 per thousand while the death rate was 33 per thousand. The birth rate fluctuated from year to year widely between 44 to 54 but did not show any signs of decline. On the other hand, the death rate showed a clear downward tendency during the latter half of the decade. Until 1946 the death rate was 35 or more per thousand while for the last three years it was less than 30 per thousand. This trend is confirmed in the following decade. During the decade 1951-60 the average birth rate was below 40 per thousand as compared to 48 per thousand in the previous decade. The death rate was below 20 per thousand as compared to 33 per thousand during the previous decade. The death rate had already begun to fall since 1947 and continued to fall during this decade. Never during this decade it was above 26 per thousand. In 1953 it touched the level of 20 per thousand and in 1956 fell

Table 3 : Number of Births, Deaths and the Estimated Population of Gulumb for the Period 1941-1976

Year	Population estimated	Births number	Deaths number	Births per 1000	Deaths per 1000
1941	1558	74	55	47	35
1942	1577	75	57	48	36
1943	1595	80	58	50	36
1944	1617	69	46	43	28
1945	1640	89	59	54	36
1946	1670	73	69	44	41
1947	1674	80	55	48	33
1948	1699	74	50	43	29
1949	1723	77	46	45	27
1950	1754	94	51	54	29
Average		78	55	48	33
1951	1830	88	45	48	25
1952	1873	82	48	44	26
1953	1907	87	38	46	20
1954	1956	81	42	41	21
1955	1995	78	45	39	22
1956	2028	83	29	41	14
1957	2082	63	31	30	15
1958	2114	73	32	34	15
1959	2155	68	38	31	18
1960	2185	83	33	38	15
Average		78	38	39	19
1961	2060	89	39	43.2	18.9
1962	2110	81	40	38.4	18.9
1963	2151	72	44	33.5	20.4
1964	2179	57	32	26.1	14.7
1965	2204	74	29	33.6	13.1
1966	2249	70	33	31.1	14.7
1967	2286	74	42	32.4	18.7
1968	2318	93	25	40.1	10.8
1969	2386	90	26	37.7	10.9
1970	2450	69	21	28.2	8.6
Average		77	33	34.4	14.9
1971	2604	72	25	27.6	9.6
1972	2651	46	27	17.4	10.2
1973	2670	49	38	18.4	14.2
1974	2681	54	25	20.1	9.3
1975	2710	53	32	19.6	11.8
1976	2731	61	21	22.3	7.7
Average		56	28	20.9	10.5

further to 15 per thousand. During this decade the birth rate also fell though not to the same extent. The birth rate was 41 per thousand in 1954 and since then during the years 1956-60, it stayed at or below 35 per thousand. The birth rate has thus fallen by about 14 points, while the death rate has fallen by 20 points.

The death rate continued to decline during the decade 1961-1971 and was around 10 per thousand in the years 1968-1970. The birth rate was on an average lower than that noted in the earlier decade, the average for the decade being 34 births per thousand. Consequently, the rate of increase during the decade was quite high viz., 2.2 per cent per annum.¹ In the following years the death rate did not record any significant change while the birth rate seems to have gone down. It was fluctuating around 20 births per thousand in the period 1972-1976. It is not, however, possible to judge whether the trend of decline in the birth rate has definitely set in, on the basis of the figures for a few years and in view of the possibility of some omissions in the reporting of births.

(iv) Migration : The migration of workers to Bombay was afoot before the turn of the present century. The 1881 census gives the figures of persons born in Satara district and living outside and this came to about 10 per cent of the population born in the district.²

1. The rate of population increase for Maharashtra State was 1.91 per cent per year for the decade 1941-1951 and 2.4 per cent and 2.8 per cent per year in the following two decades. The population growth rate for Gulumb has been relatively lower because of the migration factor.

2. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Satara, 1885, p. 50.

These were mainly residing in Bombay, Poona. The Survey Settlement reports* for Wai taluka note in 1929 that from Krishna valley villages of the taluka between 10 and 15 per cent population migrate to Bombay and elsewhere at least for some months of the year. It was reported that during the 'twenties the workers were chiefly employed in transport of coal in Bombay city. The men usually left the village singly leaving their families behind. The workers would often move to the city after the kharif harvesting work was over and work in the city for six months or so and come back in time for preparatory operations for the next kharif season. The workers from Gulumb later joined the textile mills in large numbers. It was reported that one of the Gulumb residents secured a job of jobber in a textile mill and helped many of his village-men to join the textile industry. Till 'forties it was possible for the men to work in the mill for six months, go home and later resume the work on the same loom. Some of the Gulumb workers continued, even after migration, their traditional artisan vocation working as cobbler, barber, washerman and some joined menial work in hotel or household or coolie work. After the Second World War, because of the increasing pressure of labour on job market the workers had got to stay in the city on a sustained basis. They could not operate on a seasonal basis else they would lose the job. However the contact with the village continued to be maintained in majority of the cases. If the worker failed to find a satisfactory means of livelihood in the city he would return home. Even if he secured a

* Papers on the Second Revision Survey Settlement of Satara district, Wai taluka and Khandala Mahal, 1929, p.4.

job, in many cases the migrant workers would stay in the city and his wife, children and perhaps parents would cultivate their lands in the village making part of their living from that source and depend partly on the remittances sent more or less on a regular basis by the migrant worker. The migrant earner would visit home one or two times a year for festival, in time for some major agricultural operations or in case of contingencies. After his retirement the worker would get back to the village and would find a job for his son, either the type of job he was in or if possible a better one viz. a clerical or supervisory job. Particularly the textile mill workers would fix up their sons in the mills they worked in. The father would return back to the village with some retirement benefits and try to invest the savings in land improvement, improvement of house etc. The family would continue to receive remittances as the son would now be working in the city. In many families it was found that one or two male earners were working in Bombay for successive generations.

Even if there was no son to take over the job in the city most workers find that once their job ends they have no assets, no foot-hold in the city to settle there. Even if there is only acre of indifferent quality of land and a small dilapidated house, he might invest a little to improve his house and acquire a milch animal or concentrate on land cultivation or set a small business and somehow make a living in the village.

In cases where the worker could secure some residential accommodation which is quite hard and very expensive in Bombay he might move out the family. Even

then he would try to retain his connection with the village. His house and some land in the village would be the only old age security he could have and he would prefer to return to the village after retirement. In such cases some one of the household, usually an old member, would stay behind to look after the family property. The joint family set-up helped in retaining the contact with the village. One or two brothers might leave for the city singly or at times with their families while the other brother would manage the farm in the village. Depending upon the stake in the village, particularly in the form of land owned the men kept up their connections with the village. The migrant members were counted as members of one or the other household in the village. The unity of a household ultimately rested on its members continuing to be a single economic accounting entity. The non-resident persons would continue to be counted as members of a village household as long as they reckon their economic accounts joint with the resident members.

Over the years the village did lose some of its population as some of the families who left the village did not maintain their ties with the village. However, this was a long process and usually it took several years between when a person first left the village and when he finally severed his connections with the village.

Information regarding the number of individuals, of age 7 and above, who are either resident in Gulumb or are members of Gulumb families living outside the village is presented in Table 4. The proportion of persons (age 7 years and above) living outside but

Table 4 : Place of Residence of Persons* Belonging to Gulumb Village System.

Year	Place of Residence							Total Outside Gulumb	Total
	Gulumb	Bombay	Poona	Other	Wai	At Fathers House			
	No. of Persons								
1942	Male	552	196	1	7	-	-	204	756
	Female	714	18	-	5	-	16	39	753
	Total	1266	214	1	12	-	16	243	1509
	Sex Ratio (Females/1000 males)	1294	92	-	-	-	-	191	996
	Persons living outside as percentage of total population	83.9	14.2	-	.8	-	1.1	16.1	100.0
1958	Male	708	302	10	31	7	-	350	1058
	Female	912	56	0	14	-	14	84	996
	Total	1620	358	10	45	7	14	434	2054
	Sex Ratio (Females/1000 males)	1288	185	-	-	-	-	240	941
	Persons living outside as percentage of total population	78.9	17.4	.5	2.2	.3	.7	21.1	100.0

* Includes persons of age 7 years and above

Contd.

Table 4 :

Year	Place of Residence							Total Outside Gulumb	Total
	Gulumb	Bombay	Poona	Other	Wai	At Fathers House			
No. of Persons									
1976 Male	910	451	18	68	4	-	541	1451	
Female	1215	94	10	15	3	2	124	1339	
Total	2125	545	28	83	7	2	665	2790	
Sex Ratio (Females/1000 males)	1335	208	-	-	-	-	229	922	
Persons living outside as percentage of total population	76.2	19.5	1.0	3.0	.2	.1	23.8	100.0	

maintaining their link with the village increased from 16.1 per cent in 1942 to 23.8 per cent in 1976. The migration is overwhelmingly oriented towards Bombay. In 1942 almost 90 per cent of the migrants were in Bombay. By 1976 the number of persons in Bombay has increased by about 70 per cent, however, their proportionate share has declined to about 80 per cent. There was some increase in the number of migrants to places like Poona, and other places due to the increase in the number of earners joining police and military service.

Contrary to the theories of step-wise migration it is quite clear from the movements of Gulumb residents that migration to the nearby taluka place, Wai (population 21,040 in 1971) or Satara, the district place with 66433 population in 1971, is not significant. There are very few opportunities for work at Wai, Satara and other towns in the district. Even Poona which has grown tremendously in industrial activity during the 1958-76 period and which is closer to Gulumb has only attracted about 2 per cent of the migrants. Greater geographical distance between the village and Bombay (about 160 miles) has not diverted the flow of migrants to closer-by cities.

The reasons for this one shot rather than stepwise migration are quite clear when one studies the Bombay migrant. Time and again it is found that jobs are obtained through the contact net work of village relatives and friends who are in the city rather than through exploratory moves, by the individual, from out of the village to the nearby cities to look for work.

The migration out of Gulumb consists predominantly of working males which can be seen from the sex ratio for all migrants giving the number of females per

thousand males. It was 191 in 1942, 240 in 1958 and was 229 in 1976. The sex ratio within Gulumb has gone from 1294 in 1942 to 1288 in 1958 and 1335 in 1976. This gives an indication of the increasing effect of male migration to the city. The sex ratio for rural areas of Wai Taluka was 1156 in 1961, and 1129 in 1971.* Gulumb sends significantly more migrants out of its system than is the average for the rural areas of Wai Taluka.

If we add the members outside Gulumb to those within the village we find sex ratios of 996 for 1942, 941 for 1958 and 923 for 1976. These are quite close to and consistent with those for Maharashtra as a whole which were 949 in 1941, 936 in 1961 and 930 in 1971.

As noted earlier very often the migrants return to the village after retirement. Table 5 gives the number of individuals who had migrated to places outside

Table 5 : Returnees to Gulumb

	Males	Females	Total
Out of Gulumb in 1942 returned to Gulumb in 1958	55	22	77
Out of Gulumb in 1942 and 1958, returned to Gulumb in 1976	49	3	52
In Gulumb in 1942, out in 1958, back in Gulumb in 1976	39	12	51
Not in system 1942, out of Gulumb in 1958, in Gulumb in 1976	16	18	34
Out of Gulumb in 1942 and 1976, in Gulumb in 1958	3	1	4
	<u>162</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>218</u>
Returnees in 1958	58	23	81
Returnees in 1976	104	33	137
	<u>162</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>218</u>

* For rural areas of Satara District the sex ratio was 1044 in 1942, 1065 in 1961 and 1062 in 1971.

of the village during their working lives and had returned to Gulumb in 1958 or in 1976. The number of returnees in 1958 is about 33 per cent of the number of individuals who were outside the village in 1942, whilst those returning in 1976 are about 32 per cent of those outside in 1958. Table 6 gives the age distribution of persons living outside Gulumb. Looking at the 1942 figures we would expect that males living outside Gulumb who are 37 years old and over in 1942 (43 in number) would be retired by 1958. In fact 58 males do return to Gulumb and of these at least three go back out of the village in 1976. This leaves 55 who in fact come back to the village and stay there. Similarly between 1958 and 1976, 93 males are over 37 years old and would largely be retired 18 years later in 1976. In 1976 we find that 104 males have returned to the village. Some of these returnees are young; there were three cases where the workers in textile mill returned home before they reached the retirement age because they were affected by tuberculosis; two reported that they returned home as there was none left in the village to cultivate their ancestral lands. By and large the returnee figures seem to indicate that a large proportion of the male Gulumb migrants who move to outside areas for work do in fact return to Gulumb in their advanced age.

The number of permanent outmigrants from the Gulumb system was also noted. Out of a total of 1509 people over age 7 in and outside Gulumb in 1942, only 47 or three per cent migrated permanently out of the system. The destination of 17 of these permanent migrants was not known. Of the 30 whose destination

Table 6 : Residents Outside Gulumb by Sex and Age Group

Age	1942			1958			1976		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
7-11	4	3	7	9	8	17	3	6	9
12-16	22	3	25	10	5	15	16	7	23
17-21	36	10	46	60	16	76	80	12	92
22-26	40	10	50	83	15	98	100	22	122
27-31	38	5	43	52	8	60	93	23	116
32-36	21	4	25	43	13	56	64	15	79
37-46	31	2	33	56	12	68	127	33	160
47-56	11	2	13	30	5	35	46	1	47
57-66	1	-	1	7	1	8	11	4	15
67+	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2
Total (over 7 years)	204	39	243	350	84	434	541	124	665

was known, 15 moved to a place within the district whilst only three settled in Bombay. Eleven women had reportedly shifted to their fathers place.

(v) Age and Sex Distribution : The migrant workers are thus an integral extension of the village population into the city. The age-sex composition, educational profile, occupational pattern of the village population is therefore, considered in conjunction with the corresponding profile of the migrant population.

The age and sex distribution of Gulumb residents is given in Table 7. The fact that the population of Gulumb residents is biased towards females is quite clearly illustrated in the histogram of population in Diagram 1, and in Table 7. The disbalance starts from the 17 years and up age group when the men migrate to the city and by the 57 and up age group i.e. by the time the working males have retired and returned to the village, the number of persons of two sexes are more or less equal.

If we add the migrants back to the residents' pyramid (shown in dotted line in diagram 1) then we get a fairly close balance between the sexes throughout the age groups.

In terms of the distribution by age groups if one considers only the residents in Gulumb there is a drop of 4 per cent between 1942 and 1976 of children under 7 years. Even if we add the migrants there is a drop of 4 per cent. On the other hand we find more people than before in the higher age groups - that is 57 and above. In 1942 they constituted 10 per cent

AGE PYRAMID

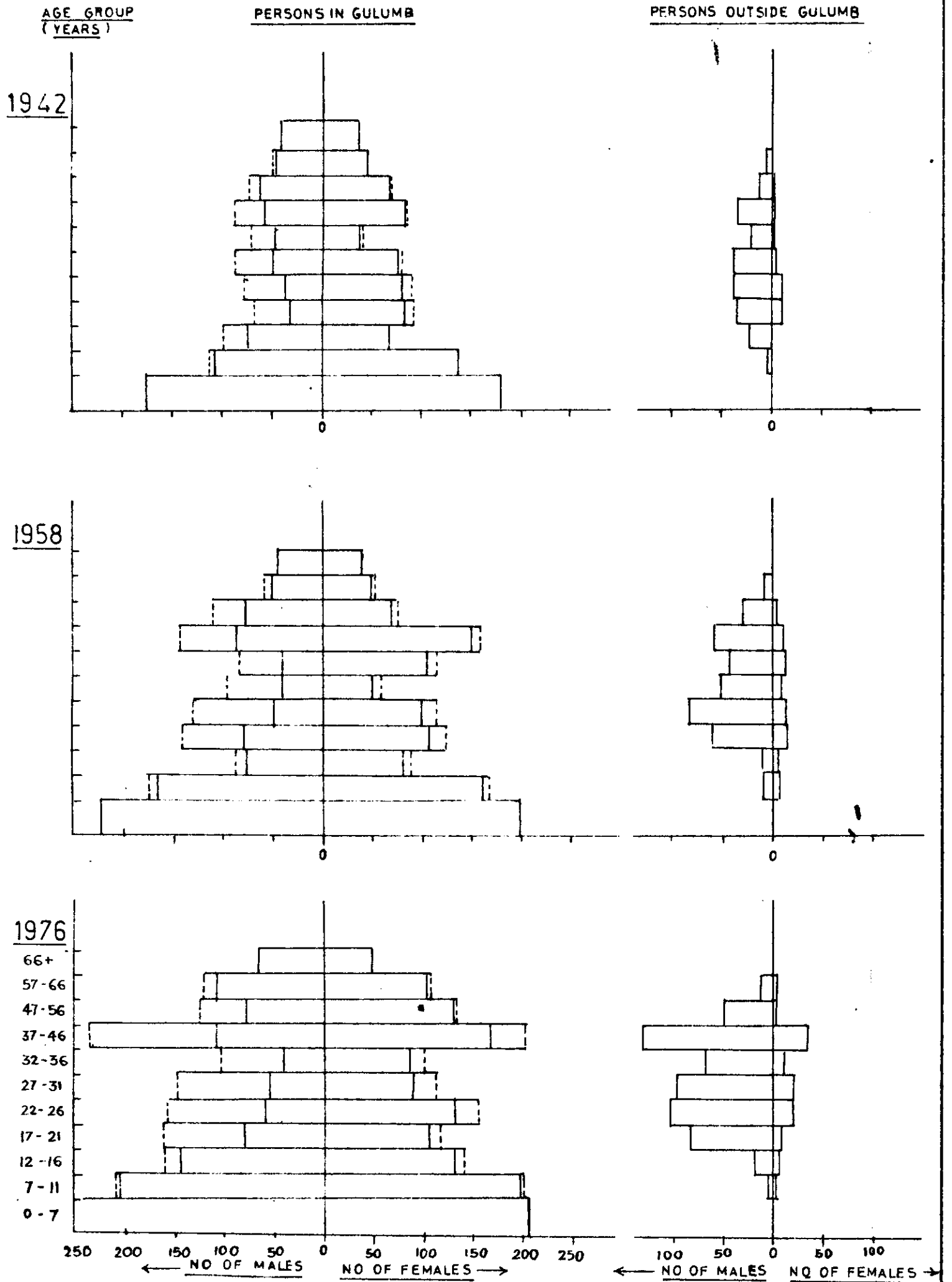


Table 7 : Gulumb Residents by Sex and Age Group

Age	1942			1958			1976		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0- 6	177	178	355	222	198	420	250	208	458
7-11	109	137	246	166	161	327	203	199	402
12-16	74	67	141	78	83	161	142	135	277
17-21	34	83	117	79	107	186	77	109	186
22-26	37	81	118	48	100	148	54	132	186
27-31	49	76	125	41	50	91	52	92	144
32-36	47	36	83	40	102	142	39	87	126
37-46	58	82	140	86	150	236	103	170	273
47-56	62	67	129	76	70	146	74	134	208
57-66	44	47	91	50	49	99	104	106	210
66+	38	38	76	44	40	84	62	51	113
Total	729	892	1621	930	1110	2040	1160	1423	2583

of the in-Gulumb residents and in 1976, 13 per cent. Adding the migrants the increase is from 9 per cent to 10 per cent. Presumably the population is getting older due to better availability of medical care, and decline in the birth rate.

In the 1976 population of women in Gulumb who had at least one living child, those in the age group 27-36 averaged 2.7 living children and those in the 37-46 age group averaged 3.3 living children. Women 47-56 years old who have crossed the child bearing stage had an average 2.8 living children and those 57 and above had 3.4 living children (Table 8).

(vi) Marital Status : Marital status of the population is one of the areas in which there has been a significant change during the period covered by the three surveys, especially in the case of females.

Table 9 gives the marital status of Gulumb residents by age group and sex. It is seen quite clearly that the age at marriage has shifted upwards for girls. In 1942 almost 30 per cent of the girls under 16 years of age were married, by 1958 this percentage declined to 19 per cent and in 1976 hardly 2 per cent of the girls under 16 years of age were married. Similarly the number of widows under age 36 was 6 per cent in 1942, 3 per cent in 1958 and only 1.5 per cent in 1976. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that the incidences where very young girls are married to much older men have become considerably infrequent.

Far fewer men than women are found to be widowers. Of the total male population the proportion of male widowers was 9 per cent in 1942, 4 per cent in 1958

Table 8 : Distribution of Women by Age and Number of Living Children (1976)

No. of living children	Age-Group						Total
	7-16	17-26	27-36	37-46	47-56	57+	
	Number of Females						
0	331	116	32	31	22	25	557
1	3	63	15	7	12	17	117
2	-	39	30	20	20	22	131
3	-	17	42	28	21	15	123
4	-	5	33	28	29	26	121
5	-	1	17	28	16	21	83
6	-	-	8	25	6	13	52
7	-	-	2	3	7	10	22
8	-	-	-	-	1	3	4
9	-	-	-	-	-	5	5
Total	334	241	179	170	134	157	1215
Total No. of Living Children	3	217	480	554	404	532	2190
Percent women with no child in each Age-Group	99	48	18	18	17	16	
Average number of living children per woman reporting one or more children	-	1.70	2.67	3.27	2.84	3.36	

Table 9-A : Gulumb Residents by Age Group and Marital Status (1942)

Marital Status	Age-Group										
	7-16		17-36		37-56		57+		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Unmarried	181	137	28	1	1	-	1	-	211	138	349
Married	2	61	136	233	102	85	51	8	292	387	679
Widowed	-	2	3	28	17	60	29	77	49	167	216
Separated	-	-		4	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Co-wife	-	4		10		4	-	-	-	18	18
Total	183	204	167	276	120	149	82	85	552	714	1266

contd.

Table 9-B : Gulumb Residents by Age Group and Marital Status (1958)

Marital Status	Age-Group										
	7-16		17-36		37-56		57+		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Unmarried	242	194	88	15	5	1	1	-	336	210	546
Married	2	47	120	303	165	145	56	11	343	506	849
Widowed	-	-	0	19	5	76	24	67	29	162	191
Separated	-	-		7		1				8	8
Co-wife		3		15		8				26	26
Total	244	244	208	359	175	231	81	78	708	912	1620

Table 9-C : Gulumb Residents by Age Group and Marital Status (1976)

Marital Status	Age-Group								Total		
	7-16		17-36		37-56		57+		Male	Female	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Unmarried	345	326	108	30	4	-	1	-	458	356	814
Married	-	7	114	358	167	221	142	55	423	641	1064
Widowed	-	1	-	11	5	63	23	101	28	176	204
Separated	-	-	-	11	1	10	-	-	1	21	22
Co-wife	-	-	-	10	-	10	-	1	-	21	21
Total	345	334	222	420	177	304	166	157	910	1215	2125

and 3 per cent in 1976. Women widows on the other hand were 23 per cent in 1942, 18 per cent in 1958 and 14 per cent in 1976.

The village statistics for 1958 on marital status compares quite closely to those for the rural population of Satara District for 1961. Table 10 gives the proportion of individuals by sex and marital status for Gulumb in 1958 and for the rural population of Satara District in 1961. There are proportionately slightly less unmarried women and more married women in the village than in the rural population of Satara District as a whole and proportionately more unmarried men and less married men in the village than in the rural population of the district. The small difference noted may reflect the fact that the village is sending slightly more married men to the city than is typical for the rural population of the district as a whole. This was also suggested by the fact that the female to male ratio was higher for the village residents compared to the rural population of Satara District and the rural population of Wai Taluka.

The larger per cent of female widows in the villages and the district is explained by the fact that although males do remarry, in the Maratha caste, which constituted 70 per cent of the village population in 1976, women do not, by social custom remarry. There were four women in the village now in their fifties and sixties who were widowed at the age of 10 or 12 and have remained widowed all these years. Among castes like the Nava Bouddhas and Dhangars widow remarriage, divorce and remarriage are permitted.

As to the question of divorce and remarriage,

Table 10-A : Marital Status of Gulumb Residents* in 1958

	No. of Males	Percent	No. of Females	Percent	Total Persons	Percent
Unmarried	558	60	408	37	966	47
Married	343	37	532	48	875	43
Widowed	29	3	162	15	191	9
Divorced or Separated	-	-	8	1	8	1
Total	930	100	1110	100	2040	100

* Includes all persons in the village

Table 10-B : Marital Status of Rural Population in Satara District (1961)

	No. of Males	Percent	No. of Females	Percent	Total Persons	Percent
Unmarried	355,890	58	268,759	41	624,649	49
Married	237,434	39	292,433	45	529,867	42
Widowed	20,318	3	91,247	14	111,565	9
Divorced or Separated	1,901	ng.	3,300	ng.	5,201	ng.
Unspecified	180	ng.	216	ng.	396	ng.
Total	615,723	100	655,955	100	1,271,678	100

again among the Marathas women will be sent home or come home to their parents if they cannot get along at their in-law's place. The husband subsequently may remarry but the most of the woman can do is to file a suit for alimony. If she has the backings of a male in her parental home such as a father or brother she may be able to win the case and gain some financial security by way of land or cash allowance. In most cases, however, she is left to the charity of her parental home. By tradition she cannot remarry. In Gulumb there has only been ~~one~~ one recent case of an educated daughter-in-law who had a good salaried job in the city divorcing her Gulumb Maratha Yadav husband and marrying another from the Maratha caste. This is, however, an extremely rare occurrence. The proportion of separated women has increased slightly from .5 per cent in 1942 to 1.7 per cent in 1976. This increase may partly be accounted for by the fact that more young women, or their concerned male relatives, have become aware of the fact that one can sue and win alimony for a married woman who is being ill treated or neglected. In such cases there is a tendency to leave the marital home and litigate for a financial settlement.

Table 11 gives the marital status of migrants by sex. Most of the female migrants are married women. There are hardly any cases of single unmarried women going to the city to look for jobs and seeking an independent existence for themselves in the city. The women who migrate are almost exclusively married women who have accompanied their husbands.

In the case of male migration out of Gulumb the

Table 11 : Residents Outside Gulumb Over Age 7 by Marital Status

	1942			1958			1976		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Unmarried	59	2	61	103	10	113	170	18	188
Married	142	27	169	243	53	296	369	100	469
Widowed	3	4	7	3	15	18	2	4	6
Separated or Divorced	-	4	4	1	2	3	-	2	2
Co-wife	-	2	2	-	4	4	-		
Total	204	39	243	350	84	434	541	124	665

situation is somewhat different. Considering the migrant males above 16 years of age we find that in 1942, 16 per cent of the migrants were unmarried adult males, in 1958 the corresponding proportion was 22 per cent and in 1976, 27 per cent. The major section of the population of adult men outside Gulumb consists of married men.

(vii) Family Size : At the aggregate level there is no apparent direction to the change in family size for the three survey periods. In 1942 average family size was 4.96 whilst in 1958 it was 4.87 and in 1976 it was 5.24.

Table 12 gives the distribution of families by number of persons in the family living in Gulumb. It is apparent that for the three survey periods between 44 per cent to 52 per cent families consisted of less than 4 persons while between 6 to 9 per cent consisted of 10 or more persons.

However since the size of family does not include those members who have migrated to the city and since we have a large proportion of families that are non-nuclear the array of size of family does not give us an idea about the changes in the size of a nuclear family - which is the indicator usually cited in most size of family analysis.

Looking at the average family size for the various community groups (Table 13) there do not appear to be many significant differences. In 1976, the Nava Boudhas and Dhangars have smaller sized families than the Marathas as a group. In these two groups the average family size has declined over time. Since neither of these two groups are sending a much larger

**Table 12 : Distribution of Families by Family Size
(Members Resident in Gulumb only)**

No. of persons in family	1942	1958	1976
1 Person	27	45	40
2 Persons	45	53	45
3 Persons	44	48	64
4 Persons	35	70	66
5 Persons	51	59	88
6 Persons	48	46	58
7 Persons	28	34	50
8 Persons	17	17	26
9 Persons	12	13	14
10 to 15 persons	19	32	36
16 to 24 persons	1	2	6
Total Families	327	419	493
Total Persons in Gulumb	1621	2040	2583
Average Family Size	4.96	4.87	5.24

Table 13 : Distribution^{of} Families by Community Group and Size of Family

Family Size	Jadhav			% for 1976	Yadav			% for 1976	Guests			% for 1976	Kochale			% for 1976
	1942	1958	1976		1942	1958	1976		1942	1958	1976		1942	1958	1976	
	No. of Families															
1 to 4 persons	41	55	48	43	46	48	50	36	10	21	21	54	3	9	9	26
5 to 8 persons	34	38	52	46	47	47	64	47	10	12	15	38	10	7	18	53
9 & more persons	8	6	12	11	8	19	23	17	1	5	3	8	2	5	7	21
Total Families	83	99	112		101	114	137		21	38	39		15	21	34	
Total Persons	398	465	591		484	626	815		104	175	168		98	114	222	
Average Size of Family	4.8	4.7	5.3		4.8	5.5	5.9		5.0	4.6	4.3		6.5	5.4	6.5	

Table 13 : Distribution^{of} Families by Community Group and Size of Family

Family Size	Mahar			% for 1976	Dhangar			% for 1976	Balutedar			% for 1976	Brahmins		
	1942	1958	1976		1942	1958	1976		1942	1958	1976		1942	1958	1976
	No. of Families														
1 to 4 persons	15	24	19	50	16	22	26	58	14	23	26	46	1	3	3
5 to 8 persons	11	13	18	48	13	15	16	35	13	18	26	45	1	1	2
9 and more persons	3	4	1	2	3	2	3	7	6	2	5	9	1	1	-
Total Families	29	41	38		32	39	45		33	43	57		3	5	5
Total Persons	143	180	160		158	169	191		179	199	286		16	23	17
Average Size of Family	4.9	4.4	4.2		4.9	4.3	4.2		5.4	4.6	5.0		5.3	4.6	3.5

Table 13 : Distribution^{of} Families by Community Group and Size of Family

Family Size	Muslims			Kaikadi, Wadar			Total					
	1942	1958	1976	1942	1958	1976	1942	percent	1958	percent	1976	percent
	No. of Families											
1 to 4 persons	5	8	4	-	3	9	151	46	216	52	215	44
5 to 8 persons	4	3	7	1	2	4	144	44	156	37	222	45
9 and more persons	-	-	1	-	3	1	32	10	47	11	56	11
Total Families	9	11	12	1	8	14	327		419		493	
Total Persons	36	41	67	5	48	66	1621		2040		2583	
Average Size of Family	4.0	3.7	5.6	5.0	6.0	4.7	5.0		4.9		5.2	

number of working members outside Gulumb than the Marathas the decline can be only partly explained by relatively larger out-migration. The decline is partly due to the fact that the number of nuclear families is increasing and that of joint families declining in the case of these two community groups.

Among Marathas, the Kochales have had and continue to have the largest average family size. This may be because of the fact that they have larger proportion of their families of the joint family type.

If the persons outside the village are taken into consideration the average family size came to 6.03 in 1942. There is a definite increase in the average family size in the following decades and in 1976 it worked out to 6.73 persons.

2. Family Organization

In a patrilineal society, as this village community is, the nuclear family consists of the male head, his wife and their unmarried children. However, the authority of the patriarch, that is to say patrilineally the seniormost male member in the family, extends much beyond his immediate nuclear family and he holds the patrilineal group together as long as he lives. The patriarchal authority extends particularly directly and firmly in the vertical line and the sons do not break away from their father as long as he lives. This is true even when the sons are married and have families in their own right. For instance, in 1942-43 there was just one instance in Gulumb where the sons had broken away from their parents. The two sons of Bala Bapu Lambate had set up their own independent households because the mother and the daughters-in-law

The patriarchal authority does not extend quite so directly and firmly in the horizontal line. It also does not extend beyond brothers. For instance, in 1942-43, there was not a single case where even first cousins lived jointly. An examination of the joint land holdings in 1915 also does not give any evidence of the existence of joint families extending horizontally to first cousins and beyond.

Even in respect of brothers, though their joint families are common, the basis of jointness is not so much the authority of the older brother over the younger brothers as the joint responsibility of all the married brothers towards certain residual obligations of their father. For instance, the elder brother seems to have no clear responsibility towards and consequently little authority over his younger brothers if they are married. On the other hand, all the married brothers have a clear joint responsibility towards a younger brother if he is unmarried and it is customary for the brothers to continue to live together until all of the younger brothers are married. In 1942-43, in Gulumb, there was one single instance where two brothers had separated while two younger unmarried brothers continued to live with one of them. Even this was a marginal case; the two brothers in question were step brothers with both mothers living. It was therefore not so much a case of two brothers parting after the death of their father as of two co-wives separating after the death of their husband. The joint responsibility towards younger unmarried brothers was thus universally recognized. In 1942-43, there were altogether 27 unmarried brothers and they all lived with their elder brothers. In 18 of these

cases, they had only one elder married brother and they lived in his family. In the remaining 9 cases they had more than one elder ~~br~~ married brothers and all of them lived in a joint family.

Another joint responsibility of the brothers after the death of their father is towards their widowed mother. However, in this case, the nature of joint responsibility is such that it does not make it obligatory for the brothers to live together. If the brothers decided to part, there are several ways of providing for the mother and the most common is to set out a piece of the land-holding for her maintenance and to let her stay with one of the sons of her choice. This is not uncommon and often the mother herself with her likes and dislikes for her several sons and daughters-in-law is a cause thereof. In 1942-43, there were 8 cases of this nature where the brothers parted and the widowed mother chose to live with one of her sons.

Nevertheless, if the relations between the brothers ~~and~~ are happy, they normally continue to live together as long as the mother lives and as long as she can keep peace between herself and all the daughters-in-law. Indeed, in 1942-43, there were 29 cases where the widowed mothers lived in joint families of more than one sons. If we view the situation from the standpoint of the widowed mothers, it was the following : There were altogether 83 widowed mothers; 29 of them lived in joint families of their sons; 8 of them had more than one son but they had parted and the mothers lived with one of the sons; 45 cases, they had only one married son and they continued to live with the son; in the last remaining case, the son had already died and the mother

lived together with her widowed daughter-in-law. The strength of the mother to hold the family together ~~may~~ may be judged on the basis of first two cases. Thus, out of 38 cases, where there were more than one married sons, in 29 cases, the mothers held the family together. Even here, in 7 cases there lived in the family an unmarried brother and we might regard him the prime factor holding the family together. Therefore if we exclude these cases, we have 22 cases where the mothers held the joint family together and 11 cases where the joint families broke in spite of the presence of mother.

Thus the joint responsibility towards an unmarried brother and to an extent towards a widowed mother provides a strong basis for the joint family of brothers. We might add to this also the responsibility towards unmarried sisters though there were only 2 such sisters in 1942-43 and they lived in the family of their only brothers. These are all residual obligations of the father and the joint responsibility of the brothers in these matters help them keep together. In 1942-43, there were altogether 55 cases where two or more married brothers lived in a joint family. In 32 out of these cases, there was in the family either a widowed mother or an unmarried brother towards whom the married brothers owned a joint responsibility. In the remaining 23 or about 40 per cent cases, there was no such joint responsibility and the brothers continued to live jointly either through sheer inertia or through convenience.

That the chances are even that these brothers may at any time part and set up their own independent households is evident from an almost equal number of cases.

where the brothers separated. For instance, in 1942-43, there were 22 cases, where the brothers, not having any such joint responsibility, had parted and set up their own independent households.

To sum up, patriarchal authority as it extends vertically is total and complete. However, as it extends horizontally, it seems to be rather limited. The basis of the joint family as it extends horizontally is not so much the authority of the senior member as the joint responsibility of all the partners. The clearest responsibility seems to be towards the junior partner who in a sense is yet a minor, namely a younger unmarried brother. The brothers evidently continue to live in joint families until all the brothers are married. The next responsibility is towards a widowed mother. As long as she is living, the chances are two-to-one that the joint family will continue. If there are no residual obligations and joint responsibilities left, the joint family continues through inertia and the chances are fifty-fifty that it may continue or break. In 1942-43, in Gulumb, 135 households, that is over 40 per cent of all the households, were joint households.

This is the normal course through which a patrilineal household runs as it moves from one generation to the next. Occasionally it suffered lapses as when a household is left with no adult male member in the patrilineal line and a woman has to assume charge of the household. In 1942-43, there were 30 such households wherein the absence of an adult male member of the patrilineal line, women had assumed charge of the households. In all these cases, the female heads were

no more than care-takers and were taking care of the households until they could be duly handed over to the patrilineal heir. In a few other cases, the female heads were trying to perpetuate the broken patrilineal line by means of adoption. In a few yet other cases, they were trying to perpetuate the household through a patrilineal line. But in most such cases, the households were ~~xxxxxx~~ condemned to extinction.

(i) Family Composition - 1942 : Along the several stages through which a patrilineal household normally passes, the 327 households that lived in the village in 1942-43, were distributed as shown in Table 14.

Table 14 : Distribution of households by composition of its members

Category of household	Number of households in 1942-43	
	Without parental responsibility	With parental responsibility
Nuclear family Head	106	56
Joint family of brothers	20	31
Joint family of Head and Sons	77	3
Joint family of Head-Brothers-Sons	3	1
Households with female heads		30
Total		327

The heads of these households varied in their ages from 18 upwards. To see the nature of the households they presided over at various ages, we may neglect the 30 households which had female heads. We may also for convenience neglect the distinction between joint families of heads and their sons made on the basis of whether there were residual parental responsibilities

and whether in addition it was also a joint family of brothers. If we neglect this distinction, we have in all 84 joint families of heads and their sons. In Table 15 we classify the households presided over by heads of different ages into the principal categories.

Table 15 : Distribution of households by age of the head and composition of its members

<u>Category of household</u>	<u>Age of the head of household</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>18-32</u>	<u>32-47</u>	<u>48-62</u>	<u>62-</u>	
	<u>Number of households</u>				
Nuclear family of head without parental responsibilities	10	54	36	-	106
Nuclear family of head with parental responsibility	27	26	3	-	56
Joint family of brothers without parental responsibility	4	6	10	-	20
Joint family of brothers with parental responsibility	16	11	4	-	31
Joint family of head and sons	-	3	47	34	84
Total	57	100	100	40	287

The several members belonging to a household enjoy different status in the household depending upon their relations to the head, There is first the basic distinction between the members belonging to the patrilineal group and members who do not so belong. It is the members belonging to the patrilineal group who are regarded proper members of the household. The members outside the patrilineal group do not properly belong to the household; they are guests however long they might stay with the household. In a patrilineal society this distinction

is basic and in the rural society it is explicitly understood as such.

The members of the households in 1942-43 could be classified into two groups viz. (i) belonging to patrilineal group (ii) outside the patrilineal group. Only about 4 per cent of the total persons were outside the patrilineal group.

The patrilineal group may in turn be divided into several sub-groups. In the first place are the members of the nuclear family of the head, namely, the head, his wife and unmarried children. Next we have the members of the nuclear families of the father, brothers, and sons of the head. All these put together constitute what is called the extended family of the head. In addition, there are a few members who are indeed members of the extended families of the father, brothers and sons of the head. Classification of the household members in 1942-43 along these lines is presented in Table 16.

This constitutes the patrilineal group. Within the framework of a patrilineal society, these are all proper members of the household. He is a good patriarch who treats all such members alike. On the other hand a member not belonging to the patrilineal group possess a distinctly inferior status. These members might be classified into two broad sub-groups : (A) married and widowed daughters, sisters, grand-daughters, nieces and such other married and widowed women who are married out of the patrilineal group and their families including their husbands and children; In a majority of cases, these are widowed, separated or deserted women returned to the parent households for protection. In a few cases,

Table 16 : Classification of household members from patrilineal group by nature of relation

	Number of members		
	Male	Female	Total
(i) <u>Members of nuclear family of head</u>			
Heads of households and their wives/husbands :			
Unmarried	6	-	6
Married	252	262	514
Widowed	38	30	68
Unmarried sons/daughters	323	222	545
Total	619	514	1133
(ii) <u>Members of nuclear family of father</u>			
Father/Mother :			
Married	-	-	-
Widowed	4	83	87
Unmarried brothers/sisters	27	2	29
Total	31	85	116
(iii) <u>Members of nuclear family of brother</u>			
Married brothers/sisters-in-law	53	53	106
Widowed brothers/sisters-in-law	5	11	16
Unmarried nephews/nieces	35	23	58
Total	93	87	180
(iv) <u>Members of nuclear family of sons</u>			
Married sons/daughters-in-law	118	120	238
Widowed sons/daughters-in-law	-	7	7
Unmarried grandsons/daughters	68	68	136
Total	186	195	381
(v) <u>Members of extended families of father/brothers/sons of heads</u>			
Father's mother (widowed)	-	1	1
Father's brothers/sisters-in-law	1	5	6
Married grandsons/daughters-in-law and their children	2	1	3
Total	3	7	10
<u>Members of patrilineal group: Total</u>	932	885	1820

they are married women together with their husbands and children more happily settled with their parent families;

(B) relations through mother, wife, daughters-in-law and such other women who were married into the patrilineal group.

As noted above there were only a few members who did not belong to the patrilineal group. However, the phenomenon of having one or more members of this category in a household was common. In fact, there were as many as 46 households who had one or more such members admitted into them. These were as follows :

	<u>Number of households</u>
With married or widowed daughters, sisters, etc. and their families	30
With relations through mother, wife, etc.	13
With both above types of members	3
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 46

(ii) Family Composition - 1976 : Looking at the number of families with different family composition in 1942 and in 1976 (Table 17) one finds that there has been very little change in the percentage of families that are joint (types 3,4,5,6) and those that are nuclear (types 1 and 2). Joint families have constituted about 40 per cent of the total families while nuclear have constituted about 50 per cent. In 1976 there is a small decline in the percentage share of both the joint families and the nuclear families and increase in the miscellaneous units. In these units there is no couple in the family but widowed women with son, daughter or daughter-in-law or other relatives and in some cases single men or widowed men staying with some relatives.

If the family composition is examined disaggregated over the community groups in the village (Table 17)

Table 17 : Distribution of Families by Family Type

Category of Family	Distribution of families according to family type		Distribution of families belonging to different community groups by family type (1976)			
	1942 Families Percent	1976 Families Percent	Maratha Percent	Nava Baudha Percent	Dhangar Percent	Other groups Percent
1 Nuclear family of head	32.1	31.6	28.3	34.2	35.7	40.9
2 Nuclear family with other members	17.1	15.8	17.1	18.4	20.0	7.9
3 Joint family of sons	6.1	5.7	5.6	10.5	4.4	4.6
4 Joint family of sons with other members	9.5	7.5	7.1	7.9	11.1	6.8
5 Joint family of Head-sons	25.7	18.7	22.7	13.2	13.3	9.1
6 Joint family of Head-sons with other members		6.9	8.1	2.6	2.2	6.8
7 Households with female heads and other residual units	9.5	13.8	11.2	13.2	13.3	23.9
All types	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Joint Family (Categories 3 to 6)	41.3	38.8	43.4	34.2	31.0	27.3

Note: Other members: persons living in the household other than the members of a unit consisting of man, wife and dependent children

there appear to be very few significant differences.

The Marathas and particularly the Kochales have a larger proportion of their families as joint ones. One could partially explain this persistence of the joint family among the Marathas due to the fact that there are mostly the land-owning cultivating families. Joint families with a mix of male and female, adult and child labour available at hand is convenient for the cultivation of farms having medium or large sized land holdings since in the cultivation of such holdings there is a demand for labour that is seasonal and fluctuating in character and best satisfied by household members who are always at hand.

The Dhangars appear to be experiencing an appreciable break up of the joint family. This is in keeping with the fact that Dhangars were observed to be declining in proportion to the total population in the village. It was observed, in the field, that when a male migrated to the city from the Dhangar community leaving his wife and children in the village the wife tended to split away from the joint family and establish her own separate living and working arrangements. Since this community has little land, the economic stimulus for maintaining a joint family is not so strong. The case of Nava Baudhas was noted to be similar to that of Dhangars.

The joint family structure is convenient as long as the farm is operated as a family farm, and the family members shoulder the major responsibility of agricultural work so that the family is able to provide some farm-hands to meet the needs of cultivation. The artisans and craftsmen usually did not reap special economies due to participation of more working family members in the

family vocation. However many of these families owned some land so that some members worked in the traditional trade and some attended farm work. With the diminution or loss of land or the traditional vocation as in the case of Dhangars the economic basis of joint family gets eroded. Because of the peculiar form of rural-urban migration in which the worker is not in a position due to a variety of reasons to give up his village base, e.g. - inadequacy of pay in the city so that he cannot make city his permanent place of residence and cut his village ties, no prospect of making a living in the city after retirement - the joint family set up serves as a convenient arrangement. Thus, the persistence of family farm system and the semi-permanent nature of migration perpetuate the joint family system. The proportion of joint family units in the village was more or less the same in 1976 as was observed over three decades back.

CHAPTER VIII

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

1. Occupations of Gulumb Workers

(i) Workers in Gulumb : Nearly 50 per cent of the persons in the village i.e. almost all the persons between the ages of 17 and 66 years were returned as workers. The proportion of workers in this age group was 96 per cent in the case of males and 90 per cent in the cases of females, a few persons were not reported as earners due to disability, old age etc. Six young boys and two girls were attending college at Wai and were not returned as earners. In the total population the proportion of workers working in the village increased from about 48 per cent in 1942 to 49 per cent in 1958* and was 50 per cent in 1976. (Table 1) About 52 per cent of the females were recorded as workers in 1958 and this proportion increased to 56 per cent in 1976. The proportion of women in the working age group (17 to 66 years) increased from 53 per cent in 1942 to 58 per cent in 1976. The increase in the proportion of working population in the total population was because of the increase in the relative number of the working age population and the higher rate of participation of women in gainful work.

In 1976 the female workers constituted about 55 per cent of the total earners in the village. As mentioned earlier a large number of men have out migrated for work but they retain their connection with the village. If these earners are taken into account the female earners form about 45 per cent of the total earners. The number of families with one or more persons working outside the

* In 1961 Census the workers in Gulumb constituted 49 per cent of the total persons. However in 1971 Census due to certain changes in the connotation of the category 'worker' the percentage of women reporting as earners which was about 53 per cent in 1961 declined to 39 per cent in 1971.

Table 1 : Number of workers working in and outside the village

Workers	Number of workers								
	1942			1958			1976		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
In the village	339	442	781	425	580	1005	497	798	1295
Outside the village	200	7	207	309	21	330	505	11	516
Total workers	539	449	988	734	601	1335	1002	809	1811
Percentage of workers in the village to the total village population	46.5	49.5	48.2	45.6	52.2	49.2	42.8	56.0	50.1

village has increased over time from about 48 per cent in 1942 to 57 per cent in 1976. The proportion of families sending more than one person to work outside increased from about 14 per cent in 1942 to 27 per cent in 1976 (Table 2). Consequently the average number of migrant earners per 100 families went up from 63 in 1942 to 104 in 1976.

In 1942 about 37 per cent of the male workers were working outside the village. This proportion increased to 50 per cent by 1976. The proportion of migrants workers was about 54 per cent in the case of Dhangars and Nava Boudhas while it was around 40 per cent in the case of Balutedars and negligible among the Wadars.

The number of children between the ages of 7 and 14 years reported as workers decreased from about 100 persons in 1942 to 70 in 1976 i.e. the proportion of working children among the total children of 7 to 16 years of age declined from 25 per cent to 10 per cent. However, the number of girls reported as workers has not gone down considerably so that among the total working children, the proportion of working girls increased from 61 per cent in 1942 to 78 per cent in 1976. The boys are generally attending school, but relatively larger number of girls are still required to shoulder the work responsibility.

(ii) Occupations in Gulumb : Almost all the earners in the village are engaged in petty production mainly agricultural production and some are occupied in craft, small trade or service-work on their own. (Table 3.) In 1942 of the total 781 workers in the village 64 persons reported casual agricultural labour as their main occupation, 2 earners worked as attached

Table 2 : Distribution of families by number of workers outside the village

Number of workers outside the village	1942		1958		1976	
	No. of families	Percent	No. of families	Percent	No. of families	Percent
0	171	52.3	202	48.2	210	42.6
1	111	33.9	136	32.5	150	30.4
2 or more	45	13.8	81	19.3	133	27.0
Total	327	100.0	419	100.0	493	100.0
Total workers outside the village			207		330	
Workers outside as percentage of total workers	20.9			24.7		28.5

Table 3 : Distribution of workers in Gulumb by Principal Occupation

Occupational category	Number of workers								
	1942			1958			1976		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Cultivator	238	355	593	279	483	762	342	616	958
Artisan	36	23	59	35	21	56	23	19	42
Worker in service vocations	23	10	33	21	7	28	12	8	20
Trader	5	3	8	7	3	10	13	2	15
Construction worker, mason	5	-	5	14	3	17	9	2	11
Worker in salaried employment	3	-	3	14	1	15	28	4	32
Agricultural labourer	16	48	64	40	59	99	54	140	194
Attached agricultural worker	2	-	2	5	-	5	5	-	5
Cattle herds person	11	3	14	8	1	9	4	4	8
Total	339	442	781	425	580	1005	497	798	1295

agricultural servants and 3 earners reported a salaried job. Among the self-employed workers nearly 85 per cent were engaged in cultivation, about 8 per cent in production or craft and the rest in personal service, trade, etc. Blanket weaving was the main non-agricultural productive activity in the village. Thirty three earners were occupied in this work, 17 men and 16 women. Three persons were engaged in grocery trade and four were dealing in glass bangles. Three earners were engaged in oil-pressing business. They extracted oil in bullock-operated ghani on service charge. There were 2 tailors, 5 masons and 2 patavekaris i.e. engaged in the work of stringing and fixing pearls, beads, etc. to fashion ornaments (Table 4).

(iii) The Balutedars : Thirty four families with 43 workers were operating within the baluta system. In addition there were the Mahars operating within the baluta system. In 1942-43 there were 29 Mahar families in the village. They would take turn to serve as village servant. Each year 12 Mahars would be on duty to perform the tasks assigned traditionally to the Mahars. The village workers included in this system were categorised into different groups according to the importance of the work they performed. The artisans who rendered service useful to agriculture ranked first among the balutedars. The Sutars provided repair and maintenance service for agricultural implements. For this service they were given a fixed share of the agricultural produce. In addition they were engaged in production of agricultural implements, bullock carts and helped with house repair and construction work. The farmer supplied the necessary timber (often from own trees)

Table 4 : Distribution of workers in non-agricultural occupations (Principal occupation)

Non-agricultural occupation	Number of workers		
	1942	1958	1976
Dhangar(Khutekar) - Blanket weaving, shephard	33	23	9
Sufar - Carpenter	8	6	4
Lohar - Blacksmith	2	3	2
Sonar - Goldsmith	3	5	3
Kumbhar - Potter	-	2	2
Mang - Rope-maker	6	10	13
Kaikadi - Basket-maker	4	7	9
Teli - Oil-pressman	3	-	-
Nhavi - Barber	2	5	3
Chambhar - Cobbler	2	1	1
Parit - Washerman	5	4	4
Koli - Water carrier	8	6	5
Mahar - Village servant	7	1	-
Shimpi - Tailor	2	5	3
Gondhali, Pujari	5	4	1
Patavekari	2	2	2
Mali - Florist	-	-	1
Mason	5	2	1
Construction worker	-	15	10
Grocer	3	3	5
Bangla dealer	4	5	4
Other trader	1	2	6
Teacher-Primary	-	8	13
Teacher-Secondary	-	2	6
Worker in flour mill, hotel	-	5	3
Worker in other jobs	3	-	10

contd.

Table 4 : (contd.)

	Number of workers		
	1942	1958	1976
Hire, repair and other service	-	-	5
Other occupations	-	4	5
Total workers in non-agricultural occupations	108	130	130
Total workers in agricultural occupations	673	875	1165
Grand total	781	1005	1295
Percent workers in agricultural occupations	86.2	87.1	90.0

and the carpenter was paid the charge for any new item he prepared. There were 8 earners in Sutar trade and 2 in Lohar trade in the village. The Lohar was also supplied with raw material when any production work was involved. The Mangs supplied the ropes for mhots, bullock carts and for cattle. He supplied only the small items against baluta payment. The Chambhars attended to repair work to mhot and other leather items on baluta payment. He supplied new mhots, chappals, etc. on separate payment. The raw material for mhots was often supplied by the farmers (if the hide of the dead cattle he owned was available). The Kumbhars supplied earthen pots, chulas and other major items on payment and small earthen pots needed for ceremonial purposes against baluta payment. The artisans were hardly involved in any production for the market. The production was usually taken up according to the demand in the village and in the vicinity. Over time there was little change in the production techniques and the products they made as they had a small protected market.

The second group included in the baluta system was of workers who rendered personal service. The Nhavi attended to the work of hair-cut and shave for men. He was also responsible for shaving the buffaloes. The Koli supplied water for household use, the Parit served as washerman, the Mulani worked as a butcher.

Mahar was the main village servant, useful to the government as well as to the village and the Ramoshi served as a watchman. In addition there were other functionaries who were needed for religious function. Gurav was needed for pooja of the deities, Gramjoshi helped in religious function, Mali supplied flowers

for pooja, Sonar polished the idols, Ghondhali served the village deities by singing devotional songs. In addition there were outside the baluta system Kalawanin who rendered dance performance on special occasions and the Atar who supplied vermilion, incense, etc. necessary for pooja.

Traditionally the village community paid in kind for these services in terms of the various crops grown in the village. The whole crop plant was given at the time of harvesting; the balutedars usually moved from field to field when the harvesting work was in operation and collected their dues and would later thresh the jowar, bajra collected. The balutedars would receive some share of each crop grown in the village though the share would vary from crop to crop. In 1937-38 it was found that about 12 per cent of the jowar production was paid in baluta, the corresponding proportion for bajra was 9 per cent. In the case of other cereals like wheat, khapali and pulses like udid, gram, etc. it varied between 2 per cent to 5 per cent. It was nearly 4 per cent for groundnut and about 3 per cent for gur, and potato (Table 5). The Mahars were usually paid in terms of foodgrains only. The relative shares of balutedars varied according to the nature of their work and the number of families in the particular baluta vocation. For example the Sutars, Lohars, Chambhars and Mangs who were indispensable for the up keep of agricultural implements each received a share of about 8 to 10 per cent. The barber was equally important for personal service and received 12 per cent of the total produce given in baluta payment. The Mahars claimed as much as 23 per cent share mainly because each year-

Table 5 : Share of Baluta payment in total crop production

C r o p	Percent baluta share	
	1942-43	1958-59
Jowar	12.5	6.0
Bajra	9.0	5.0
Wheat	2.0	1.0
Paddy	10.0	-
All Cereals	11.0	5.3
Gram	1.6	2.2
Black Gram	2.4	2.0
Ghevada	5.0	-
Watana	19.0	-
All Pulses	2.8	1.3
Groundnut	4.8	6.7
Turmeric	2.0	4.7
Gur	2.8	.8
Potato	2.9	-

there were 12 Mahars families on duty in the village (Table 6).

In sum, the balutedars useful for agricultural work and those who rendered personal service each received about a third of the total baluta payment made in terms of cereals, their share was somewhat higher in the case of payment in terms of pulses. By 1959-60 there was a reduction by about 50 per cent in the baluta payment received by each class of balutedars except the Mahars (Table 7). In protest against the inferior kind of work and status assigned to them in the village system the Mahars decided in 1957 to withdraw from village service and also ceased to claim their baluta share. The reduction was relatively less for the important balutedars like Sutars and Lohars. By 1966-67, there was a further reduction by about 50 per cent in the baluta payment made to the artisans and other functionaries still operating within the baluta system. The pulses were no more given in baluta payment, there was further reduction by about 50 per cent in the case of kind payment in terms of cereals and a marked reduction in the quantity of gur, chilli, potato, onion paid in baluta.

It was noted that in 1942 all the families from several caste groups viz. Sutar, Chambhar, Mang, Mahar, Koli, Gurav, etc. were following their respective traditional caste occupations (Table 8). A few of them pursued the traditional occupation outside the village. For example one Chambhar was working at Wai and one was in the same trade viz. making leather ghappals and repair work in Bombay, one Nhavi was following the traditional vocation in Bombay. One Parit was not working due to old age and a widowed potter woman was not

Table 6 : Relative share of different Balutedars in the produce given in baluta payment

Rank	Balutedar	Percent share in total baluta payment (1942-43)	Quantum of baluta receipts in 1958 as percentage of the receipts in 1942
I Useful to agriculture:	Sutar	10	71
	Lohar	8	70
	Chambhar	8	60
	Mang	7	35
II Useful to village :	Mahar	23	-
	Ramoshi	5	43
II Useful to households:	Kumbhar	4	35
	Parit	4	43
	Nhavi	12	46
	Mulani	4	48
	Koli	4	43
III Useful to religious purposes:	Joshi	1	-
	Gurav	6	56
	Gondhali	1	90
	Mali	1	15
	Sonar	2	24

Table 7 : Baluta payment of cereals received by artisans and other village functionaries.^{1/}

Year	% of total agricultural production of cereals given in baluta payments	% share of baluta payment going to those artisans servicing agricultural production <u>2/</u>	% share of baluta payment going to those artisans servicing household needs <u>3/</u>	% share of baluta payment going to those artisans servicing the village <u>4/</u>	% share of baluta payment going to those artisans catering to religious needs <u>5/</u>
1937-38	7.04	2.35	2.27	1.76	0.66
1959-60	3.69	1.56	1.52	0.21	0.40
1966-67	1.83	0.86	0.79	0.04	0.14
Amount given in baluta payment in 1966-67 as a % of amount given in baluta payments in 1937-38	25.99	36.59	34.80	22.73	21.21

1/ Table derived from a stratified sample of 86 farmers in Sugao and two adjacent villages in 1937-38 and the same farmers followed up in 1959-60 and 1966-67.

2/ Carpenter, Blacksmith, Cobbler, Ropemaker.

3/ Barber, Potter, Washerman, Butcher, Water-carrier

4/ Watchman, Village servant

5/ Priest, Astrologer, Goldsmith, Entertainer.

Table 8 : Number of families in artisan and service castes and their occupations

Caste / Occupation	1942		1958		Reason for change in the No. of families between 1942 and 1958	1976	
	No. of families	No. of fami- lies follow- ing caste- occupation	No. of families	No. of fami- lies follow- ing caste occupation		No. of families	No. of fami- lies follow- ing caste- occupation
Sutar	6	5	8	6	2 *	6	4
Lohar	-	1	-	2	-	-	1
Chambhar	3	3	1	1	2**	3	1
Mang	3	3	3	3	=	7	4
Ramoshi	2	1	1	1	1x	4	-
Kumbhar	1	-	1	1	-	1	1
Parit	4	3	5	4	1 *	4	3
Nhavi	4	4	5	4	1*, 1x, 1@	5	3
Mulani	5	3	6	@@	1@	6	@@
Kali	1	1	1	1	-	1	1
Gurav	2	2	2	2	-	2	2
Brahmin	3	3	5	3	1@, 1**	7	@*
Kasar	1	1	3	3	2 *	1	1
Sonar	2	2	4	3	1*, 1@	4	1
Teli	2	2	1	-	1x	3	-
Gondhali	1	1	3	1	1*, 1@	1	1

Note : * - Split
 ** - Immigration
 @ - Returnee
 x - No survivor left

@@ - One family served as a butcher for one year period
 and the families took turn to provide butchery service.

@* - Two followed Joshiki as subsidiary occupation

able to carry on the business.

By 1958 some earners had moved out of their caste-occupation mainly because of lack of adequate business in the traditional occupation. Consequently one Parit and one Nhavi family shifted to factory work in Bombay and two Chambhar families left the village. The son of the Kumbhar woman restarted the traditional artisan work in the village. The Sutars, Mangs, Ramoshi, Koli, Gurav, Sonar all continued their traditional occupations. There were 6 Mulanis in the village in 1958, 3 of them continued in butcher work, one was already dealing in eggs in 1942, one shifted to transport business and one to agriculture. The Teli had lost his business as the bullock-ghani was no more a viable unit after the introduction of power-ghani and he turned into an agricultural labour. No new family pursuing these occupations came to the village. However, some of the families who were earlier in Bombay returned back by 1958 viz. one Parit, one Nhavi, one Brahmin, one Sonar and one Mulani.

Even by 1976 the traditional caste-occupation pattern did not change significantly. Some of the families had out migrated. A few left their traditional vocation even though they are still in the village. All the Sutars except one are occupied in their traditional work. The Potter is continuing in the traditional craft. He can hardly diversify and add brick, tiles manufacture to his business as suitable clay is not available in the vicinity of the village. One Chambhar family is still in the traditional occupation but is now engaged mainly in chappal making and chappal repair work. The Mulani families take turn in providing the

traditional service. The Ramoshis have moved to agricultural labour work. The Brahmins and Sonars have shifted to salaried service jobs, though two Brahmin families continue their traditional vocation of Joshiki as subsidiary occupation and one Sonar family is still in the traditional business.

Even in 1976, of the 34 families who were providing services useful to agriculture or personal/household service 25 families continued in the traditional occupation. However they were now rarely paid in kind for their services. The basis of payment has mostly shifted to cash terms. Still two carpenter families were being supported partly on baluta payment for maintenance of agricultural equipment. The other four carpenter families shifted to building construction work and take up minor carpentry work on cash payment. One of the carpenter families took to building construction work in addition to the traditional Sutar work in early 'forties, and later invested the profit to purchase some land. Presently this family has diversified and is carrying on a dairy business and runs an electrical repair shop. One of the Mangs is serving as Kotwal and one is partly occupied in rope making and partly subsists on alms as he is rather old. Four Mang families who have immigrated are occupied in rope making. The Kaikadis are engaged in basket weaving activity. The Mangs and the Kaikadis hawk their products in the surrounding villages or sell them partly in the village and also in the local weekly markets.

The Mahars, since they gave up in 1957 their traditional village service occupations, have been working if in the village primarily as agricultural

labourers. Cultivation of a small piece of land they own is usually their subsidiary occupation. Many have out migrated mainly to Bombay. In the early 'thirties they worked in stone quarries at blasting work, later in the early 'forties they joined textile mills. After 1950, because of the special reservations in government service they could get into larger variety of occupations.

(iv) Changes in Occupational Structure : So far as the changes in the occupation structure in the village are concerned the blanket weaving activity has almost disappeared, the artisan work is on the decline. There is some increase in the number of earners engaged in trade and service and those in the salaried jobs, notably teaching. There were 19 school teachers living in the village in 1976 and 13 in other jobs, viz. job in flour mill, in hotel, in the multipurpose village cooperative society, government service, etc. The construction workers, viz. Wadars - a nomadic community, have migrated to the village and were engaged in earth work and stone work. The major change, however, is the increase in the number of agricultural labourers. The number increased from 64 in 1942 to 194 in 1976. The proportion of self-employed persons decreased from about 90 per cent in 1942 to about 80 per cent in 1976. Those dependent mainly on agriculture for their livelihood increased from 86 per cent to 90 per cent. The base for non-agricultural activity which was quite narrow is further reduced. Because of the increasing integration of the rural economy with the outside world the demand for manufactured articles is mostly being met by the factory products and the local market traditionally available to the local products is fast vanishing.

(v) Subsidiary Occupations : In 1942 subsidiary occupation was reported by 172 of the total 781 earners (Table 9). Of these 62 reported cultivation, 59 agricultural labour work, 10 cart hire and 11 cattle herding as their subsidiary occupation. Cultivation was reported as subsidiary occupation by agricultural labourers, Dhangars, and artisans who owned a small piece of land. Agricultural labour was reported as subsidiary occupation by some of the smaller cultivators. More than two occupations were noted only in seven cases. The combinations were - Agriculture - trade in agricultural commodities - gramjoshiki, or teaching - trade in bangle-fashioning ornaments, agriculture - butchery - wood cutting, goods transport service - agriculture - tailoring, Roper making - performing on musical instrument - agricultural labour, agriculture - cart hire - dealing in mango, etc.

In 1976, of the 1295 earners 325 reported a second occupation. Of these 220 reported agricultural labour as the subsidiary occupation and 50 reported cultivation as the subsidiary occupation. The other occupations reported were very few like cart hire, tailoring, butchery, petty trade in bangle, joshiki, etc.

There is no diversification in the occupations pursued over the period of the last 35 years. The only significant trend is the increase in the number of earners who have taken to agricultural labour work as a subsidiary occupation because of the increase in the number of small land holders.

(vi) Occupations of Workers Outside Gulumb : As noted earlier the number of workers working outside the village but retaining their connection with the village have increased from 203 in 1942 to 479 by 1974 (Table 10). Almost all these were earlier working in Bombay and that

Table 9 : Distribution of Workers in Gulumb by
Subsidiary Occupation

Occupational Category	1942	1958	1976
	No. of Workers		
Cultivator	62	72	50
Artisan	9	15	-
Worker in service vocation	2	6	7
Trader	5	6	5
Worker in Cart-hire service	10	6	2
Agricultural Labourer	59	88	220
Cattle Herds person	11	9	9
Construction worker	6	5	4
Other worker	8	17	28
Total	172	224	325

Table 10 : Distribution of workers working outside Gulumb by occupational category

Occupational category	1942		1958		1976	
	Total workers	Workers working outside Bombay	Total workers	Workers working outside Bombay	Total workers	Workers working outside Bombay
(i) Factory work - Textile mills	135	-	188	2	196	4
(ii) Other factories	8	-	8	-	46	6
City Transport service	-	-	4	-	18	-
Police, Military Service	2	-	12	5	52	24
Services Office Attendance work	-	-	3	-	13	1
Clerkcal and other white collar jobs	1	-	10	1	49	15
Teaching	-	-	3	3	7	7
Petty business	6	1	13	8	14	6
Hawking	5	1	14	3	9	-
Domestic service, hotel service	15	2	33	2	39	2
Coolie work	11	-	19	-	26	-
Other manual work	20	4	17	8	10	6
Total	203	8	324	32	479	71
Job seeking	4	-	6	-	37	-

too in textile mills. Bombay continues to be the main centre of migration. The occupational structure of the migrant workers has diversified over time. Besides textile mills, some have joined military or police service, some are working in other factories, in city transport, in docks, or central cloth market as coolies, in menial service in hotels or households or are engaged in hawking or small street corner business. Some of those who have completed education upto S.S.C. or more got into clerical jobs, teaching or supervisory jobs. The improvement in educational and skill levels has thus enabled them to join less arduous vocations. If the level of earnings is considered a coolie or a skilled factory worker or a clerk/teacher was more or less on the par, a coolie at times earning more when he worked on piece rate and worked for extra hours.

(vii) The Total Occupational Mix : The occupations in and outside the village may now considered together; The occupational distribution^{for male workers}/is presented in Table 11. Of the total 535 male workers in 1942, 59 per cent were in petty production or trade or service, the share of agricultural production work being as high as 45 per cent. Twenty seven per cent of the workers were engaged in production work in the factory, 9 per cent were in service jobs and 5 per cent in casual wage employment in agriculture. In 1976 the number of males workers increased to 965. Of these 44 per cent were petty producers, 35 per cent being in agricultural production. The agricultural wage workers formed 6.5 per cent of the total workers, the factory workers formed 25 per cent of the total workers and those in transport service and related jobs formed another 25 per cent of the total workers, the proportion of wage/salaried

workers thus increased from 41 per cent to 50 per cent. If the new additions in the work force in the period 1942-1976 are considered it is noted that in the total additional workers the wage/salary workers had a share of 75 per cent, the agriculturists 24 per cent, the petty traders 5 per cent while the petty non-agricultural producers and service functionaries lost by 4 per cent.

In the case of female workers there is no significant change in the occupational pattern as almost all the women are continuing to work only in the village (Table 12). In 1942 only 7 female workers were in gainful employment outside the village and this number was 11 in 1976. They were occupied either in ~~the~~ running of a khanawal i.e. provision of meal service on a monthly basis to the single men mostly from the Gulumb village itself staying in the same chawl in Bombay or worked as domestic servants. In 1976 two special cases were noted. One of the educated Gulumb girls has joined the police service and another was internee in a hospital after completion of her Ayurvedic medical education. They were still unmarried and hence had connection with the village. It was reported that there are some girls who have joined as teachers or taken clerical job but were now married and hence lost their connection with the village.

In Gulumb village there were two female teachers but they had come from outside the village. Apart from these two who were in service, the women in Gulumb continued in their traditional occupations to work on their own farms, or help in the traditional artisan work like basket making or service like washing linon or work as agricultural labour. One woman reported tailoring.

Table 11 : Distribution of Total Male Workers by Occupation

Occupation	1942 Workers percent	1958 Workers percent	1976 Workers percent
Agricultural labour	5.42	7.28	6.53
Factory work	26.73	26.37	25.08
Paid service - menial	8.60	11.12	16.48
Paid service - clerical etc.	0.37	3.02	8.29
Sub-total	41.12	47.79	56.38
Cultivation	44.49	38.33	35.44
Artisan work	6.73	4.81	2.38
Service vocation	5.23	4.81	2.18
Trade	2.43	4.26	3.62
Sub-total - self employed	58.88	52.21	43.62
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 12 : Distribution of total female workers
by occupation

Occupation	1942 Workers percent	1958 Workers percent	1976 Workers percent
Agricultural labour	11.36	9.98	17.80
Factory work	-	0.67	0.12
Paid service - menial	0.89	2.66	1.48
Paid service - clerical, etc.	-	0.17	0.49
Sub total	12.25	13.48	19.89
Cultivation	79.06	80.37	76.15
Artisan work	5.12	3.49	2.35
Service vocation	2.23	1.66	1.24
Trade	1.34	1.00	0.37
Sub total self employed	87.75	86.52	80.11
Grand total	100.00	100.00	100.00

as the major occupation and two as a supplementary occupation. In 1942 of the 449 workers 88 per cent were in petty production and 11 per cent were agricultural labourers.

In 1976, the total number of female workers increased to 809. Of these 80 per cent were in petty production and 18 per cent were agricultural labourers. The women thus continue to work in traditional occupations and there is no change in the occupational pattern. The only significant factor is the increase in the number of agricultural wage labourers. Since there is little change in the cultivation technique and few additions to farm equipment and machinery there is no change in the types of agricultural operations that they have been performing. They have not acquired new skills, and the formal schooling that they are now completing can hardly be put to any specific use in the rural-setup since at the village level there are very few service openings to which the formal education is oriented.

2. State of Non-agricultural Occupations

Some detailed studies were made to examine how the various non-agricultural activities have been operating in the village. The data amply bring out the fact that the scope for such activities in the rural economy is quite narrow and such activities, given the present set of conditions, can hardly expand.

(i) Kambal Weaving Activity : In 1942 13, khutekar Dhangar families were engaged in the production of rough woollen blankets or kambal. They had in all 14 looms. The estimated annual production was about 2500 kambals. Ninety per cent of the kambals were sold in Konkan districts where these kambals were used underneath the

irla to get protection in the heavy rains. Every year the Dangar families would cross over from the ghats to Konkan region in summer and travel around for two/three weeks to sell the kambals. The kambals were sold on credit since the villagers did not have cash on hand in summer months. The Dhangars would go to Konkan again in January when the cultivators would have sold their paddy crop and could have ready cash to pay for kambal. The Dhangars would spend about a month or so to collect the dues and return to Gulumb.

The raw material for kambals, viz. woollen yarn was purchased in Lonand market (about 20 miles from the village) where the spun yarn was marketed by the Hatkar Dhangars or Chambars. The raw wool was obtained by Chambhars from the shepherds in the area. The Khutekar Dhangars specialized in weaving the kambals.

The expenditure involved per kambal in 1942-43 was as follows :

Yarn	Rs.2.50
Other material	.12
Transport charge	.25
Interest	.38
	<u>Rs.3.25</u>

A kambal could be sold locally at Rs.4.50 and in Konkan for about Rs.5.50, so that on an average it was possible to get a margin of about Rs.1.50 to 2.20 per kambal. The average annual production per family was about 200 kambals and the average earnings came to about Rs.350 per annum. The cost of loom ranged from Rs.30 to Rs.45; these were supplied by the local carpenters. The finance for purchase of yarn was supplied by local savkars who were repaid only when the Dhangars could collect the money due from the cultivators in Konkan and return back to the village.

By 1950 the kambal weaving activity in Gulumb suffered a set-back due to a variety of reasons.

(i) The wool was available at Re.1 per seer in 1942, the rate increased to Rs.2.50 by 1951. Some merchants from ~~the~~ Bombay started buying raw wool in Lonand market; the supply of spun wool was therefore affected. Some of the Khutekar Dhangars from Gulumb shifted to purchase of raw wool and set up units for spinning the wool while the others closed down their business, for want of spun wool.

(ii) In 1950 RS Bhojane, chairman of the weavers' society in Gulumb was on visit to Konkan to collect the dues. He was a known bhajan singer. One night he was invited to give bhajan performance and he was way-laid, murdered and robbed. This created a scare and the other Dhangars felt it risky to go to Konkan for collecting their dues.

(iii) The Dhangars usually hired a bullock cart to go to Lonand to buy wool and would usually travel at night. In 1951 they were robbed on the way and they lost all their working capital. Thereafter they changed their mode of transport but found it rather expensive to travel by bus as they had to take a longer route.

(iv) After the passing of the Bombay Moneylenders Act of 1947 it became difficult to obtain loans from private moneylenders and the Dhangars faced the problem of working capital.

All these above factors adversely affected their kambal weaving business.

Of the 14 looms in operation in 1942 eight looms were in use in 1958-59. The cost of one kambal in 1958 went upto Rs.6.75 and including the transport cost to

Konkan the expenditure came to Rs.7.12. The selling price was Rs.9. Thus, the margin worked to less than Rs.2 per kambal. In 1958 the total production of the six families weaving kambals was 1460 kambals. In addition one Dhangar purchased some ready kambals for sale in Konkan. The total number of kambals sold was 1820 and the total profit came to about Rs.3000 i.e. Rs.500 per family. In view of the rise in the prices between 1942-1958 the real earnings of the Dhangars went down considerably and they had to look for some other avenues of work besides kambal manufacturing.

By 1975 there were only 4 looms in operation and those were also not used to their full capacity. The reported production was only 316 kambals in the year. The four families still in the kambal business were now purchasing ready kambals in the market for sale in Konkan. In 1974 they sold in all 1216 kambals. The sale price varied from Rs.25 to Rs.27. The cost of production was Rs.16. Including the transport charge and the interest the cost came to Rs.21, leaving a margin of about Rs.5 per kambal. Thus, a family could on an average earn about Rs.1500 during a year in kambal business. In view of the fact that the Dhangars had to gradually close down the weaving activity because of the problems of working capital and raw material the prospects for the business were not promising to keep the sons of Dhangars in the business and they had mostly migrated to Bombay in search of jobs.

During the 1976 survey the prospects of diversification were discussed with the Dhangars who are still carrying on their traditional business. BCD suggested that it would be possible to add to his trading activity if he can get the working capital. When he moves in

Konkan region to sale the blankets he can take some readymade items like vests to the interior villages. However, he does not have the working capital. Trade in Konkan involves locking up of the capital for about eight months and he cannot manage to raise the requisite resources.

The Dhangars who are today continuing in the kambal weaving trade are middle aged and kambal weaving activity in the village will totally disappear when these Dhangars retire from the business.

(ii) Carpentry : KMS is a carpenter by caste. He is one of the original balutedars of the village and his family, which is now split up into three units headed by three brothers, has a share of the baluta houses in the village. However KMS has only about 30 baluta families. The rest of his income is derived from contracting to build houses. He has done an apprenticeship with a relative in Satara so he knows how to build furniture and the more modern style houses such as those in the city. He would like to expand into making furniture but says that there is no demand for such articles in the village; most items of furniture one finds in the village have been brought back from the city by villagers working there. He also cannot get a loan for this activity from the banks. The Wai Panchayat Samiti office would give him money, for buying better equipment for his trade, but he already has sufficient tools, but not for wood to start the business since that is not what the balutedar Aid Scheme is allowed to finance!

VMS is another carpenter by caste and his father does a major portion of the baluta activity in the village. VMS helps with this whenever needed, also

works half a day every morning as the village postman, and is constantly trying to augment his income in various ways. He purchases old tea boxes at Wai and converts them into household shelves, he buys a mould of 30 kilos of jaggery from a local jaggery making unit in the village, buying at Rs.2/- kilo and selling it in retail at Rs.2.25. He desires to set up a shop to sell kindling wood in the village but this would need an investment of Rs.1,500 at least which he does not have. His family has no land. Recently he got extremely sick, had to be hospitalized and take a loan of over Rs.800/- for the medical treatment. This has completely indebted him for many years. Such is the lot of most of those living on non-agricultural activity in the village who have no land to fall back on.

BMS is a carpenter by caste but has been doing blacksmithy work. Actually he is engaged in several petty activities. He keeps ducks, chickens, can do stone masonry work, and keeps a horse which he rents out during marriage ceremonies. He is not inclined to take bank credit for any business venture because experience of others in the village makes him realize that you can lose everything you own if you default. If he were to expand his activity it would be in the poultry business, but as it is he barely has a room; he has just one khan shed for his family to live in. A poultry would require quite an investment, especially if it was of the modern type that a couple of the larger farmers have gone in for. In order to set people, from this landless artisan group, into non-agricultural business requires far more money than is being offered under the current Government sponsored programmes.

(iii) Masonry Contractor : One of the Nava Bouddha families has been doing masonry work for some years now. The family has barely one-sixth of an acre of land and only one water buffalo. BPB has learnt how to do masonry work from his father and takes on contracts for house construction. In the year preceding the survey he had done six houses in Gulumb and in the surrounding villages.

Most of the BPB's house construction is mud and stone construction. He can earn about Rs.10 per day in masonry work. When he is executing a contract for a house he pays male workers four rupees per day and female workers Rs.2.5 per day. In recent times brick work has become more popular with his clients since it is cheaper. He has to acquire different skills and equipment to accommodate this trend.

If he constructs a eight khan house presently, the cost of the construction was reported to be Rs.6000/- on which he makes a profit of Rs.600/-. He has a good understanding of estimation techniques and will contract either according to brass of work to be done, Rs.130 to Rs.150 per brass of brick work or Rs.200/- per brass of stone work, or he quotes a lump sum per khan of housing that he is constructing.

Brick is bought from a mason in Sirwal, some 18 miles away, the stone is quarried locally and bought at various rates from the farmer who owns the land from which it is quarried and the sand is taken from the stream in the village. BPB would go into contracting on a larger scale if he had more working capital. Presently he has to take an advance from the client to buy the necessary raw material.

BPB has one married daughter who is married to a textile mill worker in Bombay and spends her time scouring the garbage heaps in the city dump at Chembur looking for odds and ends she can sell to the junk dealers. His eldest son is in Satara City at the Industrial Training Institute trying to finish the two year course there so he can get a job in some factory. A second son has been apprenticed to a local carpenter to learn the carpentry trade. When he comes back the family will be able to do all the aspects of house construction including the wood framing.

(iv) Barber Services : BBN is Nhavi by caste. He came to Kochale wadi about 15 years ago to take over the house of his father-in-law. The house is almost a temporary shack or shed made of wattle and thatch roof.

The tools necessary for this trade are quite few and simple. He needs and has an old fashioned razor, a hair trimming machine that is mechanical, a comb or two, a nail cutter, brush, sharpening stone, some soap, oil, and talcum powder.

The charges are a shave for 25 paisa and a hair cut for 50 paisa. If he is doing the work on the baluta system he gets 10 kilograms of grain for doing one man's hair cutting and shaving for a year and 6 kilograms for a child. His annual income consists of about 30 houses on baluta from which he gets a couple of sacks of grain and a little of the other produce each farmer grows. The rest of his business is in cash transactions.

There were two other Nhavi families in the village providing barber service to the Yadavs and Jadhavs respectively.

(v) Sewing Business : In 1942 there were four

families in tailoring business which was usually a part-time activity. By 1958 this number increased to eight. This was mostly run as a subsidiary business along with farming, grocery shop, dealing in blankets, etc. The women often helped the men in tailoring work.

In 1976 it was noted that several people in the village owned sewing machines and about a dozen of them were trying to run a small tailoring business. However, only three or four individuals were successful in the business. The success is partly a result of good relations that they are able to establish with the customers and partly because they are more skilled.

VJ runs a sewing business. She has started it two years back so as to make a living on her own since her husband who is in Bombay has taken a cowife. Her brother purchased a Merrit treadle machine at Rs.410/- and scissors, bobbins, needles, buttons, etc. worth about Rs.100/-.

The business is carried on in one of the rooms in the house and no separate costs for rent, electricity, etc. are incurred. VJ averages an earnings of Rs.2/- day, charging Re.1.5 for blouses, Re. .75 for petticoats, Rs.1.5 for shifts and pyjamas, and Re .75 for underware. The sewing business picks up around Diwali and the Yatra time. At these seasons she averages an extra earning of Rs.60/- or more.

She thinks that she could run another side-business, for instance a small shop selling stationery and ready-made clothes. However you have to tie up your capital in these goods for a long time and she is reluctant to do so.

(vi) Trade in Gulumb : The villagers in 1942

were considerably self-sufficient in their household requirements. Most of the families would have from their own farm jowar, bajra, pulses, vegetables, oil-seeds (they would get the oilseeds crushed in the local ghani). They had to buy some items of grocery like salt, spices, sugar, tobacco, match-box, some stationery, medicines and cloth. The villagers from Gulumb made their purchases at the weekly bazaar at Surur, about three miles from the village, when they had ready cash. For durable items like stationery, lantern, utensils, clothing they visited the shops at Wai. Purchases of cloth needed particularly for wedding or ceremonial purpose were made at Wai. In several families one of the earners was working in Bombay, and they would buy in Bombay and send home items like cloth, spice powder, sugar, soap, medicine. There was, thus, not much scope for village level trading activity. In 1942 there was no cloth shop or other shop stocking consumer durables.

There were two grocery shops in the village. One was set up in 1937 by KBY. He had left schooling and his father and two brothers were managing the farm. His brother-in-law was running a grocery shop in Chidhawali and KBY considered this to be an attractive line. He rented a room in a central location and started the business making the purchases partly on credit and partly with own money. Most of the purchases were made at Bhuinj about 1.6 miles from the village. He stocked oil, salt, sugar, gur, biscuits, stationery, lantern shades, Aspro, Eucalyptus oil, rope and such other necessities. Many of the villagers did not generally have ready cash except after the harvest time or the receipt of remittances and hence made the purchases on credit. Consequently

the shop keeper needed to have considerable working capital to carry sales on credit on a significant scale. He had to keep a careful record and it was necessary to put quite some effort to recover the dues, mainly after the harvest. At times the villagers made payment in terms of groundnut, ghevada or other crops after the harvest. The women folk rarely had any cash with them. They often would give a small quantity of jowar, ghevada stocked in the house to make sundry purchases of tobacco, snuff, sugar, etc. KBY's brother was influential in the village and his position was a great help to KBY in recovering his dues. KBY, thus got well set in the business. He also had a sewing machine and coupled tailoring work with his trade.

A small grocer's shop was run by V. Nhavi, a widow to make a living. She had a small stock of daily necessities purchased mainly at Surur. The shop was located near Maharwada. Her clientele was among the Mahars, Mangs and other labouring families who would buy in very small quantities the daily necessities after they got their wages. Her business was thus carried out mainly in cash. She did not have the means to carry on the business on credit. She was illiterate and could not also manage credit sales. The shop was closed down in 1947 when VN was too old to carry the business.

A shop was started at the same location in 1954 by VBB. He also coupled tailoring work and grocery sales.

In 1947, KHN set a grocery shop in the village. Earlier he was seasonally buying some grocery at Surur and selling it in the village. His shop was well-stocked and in 1958 his was the leading shop in the village.

KBY who did a good business for twenty years had a set-back in 1957. The family lands were partitioned

in 1957 and now he had to look after the farm business as well. This resulted in certain neglect of grocery business. Because of the partition he lost the sewing machine to his brother who did not know any tailoring. He closed down the shop in 1958.

Between the period 1942-1958 two more grocery shops were set up in partnership but these were closed down because the dues with the customers almost wiped out their capital and they could not continue in the business.

In 1976 there were six grocery shops in the village. The purchases were generally made at Wai, Lonand and Bhujinj. The shops stocked sugar, gur, salt, groundnut, oil, kerosene oil, tea, bidi, tobacco, snuff, match-box, tapioca, soap. Some of the shops supplied pulses, chilli and rice.

KHN continued in the business. YBB had closed his shop for about four years but restarted it in 1975. There were four more grocery shops set up in the village during the 'seventies. VH - a teli, was working in Bombay but lost his job and came back to the village and set up a shop in 1973. SB left his job in Bombay and returned to the village. He set up the shop in 1975 investing his savings in the business.

RB also entered this business after he returned from Bombay. RB belongs to Dhangar community. His father was a kambal weaver and was in the traditional business till 1950. RB went to Bombay and worked in the textile mill for 38 years. His wife along with her mother used to run a meals place in Bombay during this period. They returned back to Gulumb in 1975 and RB started a small grocery store that never seems to have much business.

RB invested Rs.500/- for renovating his house to establish the shop, another Rs.500/- for buying the necessary equipment such as scales, weights, containers, etc. and Rs.3000/- in initially stocking up the commodities. Most of this investment money came from his retirement fund and from the "sale" (key money) of the room in Bombay that belonged to his mother-in-law. He sold the room without her knowledge and she is unhappy over this loss of room because she too had to return to Gulumb instead of continuing in Bombay doing her meals business.

RB goes to Khandala or to Wai every couple of weeks to buy supplies. However business does not seem good and his investment is probably not going to work out. BP, also from the Dhangar community, has set up similar grocery and provision shop after retiring from Bombay. There does not seem too much else to invest in if one has no land and one is getting old. People come back with their funds and invest in this small business hoping to augment their income, even very marginally, with this activity.

Almost all of them except SB reported an annual sale of Rs.5000 to 6000/-. SB had a turnover of about Rs.15000/-. There was in addition a fair price shop owned by DM who started it in 1975 when he was a sarpanch. He supplies wheat, ~~rice~~ hybrid jowar and sugar.

There were two small cloth shops established in the village during the 'seventies. One was run by a Dhangar school teacher as a subsidiary business. The purchases were made at Wai, Lonand and Satara. He carried a small stock of coarse sarees, khans and dhoties and some cloth. The other cloth shop was set up

by GV to provide some vocation to his old father. There are no other shops worth the name in the village. There are two small panpatti shops recently set up in the village dealing in bidi, tobacco, panpatti, etc.

The business of bangle sale which was basically a subsidiary business was carried out by one Kasar family and three other families in 1942. In 1976 also there were four families in this trade. It is an itinerant trade. The dealers visit the families in Gulumb and in the surrounding villages for their business. They also attend the weekly markets for sale of bangles.

Two or three families were occupied in collection of agricultural produce and its sale or collection of milk or eggs in the village for onward sale.

(vii) Milk Collection Service : There are three milk collection units in Gulumb. One is run by PT who delivers 20 litres to tea-stalls in Vele everyday. The one run by RS takes 35 litres of milk all of which is sold to the cooperative dairy, Satara Sahakari Society, whose truck comes to Vele every morning. One of the problems with the dairy is that it pays cash every two weeks. The third is run by SH who started the business in 1974. SH used to take 60 litres of milk every day to Vele, however he now takes only 35 of which 5 goes to the Dairy and 30 to tea-stalls in Vele. The following rates were operative in 1976.

	<u>Summer</u>	<u>Rains</u>	<u>Winter</u>
Selling rate per litre (Rs.)	2.10	1.70	1.80
Profit per litre (paise)	20	10	10

SH's day starts at 6.30 a.m. when he has to thoroughly wash his milk-carrying utensils with hot water.

Villagers start bringing in milk which he tests, measures and records in the ledger. This goes on until 8.00 a.m. He uses a bicycle to transport the milk to Vele by 8.30 a.m.

Sometimes he has to wait till 10.00 a.m. for the milk collecting truck to arrive which is a nuisance but he continues to supply to the cooperative dairy because it provides him with equipment such as testing machines that measure fat content, to screen the milk and books and ledgers for accounts. Sometimes he pays Dattatre Rs.4/- to make his trip for him. He is thinking of getting two jersey cows under the Bhumi Vikas Scheme, which would boost up his milk trade.

(viii) Poultry Farming : There are two commercial poultry farms that are presently active in Gulumb. A third which was started faced some problems with diseases affecting the chicks and at the time of the survey the owner was in Bombay looking for a salaried job. However, the family expects to revive the poultry farm eventually.

Of the two active farms, one belonging to SHJ had just been started 3 months ago and the chicks had not reached the egg laying stage. The owner had retired after 23 years service in textile mill in Bombay and has invested his savings in the poultry business.

He purchased a piece of land for about Rs.2000 and constructed the chicken house measuring 40'x15' spending about Rs.6000/-. In addition some equipment, viz. stoves, lantern; feed buckets, etc. worth Rs.500 was purchased and Rs.850 were spent to purchase 225 chicks. The chicks will start laying eggs in six months time.

SHJ has a house in Gulumb, but he has built a

small hut at the chicken farm where he and his wife are staying as they are setting up a new poultry farm which demands constant attention.

HV has had a poultry farm for the past six years. The initial investment of money for the poultry farm came from the savings of his elder brother who lives in Bombay with his family.

HV and a paid servant,¹ who comes from a drought prone area of Osmanabad and has been with him for the last 2.5 years, live at the poultry farm located near Kochalewadi while his wife lives in the village. It is necessary to constantly guard the chicken farm; therefore it becomes quite mandatory for some one from the owners' family to live on the farm.

HV spent Rs.900/- in 1970 for buying equipment for the poultry farm and Rs.5,000/- for the building.

He keeps buying 200 birds every six months or so.² He gets to sell about 140 eggs per day and 180 chickens every 6 months and 7 bags manure from chicken droppings every 2 months.

A dealer comes once a week from Bombay to buy the eggs. He brings cardboard cartons and the eggs are loaded on them. The price paid is Rs.2.00 less per 100 eggs than the Bombay price. Egg prices fluctuate between 40 paise in Winter to 30 paise in Summer.

Each chicken takes 6 months to start to lay eggs and lays eggs for about 15 months. Then the chicken can be sold for Rs.8/- to Rs.12/-.

1 The servant is paid Rs.500/- year plus food and clothing.

2 Cost of the bird is Rs.3.75 + 0.25 for transport that is Rs.4.00 bird. The birds are shipped from near Khadakvasala, near Pune.

A government doctor comes from Satara two times when the chicks are young (1 month and 2 months) to cut beaks and give injections. This service is free.

If we take the full cycle for 200 birds we find the following costs and profits. It was reported that total expenditure including the purchase of birds, maintenance cost for 21 months that includes feed and medicines, transport cost, depreciation and interest was about Rs.12,000/- and the returns from sale of 140 eggs per day for 15 months and sale of chicken etc. worked out to about Rs.19,000/- leaving a profit of Rs.7,000/- which comes to Rs.330 per month.

(ix) Loudspeaker Business : SH, in addition to his milk collection business provides in the wedding seasons service of loudspeaker and mandap hire. He started with an investment of Rs.3,000/- in loudspeakers, mandaps, players, etc. and has been adding to it so now he has about Rs.5,000/- worth of equipment.

He has about 60 engagements a year and charges Rs.75/- for a wedding needing a loudspeaker and mandap, Rs.20/- for a religious puja using only a loudspeaker and Rs.10/- for a barsa (name giving ceremony for baby) where only the service of a loudspeaker is provided.

He claims he makes a profit of Rs.2500/- per year. For executing jobs outside the village he has trained four people, whom he can call and send to the job. He pays them Rs.4/- per day. His business ranges as far as Khandala taluka and he goes on the State Transport Bus or on a bullock cart if much equipment is to be taken. He claims that he has learnt on his own most of the electrical work.

(x) Mandap Decoration and Loudspeakers : DY, aged

25 is basically a Bombay bred person. In 1958 his father and mother were living in Bombay where his father worked in the textile mill and his mother ran a meals service or khanawal. He dropped out of school in the 7th standard and learnt about electronics and electrical repair work in Bombay.

DY claims that he made a lot of money in the city smuggling gold and running hash and opium between Bombay-Delhi. He was caught, jailed and on his release banned from going back to Bombay.

He, therefore, set up a radio repair shop and mandap decoration shop in Gulumb. He uses the electronic know-how he picked up in Bombay and does all the art work and designing of the ornamental arches and backdrops himself. His mandaps are very successful and in demand in the area and especially in the town of Wai where, as he puts it, "they appreciate the sophistication" (of his work). He always wins a prize for his display at the Ganesh festival at Wai. He charges a minimum of Rs.300/- for wedding decorations when he is providing the entrance canopy, the lights, the loudspeaker and music. He has now acquired a large selection of attractive decorative pieces.

Recently he branched out in a new trade by setting a room opposite his present "studio space", and setting up a small bar which sells the local bottled liquor by the glass. He is the only one of the four liquor selling places in the village which is licensed and legal. All the other operations are sub rosa, one of them in fact brewing a home made liquor in the fields.

DV is slowly getting into some electrical contracting work in the area. Recently he redid the

wiring for the lights of a tea-shop in Vele. Now he is bidding for the repair and refurbishing of the interiors of a small school building in Khandala.

DV is one of the more aggressive and diverse of the new people who have started small businesses in Gulumb. With his Bombay upbringing he has been able to find new avenues in which he might invest. Most investors in the village tend to go in for some service activity which is already quite well provided for and therefore they do not succeed well, but DV seems to be always one jump ahead.

(xi) Cycle Repairing : At the time of the survey in 1976 there were three cycle hire and repair shops in the village. All the owners complained that the business was crowded and that there was enough business in the village only for one cycle shop.

Each of the shops had between 4 to 6 bicycles, two of them carried on the business in their house while the third rented a room facing one of the main squares in the village and paid Rs.10/- per month for this space.

RB who has come to village in 1976 to look after his wives' land has set up a cycle repair shop. He has invested about Rs.2,200/- in the business. Rupees 1,500/- were spent to purchase 4 new and 1 old cycle and Rs.700/- for purchasing spare parts and tools. He borrowed the money from his former employer, who runs a cycle shop in Satara. He pays 8 per cent per month interest on this loan. He also goes to this Satara dealer to buy his spare parts.

Rental rates for the cycles are Rs.3/- per day or 40 paise per hour. RB reported that he earns about Rs.150/- per month. He would like to combine it with

some other work since anyway he has to keep the shop open through the day. One of the other cycle shops has a small grocery store attached where sweets or biscuits are sold.

There were two flour mills in the village. Besides grain pound^{ing} service they provide the facility for crushing of oilseed on service charge. These were opened during the early 'fifties and belong to the two leading landowning families in the village. Each of these families also own jaggery making units.

(xii) Jaggery Making Unit : There are three small scale jaggery making units in the village. Mechanical power is used to operate the sugarcane crushers while in 1942 bullock operated crushers were in use. However the basic method of making jaggery is very simple and the traditional technology of making jaggery has not changed.

One of the jaggery making unit was bought in 1966 at a cost of Rs.10,000. There is a large maintenance cost on the machinery since the crushers have to be replaced every three or four years. Last time, the owner complained, it costs Rs.3,000/- for new crushers. The reported costs of running the unit were as follows : The raw materials for a four month season cost about Rs.1,400. The electricity cost came to Rs.4/- per pail and the labour charges were 2 labourers to feed fuel at Rs.2/- per pail, one person for testing at Rs.2/- per pail and 5 labourers to operate the crusher at Rs.3/- per pail.

Sometimes the gur making unit is hired out. Then Rs.22/- per pail are charged as a service cost. It was reported that the unit made a profit of about Rs.4,000/-

in a four month season.

The traditional jaggery manufacturing units are likely to be closed in the near future. A new sugar factory has come up at Bhuij and there is a pressure to deliver the sugarcane to the factory. The closure of jaggery making units and the blanket weaving units is thus imminent. Then the village will be left with no manufacturing activity for outside market.

CHAPTER IX

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

EDUCATION

In the beginning of the 19th century when the British rule was being established, there existed reportedly a system of indigenous elementary schools in many villages of the Bombay Deccan. They were mostly private ventures started by the teachers in response to the local demand and were maintained with the small fees in cash or kind and occasional gifts given by the pupils. In 1824, Mountstuart Elphinstone who was then the Governor of the Bombay Presidency had made an enquiry into the indigenous system of education and he was of the view that this system could be improved and expanded. But his views were not generally accepted and no steps were taken to improve the indigenous system of education.

1. Education during the British Period

A fresh beginning in education was made in 1855 when a Department of Education was set up in the Province and a Director of Education was appointed though the control and direction of education vested in the Government of India. It was transferred to the Provincial Governments in 1870 and in 1883-84, it was transferred further down to the local bodies such as the Municipalities and the District Local Boards. This was due to a new policy introduced by Lord Ripon who was then the Governor-General of India. He recommended the establishment of local bodies in urban and rural areas and suggested that the responsibility for primary education should be transferred to them. Shortly after this, in 1887, a primary school was opened in Gulumb. The village school is thus over 90 years old.

(1) Primary School at Gulumb: At the time the primary school was established in Gulumb, that is in 1887, the curriculum of the primary schools consisted of the Infant's Class and Standards from I to VI. Later, in 1901-02, the Seventh Standard was added at the top and thus the duration of the primary course was raised to eight years. The village school did not however start with the full complement of the infant class and six standards. Even in the year 1899, the school had classes only upto the fifth standard.

All boys then used to be examined by means of an annual examination before they were promoted to the next standard and according to the system then prevailing, the annual examinations were conducted by school inspectors, who used to record the results in an Inspection Book. There is maintained in the village school an Inspection Book which dates back to 1899. The first entry in this Book shows that in the year 1899, the school had classes upto the fifth standard all under a single teacher; that there were 72 pupils of whom 46 had appeared for the annual examination. There was then no school in the neighbouring villages of Vele and Chandak and it is possible that a few of the pupils came from those villages.

It was in this same year, namely 1899 that Lord Curzon became the Governor-General of India and because of his keen interest in education, the Government of India began to take more active interest in education which it had ceased to do ever since the subject was transferred to the Provincial Governments. For the next two decades the initiative in educational policies came very much from the Central Government. A significant

achievement of this period was a large increase in the number of primary schools. A school was opened in Vele in 1909 and another at Chandak in 1911. However, evidently, the schools evoked little interest among the villagers. In Gulumb, not only the attendance did not improve but actually the number gradually dwindled.

In 1907, there were only 51 pupils on the muster and only 23 appeared for the annual examination. In that year, presumably for want of pupils, the fifth standard was closed down. The political leaders were at the time, pressing for the introduction of compulsory primary education. In 1912, Gopal Krishna Gokhale moved a bill in the Central Legislature for the gradual introduction of Compulsory Primary Education throughout the country. There was also a keen demand for Free Primary Education. But the Government turned down both these demands. In the famous Resolution of 1913 on educational policy, the Government refused to recognize the principle of compulsory education for 'financial and administrative reasons of decisive weights' and declared that "the time has not yet arrived when it is practicable to dispense wholly with fees without injustice to the many villages which are waiting for the provisions of school."

(ii) Response to Education : The Inspection Book in the School records that in 1913, on the 20th June, the school celebrated the Birth Day of the Viceroy. The village school committee and all the villagers had then gathered in the school and sweets were distributed to all the children. But that did not help the school very much. The school had failed to evoke the interests

in a whole generation of the Yadavs and the Jadhavs. Next year, even the fourth standard was closed down. It was reported in 1918 that in that year there were only 60 pupils in the school and 55 of them had appeared for the examination. Thus for over 30 years, the school had made little progress. When the school was opened in 1887, not many of the children of school-going age went to the school. Now, in 1918, many of them had children of school-going age. But not many sent their children to school.

(iii) Primary Education Act of 1923: The Constitutional Reforms under the Government of India Act of 1919 were introduced in 1921 and a number of provincial subjects along with Education were transferred to the Indian Ministers who were responsible to the provincial Legislature which had a large elected majority. The major advance under the new regime was the passing of the Primary Education Act of 1923. The Act created statutory bodies called the District School Boards which were subject to control both of the District Local Board and the Education Department and gave them a very wide measure of control over the primary education in the districts. The School Boards appointed their own Administrative Officers and controlled all administration of the primary schools including their supervision and inspection. The objective of the Act was to set up a machinery for the introduction of universal compulsory primary education at an early date. The age period of compulsion was to be of the years from 6 to 11 and corresponded to the Infant and class and the first four standards. The initiative in the matter was ordinarily left to the District Local Boards. If, however, a Board failed to fulfil this obligation, the Act authorised the Government to call upon the Board to

prepare a scheme of compulsion within a specified period. If it still failed to prepare the scheme, the Act gave power to Government to prepare and execute the schemes of compulsion through its own officers and to recover the expenses thereof from the District Local Boards. At the same time, the Bombay District Local Boards Act of 1923 was passed for the rural areas which gave them additional resources in order to enable them to meet their liabilities under the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923. However, of all the District Local Boards, only West Khandesh District Local Board introduced compulsory education for boys only, in all villages of population of 1000 and over. The District Local Board of Satara District did not follow suit nor did anyone force its hands.

(iv) Progress of Primary Education in Gulumb:

In 1924 there were still only 60 pupils on the muster and 54 had appeared for the annual examination. All these years, ever since it was established, the school had only one teacher. In 1925, the school was given two teachers and the number of pupils began to improve. The Inspection Book records that in 1928, slates, pencils and books were given free to the children of the untouchables, that is mainly to the children of the Mahars in the village. In 1930, there were 91 pupils on the muster and 77 had appeared for the annual examination.

Evidently, the villagers began to take notice of the school for in that year they decided that with the growing number of pupils, the school was not adequately housed. When the school was first started in 1887, it used to meet in the house of Govindrao Kulkarni and

then for some time in the house of Mahadu Pandu Patne. Later it was shifted to the temple of Maruti which is in the front of the Temple of Bhairav. In 1930, the School used to meet in the temple of Maruti and it was obviously inadequate for 90 children. Therefore, in that year the villagers decided to build at their own expense a school house around the temple of Bhairav. Altogether, they built 1565 square feet of covered and enclosed space and 1028 square feet of covered verandah. The enclosed space was divided into five rooms for the five classes. Next year, that is in 1931, the school moved into this new building around the temple of Bhairav. In that year, the fifth standard which was previously closed down in 1908 was reopened. Next year, the school was given three teachers. The number of pupils was steadily increasing. In 1934-35, one Appaji Hiraji Kumbhar was the headmaster. He had started a gymnasium and he used to coach the boys in gymnastics and games. The school continued to grow steadily. In 1937, the sixth standard was opened and the school got 4 teachers.

(v) Amendments to Education Act of 1923: In 1937, new constitutional reforms leading to Provincial Autonomy were introduced under the Government of India Act of 1935 and the first popular government came in power in the province. The first important measure under the new Government was to amend the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923. This was done in 1938 and the functions of administration and inspection which had been transferred to the School Boards by the Act of 1923 were taken over by the Government.

Another important measure introduced in 1938 was

the abolition of the system of annual examinations by the school inspectors. From that year, the annual examinations came to be looked upon as a matter of internal school administration and the Administration Officer began to organize the annual examinations with the help of the teachers themselves. Nevertheless, as a rule, the teachers of one school examined the boys of a neighbouring school. The records of these examinations were also preserved and made available to the inspecting officers who had to satisfy themselves that the promotions made from class to class were judicious. The Inspection Books thus continued to be maintained and we see that in the year 1940, the seventh and the final standard was added to the village school. The school thus became a full fledged primary school and the pupils could appear for the final examination at the end of the seventh standard which was then called the Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination. However, even before that and probably since 1931 when the fifth standard was reopened, a few boys from the village had begun to attend the school at Surur about three miles away in order to complete the last two standards and appear for the final examination which was then called the Vernacular Final Examination. This name was changed to the new name of Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination in 1937.

In 1940, when the school became a full fledged primary school, the number of pupils on muster was 85. In 1942-43 there were 117 pupils on the muster though the average attendance was still 86. There was a real drop in the number of pupils the next year, due to the disturbed political situation in the district following

the Independence Movement in 1942. In that year, namely, in 1943-44, there were 108 pupils on the muster and the average attendance was only 73. There were four teachers, a Brahmin, a Maratha, a Muslim and a Christian. But they were all outsiders and none of them lived in Gulumb. They attended the school from their nearby villages like Kenjal and Surur.

(vi) Literacy among men: In 1943, the village had had a school for over 55 years. In other words, the village had a school ever since practically everyone living in 1943 was of school-going age. For, in that year, only 46 out of the 952 living men and only 51 out of the 949 living women were of age above 62 years. Thus practically everyone living in 1943 had a chance to go to school. But not everybody went to school and learnt reading and writing. In 1943, only 341 of the 952 men could read and write and that was only 35.8 per cent of the total. This included the 91 boys who were still in the school. Even if we omitted the children upto 7 years of age, the proportion of literacy among men was only 44.5 per cent. But of course, younger people were more literate than the older ones and that meant that progress was being made. The figures of literacy among men of different ages are presented in Table 1. In a sense, these figures also denote the progress made during successive periods of 15 years. For instance, ^{if} we concentrate attention on the age group 18-32 as one having reached its maximum in literacy, the proportion of literacy in this group in 1943 was 51.9 per cent. The persons who were in this age group, 15 years ago, had in 1943 moved in the age group 33-47 and literacy among them was 35.3 per cent. We might

Table 1. Literacy among men by age-group

Age in years	Percentage of literate men (1942-43)
63 and above	19.6
48-62	19.8
33-47	35.3
18-32	51.9
8-17	62.7

therefore infer that 15 years ago, the literacy among men of age 18-32 was 35.3 per cent. By this logic, the above proportions of literacy would be interpreted as proportions of literacy among men of ages 18-32 in several past years as under:

Year	Inferred proportion of literacy among men of age 18-32
1898	19.6
1913	19.8
1928	35.3
1943	51.9

The logic of the above argument is substantially correct unless literates were liable to higher mortality or a large number of them lapsed into illiteracy or they migrated out of the village in large numbers than did the illiterates. The first is unlikely. The second did not happen; we had checked on that. In the village no one had acquired literacy without having attended a school and practically no one lost it once he acquired it in the school. Finally, the migration out of the village had not occurred on any considerable scale until 1943 and there was no evidence that the literates had

migrated in larger numbers than the illiterates. If therefore the logic of the argument is substantially true, the progress of literacy as inferred above is in general agreement with the history of the village school. In 1898 that is after the village had a school for 20 years, literacy reached the level of 20 per cent. Then for the next 15 years, it made no progress. Since then, until 1932, it kept increasing by one per cent point every year.

(vii) Literacy among women: Compared to the progress of literacy among men, practically no progress had occurred among women. In 1943, out of the 949 women living, only 26 were literate and they included 6 girls who were still in the school. The literacy among women thus was just 2.7 per cent of the total. Even if we omitted the girls upto 7 years of age, the literacy among women of age 8 and above was just about 3.3 per cent. Even if we examined the figures of literacy among women of different ages, they showed very small progress over the years. (Table 2).

Table 2. Literacy among women by age group.

Age in years	Percentage of literate women (1942-43)
33 and over	0.7
18-32	3.7
8-17	6.5

Thus again concentrating attention on the age group 18-32, evidently no progress was made until 15 years ago when the literacy had not reached even a bare 1 per cent. During the last 15 years some progress

was made but very small. The literacy had advanced by no more than 3 per cent in 15 years. The Yadavs and the Jadhavs could not explain it away by pointing to the fact that most of the adult women in the village came from outside and that most of the girls born in the village were eventually married out. That was of course true but that could not explain the prevailing illiteracy among women. For even in 1943, there were only 17 girls on the school muster as compared to 91 boys and only 6 of these girls or their parents knew that the girls were in school. Clearly therefore the Yadavs and the Jadhavs and along with them the others, were not in 1943 yet interested in the education of their daughters.

(viii) School Attendance: They were still becoming familiar with the idea of educating their sons and in 1943, not everybody had accepted it entirely. Even the Government for its part had not yet made the primary education compulsory and the intentions of the Primary Education Act of 1923 had remained unfulfilled after 20 years. In 1943, out of the 121 boys of ages 7-11, as many as 64 did not go to school. The default was the largest among the boys of Kechalewadi. The most convenient school for them to attend was the one at Kenjal; but that was over a mile away and out of 12 boys of ages 7-11 at Kechalewadi only one attended the school. But otherwise, the default was general and was not confined to a particular group. Another serious handicap was that none of the school teachers lived in the village. They lived in the neighbouring villages of Vele, Chandak and Kenjal. They would just come in time for the school and leave the place as

seen as the school was over. Then in 1944-45, the headmaster Mr. Bopardikar began to live in the village and the attendance suddenly improved. It was maintained for the next two years. The figures for the years from 1943-44 to 1946-47 are given in Table 3.

Table 3. School enrolment and attendance (1943-1946)

Year	Number on muster roll		Total	Average daily attendance
	Boys	Girls		
1943-44	91	17	108	73
1944-45	120	20	140	101
1945-46	121	19	140	115
1946-47	126	17	143	118

In the last year, the school got an additional teacher. In that year, there were 5 teachers of whom 3 were trained and 2 were untrained.

(ix) Local Fund Cess: In 1912 the then Government had agreed to bear all additional expenditure on primary education once the District Local Boards contributed one-third of the Local Fund Cess. The Local Fund Cess was first levied in 1863 at the rate of one anna for every rupee of land revenue, with a view to securing additional funds for primary education. The cess was initially levied on a voluntary basis but later in 1869 was generalized. Since then the cess fund was a major source of finance for primary education, and additional grants from Government were limited to one-third of the total expenditure on primary education. The revenue from local fund cess being meagre and inelastic, this had naturally restricted the expansion of primary education. But in 1912, the Government had changed the basis of grants and had agreed to bear all

additional expenditure on primary education provided the District Local Boards contributed one-third of the local fund cess for the purpose. Nevertheless, the Government then refused to consider introducing compulsory primary education for evidently the burden would have been quite heavy.

Compulsory primary education was definitely placed as an objective, for the first time by the Primary Education Act of 1923. However, even then the Government was not sure whether it could indeed afford to pay. Therefore, in the first instance, it left the initiative with the District Local Boards. Secondly, it refused to accept unlimited financial liability if the compulsory primary education was in fact introduced. The Government merely agreed to continue the existing grants-in-aid and to bear only one-third of the additional expenditure that the District Local Boards might incur on account of introducing compulsory primary education. Thus the main financial burden of introducing compulsory primary education was thrown on the District Local Boards. To meet these obligations they were allowed to raise the Local Fund Cess to two annas for every rupee of the land revenue. Many District Local Boards levied the cess at this enhanced rate. But that was not enough to initiate a scheme of compulsory primary education. The Government also was not enthusiastic about approving such schemes for fear of increase in financial liability. As a consequence, only one District Local Board namely that of West Khandesh could initiate compulsory primary education for boys in all villages of 1000 and over.

In 1946, what the popular Government did was to announce in the first instance that an immediate

beginning would be made to introduce compulsory primary education and that the programme would be completed over a period of 10 to 12 years and secondly that the Government would accept the entire financial liability arising out of such a programme.

2. Education during 1947-1958 period

(i) Compulsory primary education: Under the Primary Education Act of 1947, the District Local Boards were required to raise the local fund cess to three annas for every rupee of land revenue and to earmark 5/12th of the local fund cess to primary education. The Government agreed to bear all the additional expenditure on primary education and in practice it meant that the Government would contribute something like 96 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. It was obvious that without the Government accepting such complete financial responsibility, there was little chance of introducing compulsory primary education.

At the same time, in order to reduce the financial burden somewhat the Infant Class was abolished and the duration of the junior Primary Course was thus reduced to four years. This four year course of primary education was made compulsory. The age limit of compulsion was consequently reduced from the age group 6-11 as prescribed in the Primary Education Act of 1923 to 7-11. Then the Government advised all District Local Boards to introduce compulsory primary education for all boys and girls in all villages with a population of 1000.

The scheme was applied to Gulumb as to all the other villages with a population of 1000 and over. The Infant Class was supposed to have been abolished

but somehow, in the village school at Gulumb it continued to exist for some time. It was formally abolished in 1949-50 but then it was continued under another name of I-A while the first standard was called I-B. It was only since 1950-51 that the class was really abolished and the lower primary stage reduced to four years as it was intended.

The compulsory education was also supposed to be free but again for some reason or another, this was not given full effect to in the village school at Gulumb until 1950-51. The education of girls was always free. But the boys were distinguished into two categories: Boys of the landholders and the others. The landholders paid the local cess along with the land revenue and part of the local cess went to finance the primary education. Hence the boys of the landholders used to be charged lower fees than the other boys. Since 1943-44, they were completely exempted from fee for the infant and the first four standards while the other boys paid 2 annas for the infant and the first standard, 3 annas for the second, 4 annas for the third and 5 annas for the fourth standard. They continued to pay these fees even after the introduction of the compulsory primary education until 1950-51 when the first four standards were free for all boys and girls.

With the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1947-48, an intensive effort was made to enrol all the children according to the requirements of the scheme. The compulsion was to be introduced over a period of 5 years beginning with June 1947 according to the following scheme:

1947-48	:	7-8	age group
1948-49	:	7-9	age group
1949-50	:	7-10	age group
1950-51	:	7-11	age group

(ii) Primary school enrolment: The scheme of compulsory primary education was applied to Gulumb as to all the other villages with a population of 1000 and over. The school teachers made a census of the children according to the requirements of the scheme and enrolled them on the school muster. The attendance improved but did not quite keep pace with the enrolment. In the following are the figures:

Table 4: School Enrolment and Attendance (1947-1953)

Year	Number on muster-roll			Average daily attendance
	Boys	Girls	Total	
1946-47	126	17	143	118
1947-48	149	53	202	129
1948-49	170	104	274	171
1949-50	171	98	269	173
1950-51	179	85	264	171
1951-52	159	81	240	172
1952-53	165	59	224	141
1953-54	189	29	218	157

The scheme was fully implemented in 1950-51 and there were 264 pupils on the muster which was almost double of what it was at the beginning of the scheme. But the number of girls was still far short of the number of boys; in fact, it was only half of the number of boys. Evidently, all the girls could not even be enrolled on the muster. Law or no law, the girls could not be forced into the school.

The attendance improved for the first two years but then stabilized at around 170. In the beginning, special attendance officers were appointed to enforce attendance but that did not help and the posts were abolished. There was also the question of accommodation. The school house around the temple of Bhairav began to prove inadequate. So the pupils of the first two standards were required to attend the school in two shifts; girls in the morning from 7.30 to 10.30 and the boys in the afternoon from 3.00 to 5.30. There was also the question of additional teachers. The school was given only one more teacher so that during this period there were 6 teachers of whom only 2 were trained and the others untrained. It was beyond them to bring and keep in the school all the children that were enrolled on the muster.

The attendance did not move up. Next year, as a disciplinary measure, a number of boys and girls were struck off the roll. But that did not help. Then the pressure began to relax and the attendance began to fall. The enrolment of boys was kept up and in fact increased a little but there was no way of getting the girls into the school and hence a large number of them were struck off the roll. By 1953-54, the number of pupils, both boys and girls, had increased by about 50 per cent and the average daily attendance had increased by about 33 per cent. That was so to say the net achievement of seven years' drive for enrolment.

The crux of the matter was the number and quality of the teachers. The parents had no objection, at any rate as far as the boys were concerned, to their children going to the school. But the boys had to be

kept in the school and that needed trained teachers. The conditions gradually began to improve in this respect. The school got additional teachers: in 1954-55 and 1955-56, there were 7 teachers; next two years that is in 1956-57 and 1957-58, there were 8 teachers and in 1958-59, there were 9 teachers. Moreover, a majority of the teachers were now trained: 4 out of 7; 5 out of 7; 5 out of 8; 6 out of 8 and finally 8 out of 9 were trained teachers. Evidently that worked and both the number on the muster and the attendance began to improve rapidly as it never did before.

In 1955-56, the village school got for the first time a lady teacher when Mr. and Mrs. Phutane, husband and wife, came to Gulumb as the school teachers. Apparently, that worked with the girls. In that year, the enrolment of girls suddenly jumped up and the girls began to attend the school. Since then there was always a lady teacher in the school and the movement of education among girls was maintained during the next four years so that in 1958-59 the number of girls on roll was over 5 times of what it was in 1954-55. The villagers apparently accepted the necessity or at any rate the inevitability of educating their daughters too. (Table 5).

(iii) Spread of education among girls: In 1958, only 116 girls or their parents said that the girls were in the school while there were as many as 157 on the muster. In 1958, that is 8 years after the scheme for compulsory education was fully implemented, not all the girls of ages 7-11 were still in the school. In that year out of the 189 girls of these ages 83 did not attend the school or had never attended

Table 5: School Enrolment and Attendance

Year	Number on muster roll			Average daily attendance
	Boys	Girls	Total	
1954-55	202	30	232	178
1955-56	217	100	317	221
1956-57	237	109	346	257
1957-58	213	133	346	256
1958-59	245	157	402	290

the school. This was 45 per cent of the total. But that meant that in the matter of going to school, the girls had more or less reached the same stage in 1958 as had the boys 15 years ago in 1942. In that year, 50 per cent of the boys of ages 7-11 did not still attend the school. The movement had however started only recently and for that reason a larger number of girls in the school were in the lower standards. We might in fact compare the boys in the school in 1942 with the girls in the school in 1958 and see the difference. (Table 6)

Table 6: Distribution of boys and girls according to school standard

School standard	No. of boys in 1942	Per cent	No. of girls in 1958	Per cent
I	14	15.4	23	19.8
II	19	20.9	38	32.8
III	18	19.8	31	26.7
IV	19	20.9	15	12.9
V	14	23.0	2	7.8
VI	2		3	
VII	5		4	
	91	100.0	116	100.0

Thus while nearly 44 per cent of the boys in the school in 1942 had progressed beyond III standard, only about 20 per cent of the girls in the school in 1958 had done so. But the education of the girls had received a great spurt only three years back and there was little doubt that a larger number of girls would be found in higher standards in due course.

The situation, as regards the education of girls had markedly improved by 1958 in comparison with the situation 16 years ago i.e. in 1942. For in that year, only 6 girls attended the school and 5 of them were either in the Infant Class or in I standard. No one took their education seriously. In fact, the only serious case of girl's education was that of a 14 year unmarried girl who was then finishing her VII standard. She was the daughter of Abubhai Pathan, a Muslim family. Abubhai greatly valued education and he took the education of girls as seriously as that of the boys. In fact, Jamalbi was his eldest daughter and she was reading in VII standard. That means that in 1942 she was already in the school for seven years. Abubhai had a younger son too, Nizam then 12 years old and he was reading in V standard. In due course, he went as far as the matriculation and then became the school teacher in the village school.

Thus, in 1942, Abubhai was the solitary example. In 1958, the conditions had changed. There were then 9 girls in V, VI and VII standards. Four of them were in fact studying in VII standard. One of them was the daughter of the Brahmin school teacher in the village school, but the other three were daughters of Maratha farmers, Yadav, Jadhav and others. If we must seek an explanation, we might note that in two of the three

latter cases, the fathers of the girls were working in Bombay as mill workers. There were 5 girls in V and VI standards: They were daughters respectively of two Brahmins, a Sonar, a Dhanagar and a Maratha farmer. It is possible therefore that the education of girls, beyond the compulsory stage, was not yet universally accepted as either desirable or useful. But the things had certainly begun to move.

(iv) Education among boys: Things had progressed very well indeed as far as the boys were concerned and in their case, the aim of compulsory primary education was very nearly achieved in 1958. Out of 196 boys of ages 7-11, only 24 did not attend the school. This was only 12 per cent of the total; the default was over 50 per cent 15 years ago. However, the small default in 1958 was not entirely random; it was largely confined to two classes, namely the erstwhile Maharas converted to Buddhism and the small group of unsettled households. In these two classes of households, out of 36 boys of ages 7-11, as many as 15 did not attend the school. Out of these 15 boys, 5 were the children of the unsettled households like the Kaikadi, Vadar and nomadic Dhanagars. Their fathers were usually not at home and there was no one therefore to compel the boys into the school. It was not so in respect of the 10 boys of the Nava Bouddhas. In their case the boys had to provide a helping hand in the work rather than attend the school because of the acute poverty.

If we omit these classes, the default was indeed very small: out of 160 boys of ages 7-11, only 9 did not attend the school, which is only a little over 5 per cent. Out of these 9 boys, 2 were in fact physically disabled; the 7 year son of Sadu Nana Yadav was

a cripple and the 9 year old son of Rau Nana Yadav was dumb. Maruti Vithu Bhilare lived on a farm house about a mile away from the school; his son was just 7 year old and he did not force him into the school. Vishnu Bhilare was a farm labourer and moved from place to place in search of work. His 8 year son moved with him. Mahmad Abubhai was too poor and could not pay attention to his son's education. The other 4 boys were either the youngest or the only child in the households and were kept at home out of fondness. Sooner or later they would be put into the school. There was no default at Kochalewadi. There were 15 boys of the ages 7-11 there and all of them attended the school at Kenjal a mile away.

(v) School accommodation: With the increasing attendance, the school house again began to prove inadequate. So in 1955-56, first one teacher and then another began to hold their classes in the temple of Maruti where the school used to be housed until 1930. But even that proved inadequate and finally the school teachers reported the matter to the villagers. There was no other space available in the village where the school could be even partly accommodated. It was evident that a new school house had to be built. A plot of land called Parde No.1 adjoining the village site and measuring about an acre was chosen for the purpose. The plot belonged to the Rastes and they gifted it away for the purpose. The plot of land was too close to the village site and too much in the way to be cultivated and had been left uncultivated for several years. But during early 'fifties it was taken up by Rama Maruti Mahar and brought under cultivation. He surrendered it only after considerable pressure

brought to bear on him. The Community Development Block administration was willing to contribute 60 per cent of the building expenses provided the villagers contributed the remaining 40 per cent. But the villagers were then split into factions vaguely described as the Congress and the Samiti parties and none would take the lead for collecting the necessary contributions. Finally, a number of young men from the village working in Bombay took the lead and collected Rs.3000 between themselves. But they would not trust the money to anybody in the village and instead directly engaged a contractor from Wai. This gentleman after taking an advance of Rs.1200 for purchase of materials did not turn up at all and practically the whole amount was lost except for a small amount of material which had arrived on site. That made them wiser. They agreed to contribute Rs.2000 towards the school building and leave the construction to the local men. Tanhaji Nanaji Yadav represented the group of men in Bombay. Ramchandra Nanaji Jadhav, leader of the Congress party in the village and the Chairman of the village cooperative society took the lead and the work started. The villagers contributed Rs.300 in cash and about Rs.1200 in material and labour. The Community Development Block administration contributed Rs.3500 and the school building was completed in May of 1958 and handed over to the school. The new building had only two rooms and hence two classes began to be held there from June 1958. The school was thus divided into three blocks: the main school house around the temple of Bhairav, the temple of Maruti and the new school house.

(vi) Secondary school education: Though making primary education legally compulsory was largely responsible for the rapid expansion of primary education, it seemed that what was now operating was not so much the legal compulsion, but a genuine desire on the part of the parents to educate their children, particularly the boys. This was evident from the fact that more than 40 per cent of the boys who were in school in 1958 had progressed beyond the compulsory stage of first four standards. In fact, out of the 279 boys in school in 1958, as many as 35 which is one-eighth of the total had passed out of the primary school and were attending high schools outside the village. In 1942 there was not a single case of the kind. A comparison of the schooling levels in 1942 and 1958 would be instructive. (Table 7).

Table 7: Distribution of Boys According to School Standard

School standard	No. of boys in 1942	Per cent	No. of boys in 1958	Per cent
I	14	15.4	44	15.8
II	19	20.9	34	12.2
III	18	19.8	34	12.2
IV	19	20.9	53	19.0
V	14	15.4	39	14.0
VI	2	7.6	21	26.0
VII	5		19	
High School	-		35	
	91	100.0	279	100.0

Thus in 1942, only 7 boys which is 7.6 per cent of all the school boys went beyond V standard. No one went

beyond VII standard. In 1958, not only a much larger number of boys attended the school but a much larger proportion, 26.8 per cent, went beyond V standard and what was even more remarkable, nearly half of them in fact went beyond VII standard. As many as 35 boys from the village went to high school. This was indeed remarkable because there was not yet a high school in the village and the boys mostly went to Wai to attend one. There was no doubt therefore that the desire was growing to pursue education.

The nearest high school was that at Surur, three miles away. But that was started only two years back and only a few boys from the village had begun to attend it. Until then the nearest high school was at Wai, about 10 miles away, and a majority of the high school boys attended the high school at Wai. Wai was 10 miles away and it was not possible to attend the high school there from the village. Therefore the boys lived at Wai, cooked by themselves or managed their messes in groups and entered the high school. A few could stay in Bombay or other places with their relatives and could pursue education. The numbers were as under: at Surur 6; at Wai 17; at Bombay 8 and at other places, namely Poona, Kolhapur, Khandala and Dehradun 4. They had also progressed well into the high schools. The standards they were studying in were as under:

<u>Standard</u>	<u>Number</u>
VIII	7
IX	9
X	7
XI	10
	<hr/>
	33

Besides, one was doing a Radio technology course in Bombay and one had entered the Military Academy at Dehradun.

The progress in education was till to an extent selective: 8 out of the 35 boys who had gone beyond the primary school were Brahmins. But the rest came from different communities: 20 were sons of Maratha farmers; 3 were sons of Dhanagars; 2 were sons of Kasars and one each was a son of a Nava Bouddha and a Mang.

(vii) Literacy among men: The expansion of education particularly among the boys had occurred over a number of years. Consequently, there were in 1958, many more men in the village who had been through the school than there were 15 years ago. For instance, in 1943, there were 250 men who had been through the school; in 1958, there were 456 such cases. They could all at least read and write. There were besides 5 men who could also read and write though they had never been to school. As a result, though the population also had increased considerably, literacy had greatly progressed during the 15 years since 1943. The character of the population had thus changed. In 1958, 56.9 per cent of all men were literate as compared to 35.8 per cent in 1943. If we omit children under 7, the literacy among men of age 8 and above was 68.1 per cent in 1958 as compared to 44.5 per cent in 1943. A comparison of the proportions of literacy among men of different ages in the two periods is instructive.

Thus the literacy in 1958 in the age groups 63 and above, 48-62 and 33-47 corresponded closely to the literacy in 1942 in the age groups 48-62, 33-47 and

Table 8: Literacy Among Men by Age Group

Age in years	Percentage of literate men	
	1942	1958
63 and above	19.6	17.0
48-62	19.8	37.4
33-47	35.3	52.6
18-32	51.9	80.2
8-17	62.7	90.9

18-32. That is how the successive age groups in the two years were mutually related and it is not surprising that the literacy in them should agree closely. For the group 33-47 in 1958 was nothing but the survival of the age group 18-32 in 1942. There was little chance of acquiring literacy after the age 18 and few acquired it without going to school. The close correspondence also suggests that the factors of mortality and migration did not affect the literates and illiterates differentially.

The efforts made in the past 15 years would be reflected in the age group 18-32 and if it is compared with the same age group 15 years ago, the progress achieved becomes evident. If we therefore concentrate attention on this age group, 18-32, we find that the literacy had progressed from 51.9 per cent to 80.2 per cent which is an increase of over 28 per cent points. In the previous 15 year period, namely, from 1958 to 1942-3 the literacy in this age group apparently increased from 35.3 to 51.9 per cent which is an increase of just over 16 points or roughly at the rate of one

per cent point per year. Fifteen years ago 62.7 per cent of the children of ages 8-17 were literate and this resulted in a literacy of 80.2 per cent in the age group 18-32 fifteen years later.

(viii) Literacy among women: Literacy among women was still small even in 1958. But in comparison with what it was in 1942, undoubtedly much progress had been during the 15 years. In 1942, the literacy among women was no more than 2.7 per cent; or if we confine attention to only women 8 years and over, it was still only 3.3 per cent. In 1958, the percentages were 19.2 per cent and 20.3 per cent respectively. We might compare the proportion of literacy among women of different age groups in the two periods (Table 9).

Table 9: Literacy Among Women by Age Group

Age in years	Percentage of literate women	
	1942	1958
43 and over	-	0.6
33 - 47	0.7	5.6
18 - 32	3.7	20.7
8 - 17	6.5	48.4

As in the case of men, we should concentrate attention on the age-group 18-32. Then whether we compare the age group at two periods 1942 and 1958 or whether we compare the age groups 18-32 and 33-47 in 1958, it is evident that the literacy in the age group 18-32 increased by about 15 per cent over the past 15 years, though much of the progress was in fact done only in 1953-1958 period. In 1958, the level of

literacy among women of age 18-32 was 20.7 per cent. This was about the same as the level of literacy among men in 1913 or even in 1898. But the pace of progress was now much faster.

Incidentally, we should note that almost all the women of age 18-32 were married women (only 3 out of the 205 were unmarried) and most of them had married into the village from outside. Their literacy was therefore not directly related to the spread of education in Gulumb but to the spread in other villages from where they came. It would be evident that progress in education was not confined to Gulumb, it was more general and widespread.

(ix) Higher education among men: In 1958, there were over a hundred men who had completed the Primary School Certificate Examination and 35 of them had proceeded even further. Education had changed the character of the population, not only because of an increased proportion of literates but also because of higher educational attainments. The 456 men who were through the school in 1958 were better educated, on an average, than the 250 men who were through the school in 1942. The comparative position is given in Table 10. Thus in 1942, less than 10 per cent of the men who had been through the school had finished VII standard and only 2 of them had gone beyond the Primary School. Both of them were Brahmins by caste and had not indeed gone beyond VIII and IX standards. The conditions had changed greatly during the course of the 15 years. In 1958, nearly 24 per cent of the men who had been through the school had finished VII standard and nearly one-third of them had progressed beyond. The educational

Table 10: Educational Attainment of Men with Schooling

School standard	Standards completed by men who were through the school			
	No. of men in 1942	Percent	No. of men in 1958	Percent
I	10	4.10	10	2.2
II	42	16.8	48	10.5
III	42	16.8	61	13.4
IV	69	27.6	114	25.0
V	41	16.4	64	14.0
VI	22	8.8	50	11.0
VII	22	8.8	74	16.2
High School	2	0.8	35	7.7
	250	100.0	456	100.0

attainments of the 35 men who went beyond the primary school, were also not quite meagre. (Table 11).

Table 11: Educational Attainment of Men with High School Education

Standard	No. of men in 1958
VIII	8
IX	4
X	3
XI	5
Matriculation	10
Intermediate	1
Teacher's training	3
Matriculation and Teacher's training	1
	35

Thus 15 of the 35 had definitely attained the higher stage of educational attainment. These men also came from different communities. Fourteen of them were Maratha farmers; 5 were Dhanagars; 5 were Brahmins; 3 were Nava Bouddhas; one each was a Mali, a Sonar, a Nhavi, a Shimpi, a Koli, a Mang and two were Atars (Muslims).

(x) Objectives of education: The Infant Class together with the first four standards were expected to impart to the pupils a fair proficiency in the three R's. That was what they usually achieved and they rarely went beyond that. Therefore, the boys pursuing the school only upto the fourth standard did not aspire for anything more than literacy. However, those who proceeded beyond the fourth standard aspired for a positive educational attainment. In particular, the passing of the seventh standard examination was regarded a sufficient qualification to enter subordinate public service which included such careers as that of the primary school teachers, the Talathi, that is the village accountant, the police, the surveyors of land, etc. The school final examination was firmly rooted as an entrance to the subordinate public service because of its long history. In fact, when the examination was first instituted in 1866 it used to be called the Second Class Public Service examination. Later in 1887, it began to be called the Third Grade Public Service Examination. In 1904-05, the name was changed to the Public Service Certificate (Vernacular) Examination. Thus until 1905, the examination was explicitly called the Public Service Examination of some sort or the other. It was only in 1906-07 that it began to be called

just the Vernacular Final Examination. The name was further improved in 1936-37 by dropping the term 'vernacular' and by calling the examination Primary School Leaving Certificate Examination. The name was further elevated in 1940 by changing it to the Primary School Certificate Examination. But in spite of the changes in the name, the tradition lingered on and in 1942, it was still looked upon as an entrance to subordinate service.

The situation was not very different even in 1957, though much thought had been given to the subject in between. With the attainment of Independence in 1947, it was realised that the objectives of primary education needed to be restated. They were appropriately defined to be to develop the personality of the child, to build up his character, to teach him the dignity of labour and the responsibilities of citizenship and generally to bring him into closer contact with his immediate environment and its problems. With these objectives in view, the syllabus of the primary school was revised in 1947 and an attempt was made to adapt it to the practical needs of life and generally bring it closer to the concept of basic education which was first placed before the country by Mahatma Gandhi in 1937. More active steps were also taken to gradually convert the primary schools to basic education schools.

The village school at Gulumb was converted into a basic education school in 1957. In that year the old name of Local Board Marathi Shala (School) was changed to Jeevan(Basic to Life) Shikshan Mandir (School). There were three types of basic education schools being organised; one based on papercraft and carpentry; the

second based on spinning and weaving; and the third based on gardening and agriculture. The village school at Gulumb adopted paper-craft and carpentry. Paper-craft was taught in the second, third and fourth standards while carpentry was taught in the fifth, sixth and seventh standards. Introduction of these courses however did not alter the basic perspective.

(xi) Education and occupations: In Gulumb the passing of the Primary School Certificate Examination had not in 1942, affected the occupations of the educated. There were then 24 men who had passed this examination but it was only in respect of 2 or 3 of them that one could say that education had affected their occupation. For instance, 15 out of these 24 men were still living in the village and were following more or less their traditional occupations: 10 of them were farming; there was a Dhanagar and he continued to weave woollen blankets; there was a Brahmin and he continued in his traditional vocation of a Brahmin in the village; two others were Maratha by caste - one of them set up a grocer's shop while the other started working on a sewing machine, the last one was a Brahmin and started engaging himself in small trade in agricultural commodities. In none of these cases, the schooling was directly relevant; these were the sort of occupations in which many others entirely illiterate also engaged themselves. The remaining 9 were working in Bombay: 2 Mahars, a Maratha, a Dhanagar and a Brahmin were working in textile mills; another Maratha was working as a coolie at a wholesale grain-dealer's; a Nhavi continued his vocation of a barber but in Bombay; only two men, both Marathas entered the Police service and only in their case, the schooling was directly relevant and useful.

The situation was somewhat different in 1958. If we confine attention to the 35 men who had progressed beyond the Primary School, the picture was as under:

Ten of them were primary school teachers - 3 outsiders who came to Gulumb as teachers and 7 men of Gulumb who became primary school teachers, 2 of them in the village school and 5 in other schools at different places. Among the three teachers who came to Gulumb, one was a Brahmin, one a Mali and one a Shimpi. Among the 7 were of the village who became teachers, there were 3 Dhanagars, one was a Maratha, one was a Mahar, one was a Koli and one was a Muslim. Thus the Primary Education itself served as an avenue for most of its own product. If we leave out these 10, then among the remaining 25, 7 lived in the village and more or less followed their traditional vocation: 3 were sons of Maratha farmers and kept to farming though they were generally not happy about it; the Brahmin, the Nhavi and the Muslim followed their traditional vocations in the village; only the Dhanagar set up a shop but that was hardly because of his schooling. The remaining 18 left the village for various places: 11 were in Bombay and the others at Poona, Wai and Kolhapur. Their vocations were as under: Mill workers 3; Hotel worker 1; Shop keeper 4; Bus conductor 1; Clerks 4; Shop assistant in an electrical shop 1; Peons 2; Army 1; Jail Warden 1; It is seen that barring 4 or 5 of these cases, in most other cases the schooling was relevant or proved useful.

The levels of education attained by women who had been through the school were not much below those reached by men in 1942. In Table 12 are the standards reached by women who had been through the school in 1958.

Table 12: Educational Attainment of Women with Schooling

School standard	No. of women (1958)	Percent
I	7	5.8
II	33	27.3
III	24	19.8
IV	36	29.7
V	3	2.5
VI	4	3.3
VII	11	9.1
High School	3	2.5
	121	100.0

Thus, 11.6 per cent of the educated women had finished VII standard and a few had gone into the high school. In 1942, less than 10 per cent of the educated men had finished VII standard. Of the 14 women who had finished the primary school one was a school teacher in the village school and was an outsider. Of the remaining 13, only 2 were daughters of the village; the others came into the village as wives, daughters-in-law and sisters-in-law. They had therefore received their education somewhere outside. One of them was a school teacher and was working at Satara. Her husband was also a village teacher and was working in the village school; while she worked as a teacher at Satara. If we leave out these two school teachers, among the remaining 12 educated women 6 stayed in the village and worked in the house and in the family occupation. The remaining 6 were not living in the village but only one of them was working as a clerk in Bombay. The

others were living with their husbands: 2 in Bombay, 2 in Poona and in one case with her father at Wai.

Generally, therefore, the schooling had not yet set up women in independent occupations.

3. Education during the Period 1959-1966

In 1959 all elementary education (i.e. upto Standard VII) became free in Western Maharashtra in all primary schools, except those conducted by private bodies. For the promotion of education among Backward classes viz. (i) the Scheduled Castes (ii) the Scheduled Tribes and (iii) other Backward Classes which included a number of nomadic and semi-nomadic communities various educational concessions and incentives were extended by the Central and the State Governments. In April 1959, the State Government decided to extend the then existing classification of other Backward classes to include all persons with annual income not above Rs.900/-. The pupils from these families were entitled to free education at all stages. In July 1960 the income limit was raised to Rs.1200/- per annum. In addition the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are given benefits in the form of scholarships, hostel facilities etc. These facilities promoted in some measure progress of education among the settled backward sections notably the Mahar community.

(i) Progress of education in Gulumb*: The proportion of literate persons increased from 53.2 per cent to 66.1 per cent in the case of men between 1958-59 and 1966-67 and the corresponding figures for women were

* Data for the year 1966 presented in this Section is taken from Chapter 9, Education in Gulumb: A case study, from the book 'Progress of Education in Rural Maharashtra (Post Independence Period), A.R.Kamat, Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, Pune, 1968

15.9 per cent and 31.8 per cent. The progress in literacy noted for the age groups 8-17 and 18-32 is indicated in Table 13.

Table 13: Literacy Among Men and Women by Age Group

Age group	Literacy percent- age among men		Literacy percent- age among women	
	1958	1966	1958	1966
8 - 17	90.9	96.8	48.4	76.6
18 - 32	80.2	87.4	20.7	32.6

In 1966 there were only 11 illiterate boys in the age-group 8-17, two Kaikadis, three Wadars, two Marathas and one each a Koli, Dhangar, Nava-Boudha and Ramoshi. In the case of girls in the age-group of 8-17 years increase in literacy was at a rate of more than three points per year. The distribution of the 79 illiterate girls among the different caste groups is presented in Table 14.

Table 14: Distribution of Illiterate Girls by Caste Group

Caste group	No. of girls in the age- group 8-17	No. of il- literate girls	Percent
Marathas	264	51	19.2
Other castes ex- cluding scheduled & backward castes	29	4	13.8
Scheduled castes	27	11	40.7
Backward castes	17	13	76.5
Total	337	79	23.4

It is apparent that despite some progress in literacy the economically and socially backward communities

continue to lag behind in education (Table 15).

In 1942-43 there was not much difference in the level of literacy between the persons in different agricultural occupations. However, by 1958-59 the cultivators were ahead of labourers both in the percentage of literates and the proportion of educands. (Table 16). The proportion of literates was 58 per cent among the cultivators while it was 48 per cent among the labourers for males and the corresponding proportions for females were 22 per cent and 7 per cent respectively. Within the cultivators there was some difference in the level of education in different landholding groups (Table 17). In 1958-59 percentage of literates among men was about 50 in the case of small landholding groups, it was around 55 per cent in the middle groups and 68 per cent for the group with above 20 acres of landholding. If the educational level in families with or without direct urban contact is considered (Table 18) it is found that in 1958-59 the proportion of literates was 62 per cent among those without urban contact and 72 per cent among those with urban contact in the case of males while in the case of females no difference was observed between the two groups.

(ii) Spread of schooling: The enrolment of boys in the school recorded some increase and the figure then stabilized around 270 and in the case of girls it remained around 150 throughout the period (Table 19). The attendance, however, improved considerably. The enrolment of girls continued to be low, mainly because of the early withdrawal from the school. It will be seen from the figures given in Table 20 that there is a sudden drop in attendance after the V standard, i.e.

Table 15 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Principal Caste-Groups

Male Population

Caste-group	1942-43									
	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	Literates						Educands	Percent Educands
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total literates	Percent literates			
Brahmins	10	2	1	5	2	8	80.0	2	20.0	
Marathas	483	316	115	52	-	167	34.6	59	12.2	
Intermediate Hindus 1	28	13	14	1	-	15	53.6	4	14.3	
Intermediate Hindus 2	17	12	4	1	-	5	29.4	1	5.9	
Backward Classes and Tribes	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Scheduled Castes	87	55	30	2	-	32	36.8	17	19.5	
Muslims	10	1	7	2	-	9	90.0	4	40.0	
Total	643	407	171	63	2	236	36.7	87	13.5	

Table 15 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Principal Caste-Groups

Male Population

Caste-group	1958-59									
	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	Literates						Educands	Percent Educands
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total literates	Percent Literates			
Brahmins	8	-	1	6	1	8	100.0	2	25.0	
Marathas	629	265	210	142	12	364	57.9	188	29.9	
Intermediate Hindus 1	35	6	17	12	-	29	82.9	11	31.4	
Intermediate Hindus 2	19	6	10	2	1	13	68.4	6	31.6	
Backward Classes and Tribes	27	17	9	1	-	10	37.0	6	22.2	
Scheduled Castes	96	55	31	10	-	41	42.7	15	15.6	
Muslims	13	4	5	2	2	9	69.3	1	7.7	
Total	827	353	283	175	16	474	57.3	229	27.7	

Table 15 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Principal Caste-Groups

Female Population

Caste-group	1942-43									
	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	Literates						Educands	Percent Educands
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates			
Brahmins	4	3	1	-	-	-	1	25.0	-	-
Marathas	650	637	13	-	-	-	13	2.0	2	0.3
Intermediate Hindus 1	32	29	3	-	-	-	3	9.4	-	-
Intermediate Hindus 2	25	23	2	-	-	-	2	8.0	1	4.0
Backward Class and Tribes	10	9	-	1	-	-	1	10.0	-	-
Scheduled Castes	89	89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Muslims	23	20	2	1	-	-	3	13.0	3	13.0
Total	833	810	21	2	-	-	23	2.8	6	0.7

Table 15 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Principal Caste-Groups

Caste-group	Female Population									
	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	1958-59						Educands	Percent Educands
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates			
Brahmins	14	5	4	4	1	9	64.3	4	28.6	
Marathas	796	634	154	8	-	162	20.4	89	11.2	
Intermediate Hindus 1	34	17	14	3	-	17	50.0	8	23.5	
Intermediate Hindus 2	31	20	11	-	-	11	35.5	2	6.5	
Backward Class and Tribes	34	30	3	1	-	4	11.7	1	2.9	
Scheduled Castes	106	99	6	1	-	7	6.6	1	0.9	
Muslims	21	16	4	1	-	5	23.8	1	4.8	
Total	1036	821	196	18	1	215	20.8	106	10.2	

Table 16 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Main Occupation

Occupation group	Male Population									
	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	1942-43						Educands	Percent Educands
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates			
Cultivators	281	188	65	28	-	93	33.1	37	13.2	
Cultivators partly depending on farm labour	101	79	19	3	-	22	21.8	13	12.9	
Labourer	17	11	6	-	-	6	35.3	2	11.8	
Non-agricultural occupations	244	129	81	32	2	115	47.1	35	14.3	
Total	643	407	171	63	2	236	36.7	87	13.5	

Table 16 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Main Occupation

Male Population									
1958-59									
Occupation group	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	Literates						
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Cultivators	365	152	121	84	8	213	58.4	122	33.4
Cultivators partly depending on farm labour	189	99	63	27	-	90	47.6	41	21.7
Labourer	45	23	18	4	-	22	48.9	9	20.0
Non-agricultural occupations	228	79	81	60	8	149	65.4	57	25.0
Total	827	353	283	175	16	474	57.3	229	27.7

407

Contd.

Table 16 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Main Occupation

Female Population

Occupation group	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	1942-43						
						Literates			
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Cultivators	405	394	11	-	-	11	2.7	1	0.5
Cultivators partly depending on farm labour	125	125	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Labourer	33	31	2	-	-	2	6.1	1	3.0
Non-agricultural occupations	270	260	8	2	-	10	3.7	3	1.1
Total	833	810	21	2	-	23	2.8	6	0.7

Contd.

Table 16 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Main Occupation

Female Population

Occupation group	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	1958-59										
			Upto 4th std.			5th to 7th std.		Above 7th std.		Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates						
Cultivators	504	395	104	5	-	109	21.6	58	11.5				
Cultivators partly depending on farm labour	214	188	24	2	-	26	12.1	14	6.5				
Labourer	59	55	4	-	-	4	6.8	1	1.7				
Non-agricultural occupations	259	183	64	11	1	76	29.3	33	12.7				
Total	1036	821	196	18	1	215	20.8	106	10.2				

Table 17 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Size of Land-Holding for Cultivator Households

Males

Size of land-holding	1942-43								
	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	Upto 4th std.			Literates		Educands	Percent Educands
			5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates			
Less than 2 acres	58	48	8	2	-	10	17.2	4	6.9
2 to 5 acres	101	71	21	9	-	30	29.7	17	16.8
5 to 10 acres	104	74	22	8	-	30	28.8	13	12.5
10 to 20 acres	66	45	11	10	-	21	31.8	1	1.5
Above 20 acres	35	18	14	3	-	17	48.6	11	31.4
Total	364	256	76	32	-	108	29.7	46	12.6

Table 17 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Size of Land-Holding for Cultivator Households

Males

Size of land-holding	1942-43									
	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	Literates						Educands	Percent Educands
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates			
Less than 2 acres	58	48	8	2	-	10	17.2	4	6.9	
2 to 5 acres	101	71	21	9	-	30	29.7	17	16.8	
5 to 10 acres	104	74	22	8	-	30	28.8	13	12.5	
10 to 20 acres	66	45	11	10	-	21	31.8	1	1.5	
Above 20 acres	35	18	14	3	-	17	48.6	11	31.4	
Total	364	256	76	32	-	108	29.7	46	12.6	

Table 17 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Size of Land-Holding for Cultivator Households

Males											
Size of land-holding	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates	1958-59								
			Upto 4th std.			5th to 7th std.		Above 7th std.		Educands	Percent Educands
			Total Literates	Percent Literates	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Total Literates	Percent Literates			
Less than 2 acres	119	60	39	18	2	59	49.6	34	28.6		
2 to 5 acres	171	82	55	32	2	89	52.0	48	28.1		
5 to 10 acres	149	62	53	32	2	87	58.4	50	33.6		
10 to 20 acres	78	35	25	18	-	43	55.1	19	24.4		
Above 20 acres	37	12	12	11	2	25	67.6	12	32.4		
Total	554	251	184	111	8	303	54.7	163	29.4		

Table 17 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Size of Land-Holding for Cultivator Households

		Females							
		1942-43							
Size of land-holding	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates						Literates	
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Less than 2 acres	103	103	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 to 5 acres	136	133	3	-	-	3	2.2	-	-
5 to 10 acres	133	132	1	-	-	1	0.7	-	-
10 to 20 acres	109	106	3	-	-	3	2.7	1	0.9
Above 20 acres	20	17	3	-	-	3	15.0	-	-
Total	501	491	10	-	-	10	2.0	1	0.2

Table 17 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Size of Land-Holding for Cultivator Households

		Females							
		1958-59							
Size of land-holding	Total population excluding age-group 0-4	Illiterates				Literates			
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Less than 2 acres	170	144	25	1	-	26	15.3	15	8.8
2 to 5 acres	223	178	43	2	-	45	20.2	21	9.4
5 to 10 acres	178	145	29	4	-	33	18.5	21	11.8
10 to 20 acres	103	86	17	-	-	17	16.5	7	6.8
Above 20 acres	44	30	14	-	-	14	31.8	8	18.2
Total	718	583	128	7	-	135	18.8	72	10.0

Table 18 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Urban Contact and Occupation

Male Population (1958-59)

Occupation groups	Total population excluding age-group 0-3	Illiterates	No Urban Contact						
						Literates			
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Cultivators	117	45	34	35	3	72	61.5	29	24.8
Agricultural labour (Partly cultivators)	84	42	27	15	-	42	50.0	16	19.0
Agricultural labour	33	13	15	5	-	20	60.6	8	24.2
Cultivator and non-agricultural occupation	85	22	36	23	4	63	74.1	23	27.1
Non-agricultural main occupation	42	14	11	11	6	28	66.7	11	26.2
Total	361	136	123	89	13	225	62.3	87	24.1

Table 18 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Urban Contact and Occupation

Male Population (1958-59)

Occupation groups	Total population excluding age-group 0-3	Illiterates	With Urban Contact						
						Literates			
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Cultivators	350	102	127	99	22	248	70.9	79	22.6
Agricultural labour (Partly cultivators)	142	49	58	31	4	93	65.5	23	16.2
Agricultural labour	17	6	7	4	-	11	64.7	3	17.6
Cultivator and non-agricultural occupation	98	16	27	32	23	82	83.7	28	28.6
Non-agricultural main occupation	42	9	13	12	8	33	78.6	11	26.2
Total	649	182	232	178	57	467	72.0	144	22.2

Table 18 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Urban Contact and Occupation

Female Population (1958-59)

Occupation groups	Total population excluding age-group 0-3	Illiterates	No Urban Contact						
						Literates			
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Cultivators	132	101	29	1	1	31	23.5	16	12.1
Agricultural labour (Partly cultivators)	86	77	8	1	-	9	10.5	6	7.0
Agricultural labour	31	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cultivator and non-agricultural occupation	86	61	22	3	-	25	29.1	7	8.1
Non-agricultural main occupation	42	28	10	3	1	14	33.3	5	11.9
Total	377	298	69	8	2	79	21.0	34	9.0

Table 18 : Literates by Stages of Education and Number of Educands, Classified by Urban Contact and Occupation

Female Population (1958-59)

Occupation groups	Total population excluding age-group 0-3	Illiterates	With Urban Contact						
						Literates			
			Upto 4th std.	5th to 7th std.	Above 7th std.	Total Literates	Percent Literates	Educands	Percent Educands
Cultivators	345	273	65	7	-	72	20.9	29	8.4
Agricultural labour (Partly cultivators)	108	96	10	2	-	12	11.1	2	1.8
Agricultural labour	13	12	-	1	-	1	7.7	-	-
Cultivator and non-agricultural occupation	82	59	16	6	1	23	28.0	9	11.0
Non-agricultural main occupation	38	27	8	3	-	11	28.9	1	2.6
Total	586	467	99	19	1	119	20.3	41	7.0

Table 19: School Enrolment and Attendance

Year	Number on muster roll			Average daily attendance
	Boys	Girls	Total	
1958-59	245	157	402	290
1959-60	237	165	402	278
1960-61	252	150	402	293
1961-62	250	142	394	314
1962-63	270	119	369	327
1963-64	275	144	414	329
1965-65	275	142	417	351
1965-66	270	149	419	352
1966-67	254	147	401	338
1967-68	268	160	428	361
1968-69	266	162	428	396

around the age that parents consider as the marriagable age for girls.

Table 20: Distribution of Boys and Girls
According to School Standard
(1965-66)

School standard	No.of boys	No.of girls
I	30	26
II	34	39
III	56	30
IV	52	22
V	35	24
VI	36	7
VII	27	1
Total attending school	270	149
Withdrawn	35	105
Never joined	11	79

The compulsory education can be said to be fully effective in the case of boys, only four out of 191 boys in the age-group 7-11 did not attend school. Two were Wadar boys, one Dhangar and one Maratha boy who was 7 years old and the parents thought that he was still too young to attend school. In the case of girls 132 or 77.6 per cent of the total girls (170) in the age-group 7-11 were attending school. 38 girls mainly from the poor families and from the backward castes and nomadic communities did not attend the school. In 31 cases the reason given for not sending the girls to the school was that the girl was required for household work or for agricultural work.

The level of education also improved during this period. Between 1958 and 1966 the proportion of educands in the respective population increased from 21.4% to 26.9% in the case of the boys and from 9.3% to 14.1% in the case of girls. While there were 35 boys (12.5% of the educands) in high school in 1958, this number increased to 93 in 1966 (25% of educands). Four boys were continuing their education beyond S.S.C. examination, three of them were Marathas, two in Arts College in Wai and Satara and one in the Engineering College in Pune and one Brahmin boy in a college in Pune.

There were no girls attending high school in 1958. In 1966 there were 18 girls in high school, one Brahmin, one Sonar, one Kasar and the rest Marathas. They had to attend the school at Surur. (Table 21).

The educational attainment of the men and women who are no longer receiving education is presented in Table 22. In 1958 only 3 men had passed S.S.C. examination while in 1966 this number was 32. In the case of

Table 21: Distribution of Educands According to School Standard (1966)

Standard	No. of boys	Percent	No. of girls	Percent
I to IV	176	44.4	137	68.8
V to VII	123	31.1	44	22.1
VIII to XI	93	23.5	18	9.1
Beyond S.S.C.E.	4	1.0	-	-
Total	396	100.0	199	100.0

Table 22: Educational Level Attained by Men and Women with Schooling (1966)

Level of education	No. of men	No. of women
I to IV	225	156
V to VI	137	59
Passed VII	97	24
High school or training college	74	4
Passed S.S.C.E.	32	1
Total	565	244

women 29 had completed their education upto VII standard in 1966 while the corresponding number was 14 in 1958.

The caste composition of the men who had passed the S.S.C. examination was - 15 Marathas, 6 Dhangars, 3 Brahmins, 3 Mangs and one each Kasar, Sonar, Koli, Muslim and Nava Boudha. Of these seven were primary teachers and one secondary school teacher, nine in clerical jobs, two bus conductors, one each in textile mill, in a radio company, in a tyre company and one was running a restaurant. Only one person was working on his farm in Gulumb.

Among the educated girls only three were working, one a primary school teacher at Wai and two in clerical jobs and all the three were married out. The others were still continuing in their traditional agricultural or allied occupations.

4. Educational Situation in 1976

(i) High school at Gulumb: The boys and girls were attending the high school at Surur, Wai or other places till 1969. In 1969 the Yeshwant Shikshan Sanstha from Sirur opened up a high school at Gulumb. The school was started with VIII standard in 1969 and in the subsequent years IX, X and XI standards were respectively added. In 1973-74, V standard was added and the VI and VII standards were started in the following two years. Thus in 1975-76 it was a full-fledged high school. In that year XI standard was closed due to the reorganization of the educational courses in the State.* The school is located in two rented buildings and is equipped with a library and sports facilities. The number of teachers increased as the new standards were added. In 1976-77 there were 11 teachers, one of whom was a female teacher. The school is attended by boys and girls from Gulumb, Vele and Chandak. The details regarding the school attendance are given in Table 23.

In 1975-76 there were about 40 students in each class, the total strength of the school being 226 students. The opening of high school in the village

* In Maharashtra, prior to 1975 the division between school and college education was 11 years of schooling and 4 years of graduate course. It was changed to 10 years of schooling, 2 years of junior college and 3 years of graduate course.

Table 23: High School Enrolment

Year	Number on muster rolls		
	Boys	Girls	Total
1969-70	n.a.	n.a.	47
1970-71	n.a.	n.a.	81
1971-72	92	20	112
1972-73	102	22	124
1973-74	127	28	155
1974-75	157	44	201
1975-76	174	52	226
1976-77	202	61	263

has been helpful in increasing the number of girls attending high school.

(ii) The primary school: The number of boys in the primary school had stabilised around 270 during the 'sixties and the number of girls fluctuated around 160 in that decade. With the opening of the high school, which later added V to VII standards the number of boys in the primary school declined while the number of girls remained around 160. (Table 24). There were eleven teachers in the school and all but one were trained teachers. There was one woman teacher in the school. Among the teachers there was one each from Brahmin, Mali, Sonar, Shimpi and Muslim communities and the rest were Marathas.

The progress of education in the village would be obvious from the increase in the proportion of literate persons in the village. The information regarding the percentage of literate persons as noted in 1976 is presented in Table 25 for different age groups.

Table 24: School Enrolment and Attendance (primary)

Year	Number on muster roll			Average daily attendance
	Boys	Girls	Total	
1969-70	232	157	389	356
1970-71	233	171	404	351
1971-72	238	162	400	362
1972-73	222	157	379	364
1973-74	198	153	351	313
1974-75	205	160	365	332
1975-76	185	150	335	305
1976-77	203	162	365	315

Table 25: Literacy Among Men and Women by Age Group (1976)

Age group	Percentage of literate men	Percentage of literate women
8 - 17	95.3	81.7
18 - 32	91.1	65.4
33 - 47	75.2	28.6
48 - 62	53.0	10.6
Above 63	42.5	3.8
Total	79.0	49.5

The percentage literacy among men in the age group 33-47 increased from 35.3% in 1943 to 52.6% in 1958 to 75.2% in 1976 while in the case of women the corresponding proportions were 0.7%, 5.6% and 28.6% respectively. Among the younger age-group there are only a few who are still illiterate. These come from the poor scheduled caste families and unsettled communities. All the children from these families are

not yet attending school mainly due to poverty. The proportion of non-school going children is relatively higher among the girls.

There is a marked improvement in the educational level attained by the Gulumb residents. The information by educational level is presented in Table 26.

Table 26: Educational Level Attained
by Men and Women (1976)

Educational level	Males in Gulumb percent	Males out-side Gulumb percent	Total males* percent	Total females* percent.
Illiterate	20.9	8.7	15.5	50.3
I to III standard	19.2	8.1	15.9	16.1
IV to VII standard.	38.1	35.5	37.1	25.9
VIII to X standard	13.2	19.0	15.4	4.5
Passed S.S.C. examination	4.7	19.0	10.1	2.2
Diploma or college education	2.4	6.9	4.1	.7
Graduate	1.5	2.8	1.9	.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	= 910	= 541	= 1451	=1339

* Covers persons of age 7 and above.

In the case of males the information is given separately for the village residents and the migrants as there are large number of adult males who are working outside the village and the educational qualification is relatively higher in their case. In the village only 8 per cent of the men have completed education upto SSC Examination

or beyond while among the migrants the corresponding proportion is 28%. Apart from teaching there are hardly any jobs available in the village that could provide suitable opening to the educated. It was noted that there was a tendency to seek job in the cities after the completion of technical education or college education, however, it was not possible for all to secure a job. In that case they continued to work in the village in agriculture. In the case of larger farmers, if there was only one son in the family he would look after the farm business and would not prefer to leave the land and migrate to the city on a permanent basis.

There were considerable differences among the different communities/ⁱⁿthe progress of education (Table 27). The illiterate persons constituted 15% in the total persons among the Marathas and Balutedars and nearly 27% among the Nava Baudhas, and 60% among the nomadic communities. Those who have completed education upto SSC examination and above formed about 16% among the Marathas, Muslims and Dhangars while the corresponding proportion was about 7% among the Nava Baudhas and nil among the nomadic communities.

In the case of females the overall proportion of illiterates was as high as 50%. It was 75% among the Nava Baudhas. In 1958 only 2% of them had schooling beyond third standard. This proportion increased to 14% by 1976. The corresponding proportion for the Dhangar community was about 3% in 1942, 10% in 1958 and 38% in 1976. The scheduled caste and nomadic communities harboring under economic disadvantage find it difficult to make progress in education particularly

Table 27 : Distribution of Males and Females from Different Community Groups by Level of Education (1976)

Educational Level	Community Group							Total Percent
	Brahmin	Maratha	Nava Baudha	Dhangar	Balutedar	Muslim	Wadar and Kaikadi	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Males* Percent	Percent	Percent	
Illiterate	-	14.75	26.83	0.93	15.54	6.90	59.37	15.51
I to III standard	20.00	14.65	17.89	13.89	23.60	27.59	3.13	15.91
IV to VII standard	40.00	38.05	33.33	47.22	29.19	37.93	28.13	37.15
VIII to X standard	6.67	15.06	14.63	20.37	17.39	10.34	9.37	15.37
Passed S.S.C. examination	20.00	12.21	3.25	6.48	7.45	-	-	10.06
Diploma or college education	13.33	3.35	2.44	8.33	4.97	13.79	-	4.07
Graduate	-	1.93	1.63	2.78	1.86	3.45	-	1.93
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Covers persons of age 7 years and above.

Table 27 : Distribution of Males and Females from different Community Groups by Level of Education (1976)

Educational Level	Community Group							Total
	Brahmin	Maratha	Nava Baudha	Dhangar	Balutedar	Muslim	Wadar and Kaikadi	
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	
Illiterate	18.18	46.98	74.78	43.00	54.01	40.54	92.86	50.34
I to III standard	27.28	15.81	11.30	19.00	19.71	21.62	3.57	16.06
IV to VII standard	18.18	28.76	9.57	34.00	20.44	24.33	3.57	25.91
VIII to X standard	-	5.16	4.35	2.00	2.92	5.41	-	4.48
Passed S.S.C. examination	18.18	2.52	-	2.00	1.46	2.70	-	2.24
Diploma or college education	18.18	0.44	-	-	1.46	2.70	-	0.67
Graduate	-	0.33	-	-	-	2.70	-	0.30
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Covers persons of age 7 years and above.

in the case of girls despite the various facilities and incentives provided.

The advance of education is making it possible for men to take up jobs in the cities which demand certain educational qualifications. In 1976 it was noted that 31 men were in police service, 21 in military service and 13 office attendants. As many as 45 men reported clerical and allied jobs and there were seven in teaching vocation. It must also be noted that in 1976 there were as many as 37 men who were seeking job in Bombay. In 1958 only 6 persons reported that they were looking for gainful employment in Bombay.

Among the women there was one in police service, one an internee in Ayurvedic medical hospital and two in clerical jobs. In addition there might be some more educated girls who were working outside. They will not get included in the survey if they were married and did not have economic connection with Gulumb families.

The progress of education among men in the last four decades or so has been thus rapid and the boys are now receiving education by and large upto SSC or beyond. They are trying to use these qualifications to get into salaried occupations in the city. However, not all can secure a job and in that case they face some difficulty in working in the field as they are not used to a day long hard manual work in the sun because of 10 or 11 years of schooling. The boys from poorer families are lagging behind considerably. They have to join as earning hands at an early age and consequently do not attend the school regularly or leave it at an early stage.

In the case of women there is still a long way even to attain cent per cent literacy in the younger age groups. The girls are not yet able to put their education to definite use. The spread of education among girls is more related to the demand of educated men, SSC being considered an asset in the marriage deal. The college education may at times prove to be a disqualification since it is difficult to find a more educated man and if one is found he demands more in the way of dowry. The girls do not generally view their education as a way of gaining financial and personal independence through a job and career. Education can be helpful in a crisis situation provided it is possible to get entry into gainful work, otherwise for married women living in the village formal education proves to be of limited significance.

CHAPTER X

HOUSING AND LEVELS OF LIVING

1. Housing

The houses in the village are clearly demarcated into different sections by caste group. The main road divides the Jadhav Ali and Yadav Ali that forms the central portion of the gaothan. The few houses belonging to the Dhangar community are situated on the outer edge of the Yadav Ali and adjoining the main road in the Jadhav Ali. Many of the Jadhav and Yadav families own wada - a house built around a central court yard. This would be used by a few related families, each family occupying 4 to 6 khana accommodation in the wada.

The Mahar families were somewhat segregated from the main gaothan and their houses were located on the south east of the main village. The houses of the Mangs and Chambars were on the north east of the main village. The artisans and other service functionaries were staying mostly on the outlying part of the Jadhav Ali if they served the Jadhav families and of the Yadav Ali if they worked for the Yadavs. The Yadavs and Jadhavs had in addition the paridi lands in the gaothan area, adjoining their housing area and this was used for stocking fodder, for animal shelter, for garbage pits etc.

In 1942 almost all i.e. 319 of the total 327 houses in Gulumb were owner occupied houses, only 2 families were living in rented house and 6 in rent-free houses. 307 of the 319 owner-occupied houses were inherited and only in 12 cases it was reported that the house was built or purchased by the present owner. All the houses were built in stone obtained from the hillocks near the village and built in mud mortor. Country tiles were used for roofing in 95 per cent of the cases. In 20 per cent of these cases galvanized iron sheet was partly used. In

5 per cent of the houses galvanized iron sheet was exclusively used for roofing. (Tables 1 and 2). There were no civic amenities in the village. Water was drawn from the wells nearby for washing and cooking purposes. For bathing purpose the nearby stream was used.

There were considerable additions and some improvements in the housing in the period 1942-1976. In 1976, 88 per cent or 434 out of 493 houses were owner-occupied houses. Of these 314 were inherited, in 73 cases some additions were made to the inherited house and in 47 cases the houses were newly built or bought. Thus there was an addition to the extent of about 30 per cent to the housing stock existing in 1942. The number of families living in rented houses increased from two to 19. The rent paid per month varied from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 in 8 cases and Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 in another 8 cases. It was over Rs. 10 in 3 cases. 26 families reported that they did not pay any rent and 14 families mainly from the nomadic communities did not have a house proper but had built a small hut as a shelter.

90 per cent of the houses were built in stone and mud mortar. Thus most of the houses built during the last three decades were still constructed in the traditional way. Two houses were built in brick and mud mortar and there were 14 huts of wattle/straw. Only 25 houses were modern constructions using cement mortar, 22 of these were built in stone and 3 in brick masonry. Mangalore tiles were used in these cases as roofing material. Country tiles were used for roofing in about 70 per cent of the houses and galvanized iron sheets in about 15 per cent of the houses. Mangalore tiles were used as roofing material exclusively in 9 per cent of the

Table 1 : Materials Used in Construction of Walls .

Wall Materials	Year	
	1942	1976
	No. of Dwellings	
Stone with mud mortar	324	444
Stone with cement mortar	-	22
Brick with mud mortar	-	2
Brick with cement mortar	-	6
Cement plaster finish on stone or brick	-	1
Straw or mat	-	13
Wattle	1	1
House in ruins	2	4
Total	327	493

Table 2 : Materials Used for Roofing

Roof Materials	Year	
	1942	1976
	No. of Dwellings	
Country tile	247	281
Country tile and Mangalore tile	-	21
Mangalore tile	1	44
Country tile and Galvanized Iron Sheet	58	48
Galvanized Iron Sheet	17	69
Galvanized Iron Sheet and Mangalore tile		10
Three Materials CT/MT/GI	1	2
Straw or thatch	2	17
No roof	1	1
Total	327	493

cases. The huts had thatched roof.

The distribution of families by the number of rooms occupied and the family size is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Number of Rooms in the dwelling by Family Size in 1976

Size of Family (No. of persons)	No. of Rooms									Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+	
1	21	16	2	1						40
2	19	21	5							45
3	27	23	10	2	1	1				64
4	26	29	6	5						66
5	34	43	7	2	1				1	88
6	13	31	14							58
7	14	19	12	4		1				50
8	5	12	6	2	1					26
9		8	5			1				14
10-15	5	15	8	5	3					36
16-24		1	2	2			1			6
Total	164	218	77	23	6	3	1		1	493

Over 75 per cent of the families were staying in one or two-room house. 164 families with family size ranging from 1 to 14 were living in one-room house and 218 families with 1 to 18 persons lived in two room house. The size of the room, however, varied from 2 khanas to 8 khanas and a large joint family could be accommodated in a room of 6 to 8 khanas. The ventilation and light in the house were generally poor in the old constructions.

The village was electrified in 1964 and by 1976, 35 per cent or 172 houses had electric light in the dwelling (Table 4). Among the Yadavs this proportion

Table 4 : Amenities and Improvement in Housing by Community Groups (1976)

Ammenity/ Improvement	Community Group										Total
	Jadhav	Yadav	Pahune	Kochale	Nava Baudha	Dhangar	Balutedar	Brahmin	Muslim	Wadar Kaikadi	
No. of dwellings											
No electrical light, <u>mori</u> or improved construction	63	64	26	4	37	28	47	1	7	12	289 (58.6)
Electrical light	29	42	7	12	1	12	7	2	2	-	114 (23.1)
<u>Mori</u>	9	7	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	19 (3.9)
Electrical lights and <u>mori</u>	8	17	4	1	-	2	3	1	1	-	37 (7.5)
Improved construction	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 (2.0)
Improved construction and electrical light	1	5	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	12 (2.4)
Improved construction and <u>mori</u>	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3 (.6)
Improved construction, electrical light and <u>mori</u>	2	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	2	-	9 (1.8)
Total	112	137	39	34	38	45	57	5	12	14	493

was around 50 per cent. While only 1 out of 38 Nava Baudha families had electric light in their dwelling. About 7 per cent of the families had effected some improvement to the house; 17 out of 34 Kochales reported that they had effected some improvement. Besides these 10 Maratha families and 7 other families reported improvement to their house. The houses were provided with a mori* in 14 per cent of the cases, such cases were noted mainly among the Yadav and Jadhav families. In nearly 55 per cent of the cases no improvement or addition of amenities was effected during the period of last 35 years.

The village was provided with protected drinking water supply. The 1st phase of the scheme was completed in 1964. The water supply is drawn from the village stream and a storage tank is constructed on the small hillock by the side of the Bhairav temple. The water is fetched by the families from the water tap located on the main roads. There are 40 taps in the village. The water is supplied for three hours in the morning and about an hour in the evening. There is often a long queue to get the tap water. There is a scheme to augment the water supply, but it has so far remained incomplete.

It was noted that in 144 cases there was a separate shed for animals. In 75 cases separate space for animals was provided in the house and in 97 cases there was no separate arrangement made, the animals, mainly sheep, shared the dwelling space with the humans. The animals are infested with lice. In most of the village dwellings there is a serious menace of lice, bugs and rats.

It was reported that improvement in housing was generally effected using the savings of the migrant members of the family. A few of the new houses built were better constructions with consideration for ventilation, light.

* Mori - A separated area of about 3' x 2' in a corner of a room with provision of Nhani trap to drain the water. The space is used for bathing, washing purposes.

The arrangement of rooms, the design of the house was more or less on the traditional pattern. The basic village plan remains the same, the new houses are accommodated within the existing village sites. The major improvements in the village are the provision of electricity and drinking water supply. The latter saves the labour spent for fetching water from the wells. The amount of water used in the houses has increased considerably after the provision of tap water supply. However, since no arrangement to drain out the water used in the households for bathing, washing, etc. is made one finds stagnant water pools in low lying areas. This makes for filth and unhygienic conditions.

2. Consumption

Information about the consumer expenditure was collected in 1942 and in 1976 from 17 selected families from the village, the selection being made on the basis of the size of land holding. Information regarding the family expenditure incurred during the month prior to the month of enquiry was collected for items of day-to day consumption and for items of clothing, footwear, consumer durables like utensils, stove etc. the period of reference was one year. In case the items were not purchased, the quantity of cereals, milk, etc. used during the reference month was recorded. The retail prices of consumer items current in the local shops were also noted down. In view of the fact that the number of families covered was quite small and the information on consumer expenditure is subject to a number of biases e.g. the bias due to seasonal variations in expenditure, errors of omission, end period effect etc. the information cannot be used for firm quantitative estimates of

itemwise expenditure. It can be used to get the broad pattern of consumer expenditure, the extent of use of home-grown produce and the overall average consumption of major food items.

It was noted that in 1942 cereals, pulses, ground-nut, vegetables, milk, cooking oil were not purchased by most of the families. These were obtained from own farm by the cultivating families and through baluta receipts by the village artisans and other functionaries and through kind wage payment by the labour families. Cash expenditure was involved for purchase of spices, salt, sugar, tea, pan tobacco, kerosene oil, match-box, medicine and clothing. Use of items like tea, sugar, tobacco was not widespread and kerosene oil was used only for lighting purchases. Expenditure on medicine, stationery was small. Use of footwear was not common. The main item of cash expenditure was clothing which absorbed almost 30 per cent of the cash expenditure. Cash expenditure for purchase of cereals, oil, gur, etc. was reported by some of the non-cultivating families. In the total estimated consumer expenditure (including the imputed expenditure on items used in kind) about 50 per cent was cash expenditure and 50 per cent kind expenditure. The estimated average expenditure per consumer unit* came to about Rs. 70 per year. It varied from Rs. 50 per consumer unit in the lower income groups to Rs. 100 in the middle income groups and was Rs. 150

* In calculating the consumer units the following scale is used:

Male above 13 years = 1.000
 Female above 13 years = 0.875
 Children between 5 and 13 years = 0.625
 Children below 5 years = 0.375

per consumer unit in the highest income group. The quantity of the major food items consumed viz. cereals, pulses, gur and oil was examined for the different land holding size groups. The quantity of cereals consumed did not vary considerably between the families of different land holding size groups. It varied between 240 and 270 kilograms per year per consumer unit. The consumption of pulses was around 25 kilograms per year per consumer unit. In the case of small farmers the corresponding average was about 15 kilograms. In the case of cooking oil the average came to about 5 kilograms per consumer unit per year in all the groups. For gur the overall average worked out to 20 kilograms per year per consumer unit and for the small farmers the corresponding average was about 15 kilograms. When the calorie equivalents were worked out, it was found that the families in the village were, by and large, able to meet the basic calorie requirements.

Five case studies of the Mahar families were made. The Mahars who served as village servants in the particular year collected bhakars from the village families in lieu of the service they rendered and this was the major source of earnings of these families. In the case of the three families who were getting bhakars in the year, about 2/3 of the cereal consumption was provided through the bhakars collected, about 15 per cent through kind receipts of cereals given in baluta and the rest of the quantity was purchased. The average consumption of cereals per consumer unit per year came to about 200 kilograms.

In the total expenditure, the items of food claimed 60 percent of the expenditure and cereals and pulses accounted for nearly half of this expenditure. About

15 per cent of the expenditure was spent for clothing and footwear and 7 per cent on fuel and lighting. No expenditure was involved for house rent.

The articles which entered the family budget were by and large produced locally. The items which were imported from outside were tea, sugar, kerosene, match-box, medicine, stationery, coconut oil, cloth. In the total expenditure these items formed about 30 per cent of the expenditure incurred. Thus in 1942, the major consumption needs of the families were met through the local agricultural and other production. The purchases of manufactured articles like items of clothing, sugar, etc. were partly made by the out-migrant workers in Bombay and sent to the village. At the village level the market for factory-made articles had not development.

In 1976 the consumer expenditure pattern did not change significantly. The food items absorbed about 60 per cent of the total expenditure and cereals and pulses accounted for half of this expenditure. Clothing claimed about 10 per cent of the total expenditure and fuel and lighting 7 per cent. A few new items of medicine, stationery, biscuits, etc. appear in the consumption basket and use of items like tea, tobacco, soap is now widespread. There is a shift in many cases from the use of earthen ware to metal ware or from kerosene to electricity. The practice of extracting oil in the village ghani on service charge is getting replaced by purchase of ready oil. Purchases of some consumer durables like radio, torch, kerosene stove, etc. are noted. As a result the market for manufactured articles has expanded to a certain extent. About 35 per cent of the total expenditure was absorbed by manufactured

articles. Still the major proportion of the expenditure is claimed by the agricultural, animal husbandry and other primary products mainly supplied from within the village. The home produced cereals, pulses, milk, vegetables, groundnut, chilli and the fire-wood collected in the vicinity formed about 25 per cent in the total expenditure. These items were no more received in kind so that the artisan families, the agricultural labour families purchased these from the local producers or in the weekly market and partly from the fair price shops.

The estimate of the quantity of cereals, pulses, oil, gur consumed was worked out for the different land holding size groups. It was noted that the overall average consumption of cereals was about 210 kilograms per consumer unit per annum, while for those with less than 2.5 acres of land, the average came to 180 kilograms. In the case of pulses the average was 23 kilograms per consumer unit per annum. The average for cooking oil came to about 5 kilograms and that of milk 40 litres. For gur and sugar the per consumer unit annual average consumption worked out to 14 kilograms and 6 kilograms respectively. In the case of small landowners the consumption of gur, milk was below the average by about 40 per cent. In the case of landless agricultural labourers, the average consumption was below that noted for the landowning cultivating families by about 35 to 40 per cent in all the items except gur. Considering the level of consumption noted in 1942, it is observed that there is not much significant difference in the case of pulses, oil, gur but the consumption of cereals is on the lower side in 1976. This is particularly true in the case of small cultivators and landless labour

families, whose consumption of cereals in 1942 was more or less on the par with the average level. They were then receiving considerable amount of cereals in kind and were thus able to obtain the necessary quantity so as to meet their basic needs. Presently, however, these are the families who have to depend mainly on cash purchases to meet their cereal consumption needs. In view of their low-level of income it appears that they have to cut to some extent on the quantity of cereals purchased.

3. Income Level

In 1942 information about income received in cash and kind and the agricultural production was obtained through the household survey. Since a significant proportion of the total transactions was in kind terms, the figures of income expressed in cash terms have to be used keeping in view the limitations arising due to the estimation procedure. For the village as a whole the estimated average annual income per consumer unit worked out to Rs. 64. About 50 per cent of the families had income below the average level, 20 per cent around the average and the rest above the average. In the top income group the average annual income per consumer unit came to Rs. 330. If the destitution line is set at Rs. 36 per consumer unit* at the 1941 prices then about

* For the rural areas the poverty line is set at annual per capita expenditure of Rs. 180 at 1960-61 prices; Bardhan, Pranab K., On Minimum Level of Living and the Rural Poor, Indian Economic Review, New Series, April 1970, p. 129.

Allowing for the price increase between 1941-1961, the poverty line -- -- may be set at Rs. 36 per capita and the line of destitution 20 per cent below the poverty line at Rs. 29 per capita which works to Rs. 36/- per consumer unit.

15 per cent of the families were below the destitution line. Even these families somehow satisfied their basic needs of cereal consumption by securing bhankars or foodgrains in kind but were not able to meet the other needs. Thus, these families even though poor did not face the problem of starvation for want of cash to buy the necessities of life.

It was not possible for all the members of the family to get adequate work in the village as the land was not intensively cultivated and there were very few nonagricultural work opportunities available in the villages. Consequently some of the adult male workers migrated to the city and sent home more or less on a regular basis some money remittances. In 1942, in almost half the families some member was working outside, the corresponding proportion in 1976 was 57 per cent. Most of these families were sending remittances to the family members living in the village.

The average amount of remittances worked to Rs. 151 per annum per family receiving remittances. There were some differences between the different communities in the average amount of remittances received (Table 5). It was about Rs. 70 in the case of Maharas and Rs. 190 in the case of Kochales in 1942. The Mahars, being largely unskilled and illiterate, were occupied in relatively low paid jobs in the city as compared to the migrants from among the Marathas.

The average amount of money remittances came to Rs. 503 in 1958. The amount of remittances sent was not quite commensurate with the increase in the price level. The average amount worked out to Rs. 1088 in 1976. In addition about 160 families reported in 1976 that

Table 5. The amount of remittances received by
community group

Community Group	No.	R	No.	R	No.	R
Jadhav	39	164	55	505	68	938
Yadav	38	154	57	506	84	1108
Pahune	12	160	22	518	25	825
Kochale	10	190	17	789	27	1109
Nava Baudha	18	71	22	360	18	979
Dhangar	20	156	24	452	27	1255
Balutedar	12	142	14	327	23	815

No. = No. of Families with earners outside the village.

R = Average amount of remittances received in one year period per family receiving remittances (Rs.)

they had sent remittances in terms of goods like tea, sugar, spice powder, clothing. Of these 36 families sent goods only and in the case of 64 families the remittances sent in terms of goods accounted for about 50% of the total remittances.

Despite the fact that half the adult male workers from the village were working in Bombay or other cities, the amount of remittances that they could send has declined over time in real terms. In 1976 the average amount of remittances per family receiving remittances was, in real terms, nearly half of the amount received in 1942. It was estimated that in the total income accruing to the village the remittance amount had a share about 29 per cent in 1942 while the corresponding share was 17 per cent in 1976.

In 1976 information about the agricultural production and income was not collected through the household schedule. The information about non-agricultural incomes was covered in the schedule. The agricultural income was estimated at the aggregate level taking into consideration the area under different crops, average yield, harvest prices and the farm expenditure. The average village income including the remittances worked out to about Rs. 800 per consumer unit for the year 1976. In real terms, there was a fall by about 15 points if the per consumer unit income in 1942 was taken as 100.

(i) Quantum and purpose Loans (1942)

The age old institution of money lenders has traditionally been the main agency meeting the credit requirements of the rural economy. In Gulumb it was noted that the cultivators, the Khutekar Dhan^gars and the Balutedars obtained loans for productive purposes and for consumption purposes primarily from the private money lenders. The 1942-43 Survey noted that out of the total 327 families in the village 191^{*} families reported outstanding loans and the total amount involved was Rs. 59046 of which Rs. 54824 was the principal amount; the average loan amount per family worked to Rs. 287 per family reporting outstanding loans. 95% of the loan amount was obtained from moneylenders from Gulumb or from Wai town and from relatives and other private sources. This included the purchases made on credit basis at Wai mainly for the purchase of cloth. Only about 5 per cent of the loan was taken from the village Cooperative Credit Society. In 50 per cent of the cases the loan was obtained on mortgage of landed property with or without possession. Nearly half of these cases was kabje gahan transaction where the land gets transferred in the name of the moneylender who takes the produce of the land in lieu of interest. The land would revert back to the owner only when the principal amount got repaid. In such transactions if the cultivators were unable to repay the borrowed amount for some years then they would sell a piece of the land to clear the outstanding debt and get the land released.

* This does not include the families from the Mahar community. In 1942-43 the outstanding debt of the Mahar families was Rs. 1000.

The loan was given on Promissory Note in 32 per cent of the cases and against the pledge of ornaments and house mortgage in 7 per cent and 5 percent of the cases respectively.

There was not much difference in the proportion of families reporting outstanding loans between different occupational groups, however the average quantum of loan taken varied between the different groups (Table 1).

Table 1. Incidence of indebtedness among families from different occupations

Occupation/type of cultivation	1942-43		1958-59	
	A	B	A	B
Wet cultivation	69.0	315	51.3	827
Wet and dry cultivation	71.4	182	28.9	327
Only dry cultivation	62.5	218	44.6	369
Dry cultivation Kochalewadi	66.6	288	10.0	375
All cultivators	66.2	265	42.7	601
Blanket weavers	56.5	643	36.8	683
Balutedars	58.8	159	34.2	305
Others	66.7	196	52.9	296
All Non-cultivators	59.0	355	37.6	434
Total	64.3	287	41.4	562

A = Percentage of families reporting debt to total families in each group.

B = Average loan amount per family reporting outstanding loan (Rs.).

It was the highest viz. Rs. 643 in the case of blanket weavers, who needed the loans for purchasing spun wool and sale of woollen blankets on credit. The average loan amount was Rs. 265 in the case of cultivators.

Of the total outstanding loan amount in the village 70 per cent was taken by the cultivating families and a little over 20 per cent by the Dhangars. The loan was used for purchase of bullock, purchase of land, land improvement or for current expenditure like purchase of potato seed, oilcake etc. or for family expenditure.

It was noted on the basis of a Sample Survey of the cultivating families carried out in 1937-38 in Gulumb and two neighbouring villages,* that 30 per cent of the borrowed amount was used for farm related expenditure and about 20 per cent for repayment of loan taken earlier, so that the mortgaged land could be released or because the moneylender pressed for clearance of the dues. About 50 per cent of the amount was drawn for personal use; more than half of this amount was used to meet expenditure for marriage ceremony, about 10 per cent was accounted for by credit purchases of cloth and about 7 percent by credit purchases to meet other household expenditure. The loans were thus mainly contracted to meet extra-ordinary personal expenditure like the expenses of marriage ceremony and other personal expenditure and only partly for productive purposes. Only about 10 per cent of the borrowed amount went into capital investment in the agriculture; 5 percent for sinking wells and 5 per cent for bunding purposes. The farm incomes were barely sufficient to meet the day to day family needs and resort was taken to borrowing

* Agricultural Development in Eastern Part of Wai Taluka, M.B.Jagtap, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1970, p. 87.

mainly in cases of contingencies. It was considered undesirable to operate on the basis of borrowed money and the farmers tried to keep out of debt as far as possible. The farm was mainly operated to meet the family requirements and cash sales were limited. There were not many viable productive alternatives open for which loans could be contracted and profitably used.

At the time of the resurvey in Gulumb in 1958-59, the situation has considerably altered and the reasons for this were the (i) legislative measures regulating the private moneylending business, (ii) expansion of supply of credit through governmental and cooperative agencies for productive purposes.

The Bombay Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act XXVIII of 1939 which repealed and replaced the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879 aimed at adjustment of old debts. The provisions in the Act could give little effective relief to the farmer because of a number of loopholes and ignorance on the part of the farmer. The moneylenders continued their practices of manipulating accounts, taking conditional sale deeds, etc. as before. The 1939 Act was amended in 1945. The new provisions were however put into force only in a few selected talukas. The implementation of the provisions was started in Wai taluka in 1945 and Debt-Adjustment Board was duly set at the taluka place of Wai. It was ^{necessary} for the creditor to file an application with the Board giving details of loan given by a specified date to make legal proceedings possible in the case.

The Bombay Moneylenders' Act (XXXI) was passed in 1947 repealing the 1939 Act. The Debt Adjustment

Boards were dissolved and the administration of the Act was entrusted to civil courts.

The legislation intended to register the moneylenders and to regulate the debt transactions. The Act made it mandatory for the moneylenders to obtain a licence to carry on their business. The moneylenders were required to maintain proper accounts of their transactions in a prescribed form and to give in prescribed form returns to their borrowers and to the State. The Act authorised the Government to regulate the rate of interest.

The record with the Debt Adjustment Board at Wai was referred to, to obtain information regarding the outstanding loan amount for Gulumb village. It was noted that in 1945 the number of cases registered with the Board was 177 and the total amount of loans involved was Rs. 56386 of which Rs. 49767 was the principal amount. The periodwise break up of the loans registered with the Board is shown in Table 2.

After the passing of the 1947 Act many village level moneylenders did not register themselves and hence could not give loans as they did earlier against land mortgage, as it was no longer possible for them to get the protection of law in cases of default. They could now extend loans only on a personal informal basis. The registered moneylenders located largely in the towns found it cumbersome to advance loans against land which was the best security. They preferred to advance loans against ornament or gold pledge; however only a limited number of village households were in a position to obtain the necessary amount of loan against such a pledge. As a result the private source of credit almost dried up.

Table 2 : Applications, Recording Loan Transactions in Gulumb, Filed with the Debt Adjustment Board

Type of Security	Loans given perior to 1-1-1931		Loans given between 1-1-31 and 1-1-40		Loans given after 1-1-1940		Date not specified	
	No. of Applications	Loan Amount (Rs.)	No. of Applications	Loan Amount (Rs.)	No. of Applications	Loan Amount (Rs.)	No. of Applications	Loan Amount (Rs.)
Land	22	10509	28	12377	46	15691	7	2662
Promissory Note	-	-	9	1605	48	8175	2	639
Other	2	3063	2	163	5	676	6	826
Total	24	13572	39	14145	99	24542	15	4127

The loan could now be taken mainly from relatives or through person to person contact or by way of credit purchases. The need for productive loan was met through the Cooperative/^{Credit}Society at the village level and the Land Mortgage Bank (later named as Land Development Bank) at the district level. However, for consumption purposes, no alternative arrangement was made, so that this need was met either through diversion of a part of the amount borrowed for productive purposes or by drawing loans through relatives, friends, etc.

(ii) Debt transactions in 1958 and after

The position as regards the borrowings in the village for the year 1958-59 may be examined. In 1958-59 the earlier important source of borrowing viz. private money-lending against land mortgage was no more available. Now about 20 per cent of the loans were obtained from the Cooperative Society and the Land Mortgage Bank, about 15 per cent from the government viz. the tacavi loan. Thus a little over one third of the borrowed amount was institutional finance, about 5 per cent was obtained by pledging gold or ornaments and the rest through private arrangements. The number of families reporting outstanding loans decreased from 64 percent in 1942-43 to 41 percent in 1958-59 and the average loan amount was Rs. 562. Considering the fact that the prices had increased by 4 to 5 times during the period, the loan amount taken was substantially less than noted in the earlier survey. Loans for agricultural developmental purpose or to meet working expenses for cash crops like sugarcane, potato were reported. But the number of families taking such loans was rather limited.

The position in 1966-67 could be noted on the basis of a sample survey of selected farmers carried out in Gulumb and two neighbouring villages. The institutional credit was now the main source of borrowing. About 30 per cent of the amount was taken from the Cooperative Credit Society, 57 per cent was raised from the Land Development Bank and through tacavi loans and only 14 per cent of the amount was obtained from private sources. 68 per cent of the cultivating families reported outstanding loans. About 50 per cent of the amount was borrowed for sinking wells and for the purchase of oil engine or electric pumpset, another 30 per cent for current agricultural expenditure and 6 per cent for bunding and 4 per cent for purchase of bullocks. Less than 10 per cent of the amount was reportedly borrowed for personal use or for repayment of old debt.* However, as noted above part of the amount borrowed for agricultural purpose got diverted to personal use. It was not possible to estimate the extent of such diversion. The average amount borrowed came to Rs. 1880 per borrower. The quantum of loan thus appears to have gone up as compared to the 1958-59 situation. The use of institutional loans for agricultural development purposes and also to meet the increasing working capital needs expanded substantially during the 'sixties and this is reflected in the 1966-67 Survey results.

In 1975-76 the advances from the Multipurpose Cooperative Society were to the tune of about Rs. 1 lakh, taken primarily for purchase of seed, fertilisers and to meet other current expenses. In addition loans from

* Jagtap, op.cit., pp. 87-88.

the Land Development Bank and the commercial banks for well-digging, purchase of pumpset, purchase of tractor, land improvement were also taken. Thus sizable funds were being used for productive purposes as compared to the situation in 1942 when the use of loan finance for agriculture was quite limited.

It was not possible to include questions regarding indebtedness in the household survey schedule canvassed in 1976. The extent of indebtedness to meet contingencies like marriage or sickness, death, etc. or for litigation is not therefore known. It was reported that since the loans that could be obtained from private sources to meet such contingencies are quite costly, the cultivators use part of the institutional loans for this purpose. For non-cultivating families no avenues for borrowing loans are available in the village and unless they are able to raise some funds through the earners working in the city they have to try and obtain a loan through private sources at exorbitant rates of interest that may doom them to life long indebtedness.

(iii) The village cooperative credit society

The village cooperative credit society was established in Gulumb in 1930 and was affiliated to the Bombay Provincial Cooperative Bank. The membership was 12 in 1930 and it increased to 40 by 1935-36. The membership remained around 40-45 till 1950.

The entrance fee for membership was Re. 1 and Rs.5 had to be paid towards share capital. In addition Rs. 5 were deducted per Rs. 100 of loan amount sanctioned and added to the share capital. The Society had very meagre funds of its own and was therefore dependent on

the Provincial Bank for working funds. The limit for obtaining funds from the Provincial Bank was Rs. 1100 in 1930 it was increased to Rs. 5000 in 1936-37, further to Rs. 8000 in 1937-38 and remained at that level till 1947-48 when it was raised to Rs. 10000 and the limit continued at that level till 1958-59. There was a provision to advance long term loan for purchase of bullock, land improvement and short term loan for current farm expenditure. From 1957-58 a special potato loan was made available. The limits for short term and long term loan were as follows:

	1930	1942-43	1957-58
Short term loan-limit (Rs.)	350	200	300
Long term loan-limit (Rs.)	750	400	500

In 1949-50 the Society was converted into Multi-purpose Cooperative Society though till 1956-57 it did not diversify its functions. The Society accepted fixed deposits from 1936-37 and the rate of interest in that year was 6.25% it was lowered to 3.12 percent in 1938-39. The Society did not succeed in mobilizing much amount by way of deposits. The information about the membership and financial transactions of the Society for a few years (for which information could be obtained) is given in Table 3.

It will be seen that the number of members was quite small viz. around 40-45 till 1950-51. The loan amount advanced by the Society formed a small proportion in the total loans taken by the cultivators in the village. From its inception BCJ, the chairman of the Society, had taken keen interest in the working of the Society and managed the accounts and other matters efficiently. However, he did not belong to the ruling

Table 3.

(i) Membership of the cooperative credit society

Year	1930	1935- 36	1950- 51	1952-53	1954- 55	1955- 56	1957- 58
No. of members	12	40	45	60	65	91	95

(ii) Rate of interest charged by the Society

Year	1930	1939-40	1948-49	1953-54	1958-59
Rate of interest (percent)	10.94	9.38	6.25	7.81	7.81

(iii) Funds position and Loan disbursement of the Society

Year	Share Capital Rs.	Reserve Fund Rs.	Deposits Rs.	Loan amount disbursed Rs.
1949-50	1395	2495	3520	5500
1957-58	5480	4000	3100	N.A.
1959-60	8955	4685	1625	27434

political party and there was a pressure for change. In 1950-51 BCJ resigned and another chairman also from the Jadhav lineage group and belonging to the ruling party was elected as the chairman of the Society. It was reported that the new chairman made definite efforts to increase the membership of the Society and the drive was successful. This reportedly helped strengthen his base in the village. The erstwhile chairman continued to take interest in the management of the Society and the Society continued to get 'A' Grade till 1962-63.

In 1937, the Society won two iron ploughs as a reward for its good work performance and tried to give it on hire to its members and non-members. It did not turn

out to be a profitable proposition since the members often did not pay the hire charges or did not return back the plough in time. Later some farmers purchased iron plough on their own and the Society discontinued this service.

Around 1944 the Society took up the sale of rationed articles like foodgrains, sugar and kerosene oil. It could make little profit in the business and when the rationing was lifted the Society closed this business.

The membership of the Society continued to increase and in 1968-69 there were 143 members and by 1975-76 the number increased to 271. The details regarding membership and financial transactions for the period 1958-59-1975-76 are given in Table 4.

During the 'sixties the business of the Society increased substantially and it continued to increase in the later years. From 1964-65 the overdue amount mounted up significantly and it remains at a high level. The Society advances sugarcane loan also and in 1976 half of the loan amount given was in that account. From 1956-57 the Society took up the business of supply of potato seed, oilcake to the members and later added up supply of fertilizers.

The business of the Society has increased considerably in the last twelve years or so but its operative efficiency has gone down.

The Society and its members are facing the problem of working funds since a large amount is now locked into overdues. The members often keep renewing the old loan and thus do not get the necessary working capital. Resort is taken to private borrowing at high rate of

Table 4.

(i) Membership of the Multipurpose Cooperative Society

Year	1958- 59	1960- 61	1962- 63	1964- 65	1971- 72	1975- 76
No. of members	194	206	217	248	257	276

(ii) Rate of Interest charged by the Society

Year	1962- 63	1967- 68	1970- 71	1973- 74	1974- 75
Rate of Interest current advances (percent)	7.5	7.5	9.0	10.0	13.0
Overdue amount (percent)	10.5	12.0	12.0	13.0	16.0

(iii) Funds position and Loan Disbursement of the Society

Year	Share Capital Rs.	Reserve Fund Rs.	Deposits Rs.	Loan amt. disbursed Rs.	Overdue amount Rs.
1962-63	15070	5653	1525	64115	7544
1968-69	35665	8323	N.A.	93532	47434
1975-76	62215	16803	2469	101888	81249

interest to meet the urgent cash needs. It was not possible to estimate the extent of borrowing from private agencies but such transactions were reported to be of such dimensions as to call for serious attention to the problem of supply of credit for agricultural business.

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CHAPTER XII

RESUME AND CONCLUSION

(i) From Baluta System to Monetization : Gulumb in 1977 is different from Gulumb in 1937 in some respects; it is no more a relatively isolated largely self-sufficient village community which operated mainly on the basis of the local resources and exchanged services within the community regulated by the traditional baluta system. It, then purchased from outside mainly the consumer items like cloth, sugar, kerosene, tea and some durable items like lantern, utensils and metal for manufacture of agricultural and other equipment. It paid in cash the land revenue and other government dues. The cash needed for these purchases and payments was raised partly through the sale of a few cash crops like sugarcane (which was locally converted into gur and sold), turmeric, potato and partly on the basis of remittances that many villagers received from the out-migrants working in Bombay. It was estimated that of the total cash outgoings about 60 per cent were on account of consumer goods, 20 per cent to meet the government dues and 20 per cent for purchasing the agricultural inputs like seed, oilcake. In the total value of gross agricultural produce about 36 per cent was received in cash and the rest was in kind terms.

By 1976, the system of kind payment has almost disappeared and transactions within the village are also carried on, on cash basis. The dependency on the outside world has increased particularly in respect to the agricultural inputs. Fertilisers, pesticides, new seeds, electricity and the government dues are the major items involving cash outgoings. The cash transactions form about 75 per cent in the consumer expenditure as against about 50 per cent in 1942, while in the case of farm expenditure the corresponding proportions are 72 per cent

and 45 per cent respectively in 1976 and 1942. Similarly the cash component in the gross value of agricultural produce increased to nearly 60 per cent by 1976.

There is a considerable expansion in the purchase of manufactured items. The increase in quantity purchased was marginal in the case of sugar, coconut oil and clothing while the consumption of tea, tobacco increased by 2 to 3 times and that of medicine, paper and stationery items and consumer durables by more than three times. If all the manufactured items are taken together the quantum in 1976 is nearly twice as much as it was in 1942. In the case of agricultural inputs use of fertilisers and pesticide started only during the 'sixties and the outgoings on that account are substantial. If the manufactured agricultural inputs and consumption items are considered together it is estimated that the expenditure on manufactured items in 1976 is almost 2.5 times the corresponding expenditure in 1942.

The cash needs are partly met through the remittances, but more importantly by the sale of agricultural produce. The gross value of marketed agricultural produce in 1976 was twice as much as noted in 1942; the increase is mainly due to the increase in the area under sugarcane from about 15 acres in 1942 to about 100 acres in 1976. The other crops marketed are potato, turmeric, chilli, broad beans, hybrid jowar and some groundnut. Apart from the agricultural produce, there is hardly any other produce marketed outside the village. There are two poultry farms that deliver eggs for sale in Bombay and a small quantity of milk is delivered to the cooperative milk dairy at Satara. The traditional kambal weaving business is nearly folded, so that there is no more any non-agricultural productive

activity carried on in the village that caters to the outside demand. In fact some of the activities like rope making, earthen pot making have almost lost even their local market due to the inroads of factory manufactures.

(ii) Lack of Diversification in Occupations : So far as the occupational pattern at the village level is considered there is no diversification in the activity mix. About 90 per cent of the earners continue to work in cultivation of land. New jobs like teaching, a few service or repair units like cycle hire and repair, loud-speaker hire and a few shops are the only additions. The kambal weavers, artisans and other village functionaries are being dislodged. In the sphere of animal husbandry it was found that access to land resource was a critical constraint in the expansion of this activity by the poorer groups who already use intensively whatever resources they can obtain to augment their meagre income. If the participation in the schemes designed for rural artisans and for small farmers and agricultural labourers is to be increased, the schemes will have to be redesigned and more provision of working capital and marketing will have to be made, together with upgrading of technology in the case of artisans and the animal husbandry schemes will have to be worked out taking into consideration the potentials for raising the fodder and feed in the village. The small farmers and landless cannot afford to run large scale commercial poultry or dairy units which have few backward and no forward linkages in the village and involve substantial working capital.

(iii) Effects of Rural-Urban Integration : With the commercialization of crops the villageers sell his product to the city and buys his inputs there. With

improved bus and truck transport service there is a better link between the village and the city. Such as integration with the outside economy is leading to a capture of the rural market by the products of modern industry.

What are the advantages reaped by the villagers due to increased integration? They are now going in for allopathic medicine in a larger way and presumably receive better medical care. The better off villagers have radios, cycles, sewing machines. The use of tea has become universal.

Fertilizer is the major new input in agriculture and it is an important input for the production of certain crops like sugarcane, potato, hybrid jowar. This new input coupled with irrigation has helped increase the gross value of agricultural produce in the village. It is estimated that between 1942-1976 the gross value of agricultural produce in real terms increased by nearly 25 per cent. However the number of persons working in village in agriculture increased to a greater extent so that the per worker gross value of agricultural produce declined by about 10 per cent.

(iv) Progress and Problems in the Agricultural Sphere : It is important to examine the nature of changes in the mode of agricultural production. Gross cropped area in the village has more or less remained constant over the period. Even though some investment has gone in for sinking new wells and there is some increase in the irrigation water supply, the gross irrigated area has not increased due to the expansion of sugarcane cultivation. Investment has also gone in for bunding operations. This investment, however, is necessary for the maintenance of the natural resource base and hardly

augments the resources. There is a shift from bullock-drawn mhots formerly used to draw water from the wells to electric pumpsets; this again does not affect the resource availability. Bullock power continues to be the major source of draught power and the number of bullocks has remained the same. Four tractors have been purchased during the 'seventies and are used for ploughing and for transport. However in view of the sloping lands and fragmentation of holdings the use of tractor cannot be much extended. The main advantage of farm mechanization lies in its speed so that it can help intensive use of land through double cropping by performing the ploughing, harvesting operations speedily. However, in Gulumb soil moisture is the major limiting factor in double cropping. Unless irrigation facility is considerably expanded it is difficult to increase the double sown area and thus mechanization at the moment has limited significance.

The major change in the crop pattern is the increase in the area under sugarcane, hybrid jowar and broad beans; there is some decline in the area under turmeric, pulses, sweet potato and bajra. Since it is necessary to have assured irrigation and ample working capital to go in for sugarcane cultivation, the advantages of sugar cultivation are mainly accruing to the resource-rich farmers. The number of cultivators with more than two acres under sugarcane is quite small and only five cultivators reported about 4-5 acres of sugarcane each. These are the leading families of the village. They have holdings of sizes between 15-25 acres each with 5 to 10 acres of wet land. Two each of these own gur-manufacturing units and flour mills. Three of these own a tractor each. The village Sarpanch, the chairman of the village multipurpose

cooperative society and the secretary of the Society come from these families. It was reported that the control that these families exercise over the village level institution is worked to their advantage.

The development of cooperative credit institutions and the virtual elimination of the moneylender during the last three decades have obviated the transfer of lands from cultivator to non-cultivator. However, no institutional arrangement to raise loans is available for the poor to meet contingencies. They either divert part of the production loan or borrow from the richer landowners at high rate of interest. Consequently they are often short of working capital and fail to repay the cooperative dues. Subsequently they become non-eligible to receive fresh loan and thus suffer from a further shortage of working funds. It was noted that the working capital advanced by the cooperatives can be effectively used mainly by larger land owners. On the basis of the strength of their land assets the larger land owner have been able to take advantage of the various development schemes like the long term and short term credit facility, marketing facility, supply of fertilisers etc. The two poultry units operating in the village are also set up by the big ~~village~~ land owners.

It was noted that in a total of about 400 land owning families about 40 families reported some surplus in farm production and 60 were self-sufficient in an average year. These families have relatively larger land holdings and wet lands and can grow lucrative cash crops. If the village families were divided into decile groups on the basis of their asset strength the top ten per cent held about 55 per cent of the irrigated land. Nearly 75 per

cent of the families were not self-sufficient in farm production and had to depend on remittances for part of their subsistence.

(v) Persistence of Family Farming : Even though there is increased integration of the village economy with the outside world and increase in monetization the farms in the village are still operated as production-cum-consumption units. No farmer specializes in production of a specific cash crops like sugarcane or potato. He will allocate part of the land to meet his domestic requirements of cereals, pulses, oilseeds, etc. and fodder. The farms are still operated mainly with the help of family labour and only at the harvest, casual labour is employed. Hired bullock service is used for heavy agricultural operations by small land owners or by women farmers who did not own a bullock. The farmers continue to face the problems of uncertainties due to the vagaries of monsoon, since a major part of the land is still under rainfed cultivation. Under such circumstances it is necessary for him to put his dry land under different crops in view of the soil quality, the distribution of rainfall in the particular year and the water requirements of different crops so as to minimise the risk element. A crop like hybrid jowar does not get wide acceptance, even though the yield is higher because the risk of failure is higher if rains are untimely and due to its susceptibility to pest. So long as agriculture remains a gamble in rains the crop pattern has to be adjusted mainly with the view of risk minimization. Consequently the dry farmers cannot afford to go in a large way for high yielding varieties because of the possible year to year fluctuations in the yield or for crops specialization because

of the uncertainty element and he prefers to go in for a number of crops to reduce the risk of failure.

The farm continues to be operated with family labour as the size of land holding in most cases is small and land cultivation is not generally intensive so that the farm could be operated mainly with the help of family hands. In 1976 about one third of the families had a land holding below 2 acres, 35 per cent between 2 to 5 acres and 21 per cent between 5 to 10 acres.

The pattern of land ownership has not basically changed during the last three decades. The traditional Inam tenures were abolished. The land in most cases remained with the erstwhile watandars if they were staying in the village. The Tenancy legislation eliminated the ownership rights, again mainly of the absentee landowners. Rastes, the former Inamdars were the major landowners and they were leasing out the land only at nominal rents so that the change of ownership was of marginal significance to the lessee. The leasing out operations among the villagers themselves were not affected significantly by the Tenancy Legislation, the arrangements continue informally according to the convenience of the landowners. Only in the case of about 50 acres or about 2 per cent of the village/^{land} the Tenancy Legislation eliminated the landlords some of whom were leasing out/~~and~~^{land} on crop-share basis and in such cases the lessee benefited by the transfer of land ownership.

The number of cultivating families increased during the last three decades, but the land available for cultivation remains the same, so that there is a diminution in the size of land holding. The average size of land holding declined from about 5 acres in 1942 to 6.2 acres in 1976.

(vi) Refuge in the City : As the farm size is declining more or more families are finding it difficult to make a living on the basis of farming in the village. Even in 1942 such a deficit situation was faced by a number of families. During the last 35 years the number of such families has increased. The solution to this problem is sought by migrating to cities, notably Bombay for gainful work. The number of migrant earners increased from 203 in 1942 to 479 in 1976. In addition 37 men were returned as unemployed and were looking for jobs in Bombay. The proportion of families sending at least one migrant increased from about 48 per cent in 1942 to 57 per cent in 1976. The workers have to stay in the city on a sustained basis, since the second world war, because of the increasing pressure of labour on the job market. Presently about 85 per cent of the migrant workers are working in Bombay. The lack of housing in the city, the inadequacy of pay and the need to provide for old-age compel the workers to go to the city singly. The workers live in old chawls or hutments and eat out. The meals service is provided on a monthly basis by some of the women from Gulumb living in the same area. Some forty Gulumb workers were contacted in Bombay to study their working and living conditions. It was found that only 3 of them lived with their family and the rest were living singly. Among these 2 cooked their own food and the rest joined the khanaval run by three women from Gulumb. The monthly charges for the meals service varied from Rs.85 to 100, the rent for the shared room or the ground rent for a hut varied between Rs.5 to Rs.20. Expenditure for tea, tobacco, transport, soap, etc. reportedly varied between Rs.100 to Rs.200. In addition clothing, footwear, etc. involved some

expenditure. The workers interviewed at Bombay were working in textile mills, dockyards or served as shop assistant, clerk, bus conductor, watchman, etc. The reported average monthly earnings worked out to about Rs.500. The average remittances sent home came to about Rs.90 per month. In addition it was reported that they would take with them on their home visit some cloth, soap, tea, spice powder, tapioca, etc. About half of the workers interviewed had also sent during the period of their stay in Bombay amounts ranging from about Rs.2000 to Rs.10,000 (depending upon the duration of stay and level of pay) to meet expenditure of house repair, house improvement, purchase of bullock, purchase of electric pumpset, bunding operations, repairing a well, share in a new well, release of mortgaged land, marriage or sickness in the family. The workers visited the village once or twice a year and tried to adjust the visit so as to reach home in time for major agricultural operations. The Gulumb migrants formed a close-knit group in the city and by and large observed the traditional village mores. Majority of the village workers thus spend their life in the city slum, severed from the family. They use up part of their earnings for their subsistence and part of the money is sent home for the sustenance of the family members. The wife and parents work on the farm and make part of the living on the basis of agricultural production. The workers usually go back to the village after retirement. It was noted that 162 men returned to the village between 1942-1976. Most of them returned after retirement. Some returned home due to ill health or due to family reasons. It was noted in many cases that one of the brothers works

in Bombay, the other brother attends to cultivation and the joint family set up is maintained. The proportion of joint families remained around 40 per cent in 1976. In about 28 per cent of the families there was no male person in the village and the women had to shoulder the responsibility of cultivation.

(vii) Implications of the Village-tie : The women are largely continuing to stay back in the village. In 1976 there were 1560 adult women per 1000 men in the village. The number of working (including those seeking work) men outside Gulumb with some connection with the village was 505 but there were only 11 women working outside the village. The sex ratio among the persons living outside Gulumb came to about 270 females per 1000 males. The women, thus, live in the traditional village set-up, working either on the family farm or as agricultural labourers. The primary role of the woman remains confined to reproduction. The flexible work schedule in agriculture is compatible with this biological task. The continued economic importance of the family farm creates a necessity to have a son or two; this also serves as a security in the old age or widowhood. The urge to have a male child keeps the women tied up to child-bearing and child rearing for a long period. The traditional family norms and the traditional role of woman thus persists in the rural set-up. The only change noted is in the age at marriage which has increased during the last three decades.

The men usually keep up the tie with the village and do not sell their land and the house in the village as they do not get such foot-hold in the city that they can continue to stay in the city after retirement. The

small piece of land and the house in the village are the only means to obviate starvation and destitution in old age. Since a large number of families continue to keep interest in the village land there is diminution of the size of holding and fragmentation of land. With increase in the fragmentation the problem of soil conservation and proper utilisation of the water sources become difficult and more resources have to go in for the conservation of the resources rather than augmentation. Some of the natural resources like forest and pasture which are commonly used are exploited indiscriminately resulting in a virtual loss of these resources. In Gulumb the hills around are totally denuded and the pastures have deteriorated. This increases the soil erosion and water runoff, and thus adversely affects the agricultural production.

It is necessary to formulate land use and water utilisation plans for the village as a whole to ensure proper maintenance of the natural resource base, re-establishment of forest cover and grass lands, scientific tapping and distribution of underground water resources. If the village lands could be treated as a single planning unit, consideration could also be given to the number of bullocks needed for the cultivation and the livestock population that can be maintained in relation to the fodder resources. Similarly the number of persons required to till the land could be worked out and each worker could be provided with adequate work and adequate income. This would also help distribute the risk over a larger area and experimentation would be possible to a greater extent. Scientific management of water resources would help increase the area under irrigation and crop intensity can be increased. There is, thus, a definite

potential for increase in the agricultural production on a sustained basis. However it is necessary for this to operate cooperatively. Otherwise the benefits of investments are reaped mainly by those who have adequate land resources, hence are creditworthy, can take some risk, can diversify business and thus increase their incomes while over 70 per cent of the families with below 5 acres of land cannot derive much benefit because the proposals like well digging or poultry farm etc. do not become economically viable as their very asset base is inadequate.

The question of cooperative farming was discussed with the villagers. It was noted that the small land owners are afraid of losing whatever small piece of land they possess if they join the cooperative. In the absence of social security that piece of land keeps them out of total starvation in the old age. The small holders apprehend that once they join in, the larger owners may take over the cooperative, and they may be left just to labour on the farm. The unequal distribution of land assets and of economic power does not make them equal partners in any cooperative venture and the smaller fear the dominance of the larger land owners.

In the absence of any basic reorganisation of agriculture the land base with majority of the village families will remain inadequate and will get smaller over time. Actually, even if the situation between 1942 and 1976 is examined, it is noted that the poorest families who were able to meet at least the minimum cereal requirements mainly through the system of baluta payment are not able to do so today. There is also an increase in the agricultural labour families. Larger number of men are working in Bombay. However, because of the sharp

increase in the cost of living they are not able to maintain the remittances in real terms at the 1942 level; the amount sent has gone down in real terms. In effect even at the aggregate level there is a decline by about 18 per cent in the per capita income; the people in the lower income deciles suffering a decline in the real income to a greater extent.

As long as the workers do not get a living wage and a house so that they can shift their family to the city and there is no provision made for old age security, the villagers will continue to keep their interest in the village and fragmentation of land will continue. Agricultural development and increase in the agricultural incomes will be possible only in pockets and cannot be generalised. The traditional family farming will persist and the women will be bound by the traditional family norms. Even though educated they will remain in the narrow world of domesticity.

(viii) Development and Non-development : The spread of formal education in which we see the most clear signs of advancement in the village has a limited significance in the village set-up where all the necessary skills are mainly learned on the job. The formal education is urban job-oriented. Thus one finds that the men who have migrated have been able to get into a variety of jobs; however those who stay in the village, both men and women, more or less remain in the traditional occupations and can hardly use their education to advantage.

The often quoted indicators of development in rural India are the spread of transport and communications network, the formal educational system, health and family planning facilities, electricity and water supply,

introduction of new consumer goods like radio, sewing machine, synthetic cloth, plastic footwear, and so on.

Gulumb has been and continues to be two miles away from the national highway and the road connecting the highway is still a kaccha road. A bus service between Gulumb and Wai that operates during the fair weather season was started in 1975. The post office was opened at Gulumb in 1960. The primary school is there for nearly a century and the high school was established in 1969. For college education the students go to Wai, the taluka headquarters about ten miles from Gulumb. The village was electrified in 1964 and in the same year was supplied with protected drinking water supply. The health and family planning facilities are available at Kavathe four miles from the village. Many new items of consumption have reached Gulumb. However, the basic economic and social life pattern viz. the organisation of farming and the family set-up has remained basically unaltered. The life and mind of the people remain largely restrained within the small village compass, enslaved beneath the traditional norms and crushed under the weight of superstition. To release them from this subjugation it is necessary to open for them a new developmental horizon, new roles and responsibilities. This can be achieved only within the framework of a new developmental perspective. The planning effort so far has brought about enclave development leaving the conditions of the mass of the rural population fundamentally unchanged. It is imperative that the non-agricultural sector should expand and while it expands it must provide the worker with adequate means to settle in the city. Then and then alone will the pressure on land decrease and the agricultural sector will modernize.

The case of Gulumb is not an isolated one. It presents a picture which will be observed in thousands of other villages in south western Maharashtra. Such a situation persists primarily because the existence of a mass of population at subsistence or below subsistence level, makes it possible to support enclave development. The peasant farming also provides for maintenance of industrial workers' family as well as reproduction of the worker at a considerably low cost in the village. This works to the advantage of the modern industry. The village provides some kind of a social insurance to the village-born and thus stalls the danger of many an underemployed turning into a storm of urban unemployed. However, as the growth of industrial sector is limited and increase in the productivity levels is experienced in a limited way in agriculture, the problem of poverty and unemployment is deepening; yet the situation does not become explosive, thanks to the persistence of small peasant farming. As long as the cushion in the form of thousands of villages like Gulumb continues to provide some sustenance for the major portion of the population the plan strategy is likely to remain oriented towards enclave development. In that case one will find signs of development in the form of more goods and facilities for some, but the basic inequitable social and economic organization, the caste and family hierarchy and the hold of tradition and superstition will not be challenged. The case study of Gulumb over a period of last four decades indicates these limitations of the present planning approach.