

## CHAPTER VI

### SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE CHANGE IN CROP-PATTERN

One direct effect of the change in the crop-pattern of Haria was that some of the members of both the cultivators' group and the labourers' group were released from productive work in agriculture. As they were rendered jobless in the village, they turned to towns for new jobs. This growing trend of urban migration together with the impact of money economy and the opening up of the village frontiers to both direct and indirect urban influences on the community life led to some far-reaching consequences in the spheres of the structure of family, marriage, internal organisation of castes, caste-hierarchy and inter-caste relationships in the village. All these

issues will be taken up for detailed analysis in the present and the following Chapter.

## I

The Structure of Family in Haria:

It was pointed out in the previous Chapter that the process of emigration of Haria people began around the year 1930. The migration of a section of the village people to urban areas caused, in the first place, some changes in the structure of the joint family. Although we have much little information about the structure of the joint family in the traditional village, we can assume<sup>1</sup> that joint family system prevailed at least among the village Anavils and Dheds, if not among the tribal castes of Dublas and Naikas.

An attempt will be made here to compare the present position with the past as regards the structure of the family. In making this comparison<sup>on</sup> the main issue under study would be the nature of effects upon and the resultant adjustments in the structure of the present family in the village.

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1 This assumption is based upon the views and stray information about the Anavil and Dhed family given by the Anavil and Dhed informants of the village.

The migration of the village people belonging to different castes took place under different circumstances. The new commercial crop released some of the people from land. They belonged to both the landowning (Anavils) and labouring (Dublas and Naikas) castes. Only such persons from these three castes who were thus rendered jobless in the village migrated to towns.

There was a third section of the village community which also migrated to towns. They were Dheds. Almost all of them settled at Bombay, and were employed there as butlers or domestic servants by Europeans. As was noted earlier in Chapter III, the beginning of the migration of Dheds dates back to the latter half of the last century. A large number of Dheds from different parts of Surat district have since then settled in Bombay. It was pointed out earlier that about a dozen Dheds from Haria also migrated to Bombay in a similar way. The main reason of their migration seems to be the most general cause affecting their whole community, the decay of their family occupation of weaving cloth.

This trend of migration among the Dheds of Haria was further augmented during the present century by two factors, namely, pressure of growing population among them and lack of new sources of employment in the village economic organisation.

Before analysing the data about the emigrants, it will be essential to know the exact number of emigrants of village Haria. These facts are presented below in Table No. 18.

Table No. 18

TABLE XVIII\*

Statement showing the number of Emigrants against the total population of the village

Caste	Living in Village		Living outside Village		Total persons	Total- No.of- Famili- es
	No. of Persons	No. of Families	No. of Persons	No. of Families		
BHATHELAS	218	38	138	34	356	72
DESAIS	43	11	130	32	173	43
Total ANAVILS:	261	49	268	66	529	115
DHEDS	135	41	36	-	171	41
MOCHIS	14	2	1	-	15	2
VAIRAGI	5	1	-	-	5	1
KOLI	8	1	-	-	8	1
DHODIA	7	1	-	-	7	1
DUBLAS	455	84	-	-	455	84
NAIKAS	252	49	-	-	252	49
BRAHMAN(Doctor)	4	1	-	-	4	1
BARBER (Muslim)	9	1	-	-	9	1
"FOREIGNERS"	11	3	-	-	11	3
TOTAL:	1161	233	305	66	1466	299

\*NOTE:- This Table includes the total number of Anavil, Dhed and Mochi emigrants from the village. These emigrants, however, from an integral part of the village community, because their emigration is "temporary". There are other "permanent" - emigrants from Haria. As they do not form an integral part of the village community, they have been excluded from this table.

The above Table shows that out of the total village population of 1466 persons, as many as 305 (about twenty percent) have been staying outside the village. From among as many as 268 (about 89 per cent) are Anavils, only one Mochi and the rest of them Dheds. The sixty six Anavils have migrated with their wives and children, but the Mochi and Dheds have migrated alone, leaving the other members of their family in the village.

The Dubla and Naika Emigrants:

Over and above these emigrants, there were twelve Dubla and six Naika emigrants from Haria also. They have migrated to some of the nearer towns such as Bulsar, Bilimora, Navsari and Surat. All of them have left the village with their wives and children with no intention to return in future. None of them owns either a house or land in the village. While the author had occasions to meet most of the Anavil and Dhed emigrants, on no occasion was it possible to meet the Dubla and Naika emigrants. It may be mentioned that they have severed their relations with the village as they have hardly visited the village once or twice after leaving the

179

village. Hence not much information about them was available. However, some of the elderly Dubla and Naika informants of the village gave some facts on the basis of whatever scanty knowledge they possessed<sup>ess</sup> about these migrants. Accordingly, it was found that out of the eighteen Dubla and Naika migrants, five work as Office peons, other five as factory workers, three as domestic servants and no information was available about the remaining three of them. No further information is available about their incomes. But looking to the type of jobs in which they are engaged, it seems that they might be earning between rupees fifty and at the most hundred.and-fifty.

The Anavil Emigrants:

All Anavils emigrants have migrated with their wives and children. Out of the sixty six Anavil families emigrated from Haria, it will be seen that almost one-half of them are Bhathelas and the other half Desais. Looking to the total village population of these two groups of Anavils, it is found that out of a total forty three Desai families, thirty two families have

180

migrated to urban areas and only eleven families reside in the village; whereas out of a total of seventy two Bhathela families, thirty four families have migrated to urban areas and thirty eight resident in the village. Almost all of the Anavil families own a house and some land in the village. Out of the sixty six Anavil families as many as thirty one have settled in Bombay, eight have gone as far as British East Africa, seven live in Bulsar and the remaining twenty live in Bilimora, Navsari, Surat, Vapi and Bangalore<sup>a</sup> together.

As regards their occupation is concerned, as many as fifty nine have been employed in clerical jobs either in government or in private offices, four have been running small business, and among the three others, two are teachers and one is a police man.

Their incomes range from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 and above per month. Among those sixty six families, two earn a monthly income of about Rs. 100, thirteen earn about Rs. 150/- ten earn about Rs. 200/-, twenty earn about Rs. 250, and the remaining twenty one earn an income of above Rs. 250/- per month.



The Dhed Emigrants:

It is a peculiar characteristic of the Dhed emigrants of the village that all the thirty six Dheds have settled. Outside ~~quite~~ alone, leaving the other members of their family in the village. The reason for this is two-fold. First, their incomes are meagre so that they cannot afford to maintain their whole family<sup>ies</sup> in cities where the cost of living is generally higher than it is in rural areas. Secondly, most of them work as butlers in European families. They were provided a small room by their European sahebs (masters) in their bungalows; and that as they worked as butlers, they had to move out with their 'sahebs' whenever the latter were on tour to the countryside. Therefore, they found it inconvenient to take away their wives and children with them in the cities.

Thus all the thirty six Dhed emigrants left the other members of their family in the village and they lived alone outside the village. All of them are found to have settled in Bombay. While all of them own a house, only fifteen of them own some land in the village.

Although a large number of them (as many as twenty three) work as butlers, six of them who have received higher secondary education work as clerks in both private and government offices, five as factory workers and the remaining two as office peons in Bombay.

About their monthly incomes it was found that three of them earned about Rs. 50, as many as twenty seven earned about Rs. 100 and the other six earned about Rs. 150 per month.

A Mochi Emigrant:

There was also one Mochi emigrant from Haria. He has been employed in Bombay as an assistant in a shoe-making firm and earns about Rs. 100 per month. While he lives alone in Bombay, the other members of his family reside in the village.

As regards the date of emigration of all these emigrants from Haria it was found that a large majority of them (about three-fourth of them) left Haria during the fourth and the fifth decades of this century and the others left the village either earlier or later than that period.

Some Aspects of jointness among Anavil Families:

Although as many as sixty six out of a total of one hundred and fifteen Anavil families have migrated to urban areas, it is found that the tradition of joint family system has not been lost until the present day. Various elements of jointness among the members of different Anavil families have, however, survived the onslaught of the forces of industrialisation and urbanisation. Almost all Anavil emigrants have expressed their attachment both with their ancestral property as well as the other members of their family living in the village.

(a) The Bhathela Families:

Out of the thirty four Bhathela families living outside the village as many as thirty are joint family units and only four are single units. The thirty four families which have been described here as joint family units show different aspects of jointness among them. First of all, the ownership of ancestral property either house or land<sup>or both</sup> - is joint so long as the male descendants do not separate from the main branch. The

The married brothers in all these joint family units jointly own their house/houses and land. The emigration of thirty four Bhathela families from Haria has caused breaking up of large joint families into smaller family units living in different places. But this physical separateness among them has not brought about a complete disintegration among all the family units which formerly formed a part of joint families. This can be seen from the pattern of their incomes, expenditures and savings. It is quite apparent that the thirty four family units living in towns have incomes, expenditures and savings quite separate from those of their counterparts living in the village. But it was found that the family units living in towns and those living in villages not unoften discharged their financial obligations towards <sup>each other</sup> their counterparts. In as many as fifteen cases the brothers or the father (the Head of the family) living in the village looked after agriculture and managed other affairs related to their family property. But all incomes from agriculture were pulled together and deducting the normal expenditures, the 'profits' were shared by the other brother/brothers living in towns. In such cases it was also found that

any expenditure incurred upon agricultural activities, or further investment in purchasing a new piece of land was equally born<sup>e</sup> by the all the brothers together. The author noted one such case of two Bhathela joint families<sup>2</sup> one joint family was headed by an old widowed father with four married sons living in four different towns. They own their land and the house in the village jointly. The father looks after the family property and manages most of the agricultural activities. During the mango season, when the pressure of work is very heavy, one of the four brothers who is a high school teacher helps the old father in agricultural work. Another brother (eldest one) takes leave for about one month during the mango season period to stay in the village for helping ~~the~~ the father and brother in agricultural activities. Thus, even though two brothers help their father in agricultural work and the other two are not able to do so, the net receipts are shared by all the four brothers equally. Similarly, when that family purchased a new piece of land recently, the money investment was shared by all brothers equally.

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2 Both of them were neighbours of the author during his - stay in the village.

Similarly, there was another Bhathela family in which three married brothers living in different places jointly owned their ancestral property one brother is living in Africa with his wife and children, the other brother (eldest) at Bombay with his wife and children and the third in the village with his wife and widowed mother. The youngest of the three who is living in the village with his wife and widowed mother looks after the family property - three houses and about ten acres of land. He is also employed in the Atul factory. In this case also the net income from agricultural products is shared equally by the three brothers and similarly the expenditure incurred in agricultural activities is shared by them equally. The brother living in Africa is entitled to get his due share from this income.

But this does not mean that the brothers living separately do not have their separate incomes, expenditures and savings. Their jobs are their individual sources of income and therefore those incomes are not brought into the picture when the joint family accounts are considered. This holds good in all thirty four cases of Anavil families living outside the village.

In a similar way, if the eldest brother or the old father, whoever is the head of the family, decides to repair the ancestral house or to build a new one, the brothers equally share the expenditure incurred on repairs or construction work. Similarly, the expenditure incurred on a younger brother's or sister's marriage or on the death of a parent is <sup>also</sup> ~~also~~ equally <sup>e</sup> born by all brothers. In the first of the above two cases, the expenditure incurred on the death ceremony of the mother was shared by all four brothers. Not only this, but those brothers maintain their <sup>w</sup> ~~two~~ widowed sisters who are living with their father in the village.

The other elements of jointness among different members of the Anavil family are found being expressed in various other aspects of their life. All the thirty four Bhathela family units living in towns pay occasional visits to the village. Most of them find time to visit the village during summer vacation which coincides with the mango season. Those of them who are employed in teaching profession spend without fail their vacation periods in the village. On the other hand, some

of them take special leave and spend about a couple of weeks in the village during the summer so that they can enjoy the mango season . If they themselves are unable to take leave during summer, they send their wives and children to the village during summer.

Over and above this, there are other special occasions when the urban dwellers visit the village. Such occasions arise when a member of their family is seriously ill, or when there is a marriage or a death ceremony in the village. The author noted that even the four Bhathela families living in East Africa invariably continued spending their three-to-four months' vacation periods at the interval of five years in the village. In one of the two family cases noted above, ~~in one family~~ a brother lived in East Africa. ~~It was~~ The eldest brother in that family living in Bombay went as far as postponing the upanayana sanskar or sacred thread ceremony <sup>of</sup> to his sons till the arrival of his brother from East Africa. Not only this, but those living in towns do not perform social ceremonies occurring in their individual family units in the towns where they live. All of them come in the village and perform at <sup>least</sup> marriage, death



and upanayana sanskar ceremonies there in the midst of other members of their family and caste. Even those living in Africa come to village, perform these ceremonies here and then go back to their places of employment.

Moreover, some of the Bhathela families living in towns accommodate for some time their cousins and other close relatives taking higher education there. The more important point which should be emphasised here is the strong desire of all urban dwellers to return to the village after they retire from their professions. All the twenty four Bhathela Anavils who worked and lived outside Haria in the past have returned to the village and now spend their after-retirement life in the village. While seven of these old men are not capable of taking part in agricultural work, the rest of them are still active and take part in agricultural work.

In a similar way, the present thirty four Anavil emigrants, who have either repaired their ancestral houses, or have rebuilt new ones have a cherished desire to return to the village for spending their life after retirement amidst the members of their family, caste and

190 190

village community. They show a strong attachment <sup>to</sup> with their ancestral house and other ancestral property they possess in the village.

So much about the Bhathela emigrants. But out of the thirty eight Bhathela families living in the village only eleven are single families and the other twenty seven joint families. Out of the twenty seven joint families seventeen have some of their members living in towns and maintain ~~seventeen~~ family relationships with them. These families have been actually broken up into small single family units living separately; but as has been observed in the above paragraphs, they maintain social and economic bonds in between them and thereby express jointness existing between them. The other ten joint families living in the village show all elements of jointness. In all these ten families, either the father is the head of the family and his married and unmarried sons with their children live together taking their meals at the family kitchen; or the eldest brother acts as the head of the family living with his unmarried and married brothers and their wives and children. The largest joint family

among these ten joint families living in Haria has a membership of fifteen persons and the smallest one <sup>of</sup> only eight. On the other hand, among those Bhathela joint families in which some of the members live in the village and the others live in towns, the largest family has a membership of as many as twenty one males and females; whereas the smallest one consists of only eight persons. Thus, examining all cases among the village Bhathela families, it is found that out of a total of seventy two, as many as fifty seven show elements of joint family system, only fifteen are single families. Even in the case of the few single families among the Bhathelas it was found that they have become single family units after their separation from a big parent joint family. Even after separation, in most cases, the separating single family has built up a new house very near the old ancestral one or has accommodated in a partition in the ancestral house. Moreover, the single families offer help either to one another or to the parent family on the occasion of a marriage or a death ceremony in any one of them. This shows, therefore, that the village Bhathelas still adhere to the traditions of joint family system which has been prevalent among them since a long past.

(b) The Desai Families:

Out of the thirty two Desai families living outside Haria, while nineteen show elements of jointness among them, the other thirteen are single families. Out of those nineteen families living in towns, only four have some members of their family living in the village, and the other fifteen have all of their family members settled in towns. In the case of these fifteen families, it was found that they owned their ancestral property jointly. Very few of them owned sizeable lands; and whatever area of land they owned, mostly they got it cultivated through their close Bhathela or Desai relatives. However, the elements of jointness among those of Desai families which did not have any of their counterparts in the village, were not so impressively operating as they did in the case of Bhathelas. Moreover, the author rarely found the Desai emigrants visiting the village. They did not visit the village as often as the Bhathela emigrants did. During his stay in the village the author noted one case of a Desai emigrant selling most part of his cultivable land to a village Bhathela. The Desai emigrant lived in Bombay and worked there in the field, of film production. He expressed

his desire for settling in Bombay as long as possible. Moreover, among the Desai emigrants, there have been some cases of marriages held in the towns of their settlement. The six Desai families have settled in Bulsar, and they rarely visit the village except on the occasion of a marriage or death of a close kin of theirs.

But those of the Desai emigrants who have some of their family members living in the village do pay frequent visits to the village. There are four such emigrants. Their old parents live in the village. These four families own large areas (as many as twenty to twenty five acres each) of cultivable land in the village. In these cases the jointness among the members of their family is as working as strongly as is found in some of the Bhathela families.

The author was not able to collect as detailed information about Desai families as he could collect about the Bhathela families of the village. Therefore, it is not possible to present here further facts about various aspects of jointness among the Desai families. Not much is known, therefore, about the income-expenditure and savings pattern of the Desai emigrants.

Out of the eleven Desai families living in the village, four of them show some elements of jointness and the other seven are single families. All of these four families have some of their members living in towns. The largest joint family among the Desai consists of fourteen members and is headed by the old father with three married sons, their wives and children and also one divorced daughter. Whereas, the smallest joint family consists of only seven members, two married brothers with their wives and children and their old mother.

Thus, the analysis of the facts about Desai families of Haria shows that joint family system still persists but not very strongly among them. Out of a total of forty three Desai families in Haria while as many as twenty are single families, twenty three show some elements of joint family system still prevalent among them. Thus on the whole, out of the one hundred and fifteen Anavil families of Haria, as many as eighty of them still adhere to the tradition of joint family system which was prevalent among them in the past. On the other hand, there are thirty five other families which may be called as single families.

Some Elements of Jointness among Dhed Families:

Regarding the Dhed families it was found that while all the forty one families own a house, about twenty six of them own some land in the village. Out of the forty one Dhed families of Haria, as many as thirty six Dheds from thirty two families have migrated to Bombay. From among these thirty two Dhed families, while two adult males have migrated from four families, only one adult male has migrated from the other twenty eight families. There are other nine Dhed families in the village from which adult males have not migrated to towns. Out of these nine families, while three consist of only one member each and two others consist of two members each, the remaining four have members between four and eleven each. Thus the first five among these nine families include single widows or widowers or old couples living in the village.

Not all the thirty two Dhed families from which adult males have migrated to Bombay are joint families. While eight of them are joint families, the other twenty four of them are single families.

All the eight cases of Dhed joint families are joint family units with two or three brothers and their wives and children. In three out of these eight cases there are two adult male earning members in each family, one working in the Atul factory and the other working at Bombay. They also own some land in addition to their ancestral house in the village. It was found that the married brothers accommodate their families in one house each, taking meals at a common kitchen and that the ancestral property is owned jointly.

Not only in the case of the eight joint families, but in the case of all thirty two families, the adult males working at Bombay regularly send a portion of their incomes to the other members of their family living in the village for the latter's maintenance. The money is usually sent by them by way of postal money orders. It was reported to <sup>the</sup> author by the Haria Branch Post Master that every month the Haria Dheds together received money orders <sup>of</sup> amounting <sup>to</sup> ~~totally to about~~ <sup>varying between</sup> Rs. 350 <sup>and</sup> Rs. 500 from their fathers,



husbands, sons, or brothers working at Bombay.

The author also noted the Dhed emigrants from Haria paying occasional visits to the village. They have migrated to Bombay under quite different circumstances from the circumstances under which the other emigrants left the village. Moreover, their settlement in Bombay is quite peculiar as most of them are employed as butlers. All the thirty six Dhed emigrants live in Bombay quite alone. They are not in a position to accommodate their family members with them in the city. Therefore they have left them in the village. On account of this reasons, the attachment of all Dhed emigrants with their family members, caste people and also the village is quite strong. All of them pay visits to the village whenever there is a marriage or death ceremony in their family and also whenever a close kin is seriously ill. Moreover, it was found that all the Dhed adult males who worked at Bombay (or elsewhere) as butlers returned to the village for spending their life after retirement; and now all those who are working at Bombay also entertain a strong desire to come back

21.  
15

The traditional occupation of Dheds is being practised by only one Dhed in the village. The man who is actually weaving wollen kambal is engaged in this work as a full-time artisan. The other man on the spinning wheel is employed in the Atul factory, but sometimes helps his brother during his leisure hours. This work is being carried out in one part of the verandah of their house.

22.  
16

The shoe-maker at work. He runs a small shop in the front room of his house. He is seen here giving final touches to a shoe. He is helped by his brother-in-law and another relative both of whom work as apprentices under him. On the opposite side is seen a sewing machine, which he uses for stitching leather.



15



16

199

to the village after retirement from their jobs.

Thus the Haria Dheds partly live in single family units and partly in joint family units. Even in the case of the single family units, it is found that in most cases new houses are built up nearer the ancestral ones after separation from the parent family and that at the time of a marriage or a death ceremony in the parent family some kind of help is offered by almost all single families which were separated from the big parent family. The largest joint family among the Dheds has a membership of thirteen persons and the smallest one of five persons.

The two Mochi Families:

One adult Mochi, from one of the two Mochi families of Haria, has migrated to Bombay to work as an assistant in a big shoe-making firm. He also often visits the village to attend social and death ceremonies occurring in the two families. These two families are, however, separate single families. While both of them own a house only one of them (other than the emigrant's) owns little land in the village.

200

But on occasions of marriage or death ceremony or sickness of a member of any one of the two families, help is given to <sup>the</sup> ~~one~~ another.

Family among other Miscellaneous Castes:

<sup>remaining</sup>  
Among the ~~miscellaneous~~ other castes of the village, the Vairagi, Koli, Dhodia, Brahman (village doctor) and Barber (Muslim) have one family each. Out of them all only the Koli family is a joint family with a membership of eight persons and the others are single families. In the group of the "Foreigners" all the three families are single families.

The Koli family includes three brothers with their wives and children. The eldest brother who is a widower acts as the head of the family. While the eldest and the middle brother manage agricultural work (Kolis own\$ about eight acres of land), the youngest one is employed in the Atul factory. Even though he works in the factory he helps his brothers in agricultural work especially during the mango

season. All the three brothers live together in one house and take their meals at a common kitchen. They pull their incomes together and have a joint savings.

Family Among the Dublas and Naikas:

Both the Dublas and Naikas of worked as hali labourers under different Anavil landlords until the introduction of afus cultivation in Haria in the beginning of this century. Even after the introduction of afus cultivation till the present day they have continued to work as labourers under different Anavil cultivators of the village. As halis they were almost fully maintained by the Anavils and afterwards as 'free' labourers also they have been paid cash wages for their services in agriculture. As such they possessed very little property with them. The huts (built up of hay, mud and little wood) in which they lived could be raised or pulled down in a short time. They owned few earthen wares and some torn out mats. They hardly owned anything else except this. Therefore, actually they had either nothing or very little to divide at the time of separation. This factor much

facilitated the process of separation of sons and brothers of a family after their marriage. Another factor which explains the trend of single families among them is primitive tribal culture. It is a well-known theory that the tribal people did not live a settled life in the past. They always moved from one place to another for various reasons. From this point of view, their agriculture has also been called as 'shifting' agriculture. Accordingly single families were more common than joint or bigger family units among them.<sup>3</sup>

It was found in Haria also that the sons separated after their marriage from the parent family. They usually raised a separate hut nearby their father's hut. In some cases one hut accommodated two single families, e.g. of the father and of the married son. As a mark of his separation after marriage from his father's family, the son would have his separate kitchen (a <sup>a</sup>herth)

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3 Both T.B. Naik and P.G. Shah support this line of argument. (a) See T.B. Naik's paper "Family in Gujarat" in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society: Vol. XV. Nos. 3 & 4: July-October, 1953, p. 119. (b) See P.G. Shah's The Dublas of Gujarat, 1958. Ch. IV: pp. 40-41.

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This explains the fact that all the Dubla and Naika emigrants have left the village with all their 'bags and baggages' with a view not to return. The eighteen Dubla and Naika emigrants have not maintained family relationships in the way in which the village Anavil and Dhed emigrants have done. Therefore, jointness among Dubla/Naika family members from that point of view is not at all prevalent to-day. But among the present Dubla/Naika families living in Haria some aspects of jointness in a very limited extent are found to exist. This will be explained in some details below.

Out of a total of one hundred and thirty three Dubla and Naika families in Haria, while seventeen have shown some elements of jointness, the other one hundred and sixteen are single family units. <sup>Each of</sup> ~~All~~ the seventeen 'joint' families consist of parents one married son with his wife and children and other unmarried sons and daughters. Mostly the parents in these families have been living with the family of their youngest son, and the other elder sons (if any)



have invariably started staying separately from the parent family. While there are twenty one sons who have raised their separate huts nearby their father's, about eighteen others have managed to stay on in the same hut with a little 'partition' and a separate hearth. The seventeen families moreover show some jointness from the point of view of income and expenditure. The maintenance expenditure is jointly shouldered both by the father and the son; and the expenditure on a social ceremony of a younger son's or daughter's marriage is also jointly born by them. One point which needs a mention here about the other sons who have separated from the parent family but who are living near their father's hut is that there is some element of jointness among them. By living nearby one another they offer help on the occasion of social ceremonies in one of those families. The author also noted that they help one another at the time of raising any one of their brother's hut. At times financial help is also given either to the father or brother eventhough one is separated from

205  
the <sup>parent</sup> present family. About four Atul going Dublas and two Naikas gave their fathers and brothers some money (about Rs. 15) as a voluntary help in financing their younger brother's and sister's marriages. Nevertheless, such financial help among separate family members is very rarely found among them.

This analysis of the structure of family after the introduction of a new commercial crop in Haria has thus revealed that neither the new crop nor the resultant emigration has acted as a strong force in disintegrating families of different castes of the village. While the Anavils and, to some extent, also Dheds had a tradition of joint families among them, the tribal castes of Dublas and Naikas did not have such a tradition. It has been found that even after the change in the crop pattern and emigration of as many as three hundred and five persons, there is quite a large number of joint families among the Anavils and a smaller number of them among the Dheds.

Even some elements of joint family system were also found among some of the Dubla and Naika families of the village.

It will be seen that the emigration of particularly some of the Anavil families from Haria has brought about much diversification in their sources of incomes. This diversification in the sources of their incomes has, instead of further disintegration, led to more and more strengthened joint families. The reason for the strengthening of bonds among the members of their families is that the urban jobs have acted as additional sources of incomes to them.

By this, however, is not meant that there are no new single families among the village Anavils. Particularly among the Desai Anavil families many of whom have begun selling their lands to the village Bhathela Anavils, or parts of whose lands have been acquired in the Atul factory, there is a trend for single families settling in towns. In their case, the diversification of sources of incomes has acted as a force causing dis-integration among joint families. But such cases are less as compared to various cases among the village Bhathela Anavils.

The clear conclusion following from this analysis

of the structure of family in post-afus Haria is that some ancestral property in the form of some land and house acts as a strong force against a complete disintegration of joint families. On the other hand, there is <sup>a</sup>trend <sup>wards</sup> to the formation of single families separated from the parent joint families provided there is little or no ancestral property. In some cases, the attachment for the ancestral land and house is so strong that it has strengthened the bonds of family relationships among different married brothers of one family.<sup>4</sup>

One fact which remains to be emphasised in connection with the structure of family in Haria is that the joint family has become smaller in size than before.

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4 P.N.Prabhu in his recent study of the social effects of Urbanization on Industrial workers in Bombay has also pointed out that a fairly large number of migrants expressed their 'preference for staying on in the village', Moreover he points out that the migrants have a deep attachment for their land and home. P.N. Prabhu's paper on "A Study on the Social Effects of Urbanisation on Industrial Workers migrating from Areas to the City of Bombay" published in a UNESCO research centre publication: The Social implications of Industrialization and Urbanization: Calcutta, 1956, p.82.

In the past the Anavil joint families were reported to have a membership of over forty persons belonging to four generations. At present its size has reduced to about twenty persons.

Thus, it is found that the new cash crop and the consequent emigration of a section of the village people has brought about various adjustments in the structure of family in Haria. Various big joint families have been no doubt broken up into smaller single family units living in distant places; and that these units have separate incomes, expenditures and savings. But the economic and social bonds operating between them have not only been maintained but in some cases strengthened. T.B.Naik also observes that there are still some extended or joint families<sup>5</sup> among the Anavils of South Gujarat.

We have already seen how the new commercial crop placed the village economy into closer and more direct contact with the external economic organisation,

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<sup>5</sup> See T.B.Naik's paper "Family in Gujarat" in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society: Vol.XV, Nos. 3 & 4: July-October, 1953, p.117.

22-9

and also how it brought about greater and greater diversification in the sources of income of the people of Haria. The penetration of money economy and growing trend of urban migration not only produced some effects on the structure of family in the village, but also paved the way for dissemination of the urban culture in various aspects of the village life such as marriage, education, dress and diet, standard of living, religion and general outlook on life.

## II

### Marriage

#### Marriage Among Anavils:

The first thing to be noted about the institution of marriage among Anavils is simplification of marriage ritual. Different village informants reported to the author that formerly a marriage among Anavils involved a minute performance of ritual spread over about three days. The groom's party was received by

the bride's father on the previous day of marriage and was given a send-off on the following day of marriage. The stay of the groom's party at the bride's place involved four or five dinners, two of them being major given by the bride's father. At the major dinners all the caste members of several surrounding villages <sup>were</sup> also invited and therefore such occasions used to turn out to be occasions of big caste dinners.

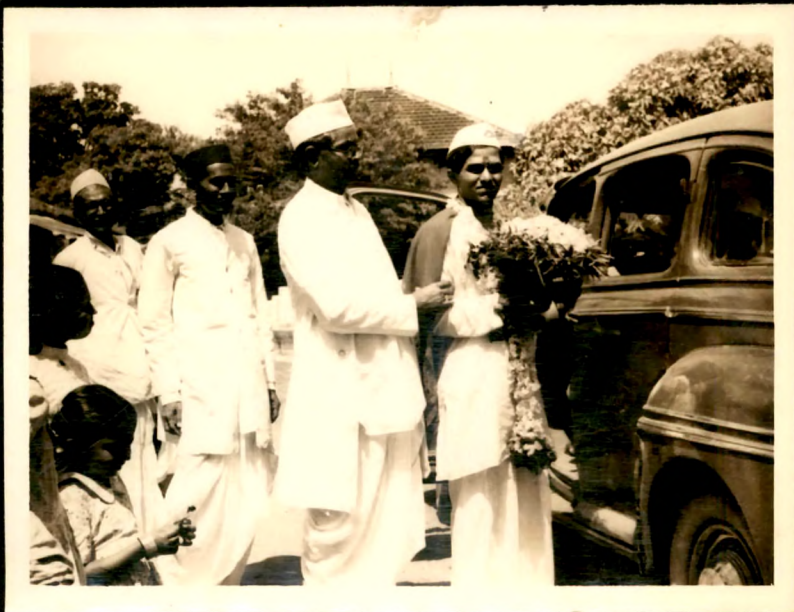
On the contrary, today a marriage among Anavils has become one-night affair and only close relatives of the bride, and groom attend it. The groom's party generally arrives late in the after-noon and soon after the formal reception by the bride's father, a dinner is held. This is the major and the only caste dinner given by the bride's father. Some of the caste people who are invited to attend the marriage from the two sides are entertained by the bride's father on this occasion. But these caste dinners, as was observed by some of the village informants, bring together much less number of people than before. The wedding ceremony begins after the dinner is over. The ritual generally begins at mid-

night and is completed before day-break, and the groom's party returns to its place early in the morning. Thus the whole ceremony now hardly takes more than one night, involving only one dinner. Moreover, in some of the big towns of South Gujarat there are Anavil vadis or community halls for Anavils where marriages and some other social or public functions among them are held. One such community hall is at Navsari. During the author's stay in the village one Anavil marriage was held at the Navsari Community hall. Although it is at a considerable distance from Haria to which place the bride's father belonged, the marriage was held at Navsari with a view to save the groom's party from the inconvenience of travel. The author attended that not more than eighty persons (including the bride's party) from Haria and about hundred persons of the groom's party of Jalalpore (Navsari) attended the marriage. The caste dinner was given late in the evening, and the ritual began afterwards. The ceremony being over in the morning, the groom's party returned to its place and the bride's party returned to Haria.



15.  
17. An Anavil bride-groom ready to enter a car for going to the bride's place about seven miles from Haria. (Formerly passenger carts were used for such purposes.) Note his modern dress—a silk cap and kafni and cotton pyjama. His maternal uncle is helping him while entering the car. The maternal uncle plays an important role in a marriage of an Anavil boy or girl.

16.  
18. A Scene of Anavil caste-dinner. Dinner is served on dining leaf and is eaten by sitting on the ground in between the street. Two opposite rows have been formed at a little distance and in between the rows are seen some persons busy serving various items. Those who serve usually wear the traditional red silk dhoti as is seen here.



17



18

The author also attended another Anavil marriage. The groom's party went from Haria to village Abrama near Bulsar on the day of marriage. In this case also the dinner was given by the bride's father late in the evening after the reception of the groom's party. The wedding ritual continued from mid-night upto next day morning. There were about one hundred persons in the groom's party, but all caste people of that village making a total of about two hundred persons of the bride's party attended both the marriage and caste dinner. According to some of the village informants, while formerly about eight to nine hundred (or even more) persons attended the marriage caste dinner, about three hundred persons attended it now.

Along with the simplification of wedding ritual it is found that the circle of marriage relationships has been considerably widened than before. Formerly, the village Anavils extended marriage relationships with Anavils living within the boundaries of Bulsar taluka only. The Anavils of seven villages of Bulsar

274

taluka formed a separate group called as sat gamno bandho or a circle of seven villages. The villages included in this circle were Haria, Bhagod, Dived, Atar, Magod, Bulsar, Pardi and Abrama of Bulsar taluka. Girls were as far as possible given among Anavils residing within this circle only. But there was no restriction on anybody who decided to marry outside this circle. The main reason given by some of the elderly Anavil men and women for forming this small group of marriage relationships was that because of nearness it was possible to know not only the economic and social status of the family (to which a girl was given or from which a girl was received), but also the well-being of the daughter after her marriage. Moreover, quarrels between in-laws could be checked if the two parties are known to each other.

It is found from the genealogical charts that the Bhathelas of Haria gave a clear preference to grooms of the other six villages over those living elsewhere. As many as forty three girls were given in marriage to grooms of Abrama, twenty four to those of Bulsar, Pardi, eleven to those of Magod, Dived and

Atar each and sixteen to those of Bhagod, and almost in a similar proportion girls were received in marriage by Bhathela grooms of Haria. Of course, this number largely depended upon the strength of Bhathela population in these villages. Over and above these six main villages, the Haria Bhathelas also extended marriage relationships with those living in some other villages of Chikhli and Gandevi talukas. But their number was much less than that of the former ones.

But even within this small circle of marriage relationships, we find that the Haria Bhathelas preferred giving their daughters in marriage to grooms of Haria to giving them to those of the other six villages of their circle. As many as seventy five cases have been noted about the giving and receiving of girls in marriage by Anavil families of Haria. In all these cases sagotra marriages were and still are strictly forbidden. Similarly the Desai families of Haria received girls in marriage from Bhathelas and Desais of Haria and other villages of Bulsar taluka

216  
and gave their daughters in marriage to Desais of Bulsar and two other neighbouring talukas. Thus, formerly it was essentially a limited group of Anavils among whom marriage relationships were extended.

But now one finds Haria Anavils extending marriage relationships with the Anavils of almost all talukas of Surat district, although preference is still given to grooms of nearer places. The Haria Anavils now marry their daughters to grooms of distant places of the Chorasi taluka of Surat district and likewise marry their sons to brides of such distant places. Anavils of more than forty new villages and towns of Surat district are now found to have entered the circle of marriage relationships of Haria Anavils.

The main cause of the widening of the circle of marriage relationships of Haria Anavils is the newly developing contacts among the Anavil emigrants of several villages of Surat district in Bombay and other towns where the emigrants have settled. The ~~present~~ author had an opportunity of visiting some of the Anavil emigrants of Haria living in Bombay. It may be noted here that there are some big chawls in Matunga,

Dadar, Santacruz and other suburbs of Bombay where about fifteen to thirty (or even more) Anavil families live in the same building. Such residential conglomerations and other business activities bring Anavil families belonging to different places of Surat district into closer contacts. Such new acquaintances often result in marriage relationships among them.

The other factor which has worked side by side with this in widening the circle of marriage relationships of Haria Anavils is the changed method of the selection of bride. Formerly the parents of a boy and girl settled their betrothals without their consultation, and that the most important factor considered by their parents in the selection was the social status of the family concerned. But now a days the educated Anavil youths have a say in the selection of their marriage partners. The parents of the boy and girl first contact each other and <sup>then</sup> discuss various other considerations such as the date and place of marriage, the amount of dowry and other vahevars etc., but the choice of a partner is left to the boy and girl. This does not mean that the boys and girls freely select their

partners. The parents generally consult their sons and daughters at the time of their betrothal. As a rule, the boy and the girl are now allowed to meet and talk with each other for some time at a pre-arranged place and only if the boy (or girl) gives his (or her) consent, the betrothal is finalised. However, the parents of the boy and the girl suggest the alternatives for their selection. Moreover, it is rather education than status which is considered by both the parties in the selection. Thus, on account of newly developing urban contacts and changed method of selection of marriage partner there is much widening of the circle of marriage relationships of Haria Anavils.

There is also a definite change in the age at marriage of Anavil boys and girls. While formerly the boys married at the age between fifteen and eighteen and girls at the age between eleven and fourteen, the boys marry now at the age between twenty two and twenty six (or even more) and girls at the age between eighteen and twenty two.



Some urban elements in the present day Anavil marriage are found in other aspects of it. It is quite common among Anavils now to make all sorts of modern decorations of the mandap. In towns decorated mandaps and mahyaras are available on hire. Arrangement of tube lights further add to these decorations. Such facilities are available in the community halls also. Along with this there is playing of recorded music of cinema songs. In villages playing of music of cinema songs is invariably introduced these days; but due to the absence of electricity and some other facilities the ready-made mandaps and mahyaras are at times not brought. But even in the absence of these modern decorations one finds a changed pattern of raising the mandaps.

Moreover, the bride and groom <sup>sit</sup> ~~seat~~ on chairs instead of bajath (wooden plank) and garland each other after the wedding ritual is over. The groom does not now wear a turban dhoti, shirt, and long sleeve coat as was the traditional custom, but instead wears a pyjama, kafni and cap, or a suit

whichever he prefers. The bride also is usually dressed in clothes of modern fashion.

One also finds to-day a number of urban goods given to the groom by the bride's father at the time of marriage. There is a tradition among Anavils to give dhardhamainu along with a sum of dowry to the son-in-law, and both the sum of dowry and the items of dhardhamainu are fixed up by the in-laws before the marriage takes place. While formerly dhardhamainu included golden and silver ornaments, some brass utensils and simple pieces of wooden furniture, it now includes such goods as radio sets, sofa sets, or other wooden furniture, wrist watches, wooden or steel cupboards and stainless steel utensils over and above golden and silver ornaments. Thus one finds many urban elements in the ritual and other customs of marriage among Anavils.

#### Marriage among Dheds:

The Dheds have also been urbanised and due to their closer contacts with the Europeans one finds some elements of Western culture also to have been

47.  
19 A Dhed bride-groom along with some of the members of his party. He has been garlanded by the bride's father. On his left is his mother with a garland round her neck. On his right is seen a woman with a bag on her head. The bag contains gold and silver ornaments and special clothes for the bride. Note the dress of various members of the bride-groom party, including that of the groom also.

48.  
26 A Dhed house - a bamboo and wood structure roofed with country tiles. The man standing there is an Atul employee.



19



20

222

introduced in a Dhed marriage. The author had one occasion to attend a Dhed marriage also. The groom's party of Haria proceeded to village Parnera (about four miles from Haria) in the afternoon. The party was received by the bride's father; and as a mark of warm reception, the bride's father garlanded the groom, his father, mother, brothers, uncles and aunts. After this reception ceremony, the groom's party was led to a place near the bride's house and was offered there a cup of tea and two nān khatāis (a type of biscuit) each. The groom sat on a chair and was offered tea and shacks of nan khatai and some other sweets in a tray. While the other male members of the party sat on wooden benches and cots, the female members sat on mats spread on the floor. The mandap was also decorated to some extent. Late in the evening a caste dinner was served after whole ceremony was completed by day break and the groom's party returned to Haria in the morning. While the groom was about twenty three years old, the bride was about eighteen. It was a gathering of about two hundred and fifty persons.

Some of the Dhed informants of the village also informed me that the Dhed youth who have now begun taking education do not prefer to marry at an early age and that they have a decisive voice in the selection of a partner for marriage. The author does not possess further information about the customs of Dhed marriage. Nevertheless, this data clearly suggests that there is some urban impact on the institution of marriage among the Dheds also.

Various aspects of the Dubla/Naika marriage will be discussed in a later section of this Chapter in connection with sanskritization among them.

### III

#### Education:

Haria contains a high percentage of literate population. Out of the total population of 1,466 persons as many as 699 (47.6 per cent) are literates and the remaining 767 (52.4 per cent) illiterates. Among the literates 408 (58.4 per cent) are men and

291 (41.6 per cent) are women. This picture of literacy among the people of the village gives a clear indication of a recent trend towards education. As some of the elderly village informants reported to the author, formerly only Anavil males and few Anavil females attended the village primary school; and from among them only a few continued taking education in secondary schools. They could not afford higher education and also that there was lack of facilities for continuing education at higher levels. But with improvement in communications, coming up of new schools and urban migration, members of all castes of the village have started receiving education. As a result of this we find such a high percentage of literate population in Haria. The present position as regards literacy of the people of Haria is given in Table No.19 given below.

Table No.19

A Table showing Literate and Illiterate population of Haria in 1957

LITERATE		V.S. Pass		Taken secondary Edu. below matriculate		Taken secondary edu. Matriculates		Taken Uni. Education (under-graduate)		Taken Uni. Education (Graduates)		Total Literates		Adults not gone to school at all		Children below school age	
Taken some Primary edu. but read with difficulty can sign (1st Primary)	Taken higher primary edu. can read and write (2nd to 7th primary)	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	8	12	42	6	30	20	14	4	10	1	6	73	81	5	7	7	7
6	13	39	75	6	10	78	31	5	11	3	6	162	137	1	5	31	20
7	21	51	117	6	16	108	51	9	21	4	12	235	218	1	10	38	27
9	15	37	8	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	23	82	118	68	41
9	6	22	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	11	48	65	28	30
4	6	48	20	4	-	11	2	-	-	-	-	69	28	6	35	13	14
-	1	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	3	3	2
1	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	-	2	-	-
-	-	13	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	1	-	2	1	-
-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	-	-
-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	-
-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	1	-
-	2	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	3	3	-	-	2	3
30	51	169	157	12	16	128	54	33	9	22	4	14	-	408	291	139	155

a from literacy data compiled by the author as a part of the general Family Census enquiry



The above table shows that even among the Dublas and Naikas literacy is on the increase. Out of their combined population of seven hundred and seven persons as many as one hundred and sixteen (eighty two males and thirty-four females) or about seventeen per cent are literates. A large part of the literates are, however, school going children attending the village primary school. This is definitely an impressive figure as compared to the state of complete illiteracy prevailing among them before about a quarter of a century. Moreover, it may be noted here that three Dubla and two Naika boys even attend the secondary school at Pardi.

At the same time this table reveals that there is a large number of Dubla and Naika children who do not attend school even though they are school-aged. Their combined number is one hundred and eleven, almost the same as the school-going children. The main reason for their not attending the village school is that while the male children start working as cowboys or as child labourers in young age, the female children

227  
are mostly staying at home to look after their younger brothers and sisters when their mothers go out to work as maid servants or labourers.

Among the village Dheds also the number of literates being ninety seven (fifty seven per cent) is quite large. Some of the Dhed informants reported that during their stay at Bombay, some of them worked as butlers, office peons, or factory workers during day time and attended night school for taking higher education. Among them as many as eleven males and two females have taken secondary education, and even two males are matriculates.

With the opening of a secondary school at Pardi sometime during the fourth decade of this century, the people of Haria got a good facility for educating their children. The boys and girls of Haria who attend the Pardi Secondary School daily go to the school and return to Haria on foot. They join this secondary school after completing primary education upto fourth standard in the village primary school. The village

primary school has a strength of one hundred and ninety two students (one hundred and nine males and eighty three females) who come from Haria alone. There are now primary schools in all villages surrounding Haria.

Thus there is a growing trend to higher education among the people of Haria to-day. While those who are permanent residents of the village educate their children in the local school and the secondary school at Pardi, those who are urban residents educate their children in schools at the places of their residence.

#### IV

##### Dress, Diet and Standard of Living:

Urban impact is also found on the dress, diet and standard of living of the people of Haria. Not only Anavil youths wear trousers and shirts but some of the Dubla, Naika as well as Dhed youths also sometime put on this dress of urban fashion. While some of them get their dresses stitched at Bulsar or Pardi

tailoring shops, some others purchase ready-made clothings from town markets. Similarly frocks and skirts are common particularly among the school-going girls. While formerly the ladies hardly put on foot-wares, they are not only now common but considered as an essential part of full dress by Anavil women. Some Dhed women also now put on foot .wares. On the other hand, some of the Anavil males go in for shoes and slippers of latest designs available in town markets and some others do not mind wearing those prepared by the local Shoe-maker. Apart from the changed pattern of clothings, one finds a complete change in the style of wearing dress by young men and women.

Similarly, as regards diet it is found that the village people have not only begun consuming some urban food stuffs such as biscuits, chocolates and sweets on some occasions, but a changed variety of diet is gradually replacing the old simple diet consisting of few common items. Formerly, the lunch included cooked rice, liquid pulses and papad or pickles and dinner included loaf of juvar floor and

kathol (in place of vegetables) prepared from val pulses. But now there is increasing use of green vegetables (either purchased from itinerant vegetable sellers, or from town market) and different preparations of wheat flour. Very often the author has heard some of the elderly Anavil women saying that their educated and urbanised daughters as well as daughters-in-law have learnt many new preparations which they did not even hear of. Some of them even shout out at the young women who have very much raised the consumption of edible oils in their family because of more and more fried preparations in diet for which they are so fond of. Similarly, the Dheds Dublas and Naikas have no more stuck to their traditional dietary habits. Changes of this nature have to some extent affected their diet also. Often the author has seen the itinerant vegetable sellers selling green vegetables to Dheds, Dublas and Naikas, particularly when the vegetables are sold at cheaper rates during winter. During other periods of the year, they prepare vegetables of onions and potatoes which are available in the local shops. The author has seen many a Dhed, Dubla and Naika lady

purchasing onions and potatoes worth two to three annas twice or thrice a week from the local shop.

This change in the dietary habits of the people of Haria shows urban impact as regards both composition of diet and dietary values.

As regards the standard of living of the village people, it may be observed that it has been considerably raised from what it was formerly. The additional urban incomes and increasing contacts with towns have brought in the village a number of 'luxury' goods which more or less form a part of urban life.

In the first place, almost all Anavils and some of the Dheds have rebuilt their houses on urban pattern of construction in recent years. Over fifty new buildings have been constructed in place of the old bamboo and wood constructions. These new houses have been built up with half a dozen or more rooms and enough ventilation. While some of them are double-storied, some others are single-storied constructions. The Dheds have single-storied ventilated houses, some of which are built up of bricks and some others of

bamboo and wood. The Dublas and Naikas still live in lowly built huts of wood, straw and mud. One finds some pieces of furniture in the Anavil and Dhed houses. While wooden cots and benches are quite commonly found in the houses of both Anavils and Dheds, in some other houses of Anavils we also find additional pieces of modern furniture such as wooden chairs, tables, swings and cupboards. The benches are generally placed in verandahs or entrance rooms and are used as seats for small gossip-groups. (It may be reminded here that most of these pieces of furniture are a part of the dhardhamainu received by an Anavil man from his father-in-law at the time of his marriage.)

Along with new furniture we find a large variety of brass wares, some of which are preserved and some others brought into daily use in Anavil homes. Some of the Anavils even possess costly stainless steel utensils also. The brass wares are purchased either from an itinerant brass-wares seller, or from Bulsar market. Some of the Anavils even get them purchased through their relatives living at Bombay. Similarly, not only the Dheds but Dublas and Naikas also have been found

making increasing use of brass wares in place of earthen-wares. Many elderly people of the village often express their surprise at the way in which earthen-wares (which they consider superior to brass wares for their cooking values) are being replaced by brass and steel wares. According to them while the village Anavils and to some extent also Dheds made use of some brass wares, the Dublas and Naikas used earthen-wares only. On the contrary, to-day many Dublas and Naikas (what to talk of othercastes) possess few pairs of thalis (brass plates), lotas (brass jugs) and vadakis (broad based brass containers). Few of them also possess some brass cooking utensils.

Over and above this, the village people spend a part of their incomes on some 'luxury' items such as soaps, hair oils, other toileting materials, cigarettes and visits of hotels and cinema houses. Both the types of washing and bathing soaps are now commonly used by young Anavil men and women. They also make frequent use of hair oils, face powders, creams and some other beauty aids. Those of the Anavil men who smoke prefer cigarettes to country bidis and get them from the local



village shops. More often young Anavil men including aged school going children go to Bulsar or Pardi for a visit of cinema show when they do not fail visiting restaurants. During the author's stay in the village he observed that even a group of about twenty adult Anavil women went to Pardi thrice for enjoying a cinema show.

The Dheds also have adopted the use of various 'luxury' goods in their daily life, but to a less extent than the Anavils--: Dhed ladies are often found purchasing washing soaps (and very rarely bathing soaps) from the local shops. Some of them make use of face powders and hair oils also. Many a young Dhed woman is seen wearing nets and hair-pins for up-keep of hair. Some of the Dhed men who came from Bombay for paying a short visit to the village are marked invariably purchasing cigarettes from the village shops.

The impact from the point of view of the use of luxury items is clearly seen on the Dublas and Naikas of the village. The Dubla/Naika woman who comes to the

village shop for her evening purchases of small household requirements invariably purchases a soap cake (washing) worth one and a half anna and coconut oil (worth half to one anna) almost on alternate days. The Dubla and Naika adults invariably go in for cigarettes (Char Minar or Taj brand) instead of bidis. Almost once in a month they go to Bulsar or Pardi for enjoying both a cinema show and bhajiyas available in restaurants.

However, in the absence of a detailed family budget inquiry, the author does not possess exact statistics about various items of consumption of Haria people. The above facts have been gathered by way of observation of the way of life of the people. Therefore, it is not possible to quantify them. Nevertheless, they point out the new trend in the way of life of the village people. The community which was not in a close contact with towns lived a traditional way of life, but with changes in its crop-pattern, emigration of some of its people and increased contacts both with towns people and emigrants, it adopted new pattern of consumption on the line of

19. The village doctor examining a patient. Inside this outer room there is a dispensing counter.

20. The village barber at work. He is shaving an Anavil youth who is an Atul employee. The barber usually moves around the village in the morning and serves the Anavils at the latter's places.



21



22

237

urban way of life.

## V

Cultural Activities:

Some other elements of urban culture in the life of this village community are also found in the use of modern medicines, their hobbies and cultural activities, and in adopting modern agricultural techniques and implements.

The present village doctor has been living in Haria for the last one decade. While the Anavils and Dheds often approach the doctor for medicines when they suffer from fevers or other illnesses, the Dublas and Naikas rarely approach him. A Haria Anavil man or woman receiving a course of injections for the treatment of some disease is now not uncommon. The village doctor is also sometime sent for by an Anavil in cases of serious illness. The Anavil women now not only consult the doctor (who is a mala) for examination and treatment during pregnancy but also call him at the time of delivery for an emergency help. The increasing use of medicines shows a change in the beliefs

238

of the Anavils. A further indication of this change is found in the way in which some of the Anavil couples have adopted the use of modern means of family planning. Not only that they consult the village doctor for advice on family planning, but as many as twelve women have been operated upon and two men sterilized at Bulsar hospital or at some other place for checking further conception.

As regards the leisure time activities one finds that a large number of Anavils spend their evenings in reading newspapers which they receive by post. They often spend a couple of hours on reading newspapers followed by discussion on some problems of the day. Newspapers are circulated among them for wider reading.

Another activity for leisure hours is games. Largely two games are common among the village Anavils men. While the elderly Anavils often form groups of four for playing bridge, the youngsters play cricket. The author has seen various elderly Anavils playing the game of bridge for long hours. Similarly, the youngsters play cricket on Sundays and during evening hours on other week days. On this part of Surat

231

25. The Anavil married women performing vad savitri vrat (on the 15th day of the month of Jeth) The Brahman priest performs the ritual under a vad tree. The Anavil women worship the vad tree on this day. The aim of this vrat is to secure a long life for the husband. Note that hand woven cotton yarn is wrapped round the tree as a mark of vastra dana, alms of cloth, which is a part of the ritual. Usually the worship is offered in the morning hours just after bath; and while some women take a very restricted meal of milk or milk preparations and fruits, some others observe a complete fast.

26. Anavil women playing a garba dance with dandiya.



23



24



district the author found that most of the villages have formed their cricket teams and they often arrange for inter-village friendly matches.

The Anavil women play garaba dance on the occasions of sharad punam (15th full-moon day of the Hindu month of Aso) divali (30th <sup>new</sup> ~~ne~~-moon day of the Hindu month of Aso) and some other festivals. It was also reported that the Haria Anavil women also participate in garaba competitions annually held in the Atul factory. In these garaba dances efforts are made to incorporate soem of the urban ways of acting, dressing and general presentation of the programme.

The Anavil women of the village further draw rangoli and sathiya (designs filled in with dry colours) during the five days of divali and New Year day festivals. Thus both the games of the Anavil men and garba and sathiya activities of Anavil women represent some elements of urban culture; and that they are recent phenomena in the life of the people of Haria is often reported by elderly men and women of the village.

23. Election (1957) scene in the village.  
 25 The Dubla/Naika Men and Women have  
 formed 'Q's for casting their votes.  
 They came up in large numbers.

24. The Dubla/Naika men playing their most  
 26 common folk-dance called as gheraiya.  
 They move in a circle striking dandiyas  
 (one-to-two feet long sticks) with one  
 another according to the rhythm of music  
 played on a dholak (a country drum) by  
 two persons standing in the middle. Some  
 of them carry bunches of peacock feathers  
 in their hands, with a view to avoiding  
 the effects of witchcraft on the group of  
 the dances.



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It is not only the Anavil but Dhed women also play garaba dances on some occasions. The author once saw about fifteen to twenty Dhed women playing garaba dance on the day of ujani festival, and it was found that from the point of view of its technique and presentation it did not much differ from the one played by Anavil women.

The Dubla/Naika women, however follow their traditional way of dancing by hands round their waist. Generally, they form two separate groups of men and women but play together forming two circles. This is the most common dance among them which they play on the occasions of festivals or marriage. The other type of dance which is called as gheriya dance is played by adult males on holi and divali festivals. In these cases, it is found that the Dublas and Naikas have stuck to their traditional cultural activities. It is at the level of higher castes that new elements of urban culture have been gradually introduced.

While there are new additions in cultural activities, it has been reported that some of the tradi-

243

tional practices in religious festivals have been given away by the Anavils. While the Anavil women observe fasts and perform vrits such as mangala - gauri, aluna, kevada trij and vad savitri, the Anavil men do not participate in any of the religious activities. Even in many Anavil homes, the author found the Anavil women offering daily worships to gods and goddesses placed in their homes. The author hardly found more than half-a-dozen Anavil men going to the Siva, vitthalnathji or Ramji temples for offering worships. On the other hand dozens of Anavil women rush to these temples particularly during the holy month of sravana. Often the author heard some Anavil men saying that religious activities are the main job of the women and not of men. Even two men expressed strong resentment towards going to temples and praying gods and goddesses.

Finally, it may also be pointed out here that the increasing use of modern fertilizers and insecticides by the Anavils in fruit cultivation and their readiness to apply various results of research in fruit diseases are again further indications of the

244

growing impact of modern science and technology  
(which are essentially the features of urban culture)  
on the rural culture.

## VI

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Sanskritization\*of lower castes of Haria:

The Dublas and Naikas of the village, being  
tribal people, have been known for following various  
practices of their traditional tribal religion since  
the long past. The primitive culture of various tribes

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<sup>6</sup>\*NOTE:- The concept of Sanskritization is especially  
useful in describing social change among lower  
castes of Hindu hierarchy. The first use of this  
term was made by Srinivas in his book, Religion and  
Society among the Coorgs of South India (Oxford, 1952),  
p.30. The explanation of this term forwarded in this  
book is as follows:

"The caste system is far from a rigid system  
in which the position of each component caste is fixed  
for all time. Movement has always been possible, and  
especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy.  
A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise  
to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vege-  
-tarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritizing its  
ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as  
possible, the customs, rites, and beliefs of the  
Brahmins, and the adoption of the Brahminic way of life  
by a low caste seems to have been frequent, (theoretically  
forbidden. This process has been called "Sanskritiza-  
-tion" in this book, in preference to "Brahminization"  
as certain Vedic rites are confined to the Brahmins  
and the two other "twice-born" castes."

/ though

of South Gujarat is largely based upon what may be called as animism and worship <sup>of</sup> ~~to~~ non-sanskrit gods and goddesses.<sup>7</sup> But on account of their coming in closer contacts with the high caste Hindus, their gradual economic improvement and 'freedom' from traditional bondage, spread of new ideas through the radio, newspaper and cinema, increasing rate of literacy among them and dissemination of the ideas and values of urban culture through the village high castes have together produced some positive effects on the 'primitive' way of life of the Dublas and Naikas of the village. As a result of the influences of various forces of change, they have adopted new ideas and values of a 'foreign' culture in their way of life. They are now found not only following some of their traditional religious practices but have also imbibed some ideas and values of the Hindu religion in their way of life. An attempt has been made here to describe some of the practices of Hindu religion which have been adopted by the village Dublas and Naikas.

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7 For a detailed description of the religious practices followed by Dublas see The Dublas of South - Gujarat by P.G.Shah, Ch. IX, pp.112-127.

The Dublas and Naikas have been found observing either full or semi-fast<sup>8</sup> on various religious festivals. Most of them observe fasts particularly on two holy days of moti agiyārasha or dev podhi agiyārasha (11th day of the Hindu month of ashād) and mātāni ātham (8th day of the month of the Hindu month of āso). Few of them were even found observing semi-fasts on all Mondays of the holy month of srāvana. Some of them not only observe fasts on these days but go to either the Siva, Vitthalnathaji or Ramji temple for prayers. Some of the village -

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- 8 A full fast means not eating cooked food prepared from wheat, cereals, millets, rice and pulses - throughout the day. He may take them as usual on next ~~day~~ morning. One is, however, allowed to take faral of milk and milk preparations, all kinds of dry and fresh fruits and some preparations of - rajagara, shingoda and moria. Whereas one who observes a semi-fast eats his usual meals prepared - from cereals, millets rice and pulses only once during the day time and he may take the faral preparations for the second time, or may not eat at all until next day morning.



informants from among these castes also reported that on these holy days they not only observe fasts, but also refrain from eating meat and drinking alcohol. About a dozen to twenty of them now vary rarely eat meat and drink alcohol. They have done so, as one of them explained to me, because they think it is - 'disgraceful' on their part to eat meat and drink alcohol, particularly when they live as neighbours of high caste Hindus.

During the holy month of Sravana and on other religious festival days a group of about thirty-five Dubla and Naika (together) adult males sit in the Vitthalnathji or Siva temple and sing bhajans<sup>9</sup> by playing some music or simply by way of moving in round and clapping. The author found during his stay in the village that this group of 'devotees' would go on singing songs in one of the village temples continuously for seven days making thereby a bhajan Saptah <sup>10</sup>. They would start singing bhajans by about

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9 Bhajans are devotional songs in praise of gods and goddesses.

10 Singing devotional songs in praise of god continuously for a week (seven days) is called as bhajan saptah.

248

eight at night and continue singing till late past mid-night.

The author found many a Dubla taking his regular bath in the morning. In some of their huts were found images of god Rama and Krishna -and of goddess Ambika and Kalaka. One of the village informant reported to me that daily in the morning after taking his bath he bows down to the gods and goddesses (the images placed in his hut) and lits divo ( a small lamp of ghee or oil) before them. He further informed me that he purchased the images from a fair.

Almost all Dublas and Naikas (including females ) go to visit two fairs,<sup>11</sup> one held at a place called

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11 These fairs attract large crowds from surrounding villages making an assemblage of over two to three thousand people. Most of the people belong to the tribal castes of this part of rural areas. However, some persons from higher castes are also found visiting these fairs. We find a number of temporary shops raised under tents there. The most common goods being sold there include brass-wares, a large variety of eatables, cloth, small cultery goods and toys. A modern feature seen now-a-days in these fairs is that a number of restaurants also find their place there. They were found serving hot and cold drinks and snacks.

gangaji near Pardi railway station (about four miles from Haria) on the day of Sivaratri (28th day of the month of Maha), and the other held at the hill-top of Parnera (about two miles from Haria) on the day of matani atham (8th day of the month of aso). While their aim in visiting these fairs is to enjoy the fun of fair, they do not fail offering worship to the god siva (in the case of the gangaji fair) and to goddess Kalaka (in the case of parnera fair). The author found many village Dublas and Naikas carrying with them a shrifal (coconu) half of which (according to the convention) they offer to the god or goddess and the other half they bring back to home as prasad<sup>12</sup> which is distributed among family members, neighbours and relatives.

They have also Sanskritized their marriage ritual by calling in a Brahmin priest for performing the rites. The author found that one elderly Anavil of of the village, who has learnt by heart some of the sanskrit verses which are usually<sup>11-</sup> cited at the

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12 Parts or all of the offerings of gods or goddesses are received with pleasure by devotees considering them as their marks of blessings. This is called as Prasad.

250

time of a wedding ritual, acts as the priest of the Dublas and Naikas. It may be pointed out here that this Anavil 'priest' does not possess as much knowledge of various rites and verses of the wedding ritual as the professional Brahman priests possess. But he has 'workable' knowledge of them. He is found to be at least accurate in quoting some verses, which he calls as 'savdhan' verses commonly spoken at the time of wedding. For the Dublas and Naikas the actual procedure of rites, or correct quoting of verses is not so important as the very presence of a Brahman 'priest' at the time of their marriage. Moreover, they have been often found making use of some of the sacred things such as kumkum (red powder), nadachhadi - (coloured sacred thread of hand-spun yarn), rice and coconut at the time of their marriage. After the marriage ceremony is over some of the married couples have been found going round the village temples bowing to the gods in order to receive their blessings.

#### Sanskritization of Dheds:

Not only the Dublas and Naikas of the village have adopted Sanskritie ideas and values in their life, but

the village Dheds also have done so to some extent. Formerly the Dheds ate flesh of even dead cattle which they carried away from the village. Eating such flesh by them is now a thing of the past. The author found some Dhed ladies offering worships to god Siva at the village temple.<sup>13</sup> I saw some Dhed women carrying with them in a brass plate several things which are needed in offering worships to a god, such as kumkum, rice, flowers and fruit (banana). Some of the Dhed informants reported to me that they invariably offer worships to Ganesh dev<sup>14</sup>. They also informed me about their practices of observing fasts on some of the religious festivals.

Thus the Dublas, Naikas and to some extent, Dheds have adopted some of the Sanskritic ideas and values. In adopting them they have largely imitated the way

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13 The Government of India has made untouchability an illegal social activity. The untouchables are - legally protected. They can now enter all Hindu temples and move about in all public places without any restrictions arising out of untouchability.

14 The god with elephant's head; this god is always first worshipped in the beginning of a ceremony.

of life of the high caste Hindus, Anavils, living as their neighbours in the village.

It was in this way <sup>that</sup> the change in the village crop-pattern leading to urban migration and closer contacts between the village community and the outside world produced influences upon the structure of family, institution of marriage, literacy, standard of living and religious practices of the people of the village. The impact of urban culture is found, of course, in varying degrees, on the way of life of different sections of the village community.