

**SOCIAL CHANGE IN BALUTA SYSTEM IN  
SOME OF THE SELECTED VILLAGES OF  
SATARA DISTRICT**

*A Thesis*

*submitted to the Maharashtra Agricultural University*

*By*

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

India is an agricultural country where agriculture is an industry of great national importance. The majority of the population depends on the fruits of the good earth for its livelihood. Indian farmers, in general, unlike their counterparts in other countries, are the poorest of the lot. Agricultural out-put in India fluctuates according to the vagaries of the nature. The natural hazards of farming in India are well-known. (The Indian farmer is assisted by the number of localised village artisans (caste groups) in running the agricultural occupation which is the basic industry of the rural India. These localised caste groups in villages have a traditional association with the farmers and occupy a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Most of the village castes are - artisans and traditionally associated with such functions which serve the needs of farmers as well as of other village population and for which return is a payment in kind at the time of the annual harvest. This system is known as "Baluta system"). The services and duties which the Balutedars perform for farmers and payments received by them are traditionally regulated by a socio-economic system known as "Baluta system". It is known as a Jajmani system in Northern India.

The cultivators and Balutedars are interacting, inter-dependent and mutually assisting as well as mutually adjustable.

In the face of co-operation and co-ordination among them, they contribute their share towards building up of the village - economy.

There was harmony and decorum among the villagers. The mutual trust between the farmers and Balutedars was significant factor in effective working of the system. The Balutedars used to be busy with their entrusted duties throughout the year with varying proportion. (During the sowing and harvesting seasons these artisans have got to devote their nights and days together just to respond to the pressing needs of the farmers. In return for their services the farmers were handing some share of their harvest in proportion to their work and yield of the crop. This compensation was characterised by the bargain.

Much of the credit of evolving this system goes to the caste, the structure of which is fundamentally a labour - structure, a system of inter-related services originating in specialized groups and traditionalized in a religious matrix.

(During the British rule and particularly after independence the changes that were brought about in the means of communications, educational facilities and administrative laws, have affected this institution to a great extent. The work done by saints and social reformers during this period should also be taken into account while explaining its present degenerated - stage. More than anything else, the competitive economy brought by these people undermined the functional basis of Baluta system.)

Hindu reformers failed to make any head way against the caste system which gave rise to Baluta system because it was rooted in the economy of India and only a change in the economy could bring about a change in the social structure.<sup>1</sup> The economic system was stabilized at a low level based upon more or less self sufficient village economy which combined agriculture and handi-crafts. Production was on a small scale and for consumption rather than for exchange. Everything moved in well worn grooves fixed by custom. It was precapitalist economy - whose static quality could have been altered only by expanding a dynamic market for exchange of commodities. It is clear that the localized economy is one of the major pillars of the caste structure which is based upon division of labour.

( Sub-divided and fragmented holdings, which is a peculiar characteristic of Indian agriculture, had to bear rapidly - increasing burden of population. Our food production is not able to keep pace with this increasing population. At the same time, needs of the rural population are slowly increasing. Due to low agricultural production, farmers do not afford to pay satisfactory remuneration to the Balutedars and as a result they are not getting adequate income from their traditional occupations to maintain their families.) Naturally, Balutedars are forced by the circumstances to migrate to the towns and - cities in search of employment. Not only artisans are migrating,

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1. Bose, N.K. Ed. Selection from Gandhi, Ahamdabad Navajivan, p. 234.

but several members from the cultivator families are also migrating to the cities. These tendencies and movements have worsened the economic structure of the village community. - This has also resulted into the disintegration of the rural life in general and the Baluta system in particular. This has affected directly and indirectly the agricultural production and the village life has been disturbed.

As Cox points out, "Still we find the traces of that system in Indian village under the name 'Hajmani system' or 'Balutedari system'. The chief economic significance of the system is that, it fixes absolutely the supply of any kind of labour, the scope given for competition thus becomes limited and consequently the law of demand and supply is rendered inoperative or oppressive in its operation.<sup>2</sup> When any change takes place in economic world the labour is unable to adjust itself. Wages and prices have very often to be regulated by custom or some other artificial measures.

(Balutedars form the bulk of the non-agricultural population in the village. The Balutedars have played vital role for the by-gone decades. A few decades ago, the village - community was a compact one and the village life was smooth and was characterised by the high degree of integrity and so also self-sufficiency. However, many changes have taken place

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2. Cox, O.C. - Caste, Class and Race, New York: Doubleday , 1958, p.62.

in recent years in their hereditary occupation. There is an utter stagnancy in the village economy, resulting in many unwanted problematic conditions. The deterioration in the economic structure is so vigorous that the system is on way to be wounded up at many phases or dwindling. This has bearing on social structure of village community. The social and economic integrity becomes more and more loose by the passage of time.)

#### Purpose of the Study

There is a sufficient reason to believe that so called static economy of our villages and of the caste structure have for a considerable period been affected by a more dynamic economy along with other factors of change described above. Balutedars are mostly the village artisans and they play the vital role in village life by performing certain services - according to their hereditary occupation but they are not able to find full time employment within the village. As also due to the vagaries of nature there has been uncertainty in agricultural production. Further, due to increasing pressure of population the small holdings do not keep sufficient margin to the cultivators. As a result people from rural areas are migrating to the cities and towns in search of employment disintegrating the Baluta system in particular and village social system in general. This has a great influence on the agricultural production. How far these factors of change have made head-way in

degenerating this age old system and effecting social, economic and political changes, is certainly a topic of an interesting study.

Various Balutedars in villages of Maharashtra were once back-bone of the agricultural production. Baluta system as a whole was playing very effective role in the village. Any study of such a social system, therefore, will add substantially to this factual information.

It was, therefore, intended to study Baluta system which is based on the institution of caste- with a view to find out the social changes in Baluta system in respect of its position and role in rural society and causes of its deterioration. To put it briefly, it is intended to test the hypothesis that, the old Baluta system in rural Maharashtra has undergone a social change in respect of the traditional occupation, economic condition and social status of the Balutedars.

The precise objectives of the study are :

(1) To study the present position of the Balutedars with their characteristics to asses personal and family background.

(2) To study the causes which have led to the deterioration of the Baluta system.

(3) To study their opinions and attitudes regarding their traditional occupation.

(4) To study socio-economic status of the Balutedars.

Scope of the Study

The present study is an attempt to bring out some factual information regarding the present positional, occupational and other diversities of Balutedar system. The information may in a way, be a little addition to the every day - expanding knowledge about the rural life in India.

The subjects for this study were chosen from the Balutedar castes in the Patan taluka of Satara district in Maharashtra State. It is, therefore, imperative that the generalisations reached in this study are limited to that region only. The application of the findings on a wider scale may not necessarily be correct in view of the wider variations offered by environmental, economic, social and other factors all along the length and breadth of the country.

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## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Baluta system is fundamentally based on the caste system. Caste is such a remarkable feature of Indian Society that it never fails to attract attention of every-body. A brief review of the available literature on the subject is taken in this Chapter. For the sake of convenience the review has been given under the following heads :

- (a) General
- (b) Caste hierarchy.
- (c) Classification of Balutedars.
- (d) Education.
- (e) Occupation and income.
- (f) Baluta payment.
- (g) Changes in the caste occupation.

(a) General :

A sociologist would define caste as a hereditary, endogenous, usually localised group having a traditional association with an occupation and particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Shrinivas<sup>1</sup> points out that the varna model has been the cause of misinterpretation of the realities of the caste system. A point that has emerged from recent field

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1. Shrinivas, M.N. Caste in Modern India. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, PP. 63, 64, 67.

research is that the position of a caste in the hierarchy is nebulous here and there and that caste are mobile over a period of time but the hierarchy is also to some extent - local. The varna scheme offers a perfect contrast to this picture.

Desai<sup>2</sup> observed that caste determined the functioning status, the available opportunities as well as the handicaps for an individual. Caste differences even determined the - differences in the modes of domestic and social life, type of houses and cultural patterns of the people, which were found in the rural area. Even land ownership existed frequently on caste lines. Due to number of reasons, administrative - functions had also been divided according to castes, especially in the rural area. Caste has further determined the pattern of complicated religious and secular culture of people.

The ideas about the necessary complement of hereditary servants are known to have been nebulous even in the beginning of the 19th century when old system and the scheme of village life was more or less intact. The wonder of wonder is that the 'Baluta system' has continued to exist even to the extent revealed by our investigation. This is in some measure due to the caste system. To the extent that the 'Baluta system' fitted in which the old world technology of production and system of communication, its support is dwindling and without being a

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2. Desai, A.R. Rural Sociology in India. The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, Bombay, 1961.

prophet one may conclude that it will soon disappear, not without leaving a void.<sup>3</sup>

Orenstein<sup>4</sup> observed in his study of a village in Maharashtra that one of the most important factors which helped to bring about village unity was the traditional economy, the Baluta system. The system consisted of the provision of stipulated goods and services by villagers for other villagers. They defined goods and services which were given in whatever amounts were needed and were paid for at a constant rate, a rough percentage of the crop when it was harvested, irrespective of year-to-year variations in the amount of goods and services received. He further observed that there were twelve groups operating in the Baluta system - "para balutedar". In fact this was customary number used in connection with Balutedars. In some villages there are more than twelve and in some others less.

Mann<sup>5</sup> observed that most of the village servants are still to be found in the village working for the people and termed as Balutedars and the system prevailing called as Baluta

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3. Ghurye, G.S. After a century and a quarter (Lonikand then and now). Popular Book Depot. Lamington Road, Bombay 7, 1960. pp. XXXIX- XL.
4. Orenstein Henry, GAON (Conflict and Cohesion in an Indian village). Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1965, p. 204.
5. Mann, Harold H. and N.V. Kanitkar. Land and Labour in a Deccan Village. Humphre Milford, Oxford University Press, London, Bombay; 1921, pp. 57, 107.

system. In accordance with the system prevailing throughout the Deccan, all the non-Maratha population except the Marwari consist of those who are in a more or less in a complete sense - village servants, who are entitled to some share in the crops grown for services rendered to the people of the village.

Ghurye<sup>6</sup> in his study of Lonikand village in Poona Dist., has stated that the old system of providing technical and - special services for the efficient running of village life - through hereditary officers and servants with their rent free land and seasonal and occasional right of perquisites in kind was dependent on a number of hereditary officers and hereditary servants. These were variously named in the different parts of the country. Whereas they were known as "Balutas" and termed in a slightly modified form as "Baluta" occurs in the 13th century. In Punjab, we understand they are termed, 'Lagis'. The existence of these hereditary servants is found in the 11th to the 15th century inscription of south India. 'Kanachigaras, Panimakkal or 'Gramaparikara'. The last term is compounded of two Sanskrit words 'Grama' meaning village 'Parikara, meaning retinue and thus significantly expressive.

The traditional 'Bara balute', twelve hereditary - officials and servants, were noted by many before this and Grand Duff stated that the complete village establishment consisted of besides Patel, Kulkarni and Chaugule twenty four persons called the Bara Balutay and Bara Alowtay.

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6. Op.cit. pp. XXVIII - XXIX

Both Grand Duff and Goodine have listed the 24 artisans and craftsmen and officers - headman, accountant, black-smith, carpenter, potter, washerman, barber, watchman and crops guard. Appadarai adds priest, astrologer, doctor and goldsmith to his list as being "not so common". We may conclude that the usual number of hereditary servants in a village is not definite.

Beidelman<sup>7</sup> in his comparative analysis of the Jajmani system mentioned that the services, duties and payments which the various castes performed for one another were regulated by a socio-economic system known as the Jajmani system. He has approached the problem by analyzing the Jajmani system in terms of the two participants of the system, the Jajman and Kamin. The Jajman being the participant receiving certain services, the Kamin the one rendering these services. He has considered the means available to the Kamin and Jajman for asserting and maintaining roles.

Thus caste fundamentally determines the functional basis in the villages of Maharashtra. Therefore, it will be interesting to go through the observations made by various writers about social, educational, occupational and economic life of such castes and Balutedars.

(b) Caste Hierarchy :

Any society must distribute its individuals in the

7. Beidleman Thomas G. A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmani System. Augustin Incorporated, Locust Valley, New York, p.1.

positions of its social structure and induce them to perform the duties as per their position. Mujumdar<sup>8</sup> gave hierarchial grouping of the fifteen castes in village Mohana as below :

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<b>(A) Brahmin</b>	<b>Thakur</b>
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<b>(B) Ahir</b>	<b>Kurmi</b>
	<b>Gdaria</b>
<b>Lohar</b>	<b>Barhai</b>
	<b>Kumbhar</b>
	<b>Nai</b>
	<b>Kathik</b>
	<b>Kalwar</b>

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<b>(C) Parsi</b>	<b>Dhobi</b>
	<b>Chamar</b>
	<b>Bhaksor</b>

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Dube<sup>9</sup> stated that the organization of the Hindu castes and their relative positions in the traditional hierarchy - require a detailed and careful examination. From the point of

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8. Mujumdar, D.N. 'Caste and Communication in an Indian Village'.

Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1958, p.20.

9. Dube, S.C. 'Indian Village'. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London, 1956, pp.36-37.

view of caste superiority the different castes in Shamipet in Andhra Pradesh may be grouped in the following order :

Brahmin (Priests)

Kontli  
(Traders)

Occupational Castes

<u>Agriculturists,</u>	<u>workers</u>	<u>and</u>	<u>Labourers</u>
Kapu-Reddi (Agriculturists)	Kummari (Potters)		Golla (Shephards)
	Kapu-Muttarasi (Agriculturists)		
Sale (Weavers)			Gaondla (Toddy-tappers)
Sakali (Washermen)			Mangali (Barbers)
Vadar (Stone workers)	Erkala (Hunter and Mat Makers)		Pichlaa- Kuntla (Minstrels narrat- ing caste and clan legends)

Untouchable castes

Mala  
Madiga

Orenstein<sup>10</sup> ranked the castes in the village (Gaon) in Maharashtra State, based both on general caste ratings by - informants and assertions made by large numbers of particular individuals as to the castes with which they would not interdine and which were in other respects polluting to them. This is

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10. Orenstein Henry, op.cit. pp. 137-149.

given in the following chart. The numbering within each group gives the order within that group.

Chart : Caste rank in Gaon (Village).

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I. <u>Brahman</u>	III. <u>Low castes</u>
II. <u>High castes</u>	A) Muslim
1. (a) Maratha	Washerman
(b) Temple priest	Watchman
2. Goldsmith	B) Basket-maker.
3. Potter; Rajput;	IV. <u>Untouchables</u>
Water carrier	1. Leather worker
4. Barber	2. Scavenger
5. Blacksmith	3. Rope-maker

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Karve and Dandekar<sup>11</sup> made grouping of castes based on the function and status of the caste prevailing in the Maharashtra which is given in following chart.

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11. Karve, Irawati and Dandekar, V.M. Anthropometric Measurements of Maharashtra. Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, 1951, pp.16-18.

Group I

All Brahmins

Group II - Artisans

A. Goldsmith.

Coppersmith.

B. Tailor

Weaver

Dyer

Oilpresser (Teli)

Bhandari

C. Barber

Washerman

Burud

Gurav

Group III

A. Agriculturists

B. Market Gardeners

Phulmalis.

C. Primitive agriculturists

Kunbi

Koli

Group IV

Mang

Mahar

Chambhar

Group V - FishermenGroup VI (Primitive people or

Dependent hunters)

Bhil, Varli, Malhar Koli,

Thakur, Gond, etc.

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Shrinivas<sup>12</sup> stated that the position which each caste occupies in the local hierarchy is frequently not clear. It is true, however, that in most areas of the country Brahmins are placed at the top and the untouchables at the bottom, and most people know who are the Brahmins and who the untouchables.

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12. Shrinivas, M.N. 'Caste in Modern India'. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, p.66.

(c) Classification of Balutedars :

( In some of the past studies, research workers have observed certain classes of Balutedars on the basis of the role of their traditional occupations in agriculture and in a village life. Three classes or lines of Balutedars are given by Atre.<sup>13</sup> They are - (1) First-line, (2) Second line and (3) Third line. Sutar, Lohar, Chambhar and Mahar are supposed to be more essential Balutedars and hence they are included in the 'first line'; Kumbhar, Mang, Parit and Nhavi had got secondary importance and are placed in the 'second line' while Brahmin, Joshi, Mulana, Gurao, Koli and others are least essential in agriculture and were grouped in a - 'third line'. )

Sapre<sup>14</sup> found that there were only 19 types of Balutedars in a village Kasbe Sukene in Nasik District during 1939-40. All of them were not artisans. In fact these - Balutedars could be classied as -

- (1) Those who were skilled artisans like carpenters, cobblers and ~~the~~ potters.
- (2) Those who offered specialized services like ~~the~~ barbers and ~~the~~ washerman, ~~the~~ entertainers and
- (3) Those who assisted the village administrative - officers.

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13. Atre, T.N. 'Gaon Gada'. H.V.Mote Prakashan, Bombay, 1959, p.31.

14. Op.cit. p.23.

This last class had miscellaneous revenue and police duties to perform and consisted Mahars, Koli (Jaglya), etc.

(d) Education :

It is well known that ideas of untouchability and pollution prevented many lower castes from attending schools. There used to be a separate seating arrangement for low caste children in the school. Though conditions are changed now this has resulted in differentiation in educational achievements of higher and lower castes. Lewis<sup>15</sup> observed in his study of North Indian village that the conditions had changed. Children of all castes attended school and there was no discrimination or segregation in seating arrangements.

Higher castes still dominate the lower castes in respect of educational achievements, but there are winds of change. The competition is steadily increasing. Sivertson<sup>16</sup> observed in his study of South Indian village that formerly only Brahmins were educationally qualified for salaried jobs, but now many non-Brahmins too have received education and are qualified to compete with Brahmins for salaried employment. He

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15. Lewis, Oscar. "Peasant Culture in India and Mexico: A comparative analysis". Village India- Ed. by Makin Marriott. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1955, p. 151.
16. Sivertson, D. When caste Barriers Fall. Universitets Forlaget, George Allen & Unwin Ltd Norway - 1963, p. 53.

has reported the educational difference between castes by dividing them into four groups.

Table 'A' : Educational Differences between Castes.

Sr. No.:	Name of the group	Education			Total
		None	Primary	Middle or Higher	
1.	Brahmin	21	17	14	52
2.	Herdsmen	25	13	5	43
3.	Infantry	323	69	1	393
4.	Palli Infantry	76	16	1	93

The table 'A' shows very low proportion of individuals from Non-Brahmin castes in middle or higher educational category.

Mujumdar<sup>17</sup> is of the opinion that low caste boy receives better training for life than the high caste boy. In the school, it is seen that the low caste boys are more competent because they are hard working. Further, he states that low caste children though intelligent and hard working, suffer from an inferiority complex and though they play with the caste children and gull exist between the two groups.

17. Mujumdar, D.N. Caste and Communication in an Indian Village.  
Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1958, p.79.

Desai<sup>18</sup> is, however, of the view that caste largely determines the attitude of rural man towards education and even fixed nature of education he intends to receive.

Chauhan<sup>19</sup> stated that agriculturist needed the services of other castes for obtaining producer's goods and consumer's good, the former assisting the process of production of wealth and latter facilitating the normal domestic needs of the cultivators. Agriculturist as producers had more or less similar needs. They got fulfilled by the artisans and the servers. As consumers, however, the agriculturist did not belong to a single homogenous group. Their consumption patterns varied from caste to caste and from one economy to the other as such there were greater variation among services rendered by artisans and servers to their Jajmans as final consumers of their services than to the Jajmans as producers. Further, he had mentioned the functions of all artisan castes and other castes in the village. The traditional occupation of those different castes were same as they are found in Maharashtra. (He found that, Sutar, Lohar, Chamar, Kumbhar, Darzi, Nai, Bhangi, Dhobi, and Khatik were the important artisans and menials who rendered their services for the farmers on payment in kind at the time of harvesting.)

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18. Desai, A.R. Rural India in Transition. Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1961, p. 27.

19. Chauhan, Brij Raj. A Rajstani Village. Vir Publishing House, New Delhi, pp. 93-97.

Karve<sup>20</sup> reported that the 'Harijan' (untouchable) castes in rural area were mostly working as unskilled farm labourers which formed their main occupation. However, income from this was not sufficient due to seasonal work on the fields. This forced them to migrate to cities and seek employment during off season.

Dube<sup>21</sup> observed that, in the past few decades the occupational characteristics of caste had undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupation people had started accepting other vocations.

Offering his view on the study of a Tanjore Village Kumbhpetti Gough<sup>22</sup> said that Brahmin owned 2/3rd of land and their comparative wealth and traditions of scholarship would give them advantage over the other castes.

Mathur<sup>23</sup> observed in his study of Malva village that every caste was traditionally associated with certain occupation which was considered to be the traditional occupation of the caste. Most of the recent writers on caste in India have

20. Karve, Irawati. Hindu Society : An Interpretation. Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1961, pp. 156, 157.

21. Dube, S.C. Indian Villages. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London, 1955, p.7.

22. Gough, Kathelen. Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylone and North West Pakistan. Ed. by Leach E.R. Cambridge University Press, 1960, p.38.

23. Mathur, K.S. Caste and Ritual in Malva Village. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966.

recognised this caste occupation link.

Lewis and Barnaum<sup>24</sup> studied Jajmani system and reported that 150 households in Rampura village having 12 caste - groups interrelated by the co-operative economic system. 78 Jats, 15 Brahmins, 20 Camars, 10 Bhangis, 7 Kumbhars, 5 Jhinwars (water carrier), 4 Dhobis, 4 Khatis (carpenter), 3 Nais, 2 Chapris (Calica printa), 1 Lohar and 1 Baniya. The authors studied these castes with reference to their interrelationship, type of services offered and rights earned as a result of the services rendered. The traditional system of caste, interdependence under which certain artisans and occupational castes - attach themselves to the families of agriculturist was still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes were showing discontent. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too now gradually breaking down and was giving place to a basis of cash payment. Similar observations were also made by Dube<sup>25</sup> regarding the "Balutedari system".

Rowe<sup>26</sup> observed that many of the basic features of - traditional economy remain to-day despite the various changes

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24. Lewis, Oscar and Barnaum, Victor. The Scientific Monthly , Vol. 83, No.2, Aug. 1956, p.66.

25. Dube, S.C. Indian Village. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London, 1955, p.7.

26. Rowe, W.L. "Changing Rural Class Structure and Jajmani System" Human Organization Vol.22, No.1, 1963, pp.43-44.

that have taken place since world war I. Some artisan farmer relationships were stronger than previously viz. the services of a carpenter. Some other artisans reported to have become less important e.g. the washerman and potter, as the former had rejected to wash the clothes of woman after child birth, the service which he should render as per tradition, and the latter due to introduction of durable and desired type metal vessel.

Traditional occupation which was a significant feature of caste system was to be associated with caste. The skill and knowledge required for the practice of the calling were handed over to the following generations. The common occupation was an important factor in keeping the village community well-knit and united. During the last 500 years most of the persons (Tambat District Nasik) followed the traditional occupation. Of late some of the younger members were braching off taking to teaching, working as clerks, mechanics. But this number was small. Most of them had stuck to their age old occupations. These were observations of Rao.<sup>27</sup>

Chauhan<sup>28</sup> observed in his study that the chamars were not considered efficient and this had lowered their strength

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27. Achary, H. "Caste and family in An Immigrant Artisan Community". Sociological Bulletin, Vol. IV, No.2, Sept. 1955, p.134.

28. Op.cit. p. 95.

in traditional selling. However, he observed that importance of Luhar (Lohar) had increased in the village.

✓ Sapre<sup>29</sup> observed that the fall in the share of Baluta was due to the decline in the number of clients of different Balutedars or due to decline in the average payments. The quantity of Baluta payment was fixed for some important types of Balutedars whereas in the case of others the share was more or less arbitrarily decided depending upon the extent of - services performed and yield.) Carpenter, cobbler, and barber received their share in fixed rate. The payment of carpenter and cobbler was on the basis of bullock holding of the client and in case of barber it was on the basis of the number of - male adults and non-adult persons in the client's family. The following was the traditional rate of payment as reported by the carpenter.

Bullock holding of a client	:	Total Baluta dues from a client
1. Pair of Bullock	:	35 seers of cereals.
2. Pairs of Bullocks	:	66 seers of cereals.
3. Pairs of Bullocks	:	94 seers of cereals.
4 Pairs of Bullocks	:	122 seers of cereals.

29. Sapre, S.G. 'Changes in the Baluta Payments in an - Irrigated Village'. Artha Vijnana, Vol.4, No.3, Sept.1962, p.244.

In case of the Barber the traditional share was 14 seers per adult male and 7 seers per non adult and in case of cobbler it was 30 seers of cereals on a pair of bullocks. Though the share in case of other Balutedars was not fixed the bigger - cultivators paid higher rate than the smaller one. Further he reported that decline in the Baluta payment by the cultivators was more prominent in the case of Balutedars like Washerman , Barber and Muslim. This probably indicates the decline in the importance of the services of these artisans on the Baluta basis. This may be due to various factors. For instance, it may <sup>be</sup> due to less standardized service requirements or preference or better techniques.

✓ Dandekar and Jagtap<sup>30</sup> stated that in the rural area non-agricultural occupations were essential for agriculture and - therefore, they existed in the rural area. Artisans like Sutar, Lohar, Chambhar, etc. were useful for ~~the~~ agriculture; Nhavi , Parit, Kumbhar were useful for household work and Gurao, Mulani, Brahmin, etc. were useful for the religious work of the village community. Hence all the villages should have all these Balutedars and should pay them regularly twice in a year in kind for the services rendered by them. Further he observed that in the Usmanabad district the Sutar Balutedars took their Baluta from

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30. Dandekar, V.M. and Jagtap, M.B. 'Maharashtrachi Gramin

Samaj Rachana, Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics

Poona, 1957, p.48.

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their clients in proportion of the annual production of the farmer. The proportion was 4 to 6 payali for each 20 mounds of farm produce and in addition six payali of groundnuts per 20 mounds. )

(f) Baluta payment :

✓Gadgil and Gadgil<sup>31</sup> noted in their study that the payment made to Balutedars on an average amounted to Rs.14.30 per farm during the year and formed 4.4 per cent of the farm expenses. A number of elements were mixed in this payment. It was a payment for the maintenance and repair of farm equipment, chiefly of tools and implement.) It was, also however, partly payment for certain domestic services and supplies and partly a contribution towards the cost of village administration. In addition a charitable element also, the payment was proportionate to produce and was paid according to scales per crop, fixed - traditionally in each village. It should be noted, however, that variations in these payments may take place, depending <sup>up</sup> on the pertinacity of the Balutedar and the good will of the farmer.

It is also less possible to evade payment in case of crops like jowar, Bajri, Groundnut and Turmeric which were - harvested and prepared at fixed periods in large volume than in case of miscellaneous garden crops, whose produce was gathered

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31. Gadgil, D.R. and V.R. Gadgil. A Survey of Farm Business in Wai Taluka. Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics , Poona, Publication No.7.

in small quantities at more frequent intervals.

Concerning annual Baluta payments, the villagers did not share consciously held and precisely formulated standards. Villagers made generalizations about appropriate payments, but these were often vague, varied from person to person, and were only approximate in fact. Land-owners differed in the proportion of the crop given to each Balutedar. Farmers gave a larger proportion of their crops to the different groups in the proper order.<sup>32</sup>

Dube<sup>33</sup> observed that the extent of both the services and the payment was generally fixed by the tradition and depended very much on the size of the holding which the farmer was cultivating. Further he observed that depending on their status and their financial position people paid something more for the services of these workers at the completion of the ceremony.

Atre<sup>34</sup> also stated that Balutedars extracted more Baluta (payment in kind) from the farmer in proportion to the land holding and work done for the farmers. This payment varied from Balutedar to Balutedar.

32. Orenstein Henry : GAON. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey, 1965, p. 224.

33. Op.cit., p.58.

34. Atre, T.N. 'Gaon Gada'. H.V. Mote Prakashan, Bombay, 1959.

Sapre<sup>35</sup> in his study indicated the over-all average Baluta payment made to different Balutedars by farmers in the year 1939 and 1960 as given in Table 'B'.

Table 'B' : Payment to Balutedars.

Sr. No.:	Balutedar	: Over-all payment in seers (grains)	
		: 1939	: 1960
1.	Rope-maker	10.50	11.26
2.	Potter	12.47	13.44
3.	Washerman	6.02	2.37
4.	Barber	35.00	10.96
5.	Mulani	5.77	2.03
6.	Patkari	26.48	17.87
7.	Carpenter	54.47	56.17
8.	Cobbler	43.52	42.52

*This should have been in terms of 1939*

In the case of Patkari, cobbler, Barber and Mulani, the decline in the Baluta payment was due to the decline in the clients.

(g) Changes in caste occupation :

Tadashi and Tsutomu<sup>36</sup> observed that the traditional

35. Sapre, S.G. "Changes in the Baluta Payments in an Irrigated Village". Artha Vigiana, Vol.4, No.3, Sept.1962, pp.247-248.

36. Tadashi Fukutake, Tsutomu Onchi Chic Nakake. "The Socio-Economic Structure of the Indian Village (Survey of Villages in Gujarat and W.Bengal). The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, Tokyo, Japan, 1964, pp. 13-32, 68.

occupation had lapsed to a great extent. Only the Kumbhars (potters) and the barbers carried on their traditional occupations. However, viewing the situation as whole, the system of traditional caste occupation had broken down and the number of agricultural labourers had increased as these traditional occupations had fallen in decay. Earthen pots are breakable and they are replaced by brass pots. In India where there is high temperature these earthen pots are essential and Kumbhar gets better income. Chamber, <sup>and</sup> Rope-makers did not work in their occupation satisfactorily but they were engaged as day labourers on the fields.

Dube<sup>37</sup> stated that the 'system of to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago.' Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the country-side, and is bringing about change in established pattern of life. 'In former times', said an agriculturist, these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they work satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations become more and more intimate. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They were not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there was difficulty.

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37. Dube, S.C. Indian Village. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

London E.C. 4, 1956, p.61.

However, the system still continued more or less in its established traditional form. Urban contacts, educational attraction of something better may distract a young man causing him to refuse to keep the traditional work of his father.

Theoretically each caste is restricted to certain duties, population increase has caused an ever increasing excess of labour in many artisan castes. The lower castes had been displaced from many trades due to the appearance of foreign manufactured goods. However, the East India Company Gazetteer of 1920 remarked that even then many did not follow their caste occupation.<sup>38</sup> Russel stated that in this fewer than one seventh of the chamars were leather workers.<sup>39</sup> Briggs strongly stresses the Chambar's role as agricultural labourers rather than as leather workers.<sup>40</sup>

Thomas<sup>41</sup> stated that the excess workers had turned to agriculture. The chamars were chiefly a caste of agricultural labourers rather than leather workers and scavengers. Some performed such occupational duties but their caste was no longer defined simply by its occupation.

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38. East India Company Gazetteer, Vol.1, p. 208, 1920.

39. Russel, R.V. "The tribes and castes of central provinces", Vol.2, p.406, 1916. McMillan & Co., London.

40. Briggs, G.W. The Chamars. Association Press, Calcutta, 1920, p.52.

41. Thomas, O.B. A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmani system. J.J.Augustin Incorporated Publisher, Logust Valley, New York, 1959.

✓ Orenstein<sup>42</sup> observed that the Baluta system was in the process of declining. This was not only because of the new residents, but also because of other innovations. People had more cash than they had had in the past and were able to purchase things in market without difficulty. Balutedars were slow and unpredictable and people were more time conscious. The increase in the prices of grain during World War II had resulted in many land-owners selling much of their produce and giving less Baluta. The Baluta system remained stronger in 1954 than at present.

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42. Op.cit. p.273.

Chapter Opener Page

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD OF STUDY

#### Location of the site :

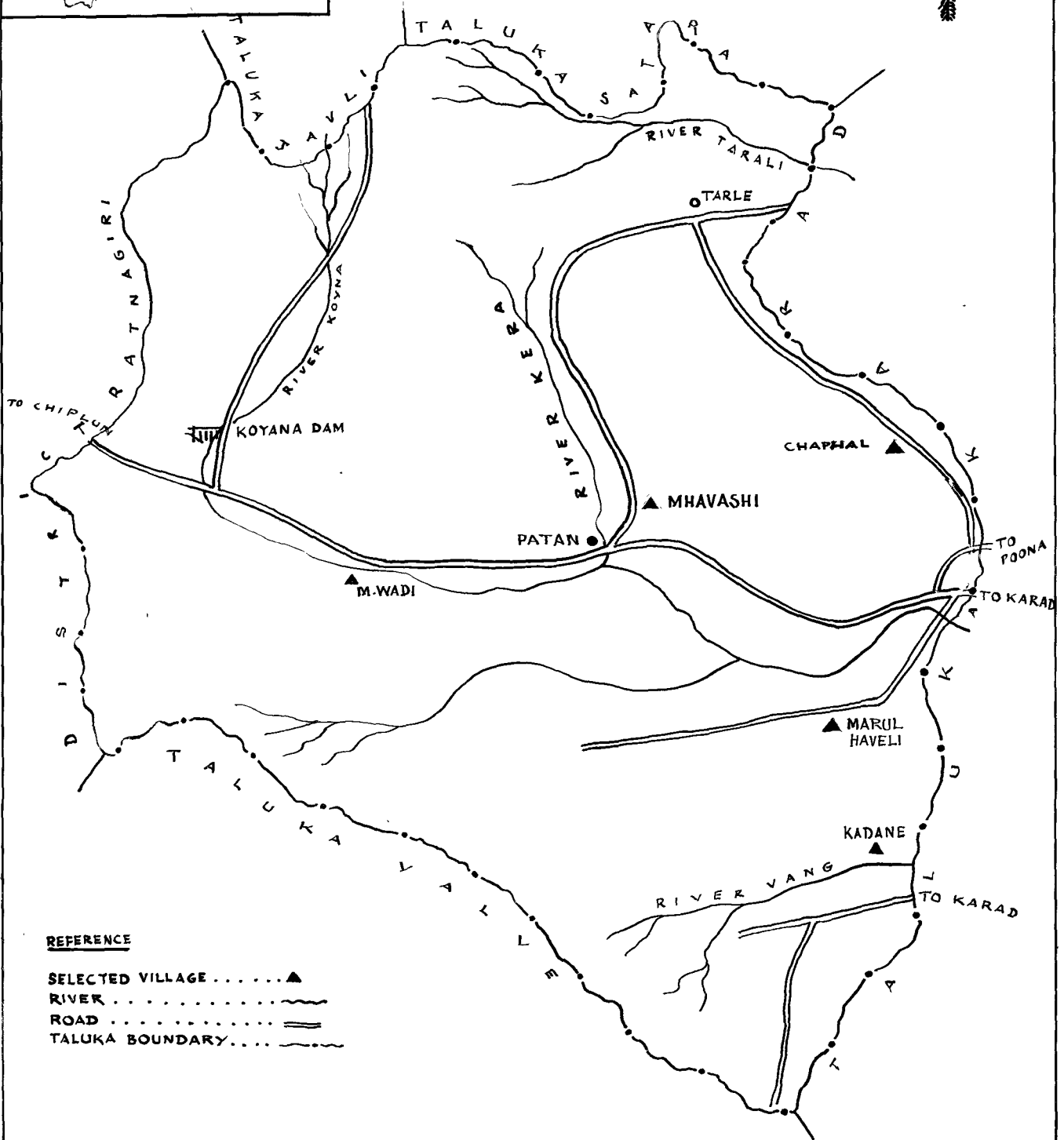
This study was conducted in the Patan Taluka of Satara district. It is situated to the south of Satara city and along with the Karad-Chiplun road. The taluka comprises of 197 villages. The head-quarter of the taluka is at Patan, situated 21 miles from Karad and 40 miles to the south west of Satara city.

The total population of this taluka is 1,80,501 and has an area of 3,46,600 acres out of which, 1,63,100 acres - are under plough.

The taluka offers wide variation in climatic conditions and soil types. Broadly, it can be divided into two fairly distinct agro-climatic zones. The western zone is characterized by high rainfall i.e. about 2712 mms., medium black or laterite type of soils and paddy and hill millets as the main crops. The eastern zone receives about 1036 mms. of rain and has medium to heavy black type of soils. The main crops grown are jowar, paddy, groundnut in the kharif season and wheat, jowar and gram in rabi season. In addition there are some orchards of guava and irrigated crops like sugarcane, turmeric as well as some vegetable crops which are cash crops of few villages. Wells are the only main source of irrigation which covers a small acreage.



**MAP OF PATAN TALUKA**  
**DIST: SATARA**



**REFERENCE**  
SELECTED VILLAGE .....▲  
RIVER .....  
ROAD .....  
TALUKA BOUNDARY.....

Framing of the questionnaire :

A broad hypothesis was formed considering the various aspects thought to be useful for the study. In the light of this hypothesis, a schedule of questions which would facilitate collection of data pertaining to the personal characters<sup>istics</sup> of Balutedars<sup>such as</sup> like age, education, family size and place of residence, social characters<sup>istics such as</sup> like caste and religion; economic characteristics<sup>such as</sup> like annual income, land holding, etc. as well as the socio-economic status and their opinions regarding - traditional occupation etc. was prepared. In addition, some questions to find out the present position of the Baluta system were also included.

Questions were formulated in such a manner as would extract the desired information and at the same time would facilitate logical interpretation of the information so - collected. They were brief and were framed in a simple - language such that the interviewee would understand the same easily and would not confuse. A logical sequence was maintained while finalizing the schedule.

<sup>where</sup> Pretesting of the schedule thus prepared was carried out thrice in order to get correct information and to make suitable changes in it wherever necessary.

Selection of villages :

Five villages from the Patan taluka were selected by

random sampling method. The list of such selected villages is given in Appendix I.

Selection of the sample :

The villagewise list of all Balutedars from different Balutedar castes were prepared. From this a list of the head of families was prepared. In all nineteen Balutedar castes were found to be existing in the selected villages. All the Balutedars i.e. 260 from the selected villages were included and the heads of the Balutedar families were interviewed.

Procedure for collecting the data :

The author has personally interviewed the heads of Balutedar families included in the sample. The help was sought from the village leaders and gram sevaks in establishing rapport and seeking relevant information from the heads of Balutedar families. The object of the study was explained to the interviewee and it was explained to them how the exact and relevant information supplied by them would be put to use.

The heads of the families were interviewed at their residences. Questions were explained to the respondents whenever they expressed their inability to understand. The actual work of collecting the data commenced in the month of May, 1967 and ended in the month of June, 1967.

Statistical Analysis of the Data :

All the 260 interview schedules were arranged village-wise as well as caste-wise. These were then numbered serially. The material from the numbered schedules was transferred to 15 primary tables. Then secondary tables were prepared by using the frequencies obtained for each category in the primary tables. These secondary tables were used for the per centile presentation to study personal, social and economic characteristics of Balutedars as well as to present their opinions about occupation and other aspects of life as hypothesized in Chapter I.

A socio-economic status scale developed by Dr. W. B. Rahudkar was used in this study to determine the socio-economic status of Balutedars. The ready made scores for each element or component of the scale such as, ownership of land operated, construction of house, condition of house, rooms in house, lighting facilities, ownership of house, education of husband and wife, caste and occupation etc. were taken to facilitate the easy calculation of the total score. The total score has been taken as a measure of the socio-economic status of Balutedars. The <sup>sum</sup>sumation of scores of all the elements of the scale for each Balutedar was classed and grouped in appropriate groups for presentation.

Meaning of the terms used :

1. Balutedars : Balutedars are the aggregates of -  
caste groups who are traditionally associated with such -

functions which serve the needs of farmers as well as the village community and for these functions they get payment in kind at the time of annual harvest. Each Balutedar performs certain fixed hereditary occupation in the village. Cash payments are also made for the services offered by these group of castes. This group constitutes most of the village artisans and a few other castes. The Balutedars included in the study were as below :

Brahmin : He has to perform the religious and ceremonial rites such as weddings, Sraddhas (ancestor propitiation ceremonies) and Satyanarayan Pujas ("Good luck" ceremonies). - People consult him regarding the suitability of proposed marriages, and seek his astrological calculations regarding an auspicious date and time for doing various agricultural operations and other religious functions. Prescribed fees have to be paid to the Brahmin in cash for these consultations. His predictions are offered to the farmers. He visits the houses of his agricultural clients fortnightly or once in a month. In the past Brahmin served as the Kulkarni and had to keep the numerous accounts of the village. But the duties of the Kulkarni and the priest were not performed by the same person.

Gurao (Priest) : Gurao is a Balutedar in charge of the village temple. He attends village idols and pours over <sup>the</sup> ~~it~~ water to bath <sup>e</sup> every morning and performs other details of the worship. Gurao has to maintain the discipline and cleanliness of the

PHOTOGRAPHS OF SOME BALUTEDARS. I

BRAHMIN



GURAO



PRAKASH

KUMBHAR



SUTAR

NHAYI

LOHAR

temple. He keeps light in the temple. Every family gets leaf cups, plates and saucers (Patravali and Dron) for the use in marriages and other religious ceremonies.

Jangam : Jangam is a semi-priestly caste ritually - attached Baljas when they tie the lingam, a phallic symbol representing Shiva and function as a priest on the occasion of weddings. On the day of Pitra-Moksha Amavashya he visits Hindu houses particularly of those peasants who follow the great Gods of Hindu trinity and beg from them.

Mali (Gardener) : Mali has to provide the villagers with garlands, bouquet and flowers for the religious and ceremonial functions. He possesses the hereditary knowledge of cultivation of flower plants. He supplies flowers to the - villagers for a worship of God for which he gets remuneration in kind.

Gondhalis : Are the professional group performing Gondhal which is prescribed as a custom for some castes and families. Gondhalies provide the entertainment during the post-matrimonial function in the memory of the newly wedded couple for which they are paid certain fixed amount. They are also singers, dancers and musicians in village.

Bhoi : He is in charge of the conveyance of the enthroned idols from place to place during the procession and religious rites. He also follows the fishing as a secondary occupation to provide fishes to the villagers.

Joshi (Astrologer): He is the Balutedar, who performs semi-Brahminic functions. He goes from house to house daily and tells to the villagers about the Panchang.

Sutar (Carpenter): He is an important craftman. He makes all wooden agricultural implements and repairs them. Every cultivator requires the services of one of the sutars occasionally almost the whole year round. He furnishes the "Chaurang" or stool on which bride groom and bride take bath at the marriage ceremony. He also supplies some domestic - wooden articles like "Palpat and Latane" and takes up the wooden work of the farmers.

Lohar (Blacksmith) : He makes the iron parts of implements. He also supplies and sharpens these parts as well as weeding hooks. In agricultural operations his services are periodically required. Lohar in addition does the work of - carpenter also. Besides, the parts of agricultural implements, the Lohar makes many things of iron for domestic use such as (1) Ulthne (Flat ladle for turning cakes, (2) Pali, (3) Zara, (4) Sickle, (5) Pincers, (6) Crow-bar, (7) Pick, (8) Shovel, (9) Cart tyres, (10) Rings, (11) Axle, (12) Chain, (13) Hinges, etc.

Kumbhar (Potter): The Kumbhar makes a variety of earthen pots, vessels, jugs, cups, plates etc. of various sizes for the villagers. These pots are used to store water, to boil, dry or roast food. Earthen vessels are cheap and are also used for

storage of grains, chillies, salt, seed, jagari, flour etc. The Kumbhar provides earthen utensils for the domestic - purposes as well as marriage ceremonies and festivals. He also supplies "stoves"\* to villagers.

Nhavi (Barber) : He has to perform the functions of shaving and cutting hair. He is the hair dresser. He goes through countryside from field to field, from village to - village, on the pre-determined calls by the farmers. During the death ceremony the barber or Nhavi has to shave the head, the cheeks and chins of all the sons if (either of died). When ? the bridegroom or bride arrives at the village the Nhavi leads the horse and distributes the sweets in the village of concerned parties. Thus, he assists <sup>the</sup> to villagers in ceremonies in addition to shaving. There are other ritual duties for example, on Nag Panchami, the day on which cobras are worshiped, the Barbers make small mud images of snakes for all important households of the village and one Barber makes a large mud snake for the whole village.

Parit : He washes the clothes of the farmers in the village. He spreads a cloth for the bride and bridegroom to walk on at one of the marriage processions. He spreads cloth

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\* The stove is a small three-sided square without top or bottom, a fire is made inside and pot placed on top which is locally called Chula.

also for the parties to sit on at marriage and other festivals. On the death of person he washes clothes of all households. A washerman is required for number of other ritual services such as weeding and sacred thread ceremonies.

Ramoshi (Watchman) : Ramoshi has to guard the villages and crops from thieves. If there occurs any act of theft or dacoity Ramoshi has to trace out theft. Thus, he is recognised as an village guard. The other job of Ramoshi is to assist the headman. When conditions were unstable, he was - expected to patrol the village at night. He also watches the temples and other village property.

Chambhar (Leather worker): He is shoemaker as well as cobbler. He makes Mhots (leather bags) for drawing water from well, leather ropes for ploughs and whips. The Chambhar is a village crafts-man whose services are of value to the whole village population. It is his duty to mend and repair the shoes and leather sundries.

Mang : Mang (rope-maker) makes ropes for the cultivators from the fibres. Mangs have adopted rope-making as their main occupation. Ropes are essential accessories used in agricultural implements.

Mahar : Mahars were recognized as village servants and menials. It was the traditional duty of the officiating - Mahars to take remittances of village revenue to the sub-treasury.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF SOME BALUTEDARS II

CHAMBHAR

KOLI

MANG

BHOI



Also they were the village messengers and general servants of the Patel or head-man of the village. Few years ago Mahars - were disposing the dead bodies of animals and unskin them. At present <sup>almost</sup> all most all the Mahars have left their traditional callings and accepted the Budha religion.

Mulani : He also is termed as butcher who kills the goats and sheep for farmers. He <sup>sells</sup> mutton to farmers as well as kill goats and sheep of farmers which are offered to God. He is also incharge of providing orchestra for the ceremonial functions. The services of a butcher (Mulani) are used in Hindu religious ceremonies to cut up the fowl and goats that is to be offered to the God.

Teli : He extracts oil from oilseeds with the help of indigenous machanism locally called Ghani.

Koli (Water carrier) : His traditional occupation includes fishing, as well as delivering water. He brings water from nearby stream to individual households. These water carriers are employed by most landowners for important ceremonies like wedding. Service to the village includes bringing water for all temple ceremonies. Koli also supplies lime (Chuna) to the farmers for their domestic needs.

2. Caste occupation : The term is used to designate the hereditary occupation being followed by a single caste for last few generations and which is similar to the occupation -

being followed by the other members of the caste. This also is termed as "traditional occupation" because it is traditionally accepted by the subsequent generations.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRESENTATION OF DATA

This chapter deals with the analytical and statistical interpretation of the data collected by interviewing the heads of Balutedar families belonging to the different caste groups. The study covered 260 Balutedars from five selected villages. All these were interviewed and the data regarding their personal, social and economic characteristics and socio-economic status with their role in present social system were collected. Further, various factors leading to the social change in the "Baluta system" various reasons for the decline of the 'Baluta system' were also studied. In this chapter, the present position of the Balutedars' traditional occupations, attitudes, their feelings towards traditional occupations etc. are presented :

#### Personal characteristics of the Balutedars :

##### (1) Age :

Age is one of the most fundamental personal characteristics of any individual, since what one is, thinks, does and needs is closely related to his age. Analysis of the age composition of respondents is one of the most profitable avenue for understanding the pattern of their changing behaviour and skill.

The chronological age of the Balutedar is taken into consideration. Of the 260 Balutedars included in the study, only 1.17 per cent were less than 20 years of age. Maximum percentage (31.91 per cent) of Balutedars were in the age group of 46 to 55 years, while two out of ten Balutedars (10.01 per cent) were of 61 to 65 years old. The number of young i.e. below 30 years and old i.e. above 65 years was comparatively small as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 : Distribution of the Balutedars by their age.

Sr. No.:	Age Group	Village					Total
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Upto 20 yrs.	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	-	-	1 (0.39)	3 (1.17)
2.	21 to 25 "	2 (0.77)	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	-	2 (0.77)	6 (2.39)
3.	26 to 30 "	4 (1.54)	9 (3.46)	-	-	2 (0.77)	15 (5.77)
4.	31 to 35 "	4 (1.54)	9 (3.46)	3 (1.15)	3 (1.14)	5 (1.92)	24 (9.22)
5.	36 to 40 "	13 (5.00)	5 (1.92)	2 (0.77)	1 (0.39)	7 (2.69)	28 (10.77)
6.	41 to 45 "	7 (2.69)	6 (2.31)	6 (2.30)	1 (0.39)	8 (3.08)	28 (10.77)
7.	46 to 50 "	9 (3.46)	11 (4.23)	2 (0.77)	3 (1.14)	16 (6.15)	41 (15.75)
8.	51 to 55 "	9 (3.46)	12 (4.62)	5 (1.92)	4 (1.54)	12 (4.62)	42 (16.16)

Contd.

Table 1 (Contd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9. 56 to 60 yrs.	10		8	3	1	13	35	
			(3.84)	(3.08)	(1.15)	(0.39)	(5.00)	(13.46)
10. 61 to 65 "		4	5	1	1	15	26	
		(1.54)	(1.92)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(5.77)	(10.01)	
11. 66 and above		1	4	4	-	3	12	
		(0.39)	(1.54)	(1.54)		(1.14)	(4.61)	
<b>Total:</b>		64	71	27	14	84	260	
		(24.62)	(27.32)	(10.38)	(5.38)	(32.30)	(100.00)	

(Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages).

It will be seen from Table 1 that the Balutedars from different villages were distributed in various age groups ; minimum from 0.39 per cent to 16.15 per cent to the total.

Table 2 shows the chronological age distribution of the members of Balutedar families.

From Table 2, it is seen that persons below 10 years of age constituted 16.96 per cent of the total members of the Balutedar families. It also reveals that maximum persons (52.33 per cent) from the Balutedar families were within the age group of 11 to 30 years, 13.54 per cent of members were 31 to 40 years old, A very few persons (2.74 per cent) were above 60 years old.

**Table 2 : Distribution of the Balutedar family members by the age.**

Sr. No.:	Age Group	Village					Total
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Upto 10 yrs.	108 (8.46)	42 (3.29)	17 (1.33)	13 (1.04)	36 (2.84)	216 (16.96)
2.	11 to 15 "	51 (3.99)	39 (3.05)	17 (1.33)	10 (0.78)	46 (3.68)	163 (12.81)
3.	16 to 20 "	36 (2.82)	48 (3.76)	17 (1.33)	12 (0.96)	37 (2.90)	150 (11.77)
4.	21 to 25 "	38 (2.98)	48 (3.76)	14 (1.09)	10 (0.78)	55 (4.35)	165 (12.96)
5.	26 to 30 "	39 (3.05)	54 (4.23)	17 (1.33)	8 (0.62)	71 (5.56)	189 (14.79)
6.	31 to 35 "	30 (2.35)	27 (2.11)	11 (0.86)	4 (0.31)	30 (2.35)	102 (7.98)
7.	36 to 40 "	19 (1.49)	22 (1.72)	7 (0.55)	5 (0.39)	18 (1.41)	71 (5.58)
8.	41 to 45 "	12 (0.94)	17 (1.33)	8 (0.63)	2 (0.15)	16 (1.25)	55 (4.30)
9.	46 to 50 "	13 (1.00)	18 (1.41)	8 (0.63)	2 (0.15)	20 (1.56)	61 (4.75)
10.	51 to 55 "	5 (0.39)	8 (0.63)	5 (0.39)	-	22 (1.72)	40 (3.13)
11.	56 to 60 "	3 (0.24)	14 (1.09)	3 (0.23)	-	9 (0.70)	29 (2.26)
12.	61 to 65 "	1 (0.08)	2 (0.15)	-	-	3 (0.24)	6 (0.48)
13.	66 and above	4 (0.31)	6 (0.47)	5 (0.39)	2 (0.15)	12 (0.94)	29 (2.26)
Total:		359 (28.09)	345 (27.01)	129 (10.09)	68 (5.33)	375 (29.48)	1276 (100.00)

(Note: Figures in the brackets indicate percentages).

(2) Education :

The word education in this study refers to the formal education of an individual. Formal education helps a man to acquire knowledge and skills and helps him to understand the cultural heritage of the society. It obviously occupies a place of importance in an individual's life, especially so in the modern world, as it alone enables him to secure employment, change his economic status and achieve objective betterment, and build up new knowledge and techniques in his subject, industry or profession.

Prosperity of any society, therefore, depends <sup>upon</sup> on the degree of formal education of its members. In our country the formal education has been neglected for years. This resulted in making us what popularly known as 'economically backward nation'. In order to understand the level of formal education of Balutedars from five selected villages, information was collected. On the basis of the level of formal education, the Balutedars were classified into four categories viz. no formal education, primary, middle school and secondary education. Data in this connection are presented in Table 3.

In the village Mhawashi, out of 24.62 per cent Balutedars maximum i.e. 16.92 per cent Balutedars did not receive any formal education at all. In village Chaphal, out of 32.31 per cent of Balutedars 15.00 per cent did not receive any formal education. In the village Kadane, out of 10.38 per cent - -

**Table 3 : Distribution of the Balutedars by their level of formal education.**

Sr.: No.:	Level of education	Village					Total
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1.	No formal education	44 (16.92)	36 (13.86)	19 (7.31)	8 (3.07)	39 (15.00)	146 (56.15)
2.	Primary	10 (3.85)	21 (8.07)	8 (3.07)	5 (1.92)	20 (7.69)	64 (24.62)
3.	Middle school	8 (3.08)	12 (4.62)	-	1 (0.39)	16 (6.15)	37 (14.23)
4.	Secondary	2 (0.77)	2 (0.77)	-	-	9 (3.46)	13 (5.00)
<b>Total:</b>		<b>64</b> <b>(24.62)</b>	<b>71</b> <b>(27.32)</b>	<b>27</b> <b>(10.38)</b>	<b>14</b> <b>(5.38)</b>	<b>84</b> <b>(32.30)</b>	<b>260</b> <b>(100.00)</b>

( Note : The figures in the brackets indicate percentages).

Balutedars only 3.07 per cent had received primary education i.e. upto 4th standard. While in village M.Wadi, only five Balutedars had received primary education and one Balutedar had received Middle School education.

Out of total 260 Balutedars 56.15 per cent Balutedars were illiterate, 24.62 per cent had received primary education, 14.23 per cent had received middle school education and only 5.00 per cent had a formal schooling from VIII to XI standard i.e. secondary education. It is thus clear from the above table that the literacy percentage among the Balutedars in

different villages at different education level is too low.

Education level of the Balutedar family members :

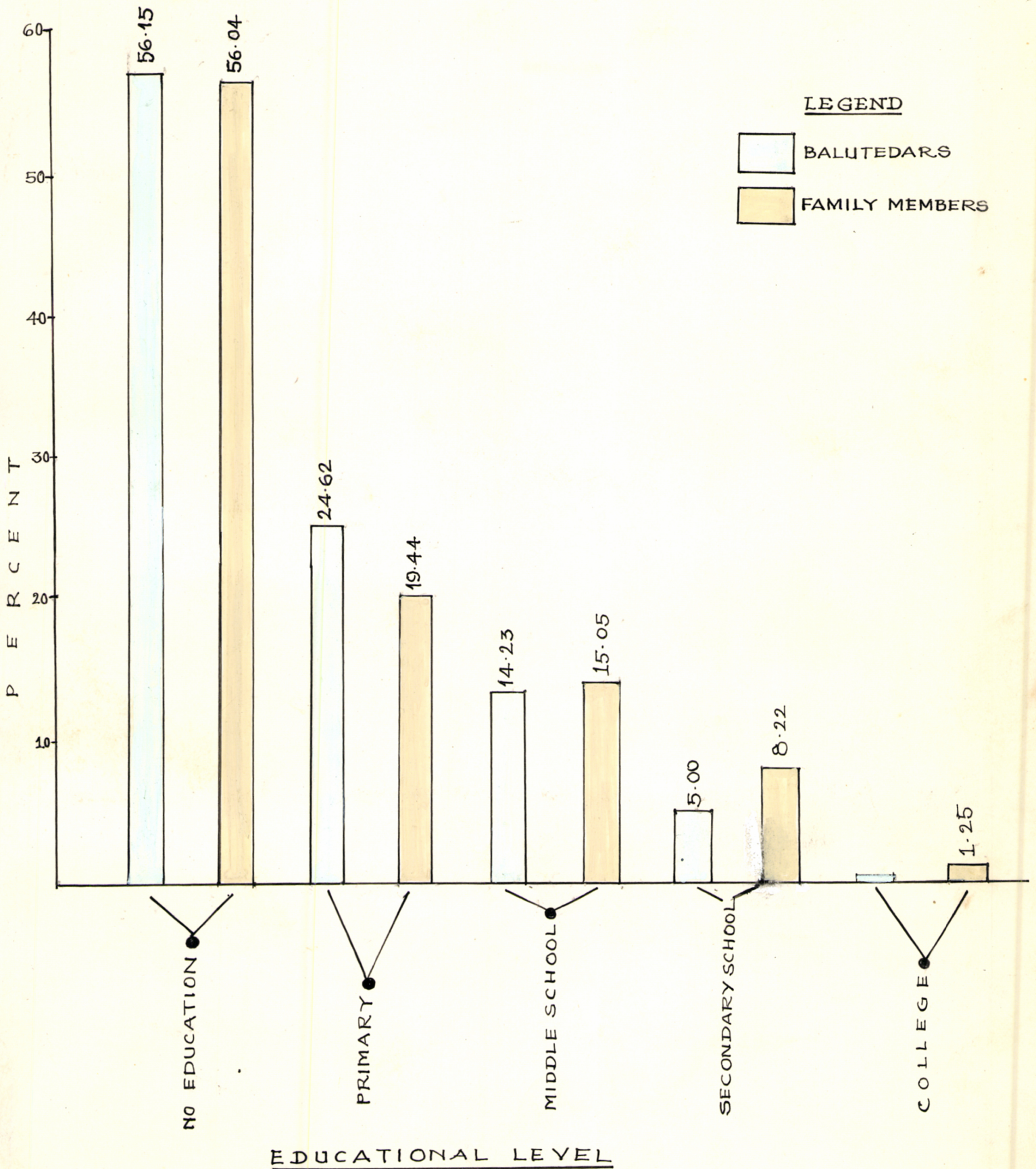
From 260 Balutedar families 1276 members were studied. This excluded the heads of the Balutedar families. Only seven year old children are eligible for admitting in the school , hence family members who are 7 and above years old were only studied. Information about the formal educational level of the house holds of Balutedar families is presented in Table 4.

Table 4 : Distribution of the Balutedar family members according to their formal education.

Sr. No.:	Level of Education	Village					Total
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1.	No formal education	245 (19.18)	185 (14.50)	68 (5.32)	30 (2.33)	187 (14.69)	715 (56.04)
2.	Primary	46 (3.60)	61 (4.76)	31 (2.43)	22 (1.72)	88 (6.93)	248 (19.44)
3.	Middle School	43 (3.37)	64 (5.01)	21 (1.64)	8 (0.63)	56 (4.40)	192 (15.05)
4.	Secondary	24 (1.87)	31 (2.43)	9 (0.70)	8 (0.63)	33 (2.63)	105 (8.22)
5.	College	1 (0.07)	4 (0.31)	-	-	11 (0.86)	16 (1.25)
<b>Total :</b>		<b>359</b> (28.09)	<b>345</b> (27.01)	<b>129</b> (10.09)	<b>68</b> (5.33)	<b>375</b> (29.43)	<b>1276</b> (100.00)

( Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages).

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE BALUTEDARS AND  
THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS BY THE  
FORMAL EDUCATION.



Illiterates :

It can be seen from Table 4 that 56.04 per cent persons from Balutedar families were illiterate inspite of the fact that all the villages under study had primary schools and that the Compulsory Primary Education Act is in force in the State. This act is not strictly enforced in villages and no action is taken against the defaulters. Hence number of children from the Balutedar families are idle and they are not attending school. More than one third of Balutedar family members were reported illiterate from village Mhawshi and Marul Haveli.

Primary Education :

About one in five family members of Balutedar family had received education upto 4th standard i.e. 19.44 per cent to the total. Only 1.72 per cent members of Balutedar families reported to have received education sufficient to place them in this category from the village M.Wadi, 2.43 per cent from village Kadane which is considerably low. However, in remaining three villages 3.61 to 6.90 per cent of Balutedear family members had received primary school education.

Middle School Education :

In this category very low per cent of population was observed. One out of seven members of Balutedar families had received middle school education i.e. from 5th to 7th standard. Higher number of members were reported from Marul Haveli and Chaphal.

**Secondary School Education :**

Only one out of ten members of Balutedar families had received secondary school education. The 5.00 per cent of the total population were reported from two villages while in - other three villages, only 3.23 per cent of the Balutedar - family members had received secondary school education.

**College Education :**

Only one out of eighty members of Balutedar families had received some college education. Maximum persons who had received some college education were reported from Village - Chaphal i.e. 11 members and there was not a single person in Balutedar families who had received college education in - village Kadane and M.Wadi. Thus, it is revealed from the table that too low proportion of their family members had an opportunity to take college education.

**(3) Family Size :**

Very often "family size" is studied in context with the economic and social stratification. In this study it was - intended to know the distribution of Balutedars as per their family size in the selected villages. The data collected in - this regard are presented in Table 5.

**Table 5 : Distribution of the Balutedars by their family size.**

Sr. No.:	Family size	Village					Total
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1.	Upto 5	30 (11.54)	21 (8.08)	11 (4.23)	4 (1.54)	37 (14.21)	103 (39.60)
2.	6 to 10	26 (10.00)	39 (15.01)	10 (3.85)	9 (3.45)	35 (13.47)	119 (45.78)
3.	11 to 15	7 (2.69)	8 (3.08)	3 (1.15)	1 (0.39)	11 (4.23)	30 (11.54)
4.	16 and above	1 (0.39)	3 (1.15)	3 (1.15)	-	1 (0.39)	8 (3.08)
Total :		64 (24.62)	71 (27.32)	27 (10.38)	14 (5.38)	84 (32.30)	260 (100.00)

( Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages).

It is seen from Table 5 that higher percentage of Balutedar had family members below 5 in village Mhawshi, Chaphal and Kadane and so also 6 to 10 family members in village Marul Haveli and M. Wadi, while out of 260 Balutedar families studied, 45.78 per cent Balutedar were having 6 to 10 members, 39.60 per cent, upto 5, 11.54 per cent, 11 to 15 and only 3.08 per cent were having 16 and more family members. Nearly equal proportion of Balutedars were having upto 5 and 6 to 10 family members. In the village M. Wadi no single family was having more than 15 members, while in other four villages very small per cent (14.62 per cent) of Balutedars were having 11 to 15

and above 16 family members.

(4) Place of Residence of Balutedars :

As Hindu social system formed on the division of a society into castes, the houses of single caste are located in clusters in the village. Traditionally certain Balutedar castes reside in certain fixed locality sanctioned by the village community. The place of their residence many times is recognised by their hereditary callings e.g. Sutarwada for locality of Sutar, Kumbharwada for locality of Khumbhars, Mangwada for locality of Mangs and Maharwada for locality of Mahars etc. The information regarding their place of residence was collected and is presented in Table 6.

Table 6 : Distribution of Balutedars by their place of residence.

Sr. No.:	Place of Residence	:No. of Balu- :tedar caste	:No. of Balute- :dar families	Percentage to the total
1.	Within the village	15	135	51.86
2.	Out skirt of the village	4	125	48.14
Total :		19	260	100.00

The table shows that out of 19 Balutedar castes studied, houses of 15 Balutedar castes were located within the village and these 15 Balutedar castes were 1) Brahmin, 2) Gurao, 3) Mali, 4) Sutar, 5) Lohar, 6) Gondhali, 7) Teli, 8) Jangam, 9) Joshi ,

10) Koli, 11) Nhavi, 12) Mulani, 13) Bhoi, 14) Kumbhar and 15) Parit. It also reveals that these 15 castes constitute 135 (51.86 per cent) Balutedar families. However, houses of only four castes were located at the out skirt of the villages. - These four castes were 1) Mang, 2) Mahar, 3) Chambhar and 4) Ramoshi and constitute 125 (48.14 per cent) Balutedar families. They were lowest in the social rank.

Further, it was also observed that out of the 260 Balutedar families 256 (98.46 per cent) families were living in their own houses, while only 4 (1.54 per cent) families in rent free houses, provided by villagers.

Social Characteristics of Balutedars :

(1) Caste and Religion of Balutedars :

Caste is a peculiar type of social group, which determines occupation, status and available opportunities as well as the handicaps for the individual, while religion is man's - efforts to establish a relationship with supernatural world and it practically governs all aspects of the life of the people in the village. Among Balutedar castes studied, 17 out of 19 Balutedar castes belonged to Hindu religion. Only one Balutedar caste belonged to the Muslim religion while the other 'Mahar' caste belonged originally to Hindu religion but now converted to the Buddhism (Nav-buddh). The data regarding distribution of - the Balutedar families according to their caste and religion are presented in Table 7.

**Table 7 : Distribution of Balutedars by their caste and religion.**

Caste and Religion	Villages					Total
	Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>I. HINDU</b>						
1. Brahmin	1 (0.39)	2 (0.77)	-	-	12 (4.61)	15 (5.77)
2. Gurao	7 (2.69)	3 (1.15)	1 (0.39)	2 (0.77)	1 (0.39)	14 (5.39)
3. Mali	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	-	-	-	2 (0.78)
4. Sutar	3 (1.15)	2 (0.77)	3 (1.15)	1 (0.39)	3 (1.15)	12 (4.61)
5. Lohar	8 (3.07)	4 (1.54)	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	15 (5.78)
6. Kumbhar	2 (0.77)	10 (3.85)	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	8 (3.07)	22 (8.47)
7. Nhavi	4 (1.53)	5 (1.92)	2 (0.77)	2 (0.77)	9 (3.45)	22 (8.44)
8. Parit	5 (1.92)	2 (0.77)	-	-	1 (0.39)	8 (3.08)
9. Gondhali	-	4 (1.54)	-	-	-	4 (1.54)
10. Chambhar	7 (2.69)	8 (3.07)	-	2 (0.77)	2 (0.77)	19 (7.30)
11. Bhoi	-	2 (0.77)	1 (0.39)	-	-	3 (1.16)
12. Koli	-	-	-	-	3 (1.15)	3 (1.15)
13. Ramoshi	-	4 (1.54)	2 (0.77)	-	2 (0.77)	8 (3.08)

Contd.

Table 7 (Contd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Mang	16 (6.16)	6 (2.31)	1 (0.39)	3 (1.12)	17 (6.54)	43 (16.52)	
15. Teli	-	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	-	-	2 (0.78)	
16. Jangam	-	-	-	-	3 (1.15)	3 (1.15)	
17. Joshi	-	-	-	-	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	
<b>II. Muslim</b>							
1. Mulani	-	2 (0.77)	-	1 (0.39)	6 (2.31)	9 (3.47)	
<b>III. Buddhist</b>							
Mahar (Nav-buddha)	10 (3.85)	15 (5.77)	14 (5.35)	1 (0.39)	15 (5.77)	55 (21.14)	
<b>Total:</b>	<b>64</b> (24.62)	<b>71</b> (27.32)	<b>27</b> (10.38)	<b>14</b> (5.38)	<b>84</b> (32.30)	<b>260</b> (100.00)	

( Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages).

The data reveal that out of 19 Balutedar castes 7 castes exist in all the five villages studied and constituted two - third (67 per cent) of the total number of Balutedars in the selected five villages. These castes are, 1) Gurao, 2) Sutar , 3) Kumbhar, 4) Nhavi, 5) Mang, 6) Mahar (Nav-Buddh) and 7) Lohar. These Balutedar castes are playing important role in rural social life. It seems that these seven service castes are most essential

in each village. Next to them Parit, Ramoshi, Brahmin and -  
 Mulani were observed in three villages and they constituted  
 15.37 per cent of the total 260 Balutedar families. Remaining  
 castes viz. Teli, Mali, Jangam etc. constituted nearly one  
 fifth of the total families. Maximum number of Balutedar fami-  
 lies (37.69 per cent) belonged to Mang and Mahar (Nav-buddh )  
 castes.

(2) Classification of Balutedars :

Balutedars perform fixed traditional service to the  
 cultivators in our villages. Some of the research workers have  
 used certain classes to categories Balutedars on the basis of  
 the role of their traditional occupations in agriculture and in  
 a village life. Three classes or lines of Balutedars formulat-  
 ed by *Reference* Atre are used in this study also. These classes are -  
 arbitrarily formed for the purpose of analysis. The distribution  
 of Balutedars according to their classes in the sample is -  
 presented in the table below:

Table 8 : Distribution of Balutedars by their Classes.

Sr. No.:	Class or Line	: Number of : Balutedars	: Percentage to : the total
1.	First line	101	38.89
2.	Second Line	95	36.58
3.	Third Line	64	24.53
Total :		260	100.00

Table 8 reveals that the maximum (38.89 per cent) Balutedars were found in the first line, while 36.58 per cent Balutedars were in the second line. These two lines constituted 3/4th of total number of Balutedars in the sample. Only one-fourth (24.53 per cent) Balutedars were found in the last class or third line.

(3) Inter caste relations :

An attempt was made to study the inter caste relations. From <sup>the</sup> point of view of the caste superiority which is symbolically represented by inter-dining, acceptance of Pakka food - from other castes, the Balutedar castes are ranked in order. The data in this respect are presented in Table 9.

Table 9 shows that the Brahmin is at the top of all Balutedar castes. He does not accept food from any other castes. Then comes the Sutar and Jangam. These two castes do not accept food from other caste except Brahmin. Joshi takes food from only few clean castes. Gurao and Mali can be ranked after Joshi because they accept food from twelve castes. Kumbhar, Teli, Lohar, Gondhali, Bhoi, Koli, Nhavi and Parit consider themselves equal, as all of them do not accept food from Mulani, Ramoshi, Chambhar, Mang and Mahar. After these eight castes comes the Mulani (Muslim) he accepts the food from majority of the castes. Chambhar, Mang, Mahar are the last, because they are considered lower castes and known as untouchable castes, while Ramoshi is considered superior to these three lower castes.

**Table 9 :** Information about inter-dinning among Balutedar castes.

Balutedar caste	Brahmin	Sutar	Jangam	Joshi	Gurao	Mali	Kumbhar	Teli	Lohar	Gondhali	Bhoi	Koli	Nhavi	Parit	Mulani	Ramoshi	Chambhar	Mang	Mahar
1. Mrahmin	*	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@
2. Sutar	*	*	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@
3. Jangam	*	@	*	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@
4. Joshi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@	@
5. Gurao	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@	@	@
6. Mali	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@	@	@
7. Kumbhar	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
8. Teli	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
9. Lohar	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
10. Gondhali	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
11. Bhoi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
12. Koli	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
13. Nhavi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
14. Parit	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@	@
15. Mulani	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@	@
16. Ramoshi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@	@
17. Chambhar	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	@
18. Mang	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	*	@
19. Mahar	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	@	*

(Note : \* = Acceptance of food or inter-dinning takes place.

@ = Acceptance of food or inter-dinning do not take place. )

The Nav-buddha formerly constituted the Mahar caste which was ranked the lowest. Even though they have embraced Buddhism and have ceased to perform their traditional functions in the village, they are still regarded as unclean and are ranked the lowest.

In Table 9, the Balutedar castes are ranked serially as per their status. This statuswise ranking is a tentative attempt to show the position of different castes as they view at themselves.

#### Inter Caste Marriage :

The information was collected whether inter caste marriage takes place among the Balutedar castes. It was observed that, in none of the families of the Balutedars inter caste marriage has taken place. It may, therefore, be said that inter-caste marriages do not occur among the Balutedar castes.

#### Migration :

The rural people are moving to towns and cities in search of employment, for better prospects. The men from Balutedar families have migrated to cities and towns in search of employment as their traditional occupation could not provide a satisfactory source of employment and income. To know the migration of persons from Balutedar families, the information was collected and is presented in Table 10.

**Table 10 : Migration of the persons from Balutedar families.**

Sr. No.:	Village	No. of persons migrated	Percentage to the total ( N = 1276)
1.	Mhawshi	69	5.41
2.	Marul Haveli	55	4.21
3.	Kadane	21	1.69
4.	M. Wadi	13	1.31
5.	Chaphal	44	3.45
Total :		202	16.17

Table 10 shows that nearly one out of 7 persons in Balutedar families has migrated. It was found that the maximum persons i.e. 69 out of 202 (5.41 per cent) migrants were from Mhawshi village alone, while 1.31 per cent were from M. Wadi, 7.76 per cent migrants were reported from village Chaphal and Marul Haveli and 1.64 per cent from the village Kadane.

It was also observed that out of 148 Balutedar families engaged in traditional occupation as many as 88 (59.46 per cent) were expecting to settle in city and earn more money. However, because of some economic difficulties they could not do that. The difficulties of the Balutedars coming in the way of migration were ascertained. The distribution of Balutedars by their difficulties in migration to the cities is given in Table 11.

**Table 11 : Distribution of the Balutedars by the difficulties in migration to cities.**

Sr. No.:	Difficulty	Village					Total
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1.	No confidence of proper scope for the occupation in city.	19 (12.84)	17 (11.49)	5 (3.38)	4 (2.70)	23 (15.54)	68 (45.95)
2.	Lack of capital for establishment	12 (8.10)	15 (10.13)	4 (2.70)	6 (4.05)	21 (14.19)	58 (39.17)
3.	Lack of new techniques to get more profit in city.	3 (2.03)	4 (2.70)	2 (1.35)	1 (0.67)	5 (3.38)	15 (10.13)

( Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages ).

It can be seen that a majority of Balutedars could not migrate to the city because they have no confidence that they will have prosperous scope for their traditional occupation in city. About 39.19 per cent indicated their inability to migrate, due to lack of capital, while 10.13 per cent told that, they were not well versed with the new techniques in their occupation which is essential to get more earnings in the city.

**Economic Characteristics of Balutedars :**

**1. Land Holdings :**

The size of the land possessed by the family has a great impact on the traditional occupation of Balutedars as well as

his economic condition. Generally a bigger size of the holding can support more number of family members as well as provide work for more number of family members. When size of the holding is small, it can not support more people, as a result, the Balutedar has to pay more attention to his traditional occupation or the caste occupation. In many cases, they have to search for some other employment in or outside the village. The data regarding the land holdings of the selected Balutedar families, <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ collected and is presented in Table 12. The distribution of the Balutedar families has been made on the basis of their size of non-irrigated and irrigated land holdings.

It was found that the average size of holding of the Balutedar family works out to only 2.12.acres.

The very tiny size of holding can be clearly seen from Table 12. Out of 260 Balutedar families 56 families i.e. 21.54 per cent do not own<sup>ed</sup> any land at all. The maximum number of Balutedars (34.23 per cent) were in a single size group of '2 to 4 acres. The next important size groups with substantial number of Balutedars was 'less than one acre' and '1 to 2 acres'. Nearly one out of 50 Balutedar families had more than 10 acres of land. There was not a single Balutedar family having land holding 'more than 15 acres.

**Table 12 :** Distribution of the Balutedars by their size of holdings.

Sr.: Size of No.: holding :	Village					Total (N = 260)
	Mhawshi :	Marul H.	Kadane :	M. Wadi	Chaphal :	
<b>I. Non-irrigated:</b>						
1. No land	7 (2.69)	16 (6.15)	-	1 (0.39)	32 (12.30)	56 (21.53)
2. Upto 1 acre	13 (5.00)	8 (3.08)	6 (2.31)	1 (0.39)	3 (1.15)	31 (11.93)
3. 1 to 2 acres	13 (5.00)	11 (4.23)	7 (2.69)	3 (1.15)	8 (3.08)	42 (16.15)
4. 2 to 4 "	23 (8.85)	7 (2.69)	8 (3.08)	9 (3.46)	32 (12.30)	89 (30.38)
5. 4 to 6 "	2 (0.77)	8 (3.08)	3 (1.15)	-	6 (2.31)	19 (7.31)
6. 6 to 10 "	5 (1.92)	1 (0.39)	3 (1.15)	-	3 (1.15)	12 (4.61)
7. 10 to 15 "	3 (1.14)	2 (0.77)	-	1 (0.39)	-	6 (2.30)
<b>II. Irrigated :</b>						
1. Upto 10 gunthas	4 (1.54)	4 (1.54)	-	-	-	8 (3.08)
2. 10 to 20 "	1 (0.39)	6 (2.31)	-	-	2 (0.77)	9 (3.47)
3. 20 to 40 "	3 (1.15)	2 (0.77)	-	-	4 (1.54)	9 (3.46)
4. 1 to 2 acres	1 (0.39)	6 (2.31)	-	-	5 (1.92)	12 (4.62)
5. 2 to 3 "	1 (0.39)	5 (1.91)	-	-	-	6 (2.30)
6. Above 3 "	-	2 (0.77)	-	-	-	2 (0.77)

( Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages).

Irrigated Land Holdings :

Out of 260 Balutedar families only 49 Balutedar families (18.68 per cent) had some irrigated land while, 211 (81.92 per cent) Balutedar families had no irrigated land at all.

In village Kadane and M. Wadi there was not a single Balutedar possessing irrigated area. There were only two Balutedar families in village Marul Haveli possessing '3 to 4 acres' of irrigated land. None of the Balutedars had more than four acres of irrigated land.

This indicates that, Balutedars are very small land holders and there is practically no scope for them to pursue farming as the complete source of income for maintaining the family. As a result Balutedars in the village are taking less interest in the cultivation of land and find employment in other occupation to support their family.

(2) Occupation :

It is a common knowledge that Balutedar castes have their own traditional occupations. However, it was interesting to find that, out of 260 Balutedar families spread over in five selected villages, that there was not a single Balutedar family depending completely upon the traditional occupation. The detailed information regarding the different occupations in which Balutedar families were engaged is presented in Table 13.

to be

Agricultural labour can be said as another major occupation in rural areas. As many as 40 per cent Balutedars were engaged in this occupation and 19.24 per cent Balutedars were engaged in other occupations such as tailoring, trade, masoning, selling of fire wood, coolie work etc. Agriculture is the major occupation of the rural people. It was observed that maximum number of Balutedars (67.37 per cent) were engaged in agriculture. Nearly one out of seven Balutedars was doing service on the fixed pay either in the village or out side, to support his family. A very few Balutedars completely - depended upon the service outside the village as teachers and labourers in the industries nearby.

Occupation of Balutedar family members :

For most of the Balutedar families studied no single occupation provided adequate income. They had, therefore, to engage themselves and their family members generally in more than one occupation. Information regarding different occupations in which the members of Balutedar families are engaged is presented in Table 14.

Table 14 indicates that nearly one out of ten (10.03 per cent) persons from Balutedar families was engaged in the traditional occupation. House hold work is mostly done by the female members. Hence the higher per cent (37.21 per cent) of members <sup>were</sup> observed in this category. Maximum (43.67 per cent) number of members <sup>were</sup> engaged in agricultural labour

**Table 14 :** Distribution of the Balutedar family members by their occupation.

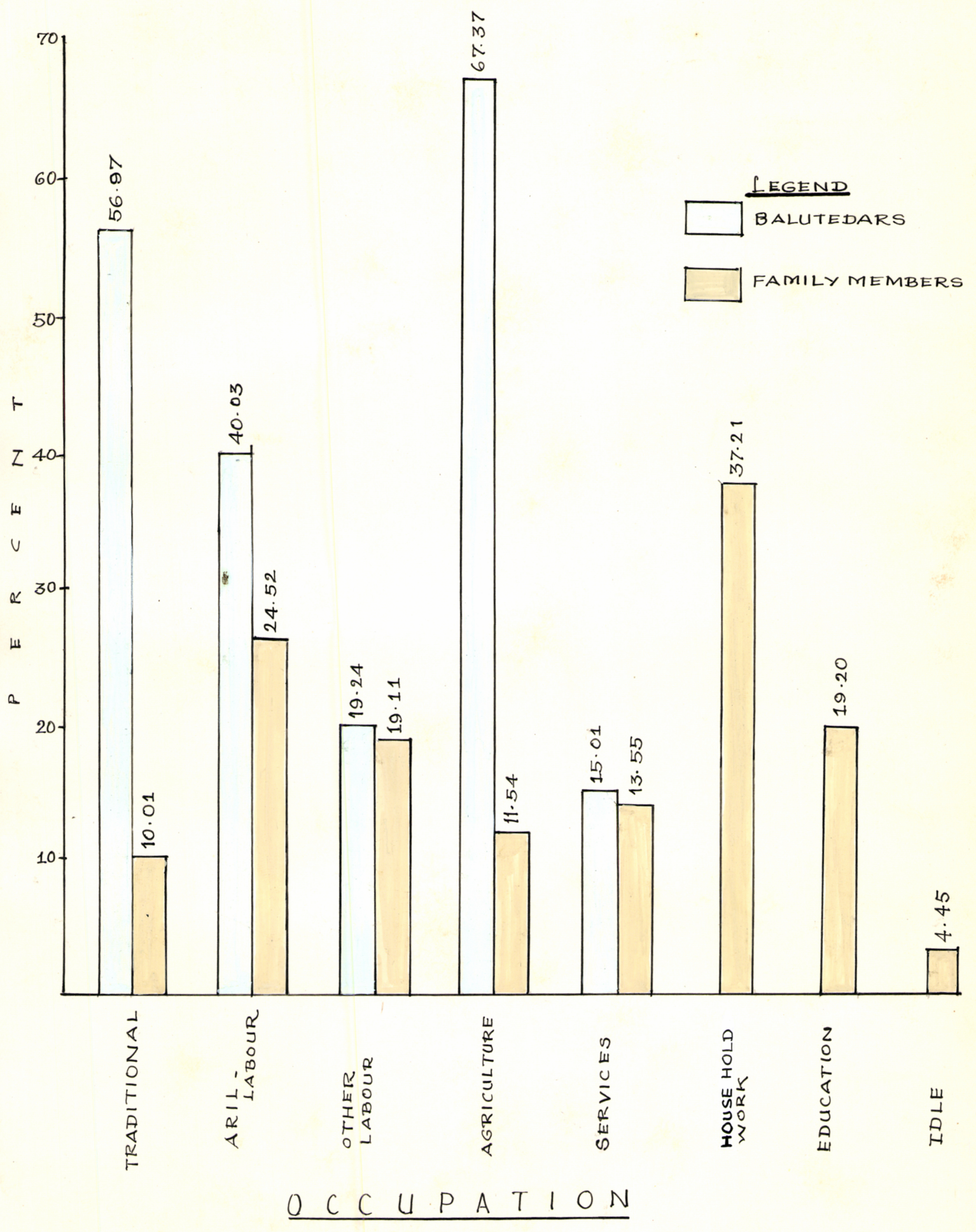
Sr. No.:	Occupation	Village					Total : N= 1276
		Mhawshi	Marul : H.	Kadane	M. : Wadi	Chaphal	
1.	Traditional occupation.	40 (3.13)	31 (2.43)	5 (0.39)	13 (1.01)	39 (3.05)	128 (10.01)
2.	Service	38 (2.98)	51 (3.99)	25 (1.96)	11 (0.86)	48 (3.76)	173 (13.55)
3.	Agril. labour	72 (5.64)	99 (7.76)	41 (3.21)	14 (1.09)	87 (6.82)	313 (24.52)
4.	Other labour	42 (3.29)	71 (5.56)	19 (1.48)	6 (0.47)	106 (8.31)	244 (19.11)
5.	Agriculture	40 (3.10)	38 (2.97)	20 (1.56)	7 (0.54)	43 (3.37)	148 (11.54)
6.	House hold work	124 (9.72)	144 (11.28)	44 (3.44)	23 (1.80)	140 (10.97)	475 (37.21)
7.	Education	62 (4.86)	66 (5.17)	25 (1.96)	19 (1.49)	73 (5.72)	245 (19.20)
8.	Idle (No work of any kind).	87 (6.82)	24 (1.88)	17 (1.33)	7 (0.54)	41 (3.21)	176 (12.78)

( Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages ).

and other non-agricultural labour. Thus, it indicates that - the bulk of agricultural and other labour was done by the Balutedar family members in the village.

Out of 1276 total members of Balutedar families, 245 (19.20 per cent) were school going children while 12.78 per cent were idle members, who were mostly the children and very few old persons.

# PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE BALUTEDARS AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS BY THE OCCUPATION



(3) Cattle owned by Balutedars :

The cattle are one of the important assets of the rural family. Milch animals serve as an important source of subsidiary income to the family and in many cases it enables to meet a part of domestic needs. Besides it some times raises social prestige of the family in the village community.

The animals serve as an important source of power in carrying on agriculture and are also used as means of subsidiary income. Bullocks are used for tilling the soil and pulling bullock carts, which is the important means of transport in our rural area. Cows, <sup>b</sup>Buffaloes and the goats serve as means for supplying milk. Above all cattle supply valuable manure. The information about the type and number of cattle owned by the individual family was collected and is presented in Table 15.

It can be seen from the table 15 that the number of Balutedars having one or two bullocks was 79 ( 30.39 per cent ) while, 134 ( 51.54 per cent ) Balutedars had kept buffaloes. Goats, a poor man's cow, were kept by 80 ( 30.77 per cent ) Balutedars. It was observed that some lower caste Balutedars had kept goats for manuring the cultivators field on some fixed amount, while Mulani kept goats for supplying meat to the villagers and thus earned money. It was also found that the number of buffaloes were the highest ( i.e. 181 ) among all cattle owned by Balutedars.

**Table 15 :** Number of cattle owned by the Balutedars.

Sr. No.:	Type of cattle	Village										Total	
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	(N = 260)						
		No. of Balute-dars	No. of ani-mals	No. of Balute-dars	No. of ani-mals	No. of Balute-dars	No. of ani-mals	No. of Balute-dars	No. of ani-mals	No. of Balute-dars	No. of ani-mals	No. of Balute-dars	No. of ani-mals
1.	No any animal	11 (4.23)	-	20 (7.69)	-	10 (3.85)	-	1 (0.39)	-	19 (7.31)	-	61 (23.48)	-
2.	Bullocks	31 (11.93)	37	19 (7.31)	23	2 (0.77)	2	4 (1.54)	4	23 (8.85)	27	79 (30.39)	93
3.	Cows	13 (5.00)	18	15 (5.77)	17	9 (3.46)	13	7 (2.69)	8	23 (8.85)	30	67 (25.77)	86
4.	Buffaloes	29 (11.15)	34	34 (13.08)	49	13 (5.00)	17	12 (4.62)	16	46 (17.69)	65	134 (51.54)	181
5.	Goats	9 (3.46)	9	24 (9.23)	40	7 (2.69)	17	7 (2.69)	11	33 (12.69)	53	80 (30.77)	129

( Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentages).

Distribution of the Animals :(a) Draft Animals :

As can be seen from Table 15 that 30.39 per cent of the Balutedars had kept bullocks for draft purpose. Out of 79 Balutedars only 13 Balutedars had a pair of bullocks. Some of these Balutedars used to give their bullocks on hire in idle period and this gave them additional income. The Balutedars - having a single bullock had to search for another bullock from other cultivators. They practice co-operation in exchange of bullocks. It was observed that there were some Balutedars who owned land but they had no bullocks at all. Table 16 shows the number of Balutedars possessing land and bullocks.

Table 16 : Distribution of the Balutedars who owned bullocks and land.

No. of Balutedars who owned some land	: No. of Balutedars who owned bullocks	: No. of Balutedars who owned some land but not any bullock
204	79	125

It is clear from Table 16 that 125 Balutedars had some land but they had not kept any bullocks, probably because their holdings were too small to maintain a bullock pair. These Balutedars got their farm work done by other cultivators in exchange of some labour on their farm.

(b) Milk Animals :

It was observed that quite a large number of Balutedars had kept milch animals to supplement their family income. From Table 15, it will be seen that, as compared to other animals, more number of milch animals were kept by more number of Balutedar families.

Feeding of the Cattle :

The usual feed of cattle consists of Bajri and Jewar fodder, <sup>and</sup> green grass <sup>which</sup> is available in mansoon only. It was observed that the Balutedars were getting inadequate fodder for their cattle, by way of the Balute and from their own land. In order to meet the cattle feed requirements, the lower caste Balutedars collect grass from the hills and waste lands which <sup>is</sup> commonly available. Most of the cattle were usually allowed to roam about in open space in villages or out side the village for grazing. It was noticed that, members of Balutedar families, who work as farm labour usually bring some grass from the fields of farmers when they return from day's work. Goats are usually taken by the female members of the Balutedar families and let loose for grazing in waste lands.

(4) Annual Income :

Information about the annual income is important for understanding the economic status of the family. In modern economy the annual income of individual family indicates most

of its achievements and disabilities, so also the vices and virtues. Low income for example, will engage an individual family more and more in some sort of hard labour to get enough income to pull on. The data regarding the annual income of Balutedar families have collected and is presented in Table 17.

**Table 17 :** Distribution of the Balutedars by their annual income.

Sr. No.:	Income Group Rs.	Village					Total N = 260
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1.	Upto 500	2 (0.77)	3 (1.15)	1 (0.39)	-	1 (0.39)	7 (2.69)
2.	501 to 1000	34 (13.07)	27 (10.38)	12 (4.62)	9 (3.46)	47 (18.08)	129 (49.62)
3.	1001 to 1500	20 (7.69)	26 (10.00)	8 (3.08)	3 (1.15)	28 (10.77)	85 (32.69)
4.	1501 to 2000	4 (1.54)	9 (3.46)	4 (1.54)	2 (0.77)	2 (0.77)	21 (8.07)
5.	2001 to 2500	3 (1.15)	1 (0.39)	1 (0.39)	-	3 (1.15)	8 (3.08)
6.	2501 to 3000	1 (0.39)	4 (1.54)	-	-	3 (1.15)	8 (3.08)
7.	3001 to 3500	-	-	1 (0.39)	-	-	1 (0.39)
8.	3501 to 4000	-	1 (0.39)	-	-	-	1 (0.39)
Total :		64 (24.62)	71 (27.32)	27 (10.38)	14 (5.38)	84 (32.30)	260 (100.00)

( Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentages )

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BALUTEDARS BY  
THEIR ANNUAL INCOME

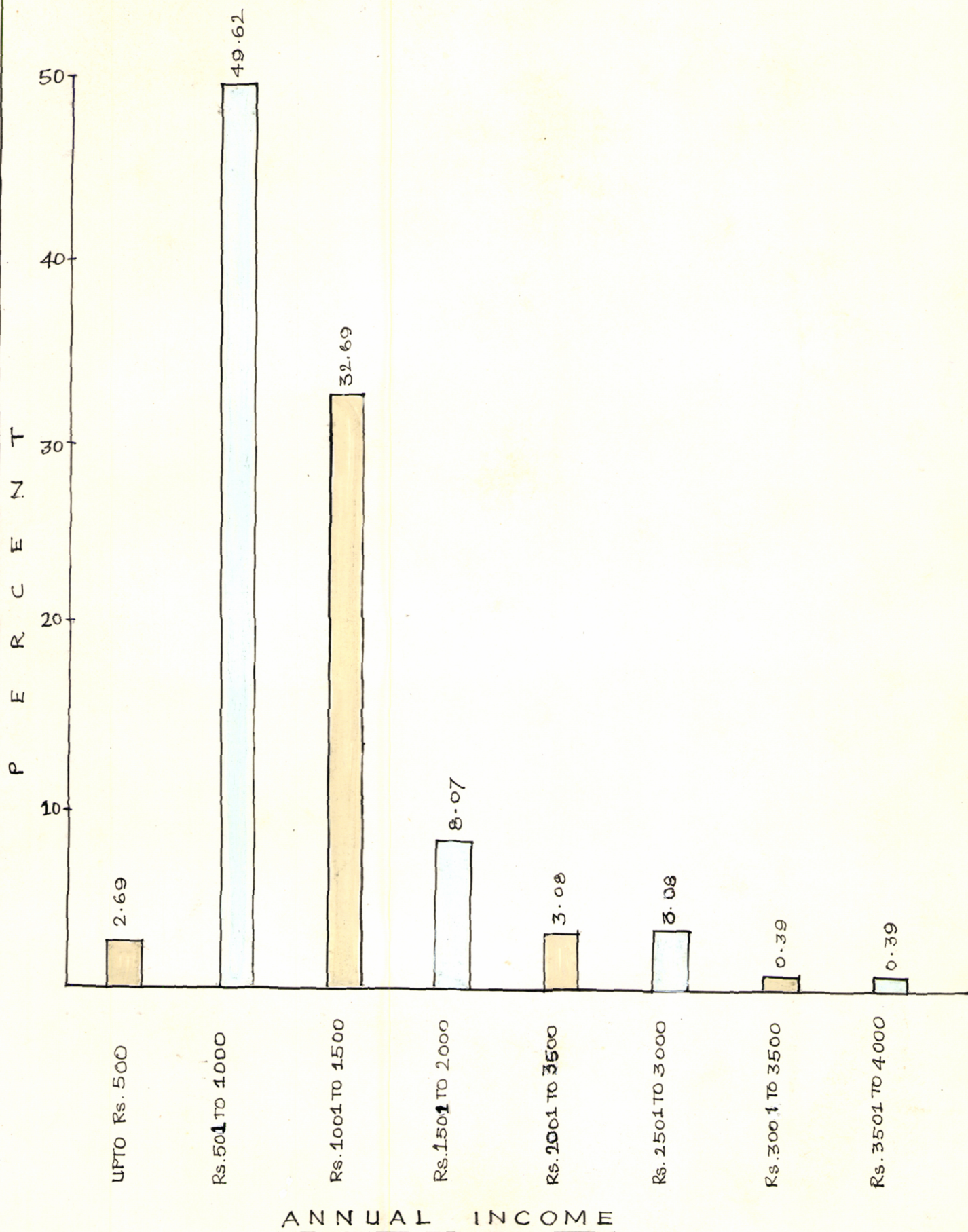


Table 17 reveals that nearly half (49.62 per cent) of the Balutedars were getting annual income from rupees '501 to 1000' while, nearly one third (32.69 per cent) were in the category of rupees '1001 to 1500'. The table also reveals that only 7 (2.69 per cent) Balutedars were getting annual income below rupees 500 and one out of twelve Balutedars was getting annual income ranging from rupees '1501 to 2000'. There were only 16 (6.16 per cent) Balutedars getting annual income ranging from rupees '2001 to 3000'. There was not a single Balutedar getting annual income above rupees 4000.

Average Annual Income of Balutedar Castes from Various Sources:

Balutedar families are engaged in one or more occupations to fulfill their family needs. It was observed that the Balutedars were getting annual income from various sources like - Balute (Payment received from farmers in kind) agriculture and other miscellaneous sources (Agricultural labour, services and non-agricultural labour). The average annual income of different Balutedar castes from these sources is presented in Table 18.

Table 18 reveals that the Mahars (Nav-Buddha) and Teli were not engaged in their traditional occupations and hence they were not getting any Balute. The Mali recorded the highest income from Balute, amongst all the Balutedar castes (Rs.475/-), while Gondhali got the lowest annual income from Balute (Rs.89.33). Sutar, Kumbhar, Koli and Jangam were getting annual average income

**Table 18 : Caste-wise distribution of Balutedars by the average annual income from various sources.**

Sr. No.:	Caste	Average income in Rupees						Total	
		From Balute		From Agriculture		From other Misc. sources:			
1.	Brahmin	225.00	n= 9	1335.55	n= 9	961.82	n=11	1653.66	n=15
2.	Gurao	268.18	n=11	735.71	n=14	540.00	n=10	1332.14	n=14
3.	Mali	475.00	n= 2	1900.00	n= 2	500.00	N= 1	2625.00	N= 2
4.	Mulani	105.00	n= 7	183.33	n= 3	894.44	n= 9	1037.22	n= 9
5.	Sutar	368.33	n=12	431.66	n=12	316.66	n=12	1112.50	n=12
6.	Kumbhar	346.11	n= 9	440.00	n=15	590.90	n=22	1007.95	n=22
7.	Nhavi	233.23	n=21	530.55	n=18	610.00	n=22	1266.72	n=22
8.	Parit	180.00	n= 7	285.71	n= 7	975.00	n= 8	1382.50	n= 8
9.	Gondhali	89.33	n= 3	200.00	n= 2	800.00	n= 4	967.00	n= 4
10.	Chabhar	187.11	n=19	520.00	n=15	648.61	n=18	1212.10	n=19
11.	Bhoi	118.33	n= 3	283.75	n= 3	900.00	n= 3	1301.66	n= 3
12.	Koli	300.00	n= 3	566.67	n= 3	416.66	n= 3	1283.33	n=3
13.	Ramoshi	121.25	n= 4	443.75	n= 8	525.00	n= 8	1031.25	n= 8
14.	Mang	106.90	n=21	207.33	n=30	673.49	n=43	870.35	n=43
15.	Mahar	-		348.71	n=39	865.00	n=54	1096.54	n=55
16.	Lohar	293.84	n=13	296.43	n=14	523.33	n=15	1054.66	n=15
17.	Teli	-		3000.00	n= 1	700.00	n= 2	1100.00	N= 2
18.	Jangan	351.66	n= 3	500.00	n= 1	750.00	n= 2	1018.33	n= 3
19.	Joshi	185.00	n= 1	-		200.00	n= 1	385.00	N= 1
<b>Total :</b>		<b>242.70</b>	<b>n=148</b>	<b>469.16</b>	<b>n=196</b>	<b>694.33</b>	<b>n=248</b>	<b>1141.50</b>	<b>n=260</b>

from Rs.300 to 400 from Balute. Brahmin, Gurao, Nhavi and Lohar castes were getting an average income of Rs.200 to 299, while all other castes were getting annual income ranging Rs. 100 to 199, by way of Balute. The total average annual income of 148 Balutedars who were engaged in traditional occupation, worked out to Rs.248.70.

Table 18 also indicates that out of 260 Balutedars 196 were getting part of their annual income from agriculture. The average annual income of these Balutedars worked out to - Rs.469.16. It is seen from Table 18 that the Teli was getting the highest annual income from agriculture (Rs.3000/-). Next to him was one Mali getting Rs.1900/- annually from agriculture. Joshi was land less Balutedar getting nothing from this source. Rest of all Balutedars were getting income from agriculture - ranging from Rs.183.33 to 735.71 per year.

The total income from agricultural labour, services and other non-agricultural labour was included in other miscellaneous sources. All the Balutedar castes were getting an - average Rs.400 to 975 from these sources except Joshi and Sutar. The total average annual income of 248 Balutedars from other miscellaneous sources was Rs. 694.33. Thus, it is found from Table 18 that Balutedars were getting most of their annual - income from these sources.

Brahmins were getting maximum total average annual income i.e. Rs.1653.66, while Joshi got Rs.385.00 which was the lowest.

Table 18 also shows that the total average annual income of Balutedars from all the sources comes to Rs.1141.50.

Type of income from Balute :

Balutedars render certain services to the cultivators and in return they get share of cultivators harvest periodically. Cultivators are the patrons of the Balutedars and pay them in kind for the services rendered. This payment in kind (Balute) was received by Balutedars in various forms like, Balute in the form of whole grains, Kadabi, clothes, Shidha and money. The data in this regards is presented in Table 19.

Table 19 : Distribution of Balutedars according to the kinds of Balute obtained.

Sr. No.:	Kind of Balute obtained	Village					Total :n= 148
		:Mhawshi	: Marul : H.	: Kadane	: M. : Wadi	:Chaphal	
1.	Grains	42 (28.38)	36 (24.32)	10 (6.76)	13 (8.78)	43 (29.05)	144 (97.29)
2.	Kadabi	38 (25.68)	19 (12.84)	7 (4.73)	12 (8.10)	31 (20.94)	107 (72.29)
3.	Clothes	2 (1.35)	7 (4.73)	1 (0.67)	3 (2.03)	26 (17.57)	39 (26.38)
4.	Shidha	5 (3.38)	13 (8.78)	1 (0.67)	2 (1.35)	31 (20.94)	52 (35.12)
5.	Money	18 (12.16)	22 (14.86)	3 (2.03)	5 (3.38)	31 (20.94)	79 (53.38)

( Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentages).

Table 19 reveals that most of the Balutedars i.e. 97.29 per cent were getting part of thier Balute in the form of - grains and 72.29 per cent in the form of Kadbi (Fodder). About 26 per cent Balutedars reported that they get a part of the Balute in the form of some clothes. However, 35.12 per cent and 53.38 per cent Balutedars were receiving some Balute in the form of Shidha and money respectively.

Basis for obtaining Balute :

The traditional payment of Balute has become uncertain and there was no fixed criteria or measure to obtain Balute from farmers. Generally, in Maharashtra, Balutedars apply some thumb rule of proportion while receiving the Balute from farmers. This basis for obtaining Balute was arbitrarily - decided by Balutedars and cultivators. The information regarding the basis on which Balutedars obtained their Balute was collected and presented in Table 20.

Table 20 : Distribution of the Balutedars on the basis of which they receive the Balutes.

Sr. No.:	Basis for receiving Balute	Village					Total n=148
		Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
1.	Land holding of the farmers.	2 (1.35)	5 (3.38)	3 (2.03)	-	8 (5.40)	18 (12.16)
2.	Annual income (out-put) of the farmer.	40 (27.03)	32 (21.62)	8 (5.40)	13 (8.78)	40 (27.03)	133 (89.87)
3.	Labour done for the farmer	23 (15.54)	27 (18.24)	3 (2.03)	6 (4.05)	34 (22.97)	93 (62.84)

( Note : Figure in the bracket indicates percentage ).

Table 20 clearly shows that there is not a fixed - measure for obtaining Balute. But maximum number of Balutedars (89.87 per cent) said that, they received Balute on the basis of annual income (out put) of the farmer while, 62.84 per cent received Balute in proportion of the work done for the farmers. A very few Balutedars (12.16 per cent) reported that the Balute was obtained on the basis of land holding of the farmers.

Time of collecting Balute :

Traditionally Balutedars serve the farmers throughout - the year for which he gets returns at the time of harvesting of the crops. Such Balutedars collect their Balute annually or during the harvesting season of the particular crop, while there are some Balutedars serve the religious, ceremonial and some domestic needs of villagers. Such Balutedars get their Balute periodically. Such collection of Balute in kind is not at - regular time. The data regarding the time of collecting Balute were collected and is presented in Table 21.

Table 21 : Distribution of Balutedars by the time of collecting Balute.

Sr. No.:	Time of collecting Balute	No. of the Balutedars	Percentage to the total (N=148)
1.	Annually	5	3.37
2.	Seasonally	135	91.22
3.	Irregularly	85	57.38

Table 21 reveals that a great majority (91.22 per cent) of the Balutedars collected part of their Balute seasonally - i.e. at the time of harvesting of Kharif and Rabi crops, while only few (3.37 per cent) Balutedars collected Balute annually. Out of 148 Balutedars 85 (57.38 per cent) reported that they collected Balute irregularly.

Shift in traditional occupation :

With the growth of industrialization, commerce, and rise of internal markets assisted by extension of transport facilities like railways and roads, the old self sufficiency of the village has been progressively worn down. The rigidity of the old division of labour has been softened. The old caste barriers to economic and occupational mobility are diminishing with distintegrating the 'Baluta System' in the villages.

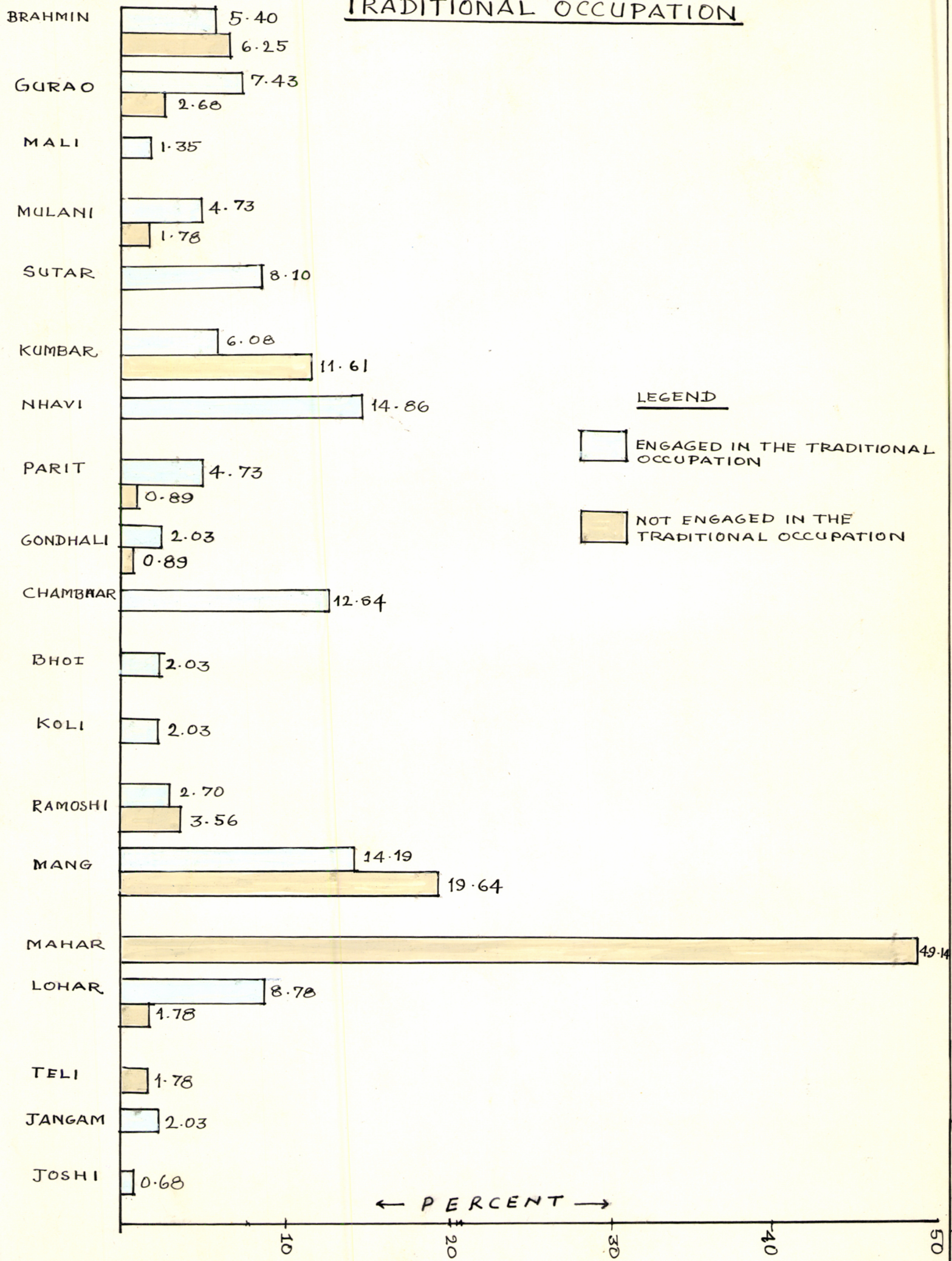
It was observed that the tendency to give up the traditional occupations was prominent among the Balutedars. The information about the Balutedars engaged and not engaged in their traditional occupation was collected and is presented in Table 22.

Table 22 reveals that out of 260 Balutedars studied, 112 (43.03 per cent) Balutedars had left their traditional occupations. All the Mahar (Nav-Buddha) did not attend to their traditional callings. Therefore, maximum per cent (49.14 per cent) Balutedars not engaged in their traditional occupation

**Table 22 : Information of Balutedars engaged in the traditional occupation.**

Sr. No.:	Name of the Balutedar :	Number of Balutedars			
		Engaged in traditional occupation		Not engaged in traditional occupation	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1.	Brahmin	8	5.40	7	6.25
2.	Gurao	11	7.43	3	2.68
3.	Mali	2	1.35	-	-
4.	Mulani	7	4.73	2	1.78
5.	Sutar	12	8.10	-	-
6.	Kumbhar	9	6.08	13	11.61
7.	Nhavi	22	14.86	-	-
8.	Parit	7	4.73	1	0.89
9.	Gondhali	3	2.03	1	0.89
10.	Chambhar	19	12.84	-	-
11.	Bhoi	3	2.03	-	-
12.	Koli	3	2.03	-	-
13.	Ramoshi	4	2.70	4	3.56
14.	Mang	21	14.19	22	19.64
15.	Mahar (Nav-Buddha)	-	-	55	49.14
16.	Lohar	13	8.78	2	1.78
17.	Teli	-	-	2	1.78
18.	Jangam	3	2.03	-	-
19.	Joshi	1	0.68	-	-
Total :		148	100.00	112	100.00

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE BALUTEPARS  
ENGAGED AND NOT ENGAGED IN THE  
TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION



were found in Mahar caste (Nav-Buddha). Next to them were - Mangs (19.61 per cent) and Kumbhars (11.61 per cent). It is also clear from the table 22 that proportionately more number of Brahmins and Ramoshis had left their traditional occupations. The tendency to give up the traditional occupation may be said to be some what prominent among the Mahars (Nav-Buddha), Mangs, Kumbhars, Brahmins, Ramoshi and Teli Balutedar castes, while it was less in other Balutedar castes i.e. Gurao (2.68 per cent), Mulani (1.78 per cent), Parit (0.89 per cent), Gondhali (0.89 per cent) and Lohar (1.78 per cent). A substantial number of Balutedars doing their traditional occupation were found in case of Nhavi, Mang, Chambhar, Sutar and Lohar.

Reasons for giving up the traditional occupation :

Brahmins who left the traditional occupation reported that they were previously working as 'Kulkarni' that is, their job was to write and maintain the village accounts and records and to assist village head-man in working correspondance with the Government. All these hereditary posts have been abolished recently. Secondly, they reported that the ceremonial and religious functions in the village did not give full engagement to them and so also enough income to maintain their families. Therefore, they had no alternative but to seek employment in another occupation.

Gurao, Mulani, Parit, Gondhali, Lohar and Teli Balutedars who had left their respective traditional occupations ,

however, reported that they did so because the income from it was too low to maintain the family.

Kumbhars who left the traditional occupation told that the essential raw material like earth for preparing earthen pots was not available in the vicinity of the village. As also most of the farmers now reduced the use of earthen pots as compared in the past, resulted in reducing the income of - Kumbhars.

Ramoshi and Mangs who left their traditional occupation offered two reasons. The first was that their income from traditional occupation was too meagre and secondly they felt it below dignity to perform the traditionally assigned jobs.

All the Mahars (Nav-Buddha) reported that their traditional work was of very low type and this was the main reason for all the Mahars (Nav-Buddha) to leave their traditional - occupation. Further, they told that they had changed their religion and had accepted the Buddha religion. Therefore, they do not want to associate themselves with their traditional - caste occupation.

Change experienced by Balutedars in receiving the Balute :

Mostly, Balutedars received their payment in kinds for the services rendered. Mainly the uncertainty of crop yields and inadequate yearly income of their clients has introduced a state of fluidity in the traditional payments of Balute. --

Balutedars had experienced certain changes while obtaining - their share (Balute) in the harvest of crops, from their clients. Table 23 shows the distribution of Balutedars according to the change experienced while receiving the Balute.

Table 23 : Distribution of Balutedars according to the change experienced in receiving Balute.

Sr. No.:	Change experienced in receiving Balute	Number	Per cent : N = 148
1.	Balute supplied was not in the proportion of the work done.	148	100.00
2.	Balute was not given in time.	144	97.31
3.	Quantity of Balute was relatively less in money equivalent.	86	58.11
4.	Not adequate.	140	94.59

Table 23 clearly indicates that, almost all ( Cent per cent ) Balutedars who received Balute experienced that it was not proportionate to their work i.e. they were not getting full benefits of their work. As many as 97.31 per cent Balutedars reported that they did not get the Balute in time i.e. they do not get their share from their clients when they go to collect it. Out of 148 Balutedars, 86 (58.11 per cent) received Balute relatively less in money equivalent and 140 (94.59 per cent ) experienced that the Balute received was not adequate to maintain their families.

Reasons for the changes in the Balute payment :

It was observed that, 70.40 per cent of Balutedars were experiencing hardship in obtaining the Balute due to very low agricultural production of their clients. Out of 148 Balutedars 63 (42.58 per cent) reported that, they had experienced change in obtaining the Balute because, some times their clients get their work done from some other sources. It was also observed that 31.75 per cent Balutedars were getting less and less traditional work year after year from their clients and hence, they received lesser payments. Seventeen Balutedars reported that they did not put more efforts in their traditional occupation because they were getting good income from their occupations and as a result they got less Balute. Thirty (20.27 per cent) Balutedars opined that their clients gave less Balute because they did not feel their necessity in the village.

Reasons for not liking to continue the traditional occupation :

Out of 148 Balutedars 70 (47.29 per cent) Balutedars did not like to continue their traditional occupation. To understand the reasons from such Balutedars the data were collected and are presented in Table 24.

It is found from Table 24 that, the maximum number of Balutedars (44.59 per cent) did not like to continue their traditional occupation, because they feel that the work traditionally assigned was of inferior type. As many as 40.54 per cent Balutedars reported that they had lost interest in --

**Table 24 :** Distribution of Balutedars by the reasons for not liking to continue the traditional occupation.

Sl. No.:	Reason	Number	Per cent n = 148
1.	No proper scope to the traditional occupation in the village.	31	20.94
2.	Inadequate income from the traditional occupation.	60	40.54
3.	Less remuneration as compared to the work put in.	37	25.00
4.	Traditionally assigned work is of inferior type.	66	44.59

continuing their traditional occupation because they got inadequate income to maintain their family. About 21 per cent Balutedars reported that there was no proper scope to their traditional occupation in the village, while 25 per cent expressed that farmers paid less remuneration and gave more work, therefore, they did not like to continue their traditional occupation.

Opinions of the Balutedars regarding their traditional occupation :

The opinions of the Balutedars regarding various aspects of their traditional occupation like, continuance of traditional occupation by their son, benefits accrued from the occupation, village situation for the traditional occupation, desirability

or otherwise of getting payment in kind for supplies and services etc. were sought. They are presented below :

(a) Opinion about continuance of traditional occupation by their sons :

The future of their traditional occupation will primarily depend upon the skills transmitted to the younger generation as well as inspiration given by the farmer or other relatives for continuing the traditional occupation. This mainly depends upon the personal opinion of the Balutedars. Opinions of the Balutedars were recorded and are given in Table 25.

Table 25 : Opinion of the Balutedars regarding continuation of the traditional occupation by their sons.

Sr. No.:	Opinion	Number	Percentage
1.	Son should not continue the traditional occupation.	94	63.52
2.	Son should continue the traditional occupation.	54	36.48
	<u>Total</u> :	148	100.00

It can be revealed that the majority of the Balutedars (63.54 per cent) did not desire their sons to continue the traditional occupation. However, 54 (36.48 per cent) Balutedars were of the opinion that their sons should continue their traditional occupation.

(b) Opinion about benefits accrued :

The opinions regarding benefits accrued from the traditional occupation from the point of view of satisfaction were sought. Only two Balutedars remarked that they got satisfactory benefits out of their work in the Balutedari, while 88.61 per cent remarked that they were not getting full benefits for their work.

(c) Opinion regarding the adequacy of work from the traditional occupation :

In this connection, majority of the Balutedars (79.05 per cent) opined that their traditional occupation could not provide adequate work for their family. However, 21.60 per cent Balutedars felt that their traditional occupation could provide adequate work to their family.

(d) Opinion regarding obtaining the Balute in the form of money :

It was found that the 41.22 per cent Balutedars desired to receive their Balute in kind rather than in the form of money. They did not desire to change the old pattern of receiving the Balute from their clients. The number of Balutedars who desired to get their traditional payment in the form of money was little more i.e. 58.78 per cent.

(e) Opinion regarding the village situation for the traditional occupation :

The Balutedars were interrogated so as to obtain information about the village situation for the traditional occupation like, competition in the occupation in the village. The information in this regard is presented in Table 26.

Table 26 : Distribution of Balutedars by their opinions regarding the village situation for the traditional occupation.

Sr. No.:	Opinion	Number	Per cent (n = 148)
1.	No competition in the traditional occupation in village.	38	25.68
2.	There is competition in traditional occupation in village.	110	74.34
3.	Village situation is not favourable for the traditional occupation.	104	70.27
4.	Village situation is favourable for traditional occupation.	44	29.73

It can be seen from the table 26 that 74.34 per cent Balutedars reported that there was competition in the traditional occupation in the village while, 25.68 per cent Balutedars reported that there was no competition in the traditional occupation in the village. As many as 104 (70.27 per cent) Balutedars remarked that the village situation is not favourable for the traditional occupation while, only 29.73 per cent Balutedars expressed that the village situation is favourable for the traditional occupation.

Socio-economic status of the Balutedars :

Socio-economic standing of any individual in a given community is dependent on many factors. Socio-economic status gives a picture of an individual or a family in respect of social and economic position in a community. Chapin has defined socio-economic status as 'the position an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural position and participation in the group activities of the community.

A socio-economic status scale developed by Dr.W.B. Rahudkar, was used in this study to determine the socio-economic status of the Balutedars. The scale is particularly useful in adoption studies and also economically oriented sociological studies. So this scale was employed for the purpose of ascertaining the socio-economic status of the Balutedars in this study. The total score has been taken as a measure of the socio-economic status of the Balutedars. This summation of score of all the elements of the scale of each Balutedar was classed and grouped in the appropriate groups. Table 27 shows the distribution of the Balutedars by the total score of the socio-economic status.

It is found from Table 27 that there was only one family from village Marul Haveli in first category i.e. upper score '46 and over' while there were five Balutedars (1.92 per cent) in the second category i.e. score between '41 to 45'. There was

**Table 27 : Distribution of the Balutedars by the total of socio-economic status score.**

Socio-economic status (Range in score)	Villages					Total N= 260
	Mhawshi	M. Haveli	Kadane	M. Wadi	Chaphal	
I. <u>Upper</u> 46 & over	-	1 (0.39)	-	-	-	1 (0.39)
II. <u>Upper middle</u> 41 to 45	1 (0.39)	2 (0.77)	-	-	2 (0.77)	5 (1.93)
III. <u>Lower middle</u> 36 to 40	9 (3.46)	11 (4.23)	4 (1.54)	1 (0.39)	8 (3.07)	33 (12.69)
IV. <u>Upper lower</u> 31 to 35	31 (11.93)	32 (12.31)	9 (3.46)	8 (3.07)	38 (14.61)	118 (45.38)
V. <u>Lower (Poverty)</u> 30 and below	23 (8.84)	25 (9.62)	14 (5.38)	5 (1.92)	36 (13.85)	103 (39.61)
<u>Total :</u>	64 (24.62)	71 (27.32)	27 (10.38)	14 (5.38)	84 (32.30)	260 (100.00)

( Note : Figures in the brackets indicate percentages ).

not a single Balutedar from the village Kadane and M.Wadi in this category. There were 33 (12.69 per cent) Balutedars in third category i.e. lower middle score of '36 to 40'. The maximum number of Balutedars viz. 118 (45.38 per cent) belonged to fourth class of upper lower i.e. '31 to 35' score range. The next majority of 103 Balutedars (39.61 per cent) were in the fifth class of lower indicating the status of poverty.

Average Socio-economic status score of the Balutedars :

The preceding table indicated the distribution of the total socio-economic status score of the Balutedars in general. In order to get a clear picture of the socio-economic status of different Balutedars, the information is presented in Table 28. The average socio-economic status score is presented for each type of the Balutedars in the different selected villages. This will facilitate comparison of different type of the - Balutedars.

Table 28 reveals that the Mali had secured an average score of (39.50). But the Brahmin from the village M. Haveli had secured 46 which was more than all the 260 Balutedars - studied. However, Brahmin Balutedars on an average secured 38.66 and were second in the socio-economic ranking of the Balutedars. So also Bhoies had an average score 35.66 and were third in the rank. Teli, Sutar, Gurao, Parit, Lohar and Koli had secured average score ranging from 30.00 to 35.00 , while Kumbhar, Nhavi, Mulani, Chambhar, and Jangam Balutedars had secured an average score between 31.00 to 33.00. Comparatively Mahar, Ramoshi, Mang, Joshi and Gondhali Balutedars - had lower score i.e. below 30 indicating the poverty status. Joshi Balutedar had a lowest (26.00) place in the scale of - socio-economic status.

**Table 28 : Average socio-economic status score of different Balutedars.**

Sr. No.:	Village					Average of the total	
	Balutedar	Mhawshi	Marul H.	Kadane	M. Wadi		Chaphal
1.	Mali	36.00	43.00	-	-	-	39.50
2.	Brahmin	43.00	46.00	-	-	37.33	38.66
3.	Bhoi	-	35.50	36.00	-	-	35.66
4.	Teli	-	32.00	38.00	-	-	35.00
5.	Sutar	36.66	34.50	34.66	33.00	33.33	34.66
6.	Gurao	34.14	35.00	37.00	34.00	33.00	34.43
7.	Parit	33.40	34.50	-	-	32.00	33.50
8.	Lohar	32.87	34.75	30.00	32.00	35.00	33.26
9.	Koli	-	-	-	-	33.00	33.00
10.	Kumbhar	28.00	33.80	35.00	33.00	32.62	32.86
11.	Nhavi	32.00	35.20	32.00	32.50	31.33	32.50
12.	Mulani	-	35.00	-	28.00	31.66	32.00
13.	Chambhar	32.57	30.62	-	37.50	29.50	31.94
14.	Jangam	-	-	-	-	31.66	31.66
15.	Mahar	30.20	29.93	28.57	29.00	28.06	29.10
16.	Ramoshi	-	30.00	28.50	-	27.00	28.87
17.	Mang	29.12	25.33	25.00	27.66	27.82	27.88
18.	Gondhali	-	27.00	-	-	-	27.00
19.	Joshi	-	-	-	-	26.00	26.00

1813

Confidential.

Graphic Address : Prinagri  
Kolhapur  
Phone's. (1) College Office—144, 1007  
(2) College Farm—2065  
(3) Principal's—2081  
Residence.

A. A. Memon  
Principal,  
College of Agriculture,  
Kolhapur.

D.O. No. ACK/1114/4574/1969,  
Kolhapur, dt. July, 1969.  
19 JUL 1969

Opened by me  
in  
26/7/69

Dear Sir *Govindkrishnasahib*.

While in the meeting you had called at Poona on 17th instant to prepare the list of examiners for the ensuing October examination, the list of examiners subjectwise and yearwise was prepared. I wish to draw your kind attention to the fact that while issuing invitations to the examiners concerned, the examiners may be particularly pointed out, if you think necessary, that the papers may be drawn according to the syllabus subjectwise keeping in view the differences in the syllabus of Poona University and Shiveji University. In this connection it may be necessary also to draw separate papers in some subjects, if the syllabus of the subject in two universities are widely different.

*with regards,*

Yours Sincerely,  
*A. Memon*

J-385-K  
30.7.69  
K

Shri. N. Gopal Krishna  
Director of Instructions,  
Maharashtra Krishi Vidyapeeth,  
College of Agriculture,  
Poona-5.

rkg/-

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

Indian Rural Society is divided into innumerable caste groups. Baluta system in rural Maharashtra is fundamentally based on caste system and division of labour. - Besides other factors, these Balutedar castes offer a wide range of similarities and differences as regards their formal educational level, family size, place of residence, social characteristics and economic characteristics such as land holding, occupation, income, opinions regarding their caste occupation as well as their socio-economic status.

In this study Balutedars comprising of 19 different castes viz. :

- |               |            |                           |
|---------------|------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Brahmin,   | 2. Gurao,  | 3. Mali,                  |
| 4. Sutar,     | 5. Lohar,  | 6. Kumbhar,               |
| 7. Nhavi,     | 8. Parit,  | 9. Gondhali,              |
| 10. Chambhar, | 11. Bhoi,  | 12. Koli,                 |
| 13. Ramoshi,  | 14. Mang,  | 15. Mahar<br>(Nav Buddha) |
| 16. Teli,     | 17. Jangam | 18. Joshi, and            |
| 19. Mulani.   |            |                           |

were available for study in the villages selected for study. All the 260 Balutedars from the five selected villages were - included in the sample for study.

Education :

The over all situation indicated that there was high percentage of illiteracy among the Balutedars studied. Of these 56.15 per cent of Balutedars had no formal education at all. This might be because of scarce educational facilities in rural areas in the pre-independence period and for about a decade in the post independence period. This might be also - due to poverty of the Balutedars and unawareness of the - parents of the heads of families regarding the importance of education. Again formal education was not very essential for carrying out the caste occupation and the children are often taken help of in the occupation so that they learn the caste occupation and become trained in the traditional occupation. Hence, children were usually not required to attend the school. Among the literate Balutedars 24.62 per cent had received primary education, about 14 per cent had middle school education and only 5 per cent received secondary education. It was also revealed that, due to poor economic condition, Balutedars could not take middle school and high school education and hence the too low per cent of Balutedars were found in this category.

As regards educational level of the Balutedars' family members, large number of persons i.e. 56.04 per cent were illiterate and very small number (1.25 per cent) had received college education. This is because low caste Balutedars like Mahar, Mang, Chambhar, etc. cannot afford to send their -

children to college and number of children from Balutedars had no work and they do not care to attend the school. Their sources of income are meagre and they have to get employed somewhere as labourers for fulfilling their family needs. Therefore, persons from Balutedars' families who had received middle school and secondary education was considerably low i.e. 15.05 per cent and 8.22 per cent respectively. More number of persons were educated upto the secondary level only in villages where there is secondary education facilities.

Family size :

Considerably large (45.78 per cent) number of families had 6 to 10 members in their families. Small number of Balutedar families had more than 15 persons in their family while 11.54 per cent Balutedar families were 11 to 15 Members. Comparitively less number of families had members upto 3.

The over all situation indicates that there is trend among Balutedars towards big sized families. This trend towards having big sized families may be due to several reasons. First is that the Indian families are generally joint families. It may also be due to unawareness of the rural people about the harmful effects of the big sized family on the happiness and prospects of the members. It also shows that Balutedars are not much educated about family planing. The big sized family may also be the result of out-look of the rural people towards child birth which is considered the gift from the God.

Place of Residence of Balutedars :

Traditionally certain Balutedar castes reside in certain locality fixed by village community. Place of their residence many times is recognised by their hereditary callings e.g. Sutarwada for the locality of Sutars, Kumbarwada for locality of Kumbhars, Mangwada for locality of Mangs and Maharwada for the locality of Mahars. It was observed that the houses of 51.86 per cent Balutedars were located within the village and 48.14 per cent Balutedar were residing outside the village. This is because the clean caste Balutedars who are not considered so inferior were allowed to build<sup>d</sup> their houses close to the other village community. However, there are some Balutedar castes considered inferior and traditionally they are not allowed to build their houses close to other clean castes. These unclean Balutedar castes staying little away from the village community include Mang, Mahar, Chambhar and Ramoshi. These castes were considered by other castes as unclean castes.

Caste and Religion :

Gurao, Sutar, Lohar, Kumbhar, Nhavi, Mang, Mahar play an important role in the village economy and social life and they constituted two thirds of total Balutedars studied. - Services of these Balutedar castes are essential in village while other Balutedars were least important. There is only one Balutedar caste from Muslim religion. The Mahar Balutedars -

have recently accepted the Buddha religion because they were traditionally assigned very low type of work and they were considered low caste untouchables - persons by village community. They also feel their traditionally assigned work, as below dignity.

Classification of Balutedars :

Balutedars castes were classified as per the role of their traditional occupation. Maximum number of Balutedars - were in first line because they play most important role in the village and next to this 36.58 per cent. Balutedars were observed in second line because their work was of secondary importance in the village economy and last class constituted only 24.53 per cent because they were least important in the village.

Interdining :

Brahmin and Sutar Balutedars consider themselves most superior and therefore, they do not accept food from any other castes while low Balutedar castes like Mali, Kumbhar, Gurao, Teli, Lohar, Gondhali, Bhoi, Nhavi, Parit, use to interdine - among most of the village castes. Ramoshi, Mang, Mahar and Chambhar are considered unclean Balutedar castes and therefore, majority of caste do not take Pakka food from these castes.

Inter-caste marriage :

The information collected showed that in none of the Balutedar families inter-caste marriage has taken place. This seems to be mostly due to rigorous social control over this custom. It may be said, therefore, that this social maladjustment shall not be a serious problem in the rural society for years to come.

Migration :

The men from the Balutedar families were migrated to the cities and towns in search of employment as their traditional occupation could not provide them satisfactory source of employment and livelihood. More number of persons from Balutedar families migrated from village Marul, Haveli, Mhawshi and Chaphal because these villages could not provide gainful employment to the young persons from Balutedar family. The migration of Balutedars also may be due to urban contacts, attraction of something better or lucrative may distract a young man causing him refuse to keep up the traditionally assigned work of his father. Better prospects, urban contacts, relatives and friends in urban areas might be some other causes resulting in migration of young Balutedars.

It was observed that even most of the Balutedars were desiring to migrate to the city and earn more money but they could not do so. Because of 1) of lack of confidence of -

proper scope for their occupation in the urban areas, 2) lack of adequate finance for establishing in the cities, 3) lack of latest new techniques and advanced information in their occupation which is essential to get more earnings in the city.

Economic characteristics :

(1) Land Holdings :

The Balutedars were very small land holders. Average size of holding of the Balutedar family worked out to only 2.12 acres while 21.54 per cent Balutedars had no land at all. Only about 15.00 per cent Balutedars had non-irrigated land above 4 acres and majority of the Balutedars (i.e. about 58 per cent) had non-irrigated land holding upto 4 acres. This is because the constant sub-division due to inheritance and abolition of the Inams of some Balutedars, as well as due to tenancy legislation some Balutedars, mostly Brahmins, had to give their land to their tenants.

As regards irrigated land holding a large majority i.e. 81.02 per cent Balutedars had no irrigated land at all. There was not a single Balutedar from the villages M.Wadi and Kadane having irrigated area. This is because these villages had very negligible irrigation facilities and thus there is very small area under irrigation in the village. Most of Balutedars do not take interest to cultivate their land because they had low type of land and income derived from such land is very meagre.

Occupation :

Every Balutedar caste has its own occupation which is generally hereditary in nature. Only 56.97 per cent Balutedars were following their traditional occupation. In addition to their traditional occupation they were also engaged in other secondary occupations like, Agriculture, Service, Agril. labour and other labour to supplement their income and family needs. About 40 per cent Balutedars were working as agricultural labourers and 19.25 per cent worked as other non-agricultural labour. While 67.37 per cent Balutedars were cultivating their lands and very few depended upon the service out side the village as teachers, and workers in the industries. Thus, it was interesting to find out that, there was not a single Balutedar who completely depended upon the traditional occupation. This is because the traditional occupation had not provided adequate income. The Mahars have completely left their traditional occupation due to religious change. Most of the Brahmins were also found not doing their traditional work as they could not get sufficient and satisfactory income. Therefore, they <sup>had</sup> ~~were~~ engaged themselves along with their family members in one or more other occupation<sup>s</sup> like service, <sup>and</sup> agriculture. As discussed above, the traditional occupation can not provide adequate work to the families of Balutedars in villages, only 10 per cent members of Balutedar families were working in their traditional occupation while 13.55 per cent persons were doing service. The maximum number of members from Balutedars' --

families were engaged in agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour. Since, it is the only occupation which is readily available and which does not require any special skill and/or capital, 19.20 per cent were receiving formal education in school and these were children. Some of the children were not at all attending school and were found idle this might be due to poverty and ignorance of their parents. Most of the household work was done by the ladies and, therefore, some what more (37.21 per cent) persons were observed in this category. It is clear that the substantial number of persons from Balutedar population are leaving their caste occupation, and accepting some other job. This is because the traditional occupations were extremely uneconomic. Only remedy to this seems to be to provide opportunities for gainful employment in rural areas by way of encouraging and helping cottage industries.

Cattle owned by Balutedars :

Comparatively less number (viz. 30.39 per cent) of Balutedars have maintained bullocks for farming. This is because number of Balutedars do not possess land and those who have some land might not be getting adequate work throughout the year and also yields to maintain bullocks. This might be due to very small and uneconomic holdings of the Balutedars. Large number of Balutedars (51.54 per cent) have kept buffaloes as milch animal. This attitude towards keeping more number of

milch animals may be for the reason that they get subsidiary income from milk to supplement their family income. For the same reason 25.77 per cent Balutedars had kept cows. Goat is poor man's cow and it is very economic to maintain. Therefore, 30.77 per cent Balutedars i.e. nearly one third of the population had kept the goat. This also might be due to reason that goat can be fed after the farm labourers from the Balutedar families. Most of the cattle were usually allowed to roam about in open spaces of villages during off season or out side the village for grazing. Particularly goats were taken by the female members of Balutedar families and let loose for grazing in waste lands.

Annual income :

Only 2.69 per cent Balutedars were getting annual income upto Rs.500/-. Most of the Balutedars i.e. 49.62 per cent were earning between Rs.501 to 1000/-. However, one third (32.69 per cent) of the Balutedars were getting between Rs.1001 to 1500 rupees. In these two income groups comparatively larger number of Balutedars were observed from village Mhawshi, Marul Haveli and Chaphal. This might be due to the fact that these villages are big villages and can provide better opportunities to the Balutedars in the village to raise their family income. There were only two Balutedars getting annual income from Rs.3001 to 4000/- and there was not a single Balutedar getting annual income above Rs.4000/-. Only about 14 per cent Balutedars were getting annually Rs.1501 to 3000/-.

This shows that generally Balutedars are not getting satisfactory annual income which might be due to :

- (1) Low agricultural production,
- (2) Very small land holdings,
- (3) Lack of education and occupational skill among the Balutedars and
- (4) Decline in their traditional occupations.

It was very interesting to note that on an average lowest income i.e. Rs.242.70 was annually derived from Balute or their traditional occupation. Mali used to receive highest (Rs.475/-) average income from Balute while Gondhali - received lowest income of Rs.89.33 from Balute. This might be due to falling out of some functions of Gondhali Balutedar Sutar, Kumbhar, Koli and Jangam were getting Rs.300 to 400/- and Gurao, Brahmin, Nhavi and Lohar caste were getting between Rs.200 to 300 while all other castes were getting annually - between Rs.100 to 200 Balute. This Balute was received in kind. It was observed that, the Balutedars were getting more income from sources other than their traditional occupation. This is might be due to the decline in the number of clients and - reasons mentioned before for low annual income. On an average all Balutedars were getting annually Rs.1141.50 from all - sources. However, they were getting maximum average income of Rs.694.33 per year from other miscellaneous secondary occupations which includes agricultural labour, service and non-agricultural labour.

The payment of Balutedar was received in kind which is locally termed as "Balute" was actually received in various forms. Most of Balutedars (97.29 per cent) received Balute in form of grains. This is because it is customary to pay the Balutedars at the time of harvesting of the crop, his share for his service in form of grains. Similarly at the time of harvesting the farmers use to give them certain number of bundles of the harvested crop along with the ear-heads and therefore, 72.29 per cent Balutedar reported that they have received part of their Balute in form of Kadabi. Very small number of Balutedars reported that they get Balute in form of 'Shidha' and clothes. This is because Shidha and clothes are paid to the certain type of Balutedars at the time of particular socio-religious ceremony and such ceremony are limited around the year e.g. Brahmin, Joshi and Jangam Balutedars get shidha in the marriage of their client as well as at the time of some religious functions such as christening ceremony, thread ceremony, Jawal ceremony etc. However, 53.38 per cent Balutedars received part of their total Balute in the form of money.

This traditional payment of Balute has become uncertain and therefore, there is no fixed criteria or measure to obtain Balute from the farmers or their client. Only 12.16 per cent Balutedars reported that they get their share on the basis of land holding while 89.87 per cent reported that they get Balute on basis of annual income (out-put) of the

farmer. This might be due to uncertainty of crop yields. However, 62.84 per cent reported that they get their share as per the labour done by them for the farmers.

Balutedars collect their payment in kind generally at the time of the harvesting. As there are two harvesting seasons of a year, Balutedar goes to his client in that season and collects his share seasonally. Hence most of Balutedars (91.22 per cent) reported that they collect part of their Balute seasonally and very few (3.37 per cent) reported that they collect their Balute annually. There are some Balutedars like Brahmin, Mali, Gurao, Parit, etc. whose services are frequently required and, therefore, they get Balute at irregular time or whenever the services are extended or performed for the farmers. Of the total Balutedars - 57.38 per cent Balutedars reported of getting Balute at irregular time.

Shift in traditional occupation :

Rapidly changing technology and economy of the country has particularly affected the occupational structure of the caste, with the result that a number of Balutedar families have either left their caste occupation or on the line of leaving their hereditary occupation. Out of the 260 Balutedars 112 (43.03 per cent) Balutedars had left their traditional occupation. There was not a single Balutedar from Mahar and Teli caste doing their hereditary caste

occupation. This is because Mahars were assigned lower type of work and were considered inferior, hence they have changed their religion and had accepted the Buddha religion. Therefore, they do not want to associate themselves with their traditional caste occupation. While, due to extension of Oil Mills, farmers get their oil-seeds crushed <sup>at a</sup> in cheaper rate resulting into complete winding up ~~off~~ of the traditional occupation of the Teli Balutedar. Brahmins left their traditional occupation because their job of maintaining village records and making correspondance with the Govt. is abolished and also the ceremonial and religious functions in the village did not give full engagement to them. This does not provide enough income to maintain their families. Large number (11.61 per cent) of Kumbhar families have left their traditional occupation. This might be due to the reason that earthen pots are not so durable as brass vessel. Production and use of such metal utensils has been increased on large scale and such utensils are being more popular in the village because they are more economical and last long. Therefore, potter's (Kumbhar's) traditional occupation has been lapsed to great extent. Most of Ramoshi families left their traditional occupation, because income derived from their traditional job was very meagre and they felt it below dignity to perform the traditionally assigned jobs. About 20 per cent were Mangs, among the Balutedars ~~who~~ have left their traditional occupation. This may be due to elimination of his role as an rope-maker in the village. Use of ropes is being less and less

day by day and farmers get ropes in market. Therefore, they do not like to use services of Mangs on Baluta basis.

All most all the Balutedars experienced that the 'Balute' received by them was not in proportion of their work and 97.31 per cent told that they could not get Balute in time. 58.11 per cent Balutedars received Balute relatively less in money equivalent and most of the Balutedar were not getting adequate 'Balute' to maintain their families. This was primarily due to very low agricultural production. This may also be due to the fact that farmers get their work done from some other skilled worker at cheaper rate and they do not feel importance of some Balutedars in the village and - farmers neglect to pay them their share, therefore, some Balutedars were getting less and less traditional work year after year.

Opinions of the Balutedars regarding their traditional occupation :

The opinions of the Balutedars regarding various - aspects of their traditional occupation were sought. It was observed that out of 148 Balutedars doing traditional work 44.59 per cent did not like to continue their traditional work because they feel, it was of inferior type. Twenty five per cent reported that they are getting less remuneration. As many as 40.54 per cent expressed inadequate income from traditional occupation as the reason for not continuing the occupation and

20.94 per cent felt "no bright scope" in doing the traditional occupation.

Majority of the Balutedars (63.54 per cent) did not desire to put their sons to their traditional work. This may be due to lack of proper scope in the occupation and their changing attitude to put their sons in some better job to earn better. 88.61 per cent Balutedars expressed that they were not getting full benefits for their work while, 79.05 per cent experienced that traditional occupation could not provide adequate full time work to their family. About 42 per cent Balutedars intend to get their share as Balute in the form of money equivalent. This may be due to the fact that - farmers do not pay them in kind properly. The Balutedars need cash to purchase grocery, clothes, etc. It was observed that in the village 70.27 per cent Balutedars were experiencing - unfavourable situation for the traditional occupation. This may be due to the weakened original values of the roles of the Balutedars in the village. Availability of finished goods of better quality in the urban areas or weekly bazars in the area might be other reason for decreasing demand for the services of Balutedars. An out-side economy threatens both farmers and Balutedars. The farmers do not get satisfactory produce at the same time do not get better prices for their produces, this also affects the payment to be made to the Balutedars.

Socio-Economic Status of the Balutedars :

Socio-economic standing of any individual in a community is dependent on many factors and it gives a picture of an individual or family in respect of social and economic position in a community. It was observed that there was only one Balutedar from Marul Haveli in upper socio-economic status score range. This may be due to the reason that the Balutedar had better scope for earning money as well as social status in the village. Similarly, very small per cent of Balutedars <sup>was</sup> were also placed in the upper middle category. Maximum (45.38 per cent) Balutedars belonged to the fourth class of upper lower and 39.61 per cent belonged to the fifth class of lower indicating the status of poverty. It is seen that majority of the Balutedars were found in the last two classes. This indicated their low socio-economic status. This may be due to reasons that they are not getting better income and better response from the village community. Low standard of living of the Balutedars is also indicated by the socio-economic status of the Balutedars. Viewing the average socio-economic status of the different Balutedar castes it seems that the Balutedar caste has its respective social and economic standing in the village community. Mali Balutedars had secured highest (39.50) average score. This may be due to the fact that Malis were possessing better land and they get better income from the agriculture. Next to this Brahmins had also secured higher (38.66) socio-economic

score than other Balutedars. This may be due to the better educational level and better living as well as economic standard of this particular Balutedar. Bhoi, Sutar, Teli, Gurao, Parit, Lohar and Koli Balutedar had secured average socio-economic score ranging from 30 to 35.66. This is because these Balutedars had the upper lower socio-economic standard. However, Kumbhar, Nhavi, Mulani, Chambhar and Jangam Balutedars had secured an average score between 31 to 33. Comparatively Mahar, Ramoshi, Mang, Joshi and Gondhali Balutedars had a lowest score i.e. below 30 indicating the poverty status. The Joshi Balutedar had lowest (26) place in the scale of socio-economic status. This is because the role of these Balutedar is being eliminated day by day and their socio-economic status is descending due to the changing socio-economic conditions in the village. Thus the deterioration and disintegration of the roles and functions of Balutedars had affected the Baluta system as whole. The Balutedar families are not getting enough income by working for the farmers and rural society. Renovation of this Baluta system seems to be essential for maintaining the self sufficient nature of village in respect of goods they need.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Indian society and the caste are closely related. In other societies of the world the family is much important in deciding what individual will be in his future life. In our country in addition to this, the caste of an individual had been and to large extent at present too is a factor playing vital role in guiding destinies of an individual. Caste is a basic constituent of the Baluta system which traditionally assigns the roles and functions of an individual in village communities of the Maharashtra.

The main purpose of this study was to test the hypothesis that : the Baluta system in rural Maharashtra has undergone a social change in respect of the traditional occupation, economic condition, and social status of the Balutedars. In addition, it was also intended to study various socio-economic factors which led to slow disintegration of abolition of the Baluta system.

For testing the above hypothesis and to collect the data regarding the present position of the Baluta system a sample of 260 families of different Balutedar castes from randomly selected five villages from Patan taluka of Satara district was selected.

The study attempted to bring out factual information regarding the personal, social and economic characteristics of the Balutedars. It also tried to understand the position of their traditional occupation and socio-economic status. The findings of this study are summarised below :

The sample of 260 Balutedars was constituted by 56.15 per cent illiterate, 24.62 per cent educated upto primary school, 14.23 per cent educated upto middle school and only 5 per cent Balutedars who had some secondary education. Of the 1276 members of these Balutedar families 56.04 per cent were illiterate inspite of the fact that all the villages under study had primary schools and compulsory primary education Act, is in force in the State. About one in five family members of Balutedar's family had received education upto 4th standard while one out of seven members of Balutedar families had received middle school education i.e. from Vth to VIIth standard. However, only one out of ten had received secondary school education and only one in eighty members of Balutedar families had received some college education.

Out of 260 Balutedar families studied 45.78 per cent families were having 6 to 10 members, 39.60 per cent had members upto 5, 11.54 per cent were having 11 to 15 members and only 3.08 per cent were having more than 15 family members.

It was revealed that out of 19 Balutedar castes studied, houses of 15 Balutedar castes were located within the village

and these were :

- |             |              |            |             |
|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| 1) Brahmin, | 2) Gurav,    | 3) Mali,   | 4) Sutar,   |
| 5) Lohar,   | 6) Gondhali, | 7) Teli,   | 8) Jangam,  |
| 9) Joshi,   | 10) Koli,    | 11) Nhavi, | 12) Mulani, |
| 13) Bhoi,   | 14) Kumbhar, | 15) Parit. |             |

However, houses of only four castes were located at the out skirt<sup>d</sup> of the villages. These four castes were, 1) Mang, 2) Mahar, 3) Chambhar, and 4) Ramoshi which constituted 125 (48.14 per cent) Balutedar families.

Among the 19 Balutedar castes studied 17 Balutedar castes belonged to Hindu religion. Only one Balutedar caste belonged to Muslim religion and other 'Mahar' caste belonged originally to Hindu religion but now converted to ~~the~~ Buddhism. (Nav-Buddha). The data also revealed that out of 19 Balutedar castes 7 castes existed in all the five villages studied and constituted two third (67 per cent) of the total number of Balutedars. These castes were, 1) Gurao, 2) Sutar, 3) Kumbhar, 4) Nhavi, 5) Mang, 6) Mahar (Nav-Buddha) and 7) Lohar. These Balutedar castes are playing important role in rural social life. It seems that these seven service castes are most essential in each village.

In all, Balutedars were classified in three lines as per their traditional role in village life. Maximum (38.89 per cent) Balutedars were in first line, while 36.58 per cent were in the second line. These two lines or classes of --

Balutedars constituted 3/4th of the total Balutedars in the sample. Only one fourth (24.53 per cent) Balutedars were found in the last class or third line.

It was observed that Brahmin was at the top in the rank of Balutedar castes. Then comes the Sutar, Jangam and Joshi. Gurav and Mali can be ranked after Joshi because they accept food from twelve castes. Kumbhar, Teli, Lohar, Gondhali, Bhoi, Koli, Nhavi and Parit considered themselves equal as all of them do not accept food from Mulani, Ramoshi, Chambhar, Mang and Mahar. After these eight castes comes the Mulani (Muslim) he accepts food from majority of the castes. Chambhar, Mang and Mahar are the last because they are considered lower castes and known as untouchable castes, while Ramoshi was considered superior to these three castes. It was also further observed that inter-caste marriages do not occur among the Balutedar castes.

It also revealed that nearly one out of 6 to 7 persons in Balutedar families had migrated. It has also indicated that out of 148 Balutedar families engaged in traditional occupation as many as 88 (59.46 per cent) were expecting to settle in city and earn more money.

Out of 260 Balutedars 56 Balutedars i.e. 21.54 per cent did not own any land at all. The maximum number of Balutedars (34.23 per cent) were in a single size group of 2 to 4 acres. The next important size groups with substantial number of Balutedars was 'less than one acre and 1 to 2 acres'. Only

49 Balutedar families (18.08 per cent) had some irrigated land. None of the Balutedars had more than four acres of irrigated land. This indicates that, Balutedars are very small land holders and there is practically no scope for them to pursue farming as the complete source of income for maintaining the family.

It was interesting to find out that there was not a single Balutedar family depending completely upon the traditional caste occupation. The occupations of Balutedars were grouped in the main categories namely, i) traditional occupation, ii) other occupations which were further classified into four categories viz. Agril. labour, other labour, Agriculture and services. 112 (43.02 per cent) Balutedara families have completely left their traditional occupation. It was revealed that, there have been considerable changes in occupation of Balutedars. As many as 40 per cent Balutedars were engaged in agricultural labour and 19.25 per cent were engaged in other occupations such as tailoring, trade, masoning, selling of fire wood, coolie work etc. Most of them (67.37 per cent) were engaged in agriculture. A very few Balutedars - completely depended upon the service out side the village as teachers and labourers in the industries situated nearby. For most of the Balutedar families studied no single occupation provided adequate income. They had, therefore, to engage themselves and their family members generally in more than one occupation. Household work was mostly done by the female -

members. Hence higher per cent (37.24) of members were - observed in this category. The bulk of agricultural and other labour was done by the Balutedar family members in the village.

The animals serve as an important source of power in carrying on agriculture and also are being used as means of subsidiary income. About thirty per cent Balutedars had one or two bullocks while 51.54 per cent had kept buffaloes. It was also observed that some lower caste Balutedars had kept sheep and goats for sheep folding on some fixed amount. The number of buffaloes were the highest (i.e. 181) among all the cattle owned by Balutedars, 125 Balutedars had some land but no bullocks, probably because their holdings were too small to maintain a bullock pair. Quite a large number of Balutedars had kept milch animals to supplement their family income.

It is revealed that majority of the Balutedars (49.62 per cent) were getting annual income between Rs. 501 to 1000 while nearly one third (32.69 per cent) were earning Rs. 1001 to 1500. There were only 6.16 per cent Balutedars getting annual income ranging from Rs. 2001 to 3000 and not a single Balutedar was getting annually above Rs. 4000. It was also found out that Mahars (Nav-Buddha) and Teli caste were not at all doing traditional occupation and hence they were not getting any 'Balute'. Mali received the highest Balute i.e. Rs. 475 per year while Gondhali got the lowest i.e. Rs. 89.33.

Sutar, Kumbhar, Koli and Jangam had received on an average Rs.300 to 400 income from 'Balute'. Brahmin, Gurav, Nhavi and Lohar Balutedars were getting Rs. 200 to 299, and the rest were getting Rs. 100 to 199 per year by way of Balute. The total average annual income of 148 Balutedars engaged in traditional occupation, worked out to Rs. 248.70. Joshi was landless Balutedar getting nothing from agriculture while rest of all Balutedars were getting income from agriculture Rs. 183.33 to 735.71 per year. Balutedar castes were getting an average income of Rs. 400 to 975 from the miscellaneous sources. Brahmins were getting maximum total average annual income i.e. Rs. 1653.66, while Joshi got Rs. 385/- which was the lowest. The total average annual income of all the Balutedars from all the sources comes to Rs.1141.50.

Most of the Balutedars (97.30 per cent) were getting part of their Balute in the form of grains and 72.29 per cent in the form of Kadbi (fodder) also. About 26 per cent reported that they get some clothes as 'Balute' while 34.74 per cent and 53.38 per cent Balutedars were receiving some Balute in the form of Shidha and money respectively.

There was no fixed criteria for obtaining Balute. But maximum Balutedars (89.87 per cent) reported that Balute received was in proportion of annual income of the farmer or client while 62.84 per cent received Balute in proportion of the services rendered for farmers or clients. Very few (12.16 per cent) had received their share on the basis of the land holding of their client.

The great majority (91.22 per cent) of the Balutedars collected some Balute seasonally and 57.38 per cent reported that they use to collect Balute irregularly.

The tendency to give up the traditional occupation was some what prominent among the Mahars (Nav-Buddha), Mangs, Kumbhars, Brahmins, Ramoshi and Teli Balutedar castes while it was less in other Balutedar caste i.e. Gurao (2.68 per cent), Mulani (1.78 per cent), Parit (0.89 per cent), Gondhali (0.89 per cent) and Lohar (1.78 per cent). A substantial number of Balutedars doing their traditional occupation were found in case of Nhavi, Mang, Chambhar, Sutar and Lohar.

Very low income from the traditional caste occupation was reported as the main cause for leaving the caste occupation by all the Balutedars. Kumbhar in addition reported that farmers now reduced the use of earthen pots and Ramoshi and Mang Balutedars reported that they felt it below dignity to perform the traditionally assigned job. Brahmin reported that their hereditary posts of Kulkarni is abolished and ceremonial and religious functions in village did not give full engagement to them. All the Mahars (Nav-Buddha), however, stated that it was too low for them to perform traditional callings while a large proportion in addition said that as they had accepted Buddhism and did not think that it was obligatory for them to follow the traditional occupation.

Mostly Balutedars received their payment in kinds for

the services rendered. All most all Balutedars experienced that Balute received was not proportionate to their work. About ninety seven per cent reported that they did not receive Balute in time while 58.11 per cent reported that they receive Balute relatively less in money equivalent and 94.59 per cent reported that the Balute alone was not - adequate to maintain their families. The main reason why - Balutedars experience all these hardships in obtaining Balute was very low agricultural production of their clients.

The maximum number (44.59 per cent) Balutedars showed unfavourable attitude to continue their traditional occupation because the work traditionally assigned was of inferior type. Others reported that they had lost interest in continuing their traditional occupation. About 25 per cent reported that farmers paid less remuneration and gave more work.

It is revealed that the majority of the Balutedars (63.54 per cent) did not desire their sons to continue the traditional occupation and 88.61 per cent remarked that they were not getting full benefits for their work. About seventy nine per cent Balutedars stressed that their traditional occupation could not provide adequate work for their family. Majority of Balutedars expected to get their traditional payment in the form of money 74.34 per cent told that there was competition in traditional occupation in the village.

Socio-economic status gave over all picture of plane

of living of Balutedars. There was only one Balutedar in upper socio-economic status score range and only 5 (1.93 per cent) - in second class of upper middle socio-economic status. 12.69 per cent Balutedars were in lower middle score range while great majority was observed in upper lower and lower i.e. - 45.38 per cent and 39.61 per cent respectively which indicates status of poverty. Further averages of socio-economic status scores of different Balutedar castes shown that Mali and Brahmin Balutedar had highest socio-economic status i.e. they had secured average score 39.50 and 38.66 respectively while, Teli, Sutar, Gurao, Parit, Lohar and Koli had secured average score ranging from 30 to 35 except Bhoi who scored 35.66 average score. All the other Balutedar castes secured score below lower score i.e. below 30, indicating poverty status and Joshi Balutedar had the lowest place in the scale of socio-economic status.

#### CONCLUSIONS

There was a high percentage of illitracy among the - Balutedars studied. It was also observed that a large number of persons from the Balutedar families were uneducated. It was found that there was trend among Balutedars towards a big sized family. The unclean caste Balutedars like, Mahar, Mang, Chambhar and Ramoshi were staying little away from the village community. More number of Balutedars found in the villages were Sutar, Lohar, Chambhar, Kumbhar, Parit, Nhavi, Mang and

Mahar. They were considered essential Balutedars in the - village. The men from the Balutedar families migrated to the cities and towns in search of employment as their traditional occupation could not provide enough income. It was also found that most of the Balutedars expressed their desire to migrate to the cities and earn more money.

As regards economic characteristics, Balutedars were very small land holders and had very tiny size of holdings. Therefore, income derived by Balutedars from agriculture was very meagre. There was not a single Balutedar completely dependent upon the traditional caste occupation. This was because traditional occupation could not provide them adequate income. Therefore, in addition to their traditional occupation, Balutedars were also doing some secondary occupations, like, agriculture, service, agricultural labour and other - labour. Some Balutedars had completely left their traditional caste occupation and accepted some other business for bettering the socio-economic condition. Most of the persons from the Balutedar families were working as labourers in or outside the village. Substantial number of young persons from Balutedar population were leaving their hereditary caste occupation and accepting other more paying jobs.

Balutedars were not getting satisfactory annual income from the Balute. The average annual income of a Balutedar from all the sources was Rs.1141.50 and of which it was only -

Rs.242.70 from Balute. Most of Balutedars received their payment in kind i.e. in the form of grains, at the time of harvesting the crops. Small number of Balutedars were receiving "shidha" and clothes as Balute. This traditional payment of Balute was uncertain and there was not fixed measure to obtain Balute from the farmers. Most of Balutedars received Balute on the basis of annual income of the farmers which was not in proportion to their work. Rapidly changing technology and economy of the country has particularly affected the occupational structure of the caste with the result that number of Balutedar families have either left their traditional occupation or on the verge of leaving it. This was also because their traditional caste occupation could not provide adequate income to maintain their families. There was considerable change in their hereditary caste occupations.

Nearly half the number of Balutedars doing traditional occupation, did not like to continue their traditional occupation and a large majority did not desire to put their sons in the traditional occupation. A large majority of Balutedars expressed that the traditional occupation cannot provide adequate full time work to their family. Unfavourable village situation was experienced by Balutedars for their traditional occupation.

Balutedars had very low socio-economic status. Brahmin and Mali Balutedars had higher socio-economic status than

other Balutedars and Ramoshi, Joshi, Mang, Mahar and Gondhali Balutedars had lower socio-economic status indicating the poverty status. The overall situation indicates that the Baluta system is vanishing and rule of survival for the fittest seems to be operative for the castes engaged in this system.

Implications :

From the foregoing discussion, it is seen that the Baluta system in our villages is on the verge of total decline. Balutedars are leaving their caste occupation very fast. It is, therefore, necessary to strengthen vocational education at the village level so that the persons leaving caste occupation may not become direct burden to agriculture.

Since some of the Balutedars are very useful for the farming even to-day. It is, therefore, necessary to renovate this system of supplies and services in the villages to help in achieving the goal of self sufficient villages. The essential artisan occupations like Carpentary, Smithy, rope-making, etc., if organized on sound basis involving modern techniques the farmers as well as Balutedars will be benefited.

There was large amount of unemployment with the Balutedars in the villages. This resulted into migration of large number of persons from Balutedar families, though many of them have knowledge and skill about their traditional occupation. - They are compelled to divert to other jobs in the cities. With

a view to overcome these problems small scale industries - relating to the Balutedars' occupation should be organized in groups of villages to give them employment utilizing local material. Thus, village artisans can be engaged in preparing such articles which would help the agricultural production - and farmers' everyday needs.

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APPENDIX I

Statement showing the names of villages selected for study  
and number of Balutedars interviewed.

Sr.No.:	Name of the village	:	Number of the Balutedars
1.	Mhawshi	...	64
2.	Marul Haveli	...	71
3.	Kadane	...	27
4.	Mane Wadi	...	14
5.	Chaphal	...	84
	<u>Total</u> :	...	260

APPEND IX-II

खेड्यातील व्हुते पध्दती विषयी अन्यासासाठी

-:पू. ज्ञा व ली:--

१. व्हुतेदाराचे नांव :- -----  
गाँव ----- तालुका ----- शिक्षण -----  
वय ----- जात ----- धंदा -----

२. घरातील माणसांची माहिती-

अ.क्र. नाँव नाते वय शिक्षण व्यवसाय सध्या रहाण्याचे गावा-  
ठिकाण पासून  
अंतर  
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३. तुम्हा कसत असलेली एकूण जमीन- जिराईत बागायत  
(अ) खंडाने कसत असलेली.  
(ब) वाटयाने (बटाईनी) केलेली.  
(क) पडीक.  
(ड) एकूण.

४. एकूण जनावरे ----- बैल ----- गाई ----- म्हशी ----- इतर --

५. कुटुंबातील माणसे आपणास घेयात मदत करतात काय? होय-नाही.  
असल्यास कोणत्या प्रकारे-

अ.क्र. मदतीचा प्रकार होय नाही किती

- (१) घेयात काम करून मदत करतात.  
(२) मॉडवलासाठी पैसे पुरवितात.  
(३) कच्चा माल पुरवितात.  
(४) इतर प्रकारे कोणत्या?  
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६. आपण स्वतःच्या घरात रहाता काय? होय-नाही.

१. नसल्यास दुस-याच्या घरात किती वर्षे रहात आहात?  
२. या गाँवात आपण किती वर्षांपासून रहाता?

७. आपणास मिळणा-या ऋत्या विषयी माहिती-

अ.क्र. कशाच्या प्रमाणात होय नाही एकरी रूपये इतर  
घान्य चारा कपडे शिधा

१. शेतक-याच्या जमिनीच्या प्रमाणात
२. शेतक-याच्या वार्षिक उत्पन्नाचे प्रमाणात.
३. आपण केलेल्या कामाचे प्रमाणात.

८. तुमचे एकूण वार्षिक उत्पन्न (अ) ऋत्यापासून रूपये.  
(ब) शेतीपासून रूपये.  
(क) इतर व्यवसायापासून (कोणत्या) रूपये.  
(ड) एकूण. रूपये.

९. आपण ऋते कसे व किती वसूल करता?

वार्षिक	हंगामी	सहामाही	तिमाही	मासिक
होय किती किलो	होय किती किलो	होय किती किलो	होय किती किलो	होय किती किलो

१०. गेली दहा वर्षे एवढेच ऋते आपणास मिळत होते काय? होय-नाही.  
नसल्यास काय फरक झाला?

अ.क्र. काय फरक झाला. होय नाही फरक पडण्याची कारणे

१. कामाचे मानाने ऋते कमी मिळते.
२. ऋते वेळेवर मिळत नाही.
३. पैशाचे स्वरूपात कमी मिळते.
४. अपुरे आहे.
५. इतर (कोणता)

११. आपणास बलुते पैशाचे स्वरूपात मिळावे असे वाटते काय? होय-नाही
१२. तुमच्या श्रमाचा पूर्ण मोबदला तुम्हास मिळतो काय? होय-नाही
१३. नसल्यास कोणत्या प्रमाणात मिळावा असे तुम्हास वाटते?

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१४. आपणास हाच धंदा सुरू ठेवावा वाटतो काय? होय-नाही  
नसल्यास कारण -----

१५. आपणास हा धंदा सोडून दुसरा करावा वाटतो काय? होय-नाही
१६. तुमच्या मुलाने हाच धंदा करावा असे तुम्हास वाटते काय? होय-नाही
१७. तुमच्या धंद्यात तुम्ही काय सुधारणा केल्या?

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अ.क्र. केलेल्या सुधारणा. सुधारणा करण्याचे कारण सुधारणा न करण्याचे कारण  
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१८. तुमच्या धंद्यात चढाओढ होत काय? होय-नाही
१९. या धंद्यामुळे तुम्ही गावाची सेवा करता असे तुम्हास वाटते काय? होय-नाही
२०. गावातील परिस्थिती तुमच्या धंद्यास अनुकूल आहे काय? होय-नाही
२१. या पेक्षा शहरात जावून जास्त पैसे कमावावे असे तुम्हास वाटते काय? होय-नाही
२२. तसे वाटत असल्यास स्थलांतरास काय अडचणी आहेत. -----

२३. तुमचा धंदा तुमच्या कुटुंबास पुरेसा आहे काय? होय-नाही.
२४. तुमच्या व्यवसायास सरकारकडून मदत मिळते याची तुम्हास माहिती आहे काय? होय-नाही
२५. असल्यास आपण कशी काय मदत घेतली?

(अ) -----  
(ब) -----

२६. तुमच्या व्यवसायाचे धंदेशिक्षणास तुम्ही मुले पाठविली आहे काय? होय-नाही

२७. असल्यास  
(अ) कोणत्या  
(ब) किती दिवस?

१८. दुस-याचे पक्क अन्न खाता काय? होय-नाही
१९. असल्या कोणात्या जाती कडून? (अ) ----- (ब) -----  
(क) ----- (ड) ----- (ई) -----
२०. दुस-या जातीत विवाह करता काय? होय-नाही
२१. शेजारच्या गावात कामासाठी जाता काय? होय-नाही
२२. आपण मांसाहारी आहात काय? होय-नाही
२३. या बदलत्या काळात घेऊन तुमच्या व्यवसाया विषयी आपले सर्वसाधारण काय मत आहे? -----  
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सोसियो इकाॅनामिक स्टेटस स्केल

(मार्जिनमधील अंकाभोवती वर्तुळ काढावे)

क.

जमिनीची मालकी-

५. जमिनीचे मालक, कूळ नसलेले.
४. जमिनीचे मालक, पण कूळ असलेले.
३. जमिनीचे मालक, पण कोही जमिन कूळाला दिलेली.
२. जमिनीचे मालक, पण सर्व जमिन कूळाला दिलेली.
१. कूळ.

ख.

एकूण कसत असलेली जमिन-

५. १२० एकर व अधिक
४. ८० ते ११९ एकर.
३. ४० ते ७९ एकर.
२. २० ते ३९ एकर.
१. २० एकरापेक्षा कमी.

ग.

राहत्या घराची बांधणी-

५. दगड व चुना (७ टक्के पेक्षा अधिक)
४. विटा व चुना.
३. विटा व माती.
२. माती.
१. कूड व ताट्या (झोपडी)

च.

राहत्या घरांची स्थिती-

५. स्वच्छ व चांगले आंगण व घर.
४. स्वच्छ व टावटीय घर.
३. दुरुस्तीची थोडी अवश्यकता असलेले.
२. मोडकळीस आलेले.
१. पडझड बरीच झालेली.

छ.

घरांतील खोल्याची संख्या-

५. ६ पेक्षा अधिक खोल्या.
४. ५ खोल्या.
३. ३ खोल्या.
२. २ खोल्या.
१. १ खोली.

दिवाबत्तीची सोय-

५. वीजेचे दिवे.
४. पेट्रोलमॅक्स.
३. कंदील.
२. चिमणी (काच असलेली)
१. चिमणी (काच नसलेली)

ड

रहात्या घराची मालकी-

५. मालकीचे घर.
४. भाड्याचे घर.
३. दुस-याच्या मालकीचे पण भाड्याने न घेतले.

ट

घरांत विहिर-

- ८ होय
- ४ नाही

ठ

घरात आठवडी वर्तमानपत्र येते-

- ६ होय
- ३ नाही

ड

पतीचे शिक्षण (कुटुंबातील कर्ता)

५. महाविद्यालयीन
४. हायस्कूल
३. मिडल स्कूल (माध्यमिक)
२. प्राथमिक.
१. अशिक्षित.

प

पत्नीचे शिक्षण-

५. हायस्कूल
४. माध्यमिक
३. प्राथमिक
२. लिहीता वाचता येते
१. अशिक्षित.

फ

घरातील वस्तू-

असलेल्या छकडा, रेडिओ, आलमारी, पुस्तके, बुनिया, टेबल,  
दिवानखाना, पैलंग, मोठी ताब्यापितळेची मांडी, हंडी, तिजोरी.

न

जाती व धंदा-

५. उच्च जाती (ब्राम्हण व कुनबी)
४. उच्च धंदा (वाणी तेली व्यापार)
३. कारागीर (सुतार, लोहार)
२. कनिष्ठ जाती.
१. हरिजन व वन्य जाती.