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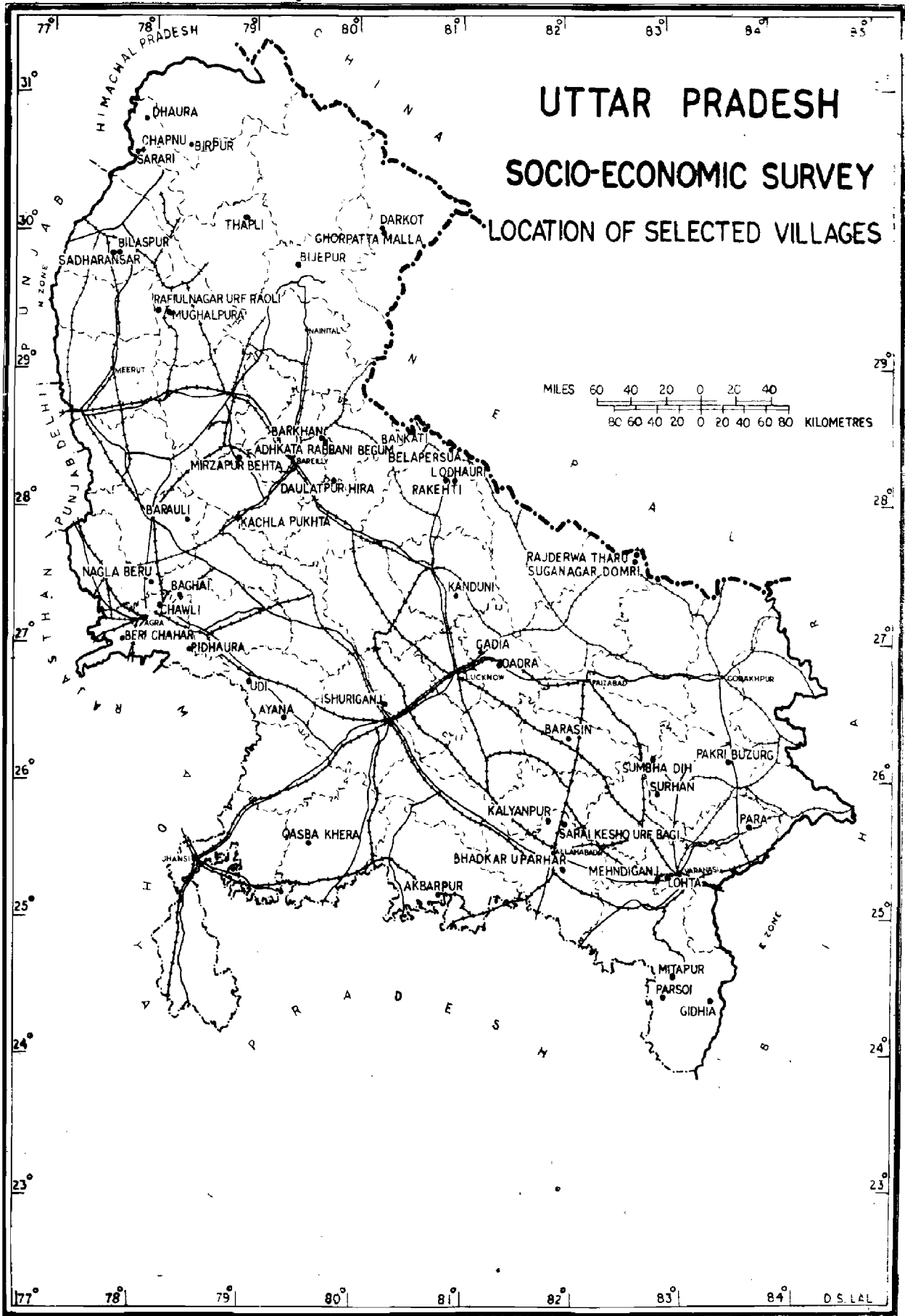
VILLAGE GHORPATTA MALLA **(TAHSIL MUNSIARI, DISTRICT PITHORAGARH)**

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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—Sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to

build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g. fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if

possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500–700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled *moto* to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set

itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diets, dress; ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done: but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November

1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

NEW DELHI

July 30, 1964.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix to the monograph on village Thapli of district Garhwal.

ASOK MITRA

Registrar General, India

P R E F A C E

In Uttar Pradesh the Census Organisation selected a number of villages for special study of the dynamics of change in the social, cultural and economic life of the rural community. An analysis of the structure and functioning of the village economy is expected to reveal the forces which promote or retard the processes of change coming into play, either in the natural course or as a result of various legislative measures such as the establishment of Panchayats, the abolition of Zamindari, the extension of Planning and Development activities, and the enforcement of various social laws. The knowledge thus gained can be utilised for the re-orientation of policies of rural development and village uplift.

2. The selection of villages for study was made in accordance with certain principles and criteria laid down by the Registrar General. Of the selected villages, some contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, some are populated by backward aboriginal people, and others have an old and settled character with a multi-ethnic composition and diverse occupations. Minor deviations from the standards prescribed for selection were inevitable because of the non-availability of the requisite number of villages having all the prescribed variables. This purposive selection has made it possible to study the impact of various factors of change upon the culture and economy of villages situated in the interior where outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act as also the normal types which are exposed to a greater degree to the winds of change from various directions.

LUCKNOW :
The 27th December, 1962.

3. Ghorpatta Malla, a village situated in the hilly interior of district Pithoragarh, was selected for study because it has a predominant population of the Bhotiyas, a backward tribe generally living in the hilly regions. With the establishment of tahsil headquarters at Munsiri after the creation of the Uttarakhand Division, the socio-economic life of this village has received a considerable reorientation.

4. The research methods employed in this study have consisted of the use of schedules and questionnaires, case studies, village records, census data, interviews and group discussions. The local investigation was carried out by the field staff of this Organisation, having a well-trained pair of eyes. There was some difficulty in the initial stages because the investigator was viewed with suspicion, but after he gained the confidence of villagers and established rapport with them, the work of investigation became easy and simple. The data were collected in the month of June, 1961. The study was of course subject to time pressure.

5. Field investigation in the village was carried out by Shri J. P. Misra, Socio-Economic Inspector, who had been borrowed from the National Sample Survey Organization. Shri R. C. Sharma, Deputy Census Superintendent, of the Uttar Pradesh Civil Service, is responsible for supervising the investigation, marshalling the statistical evidence, analysing the data and drafting the report.

6. Opinions expressed and conclusions reached by the writer of this monograph are based on the results of the investigation. They are his own and do not reflect the views of the Government in any way.

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CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Ghorpatta Malla is a small-sized Bhotiya village situated in Patti Goriphat of Tahsil Munsiri of District Pithoragarh. It lies on the right side of Munsiri on the Tejam-Millam bridle path leading to Kailash and Mansarovar. It stands on the north-eastern slope of the Bhituli range of the great Himalayas at a height of about 7,300 feet above the sea-level, at the parallel 30°7" north latitude and 80°13'10" east longitude. It is bounded on the north by village Bunga, on the south by village Harkot after crossing a *rauli* (stream), on the east by village Ghorpatta Talla and on the west by the Bhituli range.

The area of the village is 162.50 acres or 65.3 hectares. The *abadi* is more or less scattered over the village area in an irregular manner, the houses of the three communities being scattered in separate clusters. The total population consists of 229 persons, out of whom 150 or 65.6 per cent are Bhotiyas, 42 or 18.2 per cent are Kshatriyas and 37 or 16.2 per cent are Shilpkars.

This village was selected for survey because it is predominantly a Bhotiya village situated in the inter-Alpine range just near the border line between India and Tibet. The Bhotiyas have an interesting culture and way of life. The survey is expected to throw some light on their culture, their economy and the mode of their living. The changes brought about as a result of Government programme for the uplift and betterment of the residents of this area would also be assessed. The border land has assumed a strategic importance on account of the strained relations between China and India. Intensive development of the area in a planned manner is, therefore, all the more important. This study would also reveal the impact of various factors and the interpenetration of the Tibetan and the Indian culture on a bordering village

The village is just adjacent to Tiksen market, which is the headquarters of tahsil Munsiri. The railhead for this village is Tanakpur, the terminus of the North Eastern Railway situated at a distance of about 200 miles from this place. The nearest bus station is at Thal, at a distance of about 33 miles, from where it takes about 3 days to reach the village on foot or by a pony. The nearest post office is in Tiksen market close by, but the nearest telegraph office is at Bageshwar at a distance of about 68 miles. The village falls within the revenue and police jurisdiction of the Patwari of Patti Goriphat who has his headquarters at village Madkot at a distance of about 5 miles. He works as a sub-Inspector incharge of a police station as also a revenue official. It lies within the boundary of N. E. S. Block, Munsiri. Being adjacent to the tahsil and development block headquarters, all possible facilities, such as hospital, veterinary hospital, Junior High School, Intermediate College, library, community listening centre, etc., are available to the residents of this village.

The village has a distinct Bhotiya culture and mode of life. The main occupations in the village are woollen handicrafts, cultivation and trade and business, engaging 46.3 per cent, 25.2 per cent and 9.7 per cent of the workers respectively. The womenfolk are known for their dexterity in spinning and weaving. They are always seen busy twisting the spindle, plying the *charkha* or weaving fine woollen cloth, blankets, carpets, etc. This industry has spread amongst the Shilpkar womenfolk also. Cultivation is the main occupation of the 8 Kshatriya households. For the Bhotiya males, too, this occupation is of an equal importance. Only Bhotiyas are engaged in trade and business. They have their shops not in this village but in the adjacent Tiksen market. A Dholi of this village has opened a laundry shop in this market. In fact this is the only washerman household in the area. There

is one blacksmith in the village working in household industry. There is no shoemaker or barber.

Being situated at a height of 7,300 feet above sea-level, the village is cold in winter but very pleasant in summer. Snowfall takes place in winter almost every year. The perennially snow-covered peaks of the Panchachuli range situated to the east of this village give a fascinating view. Heavy rains take place both in winter and summer. The total rainfall from March 25 to September 20, 1960, as recorded at Munsiri was 2,195.3 mm. In July alone there was a rainfall of 886.5 mm. At Munsiri the record of temperature from April 1 to September 20, 1960 was available. The maximum temperature of 27.0°C was recorded on June 8, 1960.

Unlike other hill villages, there is no difficulty in having potable water, which is available in plenty at the 2 cemented *dharas* and 2 streams within the village. Everyone without any caste restrictions can have water from these sources.

A few walnut and other trees and thorny shrubs are found in the village. Plantation of apple, walnut, peach, orange and other fruit trees has been encouraged by the Planning Department. Some trees have already been planted. The main agricultural products are paddy, wheat, barley, *mandua*, *jhangura*, vegetables, chillies, tobacco, fodder and fruits. Potato is produced in abundance.

No wild animals are found in the village but in the Bhituli range and the jungle areas in its vicinity *barar*, *ghunar*, *buia*, *thar*, deer, *kakar*, *barasingha*, bears, wild boar, leopard, chameleon, etc. are sometimes found. The birds commonly found are *munya*, *long malyoy*, partridge and wild pigeon.

At the time of survey, the village had only 48 households with a population of 229 persons consisting of 115 males and 114 females. The average population per household is 4.7 persons as against 5.2 persons in the neighbouring village Darkot. Out of 48 households, 4 are single member households, 9 are 2-3 member house-

holds, 25 are 4-6 member households and 10 are 7-9 member households. The model pattern is, therefore, households having an average of between 4-6 members.

The village is situated at a distance of 68 miles—33 miles on foot and 35 miles motorable—from Pithoragarh, the district headquarters, which can be reached in four days, three days on foot and one day by bus. The journey from Thal to this village is to be performed on foot or by hired mules, ponies or *dandi* which is like an invalid chair carried by two persons on their shoulders. Mules, ponies, goats and sheep and coolies are also engaged in transporting goods. The rates of transport have shot up due to increased activity in the area during the last 3 years after the creation of the Uttarakhand Division. The coolies charge Rs.6 *per diem*. The distance of about 22 miles from Thal to Lah *via* Tejam does not have extreme ups and downs. Lah has a height of about 6,000 feet. For distance of 6 miles up to Kalamundi ridge, which is about 11,000 feet above sea-level, the bridle path is very steep and tiresome. Thereafter, a descent starts, and after crossing the ridge of the Bhituli range, which is about 9,000 feet above sea-level, village Ghorpatta Malla and Munsiri are visible. For a distance of 8 miles from Girgaon to Munsiri there is no habitation on the way, not even a tea-stall. The area is fraught with the danger of wild animals. Another menace is the leech which sticks to legs without letting one feel its blood-sucking activity. The bridle path as well as the motor road often get breached in the rainy season and the village becomes inaccessible for days at a stretch. At a distance of about 12 miles from Thal is the river Bhujigad, which has to be crossed for reaching the village. It cannot be crossed when in spate during the rainy season and hence on such occasions the road stands closed to traffic. Of late the State Government have started constructing a motorable road from Thal to Millam.

There is no *mandir* or any other place of worship in the village. The nearest temple of Devi visited by the villagers is at Dhandadhar at a distance of about one mile. Other temples

visited by the villagers are at village Madkhot at a distance of 5 miles and at villages Darkot and Lalath at a distance of 3 miles each. Other places of worship visited by some villagers once in a lifetime are Kailash Parbat, lake Mansarovar and the temple of Nanda Devi because this village falls on the way to these places of pilgrimage.

The history of the village is not known. Formerly this village was used as grazing ground for the horses of Bhotiya traders who camped there. Hence it came to be known as Ghodpatta (from Hindi *ghod*, horse), a place where horses grazed. In the 1891 Census records, this village was entered as 'Ghodpatta'. Later on, the revenue village was split up and the two new villages came to be known as Ghorpatta Malla and Ghorpatta Talla, Malla (meaning 'Upper' in the local language) indicating the village lying on the upper side and Talla (meaning 'Lower' in

the local language) indicating the village lying on the lower side.

Bhotiyas are said to be the original settlers of the village. The Shilpkars too settled more or less at the same time because they are closely connected with the Bhotiya economy. The Kshatriyas were perhaps the last to come. The Bhotiyas do not, however, enjoy any special privileges by virtue of their having settled first. With the establishment of tahsil and Development Block headquarters at Munsiri in 1959 a number of other offices too were located there. Munsiri expanded towards this village and now the population of the two places lives in the same continuation. New houses have been constructed and some people have settled down permanently as shopkeepers or workers in other professions. The area is, in fact, humming with activity. Consequently, the population of Ghorpatta Malla has increased and its economy has received a re-oriented look.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Ethnic Composition

The entire population of the village is of Hindus, predominated by Bhotiyas of three sects, viz. Brijwal, Martoli and Pangti. Other castes living in the village are the Kshatriya and the Shilpkar. Members of each caste and sect have their dwellings in separate clusters. At the time of survey, the ethnic composition of the population was as follows:—

TABLE NO. 2.1

Ethnic Composition of Population

Caste	Sub-caste	No. of Households	Population		
			P	M	F
Bhotiya	Pangti	1	3	1	2
	Martoli	17	64	28	36
	Brijwal	14	83	44	39
Kshatriya	Mehta	2	11	6	5
	Rana	3	15	10	5
	Pharsuwan	3	16	8	8
Shilpkar	Lohar	3	14	7	7
	Dholi	5	23	11	12

Thus in the village there are 66 per cent Bhotiyas, 18 per cent Kshatriyas and 16 per cent Shilpkars. Amongst Bhotiyas, the Martoli sect leads in number of households and the Brijwal sect in population. The only household of Pangti Bhotiya is an off-shoot of Pangtis inhabiting village Darkot. Bhotiyas are the residents of Bhot, the name given to the inter-Alpine ranges of Himalayas on the border of this country, viz. Darma, Chaudans, Beas, Johar and Goriphat valleys of district Pithoragarh, Mana and Niti valleys of district Chamoli and villages Jadung, Nelang, Bagori and Harsil of district Uttarkashi. They claim to be Rajputs but their

Mongolian features are an indication of their Tibetan descent. Some of their sub-castes have been derived from the villages of their origin, e.g., the sub-castes Martoli, Brijwal and Pangti are all named after the village of their origin.

The Bhotiyas have typical Mongolian features — short stature, big head, round face, round and flat nose, small narrow eyes, with scanty growth of beard and moustache. They are generally honest, hard-working and good-humoured. They are full of energy, experience and worldly wisdom which is a natural consequence of their way of life. They are quite intelligent, having a keen observation and wide experience. In trade and transactions they have the mentality of a businessman. They lack in the natural politeness of the Hindus of the plains. Often they are churlish and rough in their behaviour with others.

The Kshatriyas are Rajputs of higher order. Mehtas are said to have come from the Punjab and the Ranas claim their descent from Nepal. The origin of the Pharsuwans is not known.

The Shilpkars with a dark complexion and unimpressive features are the “remnants of an original race who inhabited the Himalayas before the advent of the later conquerors and immigrants”. They are the descendants of the Dasyus of Vedic times—the people whom the Aryan invaders found in occupation of Northern India and either drove out or subdued. Originally they were known as Dom. In the Census of 1921 they were treated as Dom. How they came to be called as Dom is not known. They were kept in strict subjection, doing all hard work of a labourer and an artisan in the hills. They worked as virtual slaves of the twice-born castes. They were treated as untouchables. Even now they belong to the Scheduled Castes. The village community allotted a particular job to each man and kept him to that profession. In course of time, the sub-divisions hardened into occupa-

tional sub-castes such as Agari and Lohar (iron-smiths), Tamta (copper-smiths), Barhai (carpenters), Orh and Raj (masons), Auji and Dholi (tailors and drummers), Hurkiya (drummers), Badi (dancers), etc. Thus these sub-castes have an essentially functional origin, totally unconnected with race. They are generally based on hereditary occupations.

In the 1920's the Arya Samaj started working for the social uplift of the Doms. Most of them were converted to the Arya *dharma*. The artisans were collectively given the name Shilpkar. In the 1931 Census the word Dom was replaced by the word Shilpkar.

In this village, Shilpkars work as iron-smith, washerman, tailor, cultivator, agricultural labourer, government servant, etc. Most of the womenfolk are engaged in woollen handicraft—spinning and weaving. They live separately from the caste Hindus, who do not accept water or food from their hands.

Dwellings

The buildings in the village have stone walls and stone floors. The roofs of the houses of the poor are of grass, but the rich use mortar, planks, slates, etc. Out of 48 houses, 19 houses or 39.6 per cent have slate roof. The houses of all Shilpkars have grass roofs while amongst the Bhotiyas 18.7 per cent houses and amongst the Kshatriyas 62.5 per cent houses have grass roofs. The only Pangi Bhotiya has a house with a grass roof.

The roof rests on wooden beams which are fixed over stone walls, sloping on each side of the central beam. For completing the roof thatching grass is spread and securely tied to the beams. In case of a slate roof, wooden planks are spread on the beams and on them clay is spread for fixing the stone slates. The clay keeps the wooden planks and stone slates together, withstanding even the fiercest storm. The slates are obtained from Papri, a place at a distance of about one mile from the village. Local rough stones are used for construction of walls. These stones are finished by masons by carving into the required shape.

Out of 48 houses, only two houses belonging to Shilpkars are single-storeyed, the remaining 46 houses being double-storeyed. The upper storey is invariably used for human habitation and the lower storey either for tethering the animals or for cooking. Two or three windows are generally provided in every house but there is no window on the back side. The inner room consequently remains dark. The floor of the upper storey is made of wood planks coated with clay and cow-dung. The upper storey is reached by a staircase from outside opening in the verandah of the house. It is ordinarily 3 feet wide and is made of stone slabs fixed together by mud. The verandah is wide enough to provide sleeping accommodation during the summer. The compound of every house has a floor of stone slabs and is protected by a strong boundary wall. A peach tree is generally found in the courtyard of every house. It is utilised for enjoying the sun or spreading the grain for drying. The front of every house is washed white. The houses of all the communities are generally neat and clean, the houses of the Shilpkars being comparatively less clean. Bathrooms and lavatories are not provided in the houses. Fields and open land are used for answering the call of nature. The Shilpkars bathe in the streams and others at the *dhara*. Heaps of manure and sweepings lie in front of the houses of Shilpkars and Kshatriyas, engendering hoards of flies, besides emitting intolerable stench. Inside some of the houses the walls are decorated with calendars bearing the pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses, political leaders, film actors and actresses or cheap photographs of some members of the family.

The houses are found in clusters of three or four barring two houses of Dholis which stand isolated. There is no customary restriction on the direction of the main entrance of a house. It is, however, generally kept towards the slope, the back of the house being towards the ridge. Availability of the sun is yet another consideration. The foundation stone of a house is laid on an auspicious day to be pointed out by a pandit. Construction can however, be started

on any day. Sweets are distributed when foundation stone is laid.

For the construction of an average double-storeyed house with 2 rooms of 8 feet \times 12 feet size and a verandah the following material with the cost noted against each is required:—

Item	Expenditure		
			Rs.
1. Stone	600
2. Timber	500
3. Iron and Steel	200
4. Stone Slates	350
5. Colour and Varnish	50
6. Labour, etc.	300
		Total	2,000

Iron and steel, slates, colour and varnish have to be purchased. Timber is available free of cost in the forest of Bhituli range at a distance of about 3 miles. Cost of felling and transport has to be borne. Stone too is available free of cost at a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Cost of quarrying and transport has to be paid.

Number of Rooms

The 48 households with a population of 229 persons have 97 rooms. On an average one household has two rooms and one room is occupied by 2.3 persons. The following table shows the number of households by number of rooms and by number of persons occupying:—

Households having	Number of Households	Total Number of Family Members
One room	13	48
Two rooms	25	116
Three rooms	6	42
Four rooms	4	23
	Total 48	229

Thus about 52 per cent households have houses of two rooms each. Only 8.3 per cent households have houses of 4 rooms each. The living accommodation with the population is obviously adequate.

Dress

The Bhotiya male wears the woollen dress consisting of trousers, coat, shirt and a cap throughout the year. They do not wear shoes in day-to-day life but when one is going out a brown canvas shoe is used. The children too use a similar dress. The womenfolk have a distinct dress—*angra* (a short full-sleeved shirt of woollen fabric), a cotton *lehang*a generally of black colour, a woollen plaid known as *kamla* fastened over the bosom with a large pin secured at the waist by a cotton girdle called *pagra*, a narrow cotton hood called *khonpi* finely embroidered on the forehead, fixed on the top of the head covering all but the face, with a tail descending down the back. Leather or canvas shoes with woollen stocks complete the equipment. Inside the house, they go bare-footed. Some females who have either received education or whose husbands are in service have given up the traditional Bhotiya dress and have adopted blouse, petticoat, *saree* and sandal.

The Kshatriyas use shirt, cap, trousers, (pyjama) or *dhoti* and woollen or *garha* coats. They do not generally wear shoes. They wear a *dhoti* while taking boiled rice, which is almost invariably served at lunch time in the *chauka*. The females use *saree*, the prevalent colours being red or green, blouse, petticoat, etc. The older among them wear *lehang*a. While working on fields or going out to jungle for fetching grass or fuel, etc., a girdle of cotton cloth is wound round the waist. The *dianti* or sickle carried by them is fixed in the girdle. It is utilised for cutting grass and fuel ordinarily and as a weapon of defence in times of emergency. Those wearing *lehang*a tie a small piece of white cloth round the head with a knot behind and a tail hanging on the back. This is a convenient headgear. Generally they do not wear a shoe or sandal.

The dress of the Shilpkar male is similar to that of the Kshatriya with the only difference that the cloth used by the former is of inferior quality, having colours which do not show dirt easily. Their clothes bear a number of patches and the caps, being soaked with oil used

on the head, are very dirty. Most of them use *garha* cloth. They go about bare-footed. The dress of the females resembles that of the Bhotiya females with the exception of *khonpi*, *angra* and *kamla*. They cover their heads by an *orhni* tied round the head with a knot behind just like a Kshatriya female wearing *lehanga*.

Bhotiyas living in the village, who are not in service or have not been much influenced by the plain, culture, generally suspend from their waists in small chains or thongs of leather, variety of articles of daily use, such as knife, spoon, scissors, packing needles, tweezers, awl, tobacco pouch, flute, etc. The tobacco pouch is carried only by the males.

As regards the dress of the children, it also differs according to sex. The male child puts on a cap, shirt, coat, pyjama or half-pants. Boys are often found bare-footed. The female Bhotiya child puts on a small *khonpi* on the head and *jhogla*—a cotton dress from the neck to the feet—on the body and socks and shoes on the feet. On reaching about 8 years of age, she gives up *jhogla* and begins wearing *lehanga* and *angra*. At about 14 years, *kamla* begins to be used.

Ornaments

Ornaments are generally used by the females. The males hardly use any ornament except the finger ring or exceptionally a gold chain round the neck. These are used by persons who are well-off. Womenfolk have a fancy for ornaments made of stone, silver and gold. A *phulli* made of gold is generally worn on the nose by unmarried women but not by a widow, who also never wears a *globand* round the neck, *nath* in her nose and *bichhwas* on the fingers of her feet, because these are symbols of a living husband. The following is the list of ornaments generally used by Bhotiya women :—

Name of Ornament	Metal	Part of the body where it is worn	Remarks
1. <i>Nath</i>	.. Gold	Nose	..
2. <i>Phulli</i>	.. "	"	..

Name of Ornament	Metal	Part of the body where it is worn	Remarks
3. <i>Beera</i>	.. Gold	Nose	..
4. <i>Tops</i>	.. "	Ear	..
5. <i>Karan Phool</i>	.. "	"	..
6. <i>Munra</i>	.. Silver	Neck	..
7. <i>Soota</i>	.. "	"	..
8. <i>Mala</i>	.. Silver or amber	"	..
9. <i>Jhappi</i>	.. Gold	"	..
10. <i>Globand</i>	.. "	"	..
11. <i>Chandrahav</i>	.. "	"	Used by rich people only
12. <i>Timonia</i>	.. "	"	..
13. <i>Toda</i>	.. Silver	"	..
14. <i>Atardan</i>	.. "	Shoulder	..
15. <i>Sooti</i>	.. "	"	..
16. <i>Shiv Sangal</i>	.. "	"	..
17. <i>Pahunchi</i>	.. "	Wrist	..
18. <i>Dhagula</i>	.. "	"	..
19. <i>Ring</i>	.. Gold or silver	Finger	..
20. <i>Payal</i>	.. Silver	Leg	..
21. <i>Sogantola</i>	.. "	"	..
22. <i>Chhalla</i>	.. "	"	..
23. <i>Pulli</i>	.. "	"	..
24. <i>Bichhwa</i>	.. "	First finger of feet	..

Besides the above ornaments, the females wear strings of large pieces of coarse amber round the neck in addition to two or three necklaces. Females of other castes also wear some of the above ornaments according to their means.

Furniture

No modern furniture is used in this village but those who can afford use mats and carpets. There are only 2 households in the whole of the village who have got two bedsteads and two cots. Others spread mats on the floor and sleep over them. Almost every house has a woollen carpet costing between Rs.50 and Rs.70 for being spread on the floor.

Utensils

The following utensils are generally used by the inhabitants of this village :-

Local name of the utensil	Hindi Synonym	Metal	Use
1. <i>Tauli</i>	.. Bhagona	Copper	For preparing rice
2. <i>Karhai</i>	.. Karhai	Iron	For preparing vegetable
3. <i>Degehi</i>	.. Pateeli	Brass or Aluminium	For preparing pulse
4. <i>Thali</i>	.. Thali	Bell-metal	For taking meals
5. <i>Bayala</i>	.. Katora	..	..
6. <i>Tipri</i>	.. Kettle	Brass or Aluminium	For preparing tea
7. <i>Bugania</i>	.. Ghara	Copper	For storing water
8. <i>Balti</i>	.. Balti	Iron	For carrying water
9. <i>Parat</i>	.. Parat	Brass or Copper	For preparing dough
10. <i>Pallu</i>	.. Pallu	Wood	..
11. <i>Tawa</i>	.. Tawa	Iron	For preparing chapaties
12. <i>Karchhi</i>	.. Karchhi	Brass, Iron or Aluminium	For taking <i>mand</i> from rice
13. <i>Panula</i>	.. Karchhul	Iron or Brass	For serving cooked food
14. <i>Dumka or Dumka Dungwa</i>	Dumka	Wood	For preparing salted tea
15. <i>Kasni</i>	.. Lota	Brass	For taking water
16. <i>Baati Jaroo</i>	Bara Chamcha	Brass	A big spoon
17. <i>Koshal</i>	.. Pateeli	Brass ..	For preparing pulse
18. <i>Linch or Kanchi</i>	Pyala	Silver	For taking tea
19. <i>Kulukushi</i>	.. ..	Wood	For keeping water for dough
20. <i>Dowa</i>	.. ..	Wood	A cup for taking tea
21. <i>Dungpa</i>	.. ..	Wood	A vessel used as mortar

The utensils found only in the Bhotiya households are *linch* or *kanchi*, a silver cup used for taking tea, *dumka* or *dungwa*, a cylindrical wooden pot inside which a wooden pipe is fitted for preparing salted tea called *jaya*, *kulukushi*, a wooden dish-type deep utensil used for kneading the dough, *dowa* a wooden cup for taking tea and *dungpa*, a wooden vessel used as pestle mortar.

The number and quality of utensils increases or decreases according to one's means. For the storage of grains *ans* made of bamboo, *bhakhar* made of wood and *dhangdala* made of stones are used.

Food and Drink

The majority use coarse grains having little nutritional value. Millets, potatoes barley and rice constitute the main diet. Bhotivas specially relish dehydrated meat, *sattu* and rice. Wheat and rice have to be imported in large quantities to meet the demand of the local people in this deficit area.

In almost every household, whether rich or poor, the day begins with simple tea. In some families, *chapaties* cooked the previous night are taken with tea in the morning whereas Bhotiya families generally take salted tea with *sattu* prepared from parched wheat and *choora*, a preparation of rice. The mid-day meal consists of rice, pulse and *chatni* and sometimes vegetables. In well-to-do Bhotiya families wheat or barley *sattu* mixed with *ghee* is taken with salted tea in the afternoon, but the poor are content with simple tea. At dinner, *chapaties* with vegetable or meat are prepared in every house.

Almost all Bhotiyas manufacture *jan*, a sort of indigenous beer which is their religious drink. Only Bhotiya families drink *jan* after dinner. In fact they are so much addicted to liquor that they would hardly worship a deity without plentiful supply of *jan* or *daru*. Although other households in this village would not mind taking *daru*, Bhotiyas are particularly fond of it.

Out of the 32 Bhotiya households, 18.7 per cent have two meals a day and the remaining

81.3 per cent three meals a day. Those who take two meals a day, take heavy breakfast in the morning which is not less than a meal itself. Out of the 8 Kshatriya families 25 per cent take two meals a day and the remaining 75 per cent three meals a day. In the Shilpkar community, out of the 8 households, 12.5 per cent take only one meal a day, 75 per cent two meals a day and another 12.5 per cent 3 meals a day. Thus out of the 48 households, one household takes one meal a day, 14 households two meals a day and 33 households three meals a day. No one takes more than three meals.

In the Gazetteer of district Almora published in 1911, Walton had observed: "The Bhotiyas consume large quantities of food, particularly flesh of which a constant supply is afforded to them in the carcasses of their sheep and goats, which die of fatigue or disease. They eat flesh half raw or cooked and are fond of taking it with rice, but do not first wash or clean the rice as they say that this would prevent its being properly cooked. They abstain from the use of beef of every description. All Bhotiyas drink spirits both European and native as well as that brewed by themselves. When collected together they drink frequently and often it continues from the evening till dawn. Intoxication does not, however, lead to riot or disorder. The liquor used by them is of two kinds—*daru*, produced by distillation and *jan* obtained by simple fermentation; the latter is a favourite beverage. Both of these are produced from rice. The Bhotiyas do not follow the recipes of the Hindus in the matter of cooking food without ghee and with ghee and take it without distinction from the hands of all except Shilpkars". These observations still hold good with equal force.

As a custom men eat first and then women. The leaving are always for the women and juniors. Also, every male has to wear a *dhoti* while entering the kitchen for taking boiled rice and pulse at lunch time.

Birth Customs

Missing a monthly menstruation and morning sickness are treated to be indication of pregnancy.

If no menstruation takes place in the next month also, pregnancy stands established. Among the Bhotiyas the expectant woman is given light work to do, lifting of loads being strictly prohibited. Women of other communities work actively up to the last month. Only Bhotiya females take nutritious diet during the period.

No special ceremonies are performed after conception or before the birth of the child. A pregnant woman is not allowed to see the moon or sun in eclipse, for if she does there is an apprehension of the child being deformed.

The delivery takes place at the house of the husband, in a *goth* generally used for tethering the cattle or in the lower portion of the house, but never in the upper storey which is used for living. Grass is spread on the floor on which the expectant woman is made to lie on a scanty bedding. No midwife or *dai* is in attendance. The old and experienced women of the family or the community conduct the delivery. In a difficult case, experienced females of other communities too are consulted. In extreme cases the doctor at Munsiri is called.

The umbilical cord is buried under ground so that dogs or animals might not have access to it. For six days food touched by a woman who sever the cord is not taken by any one.

One *khonpi* and one-time meal are given to a woman conducting the delivery in a Bhotiya household. Joy fills the household on the birth of a male child. Just after birth, the infant is washed in hot water. The mother is made to take her bath in hot water on the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th and 11th day of the birth.

The mother has to remain in confinement for 11 days. Nutritious diet according to one's means is given to her for recouping her health. Mostly *jaula* prepared in ghee is served to her.

The family remains ritually impure for 11 days. On the touch or contact of the mother with anyone else, the urine of cow, locally called *gaunt*, is sprinkled on the body of both. At every place where the mother moves, whether inside or outside the room of confinement, urine of

cow is sprinkled because it is considered to be sacred and disinfecting. The father does not enter the room of confinement for 11 days. Only the attending female goes there. Every time she goes, she purifies herself by sprinkling of water.

On the 11th day of birth, both the mother and the infant are given a bath. Thereafter a Brahmin priest from village Bunga at a distance of one mile is invited. In a Bhotiya household, one end of a banana leaf is held by the mother with a rupee and a little cow-dung in her hand and the other end is held by the priest and both enter the living apartment of the house with the infant in the lap of the mother.

The Brahmin recites holy verses, offers prayers and prepares the horoscope of the infant. The child is then christened. The rupee in the hand of the mother is offered to the Brahmin. A *dhoti* and other gifts are also given to him according to the financial status of the family. This ceremony is called *shushurwa*. On this auspicious day, a feast is also given to friends and relatives. The household no longer remains ritually impure.

The purification ceremony takes place at the house of Kshatriyas and Shilpkars also on the 11th day. The mother and infant are bathed and *namkavan* is also done. The Brahmin priest does not go to the house of the Shilpkars for conducting these ceremonies. A feast is given to friends and relatives of the household.

The normal period of suckling is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years or till the next conception whichever is earlier. There are no restrictions on the diet or activities of the mother during the lactation period. Cow milk is also given to the child to supplement the mother's milk. At the age of six months, the ceremony of *amupras* is observed. A Brahmin priest officiates at the function. The child is clad in new clothes and is initiated into the consumption of grain. Giving new garments to the child is called the *choli de* ceremony.

The ceremonies known as *mundan sanskar* (head shaving ceremony) and *yagopavit sanskar*

(sacred thread ceremony) in plains are combined in the hills in the *bratban* ceremony. This ceremony is performed in respect of all the males. In well-to-do families, the ceremony takes place in childhood whereas among the poor, this takes place later on according to the status of the family but in all cases before the marriage ceremony. The Brahmin priest officiates at the function. The boy, his father, friends and relatives sit in a decorated *mandap* where the priest offers puja by reading from the scriptures and pouring ghee, barley and *til* on holy fire as part of the *havan* ceremony. The head of the boy is shaved. Thereafter, a white cloth is wrapped round his head and he takes bath with the recitation of holy verses by the Brahmin. In the end, the boy puts on a new dress and his mother leads him inside. Then a feast is given to relatives and friends and an offering is made to the priest.

As a rule contraceptives are not used. A child, they say, is the gift of God in the natural course which is not to be interfered with. Abortion is not ordinarily practised but in cases of illegitimate conception it is sometimes resorted to in the indigenous manner. When barrenness is not cured by medicines, the belief in destiny comes into play. Some even think that sins of the past life are responsible for such a state. Charity is given, fasting is done and priests are feasted to overcome the curse.

Marriage Customs

Among the Bhotiyas, a bride can come from among the Bhotiyas of Johar, Niti and Mana valleys but not from Tibet, Darna or Almora. Marriage within the same sub-caste is not permissible, e.g., a Martoli cannot marry in any Martoli household. Among the Kshatriyas, marriages are not contracted within the same sub-castes. As regards Shilpkars, marriages generally take place within occupational sub-castes of the same social standing.

Age at Marriage

At the time of survey 120 persons comprising 58 males and 62 females were found ever-married. Out of them 13 males were married

when less than 18 years of age and 32 females when less than 15 years of age. The average age of marriage among Shilpkar females is 11.9 years, 80 per cent of the females having been married when less than 15 years of age; the average age at marriage among Bhotiya females is 14.8 years, 40 per cent of them having been married when less than 15 years old; the average age at marriage among Rajput females is 15.2 years. Early marriage of males are more common among the Shilpkars—73 per cent of them having married when less than 18 years old.

The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 prescribed 18 years and 15 years for a male and female respectively as the minimum age for marriage. Out of the ever-married persons in the village, 10 males and 11 females had married after the enforcement of the Act in 1955. At the time of marriage three males—one Bhotiya (aged 17 years) and two Shilpkars (aged 15 and 16 years)—were less than 18 years of age. Similarly seven females—three Bhotiyas (one aged 11 years and two aged 12 years), three Shilpkars (aged 9 years, 12 years, and 13 years) and one Kshatriya (aged 14 years)—were married at the age of less than 15 years. Thus the minimum age provision of the Hindu Marriage Act was contravened in 30 per cent marriages of males and 63.63 per cent marriages of females.

The above facts and figures clearly indicate that the people are not conscious of the age at marriage. They may perform a marriage just according to their convenience—irrespective of age considerations.

Types of Marriages

Marriages among the Bhotiyas are of two kinds, viz., the *anchal* marriage and the *sarov* marriage. When the marriage negotiations are finalised, the betrothal (*sagai*) ceremony is performed. A coconut and a betel nut are taken to the house of the bride by the father of the boy or in his absence by a male relative. Sometimes a ring for the bride is also taken alongwith. Within a year or less of the *sagai* ceremony, a date for the marriage is fixed looking to the mutual convenience of the parties.

Marriages are generally performed in the months of *Aghan*, *Magh*, *Phalgun* and *Baisakh*. In no case is a marriage performed in the month of *Chaitra* which is considered inauspicious for these celebrations.

On the day fixed for marriage the bridegroom with the marriage party (*barat*) goes to the house of the bride. The party is received by the bride's people. On arrival of the groom at the bride's house, womenfolk of the bride's side circulate a *thal* (a big brass plate) containing sago, meat, pulse and rice round his head and strew the articles in the four directions to ward off evil, if any. The father-in-law washes the feet of the groom as a mark of respect. In the lower portion of the house a *mandap* or canopy is made. In the centre of it, fire for *havan* is burnt by the Brahmin who officiates at the ceremony. At the time fixed for marriage, the bride and the groom come under the *mandap*, accompanied by some persons of their parties. Priests of both the parties recite holy verses. The bride washes the feet of the groom who offers her one rupee as an initial token of his affection for her. Other minor ceremonies such as the touching of the toes and changing of places by the bride and the groom during the ceremony are done in the same manner as in other parts of the hills. After being tied together by a long *anchal* the groom and the bride take seven rounds of the holy fire where the branches of banana and pine trees are also kept. Circumbulation of the holy fire is the main and essential ceremony of a marriage. *Kanyadan* (giving away the bride to the groom) ceremony is performed by the father of the bride or in his absence by a close male relative.

The father-in-law gives some presents to the groom, a set of 5 cooking utensils known as *pancholi bartan* consisting of a bell metal *thali*, a brass *lota*, a copper *parat* and *bugania* and a brass *koshal* being an essential present. After accepting the presents the groom offers *pranam* (respect by bowing low) five times to his mother-in-law. She offers to him ten rupees or more according to her means. If bride money has been paid, the groom pays Rs.4.50 P. to the mother of the bride to compensate her for the

milk given by her to the bride during childhood.

On the day of return of the marriage party the bride is sent in a *doli* (palanquin) and the groom on horse-back or on foot. The mother-in-law gives a rupee or more to the bridegroom. At the time of departure of the bride with the *barat* the womenfolk of the bride's party sing some songs.

When the party reaches the groom's house, his mother comes at the door to receive the bride. On the door of the house five half-cooked *purees* (fried *chapaties*) are kept. The bride leads and the groom follows. Both tread upon these *purees* with their feet and enter the house. Inside the house the groom's mother presents an ornament to the bride who wears it. Both the bride and the groom then sit together and eat *purees*, *bara* and fruit served in one plate and curd in another. Then the *anchal* (ceremonial knot tying husband and wife together) is united and both are left to lead their married life.

On the third or the fourth day the bride returns to her father's house with *puree* and *pakwan* and after staying there for three days again comes back to her husband's house. This second occasion can be termed as *gauna* or effective marriage.

As observed by Panna Lal in *Hindu Customary Law in Kumaun*, in the case of a *sarol* marriage, money is paid for the bride in every case but it is not necessary for the bridegroom to be present at the marriage and hence the *anchal* ceremony need not necessarily be performed at the marriage. "The price of the bride may be paid in one lump sum or in instalments. In the latter case about half the price is paid in the first instance, *pitha* (red vermilion) is put on the would-be bride's forehead and this operates more or less as a betrothal. After this, the remainder of the price is paid as convenient. As soon as the full amount has been paid, a party goes on behalf of the bridegroom (his own presence not being essential) to the bride's house. There the ceremonies (such of them as can be performed in the absence of the bridegroom) are

performed. The bride is decked with ornaments and clothes which distinguish a wife from other women. These are (1) the *nath* or the nose ring, (2) the *charew* (a necklace of black beads), (3) the *ghagra* or the skirt tied at the waist as distinguished from the *jhagula* worn by maidens, which has body and skirt combined like a princess petticoat and (4) black glass bangles. The bride is then taken publicly to the husband's house, may be with music and flare of trumpets. The bridegroom may be away in distant lands when his marriage is performed and his wife brought home. The proofs of the marriage are the payment of the price, the putting on of bridal ornaments and clothes and the coming of the bride publicly to the husband's home."*

The *anchal* ceremony may be performed later on at the husband's house when he is available. The wife is thus formally purified for social and ceremonial purposes. As soon as she comes to the husband's house she becomes a wife with full legal rights irrespective of the performance of the *anchal* rites. If she happens to become a widow, she would have full rights of inheritance, maintenance, etc., just as a widow, and her sons would have full status as sons.

The custom of *sarol* marriage is on the decline as every one would like to marry in the *anchal* form which is considered more respectable.

"A woman may not have more than one husband at the same time, nor can a widow remarry in the orthodox way. When women whose husbands are alive leave them and go to live with other men, or when widows do so they are called *dhantis*. When a price is paid there is a written deed of a *la dava* by the woman's first husband or other relations where the husband is dead. This deed is ostensibly a discharge for any jewellery which the woman might have in her possession, but it is really intended to operate as a deed of relinquishment of the woman."

"No ceremonies are necessary when a *dhanti* is taken, though often the friends are invited and a Brahmin priest puts *pitha* (red vermilion)

*Panna Lal: *Hindu Customary Law in Kumaun*, 1942.
Pages 9-10.

on the forehead of the couple. The children by a *dhanti* are considered legitimate. There is no difference between a *dhanti* whose price has been paid and one whose price has not been paid. Nor is there any difference between the children of the two. They have equal social position and legal status".

A widow who takes her deceased husband's younger brother as her husband ranks as a *dhanti*. The elder brother cannot take as wife the widow of his younger brother. She always observes *purdah* in his presence and does not talk to him face to face.

There is no such thing as *stridhan* known to the Bhotiyas of Johar. All property including jewellery possessed by women devolves like other property.

A Brahmin priest officiates at marriages among the Bhotiyas and Kshatriyas. He does not however do so among the Shilpkars who have such persons from amongst themselves.

The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 (No. XXV of 1955) applies to the residents of this village also because according to section 4 of this Act, any custom or usage in force before the commencement of the Act ceased to have effect with respect to any matter for which provision is made in the Act. Incidentally it may also be pointed out that people in the village are ignorant of the provisions of this Act and they continue to stick to the traditional customs, even if they are inconsistent with the provisions of this Act.

Information about the number of *anchal* and *sarol* marriages or the existence of *dhantis* in the village was not collected; nor was it possible to find out the bride money paid in various cases because the feeling of self-respect does not allow anyone to reply correctly to such ticklish questions.

Death Customs

The dead body of a child is washed in water, ghee is rubbed on it and a little ghee is poured into the mouth. After this it is wrapped in a white cloth and then buried underground. Some

times, a piece of gold or silver is also placed in the mouth of a dead child whose *bratban* ceremony has not been performed. A little salt is also placed near the head of a child. The dead bodies of adults are generally buried or cremated at the bank of a river. Persons who die an unnatural death or of an infectious disease are not burnt but are buried. Pieces of gold or silver are placed in their mouths as well. Sometimes a cow and some grain are given in charity. Then the dead body is bathed in water and wrapped in a white sheet and carried to the cremation ground by four persons who shoulder the bier. It is the son or in his absence a near relative who first lifts the bier on his shoulder. In a *thal* a *pind* or barley flour is also carried to the cremation ground along with the corpse. The funeral pyre is lit by the eldest son and the ashes are immersed in water. The *pind* is also dropped in water after the immersion of the ashes. The son who lights the funeral pyre gets his head shaved. Then he takes his bath and puts on a white *dhoti*. He wraps himself with the blanket of the deceased. As a symbol of mourning a piece of white cloth is tied to a small stick which is carried by the son throughout the period of mourning. He returns home with members of the funeral party who also take bath after immersion of the ashes.

The portion of the house is cleaned and in it a lamp is lighted. The son who had performed the funeral ceremony is to sit in this room. All the clothes of the deceased are also placed there. The lamp burns throughout the day and night. A separate *dhava* is carved out near a water source and an earthen pot is placed there. In that pot, some food is dropped every morning for the deceased. *Chapaties* of wheat with salt, chilly and *timur* grass mixed with tea or liquor are served to the cremation party on their return to the house after cremation. The persons who attend the funeral are called *mulaini*. After taking bath they are made to sip cow urine and to smell the *kurch* and *bilb* leaves to purify themselves. Members of the family do not take their meals on the cremation day.

If a man dies before midday meals, the feast is given the same evening and if after the midday meals, it is postponed to the morning of the following day.

The man who lights the pyre has to take his bath twice daily. He takes only the midday meals cooked by himself. He always keeps the white flag with him. On the tenth day, Brahmin is called. In the morning some persons, specially the near relatives, carry to the *dhara* the clothes of the deceased and all the utensils which were used by the son who lit up the funeral pyre, in preparing the meals. The *dhara* is demolished and all the clothes and the utensils are then given to a Brahmin. In addition, some flour, rice, pulse, salt, spices, ghee and oil are also given to him in separate bags. On their return, all members of the clan are given a feast of rice.

During the period of mourning the beating of drum among his castemen or by neighbours or the ringing of bells tied round the neck of the animals is stopped. Some close relations on the father's side also get their heads shaved on the tenth day.

After one year, the *shradh* ceremony is performed but that is generally done in the case of older persons.

No rites or ceremonies are performed on attaining puberty by girls.

Inheritance

Inheritance used to be governed by the customary law of Kumaon up to 1956. All sons whether by a wife or *dhanti* got an equal share in the inheritance of the father. In the absence of sons, widows inherited the estate even in a joint family. A daughter and a daughter's son were not heirs at all. In the absence of heirs the property devolved upon the village community. On a division, the eldest brother usually got something more than his share—a field, a piece of jewellery, a cow, etc.—locally known as *jethon*. With the enforcement of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 (Act no. 30 of 1956) the above customs legally ceased to have effect with respect to any matter for which provision has been made in the Act. The impact of the Hindu Succession Act was not felt in the village because up to this time no succession has actually taken place in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

General Customs

During the menstruation period, a woman is treated to be impure. She has to live for five days in a *goth*. If any woman touches her, the former can be purified by sprinkling cow urine on her body. During this period she is not allowed to go to the temple, the water source or a religious recitation. She takes her bath on the fifth day, sprinkles cow urine over her body and then enters the residential apartment.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

The following table gives a detailed split-up of occupations, showing the number of persons engaged in each occupation :—

TABLE NO. 3.1

Number of Persons engaged in Different Occupations

Occupation	Number of Workers			Percentage of Total Workers
	Persons	Males	Females	
1. Woollen Handicraft	66	4	62	46.5
2. Cultivation	36	28	8	25.4
3. Trade and Commerce	14	14	..	9.9
4. Govt. Service	9	9	..	6.3
5. Tailoring	7	7	..	4.9
6. Agricultural Labour	3	3	..	2.1
7. Washing	3	2	1	2.1
8. Blacksmith	2	2	..	1.4
9. Cattle Grazing	1	1	..	0.7
10. Other Services	1	1	..	0.7
Total Workers	142	71	71	100.0
Non-workers	87	44	43	..
Total Population	229	115	114	..

The total population has about 62 per cent workers. Out of the working force 50 per cent are males. Woollen handicraft is the most important occupation in which 46.5 per cent of the working population is engaged. Out of the 66 persons engaged in the craft 62 are females and only 4 are males. Cultivation engages 25.4 per cent, trade and commerce 9.9 per cent, government service 6.3 per cent and tailoring 4.9 per cent of the workers. Out of 71 female workers 62, i.e., 87.3 per cent are engaged in woollen handicraft alone.

Occupation by Caste

The following table gives a castewise distribution of the workers in various occupations :—

TABLE NO. 3.2

Showing Occupation by Caste

Occupation	Castes					
	Bhotiya		Kshatriya		Shilpkar	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Woollen Handicraft	3	51	..	..	1	11
2. Cultivation	16	..	11	8	1	..
3. Trade and Commerce	14	..	..	..	..	..
4. Govt. Service	6	..	2	..	1	..
5. Tailoring	..	..	2	..	5	..
6. Agricultural Labour	1	..	..	..	2	..
7. Washing	..	..	..	..	2	1
8. Blacksmith	..	..	..	..	2	..
9. Cattle Grazing	..	..	1	..	..	..
10. Other Services	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	41	51	16	8	14	12

Out of 142 workers, 64.8 per cent are Bhotiyas, 16.9 per cent are Kshatriyas and 18.3 per cent are Shilpkars. Trade and business are monopolised by the Bhotiyas. They outnumber others in the woollen handicraft as well. Bhotiya females do not work in cultivation as Kshatriya women do. The 8 Kshatriya women workers are engaged in cultivation only and in no other occupation.

Occupational Mobility

There has been occupational mobility mostly within the village except in case of government

service. The occupations of the present heads of households with reference to the occupations of their fathers were studied. In case of 23 households there was no change in occupation but in case of 25 households, the following change was noted :—

TABLE NO. 3.3

Occupational Mobility

Caste	Present occupation	Father's occupation	Number of households
1. Bhotiya	Cultivation	Retailer of consumer goods	4
	Military service	"	1
	Retailer of stationery, grain, woollen garments and other consumer goods	Trade with Tibet	5
	Farm servant			"	1
	Village Level Worker	"	1
	Military service	"	1
	Agricultural labourer	"	1
	Woollen handicraft	"	4
	Cultivation	"	1
2. Kshatriya	Tailoring and cultivation	Cultivation only	2
	Cultivation and farm servant	"	1
3. Shilpkar	Washerman	Agricultural labourer	1
	Tailoring and Weaving	"	1
	Labourer	Tailoring	1
Total			25

Five households shifted to cultivation from business because the business of one household failed and four households got land for cultivation in gift or inheritance. Some people had given up trade with Tibet because of the difficulties involved and also because service or local business was found more profitable and secure. Two families have adopted tailoring in addition

to cultivation for supplementing the meagre income from cultivation. Two households who were traditionally agricultural labourers have taken to laundry service, tailoring and weaving, while a tailor has become an agricultural labourer because the sewing machine had to be sold off for payment of family debt. There is a marked preference for service and local business because Munsiri is developing fast.

Agriculture

The total area of the village is estimated to be 162.50 acres of which 62.50 acres are measured or *naph* land and 100 acres unmeasured or *benaph* land. The unmeasured land is mostly forest area or wasteland. Of the measured land, the cultivated area consists of 51 acres only.

Cultivation is the principal occupation of 10 Bhotiya households with 16 workers, 8 Kshatriya households with 19 workers and one Shilpkar household with one worker. In addition, 8 Bhotiya households follow it as a subsidiary occupation. They cultivate some land of the neighbouring villages as well.

The following table shows the acreage with cultivators of various castes :—

TABLE NO. 3.4

Land under Cultivation of Various Castes

Caste	Number of households in cultivation	Total area under cultivation (acres)	Average acreage per household
1. Bhotiyas	18	128.0	7.1
2. Kshatriyas	8	20.73	2.59
3. Shilpkars	1	1.50	1.50

Total	27	150.23	5.56

On an average, a Bhotiya household has a larger area under cultivation. Out of 150.23 acres of land under cultivation of the residents of this village an area of 99.23 acres is of other villages.

The following table shows the size of holdings in cultivation of households of various communities :—

TABLE No. 3.5
Size of Holdings by Castes

Size of holding (acres)	Number of households		
	Bhotiya	Kshatriya	Shilpkar
1.0 up to 2.4	6	3	1
2.5 up to 4.9	7	4	..
5.0 up to 10.0	1	1	..
10.0 and above	4	..	..

All the 4 households with holdings of 10 acres and above are Bhotiyas ; three of them each have 25 acres of land under cultivation.

Soil Classification

Soil is generally classified as *Talaon* (irrigated) first class; *Upraon* (dry) second class and *Ijran* and *Katil*. *Talaon* again are of two types—*Sera* where the water supply is perennial, fields are carefully levelled, soil is alluvial and fertile, and *Panchar*, where the fields are situated on the highlands, not properly levelled and consequently less fertile. Unterraced inferior land cultivated intermittently is called *Ijran*.

The soil can also be divided into three categories, viz., the red soil, the brown soil and the podrol soil. The red soil is found in slopes and ridges of the hills and is generally sandy in nature. On the surface it is greyish but on moistening it assumes a reddish colour. The brown soil is found in forests and the nearby fields. The colour of the soil is brown or dark brown depending upon the quality of organic matter therein. The podrol soil is found in all the terraced land of this area. The texture of this soil is mostly clayey.

Irrigation

Fields situated near the streams which supply drinking water to the village are irrigated but to a limited extent only. Water is taken to the fields through *guls* which are cut along

the contour lines of the hills. Only 15 acres of land is irrigated.

Land Tenure

Land is divided into measured (*nap*) and unmeasured (*benap*) land. Wasteland is known as *benap* because only cultivated or culturable and terraced land has been measured at the time of settlement. *Nap* land is settled land and is private property and *benap* land is the property of the State. Land that has relapsed into jungle or permanent waste or has never been cultivated is recorded in the name of the State and is known as *Kaisar-i-Hind* land. The villagers have no property rights over such land and subject to certain restrictions, cultivation can legitimately be extended on them. When unmeasured land is brought under cultivation in a separate block, not in continuity of the old cultivation, such cultivation is known as *nayabad* (equivalent of the *nautor* land of the plains) and requires sanction of the Commissioner on the recommendation of the Sub-Divisional Officer.

A hill village has a number of proprietors or *hissedars*. A *hissedar* has full rights of transfer in the cultivated land of the village. All the *hissedars* are jointly and severally liable for the land revenue assessed on the whole village. Out of the proprietary body, locally called *panch hissedaran*, one person is appointed as *pradhan* or *malguzar*. He has to collect the land revenue from the co-sharers.

In every village there is usually some measured land held in common by the whole village community. It is known as *gaon sanjait*. When one *hissedar* gets his proportionate share of the *gaon sanjait* separated by imperfect partition, the remaining land is *sanjait* of specific *hissedars* only.

The *khaikar* is a permanent tenant with a heritable but non-transferable right in his holding and paying a rent fixed at settlement, which cannot be altered during the currency of a settlement. The rent to be paid by him is the proportionate amount of revenue assessed on his holdings plus a *malikana* amount of 20 per cent.

The *sirtans* or tenants-at-will form the third type of agriculturist. They are equivalent to *asamis* in the plains. They cultivate land which the proprietors cannot, either because of absence or non-availability of adequate labour or other causes. They have no right of occupancy and they pay their rent either in cash or in kind. The rent so paid is termed as *sirti*.

The village land records consist of *phant* or an abstract village record of rights and revenue roll; the *muntakhib* which gives each separate share in detail of fields with their area, classification of soil and the *thok* they are situated in as also the *hissedars* of each *khata* and *khaikar* or *sirtan* of each number; the *khasra* which is the original measurement record of fields by serial number as surveyed giving their area, *thok*, *hissedar* and tenant classification and crop and area of crop at the time of settlement.

The U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950 has not been extended to the district and hence the old system of land tenure continues.

Type of Fields

The village has very little level ground. The best cultivation is on terraced fields kept continuously under the plough except for the periodical seasons of the fallow. These terraces cost a huge amount of labour and capital to make and maintain and one cannot be made in a single working season. Stones at the lower half of the field are built into a wall and at the same time an excavation is made in the upper part till the whole plot becomes approximately levelled. As the soil is very thin on most hill sides and lies over a stony sub-soil, the effect of carrying out the whole of the operation at once would be to bury the soil under the stones. Usually a small wall is built up and a small excavation made during the first year, the operation being completed in the course of time by weather, tith and diluvion from higher fields. The labour involved is of course great and the least neglect results in quick and profuse overgrowth of the thorny bushes and other scrub jungle.

The village has a large number of small plots, one above the other just like a staircase. The infertile stony soil and the small size of these fields cannot allow cultivation to be a profitable occupation.

Method of Cultivation

To prepare the ground for seed, it is first of all ploughed once in the course of *kharif* crop such as *jhangura* and *mandua* and twice in the case of other crops. Land is more carefully prepared for wheat or barley than for the *kharif* crops. The fields are scrupulously cleaned and are made fit for *kharif* seed. In the case of rice and sometimes wheat, the clods are broken up after each ploughing with a long handled mallet and the ground is smoothed over with a toothless harrow. The seed is then sown and ploughed in with the manure. When the *kharif* crop is two or three inches high, the toothed harrow locally called *dandayala* is applied. They are regularly weeded till they begin to come into ear. The crop is cut with a sickle. Rice is cut off close to the root but ears are only first cut off in *mandua* and *jhangura* and then stalks are cut for fodder when dried up. Wheat and barley are cut about the middle. In irrigated land, rice is usually sown in a seed bed from which the young plants are transplanted into the remaining irrigated land.

For sowing paddy, the plots are ploughed twice and then seed is dropped and then ploughed up. The wheat plots are prepared in a similar manner but they are tilled seven to ten times before the seed is sown. Except vegetables, maize and *desi bhatt*, all the crops are sown here by broadcasting method. In paddy too, first of all the seed is scattered and then transplantation takes place.

Rotation of Crops

As usual, there are two crop seasons, viz., the *rabi* and the *kharif*. In *rabi* wheat, barley, *masur* (lentil), mustard, rape, spinach and cauliflower are sown whereas in the *kharif* paddy, *mandua*, *kaundi*, *jhangura*, *bhatt*, and potato are sown. Paddy of various kinds such as *riyas*, *kakdiya*, *taulia*, *jirley*, *kafalra doti*, etc.,

is grown. It is the most important crop of the village. Some vegetables are also grown in summer as *zaid* crop.

The standard rotation observed throughout the *upraon* land occupies a period of two years. Rice is sown in April and reaped in September. It is followed by wheat sown in October and reaped in April; then *mandua* is sown in May and reaped in October after which the land remains fallow till next April. Thus the course of rotation generally followed is paddy—wheat—*mandua*—fallow—paddy.

Agricultural Implements

The agricultural implements in use are locally prepared. Improved agricultural implements are not used by any one in the village. The following implements are generally used :—

Local Name	English Synonym	Made of	Used
1. <i>Hal</i>	Plough	Wood	For tilling the soil
2. <i>Jua</i>	Yoke	Wood	For placing on the neck of the animals
3. <i>Danali</i>	Leveller	Wood	For levelling the land
4. <i>Kutli</i>	Axe	Wood and Iron	For digging the soil
5. <i>Bausa</i>	Large Kudal	„	For digging the soil
6. <i>Dranti</i>	Sickle	„	For cutting grass or crop

In addition to the above implements, some minor implements locally called *lathura*, *swail*, *gyotura*, *nasyura*, etc., are also used. All the implements are locally prepared by the blacksmith. Wood is available free of cost but iron has to be purchased.

The indigenous plough is drawn by a pair of bullocks of local breed generally of a reddish brown colour. The normal bullock of this area has a small narrow face, tiny active ears and short horns from eight to ten inches in length. The tail is long and tapering with a brown switch. The height varies between 30 and 40 inches. The hump is moderately developed and the eyes are bright and wide.

Manure

Generally compost manure is used in this village. The cow-dung, leaves and litter are stored

up at a place. For preparing the cow-dung manure, the cattle are kept in cow-sheds locally called *goth* or *gaushala* or sometimes in the lower portion of the house. The leaves of the trees are spread in the cattle-shed to serve as beds and litter mixed with the droppings of the cattle is taken out daily early in the morning and stored up at the refuse dump. Some of the cultivators also burn the shrubs and grass in the field and these ashes are ploughed up in the soil as manure. The manure is carried to the fields by the womenfolk except in case of Bhotiyas where labourers do so. Chemical fertilisers are used in limited quantity by 12 of the 27 agricultural households.

Pests and Crop Diseases

The crops are not free from diseases and pests. Paddy and wheat are attacked by the *gundhi* bug (*Leptocorhiza vericornis*), so named because of its bad smell. It sucks away the milky juice from the developing grains; consequently, the grains do not fully develop or shrivel up completely. Wheat crop is affected by rusts and smuts locally called *kavlin*. The insect called *kurnula* generally cuts at the root of various crops. Another equally destructive insect is *petang*. Insecticide and pesticide are used only to some extent by 5 of the 27 households in cultivation.

Average Yield

The following figures indicate the seed sown per acre and the average yield of different crops as returned by the village cultivators at the time of Survey :—

TABLE No. 3.6

Seed-rate and Crop Yield

Crop	Seed sown per acre (mds.)	Average yield per acre (mds.)
1. Paddy	1½	8—10
2. Wheat	2	15—20
3. <i>Mandua</i>	½	6—8
4. Barley	2	6—10

Evidently the rate of seed sown per acre is high and the average yield per acre is quite low. Nature is not generous in a hill village. Seed of improved variety is available with the Block authorities and is sometimes purchased by the cultivators.

The following table shows the agricultural produce of cultivation run by the households and its disposal:—

TABLE NO. 3.7

<i>Agricultural Produce and its Disposal</i>			
Product	Annual produce	Amount consumed	Amount sold
1. Wheat ..	527 mds.	456 mds.	71 mds.
2. Paddy ..	721 "	600 "	121 "
3. Pulse and gram ..	74 "	74 "	..
4. Barley ..	122 "	122 "	..
5. Vegetables ..	Rs. 2,625	Rs.1,000	Rs.1,625
6. Chillies ..	Rs. 90	Rs. 90	..
7. Tobacco ..	Rs. 112	Rs. 112	..
8. Oilseeds ..	Rs. 152	Rs. 152	..
9. <i>Mandua</i> and <i>jangura</i> ..	Rs. 3,580	Rs.2,000	Rs.1,580
10. Fodder ..	Rs.1,950	Rs.1,950	..
11. Fruits ..	Rs. 236	Rs. 150	Rs. 86

The surplus produce is sold either in the village or in Munsiri market. There is no agricultural marketing society.

Factors of Change

Out of 27 households whose principal or secondary occupation is cultivation, chemical fertilisers are used in 12 households, improved seeds in 7 households, pesticides in 5 households and improved methods of agriculture in one household only. Chemical fertilisers and improved seeds are available at the seed store at Munsiri. Not a single cultivator was found using any agricultural implement use of which was taught to him for the first time in the last 5 years. No cultivator has adopted any land improvement measures like reclamation and soil conser-

vation. An interesting revelation was that Shri Sher Singh, who is employed as a Village Level Worker in a neighbouring village does not use chemical fertilisers, improved agricultural implements, pesticides or improved methods of cultivation.

With the efforts of the Planning staff about 200 saplings of fruit trees such as apple, orange, peach, pear, etc., have been planted on waste land within the village boundary. The scheme is subsidised by Government.

Organisation of Man Power

The following table indicates the age-groups of workers in cultivation:—

TABLE NO. 3.8

Workers in Cultivation by Sex and Age-groups

Age-group (Years)	Number of Workers		
	Total	Males	Females
All ages ..	36	28	8
0-14 ..	..	..	..
15-34 ..	18	15	3
35-59 ..	16	11	5
60 and above ..	2	2	..

The younger generation does not work in cultivation. The number of females is only 8 or 22.2 per cent of the workers engaged in cultivation. The womenfolk feel more attracted to the woollen handicraft. The Bhotiya women do not take part in agricultural operations.

Rites and Proverbs relating to Agriculture

Before the commencement of the agricultural operations, the *Haljot* ceremony is performed in the month of May or June. An elderly and respectable person of the village inaugurates the ploughing operations.

Maijhar is the ceremony observed by the cultivators after the transplantation of paddy crop is over. Special food is prepared in the cultivator household to celebrate the occasion.

Poshai is another ceremony observed by cultivators when they start manuring the fields.

All able-bodied cultivators assemble at the house of the oldest cultivator and then formally spread a little manure in the nearby field. Thereafter a hearty meal is taken. On this occasion, ghee and curds are served to the labourers.

Hariyala festival too is connected with agriculture.

Saturday, Wednesday and Thursday are considered to be auspicious days for ploughing and sowing a field. For starting the harvesting operations, Friday and Saturday are preferred; Tuesday is invariably avoided. After being harvested, the crop is offered to the deity before starting its consumption in the household.

As in the plains, some proverbs, too, are prevalent. One common saying is '*Sthaunt suhal, aunl aka!*', i.e. if the pine fruit is plentiful, the crop would be bumper but if the *aonla* tree is laden with fruit, a famine might occur.

Another popular concept is contained in the saying '*Jay sal hathuwe vee sal geyuwe*', i.e., there would be bumper wheat crop during the year of a snowfall. Incidentally, the snowfall should be timely and not so heavy as might destroy the crop.

About rain it is said '*Chait Ashtami, Jayesht mool Savan pare dhool*', i.e. if there is rainfall in the *Mool Nakshtra* in the month of *Jaith* or on the *Chaitra Ashtami*, there would be drought in the month of *Savan*.

The proverb stressing the virtues of carrying out the agricultural operations by one's ownself runs as :—

'Karner kheti parhner pothi'.

Cultivation by one's ownself makes one a perfect cultivator just as study makes one a learned man.

Animal Husbandry

The following table shows the position of livestock in the village :—

TABLE No. 3.9
Distribution of Livestock

Livestock	Castes, Households and Number of Animals					
	Bhotiya		Kshatriya		Shilpkar	
	No. of Households	Total number	No. of Households	Total number	No. of Households	Total number
1. Milch cattle	12	15	5	8	3	3
2. Draught animals	10	18	8	18	5	7
3. Goats and sheep	11	257	1	3	..	..
4. Horses	2	2	..	..	..	..
5. Hens	2	17	..	..	1	1
6. Dry cows	22	45	8	29	3	7
7. Dry buffaloes	..	..	4	4	1	2

The two horses, 187 goats and 70 sheep are owned by Bhotiyas alone. The Shilpkars have a small number of animals. It being a hill village, the number of goats and sheep is high as compared with that in a village of the plains where the number of cows, buffaloes and bullocks is greater. Goat milk is not used for human consumption as is done in the plains.

The flocks of sheep which produce wool, give their owners meat also apart from their attire and beddings. When alive they are used as beasts of burden and provide wool and when they are dead, their hides, fur, sinews and bones are used as household furniture or sold for cash. Sheep and goat hair are used for preparing strings; their skin is used for preparing bags, hand gloves, garments and for sitting. The hill sheep are small in size. They have wiry brownish grey wool, short tails and large horns. They are not good for the table and are reared mainly for the sake of the wool, out of which coarse blankets are made.

Sheep and goat sometimes suffer from common diseases such as rot, mange, small-pox, etc. During the rainy season, goats are also exposed to a disease called *khari* which generally results in the loss of the hooves. The casualties further multiply by exposure and fatigue, by accidents and operations of wild beasts.

The common variety of sheep carries from ten to sixteen pounds of weight. It costs about fifty rupees. The Tibetan sheep are also employed by the Bhotiyas for transport and trade. These are stronger and more active than the Kumaon breed. The regular day's journey is about five miles because of the great time required in feeding on pasture land on the way. Goats are also used for carrying goods. They bear a burden of twelve to twenty-four pounds and cost forty or fifty rupees. On account of their superior boldness and alacrity they are usually selected as leaders of the flock and are furnished with tingling bells. It is chiefly with these goats and sheep that Tibetan trade is carried out by six households of this village. Salt, grains, borax, cloth, utensils, etc., are carried in a sort of pack made of worsted with a pair of pockets called *kakbaj* slung across the animal's back. These pockets are partly covered with leather to protect the contents from moisture when travelling or when piled on the ground in camp. The pack is girthed underneath the body. A band around the chest and the other crupperwise under the tail render it perfectly safe when moving up or down the hill. It is marvellous to observe the business-like way in which these little animals of burden carry their loads. In spite of the narrowness of the path or the steepness of the ascent they seem intent only on pursuing their way without turning away for anything or anyone. Their obstinacy often causes the trader uneasiness and so they are taught patience. And no less amusing is it to watch the flocks of hundreds meeting in a narrow path or the brink of a precipice, each going the opposite direction and yet none making a mistake in following its own leader and patiently coming over all obstacles in doing so.

Goats are sometimes imported from Tibet for food and sacrifice but their meat is very stiff and ill-flavoured. Goats, as a rule, are small but stout. They are subjected to the same diseases as sheep and frequently get poisoned by eating the rank herbage that springs up in the rains. The *ayar* leaves are also said to be fatal to goats. The hill goats are useless as milch cattle and are bred chiefly for the transport trade or for food and sacrifice.

The two horses are also used in transport trade for carrying goods from Thal or Bageshwar markets to Munsiri. The hill horse has a compact body, broad forehead, short thick neck, broad chest, straight shoulders, strong back, good bone well ribbed-up barrel, round muscular quarters, coarse hairy legs and long tail and mane. The feet are fairly open at the heels.

Milch cattle and transport animals play a significant role in the economy of this village. The Animal Husbandry Department provides help and guidance for the maintenance and development of these animals. Whenever necessary they are inoculated against rinderpest and other diseases. A veterinary hospital is situated at Munsiri.

Forestry

Some of the *benap* land is Civil Forest area, which serves as a grazing place for the animals and as a source of timber for building and fuel for cooking.

Village Industries

The main household industry in the village is the woollen handicraft, the minor industries being tailoring and blacksmithy. Out of 142 workers, as many as 66 or 46.5 per cent of the total workers are engaged in the craft. The number of females in this occupation is 62 and that of the males only 4. Ethnically, out of the workers in this craft 54 are Bhotiyas and 12 are Shilpkars. The main products of this industry are blanket, *thulma*, *pankhi*, *dan*, tea cosy, woollen cloth, etc.

The raw material for the manufacture of woollen fabrics which are being produced here used to be partly obtained from Tibet. The Bhotiyas used to go to Tibet and purchase wool from there in exchange of goods, i.e., *gur*, grain, cloth, etc., which they carried from India. But now the only source of wool is the local market or the sheep which they themselves rear.

The wool is first of all washed in slightly hot water, then in cold water and then it is dried up. By this process the raw wool is cleaned of

its impurities. The Bhotiya women have a sound knowledge of the treatment, grading and dyeing of wool. When it has dried up it is spun into yarn. After the preparation of warp and woof, locally termed as *thakar* and *pooran* respectively, the weaving process starts on a wooden frame called the *chan*. The various implements used are *thal*, *lancha*, *baikathi phiaga*, *takli*, etc.

The traditional designs having different gods, demons, etc., of Tibetan origin are being replaced by designs supplied by the Government Training-cum-Production Centre at Munsiri. The skill is transmitted from generation to generation, it being a family industry. The Bhotiya women have acquired a great dexterity in weaving the yarn into fabric. The males, too, keep their spindles twisting all day long. They are seen with a skein of wool which they carry on their wrist like bracelet and they go on spinning even while walking, talking, sitting or carrying a load. In 1955, Government opened a Training-cum-Production Centre at Munsiri for training 12 persons every year in this industry on modern lines. Stipends are also paid to them. The residents of this village have also taken advantage of the training facilities. With the development of the industry under Government guidance and patronage, the industry is expected to flourish well. The woollen products are sold directly by the producers either in the village or in the melas of Bageshwar, Thal, Joljibi or in markets at lower altitudes, visited by the Bhotiyas. During summer, marketing is slack. There is no Co-operative Marketing Society. The price of these products is quite high, sometimes prohibitive even.

Great emphasis is being placed on the import of good breed sheep to this area as well as improvement of the breed of the local sheep. This is desirable because the economy of this area depends to a large extent on wool and naturally intensive efforts to increase the yield and quality of wool are necessary. A Wool Development Officer of the Industries Department is posted at Munsiri to look after the development of wool and woollen products.

There are 7 tailors in all—5 Shilpkars and 2 Kshatriyas. Three of them have received training at the Government Tailoring-cum-Hosiery Centre established in April, 1958, at Munsiri. The training is of one year's duration. They cater to the needs of this village and the nearby villages.

There are 2 blacksmiths who run their shops at their residences and serve the cultivators of the village as carpenters as well.

Trade and Commerce

Trade with Tibet was an important occupation of the Bhotiyas but due to change of political situation in Tibet, only six households in the village are now engaged in trade with Tibet. Only six males go to Tibet during the summer. On return from there in winter they take their pack animals—goats and sheep—to the lower areas or markets such as Tanakpur, Ramnagar and Haldwani from where they transport merchandise to the hilly areas. They also attend the fairs at Bageshwar, Thal and Joljibi during the winter season.

Immediately after the Thal fair in the middle of April, the Bhotiya traders move upwards to Millam and Tibet with their flocks of goats and sheep laden with grains such as *mandua*, barley, and rice and other articles like *gur*, tobacco, spices, dry fruits, tea, cloth and brass and copperwares—articles that are very much in demand in a backward country like Tibet. During this period of about four months, they make three or four trips of Tibet carrying various articles from their trade headquarters Millam to Tibet and bringing in exchange Tibetan wool, salt, borax, woollen cloth, indigenous medicines, fur, goat skin, goats, mules, dogs, sheep and horns of yaks (*sura gai*). In Tibet they visit Gianima, Thajam and Gartoi. They enter Tibet through the snow-clad Untadhura Pass generally. According to Tibetan laws, the Bhotiya traders and their flocks are searched carefully by the Tibetan officials. No one, man or animal, suffering from a contagious disease is allowed to cross into Tibet. If any one happened to do so by hoodwinking the local officials he is liable to pay a heavy penalty. By

the end of September the downward march starts and the traders stream back to Millam and return to Ghorpatta Malla by the end of October. After the Chinese occupation the trade with Tibet has received a severe set-back because adequate facilities for trade are no longer available.

Business

Besides trade, eight Bhotiyas have opened their shops in Munsiri market. They work as retail traders in grain, stationery goods, woollen goods, garments and other goods of daily use. They make their purchases at Bageshwar, sometimes on cash payment and sometimes on credit basis. With increasing activity at Munsiri, business is a profitable occupation.

Other Occupations

Besides this, 9 persons are in Government service and one person is in private service as a *mali*. Out of 9 persons in Government service, 6 persons are Bhotiyas, 2 are Kshatriyas and one is a Shilpkar. Three persons are employed in Military service, three as farm servants in Government fruit garden at Balati, one in the P. A. C., one as Village Level Worker and one as a school teacher.

Non-workers

Out of the 229 persons in the village only 142 are workers and the remaining 87 persons are non-workers. Thus 38 per cent of the population was found dependant upon the remaining 62 per cent. The following table shows the non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity :-

TABLE No. 3.10

Non-workers by Sex, Age-groups and Activity

	All ages		0-14		15-34		35-59		60 and above	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Total Non-workers	87	44	43	39	40	4	..	..	1	3
Full-time Students	30	23	7	19	7	4	..	..	..	..
Household Duties	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dependants	53	20	33	20	33	..	..	..	..	..
Retired Persons	4	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	3

Thus 34.48 per cent of the non-workers are full-time students or children attending school whereas 65.52 per cent of them are dependants, infants and children not attending school and persons living on remittance. Out of the non-workers only 49.4 per cent are females. It is significant to note that not even a single female was found engaged in household duties, because among the Kshatriyas they are engaged in agriculture whereas the Bhotiyas and Shilpkar females are generally engaged in spinning and weaving from very young age.

Indebtedness

Out of 48 households, 21 households, i.e., about 44 per cent of the households are in debt. The distribution of debt according to castes is as follows :-

TABLE No. 3.11

Indebtedness by Castes

Caste	No. of Families		Amount of Debt	Average Debt per Household	
	Total	in debt			
			Rs.	Rs.	
1. Bhotiya	..	32	10	4,505	450
2. Kshatriya	..	8	3	900	300
3. Shilpkar	..	8	8	2,050	256
Total	..	48	21	7,455	355

All the Shilpkar households are under debt which is an indication of their poor economic condition.

Causes of Indebtedness

The various causes for which debt was incurred would be evident from the following table :-

TABLE No. 3.12

Causes of Indebtedness

Cause	Amount in Rupees	Number of Households			Proportion due to cause of debt
		Bho-tiyas	Ksha-triyas	Shilpkars	
1. Trade (with Tibet)	600	1	..	..	7 %
2. Marriage	2,000	1	1	2	26 %
3. Business	1,480	4	..	..	21 %

Causes of indebtedness

Cause	Amount in Rupees	Number of Households			Proportion due to cause of debt
		Bho-tiyas	Ksha-triyas	Shilp-kars	
4. Purchase of sewing machine	200	..	..	1	3 %
5. Domestic needs	1,475	2	..	4	20 %
6. Litigation	500	..	2	..	7 %
7. Horticulture	500	2	..	..	7 %
8. Agriculture	700	..	..	1	9 %
Total	7,455	10	3	8	100 %

Marriage, business and domestic needs are the main causes of debt.

Indebtedness by Income-groups

TABLE NO. 3.13

Indebtedness by Income-groups

Income-group	Total no. of Households	No. of Households in Debt	Average Indebtedness per Household in Debt
Rs.			
25 and below	..	1	..
26—50	2	1	..
51—75	6	3	133.33
76—100	7	4	287.50
101 and above	33	14	421.79

Households having an income up to Rs.50 per month are free from debt probably because of the lack of creditworthiness. With the increase in income the average debt per household in debt also increases. The highest percentage of households in debt is for those in the income-group of Rs.76—100.

Sources of Indebtedness

The loan for horticulture purposes has been taken from the Planning Department. The village has Brijwal Co-operative Credit Society established in October, 1948. Only Brijwal Bhotiyas can be members of the society. From this village, 13 Brijwals are its members. The society has a working capital of Rs.2,692.50 P. Loans are advanced only for the development of trade and manufacture of woollen goods. The maximum loan that can be advanced at a time is Rs.400. The rate of interest charged by the society is $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. Shri Dhan Singh Brijwal aged 55 years and Shri Ram Singh Brijwal aged 60 years of this village have been members of the Board of Directors since November, 1960.

Other sources of debt are private money-lenders in the village or Munsiri market. The interest charged by them is ordinarily 25 per cent per annum.

Income and Expenditure

There is a great probability of error in the income and expenditure figures, because every one has a tendency to give a depleted account of income and an exaggerated account of expenditure. The following table shows the income of various households by occupation, income and number of members:—

TABLE NO. 3.14

Distribution of Households by Occupation, Income and Number of Members

Occupation	Number of Households by Monthly Income						
	House holds	Members	Less than Rs.25	Rs. 26 to 50	Rs. 51 to 75	Rs. 76 to 100	Rs. 101 and over
Trade	6	29	..	..	..	1	6
Business	7	34	..	..	..	1	6
Tailoring	4	17	..	..	1	1	2
Weaving	4	5	..	1	3	..	..
Service	4	18	..	..	..	..	4
Blacksmith	2	8	..	..	..	..	2
Washerman	1	5	..	..	1	..	..
Labourer	2	5	..	1	1	..	..
Cultivation	18	108	..	..	..	5	13
Total	48	229	..	2	6	7	33
Percentage				4.17	12.50	14.58	68.75

In distributing the households by income and occupation group, the occupation which gives the maximum profit has been taken into consideration. It is evident from the table, 68.75 per cent of the households fall within the income-group of Rs.101 and over followed by 14.58 per cent household within the income-group of Rs.76—100. The following table shows the number

of households by caste and various income-groups :—

TABLE No. 3.15

Households by Caste and Income-groups

Caste	Number of		Total income of the caste	Households by Income-groups			
	House-holds	Mem-bers		Rs. 25—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 76—100	Rs. 101 and above
Bhotiya	32	150	4,669	2	4	3	23
Kshatriya	8	42	1,002	..	..	2	6
Shilpkar	8	37	807	..	2	2	4
Total	48	229	6,478	2	6	7	33

The average monthly income of a Bhotiya household is Rs.145.90, that of a Kshatriya household is Rs.125.25, and that of a Shilpkar household is Rs.100.87. This clearly indicates the better economic condition of the Bhotiyas.

For determining the expenditure pattern, the budgets of all the 48 households of the village were studied. Budgets of the following 6 households, which are of representative character are discussed below :—

(1) A weaver of woollen fabrics, Smt. Bhagirathi Devi, Bhotiya by caste, with an average income of Rs.77 p.m.

(2) A Bhotiya named Pratap Singh who is retailer in grain and other consumable articles, with an average income of Rs.245 p.m.

(3) A Bhotiya named Dewan Singh, who is employed as a government servant and has a little cultivation, with an average income of Rs.128 p.m.

(4) A Bhotiya trader named Kishan Singh with an average income of Rs.178 p.m.

(5) A Kshatriya cultivator named Amar Singh with an average income of Rs.180 p.m.

(6) A tailor named Daulat Ram, Shilpkar by caste, with an average income of Rs.85 p.m.

The household of Smt. Bhagirathi Devi aged 50 years, who is a widow, consists of two persons—herself and her son's widow aged 19 years. Both of them are engaged in weaving woollen fabrics. The average monthly income of the household is Rs.77—Rs.60 from woollen handicraft, Rs.2 from horticulture and Rs.15 from cow milk. Fuel for the household is collected free from the forest ; it is not being counted either on the income or the expenditure side. She has got a good house with stone walls, slate roof and three roomed double-storeyed building. Her only son died about two years ago. She incurred a huge expenditure in connection with his treatment. The family ornaments were also sold in this connection. The expenditure of the household is as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses ...	39.00
2. Oil	2.00
3. Other food items ...	13.00
4. Light	1.00
5. Clothing and footwear ..	6.00
6. Other items	2.00
Total	63.00

Except cereals and pulses, she has very little expenses to incur on other items. Liquor and soap are not used in the family. The budget is a balanced one. Expenditure on food items constitutes 82.5 per cent of the total expenses. Her husband used to carry on trade with Tibet but now there is no male member in the family ; hence the two widows are content with weaving only.

(2) Shri Pratap Singh Bhotiya, aged 55 years has 7 persons in the household consisting of his wife aged 48 years, four sons aged 28, 25, 13 and 9 years and eldest son's wife aged 24 years. His second son is still unmarried even at the age of 25 years. The first two sons are employed in military whereas the last two sons are students. The two females, his wife and his son's wife, are engaged in weaving woollen fabrics. Besides retail trading in grain and other items of general merchandise which being about Rs.150 p.m., he has 0.88 acre of land for horticulture, from which

he earns about Rs.25 p.m. From weaving he earns Rs.20 p.m. and from his sons who are in military, he gets about Rs.150 p.m. Thus he has an average income of Rs.245 p.m. He has gold and silver ornaments in his household and has a four roomed double-storeyed building with stone walls and slate roofs. He has got 2 cows and 30 goats. The expenditure of the household is as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	105.00
2. Oil	14.00
3. Other food items	53.50
4. Fuel and light	18.00
5. Clothing and footwear	25.00
6. Other items	11.00
7. Education	5.00
Total	231.50

The expenditure on food items is 68.4 per cent of the total expenditure. The budget leaves a saving of about Rs. 14 p.m. The household is well-to-do and is without debt. *Jan, daru* and meat are used in the household. The father of Shri Pratap Singh was a trader. He has opened a shop in Munsiri market.

(3) Shri Dewan Singh Bhotiya aged 42 years has 5 members in his family consisting of his wife aged 31 years, one son aged 9 years and two daughters aged 7 and 4 years. The son and the elder daughter are getting education in the local Primary School. He is employed in Government Fruit Garden on a monthly salary of Rs.90 p.m. He has 0.60 acre of land which gives him an income of Rs.20 p.m. Fuel for domestic use is collected free from the forest ; it has not been shown either on income or on expenditure side. His wife is engaged in weaving woollen fabrics which also brings him an income of about Rs.18 p.m. In this way the total income comes to about Rs. 128 p.m.

His father was a trader but since trade has no longer remained a profitable proposition he got employed in Government service locally. Gold and silver ornaments are used by the females of

this household. He has got a two roomed double-storeyed building with stone walls and slate roof.

The items of expenditure are as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	60.00
2. Oil	7.00
3. Other food items	27.50
4. Light	1.50
5. Clothing and footwear	20.00
6. Education	4.00
7. Other items	3.00
Total	123.00

The expenditure on food items is 71.5 per cent of the total expenditure. The household is without debt and there is a saving of Rs. 5 in the budget.

(4) Shri Kishan Singh Bhotiya aged 33 years has 5 persons in the household, consisting of his wife aged 30 years and their three sons aged 12, 6 and 1 year. Their two sons are students in the local school. His wife is engaged in weaving which brings him about Rs.10 p.m. He has little land for horticulture which gives him vegetables for domestic consumption and an income of about Rs.2 p.m. From trade he earns about Rs.2,000 per year which comes to about Rs.166 p.m. In this way his average monthly income comes to about Rs.178. He is following his father's occupation. He possesses 25 goats of his own for trade. His wife has got gold and silver ornaments. His expenditure pattern is as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses	62.00
2. Oil	7.00
3. Other food items	29.00
4. Fuel and light	11.50
5. Clothing and footwear	20.00
6. Education	6.00
7. Other items	9.00
Total	144.50

The expenditure on food items is 63.2 per cent. The household uses *jan*, *daru* and meat, just like other Bhotiyas. The budget is a surplus one and the household is not in debt.

(5) Shri Amar Singh Kshatriya aged 56 years has 9 persons in his household consisting of his wife aged 50 years, helping him in cultivation, his three sons, aged 30, 18 and 11 years. His first two sons are married while the third son is a student. His first son Udham Singh has married three times while the present wife of Shri Udham Singh has married for the second time after the death of her first husband. With Amar Singh also lives his father aged 92 years and mother aged 80 years who are dependants due to their old age. Shri Amar Singh has got only 5 acres of land for cultivation and has got 4 bullocks. His income from cultivation comes to about Rs.130 p.m. Fuel for domestic use is available free of cost and has not been included either on income or expenditure side. To supplement the family income Shri Udham Singh works as a tailor and earns Rs.50 p.m. He has not changed his father's occupation. He has got a three roomed double-storied building with stone walls and grass roofs. Liquor is not consumed in this non-vegetarian household.

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses ...	120.00
2. Oil ..	4.00
3. Other food items ...	28.50
4. Light ..	2.00
5. Clothing and footwear	15.00
6. Education	4.00
7. Other items	5.00
Total ...	178.50

The expenditure on food items is about 83 per cent of the total expenditure. The budget is a balanced one.

The household has incurred a debt of Rs.400 from a money-lender for the marriage of two sons, the eldest son having been married thrice and the second son once this year.

(6) Shri Daulat Ram Dholi, a Shilpkar aged 27 years, has three members in his household,

consisting of his wife aged 18 years and his only son aged 1 year. He has no land under cultivation and till recently he was a labourer like his father. He has received instructions in tailoring at the Tailoring-cum-Hosiery Centre, Munsiri and has purchased a sewing machine after taking a loan of Rs. 200 from a local money-lender. Tailoring brings an average income of Rs.65 p.m. His wife is engaged in weaving from which she earns about Rs. 20 p.m. Fuel is available free of cost. Thus the total income of the household comes to about Rs.85 p.m.

The expenditure of the household on various items is as follows :—

Items	Expenditure
	Rs.
1. Cereals and pulses ..	39.00
2. Oil ..	2.00
3. Other food items ..	17.00
4. Light ..	1.25
5. Clothing and footwear	10.00
6. Other items ..	11.00
Total ...	80.25

The expenditure on food items is about 62.5 per cent. His expenses on other items are more in comparison to others because he has to spend about Rs.5 p.m. on the repair and maintenance of his sewing machine. There is a saving of Rs.4.75 p.m.

A review of the above budgets shows that a bigger percentage of the total expenditure is spent on food items than on any other item. This is an index of the undeveloped and backward economic and social conditions. The local production is not sufficient to meet the needs of the population. Imported wheat is available at Government shops. The demand for vegetable, pulse and meat is met by local production. Imported articles such as soap, *gur*, sugar, cigarette, *biri*, cloth, kerosene oil, vegetable oil, etc., are sold at a price which is about 50 to 70 per cent more than the price in plains. The population is habituated to the consumption of tea. If milk is not easily available, tea is taken without it. *Gur* is cheaper than crystal sugar and is, therefore, used in tea or otherwise by most of the people.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Brief Review of Population

At the time of survey in June 1961, the population of village Ghorpatta Malla was 229 persons, consisting of 115 males and 114 females.

The population of this village from the Census 1891 onwards is given in the following table:—

TABLE No. 4.1

Population Trends

Year	No. of occupied houses	Persons	Males	Females
1891 ..	4	33	18	15
1901 ..	N. A.	32	18	14
1921 ..	7	30	18	12
1941 ..	18	42	21	21
1951 ..	17	80	39	41
1961 ..	52	205	125	80
June 1961 (Survey)	48	229	115	114

The population of this village from 1891 to 1921 registered a slight decline. There was an increase in 1941 and 1951. There has been a phenomenal increase between 1951 and 1961, obviously because of the establishment of Tahsil and Development Block headquarters at Munsiri after the creation of the Uttarakhand Division. The process of fast increase in population will continue for some time more because of the expansion of Munsiri.

Density of Population

The area of the village is 162.50 acres or 65.3 hectares, consisting of 62.50 acres of measured land and 100 acres of unmeasured land. At the time of the survey the density of population was 902 persons per square mile as against 95 persons per square mile which is the density of population for the district as a whole.

Sex Ratio

At the time of the survey, the village had a population of 115 males and 114 females, which shows a balance in the number of both the sexes. At the time of 1961 Census there were 125 males and 80 females. The low sex ratio at the time of 1961 Census cannot be reasonably explained. The sex ratio for district Pithoragarh according to 1961 Census was 1,055 females per 1,000 males.

Births and Deaths

The birth and death register maintained by the Gaon Sabha could not be available. An inquiry on October 30, 1961, however, disclosed that during the preceding year, 13 births and 6 deaths took place in the village.

The diseases prevalent in the village are hill diarrhoea and leprosy.

Medical Aid

On August 1, 1961 the District Board dispensary previously situated at Darkot shifted to Munsiri adjacent to this village. There is also a Mission dispensary in village Daranti at a distance of about 2 miles only. Thus adequate medical facilities exist for the outdoor patients but there is no arrangement for indoor patients in any of the hospitals. Also there is no lady doctor.

Maternity cases are ordinarily conducted by old women of the village, not necessarily of the Shilpkar community. They have no training for the job. Whatever they know has been picked up by experience.

Since Ghorpatta Malla is a hilly village, drainage is not a problem. There is no accumulation of water or mud after rain. The lower storey of the house is used for keeping animals only in some houses. There are also separate houses for

the animals just near the residential houses. The houses of Bhotiyas and their neighbourhood are comparatively neat and clean but the area inhabited by the Shilpkars is dirty and foul smelling.

Drinking water is available in the village at two water sources, called *dhar*, and two streams. The Bhotiyas and Shilpkars both take water from the *dhars* in the village which are naturally overcrowded by women and children. The Shilpkars are not allowed to take bath or wash clothes at these *dhars* in the village; the Bhotiyas and Kshatriyas can do so without any restriction. The Shilpkars have to go to the stream, which too is nearby, for these purposes. During the menstrual period no woman can go to the *dhar*.

There is only one washerman in the village. He owns a laundry at Munsiri. Only a few well-to-do persons can utilise his costly services. Soap being quite costly, the clothes are washed by the womenfolk with a grass locally called *chip-hajari*. After being pounded it is mixed with water and rubbed on the clothes which are cleaned quite well. The villagers take bath rarely. It is peculiar that most of them use woollen garments throughout the year. Even the educated class is habituated to woollen clothes during summer. The woollen clothes have the singular virtue of not looking dirty even when they actually are. The Assistant Development Officer (Women), Gram Sevika and two Gram Lakshmis belonging to the Planning Department have regularly been stressing the virtues of cleanliness.

Population by Age-groups

The following table gives a break-down of the population according to age-groups:

TABLE No. 4.2

Population by Age-groups

Age-groups (Years)	Total Population		
	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	229	115	114
0—4	35	14	21

Age-groups (Years)	Total Population		
	Persons	Males	Females
5—9	25	11	14
10—14	30	15	15
15—19	21	13	8
20—24	18	10	8
25—29	13	8	5
30—34	16	9	7
35—39	14	4	10
40—44	12	5	7
45—49	15	9	6
50—54	14	7	7
55—59	7	5	2
60 and over	9	5	4

Thus 90 persons or 39.3 per cent of the total population belong to the age-group 0—14 years, 109 persons or 47.6 per cent of the total population belong to the age-group 15—49 years and the remaining 30 persons or 13.1 per cent of the total population belong to the age-group 50 years and over. The proportion belonging to the age-group 0—14 years (39.3 per cent) is three times that in the age-group 50 years and over (13.1 per cent) and hence the population is markedly progressive just like the remaining population of the State.

Marital Status

The following table shows the marital status of the population in various age-groups:

TABLE No. 4.3

Marital Status by Age-groups

Age-groups (Years)	Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		
	P	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	
All ages	229	115	114	57	52	56	50	2	12
0—14	90	40	50	40	50	..	..	..	..
15—19	21	13	8	8	2	5	5	..	1
20—24	18	10	8	6	..	4	8	..	..
25—29	13	8	5	3	..	5	5	..	..
30—34	16	9	7	..	..	9	7	..	..
35—39	14	4	10	..	..	4	10	..	..
40—44	12	5	7	..	..	5	7	..	..
45—49	15	9	6	..	..	9	3	..	3
50—54	14	7	7	..	..	6	3	1	4
55—59	7	5	2	..	..	4	1	1	1
60 and over	9	5	4	..	..	5	1	..	3

As is evident, out of 229 persons 109, i.e., 47.6 per cent were never married, 106, i.e., 46.3 per cent are still-married, and 14 persons, i.e., 6.1 per cent are widowed. The never-married group mainly consists of persons within the age-group 0-14 years.

The number of still-married males and females is almost equal. In the age-group 10-14 years no one was found married. In the age-group 15-19 years, out of 13 males and 8 females 5 males and 5 females were married. There is no unmarried girl beyond 16 years of age. There is no unmarried male after the age of 29 years.

There are 2 widowers and 12 widows in the village. Widow remarriage is in vogue. One of the widows is 19 years old and the remaining fall within the age-group of 45-60 years.

The following table shows the percentage of married persons within the different age-groups :-

TABLE No. 4.4

Percentage of Still-married Persons in various Age-groups

Age-groups (Years)	Number of Persons	Number of married Persons	Percentage of married Persons within the age-group
0-14	90	..	..
15-19	21	10	47.7
20-24	18	12	66.7
25-29	13	10	76.9
30-34	16	16	100.00
35-39	14	14	100.00
40-44	12	12	100.00
45-49	15	12	80.00
50-54	14	9	64.3
55-59	7	5	71.4
60 and above	9	6	66.7

The percentage of still-married persons in the age-group 30-34 years, 35-39 years and 40-44 years is the highest. After the age of 45 years, the percentage begins falling because of the death of some husbands or wives.

Size and Composition of Households

The following table indicates the size and composition of the households :-

TABLE No. 4.5

Size and Composition of the Households

Total Number of households	Size of Households											
	Single Member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members		
	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females	Households	Males	Females
48	4	1	3	9	11	13	25	60	61	10	43	37

The maximum number of households have 4-6 members. Six of the heads of households are females, three of them being widows living alone. Out of the three still-married heads of households, Smt. Chandi Devi, aged 25 years lives alone, keeping herself engaged in woollen handicraft. Her husband is out in Military service. Smt. Tulsi Devi aged 19 years lives alone in similar circumstances following a similar vocation. Smt. Bishni Devi aged 35 years lives with her 3 children in the village. Her husband is employed as a Village Level Worker outside the village.

Literacy and Education

The following table indicates the position of literacy and education in the village :-

TABLE No. 4.6

Literacy and Education

Age-groups (Years)	Literate													
	Illiterate		Literate without educational standard				Primary or Basic		Matric or High School		Intermediate		Total Literates	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
0-14	33	43	4	4	3	3	..	..	..	..	7	7
15-34	8	23	7	3	21	2	2	..	2	..	32	5		
35-59	9	29	13	2	8	1	..	..	..	..	21	3
60 and above	1	4	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
Total	51	99	25	9	35	6	2	..	2	..	64	15		

Out of 229 persons, 79 persons or 34.5 per cent of the total population are literate. This percentage is quite high as compared to 23.4 the

literacy percentage for the district. Out of 115 males in the village 64 or 55.7 per cent are literate whereas out of 114 females only 15 or 13.1 per cent are literate. The literacy percentage of males and females in district Pithoragarh is 41.8 and 5.9 respectively.

Education has become quite popular in the village. Two boys have passed the High School Examination and are studying for Intermediate Examination in the local college.

Literacy by Caste

The following table shows the literacy by caste :—

TABLE NO. 4.7

Literacy by Caste

Caste	Population			Literates			Percentage
	P	M	F	P	M	F	
1. Bhotiyas ..	150	73	77	61	46	15	30.7
2. Kshatriyas ..	42	24	18	11	11	..	26.2
3. Shilpkars ..	37	18	19	7	7	..	19.0

Womenfolk of Kshatriya and Shilpkar communities are illiterate, whereas among the Bhotiyas 19.5 per cent of them are literate. Among the males, 63 per cent Bhotiyas, 46 per cent Kshatriyas and 38.8 per cent Shilpkars are literate. The percentage of literacy among the Bhotiyas, Kshatriyas and Shilpkars is 30.7, 26.2 and 19.0 respectively.

Educational Institutions

Within the boundaries of the village only one educational institution, the Government Intermediate College, is situated. It was established as a High School in 1954 and was raised to the Intermediate standard in July, 1960. Education from VI class to Intermediate is imparted in this institution. On November 2, 1961, 309 students, 299 boys and 10 girls were on its rolls. Two girls were studying in the Intermediate class.

For earlier education children attend the Government Primary School at Tiksain which was opened in July 1960. No fee is charged from the students. The school is located in

a double-storeyed building supplemented by another small building with a thatched roof. Education up to V class is imparted in this school. In October 1961, 148 students including 46 girls were on its rolls.

A Montessori School also was established in Mungsiari in 1961. Only 14 boys and girls had joined the school.

The Government Tailoring-cum-Hosiery Centre was established at Mungsiari in April 1958. Training in tailoring and hosiery is imparted to the trainees. In October 1961, 11 boys and 5 girls were being trained there. Due to lack of accommodation, some trainees had to sit outside. The one-year training is imparted by a technical assistant and a lady instructor.

The Planning Department started a Mahila Prodh Pathshala for making the elderly womenfolk literate. The Pathshala has not been much of a success because of the indifference of the students and their husbands.

The Gram Sevika takes a Balbari class of children from 3 to 6 years age on the kindergarten lines.

Thus adequate educational facilities exist in the village and its vicinity. Stipends and financial help are given to Bhotiyas at every stage for pursuing their studies.

Family Structure and Intra-family Relationship

Family occupies the most important place in socio-economic structure of an Indian village. The head of the household commands the respect of all members of the family. His word is final to be obeyed and not to be challenged. Marriage is regarded as natural and necessary. Purdah is observed by the womenfolk in the presence of elders. Purdah is more common among the Bhotiyas than among others. A Bhotiya woman would not talk to a stranger. If one wants to know which path leads to a particular place, she will reply if alone but if she is in company of others, all would keep quiet as long as the outsider is there. As soon as he moves away, all would burst into laughter. The males take their meals first, followed by women and children.

Out of 48 households, 22, i.e., 45.8 per cent were simple, consisting of a husband, wife and unmarried children; 9, i.e., 18.8 per cent were intermediate, consisting of a married couple, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents; while 9, i.e., 18.8 per cent were joint consisting of a married couple with married sons/daughters or with married brothers/sisters. The remaining 8 households or 16.6 per cent did not have one of the spouses and were classified under 'others'.

The joint family system is followed as a rule. The member of a family cannot transfer his share or part thereof without the consent of the other co-parceners, unless there has been a family partition. During one's lifetime his descendants do not have any claim to the property—ancestral or self-acquired. It cannot be partitioned during his life time. The father can transfer the property *inter vivos* in whatever way he likes. The widow of a co-parcener inherits the share of her deceased husband if he dies issueless after the vesting of the property in him.

Inheritance Of Property

The inheritance of property was governed by the local customs as laid down by Panna Lall in *Hindu Customary Law in Kumaun* till it was repealed by Section 4 of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 (Act No. 30 of 1956) which lays down that any other law in force immediately before the commencement of this Act shall cease to apply to Hindus in so far as it is inconsistent with any of the provisions contained in this Act. According to the local customs all sons, whether by wives taken with the *anchal* ceremony or without or by *dhantis* or by brother's widows, got an equal share in the property of their father. In the absence of sons, widows inherited the estate even in a joint family. When there were no heirs, the inheritance devolved upon the village community or *Gaon Sanjait*. On a division of the property the eldest brother usually got something more than his share—a field, a cow or a piece of jewellery, etc. — called *jethon*. A widow succeeding to her deceased husband's share was disinherited if she left the home volutarily and be-

came the wife or concubine of another. Blind, deaf and dumb and impotent persons were equally entitled to succeed.

Leisure and Recreation

There is no cinema house at Munsiri. The main sources of amusement and recreation are the fairs periodically held at places where both men and women assemble, sing and dance. Folk songs and dances are the main features of these fairs. The dancers who are also the singers, form themselves into a circle and shuffle from left to right, the movement being sometimes slow and sometimes fast. Both men and women take part in the dance. Occasionally they mix indiscriminately but more often each sex keeps to its own sector of the circle. The dancers dance to the rhythm of a song repeated by the performers themselves. The song is sung in chorus by the males to be repeated by the females. When one sex sings, the other keeps quiet but goes on dancing in a circle. Casually the leader of the dance stands inside the circle and plays a drum called *hurka* with his fingers, directing the dancers. The sense of the rhythm, the contrast of voices, the balancing movement of the dancers, the slow and sudden leaps and the music of the instrument are simply fascinating. Dances named *Champhuli*, *Dhuska* and *Jhora* are popular in this region. *Dandyala* and *Dhurang* also are other forms of the ring dance.

Community dancing has generally languished in the plains but continues to flourish in the Himalayan hill districts. The *Jhora*, a Kumaoni dance, is quite popular in this village. In this dance, men and women of all castes join. They link their arms together and dance in a circle with simple steps, sometimes standing, sometimes bending and sometimes just sitting down. A large number of dancers participate in this dance. This community dance is a source of great recreation to the entire population.

The *Chapali* is the dance of lovers and is performed by couples coquettishly holding a mirror in one hand and flirtingly a colourful handkerchief in the other.

The *Jugar* is a dance performed to propitiate the deities and to ward off evil spirits and epidemics. Singing and dancing is performed by sorcerers called *jugarias* and offerings presented. After some time the spirit of god or goddess is supposed to come into the sorcerer who informs the sufferer of the wrong committed by him and the way of propitiating the offended god or spirit. No *jugaria* belongs to this village.

Out of the musical instruments the shepherd's pipe or *bansali* is quite popular. It is a single pipe made of *ringal* (small hill bamboo). The double pipe is called *murlī*. To a traveller in the mountains, its notes are very pleasing. There is also a very small iron instrument known as *binai*, a sort of Jew's harp which is placed between the lips and played with one finger. It is usually but not always played by women.

The boys play 'Sheep and Shepherd' just like 'Hide and Seek'. The elders play on a chequer-board called *Baghbakri* or 'Tiger and Goat' resembling the English game 'Fox and Geese'. '*Rang Bhang Ka Khenta Khenti*' is now uncommon, rather extinguished.

As regards other recreations students in the local schools or college enjoy some games and sports. In the school premises, football, hockey and other games are played by students only. Others have neither any interest in these games and sports nor the time to participate therein. Tea stalls and other shops in Munsiri market and library of the Block office are the other important centres where persons assemble to listen to radio and to discuss village scandals or politics of the country.

There is no temple in this village or in Munsiri. People go to Madkot, Jalath, Darkot or Dandodhar for worshipping Devi and making animal sacrifices at the altar. Fairs are also held at these temples on various occasions.

Some changes in religious beliefs and practices have no doubt taken place due to contact with other Hindus and the impact of civilization but they are insignificant, not radical.

Community Festivals

India is a land of fasts, feasts, and festivals. This village too celebrates a number of festivals which are spread throughout the year.

Basant Panchami is celebrated in the first week of February. With the arrival of spring the long and bitter spell of winter seems to be nearing its end and a welcome warmth is in sight. Barley corns are fixed at the doors with dung or donned in the caps. Yellow handkerchiefs are exchanged by way of presents. The males wear yellow caps and the females also put on some yellow garment. A wave of youthful gaiety runs through every heart as a result of the romantic atmosphere all round. Special food is prepared in every house.

Another festival of spring observed in the month of March is called *Phooldei*. The rhododendron with its bright scarlet flowers and the peach tree with its rosy blossoms adorn the landscape, the fields and the gardens. The birds are chirping gaily and hopping about briskly on the trees. The young boys and girls go from house to house chanting short verses, praying for the prosperity of the householders, strewing flowers at the doors and getting small presents of *gur*, rice, food or cash. In the evening rice and flour mixed with *gur* are cooked into a food called *sai* which is taken by all. After this festival the *Hurkiyas* and the *Badis* go about the villages singing and dancing.

Another significant festival known as *hariyala* is observed on the first day of *Srawan*, i.e., about the middle of July. About ten days before, a mixture of seeds is sown in small baskets or beds prepared near the place where the family gods are located. On the day of the festival the head of the household cuts the green stems after worship by the womenfolk. Everyone then wears the stems on the cap. The ceremony of wearing the green shoots is parallel to the practice of wearing roses in England and that of sowing the seeds in somewhat similar to the annual sowing of five seeds by the Emperor of China in the ancient days. On this day the bullocks are not yoked. It is an important festival.

To say to a hillman, "May you not eat the *Hariyala* feast" is regarded the worst curse.

Ghee Sankranti is observed on the first day of *Bhadon*, i.e., about the middle of August. Everyone consumes some *ghee* (clarified butter) and curds on this day.

Khatarwa is celebrated with the arrival of winter. Huge quantity of fuel and hay is collected on the wasteland by the villagers on the first day of *Asauj*, i.e., near about the middle of September. In the evening when it is dark, fuel and hay are set on fire. Young boys and girls make offerings of flowers at the bonfire. They beat the fire with long sticks, uttering the words, "*Bhelo ji Bhelo.*" After the fire is extinguished, evil spirits are driven out of the cattle sheds by means of lighted sticks.

Diwali or the festival of lights and *Dasehra* are celebrated as in the villages of the plains.

The festival of *Ghughutia* is observed in the middle of January when winter is at its height. Little cakes of flour are baked and put round their necks by the children with a string. In the morning the children shout "*Kale Kale*" at the crows and other birds and offer to them the cakes of flour from the string.

Bhumiyān is also worshipped because it is the village god who looks after the harvests, the fields and the general welfare of the population. Similarly *Badhan* and *Chanu*, the gods who look after the welfare of the cattle, are propitiated by offering milk to them.

On the occasion of *Nanda Ashtami* and *Devi Puja*, goats and buffalo calves are sacrificed at the *Nanda Devi* temple. The meat of the goats is consumed by the villagers. A fair is also held in village *Dandodhar* at a distance of about one mile from the village on the occasion of *Nanda Ashtami*.

Village Organisation

The village organisation is an integrated whole and no tension is visible. The different sects of Bhotiyas marry amongst each other since marriages do not take place amongst the same sect or sub-caste. Inter-marriages amongst

Bhotiyas of the village have created and strengthened lasting ties of intimacy between a number of families. There is no social rivalry between the *Martolias* and *Brijwals*, the main sects of Bhotiyas in the village. They mix freely with each other and smoke the same hookah without any reservations.

The *Shilpkars* are treated with some reservation in spite of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955. The Bhotiyas and *Kshatriyas* do not take any edibles or water from the hands of a *Shilpkar*. They do not however suffer any disability at the water source or in the school. They are allowed the liberty of smoking the *chilam* from the hookah of Bhotiyas. Entry of a *Shilpkar* into the residential portion of a Bhotiya household is not objected to. They can take tea at the same stall. People in the village are interdependent and share the joys and sorrows of each other. Thus a hue of cordiality prevails within the village.

Organs of Democratic Decentralisation

The village continues to have its caste *panchayats*—one of the *Brijwal Bhotiyas*, one of the *Martoli Bhotiyas* and of every sub-caste of *Shilpkars*. Cases pertaining to marriage, dissolution of marriage, breach of promise to marry, illegitimate pregnancies etc., are dealt with by these *panchayats*. As a rule, their decision is respected by all but sometimes the dissatisfied party goes to a court of law. With the advance of time, there has been a fall in the power and prestige of the caste *panchayats*.

With the enforcement of the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 in the State, a *Gaon Panchayat* was established in this village also in 1949 for the first time. After that there have been two more elections. In the last election held in 1961 only the election of members was conducted by show of hands and the election of the *Pradhan* was conducted by a secret ballot. *Shri Hira Singh Brijwal* aged about 31 years is the *Pradhan* of the *Gaon Sabha*.

A small income accrues to the *Gaon Sabha* by the levy of taxes. The *Gaon Sabha* has got the *dharas* improved so that two persons can take

water simultaneously from each of the two *dharas*. No other work of public utility has been done by the Sabha. In fact people are more or less indifferent to the Gaon Panchayat. The N. E. S. Block, Munsiri has provided some amenities to the village. A Pathshala for educating adult females, and a Kindergarten school have been established in the village by the Planning Department.

The Nyaya Panchayat of the village is situated at village Madkot. No case of this village has so far been referred to this Nyaya Panchayat.

Voluntary Organisations

There is a Mahila Mangal Dal for the social and cultural emancipation of the females, but the womenfolk do not take much interest in it. The residents of this village take full advantage of the library and reading room in the Block Office at Munsiri. They can also listen to the Community radio-set at Munsiri. The villagers thus keep abreast of the latest views and news.

Reform Measures

There is no Family Planning centre nor do the people in general realise the necessity of planning their families.

No dowry worth the name is given to the bridegroom. Instead, bride price is sometimes charged. As already discussed, untouchability is practised to some extent in the village in spite of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955. There has been no prosecution under this Act. In fact legislation is ineffective so long as there is no change of heart. The lot of Shilpkars has improved not so much on account of legislation as on account of the change in social and human values coupled with the economic factors.

Out of 48 heads of the households who were interviewed, only 5, i.e., 10.42 per cent were aware of prohibition of untouchability under law. No one is in favour of inter-caste marriage.

No one is aware of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 (No. 30 of 1956) or the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956 (Act 78 of 1956). Even though Ghorpatta Malla is situated just near the Tahsil and N. E. S. Block headquarters, the standard of awareness of legislative measures about social reforms is poor. The impact of these legislative measures on the population was not visible because up to this time, recourse to the provisions of these Acts has not been taken in a single case.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Ghorpatta Malla is a small-sized hill village situated in the interior of the extreme border Tahsil Munsiri of District Pithoragarh. It has a predominant Bhōtiya population followed by some Kshatriyas and Shilpkars but no Vaisyas. It is a specimen of mixed Indo-Tibetan culture and way of life. The main occupation in the village is woollen handicraft followed by cultivation and trade and business.

Ordinarily, a village situated in the inaccessible mountainous area has static socio-economic conditions, because outside influences are slow to penetrate and slower to act. The wind of change can hardly penetrate the barriers of inaccessible mountains and hence the population continues to stick to the old concepts and standards in the various spheres of life.

Till about three years back Ghorpatta Malla was a little known village of Tahsil Pithoragarh of District Almora. In 1959 it was decided to carry out an intensive development of the border areas. Tahsil Pithoragarh of District Almora was, therefore, constituted as a district of the newly created Uttarakhand Division. The newly carved out district was divided into four tahsils, one of these being Munsiri with headquarters at Tiksaïn Market which is so adjacent to Ghorpatta Malla that the boundary line between the two *abadi* sites is not at all visible. The N. E. S. Block headquarters was also established at Munsiri. With the creation of Tahsil Munsiri a number of Government servants of various departments including the Sub-divisional Magistrate, the Tahsildar, an Assistant Engineer, P. W. D., a P. A. C. Commandant are posted there. The importance of this village also increased simultaneously.

At the time of 1951 Census, the population of this village was 80 persons only but at the time of 1961 Census it had increased to 205 persons. The rise of 156.2 per cent in the population of this village during a period of

ten years is explained partly by immigration consequent on the establishment of Tahsil headquarters at Munsiri and partly because the population has become more stationary now on account of the newly created avenues of paying and profitable occupations in the village of its vicinity itself. Formerly there was a tendency of some households to migrate to lower levels during the peak winter months but now the area is buzzing with intense economic activity throughout the year and hence no one thinks of shifting from there except for some traders who go for some time to attend the commercial fairs at Bageshwar, Thal and Joljibi.

At the time of 1951 Census the village had only 17 houses but during a period of ten years the number has increased to 52 houses. The increase in the number of houses with the increase in population is but natural.

The Public Works Department is constructing a road from Thal to Millam *via* Tejam and Munsiri and from Bageshwar, Samadhura, Tenam to Millam *via* Munsiri. It is expected to become motorable by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. The economy of the area is bound to undergo a sea-change with the improvement in the means of transport and communication. There is no telegraph office at Munsiri at present. Communications by government departments are made by a police wireless station in the charge of the Sub-divisional Magistrate.

The village is adjacent to the N. E. S. Block headquarters and can therefore avail of all the amenities provided by the Planning Department. The Sub-divisional Magistrate is in overall charge of the Development Block. Greater emphasis is being put on the development of the wool industry. Now Munsiri has a Training-cum-Production Centre for imparting training in spinning, carding, weaving and finishing of

wool and its products and a Tailoring-cum-Hosiery Centre for giving similar training in tailoring and hosiery. Facilities for adult female education and education in Montessori and Primary classes and up to Intermediate standard exist. Proper medical facilities are also available to the villagers.

The Planning Department has extended its activities in the social, cultural and economic sphere of this village. The A. D. O. (Women), the Gram Sevika and the V. L. W. take active interest in the sanitation, welfare and uplift of the people. The energy of the village folk is being channelised for planning and development work. About 200 saplings of various fruit trees have been planted on about 10 acres of wasteland in the village. The Small Savings Scheme has also been popularised. Chemical fertilisers, insecticides and improved varieties of seeds are obtained by the cultivators through the Block agency. A co-operative credit society of Brijwal Bhotiyas supplies adequate credit to the Brijwals for business and trade. The village has no problem of drinking water supply unlike so many other villages in the hills.

The price level in the village was quite high due to the inaccessibility of the area. With the posting of a large number of government servants at Munsiri in 1959 and after, the prices have gone up further, the logic of the local shopkeepers being that government servant get adequate border allowance and with this increased paying capacity they should not grudge making higher payments. Business and shopkeeping have thus become very profitable and hence this profession is attracting from other vocations especially the trade with Tibet which has become quite risky and hazardous. During the last 3 years a number of new shops have been opened to cater to the needs of the increased population of Munsiri.

There is no problem of unemployment in the village. With the intensification of development work, fresh openings of employment have appeared. Labourers are employed on road and building construction

and demand for porters has gone up due to military and P. A. C. movements. Wages have soared up because of increased demand and limited supply of labour. New buildings are under construction at Munsiri and its vicinity for accommodating the increased population. Rent of buildings has naturally gone up.

As a result of social intercourse with the educated and outsiders, a slight change in the way of life of the local population is also visible. The change in the dress especially of the Bhotiya females is evident. People have almost stopped worshipping deities to fight away disease and epidemic. Instead, they come to the hospital for treatment. Socially, the relations between the three communities found in the village are harmonious. The only disability suffered by the Shilpkars is that the caste Hindus do not take water or food touched by their hands. Strictly speaking, this disability is no disability because even among the caste Hindus themselves some orthodox high castes do not accept food or water touched by others and within the sub-castes of Shilpkars too such disability exists. This disability does not cause them any hindrance in day-to-day life.

The Bhotiyas are economically well-to-do. Their standard of living is further going up with the increase in *per capita* income. Every effort is being made for bettering their lot. Politically, they have assumed a strategic importance because of their being a border tribe sitting on the fence. Their loyalty has to be ensured. They are fully aware of the political changes going on and are quite conscious of their importance in the changed circumstances.

As is evident from the above study, the way of life in this village has changed at a quick pace since the establishment of the Uttarakhand Division in 1959. With the further intensification of effort in various directions, the social and economic condition of the village is bound to improve further, thereby bringing greater prosperity, health and happiness to the residents of this distant village lying in the lap of the impenetrable Himalayas.

TABLES

TABLE I

Area, Houses and Population

Area in		Density	No. of Houses	No. of Households	Population		
Acres	Hectares				Persons	Males	Females
162.50	65.3	902 Persons per square mile	48	48	229	115	114

TABLE II

Population by Age-Groups

Total of all ages			0-4		5-9		10-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-44		45-59		60 and above	
Persons	Males	Females	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
229	115	114	14	21	11	14	15	15	13	8	10	8	8	5	9	7	9	17	21	15	5	4

TABLE III

Size and Composition of Households

Total Number of Households	Single Member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10 Members and over		
	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F	Households	M	F
48	4	1	3	9	11	13	25	60	61	10	43	37	..	..	..

TABLE IV
Caste and Nature of Families

Caste	Total Number of Households	Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Bhotiya ..	32	16	4	5	7
Kshatriya ..	8	2	3	2	1
Shilpkar ..	8	4	2	2	..
Total	48	22	9	9	8

N.B.—*Simple* family consists of married couple and unmarried children.

Intermediate family consists of married couple and unmarried brothers or sisters and one of the parents.

Joint family consists of married couple living with married children or married brothers.

Others refers to single members or unmarried brothers and sisters or one parent living with unmarried sons or daughters.

TABLE V
Households classified by Religions, Castes and Sub-castes

Religion	Caste	Sub-caste	Number of households	Number of Persons		
				Persons	Males	Females
Hindu	Bhotiya	Pangti	1	3	1	2
		Brijwal	14	83	44	39
		Martoli	17	64	28	36
	Kshatriya	Mehta	2	11	6	5
		Rana	3	15	10	5
		Pharsuwan	3	16	8	8
	Shilpkar	Lohar	3	14	7	7
		Dholi	5	23	11	12
	Total			48	229	115	114

TABLE VI
Age and Marital Status

Age-groups (Years)	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	229	115	114	57	52	56	50	2	12
0-4	35	14	21	14	21	..	..	..	..
5-9	25	11	14	11	14	..	..	..	..
10-14	30	15	15	15	15	..	..	..	..
15-19	21	13	8	8	2	5	5	..	1
20-24	18	10	8	6	..	4	8	..	..
25-29	13	8	5	3	..	5	5	..	..
30-34	16	9	7	..	..	9	7	..	..
35-39	14	4	10	..	..	4	10	..	..
40-44	12	5	7	..	..	5	7	..	..
45-49	15	9	6	..	..	9	3	..	3
50-54	14	7	7	..	..	6	3	1	4
55-59	7	5	2	..	..	4	1	1	1
60 and over	9	5	4	..	..	5	1	..	3

TABLE VII
Education

Age-groups (Years)	Total Population			Illiterate			Literate with- out educational standard			Primary or Basic			Matric or Higher Secondary			Intermediate		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	229	115	114	150	51	99	34	25	9	41	35	6	2	2	..	2	2	..
0-4	35	14	21	35	14	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5-9	25	11	14	21	10	11	4	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14	30	15	15	20	9	11	4	3	1	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
15-19	21	13	8	11	4	7	2	1	1	7	7	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
20-24	18	10	8	8	2	6	2	1	1	6	5	1	1	1	..	1	1	..
25-29	13	8	5	6	2	4	2	2	..	4	3	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
30-34	16	9	7	6	..	6	4	3	1	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35-39	14	4	10	10	1	9	3	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40-44	12	5	7	7	1	6	4	3	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45-49	15	9	6	6	1	5	6	6	..	3	2	1
50-54	14	7	7	11	4	7	3	3
55-59	7	5	2	4	2	2	2	2	..	1	1
60 and over	9	5	4	5	1	4	1	1	..	3	3

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TABLE VIII

Workers and Non-workers by Sex and Broad Age-groups

Age-groups (Years)	Total Population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	229	115	114	142	71	71	87	44	43
0—14	90	40	50	11	1	10	79	39	40
15—34	68	40	28	64	36	28	4	4	..
35—59	62	30	32	62	30	32	..	..	..
60 and over	9	5	4	5	4	1	4	1	3

TABLE IX

Workers classified by Sex, Broad Age-groups and Occupations

Age-groups (Years)	Weaving		Tailoring		Washer- man		Black- smithy		Cultiva- tion		Agricul- tural labour		Cattle grazing		Retail of consumer goods		Govern- ment service		Other service																				
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F																		
All ages	66	4	62	7	7	..	3	2	1	2	2	..	36	28	8	3	3	..	1	1	..	6	6	..	8	8	..	9	9	..	1	1	..						
0—14	10	10	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—34	27	2	25	5	5	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	18	15	3	2	2	..	1	1	..	2	2	..	1	1	..	6	6	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35—59	26	..	26	2	2	..	2	1	1	1	1	..	16	11	5	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	..	7	7	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and over	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE X

Households by Number of Rooms and by Number of Persons Occupying

Total Number of Households	Total Number of rooms	Total Number of family members	Households with one room		Households with two rooms		Households with three rooms		Households with four rooms	
			No. of households	Total No. of family members	No. of Households	Total No. of family members	No. of Households	Total No. of family members	No. of Households	Total No. of family members
48	97	229	13	48	25	116	6	42	4	23

TABLES.

TABLE XI

Livestock

Caste	Milch Cattle		Draught Animals		Goats and Sheep		Horses		Hens		Cows Dry		Buffaloes	
	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.
Bhotiya	12	15	10	18	11	257	2	2	2	17	22	45		
Kshatriya	5	8	8	18	1	3	..	..	..	..	8	29	4	4
Shilpkar	3	3	5	7	..	..	..	..	1	1	3	7	1	2
	20	26	23	43	12	260	2	2	3	18	33	81	5	6

TABLE XII

Agricultural Produce of Cultivation run by the Households and its Disposal

	In Maunds					In rupes						Other Agricultural Crops
	Paddy	Wheat	Barley	Pulses	Vegetables	Chillies	Tobacco	Oilseeds	Fodder	Fruits		
(1) Annual quantity produced	721	527	122	74	2,625	90	112	152	1,950	236	3,580	
(2) Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households	600	456	122	74	1,000	90	112	152	1,950	130	2,000	
(3) Total annual quantity available for sale	121	71	..	..	1,625	..	..	..	..	86	1,580

TABLE XIII

Indebtedness by Income Groups

Income Group	Number of households	Number of households in debt	Percentage of col. 3 to col. 2	Average indebtedness per household in debt	Total debt	
Rs.25 and below	
Rs.26—50	
Rs.51—75	6	3	133.33	400
Rs.76—100	7	4	287.50	1,150
Rs.101 and above	33	14	421.79	5,905
Total	..	48	21	44	355	7,455

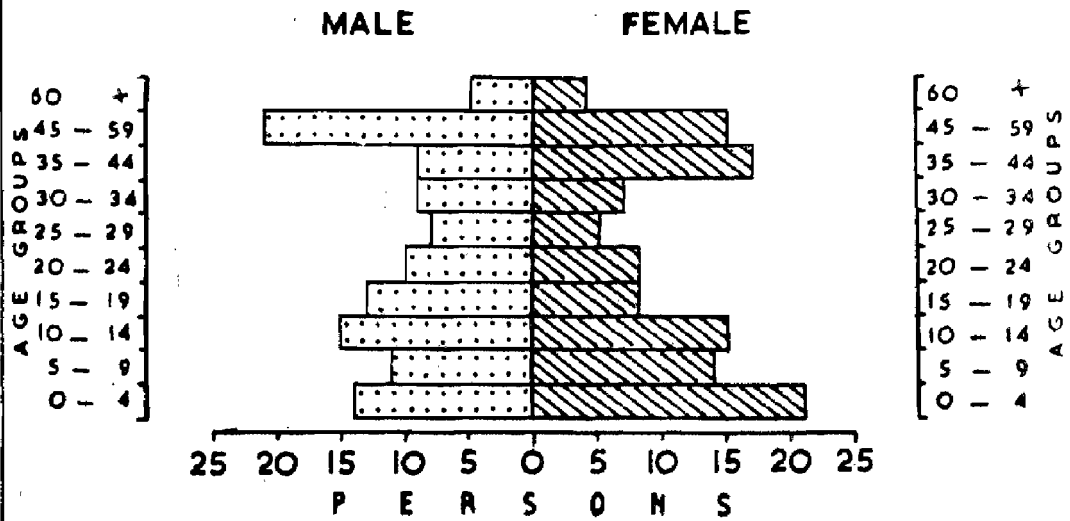
TABLE XIV

Indebtedness by Causes

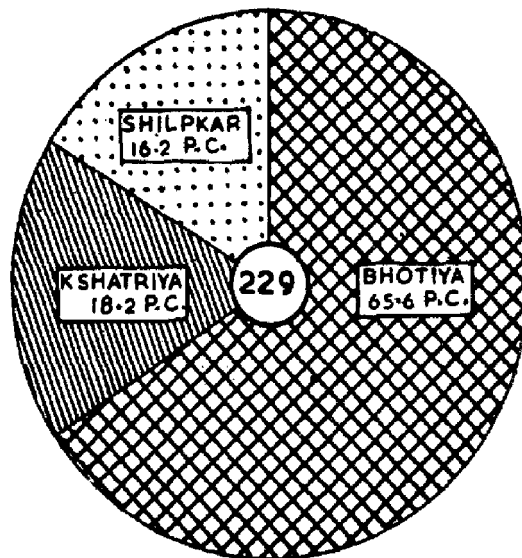
Cause of debt	Amount	Number	Percentage
	of debt	of families	of debt due
	Rs.	in debt	to cause to
			the total
			amount of
			debt
	Rs.		Rs.
(a) Purchase of land .. .. .	..	..	..
(b) House construction or repairs to existing building .. .. .	..	..	..
(c) Marriages	2,000	4	26
(d) Funerals .. .. .	..	..	..
(e) To give dowry .. .. .	..	..	..
(f) To clear outstanding debts .. .. .	..	..	..
(g) Sickness .. .. .	..	..	..
(h) Ordinary wants	1,475	6	20
(i) Household cultivation	1,200	3	16
(j) Industry run by the household	200	1	3
(k) Business run by the house	1,480	4	21
(l) Trade	600	1	7
(m) Litigation	500	2	7
Total	7,455	21	100

Ghorpatta Malla
IN
Diagrams

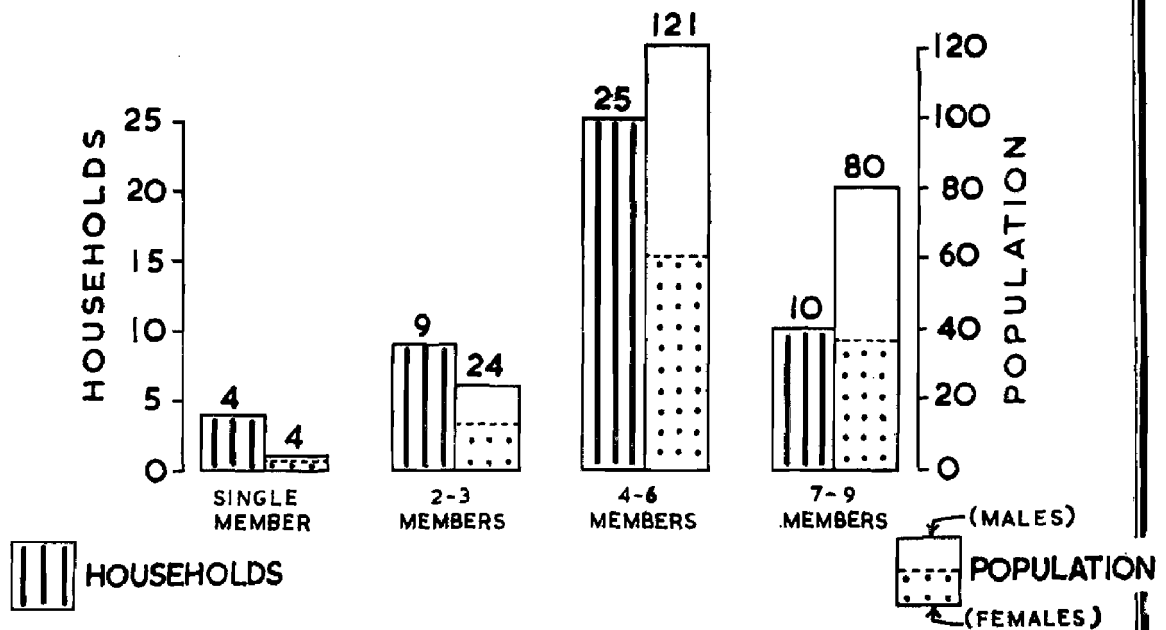
POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS



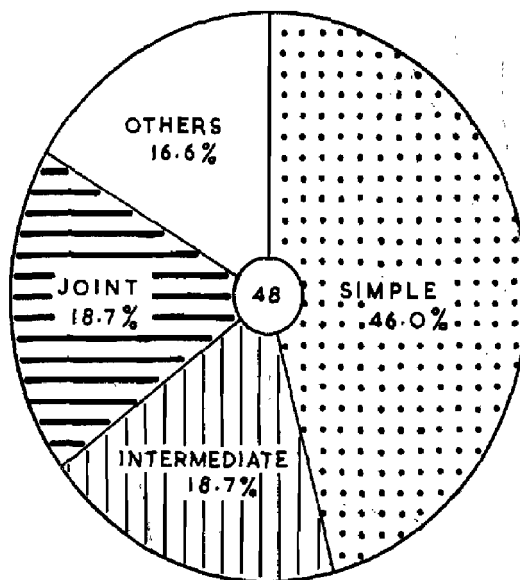
POPULATION BY CASTE



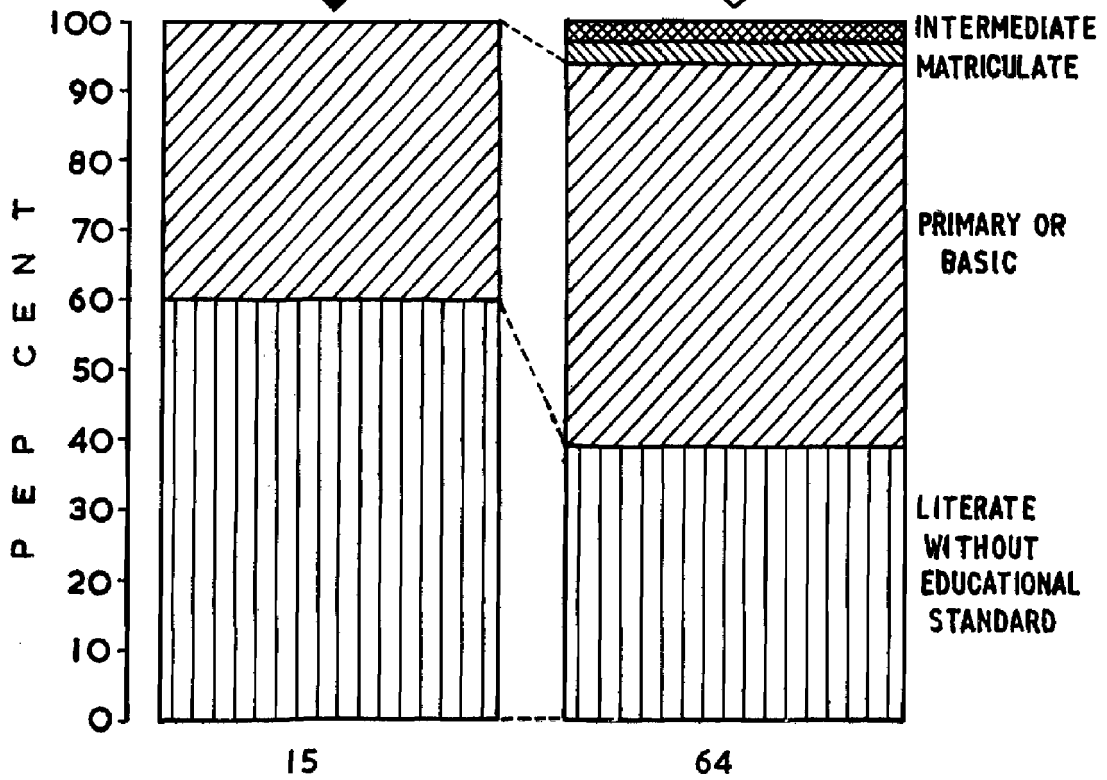
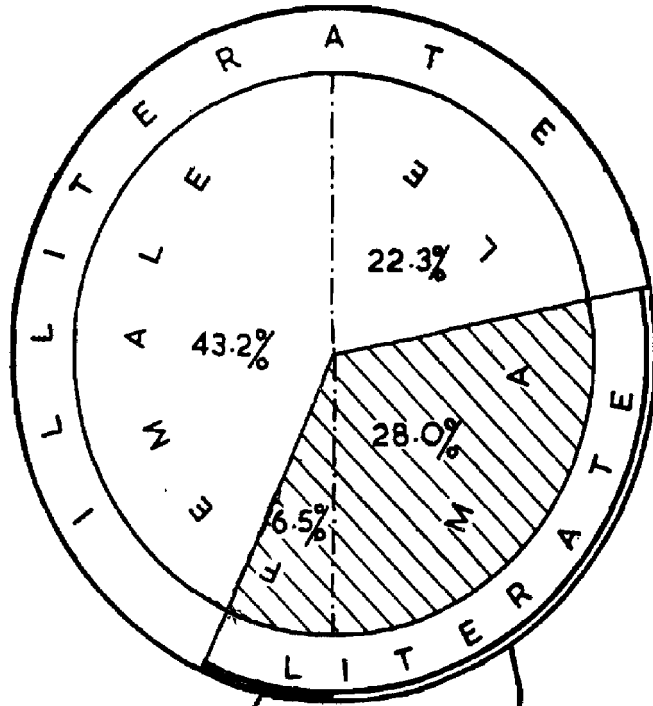
SIZE & COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS



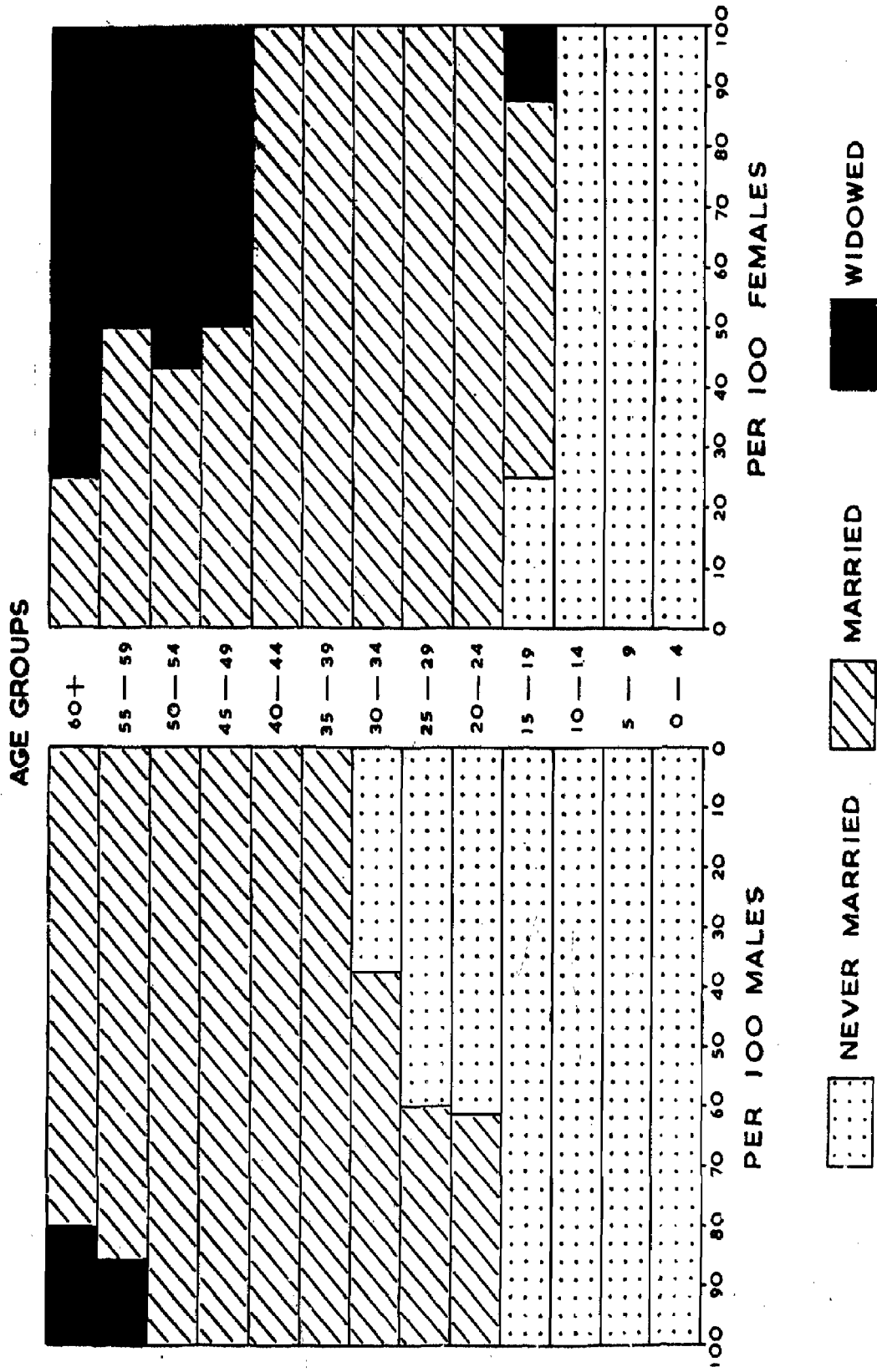
NATURE OF FAMILIES



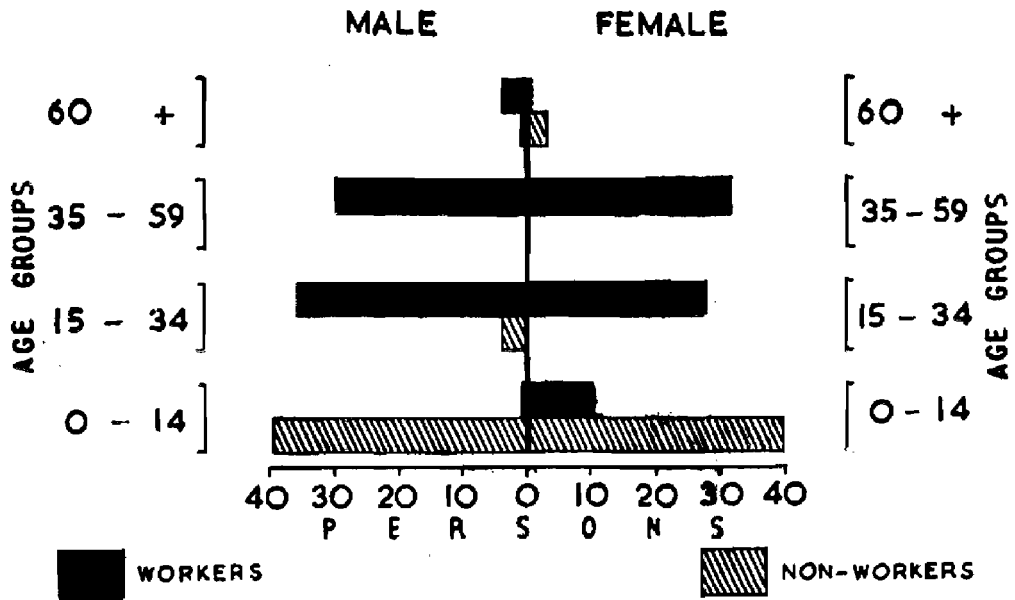
EDUCATION



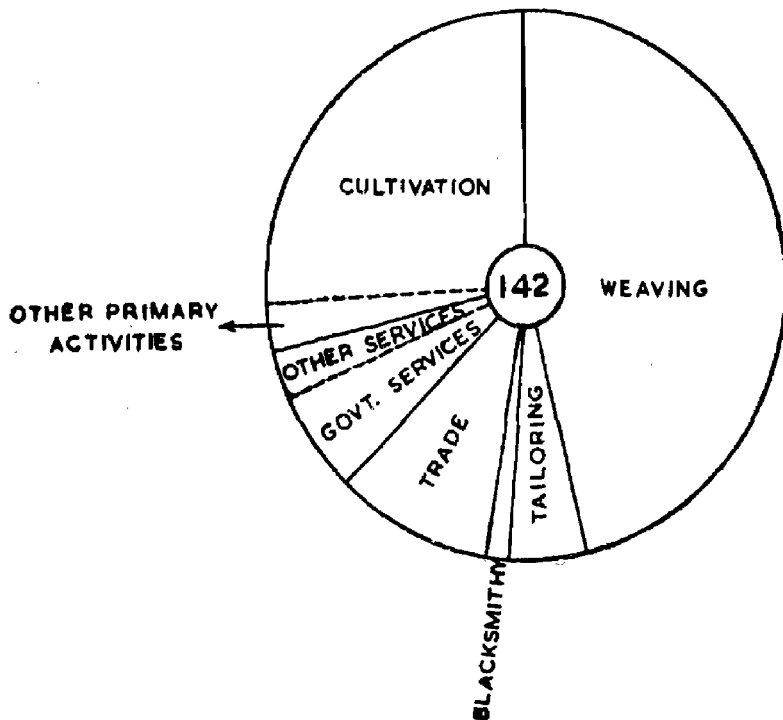
MARITAL STATUS BY SEX & AGE GROUPS



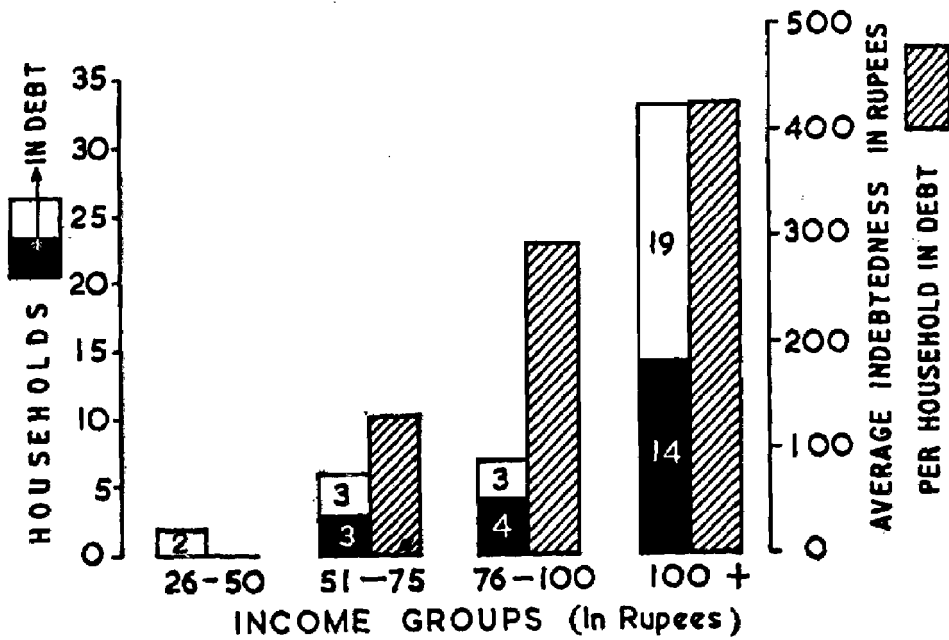
WORKERS & NON-WORKERS



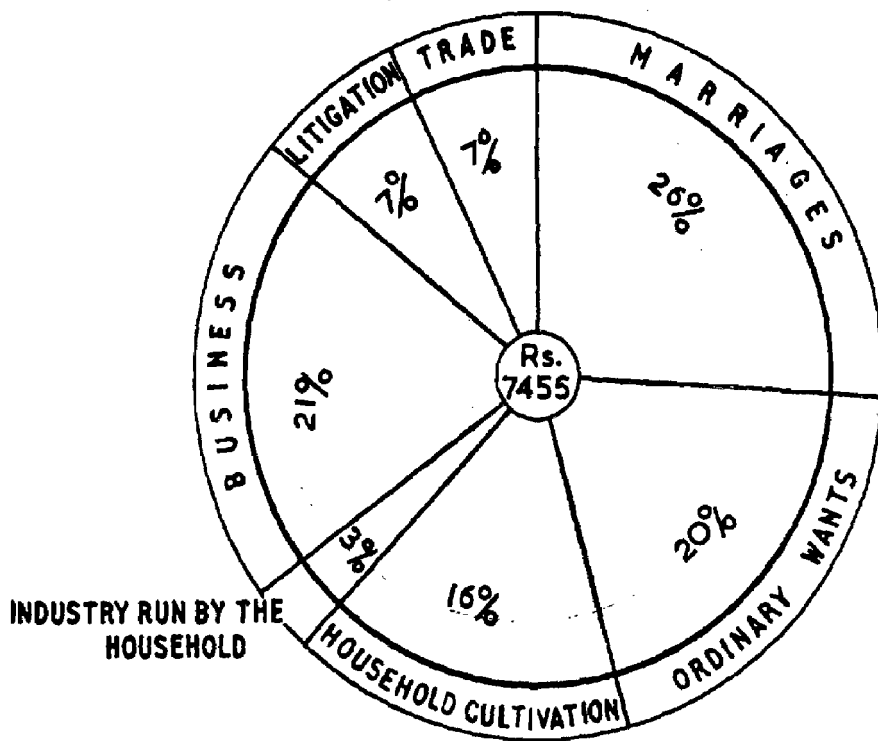
OCCUPATIONS



INDEBTEDNESS BY INCOME GROUPS



INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES



LIST OF VILLAGES SELECTED FOR STUDY IN UTTAR PRADESH

District	Tahsil	Village
1. Uttarkashi	Dunda	Birpur
2. Pithoragarh	Munsiari	Ghorpatta Malla Darkot
3. Garhwal	Pauri	Thapli
4. Almora	Ranikhet	Bijepur
5. Bijnor	Bijnor	Rafinagar <i>urf</i> Raoli Mughalpura
6. Budaun	Bisauli Budaun	Mirzapur Behta Kachla Pukhta
7. Bareilly	Nawabganj	Adhkata Rabbani Begum Barkhan
8. Pilibhit	Bisalpur	Daulatpur Hira
9. Dehra Dun	Chakrata	Dhaura Chapnu Sarari
10. Saharanpur	Deoband	Sadharansar Bilaspur
11. Aligarh	Atrauli	Barauli
12. Mathura	Sadabad	Nagla Beru
13. Agra	Kheragarh Etmadpur Bah	Beri Chahar Chawli Pidhaura
14. Etah	Jalesar	Baghai
15. Etawah	Etawah Auraiya	Udi Ayana
16. Kanpur	Kanpur	Ishuriganj
17. Allahabad	Soraon Phulpur	Sarai Kesho <i>urf</i> Bagi Kalyanpur Bhadkar Uparhar
18. Hamirpur	Rath	Qasba Khera
19. Banda	Naraini	Akbarpur
20. Kheri	Nighasan	Belapersua Bankati Lodhauri Rakehti
21. Sitapur	Biswan	Kanduni
22. Gonda	Balrampur	Saganagar Domri Rajderwa Tharu
23. Bara Banki	Nawabganj	Gadia Dadra

District	Tahsil	Village
24. Sultanpur	Sultanpur	Barasin
25. Azamgarh	Phulpur	Sumbhadih Surhan Pakri Buzurg
26. Ghazipur	Ghosi	Para
27. Varanasi	Ghazipur	Lohta Mehndiganj
28. Mirzapur	Robertsganj	Mitapur Gidhia Parsoi