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CHAPTER V

THE CHANGE IN THE VILLAGE
CROP-PATTERN AND ITS
EFFECTS ON THE
VILLAGE ECONOMY

I

Afus cultivation was introduced in Haria sometime during the first decade of the present century. Since then the village cultivators have nearly stopped growing the traditional crops and have gradually changed over to afus cultivation during the period of over fifty years. This change in the village crop-pattern has brought about some major changes in the social, political and economic institutions of the village community. At present the village has almost specialized in the production of one commercial crop. This sort of specialization in crop production has led,

firstly, to the gradual integration of the village economy into the much wider economy of the country and of the world and, secondly, to the opening up of the village frontiers to the influences of industrialization and urbanization through its increasing contacts with the outside world.

The Portuguese introduced Alphonso (afus) in India:

It should be pointed out here that mango (*Mangifera Indica*) is not a new fruit to India. References for mango fruit *amrafala* and mango tree *amra vriksha* are found even in ancient literature. Mango trees are found scattered almost all over India. One finds them grown up on road sides, near wells, on the hedges of farms, or near village sites. This type of mango tree bears a juicy fruit. When the fruit is ripe, its juice is either directly sucked or eaten with puri¹ or chapati² as a part of meals.

But the new variety of mango fruit introduced in Haria and in surrounding areas was of a different type from this fruit. The new variety of mango is popularly

1 & 2 They are Indian preparations of wheat floor.

called as afus, or hafus³ and is believed to have been introduced by the Portuguese in the Goa region first. We do not have exact information about the date of its introduction there. But a reference to it is available in a travel account of the seventeenth century by Niccolao Manucci.⁴ On the basis of this source, we can say that the Portuguese should have planted some afus mango trees by grafting method in the coastal region of Goa after their settlement in the sixteenth century⁵. From Goa it might have spread gradually to its South and North along the coastal strip. The Western India coastal strip has an alluvial soil with thick deposits of the Deccan trap and a fairly moderate climate with sufficient humidity in the air due to the proximity of the Arabian Sea. Therefore this region is most suited to afus cultivation from the point of view of both the

3 This name has been degenerated from the Portuguese word alfonso.

4 See Manucci Niccolao, Storio Do Mogor (1653-1708), Vol. III, p, 180, London (1907).

5 Bandry V.S. also confirms this view. See his article in Rural India, August 1949, pp. 333-335, entitled as The Import and Culture of Mango Trees.

soil and climate. By the grafting method of afus cultivation it is possible to obtain mango fruits of a particular taste, colour and flavour. A graft is essentially the combination of two plants into one in such a way that their good parts are joined to make one good plant. The undesirable parts of both the plants are rejected while making the union. Grafting consists of uniting a part of stem or branch of a plant with the stem of another plant (of the same family). Another object of it is to produce early fruiting plants. Afus cultivation by grafting technique has yielded all these good results. An afus plant starts bearing fruit within four years of planting. Moreover, the afus fruit possesses^{ses} another important quality. It has a very small stone and thin skin, with the result that the pulp is more in quantity. Not only that, but its pulp is sufficiently thick and solid, so that it can be cut into slices. This quality enabled it to be served as a table fruit and therefore suited the eating habits of the Western population.

This partly explains the fact that the spread of afus cultivation in the Western coastal region has

almost gone hand in hand with the immigration of European administrators, businessmen and army men particularly in Bombay during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The demand for afus continued to increase with the immigration of the Western population in Bombay and other towns of India. As the demand for afus continued to increase steadily, the area of its cultivation was also enlarged.

The spread of afus cultivation shows a particular time and space sequence. With the gradual development of Bombay, afus cultivation spread in the upward direction from Goa. First the coastal strip of Ratnagiri district was covered with it and then it spread in the coastal regions of Colaba, Thana and Surat districts. Afus cultivation, however, spread only in those regions where the soil was fertile, deep sandy loam, and climate moderate. Afus and some other quite similar varieties of mangoes are also being cultivated in some parts of Bihar, U.P., Central Madras and Bengal.

Apart from the soil and climate being suitable to afus cultivation in the Western coastal region, the

increasing transportation facilities and the general development of trade and commerce also facilitated its gradual spread. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, and in the first half of this century new roads and railway lines were constructed and many large and small industries were set up in the Western region. This led, among other things, to large scale migration of people from rural to urban areas. On account of their comparative 'richness' and changed dietary habits, the urbanised people also started consuming afus. This had an added effect on the demand for afus in Bombay. This is seen from the fact that Bombay has remained until today the main centre where afus mangoes from different parts of the Western region are being exported and consumed too.

Introduction of Afus cultivation in Haria:

In the case of the Surat District also, afus cultivation spread from the South to the North. Much before afus cultivation was introduced in Haria, there were well-developed afus archards in Pardi, Udvada and Vapi which are to the South of Haria. And, Haria owes

to Pardi for the introduction of afus-cultivation. The name of Makanji Ramji, an Anavil cultivator of Haria, is still remembered by the people of Haria as the person responsible for introducing afus-cultivation in Haria. He brought a few afus plants from an afus orchard of a Parsi landlord at Pardi. He took the initiative in experimenting afus cultivation in Haria, because he found that it flourished in Pardi, which lies just on the opposite bank of the river Par. Afus cultivation in the experimental stage turned out to be successful. Both the soil and climate of Haria suited to the growth of afus plants. As he found afus cultivation to be more advantageous than the traditional crops, he decided to enlarge the area of afus cultivation in his farms. He learnt the technique of rearing afus plants by grafting method from the Parsi landlord of Pardi. He became so expert in the technique of grafting that he was able to cultivate a new variety of mango with a slightly different colour, shape and flavour from afus mango. This variety of mango has been named after him as makaram ⁶ and is still grown in the village.

6 This name has been derived from the name Makanji Ramji.

During the earlier experimental stage of afus cultivation, the other Haria cultivators did not follow Makanji Ramji immediately in switching over to the new crop. Some of them even dubbed him as a fool for wasting time, money and land in experimenting upon the new crop. But in course of time they found that Makanji Ramji was able to earn well by growing the new crop. Therefore they also thought it wise to introduce afus cultivation in parts of their land. However, in the beginning they ~~proceeded~~^{ceeded} with much caution. It will be seen from Table No. 5 which is given below that while in 1921 only fifty acres of land in Haria was under afus cultivation and in 1926 only eighty five acres, in 1936 it was as much as 206 acres. These figures clearly show that it was after the Thirties that the change over to afus cultivation in Haria assumed speed. The same Table shows that the area under afus cultivation in Haria in 1946 was 264 acres, in 1953 340 acres, in 1955 347 acres and in 1957 it was as much as 370 acres.

There is another aspect to this change-over which must be emphasised here. In the initial stages of this change-over, the bagayat or garden land in Haria was

TABLE V

Area (in acres) under different crops in different years from 1921 to 1957*

Name of Crop	1921	1926	1936	1946	1953	1955	1957
Sugarcane	42.15	31.00	13.08	01.35	-	-	-
Paddy	104.36	95.30	62.18	67.39	70.10	76.00	83.34
Nagali	27.00	20.20	2.01	1.30	1.20	00.32	-
Pulses	84.22	64.00	62.06	52.18	3.39	5.34	-
Sann (or Sanbi)	9.08	4.00	1.18	-	-	1.03	-
Banana	15.17	15.00	3.34	-	-	-	-
Suran	4.13	2.25	1.11	0.30	-	-	-
Turmeric	2.00	2.00	1.13	1.00	-	-	-
Til	5.04	4.02	-	2.02	-	-	-
Divela	4.00	10.00	1.12	1.00	-	00.05	-
Tobacco	0.09	1.20	-	-	-	-	-
Afus	50.08	85.15	206.21	264.14	304.25	347.30	387.33
Grass and Babul Trees	326.28	338.08	318.36	280.32	210.26	197.16	115.09
Total:	677.00	677.00	677.00	647.00	636.00*	629.00*	586.36*

Note: * (1) Most part of this Table has been derived from condensed crop production records called as tarij. I got the tarij records from the Village Accountant for the years 1921, 1926, 1936, 1953 and 1955.

The figures given here in the column of the year 1957 have been collected by the author under Land Census Enquiry held in May, 1957.

(2)* The Atul factory began acquiring land from Haria since 1948. In 1953 it acquired 38 acres and in 1955, 45 acres of land from Haria. That is the reason why the cultivated area was less by as many acres in those two years.

brought under afus cultivation and as the Haria cultivators exhausted the bagayat land, they turned to dry-crop and then to wet-crop land for afus-cultivation. Not only that the traditional bagayat food crops were given ^{up} ~~away~~ in place of afus cultivation but that large parts of wet-crop and dry-crop land were also brought under afus cultivation gradually. In 1901 as many as 373 acres were under dry-crop cultivation; but in 1957 only 115 acres were under it. Some parts of them which were covered by babul trees have been cleared off for afus cultivation. Even some of the rice fields have been turned into afus orchards, with the result that afus cultivation has almost replaced the traditional crops. It is interesting to note here that this process of transformation from traditional crops to afus cultivation is still going on. Haria cultivators not unoften express their views on this changeover saying that in near future they will have only one crop, e.g. afus in the village. At present as much as sixty three percent of the village land is under afus cultivation, fourteen percent under food crops and twenty percent under grass and babul trees. 7

7 See Table No.5

Main Factors of the Change:

The main considerations of Haria cultivators in switching over to afus cultivation from the traditional crops were as under. Afus cultivation as a major commercial crop had several advantages over the traditional crops: (1) In the first place, afus cultivation did not necessitate a large amount of capital investment as in the case of various traditional crops. While under the traditional crop-pattern the cultivators were required to invest large amounts of capital in one or more ploughs and a pair of pairs of oxen (depending upon the size of their holdings), a leather jar or persian wheels for continuous irrigation in sugar cane fields, wooden machine (kolu) for extracting sugarcane juice and other implements necessary in manufacturing gul and some other smaller agricultural implements, under the new crop-pattern much less amount of capital investment was required to be made. It was not now necessary for all cultivators to maintain a pair of oxen and plough, nor was it necessary for them to invest in irrigation, juice extracting and gul manufacturing implements. Some of them hired a pair of oxen and a plough from a neighbour

of Haria or from a cultivator of a nearby village. To maintain a pair of oxen is now considered to be a great liability by the Haria cultivators from the point of view of both maintainance and accidental expenses.

(2) Secondly, wage payments to labourers were considerably less under afus cultivation than those under the traditional crop-pattern. On account of a peculiar crop-pattern, there was agricultural work all throughout the year previously. But now, not only the actual pressure of work was reduced but the number of working days was also much diminished. This can be seen from the Table-6 given below:

TABLE VI

Statement showing the Number of working days for Agricultural Labour in Haria:

Agricultural Seasons	Months of the Seasons	Approximate number of working days
1. Mango(Afus) Season	March through June, and November	90
2. Paddy and Grass Season	June through October	45
3. Val pluses Season	November through March	25
Total:		160

It will be seen from the above Table that the number of working days has been reduced from 365 to only about 160. Moreover, afus plants and grown up afus trees, do not need any special attention except occasional spraying of insecticides at the time of their flowering. During the period between the planting of afus-grafts and their maturity, there is hardly any work in afus orchards. Thus on account of a complete change both in the nature and pressure of agricultural operations, the need for employing labourers for the whole year was greatly diminished. Consequently, they were employed casually, only until the duration of agricultural work. This amounted to a lot of saving to the village cultivators in terms of labour charges. (3) Thirdly, the new crop allowed more leisure to the cultivators than did the earlier one. Besides, the different agricultural operations in the new crop were less exacting than those in the earlier crop. As the pressure of work for the labourers was now reduced, it was reduced for the cultivators as well. Many of the Haria cultivators have been heard saying often that now they work hard only for two to three months and remain

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practically 'free' for the rest of the year, whereas formerly they had to work very hard almost throughout the year with very little leisure. (4) The last but the most important consideration was that the new crop enabled the village cultivators (most of whom were Anavils) to earn large cash incomes. The earlier crops brought them very little amount of cash, and they remained so hard-pressed for it that they had to incur huge debts. However, no data is available about the debts incurred by the Haria cultivators. But the fact that land ownership register (Botkhat) of 1901 includes the names of four money lenders suggests that the village cultivators borrowed money from those money lenders by mortgaging their lands.⁸ The author was informed by some elderly village Anavil informants that they, however, earned some cash by which they could meet with their most normal cash requirements such as payments of land revenue, purchases of clothings, spices and food grains such as wheat which they did not grow, and for paying occasional gifts and small cash wages

⁸ This was confirmed by the elderly village Anavils also.

to their halis and other servicing castes. But they found it most difficult to meet with recurring social expenditures, particularly one like the marriage of a daughter. Big dowry payment and other gifts along with it, e.g. dhardhamainu in the marriage of a daughter compelled some of the Anavils to borrow money from money lenders. This partly explains their readiness to introduce a new crop which would fetch quite big amounts of cash income to them. The new crop has not only brought them a sufficient amount of cash to meet with these expenditures, but it also has enabled them to make savings which they deposit with Pardi peoples' Co-operative Bank at Pardi.⁹

Thus all these factors have facilitated the change-over from the traditional crops to the new crop of afus during the period of over five decades of this century.

Afus Cultivation in Haria:

With this change in crop-pattern the village which was growing different food-crops for its consumption and

9 Although I have not been able to get full data about the deposits of the Haria Anavils with the Pardi Peoples' Co-operative Bank at Pardi, I was informed by some of the village informants that now almost all of them have been able to make savings which they deposit with that Bank.

sale, has turned into one growing a major commercial crop. Of course, it grows paddy and val pluses which almost meet its consumption requirements; but it has to make purchases of other requirements of food grains clothes, etc. from the town market.

The Haria cultivators have learnt different techniques of afus-cultivation. Along with afus, they cultivate certain other varieties of mangoes such as makārām, malgobo, totāpuri, dādamiyo, jamrukhiyo, rājāpuri, bātali, nilam, pāyari, sardār, etc. According to two elderly village informants there are about twelve thousand afus trees and about one thousand other mango trees bearing the miscellaneous varieties of mangoes. This total of about thirteen thousand mango trees have been grown up in an area of three hundred and seventy acres.¹⁰ Therefore, on average, there are about thirty-five mango trees grown up in one acre.

Over and above the mango trees, out of sixty cultivating families of Haria, eighteen have also introduced chiku-cultivation during the last decade. At present there are about five hundred chiku trees in the village. They are grown up along with mango trees in the mango orchards. They are, although a subsidiary, but an important source of income^{me} to the village

10 See Table No.5

cultivators. It is so because ^{if} ~~it~~ due to vagaries of nature such as less flowering or a wind-storm after fruiting, the mango crop fails, the returns from chiku sales reduce to some extent the margin of loss. Nevertheless, the major source of income of Haria cultivators today is afus. The author was present in the village during two mango seasons in 1956 and 1957 and was able to prepare an estimate of the quantity and value of Haria afus. On average, about fifteen thousand baskets¹¹ worth one and a half lakh of rupees are being produced every year in Haria. About ninety percent of them are sent to Bombay and the rest to Baroda, Ahmedabad, Broach, Rajkot and Porbandar. They are largely transported to those places through the railway. And the afus business is entirely carried out in those marketing centres through fruit brokers. The village cultivators despatch their afus baskets from Pardi railway Station. The brokers receive those baskets and sell them off to local fruit merchants. Then the brokers send every day a bharatiya or a bill entering the total number of baskets received and their

11 One basket weighs about 35 lbs.

125/25

total value with a remark about the trend in current market prices of afus. At the end of the afus season, that is, by about the end of June or the beginning of July, the brokers send the total amount of money of course, deducting their commission, to the respective afus suppliers of the village through cheques. Almost all village cultivators have opened an account with the Pardi Peoples' Co-operative Bank (estd. 1930) at Pardi, so that the cheques received by them from the brokers are encashed in that Bank and the amounts are deposited with the same Bank. In all these affairs of transportation of afus from the village, their sales in town markets, distribution of insecticides and manures and some other activities related to afus cultivation, the Southern Gujarat Fruit and Vegetable Growers' Association (estd. 1935) with its Head Office at Pardi, furnishes all possible help to them.

Business Contracts in Afus:

After the introduction of afus cultivation in Haria the village cultivators have not only become well versed in different techniques of the new crop, but about eight of them have also become business contractors in afus.

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These contractors enter into a business contract with the owners of afus orchards in the village or outside the village. According to the contract the owner of an afus orchard allows an afus contractor to pluck all the fruits from his orchard and in return the latter pays to the former a fixed amount of money which is determined by a contract. This amount is fixed either through an arbitrator or by tender method. The tender method is such that the owner invites tenders from all prospective contractors of his afus orchard and finally enters into a business contract with the highest bidder among them all. All this happens at a meeting of the contractors held at the house of the owner of the afus orchard. The contractors write in a chit their name and the amount they are willing to offer to the owner for his orchard. The owner collects and reads the chits from different contractors and finally announces both the name of the highest bidder and the amount offered for his orchard. After this formal procedure, the contractor pays to the owner half of the fixed amount within eight days of the date of that contract and the other half is paid at the time of first plucking of afus from the orchard.

These afus contracts are of two types, viz. patara or pālavani sodā (i.e. contract based on leaves) and fut sodā (i.e. contract based on flowering). The first type of contract takes place much earlier, at the time of the setting of fresh leaves on afus trees. The contractors observe the nature of the setting of fresh leaves on afus trees and accordingly make an estimate of the amount of fruit harvest in the ensuing season. The second type of contract takes place at a much later stage, at the time of flowering on afus trees. In this case the contractors make an estimate of the amount of fruit harvest on the basis of their observation of flowering on afus trees. Generally, the contractors enter into contracts with the owners of afus orchards at the time of flowering rather than at the time of the setting of new leaves because the former involves less risk than the latter. Usually there are two types of afus orchard owners who "sell" their afus harvests to contractors every season. There are those who reside in towns and are not able to find sufficient time to stay in the village for afus harvest and its sale. On the other hand, there are others who reside in the village but do not want

to undertake the risk of afus harvest and its sale.

The Technique of Afus Cultivation:

The afus season sets in with fut or flowerings on afus trees, in the beginning of March and ends with hakhed or completion of afus harvest operations in afus orchards in the middle of June. The cultivators observe flowerings very minutely on almost all trees and begin~~g~~ making estimates of afus harvests in the coming season. They are also watchful of different fruit diseases, the most common among which is popularly known as madhiyā. For preventing this disease they spray an effective insecticide , viz. hexamar emulsion. The spraying is done with big spray pumps to which are attached long rubber pipes. Except this, very little is to be done till the fruits are quite big in size. Two to three ~~Dubla~~ Dubla or Naika watchmen are entrusted with the work of night watch in the orchards. The entire village becomes very active in the middle of April when fruit harvest begins. About a dozen cultivators of Haria leave their village residences for a temporary stay in their orchards so as to pay full attention to

different harvest operations. The other cultivators who continue staying in the village daily go to their orchards for attending different harvest operations and return in the evening to their village residence.

The work during this harvest period begins early in the morning at about 7 a.m.¹². The cultivator gives detailed directions to his labourers for plucking afus from such and such trees. One labourer climbs upon the afus tree with a ten-to-twelve feet long plucking stick. The plucking stick is tied at one end with a sharp curved knife and a cotton thread trap below it so that the fruit directly falls in the trap and not on the ground after it is plucked off from the stem. One labourer standing below the tree collects the fruits from the trap very carefully ^elast they should fall on the ground and get spoined or cracked. One or two other labourers carry the fruits from the trees to a central place in the orchard where the owner-cultivator is seated. Almost all village cultivators have raised small one or two roomed houses for conducting harvest operations in in their orchards. The cultivator seats there and does

12 When harvest operations are in full bloom during the last week of May, the work begins at 6 a.m.

5. The Anavil cultivator usually seats in an open but roofed structure and sorts out the afus into different grades. Here he is seen receiving afus from labourers for grading them. Graded afus mangoes are seen arranged on his side.
6. In the midst of work a Dubla labourer finds little time for a smoke of bidi. Note his dress- a cap, a shirt (without sleeves) and short dhoti.



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7. The labourers are busy packing afus in baskets. After arranging the mangoes in proper order in baskets and placing one of them enough hay for protection from cracks or bruises due to jerks in transportation, the baskets are placed by wrapping pieces of jute cloth on them. Four labourers are seen here sewing the sides of jute cloth on the baskets. Sewing work requires proper pressing of hay which is spread on the baskets. This is done by them sitting on the baskets.
8. After hard work during morning hours, the labourers enjoy a lunch of rice, pulses and pickles, prepared by one of them in the afus orchard.



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9. The group of labourers are seen here with berai, (plucking sticks) in their hands and baskets of afus on their heads.

10. The group of female labourers about to start with headload of afus baskets. Note that all of them carry two baskets at a time. They carry the baskets upto Pardi railway station. Note also the peculiar style of wearing sari which is common among almost all tribal women of South Gujarat.



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the work of grading the fruits. The plucking operations usually continue upto 12 noon. Thereafter the cultivator sorts out the fruits into four different grades according to the quality and size of the fruit. The superior quality is Extra. Then in order of quality and size are Grade No.1, Grade No.2 and Grade No.3 . As the cultivator sorts out the fruits into different grades, the labourers who are now free from plucking operations begin packing them in baskets. The fruits are arranged in three or four layers with hay spread in between them so they do not get spoiled due to possible jerks in their transportation. Then the baskets are covered with pieces of jute cloth and sewed on all sides. It is usually the cultivator's son (who is enjoying his summer vacation in the village) who writes in ink the brief names of the sender (the cultivator) and the receiver (the fruit broker) along with the names of the two stations of dispatch(booking) viz: Pardi and of receipt (delivery), viz: Bombay. Finally the Dubla/Naika women carry the baskets over their head to the Pardi Station from where they are transported to Bombay or some other railway station of Gujarat. Generally it

is not before 4 p.m. that the day's work is over. These harvest operations are, however, suspended on all Saturdays because the wholesale fruit market in Bombay is closed on Sunday. This routine is followed on all other week days during the afus harvest season which ends in the first, or at the most, the second week of June.

It will be seen from the above description that the cultivator mainly concentrates on the work of sorting out the fruits into different grades and some other supervisory work. The labourers, on the other hand, conduct all other 'heavier' operations involved in different stages of afus cultivation. Another equally significant point is that the harvest operations are speeded up by adequate division of work among different labourers working in the orchard.

Haria cultivators now consider afus cultivation, particularly the harvest operations during summer, as their major agricultural work of the year. There are two reasons for this. Afus being their main and large commercial crop, they depend upon it for their earnings.

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Secondly, larger and larger area in the village is being brought under afus cultivation day by day. The Haria cultivators, therefore, attach utmost importance to afus cultivation. The Southern Gujarat Fruit and Vegetable Growers' Association avails itself of researched^s in fruit diseases made by different agricultural departments and laboratories of the State as well as the Central Government and tries to spread that information among the afus cultivators of Haria and other villages of Pardi and Bulsar talukas. It also supplies chemical manures and insecticides to needy afus cultivators. With this knowledge of recent developments in afus cultivation the Haria cultivators have been quite successful in taking richer and richer afus harvests. There is no statistical proof of this but the views of Gulabbhai Makanji (who is also the Chairman of the S.G.F. & V.G. Association) and some others of Haria confirm this statement. Afus cultivation has reached such a stage in the life of Haria cultivators that their talks even during off-season periods are centred around afus. The present author

attended some Anavil marriages and it was found with much interest that the topic of lively discussions among some groups of afus cultivators (Anavils, of course) was afus even on the occasion of a marriage. One Haria cultivator went as far as saying that "the history of Haria is none else than the history of afus."

II

The Change in the crop pattern First Affects the Hali system:

This change in the village crop pattern has considerably influenced the village economic organisation. It has reshuffled the employment pattern and has almost changed the basis of the village economy. The Hali system which was based upon the traditional crop-pattern has been thoroughly influenced on account of this change.

The fact that afus cultivation involved less labour in comparison with the cultivation of earlier crops and that afus orchards did not need the labourers' attention all the year round, considerably affected the Hali system. Many halis employed by their masters

became superfluous in view of the decreased amount of agricultural work. Chart No.4 given below clearly shows that not only the pressure of work has now been reduced but the agricultural season has been 'compressed' from the full year to at the most half a year. The main reason for this is the increasing trend towards afus cultivation in the village. Different agricultural operations on afus orchards continue for about three months; whereas paddy, val and grass operations together require two to two-and-a-half months in a year. Of course, agricultural work is spread over almost all months of the year, but the important point is that it has been largely concentrated only in two to three months. For the rest of the period there is light agricultural work.

Chart 4

CHART IV

The present Agricultural Calender showing different agricultural Operations during "Seasons" in Haria

Month	Afus Cultivation	Paddy and Val pulses cultivation	Grass cultivation
March	Spraying insecticides (one to two weeks)	-	-
April	Afus-Harvest beginning in the middle of the month (two weeks)	-	-
May	Afus-harvest continuing through out the month (4 weeks)	-	-
June	Afus-harvest ending in the middle of the month (two weeks)	Manuring and Ploughing fields; and sowing paddy after rains (one week)	-
July	-	Transplantation(One week)	-
August	-	Weeding (One week)	-
September	-	Harvesting Kada paddy (One week)	-
October	-	Harvesting Kolan paddy (One week)	Grass- (2 Weeks) cutting
November	Ploughing and clearing Orchards off weeds (2 weeks)	Ploughing fields and Sowing Val seeds (One week)	Grass- (One) cutting (week)
December	-	-	-
January	-	-	-
February	-	Harvesting val pulses (two weeks)	-

On account of this change the necessity for maintaining a permanent labour force was less felt by the village cultivators than before. This change in crop-pattern can be better understood by viewing a comparative statement of crops in 1901 and in 1957. This is given below in Table No.7

Table No.7

TABLE VII

A Comparative Statement of Land under major crops produced in
Harla in the past and at present

1901			1957		
	Area (in acres)	Percentage of the to- tal cultiva- -ble land		Area (in acres)	Percentage of the to- tal culti- vable land
Bagayat land Crops	260.31	38.6	Fruit crops (Afus and Chiku)	387.33	66.00
Wet-land Crops	42.05	6.2	Food crops (Paddy and Val)	83.34	15.00
Dry-land Crops	373.04	55.2	Grass and Babul trees	115.09	19.00
Total land under cultivation	675.00	100.00	Total land under cultivation	586.36*	100.00
Uncultivable	49.00		Uncultivable	49.00	
Village pasture	31.07		Land acquired by Atul Factory	98.04*	
Village site, ponds, 156.00 roads, etc.			Village pasture	21.07*	
Total area of the village	911.07		Village site, ponds, 156.00 roads, etc.		
			Total area of the village	911.07	

Note: * This table shows that the area under cultivation has been reduced from 675 acres to about 587 acres. The reason for this is that the Atul Factory has so far acquired about 88 acres from the cultivable land area, and 10 acres from the area reserved for the village pasture.

11. Tilling of paddy fields after ~~lyari~~ full rains. This is done with a view to levelling the land. Note that the mouths of the oxen have been tied with rope-nets. The purpose behind this is to check them eating seeds or crop while on work.
12. A common scene of transplantation of paddy. Both men and women labourers are employed for doing this work. They have formed rows and transplant the dharu. Just behind them in the field are seen some bunches of dharu for transplantation.



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12

13. A scene of paddy-harvest. Both male and female labourers are employed in this type of work. The harvest is done with the help of sickles. This and the picture given below give an idea of more common landscape in plain regions of South Gujarat.

14. Paddy corn is separated from plants by beating paddy sheaves on a wooden plank. At a little distance from the labourers a cart is seen with bullocks yoked. It will be used for carrying corn and grass to the house of the cultivator.



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It will be seen from this table that as much as sixty six percent of cultivable land at present is under afus cultivation and the rest under food crops and grass cultivation. It is this change towards the new fruit crop that has affected the pattern of employment of agricultural labour in the village.

There were two other factors also which worked along with the above one in bringing about a change in the method of recruitment of labour in agriculture. One of them was increasing 'costs' of maintaining hali. Although there is no statistical validity to support this argument, some of the elderly informants often pointed out to the author that prices of food and other consumer goods kept on rising particularly after the World War I. Secondly, the money incomes earned by the sale of afus (which was ever growing) made the village cultivators more cash-minded than before. Under the traditional Hali system, they permanently maintained the hali families which were attached to them, though very little was paid to them in cash. But when the masters came to realise the cash value of the payments in kind, they found that the hali actually cost much more than they thought they

did. The money economy which was operating in the outer economy began making inroads into the traditional non-monetized economic organisation of the village through the introduction of a new commercial crop, e.g. afus. Monetary exchanges began replacing barter in different spheres of the village economic organisation. This caused the village cultivators to make calculations of different wage payments in terms of money. Accordingly they found that employing casual labourers during - seasonal periods on cash wage terms was more profitable than employing them permanently on grain (or meals), and goods wage terms.

This is quite evident from the Table No. 8 given below.

Table 8

TABLE VIII

A Statement (comparative) of Wages of a Permanent and Casual Labourer
around the year 1930

<u>PERMANENT LABOURER (HALI)</u>		<u>CASUAL LABOURER</u>
	Meals, goods and gifts - Approximate value	(Total working days calculated as 200 during a year) Cash wages
	Rs.	Rs....
(A) <u>Daily</u>		
Two Meals costing about as.6 per day	135	
Tobacco worth 3/4 anna per day	15	
(B) <u>Occasional</u>		
Festival-gifts for pivainu (draughts of toddy)	3	for about 200* total working days during a year ... 125
(C) <u>Annual</u>		
A pair of clothes	11	
A pair of shoes	16	
Total:	170	125

Note:* The cash wage of as.10 per day around the year 1930 is derived from information supplied by local sources.

* The total working days of a casual labourer around the year 1930 have been calculated as 200 out of 365 days of the year, because the traditional food crop and sugar cane cultivation was not then totally given up in favour of afus cultivation.

While constructing this table, it was assumed that the village cultivators gradually, began employing casual labourers instead of permanent halis during the Thirties at the time when not less than two hundred acres out of a total of six hundred and seventy five acres of cultivable land (about thirty per cent) was brought under afus cultivation. It clearly shows that a hali labourer cost about forty five rupees more than a casual labourer.

Therefore, the village cultivators began employing fresh labourers as casual labourers. Recruitment of fresh labourers as halis was now discouraged by the cultivators. The old halis were not, of course, thrown out at once in the changed circumstances. The masters did need some permanent labourers to work on their afus orchards as well as on paddy fields and grass lands. While the old halis were retained, new ones were not recruited on the traditional pattern. Thus for two to three decades after the introduction of afus cultivation in Haria, both systems of labour recruitment and wage payments worked side by side with one another.

But as afus cultivation advanced further in Haria during the fourth and fifth decades of this century, the method of permanent 'employment' of halis gave way to that of casual employment of labourers on a seasonal wage basis. This made the village labour market more or less 'free'. That is, the cultivators employed those labourers who worked more efficiently than others and employed only as many labourers as they required according to the nature of agricultural work. On the other hand, this enabled the Dubla/Naika families to work under those masters who offered better wages than others. Thus wages gradually came to be fixed on the principle of demand and supply. A competitive wage-rate system replaced the traditional system of hereditary service in kind.

It will be interesting at this stage of analysis of labour employment pattern after the introduction of afus cultivation, to view the actual strength of the village labour force as against both the total population and total working population of Haria at present. Below is given Table No. 9 showing the sex-ratio according to different age groups of the present village population.

Sex-Ratio According to different Age-groups of
the Population of Haria in 1957

Name of Vaste	No. of Families	Total Persons	Males	Females	A G E - G R O U P S											
					1 to 6		7 to 15		16 to 50		51 and above					
					M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total			
1. ANAVIL	115	529	274	255	48	33	81	56	59	115	127	132	259	43	31	74
2. DUBLA	84	455	233	222	62	55	117	55	54	109	96	98	194	20	15	35
3. NAIKA	49	252	134	118	33	32	65	32	23	55	54	55	109	15	8	23
4. DHED	41	171	90	81	13	14	27	17	14	31	47	45	92	13	8	21
5. MOCHI	2	15	7	8	3	2	5	-	3	3	4	2	6	-	1	1
6. BARBER (Muslim)	1	9	6	3	-	-	-	4	-	4	2	3	5	-	-	-
7. KOLI	1	8	6	2	1	-	1	2	-	2	3	2	5	-	-	-
8. DHODIA	1	7	3	4	-	1	1	2	1	3	-	2	2	1	-	1
9. VAIRAGI	1	5	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	1	1
10. BRAHMAN (Vill. Dr.)	1	4	2	2	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	-
11. FOREIGN- ERS	3	11	5	6	2	3	5	-	-	-	3	3	6	-	-	-
Total:	299	1466	763	703	164	140	304	168	155	323	339	344	683	92	64	156

Note: This Table is derived from the village Family Census enquiry conducted by the author during May, 1957.

From this table we have calculated the number of working or active persons and the number of non-working or inactive persons in the village. These figures have been presented in a tabular form in Table No. 10.

TABLE X

Non-working population of Haria in 1957

(a)	Children of all Castes in the age-group of 1-6	304		No. of persons	Per cen tage
(b)	Children of all Castes, except = those of Dublas, Naikas and Dhodias in the age-group of 7-15	156	Total Non -working population:	700	48
			Total work- ing Popula- tion	766	52
(c)	Adult Women (17-50) of all Castes except those of Dublas, Naikas and Dhodias	138	Total vill- age popula- tion	1466	100
(d)	Inactive men and women above 51	102			
Total:		700			

The above Table includes persons of four categories (a) All children between the age¹³ of one and seven have obviously been excluded from the group of working population because the children of this age-group cannot be employed in any type of productive work. (b) The Dublas, Naikas and Dhodias ^{or} ~~from~~ the labouring group of the village. Hence their children belonging to the age-group of 7-15 get employed for performing some light agricultural work or as cowboys. Hence they are included in the group of working population of the village.¹³ But as the other children of this age-group generally attend school or wait till maturity for doing any productive work, they are considered as part of the non-working population of the village. (c) Similarly, the Dubla, Naika and Dhodia women work as domestic servants or field labourers. But as women¹⁴ of other village

13 It may be pointed out here that not all Dubla, Naika and Dhodia children of this age-group in the village get employed. Allowance may be made in this calculation for those of them who are taking education and those others (particularly female children) who stay at home in care of their younger brothers and sister, or for helping their mothers in domestic work.

14 There are, however, some exceptions to this general statement. One adult Mochi woman sometime works on sewing machine and repairs torn out clothes by charging some amount of money; one adult Muslim woman →

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castes do not get employed in productive activities, they are excluded from the group of the village working population. (d) Lastly, from among the old men and women, some who are inactive because of oldage or invalidity have also been excluded from the working population group of the village. On the basis of these considerations, the non-working population has been calculated as about seven hundred persons (48 percent) as against the working population of seven hundred and sixty six persons (52 percent). Of these seven hundred and sixty six persons, five hundred and thirty one are from among the village Dublas and Naikas only. This can be found out from Table No.9. To get a clear picture of the village labourer, a separate Table has been prepared to show the age and sex distribution of the two main labouring castes (above the age of 7) of the village. Below is given Table No.11.

14 (Contd.) works in the village as a dāyan (mid-wife) and earns some income; ~~and~~ about ten Dhed adult women work in their own farms during agricultural seasons; and two other Dhed women work as village peons in place of their husbands who have been employed at Bombay.

TABLE XI

Sex and age distribution among Dublas and Naikas
of Haria above the age of 7

Caste	Male			Female			Total - of M.&F.
	7-15	16-51	51 and above	TOTAL	7-15	16-51 51 and above	TOTAL
NAIKA	32	54	15	101	23	55	86
DUBLA	55	96	20	171	54	98	167
Total:	87	150	35	272	77	153	253
							525

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It will be seen from the above Table that out of the total working population of 766, as many as 525 (or about 70 percentage) belong to the two main labouring castes. This seems to be a large percentage. But this calculation is based upon Family Census enquiry. The purpose behind calculating these figures is to emphasise the fact that the two main labouring castes of the village form^a a big section in the total working population of the village.

On actual inquiry into the agricultural and industrial (Atul) labour in Haria, it was found that there are 340 labourers from among the Dublas and Naikas of the village.

TABLE XII

Dubla and Naika labourers in Haria

	Male	Female	Child	TOTAL
DUBLA	91	84	39	214
NAIKA	53	56	17	126
Total:	144	140	56	340

The agricultural labour inquiry was held with a view to investigate, among other things, the pattern of employment of agricultural labour in the village. It was found out that the traditional method of recruiting labourers as *halis* by giving marriage loans to them has been dropped completely. Instead of that, labourers are employed by the cultivators in different ways in different seasons. That is, during mango season the cultivators employ the labourers for the whole season of two to three months. Mostly the labourers do not change their masters, nor do the masters change their labourers during the mango season. But during the paddy and *vāl* or grass-cutting season, the cultivators employ the labourers for shorter periods, that is for a day or a week; and even while the transplantation, weeding, or harvesting operations are going on, either a labourer changes his master, or the latter employs another labourer.

The obvious reason of a labourer usually sticking to one master throughout the mango season is perhaps that the nature and duration of work is such that the master finds it inconvenient to change his labourers in

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the midst of heavy pressure of work. Also that the supply of labour is exhausted, so that unless two or more cultivators make such changes simultaneously, the possibility for changing labourers is the least. Similarly a labourer cannot change his master in the midst of the season because all the cultivators have employed quite enough labourers. Nobody is, therefore, willing to employ an additional labourer.

These reasons help, to some extent, to explain the employment pattern of agricultural labour during the mango season in the village. But there is one, more important, reason for it. As the village labourers are not maintained now by the cultivators throughout the year, and as the agricultural work continues for about six months in a year, some of the labourers borrow small loans from some of the cultivators of the village. These loans are described as khāvati. The sum of this type of khavati ranges from Rs. 10/to Rs. 50/-. The khāvati loans are given to the needy labourers for their maintenance during off-season periods. These loans are usually borrowed during 'Slack' months of August and September

or December and January. The usual practice is that the labourer receiving the loan, works under that master (who has given him the loan) during the next mango season, and from his wages the loan money is paid back to the master. But it may be pointed out here that there is no binding or compulsion on the labourer to work under that very master who has given him the loan. If he decides to work under some other master, he can do so. By working elsewhere, he may repay his loan. I have called the labourers, who receive such khāvati loans and, in return, work during the next mango season under those masters who have given them loans, as semi-permanent, and others as casual labourers. Table No. 13 given below shows that out of 112 male agricultural labourers, while 33 (29.5%) were semi-permanent, and 79 (70.5%) casual in 1957.

TABLE XIII

Classification of Agricultural Labour (Male)
in Haria

	Dubla	Naika	Total	Per- cen- tage
Semi-permanent	25	8	33	29.5
Casual	45	34	79	70.5
Total:	70	42	112	100.0

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A large number (over seventy per cent) of the village labourers do not borrow khāvati loans and therefore they work 'freely' under any master they choose. They can maintain themselves without borrowing loans because their family incomes are supplemented by the earnings of their wives and sons.

Just as the male labourers became virtually free from the type of bondages which were existing previously between the dhaniyamo and his hali, the female and child labourers were also employed under different masters. That is, the attachment between the entire family of a labourer and that of a master has been lost. Under the present circumstances the male labourer, his wife and his son do not necessarily work under the same master. They are often found working under different masters separately. Below are given Tables 14 and 15 showing the nature of work done by the village female and child labour.

TABLE XIV

Classification of Child Labour of Haria according to the nature of work

Type of work	DUBLA	NAIKA	Total	Percentage
Cowboys	9	4	13	23
Casual Labourers	30	13	43	77
Total:	39	17	56	100

TABLE XV

Classification of Female Labour of Haria according to the Nature of work

Type of work	DUBLA	NAIKA	Total	Percentage
(A) Part-time Domestic work (Harek) and part-time casual-field labour in village	28	15	43	30.7
(B) Casual field-labour in Village casual labour in Atul Factory	14	8	22	15.7
(C) Full-time casual field-labour in village only	42	33	75	53.6
Total:	84	56	140	100.00

Out of 56 child labourers, 13 (23 percent) are working as cowboys and the other 43 (77 percent) as casual labourers. A cowboy may work for a month or two, or for a longer period than that, under the same master. He can change his master for another whenever he chooses. Similarly, a master can change his cowboy for another whenever he chooses. There is no binding between the two for the time and wages of work.

The analysis of the village female labour statistics also shows that a Duba^l or Naika maid servant may work either as a casual field labourer in the village or as a casual labourer in the Atul Factory which is quite near the village. The female labourer selects both her field and nature of work as well as the place of work (in Factory or in village). Out of the total 140 female labourers in Haria 43 (30.7 percent) work as domestic servants or as harek-walis in the Anavil homes of the village, 22 (15.7 percent) as casual labourers in the nearby factory in the village, and the remaining 75 (53.6 percent) work as casual field labourers in the village.

It may be pointed out here that certain heavy agri-

cultural operations are reserved for male labourers only; in certain other less heavy operations both male and female labourers are employed; whereas in certain light works only child or both child and female labourers are employed. For example, all types of operations in mango harvest are handled by only male labourers; but in carrying headload of mango baskets from the orchards to the Pardi railway station both female and child labourers are employed. In the case of various operations concerning paddy and grass cultivation, both the male and female labourers together are employed, except for ploughing, manuring, sowing, fencing or preparing enbankments of paddy fields.

With the change in the employment pattern of the male, female and child labour, there is also a change in both the hours of work and wage rates of them. A male labourer is now ordinarily paid between ten and fourteen annas per day. However, during the peak season of afus and paddy harvest, the wages rise to one rupee per day. Moreover, during the afus harvest season the labourers are given one meal consisting of two loaves of nagali

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and kathol of vāl pulses (in place of vegetables), or cooked rice, dāl (cooked tur pluses in liquid) and pickles or pāpad over and above the cash wage of one rupee per day. No extra payments in the form of either clothes or shoes are made to them. However, some cultivators (about eight to ten only) also pay to their labourers a type of gift 'bonus' of Rs. 5/- to 10/- at the end of the afus harvest, if they received good returns from the sales of afus.

The hours of work do not remain the same in all seasons. As has been mentioned earlier, during the afus season work begins early in the morning at about 7 a.m. and ends at about 4 p.m. The labourers enjoy a short lunch recess at Noon time. On the other days of the year, work begins at about 9 a.m. and ends at 6 p.m. with a usual break of about two hours for lunch at Noon time.

The female labourer working as a maid servant in Anavil homes does such work as cleaning the household utensils, fetching water for household purposes from a well in the vādā behind the house, sweeping the floors

and clearing the cattleshed if her master owns any cattle. For performing these duties she is paid Rs. 2/- to 3/- per month (depending upon the size of the Anavil family) plus one dishful of cooked rice, dal and a loaf of juvar or nagali. (She usually carries her dish of meals to her house and eats amongst her family members.) Some Anavil masters also give her a cup of tea in the morning on her arrival. While some masters give~~r~~ her a pair of clothes, some others do not give. Her working hours in domestic duties are from 8 or 9 a.m. to 12 or 1 p.m. The maid servant may also be called occasionally for some extra work in the afternoon. For any type of extra work such as helping Anavil women in preparing pāpad, she gets extra wages at the rate of ~~₹~~ 4 to 6^{annas} per half-day work in the afternoon. If she goes out to work in fields during agricultural season, say, for grass-cutting, she may be paid according to the wage rates of veliyā (part-time) labourers, that is, between ~~₹~~ 4 and 6^{annas} per half day.

If a female labourer works as a full-time labourer along with male labourers in paddy / fields or elsewhere, she receives wages according to the rate of ~~₹~~ 10 to 12^{annas} per day.

Moreover, during the afus season, she carries a headload of one or two ¹⁵ baskets of afus from afus orchards to the Pardi railway station.¹⁶ For doing this work she is paid ~~=~~ ^{annas} 3 per one basket. For doing casual work in the Atul Factory she receives ^{about} Re. 1/- to Rs. 1-4-0 per day.

As has been noted earlier (see Table No. 14) that while only 13 child labourers work as cowboys (aged between 8 and 12), as many as 43 work as casual labourers in the village. For working as a cowboy a child labourer receives from Rs. 1 to 2. per month, plus a breakfast consisting of one loaf of juvar or nagali and kathol, and a lunch consisting of cooked rice, dāl and pickles or pāpad daily. While some masters give him a pair of clothes, some others do not give. Those child labourers who work as casual field labourers are usually between the ages 12 and 15. They receive a little lower rate of remuneration than adult male labourers. It is between ^{annas} ~~=~~ 8 and 10, depending upon both his age and capacity to work.

15 The size and weight of a fully loaded afus basket is - such that it is not physically possible for one labourer to carry more than two baskets over head.

16 This distance is of about one and a half mile.

The significant point to be noted here is that in many cases a male labourer, his wife and son (or sons) work under different Anavil masters, whereas under the old Hali system this entire family worked under one Anavil master. Some Anavils have recently begun charging rents from the Dubla/Naika labourers who live in huts built on the formers' lands. All these changes clearly indicate that the relationship between the village cultivators (Anavils) and labourers (Dublas and Naikas) has become more contractual and less hereditary than it was under the traditional Hali system.

III

The Change in the Crop-pattern casuses Emigration:

The change in the village crop-pattern has further led to another important consequence. Just as the change-over to afus cultivation reduced, to some extent, the demand for agricultural labourers, it also led to less and less agricultural work for the cultivators. In the traditional crop-pattern almost all the adult male members of a cultivators' were required to attend to different agricultural operations. But under afus cultivation it

was enough if one or two adult members attended to agriculture. This was particularly so, because the pressure of work on land for cultivators themselves also was considerably reduced. As more and more land came under afus cultivation in the village, increasing number of cultivators, Anavils, and labourers, Dublas and Naikas were rendered superfluous. This situation was, however, met with by emigration of some of them either for a permanent or temporary period. They have migrated to different urban places in search of jobs.

This process of emigration of Haria people began around the year 1930, with the result that today as many as 305 persons, out of the total of 1466, are living outside Haria. While some of them are living there with their wives and children, some others are living alone.

Since 1930 a number of persons have gone out of the village. Some of them have left the village with a no intention of returning to the village. Such persons have been described here as 'permanent emigrants'. Whereas there are others who have left the village with a view to return to the village after retirement. Such persons have

been described here as 'temporary emigrants'. Still there was another type of migration. For a period of a decade or two about thirty Dublas and Naikas began working as migratory labourers. For a period of four to six months during a year they used to go out of the village to some not very distant places for working as ^casual labourers. Every year they would spend that period to work in salt-pans at different places on the coastline of Surat and Thana districts. They would spend the remaining period in the village to work as casual labourers.

However, twelve Dublas and six Naikas have so far permanently migrated with their families to Bulsar, Bilimora and Surat to work as factory labourers, office peons or domestic servants.

Similarly, sixty six Anavils have migrated to different places such as Bombay, Surat, Bulsar and ^{as} East Africa to work as clerks, teachers or businessmen.¹⁷ The new jobs in which the Anavil migrants have been absorbed acted as additional sources of income over and above their agricultural incomes. These additional sources of

17 More detailed analysis of the data about the emigrants is given in next Chapter.

money incomes added further doses of monetization to the village economy which was gradually paving way for cash transactions in place of the old barter system.

IV

The change in the crop pattern affects the village marketing organisation:

On account of the introduction of afus cultivation the marketing organisation of the village has been considerably changed. Although paddy, vāl pulses and grass are produced in very limited areas, afus has become the major commercial crop of Haria. A detailed description has been given in the first section of this Chapter. But it may be mentioned here that afus worth one and a half lakh of rupees are being produced every year in Haria and they are exported mainly to Bombay. It has also been brought out there that afus sale is handled through fruit brokers and money returns are received through cheques at the end of the mango season.

This near specialization in crop-production in Haria has led to further and further dependence of the village upon the town markets of Bulsar and Pardi. The village people have to make purchases of all various requirements

of life including food grains which are not raised in the village. Usually they purchase food grains, cloth, spices, etc. in enough quantities for a year's consumption from Bulsar market. But ^{some} of them buy certain goods from Pardi market also. Moreover, there are two grocery shops ¹⁸ in the village at present. Their owners purchase goods in larger quantities from the Bulsar market and sell them to the village people. Thus both of them are distributing centres only. The Anavils do purchase some goods from these shops but not so often as the Dublas, Naikas and Dheds do.

The dependence of the village on the town markets has been all the more increased because the number of servicing castes in Haria has now been reduced to three.¹⁹ only. Even in the case of these two services it is found that not all members of the village community demand their services. Some of the more educated and 'fashionable' persons prefer foot-wares available in town markets to

18 The grocery shops are owned and managed by two Bhatela Anavils of Haria. They were started since the days of Rationing (1947-48). Originally, they were Government Approved Grain Shops, But after Rationing was stopped, they were turned into general grocery and provision shops dealing in grain, spices, edible oils, sugar, gul, kerosene oil, soaps, dry vegetables such as potatoes and onions, and small cutlery goods.

19 A Shoe-maker, a Barber and a Vairagi.

those manufactured by the village shoe-maker. Similarly town Barbers are preferred to the local Barber by some of the village people. Improved facilities of communications²⁰ have played a long way in bringing the village economy into closer and closer contacts with the town markets. There is still another practice followed in the village in purchases of different varieties of goods. A number of hawkers and itinerants visit the village for selling different goods. Most of them carry headloads of goods in baskets; some others bring goods in bags of convenient sizes; and few of them bring goods in carts. The author made a special note of such moving 'business-men' visiting the village. It was found out that the goods sold in the village in this way were such as cloth, copper and brass utensils, earthen wares, glass bangles, glass shades for kerosene oil lamps, salt, brooms and supadā, sweets and eatables, vegetables and fruits (bananas) and fish. They visited the village at different intervals. While some of them like the vegetable and fish sellers came

20 An all-weather approach road between Haria and Parnera (about two and a half miles from Haria) joins the village with the National Highway No. 8 which passes through both Pardi and Bulsar. One finds not less than a dozen village people almost daily going to Bulsar or Pardi for some little purchases or for visiting a cinema show.

almost daily, some others came once in a week or a fortnight, and some other came once in a couple of months' period. Similarly some servicemen from towns also pay occasional visits to the village and offer their services to the village people. Although, the traditional ~~inter-village~~ inter-village service relationships do not exist today, it is found that a few of them have been maintained. A mason, a Brahman priest and a hand grinding stone repairer paid visits to the village for four to six times during the author's stay in the village.

~~Thus~~ Thus all these changes in the village marketing organisation show that the village economy has been drawn into the orbit of a much wider economy of the country, and of the world, through its increasing contacts with the town markets.

It is interesting to note that afus cultivation has, on the whole, brought upon very little change in land distribution among various castes in Haria. Table No. 17 given on the next page shows that, except a Koli migrant and the Vairagi owing some land, the position has not much altered from what it was in 1901. The Dheds together own less land than what ^{they} owned previously. Nevertheless, all

other castes together own only about seven percent as against the Anavalis owning over ninety three percent of the village cultivable land.

TABLE XVII

A Comparative Statement of Land distribution among different castes of Haria in 1901 and 1957

Caste	1901		1957	
	Area owned (in acres)	Percentage	Area owned (in acres)	Percentage
1. ANAVIL	612.29	90.4	545.34	93.1
2. VAIRAGI	-	-	14.21	2.4
3. DHED	18.19	3.0	12.38	2.2
4. KOLI	-	-	7.22	1.2
5. BRAHMAN	1.00	0.2	2.07	0.4
6. DUBLA	0.21	0.1	2.15	0.4
7. NAIKA	-	-	0.33	0.1
8. SHOE-MAKER	0.07	0.1	0.20	0.1
9. BARBER (Muslim)	-	-	0.06	0.1
10. MONEY-LENDERS	42.04	6.2	-	-
Total: (Cultivable land in Haria)	675.00	100.00	586.36*	100.00

Note*: The total cultivable land of Haria is less in 1957 by about eighty eight acres from what is was in 1901, because the Atul Factory has acquired as many acres of cultivable land from Haria cultivators.

Thus it will be seen that the village economy has been adapted to various changes emerging from the introduction of afus cultivation. There have been adjustments in different spheres of the village economic organisation such as in the recruitment and wage pattern of agricultural labour and marketing system. The casual labourers have almost replaced the old halis; direct trade with wholesale merchants of the neighbouring town has been dropped and, instead, indirect trade through brokers in distant markets is generally adopted; and cash transactions instead of barter has become a general rule both within and outside the village.

Afus has now become the major commercial crop of Haria. The fortunes of Haria cultivators have been largely tied to afus. Year in and year out, afus fetches them higher or lower money returns, depending first upon the Nature and then upon the forces operating in distant markets. Therefore, their earnings have now been thrown open to such market forces which are beyond their control. And as the general price levels in such big town markets are linked up with those prevailing in the national and the world economy at large, the village economy has now been more closely integrated with a much wider economy than before.