

Chapter II

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN KAIRA DISTRICT - ITS SOCIAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTORY :

In the pre-British period, there was no formal education system in India, as it exists to-day. In those days, Brahmins had a tradition of education and other castes except the backward castes were used to receive some education, as was necessary for practical purposes in social life. Backward castes (Dhed, Chamar, Bhangi etc.) were considered as untouchables and were prohibited from receiving any education.

With the beginning of the British rule in India, formal education system was started and it gradually developed. Secondary and higher education got a special social status during the British rule and after the independence of India in 1947, the status of secondary and higher education has been maintained, as persons employed in governmental and in other white-collar jobs have been more respected and for getting such jobs, secondary and higher education is essential.

Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars constitute the upper castes of Kaira District. In the changed political and social

situations, for the above upper castes, during the British rule and thereafter, it became essential to get secondary and higher education to maintain their social status.

Like the primary and higher education, secondary education has been open for all, irrespective of caste and community, and with the independence of India i.e. after 1947, Government has taken special interest in expansion of education. Though, secondary education is open for all and the students of backward castes have been given special scholarships by the Government, it is possible that the secondary education, may be largely confined to the upper castes, as it has become a necessity for them to maintain their higher social status.

In the present chapter, we shall examine the spread of secondary education in Kaira District. We shall also observe, whether secondary education is mostly confined to the upper castes and shall explain the spread of secondary education in Kaira District, in the light of social background of this district.

Spread of Secondary Education in Kaira District :

The following Table No. 1 shows the number of secondary ¹ schools and High-schools in talukas of Kaira District and in rural ² and urban areas of the talukas of Kaira District.

-
1. Schools providing education from V th standard to secondary school certificate class (XI th class) or in between them, are considered as secondary schools. Among them those schools which provide education upto pre-secondary school certificate class (X th class) and secondary school certificate class are considered as High Schools. For our purpose, only those schools which are eligible for sending students for secondary school certificate examination, have been considered as High Schools, (Those schools imparting education upto XI th class) throughout the thesis.
 2. Rural and urban areas have been taken as mentioned in the Census Report of India 1951. Accordingly, areas having population of 5,000 and more and having certain urban characteristics are taken into urban area. But it should be noted that in the

p.t.o.

Table No. 1³

Number of secondary schools and High Schools in Talukas and in rural and urban areas of Kaira District.

Name of the Taluka	No. of Secondary Schools			No. of High Schools		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Anand	10	13	23	5	13	18
Nadiad	7	10	17	4	10	14
Petlad	9	7	16	5	6	11
Borsad	9	4	13	3	4	7
Cambay	3	4	7	2	3	5
Matar	6	1	7	2	1	3
Thasra	2	2	4	-	2	2
Kapadwanaj	3	4	7	-	4	4
Mahemdabad	4	2	6	-	2	2
Balashinor	1	2	3	-	2	2
KAIRA DISTRICT	54	49	103	21	47	68
% in Kaira District	(52.5)	(47.5)	(100)	(31)	(69)	(100)

The above Table No.1 shows that 52.5 % secondary schools are situated in the rural area, while the percentage for the same in urban area is 47.5. The above table also reveals that only 31 % High Schools are located in the rural area, though the percentage of secondary schools is higher in it. This shows that a very large majority of High Schools are located in urban area.

The total population of Kaira District according to the census report of 1951, is 1,612,426. There are 38 towns (continued) Census Report, places viz., Napad, Talpad, Atarsumba and Virpur have been included in Urban area, though their population is less than 5,000 persons each.

3. Number of High Schools represents the year 1958-59 and the number of secondary schools is based on March 1959 figures.

in this district, while the number of villages in the district is 946. 28 % of the total population belongs to urban residence and 72 % resides in rural area.

Observing Table No.1 in light of the above, we can say that secondary education and particularly High School education is very largely confined to the urban area.

term ^ Anand, Nadiad, Petlad and Borsad talukas taken together are popularly known as Charotar. (Henceforth, we shall use this for the above four talukas taken together) If we examine the number of secondary schools and High schools of Charotar and compare them with the remaining part (remaining six talukas) of Kaira District, as shown in the following Table No.2.

Table No. 2¹

Number of secondary schools and High Schools in Charotar and in remaining parts of Kaira District :

Region	No. of Secondary Schools			No. of High Schools		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Charotar	35 (34%) ²	34 (33 %)	69 (67%)	17 (25%)	33 (48.5%)	50 (73.5%)
Remaining part of Kaira District	19 (18.5%)	15 (14.5%)	34 (33%)	4 (6 %)	14 (20.5%)	18 (26.5%)
Kaira District	54	49	103	21	47	68
% in Kaira District	(52.5%)	(47.5%)	(100%)	(31%)	(69%)	(100%)

We find that 67% secondary schools and 73.5 % High Schools are located in Charotar and only 33 % secondary schools and 26.5 % High Schools are situated in the remaining six

1. Figures indicate the year as in Table No. 1

2. Percentage in the bracket indicates percentage to the total secondary schools and High Schools of Kaira District.

talukas of Kaira District. Examining percentages of secondary schools and High Schools in the rural and urban areas of Charotar, we find that they are 34 (secondary schools) and 25 (High Schools) and 33 (secondary schools) and 48.5 (High Schools) respectively. In case of remaining part of Kaira District, we find that in the rural area the percentage of secondary schools and High Schools are 18.5 and 6 respectively, and in case of urban area percentages of secondary schools and High Schools are 14.5 and 20.5 respectively. This shows that proportion of secondary schools and High Schools is higher in rural and urban areas of Charotar than that of the rural and urban areas of the remaining part of Kaira District. It is to be noted that even the percentages of secondary schools and High Schools in rural area of Charotar are greater than those in urban area of the remaining part of Kaira District.

If we examine the number of male and female students learning in secondary schools situated in rural and urban areas of Charotar and remaining part of Kaira District, as shown in the following table No.3 :

Table No. 3 *

Boys and Girls learning in Rural/Urban area schools of
Charotar and remaining part of Kaira District.

Name of the Region.	:Rural/Urban:	No. of Boys	:No. of Girls	: Total
Charotar	Rural area	4386	912	5298
	Urban area	10381	2661	13042
	(Total)	(14767)	(3573)	(18340)
Remaining part of Kaira District	Rural area	972	65	1037
	Urban area	3867	687	4554
	(Total)	(4839)	(752)	(5591)
KAIRA DISTRICT	Rural urban areas taken together	19606	4325	23931
% in Kaira District	"	(82%)	(18%)	(100%)

We find that in this district, 82 % students are male while the percentage of female students is only 18. This shows that both in Charotar and in the remaining part of Kaira District, proportion of female students receiving secondary education is very low. It should be noted that in Charotar the percentage of female students is 15, while in the remaining part of Kaira district, it is only 3. Further, it can be observed from the above table, that in urban areas of Charotar and the remaining part of Kaira District, numbers of male and female students are higher than those of the rural areas. The above table further shows that 76 % students learn in secondary schools situated in

* Figures received from Education Inspector's Office, Kaira District. The figures were collected by Education Inspector's Office, from Secondary Schools providing education upto Xth and XI th standards.

** Percentage in the bracket indicate percentage to the total students of Kaira District.

Charotar. This shows that secondary education is largely confined to Charotar and to males.

The following Table No.4 shows that even in Charotar, Anand and Nadiad talukas have higher number of male and female students in secondary schools than those of the two other talukas (Petlad and Borsad) of Charotar.

Table No. 4 *

No. of Boys and Girls learning in Rural/Urban area of the talukas of Charotar.

Name of Taluka	Rural Area			Urban Area			Rural&Urban area Combined		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Anand	1472	265	1737	3642	846	4488	5114	1111	6225
Nadiad	1000	219	1219	3109	1009	4118	4109	1228	5337
Petlad	1007	260	1267	2148	557	2705	3155	817	3972
Borsad	907	168	1075	1482	249	1731	2389	417	2806
Total	4386	912	5298	10381	2661	13042	14767	3573	18340

From the above Table 4 it can be seen that out of 18340 students of Charotar, 9223 boy-students (50%) and 2339 (about 13%) girl students belong to secondary schools situated in Anand and Nadiad Talukas of Charotar. The table again shows that so far as number of students in rural area is concerned, there is no significant difference between Anand and Nadiad on one hand and the remaining two talukas of Charotar on the other hand. But, in the case of urban area, we find a significant difference, as out of

* Source same as in Table No.3

10381, boy students learning in secondary schools is situated in urban area of Charotar, 6751 boy students (65 %) and out of 2661 girl students, 1855 (nearly 70 %) girl students, belong to schools situated in urban area of Anand and Nadiad talukas.

There are local and non-local students in secondary schools of Kaira district. But the following Table No.5 shows that the number of non-local girl students is negligible.

Table No.5 *

Local and non-local Boys and Girls learning
in Secondary schools of Kaira District.

Local/Non-local: No.of Boys : No. of Girls : Total			
Local	16505	3627	20132
,, (%) **	(62.5 %)	(13.5 %)	(76 %)

Non-local	6135	199	6334
,, (%)	(23.2 %)	(.8 %)	(24 %)

Total of local and non-local	22640	3826	26466
,, (%)	(85.7 %)	(14.3 %)	(100 %)

The above table shows that a very large number of students (76 %) are local but among them the number of girl students is very small (13.5 %). The above table, again shows that 24 % students are non-local and among them only

* Charotar Sarvasangrah. All schools teaching from Vth standard to XI th standard or in between them have been taken into consideration.

** Percentage to the total students of Kaira district.

.8 % are girl students. This shows that in a district as a whole, the proportion of non-local students is small and among them the number of girl students is very small.

We have no separate figures of non-local students belonging to secondary schools situated in urban area of Kaira district, but the following Table No.6 reveals that in the rural area of Kaira district the number of non-local students is considerable.

Table No.6 *

No. of local and non-local students at rural
areas in talukas of Kaira district

Name of Taluka	Local students		Non-local students		Total of local & Non-local student	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Anand	828	245	644	20	1472	265
Nadiad	639	217	361	2	1000	219
Petlad	627	234	380	26	1007	260
Borsad	575	162	332	6	907	168
Cambay	166	21	307	-	473	21
Matar	120	30	154	4	274	34
Thasra	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kapadwanaj	32	-	25	-	56	-
Mahemdabad	101	9	68	1	169	10
Balashinor	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3087	918	2271	59	5358	977

From the above table, it can be seen that out of 6335 students (5358 boys and 977 girls) 2330 students (2271 boys and 59 girls) i.e. about 37 % are non-local and almost all of them are boys (non-local girl students are even less than 1 %).

This shows that though the number of non-local students is

* Figures received from Education Inspector's Office, Kaira District. The figures were collected by Education Inspector's Office, from secondary schools providing education upto X th and XIth standards.

considerable in secondary schools situated in the rural-area, proportion of non-local girl-students in these schools is negligible.

The table again shows that out of 5358 male students 2271 are non-local, while in case of female students out of 977, only 59 are non-local. This shows that in case of females, secondary education is highly confined to local female students.

Table No.5 and the above Table No.6 observed together will show that the number of non-local students is more in rural area than that of the urban area. (As we have observed in Table No.5 that the percentage of non-local students in rural and urban areas of Kaira district, together is about 24, while Table No.6 shows that in rural area the percentage of non-local students is about 37.)

If we examine the social groups composing the secondary school students as shown in the following Table No.7 :

Table No.7 *

Number of students in talukas of Kaira district according to social groups.

Name of Taluka:	Advan- :-ced	Inter- :mediate	Back- :ward	Indian: Chris- :tian	Muslims:	Others:	Total
Anand	4600	868	203	97	197	24	5989
Nadiad	3206	581	165	72	81	9	4114
Petlad	2844	284	195	5	33	4	3365
Borsad	1480	439	104	40	79	3	2145
Cambay	638	181	51	--	66	101	1037
Matar	190	72	32	11	9	3	317
Thasra	533	100	5	1	19	--	658
Kapadwanj	1068	330	68	1	154	161	1782
Mahemdabad	420	196	69	19	67	67	838
TOTAL	14979	3051	892	246 (.8%)	705	372	20245

* Figures were collected by the writer, from all High Schools (Except girls High Schools 4 in number) of Kaira district in the year 1954-55.

We find that out of 20245 students, 14979 students (i.e. about 74 % students) belong to advanced castes. Taking, advanced intermediate and backward castes as Hindus, we find that 18922 students (i.e. about 93.5 % students) are Hindus.

Total population of Kaira district is 1612426 persons and out of them 1430536 are Hindus (i.e. about 88.7 %). But in the secondary education their proportion is higher, as about 93.5 % students are Hindus. This shows that secondary education is largely confined to Hindus and there too, among the advanced castes. As, Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars constitute advanced castes in the case of Kaira district, we can say that secondary education in Kaira district, is chiefly confined to those three castes.

Number of students under the present inquiry, according to caste also confirms the above statement. 580 students belonging to pre-S.S.C. (Xth) and S.S.C. (XIth) classes of the High Schools of Kaira district and selected by alphabetical order of castes are socially composed as under, as shown in Table No.8.

Table No. 8

Social composition of students of the present inquiry

Brahmin:	Baniya:	Patidar:	Baraiya:	Muslim:	Backward: & Harijan:	Artisan:	Oth ers:	Total
90	84	250	22	19	35	56	24	580
(15.5%)	(14.5%)	(43 %)	(4 %)	(3.3%)	(6 %)	(9.6%)	(4.1%)	(100%)

The above table shows that 73 % students belong to Brahmin, Baniya and Patidar castes and among them the proportion of Patidars is the highest (43 %).

In Kaira district, nearly 60 % population belongs to

Baraiya caste. But the above table No.8 shows that out of 580 students, only 24 students (only 4 %) belong to Bariya caste. This shows that Baraiyas is the most backward group in taking to secondary school education. The above table also shows that in comparison to Brahmins and Baniyas, the number of Patidar students is far greater. But it should be noted that the population of Patidar in Kaira district is nearly 2 lakhs whereas that of Brahmins and Baniyas is far less. The population of Baniyas and Brahmin together would be less than 1 lakh.

General observations based on the tables (Table No.1 to 8) we examined :

The tables we examined show the following in general as regards the spread of secondary education in Kaira district.

- (1) The number of secondary schools and students is much higher in Charotar (Anand, Nadiad, Petlad and Borsad talukas) than in the remaining six talukas of Kaira district.
- (2) Considering the rural and urban population of Kaira district, we can say that proportionately secondary schools are more in urban than in rural area, and in case of High Schools, there is a much more concentration in urban area.
- (3) Secondary schools located in rural area are more in number in Charotar, than in rural area of the remaining part of Kaira district.
- (4) The number of girl-students taking secondary education is very low and there too, in rural area, the proportion is much lower as compared to boy-students.
- (5) About 76 % students are local. Proportion of non-local students is more in secondary schools situated in rural area. Most of the girl-students are local, the number of non-local girl students being very small.

(6) A very large majority of the students (93.5%) are Hindus. But among Hindus secondary education is highly confined to advanced castes viz. Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars.

(7) Baraiyas is the most backward caste, so far as taking of secondary education is concerned.

The above statements, in brief, show that secondary education in Kaira district, is highly concentrated in Charotar and in urban area. Further, they show that secondary education in this district is chiefly confined to upper caste Hindus (Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars) and males. Hence, our previous assumption (mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter) that secondary education in this district may be chiefly confined to Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars is here confirmed.

Why is there concentration of secondary education in urban-area and in Charotar ? Why is secondary education chiefly confined to the upper castes, though it is open to all castes and communities ? How is it that secondary education is very largely confined to males ?

Education system is a part of the social system and we shall now show how the above facts are explained by the social set up.

Social set up of Kaira district : *

Social surrounding is related to the physical background of the region. Hence let us examine some physical aspects of Kaira district, first.

* A good deal of information about physical and social surroundings of Kaira district are based on Charotar Sarvasangraha.

Location, Temperature and Rainfall :

Kaira district is situated in the state of Gujarat. It is in the middle of this state between $22^{\circ}7'$ to $23^{\circ}18'$ N. and $72^{\circ}15'$ to $73^{\circ}37'$ E. It is bounded on the East and South by the river Mahi. On the West, the river Sabarmati forms the boundary from Matar taluka onward.

The district is situated in the temperate zone. Hence, proportion of heat and cold, on the whole is suitable. So far as climate is concerned, the year can be divided into three seasons. From November to February, there is winter, from March to June, it is summer and from July to October, it is monsoon. The popular notion that the climate of this district, is conducive to health, is right in this way. The average temperature ~~is 82~~ of the year in this district is 82° , but in winter it goes down as 60° or even 43° and in summer, it goes as high as 100° to 116° . Hence, too much heat and cold are also experienced in this district. From the point of view of agriculture, on the whole, the climate is suitable to food-grains and cash crops like tobacco, cotton, oil-seeds, lemon-plants and vegetables.

In this district, generally the rainfall is between $30''$ to $40''$. But this is very uncertain.* During the last 9 years, the highest record is of $76''$, while the lowest is of $8''$. This shows a good deal of uncertainty of rainfall in the district.

In order to meet with vagaries of rain, a number of wells have been constructed in different talukas of this

* Charotar Sarvasangraha

district. Water pumps run by oil engines and electric motor pumps, have been installed on wells for irrigation purpose. But this sort of lift irrigation is mainly in Charotar. In some parts of Matar and Mahemdabad talukas, Meshvo-Canal water is used for paddy cultivation. In Thasra and Kapadwanaj talukas, where cotton is the main cash-crop, vagaries of rainfall are less harmful.

Soil structure and crops :

The district has mainly an alluvial soil, composed of deposition of rivers Mahi, Shedhi, Meshvo and Vatrak. Major part of the land of Kaira district, is of Goradu type which is rich in fertility. There is also middle black soil in the district. This sort of land is suitable for wheat and paddy. Black soil of Thasra and Kapadwanaj talukas is good for cotton cultivation. Goradu type soil of Kaira district has a good water sucking capacity, and is free from harmful elements of soil. Both, for food grains and cash crops, this type of ~~district~~ soil is best suited. Kaira district, therefore, was well known in the Bombay State for its fertile Goradu soil.

From the point of view of soil structure, the district can be divided into three parts (1) Mal, (2) Charotar and (3) Bhal. Major portion of Kapadwanaj and Thasra talukas consist of Mal. Mal has a rich black soil. But until 1920, most of the land in Kapadwanaj and Thasra talukas, remained uncultivated. Afterwards, as it was learnt that the land could be used for the cultivation of cotton, special attention has been focussed in that direction.

Proper Charotar consists of four talukas viz. Anand, Nadiad, Petlad and Borsad. Proportion of Goradu type of land is much more in Charotar than in the remaining part of Kaira district. But even in Charotar, the soil of Anand and Borsad talukas is richer in fertility (on account of the higher deposition of the river Mahi) than that of Nadiad and Petlad talukas. It is to be noted that about 95 % land of Charotar is of Goradu type, rich in fertility. Main cash crop of Charotar is tobacco, which is suitable only to Goradu type of soil. Most of the tobacco cultivation of Kaira district is concentrated in Charotar. In comparison to other part of Kaira district, as there is better irrigation facility, various types of vegetables and plantations of lemon, ^{bannana} ~~banna~~, etc. are also found in certain places of Charotar. Hence Charotar is better placed in agriculture, on account of better soil structure and irrigation facilities.

The land of Mahemdabad taluka is not so fertile as that of Charotar. Soil of this taluka is mainly composed of mud of the rivers Vatrak and Meshvo, which are very small. Though major part of the soil of this taluka consists of Goradu type, yet it is much less fertile than that of Charotar. Food-grains is the chief crop of this taluka.

Cambay and Matar talukas can be named as Bhal region. Bhal has a speciality for wheat cultivation. Some part of Matar taluka, is known as Daskoshi, which is very much suitable for paddy. The soil of Cambay taluka is much low in fertility. Though waters of Kaira district rivers reach the sea by passing through boundaries of this taluka, the soil is not sufficiently fertile, as the fertile mud of the rivers has been deposited elsewhere in the district. Moreover, major

part of this taluka is situated on a downward level. During monsoon, it is difficult to cultivate this soil. But this land has a good water storing capacity. Hence, this soil is highly suitable for wheat. Some land of this taluka has remained as waste-land, as there is varying proportion of Khār in the soil structure of this taluka. On account of the above, there is very little scope of cash crops in Cambay taluka. Khār element is also found in considerable amount in the middle blacksoil of Matar taluka. Some portion of the land of Matar taluka is also low in fertility. Hence, in Matar taluka also, there is less scope of cash crops like tobacco, as we find in Charotar.

The land of Balashinor taluka is stony. In major portion of this taluka, though the river Mahi has made the land fertile, yet there is no proper development of the alluvial soil of this taluka.

The above, in brief, shows that on the whole climate, rainfall and soil-structure of Kaira district are suitable for agriculture. But Charotar is in a superior position, so far as agriculture is concerned, than the remaining part of Kaira district, as it has rich Goradu type of land suitable to food-grains and cash crops.

Railway :

The contact of this district with other parts of Bombay State and India is mainly through Bombay-Ahmedabad railway line of the Western railways, which runs approximately through the middle of the district. The first railway station on the mainline is Vāsad and the last one is Kaniij. The distance between the two railway stations is 36 miles. On the ~~meantime~~, Anand and Nadiad are main junctions. At Anand,
main line

there are railway lines for Anand-Vadtal; Anand-Cambay and Anand-Godhra. Hence the interior of Anand, Petlad, Borsad, Cambay and Thasra talukas keep their contact of the Bombay-Ahmedabad line through Anand. At Nadiad, there are trains for Nadiad-Kapadwanaj and Nadiad-Petlad lines. For the interior of Nadiad, Matar, Kapadwanaj, Mahemdabad and Petlad talukas, Nadiad is a convenient centre for main line. Umreth, Ode, Bhalej, Dakor, Thasra, Boriavi, Anand, Nadiad, Mahudha, Pij, Vaso, Petlad, Sojitra, Dharmaj, Nar, Borsad, Anklav, Bhadran, Cambay, Tarapur, Mahemdabad, Kapadwanaj, Adas and Kathlal towns are situated on railway lines. Except Adas, in all towns situated on the railway stations, there are High Schools. This shows that railway has also played an indirect part in the growth of secondary education in towns and majority of such towns are located in Charotar. Having thus observed the physical surrounding of Kaira district, we shall now examine some aspects of economic and social life of the people of this district.

Economic and social life of the people :

India is mainly an agricultural country. During British rule, industrial development of the country was not encouraged. Hence, agriculture has become a means of subsistence for most of the population of India. In the same way, Kaira district mainly depends upon agriculture. Moreover, as we have seen, climate, rainfall and soil-structure of this district, are well suitable for agriculture. The peasantry of this district on the whole, is industrious and hardworking. The physical surrounding has made the district more prosperous in comparison with most other districts of Gujarat.

In Bombay State (Kaira district was a part of Bombay State until 1st May 1960) 66 % of the population is dependent upon agriculture. In Kaira district, out of the total population of 1612426, 1146651 depend upon agriculture. This shows that nearly 71 % of the population of this district is dependent upon agriculture. Hence, majority of the population live in villages.

The following Table No.9 shows urban and rural population of this district.

Table No. 9 *

Rural and Urban population in talukas of Kaira District

Name of Taluka	: Rural : Population	: Urban : Population	: Total
Anand	1,27,340	1,24,025	2,51,365
Nadiad	1,46,858	99,612	2,46,470
Petlad	1,30,091	63,742	1,93,833
Borsad	1,84,510	35,424	2,19,934
Cambay	89,445	44,871	1,34,316
Matar	72,309	5,283	77,592
Mahemdabad	92,747	17,206	1,09,953
Thasra	1,05,093	16,776	1,21,869
Kapadwanaj	1,45,899	31,529	1,77,428
Balashinor	62,599	17,067	79,666
Total	11,56,891 (72 %)	4,55,535 (28 %)	16,12,426 (100 %)

The above table shows that in all talukas of Kaira district, the number of rural population is higher. In this

* Census Hand-book of Kaira District, 1953

district as a whole, 72 % of the total population resides in rural area, while only 28 % population is resident of urban area. In Anand and Nadiad talukas, the number of urban population is higher than that of the remaining talukas of this district. In Thasra, Kapadwanaj, Matar and Mahemdabad, the number of urban population is comparatively low. It should be noted that, though urban population is higher in Anand and Nadiad talukas in comparison to other talukas, yet excepting Anand and Nadiad towns, population residing in other towns of these talukas is chiefly devoted to agriculture. Anand and Nadiad are the two main railway junctions situated on the Bombay-Ahmedabad railway line, passing from the middle of this district. Hence Anand and Nadiad have flourished as trading centres. Since back, there have been transport facilities in many parts of Charotar than in most other parts of this district.

In addition to better scope of agriculture in Charotar, as we previously seen, better transport facilities of this area might have also told upon the habitation of the population.

If we examine the following Table No.10,

Table No.10 *

Density of population in talukas of Kaira district

Name of Taluka	Area Sq. miles	No. of towns	No. of villages	Total Population	Density per Sq. Mile
Anand	260.0	13	66	2,51,365	967
Nadiad	241.0	5	95	2,46,470	1,023
Petlad	183.2	5	78	1,93,833	1,058
Borsad	232.4	3	93	2,19,934	946
Cambay	398.6	2	103	1,34,316	937
Matar	222.7	1	81	77,592	348
Thasra	251.9	2	94	1,21,869	484
Kapadwanaj	379.8	3	163	1,77,428	467
Mahemdabad	193.4	2	75	1,09,953	569
Balashinor	201.2	2	98	79,666	396
Kaira District	2,564.2	38	946	16,12,426	629

* Charotar Sarvasangraha.

We find that out of 2,564.2 Sq. miles of this district, Charotar consists of 916.6 Sq. miles i.e. about 35.5 % of the total area of this district. But so far as population is concerned, we find from the above table that out of the 16,12,426 population of this district, 9,11,602 i.e. 58.5% population resides in Charotar. The table further shows that density of population is much higher in Charotar than in other part of this district. In Cambay and Matar talukas, density of population per Sq. mile is very low.

The above table also shows that out of 38 towns of this district, 26 (i.e. about 67 %) towns are located in Charotar only. Again, it can be seen from the table that in Cambay and Kapadwanaj talukas, number of villages is higher. Looking to population, we find from the above table, that the proportion of villages is less in Charotar than that of the remaining part of this district. It is significant to note that though the number of villages is higher in Cambay and Kapadwanaj talukas, majority of these villages are below population of 1000 persons, which can be observed from the following Table No.11

Table No. 11 *

Types of villages in talukas of Kaira district

Name of Taluka	5000 to:10000.	2000 to:5000	1000 to:2000	500 to:1000	Below : 500	Total villages
Anand	--	28	22	12	4	66
Nadiad	2	24	29	27	13	95
Petlad	2	18	33	19	6	78
Borsad	2	36	32	19	4	93
Cambay	--	8	23	25	47	103
Matar	--	8	20	21	32	81
Thasra	1	15	24	25	29	94
Kapadwanaj	1	16	36	36	74	163
Mahemdabad	--	14	17	21	23	75
Balashinor	--	5	12	27	54	98
Kaira district	8	172	248	232	286	946

* Charotar Sarvasangraha

The above table shows that most of the villages (6 out of 8) having a population between 5000 to 10000 persons are in Charotar. Again, it can be seen from this table that the number of villages having a population between 2000 to 5000 persons are more in Charotar than in other talukas of this district (102 out of 172 villages). In Cambay, Kapadwanaj and Balashinor talukas, number of villages below the population of 500, is higher. Thus, it can be examined from this table, that proportion of bigger villages is greater in Charotar than in other part of this district. We have previously observed that Charotar is better placed in agriculture, on account of better type of soil and irrigation facility, than remaining part of this district, on account of it, proportion of bigger villages is greater in Charotar.

For the growth of secondary education, towns and big villages are more favourable, because there it is easier (more particularly in towns) to get sufficient number of students to run secondary schools. The following table No.12 shows that the number of big towns is like the number of big villages, also greater in Charotar.

(For Table No.12 please see next page)

Table No. 12 *

Size of Towns in different talukas of Kaira District

Name of Talukas	:Popula: :tion :above :50,000: :	No.: :of :tow: :-ns: :	:Popula: :tion :above :50,000: :	No.: :of :tow: :-ns: :	:Popula: :tion :above :50,000: :	No.: :of :tow: :-ns: :	:Popula: :tion :above :50,000: :	No.: :of :tow: :-ns: :	:Below :5,000 :tow: :-ns: :	:No. :of :tow: :-ns: :
Anand	-	-	Anand 1	Umreth 3	Bhalej 8	-	-	-	-	-
				Ode, Karamsad	Chikhodra Sarsa Samarkha Adas, Vadod Napa Boriavi					
Nadiad	Nadiad 1	-	-	Chaklashi 1	Mahudha 3	Napad 1				
					Vaso Pij					
Petlad	-	-	Petlad 1	Sojitra 1	Nar, 3	-	-	-	-	-
					Dharmaj Mahelav					
Borsad	-	-	Borsad 1	-	Bhadran 2	-	-	-	-	-
					Anklav					
Cambay	-	-	Cambay 1	-	Tarapur 1	-	-	-	-	-
Matar	-	-	-	-	Matar 1	-	-	-	-	-
Thasra	-	-	-	Dakor 1	Thasra 1	-	-	-	-	-
Kapadwanaj	-	-	Kapadwanaj 1	-	Kathlal 1	Virpur 2				
						Antarsumba				
Mahemdabad	-	-	-	-	Kaira 2	-	-	-	-	-
					Mahemdabad					
Balashinor	-	-	-	Balashinor 1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kaira district	1		5		7		22			3

We have previously observed that out of 38 towns of Kaira district, 26 are situated in Charotar. The above Table No.12 shows that the number of towns having population of 50,000 persons is only one in the district and that is in Charotar. The number of towns having population between 20 to 50 thousand are 5 in the district and out of them 3 are in Charotar. Towns having population between 10 to 20 thousand persons are 7 in the district and of them 5 are

* Census Handbook of Kaira district, 1953.

in Charotar. There are 22 towns in this district, which have population between 5 thousand to 10 thousand, and out of them 16 are located in Charotar. 3 Towns of this district have population below 5000 and 1 of them is situated in Charotar. From the above table, thus it can be seen that not only the number of towns is higher in Charotar but the number of big towns is also greater in Charotar than those of the remaining part of this district. Thus Charotar is more favourable for the growth of secondary education.

Charotar, as we have previously observed, has alluvial soil and better irrigation facility. Hence, people of Charotar are comparatively better off. Moreover, a considerable number of persons, particularly Patidars, have settled in East Africa for business and service. Not only most of the tobacco cultivation of this district is concentrated in Charotar, but most of the businessmen dealing in tobacco also belong to Charotar. The number of persons who reside in various business centres of India, like Bombay, Calcutta, Nagpur etc., is much higher in Charotar, than that of the remaining part who have settled outside India, maintain lively contact with their native place as their residence in foreign countries is for economic purpose only. They pass their retired life in their native place, and most of them have their native places in Charotar. The above factors, thus have added to the prosperity of Charotar. Moreover, the number of upper castes (Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars) ~~mus~~ is much higher in Charotar, than that of the remaining part of this district. Hence, the desire for secondary education has grown considerably in Charotar and it is in better position to afford it.

Getting donations for running secondary schools and for erecting school buildings, is not so difficult in Charotar, as in other parts of this district. Better off peasants, businessmen dealing in tobacco and persons living in Africa, whose native place is in Charotar, have given good donation for running secondary schools. During last 10 years many secondary schools in urban and rural area of Charotar have developed into High Schools, with decent school-buildings because of such donations.

Excluding Charotar, Kapadwanaj and Thasra talukas are in comparison, economically better than the rest of the talukas of this district, as they are good for cash crops like cotton and oil seeds. But the social surrounding of these talukas has told upon the growth of secondary education in these talukas.

In Kapadwanaj taluka there are 163 villages, out of which 74 are having population of less than 500 persons each. Leading persons of these villages, in many cases, belong to different parts of Kaira district or of Gujarat. They have settled as big land-holders after 1920, for cultivation of cotton. We have previously seen that the land of this taluka was considered as waste-land until 1920. It was therefore easy to occupy of this land for cultivation. Some intelligent and adventurous peasants, mostly Patidars belonging to the villages like Nar, Sarsa, Khambholaj etc., of Kaira district and from some cotton growing villages of Baroda and Broach districts, have migrated there. But they have not made their residence permanent in Kapadwanaj taluka. Their attachment is towards their native place. Hence, their

contribution towards the development of this taluka in social and cultural affairs is little. This is one of the reasons for less development of secondary education in Kapadwanaj taluka. In Thasra taluka also, the number of outsiders is significant. They have no special interest for social and cultural development of this taluka, as we have seen in the case of Kapadwanaj taluka. Moreover, most of the population in this taluka consists of Baraiyas, Muslims and backward caste people. They lack the desire for secondary education as we find in the case of upper castes. Hence ~~this~~^{also} taluka is lagging behind in secondary education.

The social surrounding thus explain the greater degree of secondary education in Charotar, than in remaining part of this district.

Secondary education chiefly confined to the upper caste Hindus in Kaira district and the social set up :

We have previously observed in this Chapter that about 90 % population of Kaira district is Hindu. Hence, social life of this district is mainly that of Hindu community. In the Hindu community, caste system has played an important part in fixing the status and occupation of an individual in society. During the pre-British days and a considerable period thereafter, the caste system was very rigid. Formerly, it was only through caste, that an individual's approach to wider society was possible. During the pre-British period, Brahmins enjoyed higher social status by birth and they had a tradition for learning. Baniyas indulged mostly in business and in money-lending. Their occupation thus necessitated some education. Baniyas were classed among

among upper castes. Patidars, in this district, had been agriculturists holding good amount of land. Baraiyas who constitute about 60 % of the population, had been mainly tenants, petty land-holders and landless agriculture labourers. Thus in the caste ladder, after Brahmins and Baniyas, Patidars enjoyed higher social status in this district.

But with the advent of British rule in India, the traditional higher social status of the upper castes was put in trouble. Persons employed in position of powers that is in governmental jobs were highly respected. Before the British rule, lower castes had no chance for administrative jobs. But during the British rule, governmental jobs were made open to all irrespective of caste and creed. The requisite for such jobs was secondary and in some higher jobs, higher education. English knowing persons were needed by the Britishers for helping them in administration in India. Hence gradually formal education system was started by them and persons receiving this education had a chance of getting position of power and consequently higher social status. Thus, for the upper castes, education became a necessity in order to maintain their higher social status.

During the later part of British rule and after the independence of India in 1947, there have been rapid changes in occupational structure. There has been a tendency to respect more those persons engaged in white-collar jobs and for getting such jobs secondary and higher education is essential. Education has been made open to all castes and creeds and with the independence of India,

Government takes special interest in backward castes by giving scholarships to the students belonging to these castes, in order to promote education among them. After the independence of India, scope for white collar jobs has been increased on account of economic planning and industrial development of the country. In these circumstances, upper castes cannot do without education, if they want to maintain their social status. Hence, in the people of the upper castes, urge for secondary education is intense. Again, so far as Kaira district is concerned, economically, they are, in general, better off than the rest of the population. Hence they are in a position to afford secondary and higher education. Moreover, Charotar has provided them more favourable economic and social situation, for the development of secondary education, which we have previously observed in this chapter.

About 89 % population of Kaira district, consists of Hindus and the remaining population consists of Muslims and Indian Christians, the number of others (only 1017 persons) being negligible. In case of secondary education the percentage of Hindus is 93.5, as we have observed previously in Table No.7. This shows that Hindus are comparatively advanced in secondary education than Muslims and Indian Christians. The population of Indian Christians, in this district is 39091 (About 2.3% of the total population). But in secondary education their proportion is lower, as we have observed in Table No.7 that about 82 % students are Indian Christians. Indian Christians in this district are mostly persons of Backward castes such as Dhed, Chamar, and

Bhangi who have been converted into christians. Though they have been classified as separate class by the Government, yet excepting religion, there is no notable difference between them and the people of backward castes. On account of contact with christian missionaries, there is some change in the outlook of Indian christians, but it seems that the change has not so much penetrated as to create a demand for secondary education among them.

The population of Muslims in Kaira district is 1,41,782 (about 8.7 % of the total population). But Table No.7 shows that only 3.5 % students learning in secondary schools, belong to that community. Unlike advanced-castes, Hindus, there is no tradition for education among Muslims. Moreover, they are backward in social and economic spheres. It is to be noted that though the proportion of urban population is comparatively more in Muslims and Indian christians, than that of Hindus, still in secondary education, Hindus are more forward. The following Table No.13 shows rural and urban population of Kaira district, belonging to different communities.

Table No. 13 *

Rural/Urban population of Kaira district according to religious communities

Rural/Urban area:	Hindu	Muslim	Indian : Christians	Others
Rural area	10,62,433	66,922	27,324	212
Urban area	3,68,103	74,860	11,767	805
Kaira district	14,30,536	1,41,782	39,091	1,017

From the above table No.13, it can be seen that among Hindus about 25 % are urban-dwellers. The above Table

* Census Handbook

further shows that in Muslims more than 50 %, in Indian Christians nearly 30 % and in others nearly 80 % are urban dwellers.

It is interesting to note that in all the towns except Samarkha and Adas, there are secondary schools. In both Samarkha and Adas, more than 80 to 90 % population consists of Baraiyas. In social affairs, they are the leading persons. In the above two towns population of advanced caste Hindus is very negligible and they have very little voice in local social matters. It is estimated that about 60 % population of the district consists of Baraiyas. But in secondary education their percentage is not more than 5.

Baraiyas are socially and economically backward. As we have previously seen, 71 % of the population depends upon agriculture. Patidars and Baraiyas are the agriculturists in this region. Patidars, whose population is less than 15 % are the owners of 60 to 70 % cultivable land of the district. Baraiyas, whose population is 60 % are the owners of not more than 20 % land. Most of the Baraiyas, are small land-holders or landless labourers. In some cases, they are small tenant-cultivators. On account of the paucity of means, their agricultural production is very low in comparison to that of Patidars.

As most of the Baraiyas are landless labourers or petty land-holders, they have no means for providing secondary education to their children. Rarely any person of this community is engaged in white collar job, or in enlightened profession. No person of this group has settled in Africa, as advance-class Hindus, mainly Patidars.

Excepting few towns, most of the persons of this community are in rural area. The demand for secondary education, hence, has not grown among them. The desire for secondary education, thus, is highly lacking in this community.

Moreover, their moral valuations have remained different. Brahmins have inherited the tradition for education. Baniyas and Patidars have formed this tradition knowing the present currents and their better economic status has paved way for it. In case of Baraiyas the tradition for valour is found in its most unhealthy form. Sometime back, in Mahi-kantha villages, persons indulging in robbery were socially respected by persons of this community. Robbery, theft, murder and such harmful anti-social activities are mostly undertaken by these people, though now there is a considerable improvement. In a number of villages, mainly consisted of the people of this caste, there were not even primary schools a few years back. The percentage of illiteracy would be the highest in this community. All these factors have played adversely upon the demand for secondary education in this community.

Again, Baraiyas dwell in small villages. Even in towns like Chaklashi and Samarkha, where their population is considerably much, they dwell in farms. This provides difficulty to their children to get even primary education. Before the compulsory primary education was introduced, most of the children of Baraiyas, did not attend even primary schools.

Next to Baraiyas, Patidar is an important caste in this district. As previously seen their population in the

district is about 2 lakhs of people. From the standpoint of economic progress, now they stand forward in the district. They are the leading cultivators and almost all businessmen in the district and outside the district in India, dealing in Bidi-tobacco belong to this caste. Many adventurous persons of this caste have settled in South and East Africa, Aden, Burma, Fizi etc. for business and service. In some villages and particularly in Charotar, the local leadership is enjoyed by them. As economically the caste is better off, most of the donation towards the High schools is given by the people of this caste and in places wherein this caste predominates though the people of this caste are found in all the talukas of the district, their number is far more in Charotar. It is also to be noted that most of the people of this caste who have gone for business and service, hail from Charotar. One of the significant reasons behind Charotar's advancement in secondary education, is the generous donations given by these persons.

At the time of a betrothal, education of a boy is now highly taken into consideration in upper castes. That is why in upper castes even dull students are forcibly sent to the school until their marriage. Among patidars of this region, there is a dowry system. A student learning in a college can fetch a good amount of dowry. This is also one of the considerations behind providing secondary and higher education to the boys belonging to this caste.

Occupation of the people and secondary education in Kaira district :

The total population of Kaira district is 16.12 lakhs

of people. This population depending upon several occupations can be classified as under as shown in the Table No.14.

Table No. 14 *
Occupation of the population

Name of Occupation	Population depen- dent upon it :(lakhs of people):	% of the popu- lation depending
<u>AGRICULTURE :</u>	11.47	71
i) Mainly tilling their own land	7.89	49
ii) Mainly tenant cultivators	1.94	12
iii) Land-less agriculture labourers	1.08	6.6
iv) Non-cultivating landlords depending upon agriculture	.56	3.4
<u>NON-AGRICULTURE :</u>	4.65	29
i) Productive occupations other than agriculture	1.48	9.2
ii) Trade & Commerce	.97	6.0
iii) Transport	.16	1.0
iv) Miscellaneous occupations and services	2.04	12.8

The above table No.14 shows that 71 % of the population is dependent upon agriculture. Out of them 49% are agriculturists mainly tilling their own land. 3.4 % are landlords who themselves do not cultivate but depend upon agriculture income. We have previously seen in this chapter that agriculture is performed chiefly by Patidars and Baraiyas, in Kaira district. We have also observed that about 60 to 70% of the cultivable land is possessed by Patidars, though their population is small (about 2 lakhs) than that of Baraiyas (about 9 lakhs). This shows that a very large majority of agriculturists dependent mainly upon

* Charotar Sarvasangraha

their own land is Patidars. A very large majority of agriculture landless labourers and cultivators mainly tenants consist of Baraiyas.

The above table No.14 again shows that 29 % population depends upon non-agriculture occupations, trade and commerce, transport, services and miscellaneous occupations. It is not possible to find out the percentage of upper castes depending upon the above. But general observation of this district shows that a very large majority of persons dealing in trade and commerce and engaged in gainful occupations and white collar jobs consist of the upper castes.

It seems that secondary education and occupation of the people has relationship, as our present inquiry shows that out of 546 students who mentioned the occupation of their guardians, only 186 (i.e. 34.2 %) belong to agriculture. Thus, it shows that though the population dependent upon agriculture is 71 % in matter of secondary education, their percentage is less. Here, it should be noted that a very large majority Baraiyas are petty land-holders, tenant cultivators and landless agricultural labourers who are socially and economically backward. On account of the above number of students coming from agriculturists is relatively small, though the number of Patidar students whose guardians' occupation is agriculture, is high.

Population dependent upon non-agricultural occupations, transport, commerce and services is 29 %, as observed in the Table No.14, but 65.8 % students (360 out of 546 students) belong to these groups.

Thus secondary education and occupation of the people has relationship. But here also caste steps in, because in gainful occupations and services, a very large majority of persons are found belonging to upper castes.

Social background thus shows how secondary education is very largely confined to the upper castes, though it is open to all, irrespective of caste and creed.

Secondary education is mainly confined to males in Kaira district :

We observed how secondary education is chiefly confined to Charotar and upper caste Hindus. Now the following will explain how secondary education is very largely confined to males only.

The population of males and females, in this district is 8,43,250 and 7,69,176 respectively. This shows that population of males is higher than that of females. But there is no significant difference. We have observed in Table No.3 that out of 23,931 secondary school students, only 4,325 are girl students among whom only 977 belong to rural area. This shows that secondary education among girls is very low. In the higher education it is even lower, as there are 3,646 persons in this district possessing University Degrees and only 1/9 th of them are women.

Though, Co-education is common in the secondary schools of this district, it has not come into force with a view to realise benefits of secondary education to girls. In the upper castes, now the education of girl is also taken into consideration at the time of marriage settlement. This has made parents to send their daughters to secondary

schools. But the number of girl students varies from place to place. It is interesting to note that in some advanced villages of Charotar viz., Nadiad, Dharmaj, Bhadran, Nar, Karamsad etc., which have their own group so far as marriage among Patidars is concerned, number of girl students is higher.

Among upper castes also, higher education to girls has been considered as more of ~~the~~ a luxury than a necessity. The argument is ever raised as to futility of education to girls. A girl has to mind the kitchen and to do household work in her future life, it is so argued. It may be that social factors and particularly marriage settlement have more or less compelled parents of upper castes to send their daughters to secondary schools.

We have previously seen that 72 % population of this district is rural and in the secondary schools located in rural area, the number of non-local students is considerable. But the scope of girls as non-local students is little in such schools, because parents are afraid to send their daughters to schools which are not situated at the place of their dwelling, because of social norms.

One of the reasons why there is low percentage of secondary education in females, may be the orthodox nature of parents, mainly of mothers. The percentage of illiteracy is much higher in females than in males. Again in rural area, the proportion is greater. The illiteracy of parents might have made them orthodox in

matter of giving secondary education to girls.

If we examine the following Table No.15, showing the percentage of literate males and females in Kaira district.

Table No.15 *

Percentage of literate and illiterate males and females in rural and urban area.Kaira district

Rural/Urban	% of literate males	% of illiterate males	% of literate females	% of illiterate females
Rural area	36	64	12	88
Urban area	54	46	29	71
Kaira District	40.32	59.68	16.85	83.15

We find that literacy is less in the district as a whole and particularly among females, as 83.15% of them are illiterate. In rural area, the percentages of literate males and females are less. In the rural area, only 12 % females are literate. Thus the illiteracy of the parents and particularly of mother may be one of the reasons for lower number of girl students in secondary schools.

How secondary and degree education is chiefly confined to males and urban area, can be observed from the following Table No. 16. (Please see next page)

* Charotar Sarvasangraha.

Table No. 16 *

Education of males and females in Rural and Urban areas of Kaira district.

Kind of Education	R U R A L			U R B A N			K A I R A D I S T R I C T		
	Males : No. of	Females : No. of	TOTAL	Males : No. of	Females : No. of	Total	Males : No. of	Females : No. of	Total
1. Literate	20571	66162	2,72,033	107549	59692	1,67,511	33420	126124	4,39,844
2. Secondary School	5234	362	5,596	11264	2025	1,13,239	16498	2387	18,885
3. Matric or equivalent	1162	47	1,209	4789	616	5,405	5960	654	6,614
4. Intermediate	114	5	119	862	54	916	976	59	1,035
5. Arts, and Science Graduate	128	5	133	725	53	778	853	58	911
6. Post Graduate	13	1	14	94	4	98	107	5	112
7. B.T., T.D., S.T.6.	491	73	564	547	205	779	1,065	273	1,343
8. Engineers	47	--	47	230	--	230	277	--	277
9. Agriculture Graduates	5	--	5	113	--	113	118	--	118
10. Veterinary Doctors	--	--	--	6	1	7	6	1	7
11. Commerce Graduates	22	--	22	60	1	61	82	1	83
12. Law Graduates	18	--	18	316	1	317	334	1	335
13. Doctors	81	2	83	253	32	285	334	34	368
14. Others	30	2	32	33	27	60	63	29	92

* character Sarvasangraha.

The above Table No.16 shows that a very large number of degree holders are males, residing in urban area. This applies to matriculates also as only 29 % of them reside in villages and a very large majority of matriculates are males. Out of 118 agriculture graduates, only 5 reside in villages. In case of doctors, 77 % of them live in towns. This shows that villages get little benefit of the services of degree holders. How women are backward in higher avenues of life is also evident from the above Table No.16.

** ** ** ** **

Our observations, in this Chapter, thus show that there is a particular pattern of secondary education system in Kaira district. This pattern unfolds that secondary education is more concentrated in Charotar and Urban area, than in remaining part of this district and rural area. Again, it shows that secondary education is highly confined to the three upper castes viz. Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars, though it is open to all.

In this Chapter, we have seen that the above pattern of secondary education system is not an accident, but at the back of it there is a particular type of social system.

Kaira district is mainly composed of Hindus and caste system from the distant past has been governing the social life of a Hindu Society. At the time when secondary education was introduced in this district, the three upper castes viz., Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars enjoyed higher

social status. During the later part of British rule and particularly after independence of India, there have been such changes in social valuations particularly in social status that the upper castes cannot afford to neglect secondary education.

Better soil structure, irrigation facility and crop system have placed Charotar in a better economic position. Moreover, better transport facilities helped this area in developing business. But these gains have been chiefly attained by the upper castes. Hence people of this group developed the demand for secondary education and ~~the~~ at the same time, chiefly they have been in the position to afford it. In the remaining part of Kaira district, demand for secondary education in the upper castes might be intense, but they are not so fortunate to afford it, as the people of Charotar, as they are not so economically placed.

This shows that though secondary education has been made open to all, the traditional social structure has acted as a sieve in its spread.