CHAPTER IV

KHEDA DISTRICT:

A SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT TO THE STUDY

This chapter gives a socio-historical context of the area studied, namely, Kheda district, so as to enable us to have a better understanding of the subsequent discussion that follows in the following chapters. In the first section of this chapter, the geographical location of the district and in brief, its topography shall be discussed. Secondly, the administrative history of the district will be presented. Next the demographic profile will be discussed in a brief manner. Fourthly, the political rivalry between the two main competing castes, the Patidars and Kshatriyas, shall be traced. Fifthly, the importance of irrigation and its impact on the social life of the district will be brought out. And in the end, the subsidiary nature of dairying shall be highlighted.

Geographical Location and Topography

Situated in central Gujarat, Kheda district is the fifth smallest district of the state. Measuring 7194 square kilometres and accounting for 3.67% of the total geographical area of the state, it lies between 22°7' N and 23° 18' N latitudes and 72°15' E and 73°37'E longitudes. It is bounded on the north by Sabarkantha district, on the south by the Nahi river and the Gulf of Cambay, on the east by the Panchmahal district, and the
south-east by Baroda district and on the west by Ahmedabad district. 2

The district takes its name from the town of Khoda which stands on a raising ground very close to the confluence of the Vatrak and Shedhi rivers. The English called the district (and the town) Kaira, but the nomenclature has changed since 1968, when the State government appointed a committee to suggest correct names for places in Gujarat. The committee recommended that the correct name 'Kheda' replace the Anglicised 'Kaira', and the recommendation was accepted by the Surveyor General of India (cf. Kheda District Gazetteer, 1977:1) 3. It has been said by some that the present area comprising Kheda district has been inhabited, historically, since about 1500 to 2000 years (Shah and Shah, 1954:687-9).

The district slopes gently from the north-east to the south-west. In the northern parts of Kพadvanj and Balasinor 4 talukas, there are small hills while in the lower reaches of the Mahi river, there are deep ravines. The Mahi and Sabarmati are the principal of the nine rivers that flow through the district. The Mahi rises in the Nehad talav situated in the Vindhyachal mountains of Madhya Pradesh and empties into the Gulf of Cambay. The Sabarmati rises in the Aravali hills and enters the district in Matar taluka (in village Khadiarpara) and also empties into the Gulf of Cambay (cf. Kheda District Gazetteer, 1977:6).
In central Gujarat there are six agricultural tracts, four of which are in Kheda district proper. These four tracts are Charator, Mal, Bhal and Daskosi (Hardiman, 1981: 257-9). Charotar is the most fertile amongst all the tracts in Gujarat (A.M. Shah, 1964:12; Kheda District Gazetteer, 1977:1) and it lies between the Mahi (river) in the east, and Vatrak (river) in the west, and between Shedhi (river) in the north and Cambay (Gulf) in the south. Administratively, the four talukas of Anand, Borsad, Nadiad and Petlad fall in Charotar (A.S. Patel, 1960:32). Goradu and besar soil is found in all the tract, but they are the most prominent and of richer variety in Charotar (A.M. Shah, 1964:11). The main cash crop of Charotar is tobacco, although other cereals, oilseeds and garden crops are grown as well. Mal (lit. upland) is to the north of Charotar. Major portions of Thasra and Kapadvanj consists of Mal. Cultivation came to most of this area only after 1920s (A.S. Patel, 1960:31). This land is appropriate for growth of cotton. Daskosi, to the north-west of Charotar, is known for producing rice by canal irrigation. Parts of Hatar taluka form the Dakosi segment. The western portion consists of the Bhal tract, a low lying tract of soil near the mouth of the Mahi and the Sabarmati rivers. A large part of it gets flooded during monsoons and monsoon crops are impossible. The soil is however deep enough to retain moisture during the winter months, and thus Bhal is eminently suited for wheat (A.M. Shah, 1964:12).

Inspite of the differences that exist, the district is also referred to by some as 'Charotar' and the language spoken here is known as Charotari (dialect of Gujarati). Shah and Shah
(1954:855-6) trace the origin of the word Charotar to the Sanskrit word 'Charu', meaning beautiful. As the land in this area is fertile and green with vegetation and pleases the eye, thus the area is called 'Charotar'. According to another explanation, the word is derived from 'chaturuttara' (four) added to 'shatta' (hundred) with hundred left understood (Kheda District Gazetteer, 1977:1).

At present, there are in all ten talukas in the district. Besides the four talukas in Charotar, the others are Matar (part of which is Daskosi), Khambhat (the Bhal area), Kapadvanj and Thasra (the Mal area), Mehemdabad and Balasinor. A good part of Balasinor is hilly terrain, unlike the other talukas.

A Brief Administrative History

The history of the present Kheda district dates from antiquity. The area barring Thasra and Kapadvanj, were under different Rajput dynasties (746 A.D. - 1290 A.D.) and were included in the settled and managed portions of the Anhilwad kingdom. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, they came under the Muslim kings of Ahmedabad. Subsequently, along with other crown lands, they were transferred to the Mughals in 1573 A.D. Between 1720 A.D. and 1750 A.D., the district experienced increasing conflicts between the Maratha and Muslim viceroys and nobles. Except the Kheda estate, which was left in the hands of the Babi family, the district, on the capture of Ahmedabad (1753 A.D.), was shared between the Peshwas and Gaekwads. It remained with them till a part was ceded to the British in 1803.
Further in 1817, more territory came into the hands of the British.

The British administered the territories through the Resident at Baroda till May 1805. In 1805, a collector was appointed with jurisdiction over ceded tracts, both those to the north of Mahi and west of Gulf of Cambay. In the same year the town of Kheda was selected as a large military station. The increase in British possession consequent to the treaty of November 1817, necessitated fresh administrative arrangements. The territory north of Mahi was divided into two districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira. In 1830, Kapadvanj was included in Ahmedabad and Kaira became a sub-collectorate of Ahmedabad. In 1833, Kaira and Ahmedabad were again separated. Kaira was part of Bombay Presidency since 1817. After Independence, the district included the former Indian States of Cambay, Belasinor, Punadra, Khadal, Ghodasar, the areas of Zar and Nirmali, the Bhadran and Petlad talukas and 38 villages of Attarsumba taluka of former Baroda State, and six villages of Ahmedabad district. From May 1, 1960, after the bifurcation of the Bombay State, it became part of Gujarat (cf. Kheda District Gazetteer, 1977; 2).

Population and Density in the District

Although fifth smallest in terms of area in Gujarat, Kheda district has the second largest population of 3,015,027, next to Ahmedabad district, as per the 1981 census. Much of Kheda's population is rural (urban population is 20.1% in 1981) and it has an overall density of 419 per sq. km. Between 1971-81, the average percentage growth was +22.99%, which was lower than the state average of +27.67%.
Within Kheda district, the four Charotar talukas have over 55% of the population. And in the district, Anand taluka has the largest share of the population (16.5%). On the other hand, Balasinor taluka has the second lowest population total of 1,61,535. The Charotar area has been having a higher ratio of people definitely for the last 50 years or so as can be seen in Table IV.1. In 1931, the Charotar area of Anand, Nadiad and Borsad had 57.3% of the population of the district, while land area was 41.9%. Now, in 1981, their population is 55.12% although they have 33.67% of the total land.

The contrast in density between the Charotar talukas and those in non-Charotar area, is striking. They tend to have twice as much people per square kilometre than the dry areas like Balasinor or Kapadvanj. See Table IV.1 for details.

The Patidars and Kshatriyas and the Rivalry Between Them

It would not be an exaggeration to state that the two principal castes of the district are the Patidars and Kshatriyas. Both these castes compete with each other for positions of power, and both dominate the social life of the district. The two castes have not gone unnoticed and scholars have studied the role they play in social and political life of the district. Two works easily come to the mind in this regard: Ghanshayam Shah's (1975) work on Kshatriyas and Pocock's (1972) on Patidars. Others who have studied them, although not in the same depth, and in relation to other aspects, include Kothari and Naru (1970), Weiner (1967), Hardiman (1976; 365-371, 1981) and Bates (1981:771-821)
### Table IV.1

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<th>District/Taluks</th>
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<th>Area in sq.km.</th>
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**Notes:**
- (E) Based on 1971 census figures.
- (C) Information for Petlad is from 1931 census for Baroda State.
- Figures in columns 3, 5, 7, 9 were in miles in the original documents; they have been converted into kilometres for uniformity.

**Sources:**
1. For 1931 census figures: Census of India 1931 Vol. VIII Part II Bombay Presidency Provincial Tables, pp.4-57 250-461.
2. For 1951 census figures: Census of India 1951 Vol IX Baroda Part II Tables, pp.1-2
Before examining the nature of the rivalry, each of the two castes shall be discussed in greater detail. Let us begin our discussion with the Patidars.

The term 'Patidar' refers to those persons who were given responsibility to collect revenue from strips ('Pati'), and each pati holder ('Patidar') was responsible for paying land revenue equivalent to the proportion of his landholding. Originally the Patidars were a brotherhood of village landholders and came from a community known as 'Kanbis'. The name Kanbi stems from 'Kurmi', the peasant community of the Gangetic plain, and 'Kunbi', the peasant community of Maharashtra. Hardiman (1981:37) mentions that "during the Mughal period, some of these peasants of the Charotar tract organised themselves into coherent communities of village rulers known as 'Patidars'." Within the village "Patidars made themselves jointly responsible for paying land revenue to the Mughal tax-farmers." Essentially the distinction between Patidars and Kanbis was "based on differences in wealth and social position and not in variety of blood or race" (Kheda District Gazetteer, 1879:31). Since 1931, no distinction is made in nomenclature and all are called Patidars (Pocock, 1972:1; Hardiman, 1981:42).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a transformation in the customs of Patidars (Hardiman, 1981:41). Before the mid-nineteenth century, Patidar rules regarding marriage, interdining and ritual purity appear to be "lax", as widow remarriage was practised, meat was eaten, and a "non-Patidar could buy patidari sharehold in a village". Hypergamy in marriage was practised then, and continues to be done even now.
The status of Patidars tends to differ according to the region where they reside. In Ahmedabad, Kheda and Baroda districts, the Patidars are very prosperous and have achieved high status. In north Gujarat, and Saurashtra, especially in the princely regions, they have a low status (Kothari and Maru, 1970: 98, Footnote 14).

A.M. Shah (1982:1-33) discussing the division within the Kanbis (he calls Patidars as Kanbis) says that they have five fold division - Leva, Kadva, Anjana, Bhakta and Matia. Of these, the Leva Kanbis numbering between 400,000 to 500,000 in 1931, "were the traditional agricultural caste of central Gujarat". In Kheda district, Leva Patidars have been predominant in Anand, Nadiad and Borsad area. The Kadva division was more dominant in Kapadvanj and Mehmmedabad. According to the first Kheda District Gazetteer (1879:31), the Kadvas and Levas together numbered 1,44,639 'souls' or 20.32% of the Hindu population of the district. The Levas consisted of 131,871 souls, while Kadvas numbered 12,768 'souls'. The 1931 census figures for the areas which now constitute Kheda district, show that Patidars were 111,377 persons including those in Cambay and Balasinor states. In Kheda proper there were 95,214 Patidars or 15.03% of Hindu population of the district (See Appendix F for the details). The Patidar population as a proportion seems to have declined slightly, if the estimates of there being two lakh Patidars in the early Fifties is considered as valid (cf. Shah and Shah, 1954:792, 795; A.S.Patel, 1960:28). If this is considered against the background of 1951 population figures for the district, then Patidars constituted only 12.40% of the district population.12
This discussion shall conclude with a few words on the reputation of the Patidars, best brought out by the first Kheda District Gazetteer. The Gazetteer states that Patidars are "the best farmers in the district, sober, quiet, industrious, and except on such occasions as marriage, thrifty...." (Kheda District Gazetteer, 1879:31).

Let us now turn over attention on the Kshatriyas. The term Kshatriyas is used to refer to groups claiming Kshatriya status. Predominantly, they are the Rajputs and Kolis (Ghanshyam Shah, 1975:8). These reflect, on the one hand, the political aspiration of Kolis guided by the importance of their numerical strength in electoral politics and, on the other hand, the attempt of Rajputs to regain power after loss of their princely states and estates. This has found expression in the emergence of Kshatriya Sabha. "It is the coalescence of Koli and Rajputs on the modern political plane, based on the foundation of the traditional social and cultural symbiosis under the rubric of Kshatriya" says A.M. Shah (1982:29). Kothari and Maru point out to another feature of Kshatriyas, the Kshatriyas in main land "Gujarat" differ from Saurashtra regions owing to the nature of land rights in the two areas. Initially, the Kshatriya Sabha covered all the regions of the state and was known as Kutch - Kathiawar - Gujarat Kshatriya Sabha; but this organization did not last long, and on May 28, 1950, a split occurred with the formation of a separate Gujarat Kshatriya Sabha.

The Kolis constituted nearly one-fourth of the total population of Gujarat in 1931, and had a total population of
over 17 lakhs (Ghanshyam Shah, 1975:9). In some parts they formed between 30 to 35% of the population (A.M. Shah, 1982:11). In Kheda district they constituted 36.5% of the population (see Appendix F). There are historical references to the political activities of Kolis since fifteenth century. By beginning of the nineteenth century they succeeded in establishing themselves as petty chieftains and adopted Rajput customs and traditions and claimed Rajput status. They also gave daughters in marriage to Rajputs in lower rung of Rajput hierarchy (A.M. Shah, 1982:13). Thus to find distinction on horizontal level became difficult.

The Rajputs, in 1931, had a population of nearly 3½ lakhs and formed nearly 5% of the total population of Gujarat region (Ghanshyam Shah, 1975:9). In Kheda district they were about 7.7% of the total population (See Appendix F). Based on division of first order, i.e., prohibition of 'roti vyavahar' (food transactions) and 'beti vyavahar' (i.e., daughter marital transactions), A.M. Shah distinguishes Rajputs and Kolis into two distinct groups, though he does add that Rajput hierarchy later merges into Koli, Bhil, etc. According to him Rajputs in association with Kolis, were probably the only horizontal unit which had continuous internal hierarchy, i.e., hypergamy unbroken by any endogamous sub-division and which do not have discernible boundaries at lowest level.

It must be mentioned here that there are differences amongst scholars as to who constitute the Kolis. Some, like Hardiman (1981:45), have questioned the usage of the nomenclature saying that "Koli was not the name of the caste in the modern sense, but a vague term used to describe most non-Kanbi peasants".
For him, Bariyas and Patanwadias are the present name of Kolis, with the former constituting four-fifth of Koli population. He does however admit that Kolis have been known as Dharalas, and in modern times have claimed to be Kshatriyas. The term Dharala has been used by Kshirsagar (1973:8) to refer to Kolis, while Ghanshyam Shah (1975:13) cites the 1911 census to state that except for Patanwadias, all others are known as Dharalas which include Khant, Baria, Talabda, the latter being further subdivided into Vaghelas, Pagis, Kotwals and Barias. Pocock (1972:53) also distinguishes between Baria, "who claim Rajput affiliation, and ... Patanvadia who are Koli".

This discussion on Kshatriyas concludes by quoting what the first Kheda District Gazetteer (1879:32) has to say about them: "The cultivating Rajputs are less careful and hardworking than the Kanbis and inferior to them in skill". These Rajputs have been "careless and improvident, their estates have been easily mortgaged and heavily burdened with debt. So unsatisfactory was their condition that special measures for freeing them from their indebtedness were considered necessary" (Kheda District Gazetteer, 1879:31-32). As for Kolis, they were "idle and turbulent" in early part of Gujarat's history, but by 1879, "were a body quiet and hardworking". Till 1835 or so, they would move in groups and indulge in dacoity. But by 1844 they became "more peaceable" and had settled down to cultivation. Still as a rule they were ignorant, and averse to work, and grew only the "poor and lighter crops", and were "careless and improvident at times of prosperity" (Kheda District Gazetteer, 1879:33).
Now, let us consider the rivalry between Patidars and Kshatriyas. Some like Hardiman (1981:45) believe that the "tension" is between Patidars and Kolis, as the Kolis believe they ruled the area but had been gradually dispossessed by the Patidars. "Whenever they could they sought the opportunity for revenge." Hardiman's analysis is not as incisive as that of A.M. Shah's (1964:15-19).

Shah traces it to the era of Rajput rule when there was sub-infeudation. In 1299, Allaudin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, removed the Rajput king of Gujarat. But it did not lead to removal of a large number of lower chiefs called mandaliks and samants and the small estate holders called garasias. It was only towards the end of the fourteenth century, that most of the Rajput chiefs were removed from the plains of Gujarat.

One consequence of this was the change in the position of Rajputs vis-a-vis Kanbis (A.M. Shah, 1964:21). The Kanbis, who formed bulk of the peasantry in central Gujarat during the rule of Rajputs, were dominated by them (the Rajputs). After the coming of the Muslims, the situation changed and 'Patidars' emerged. This did not mean that Patidars became independent of Muslim rule; it was a change in the position vis-a-vis Rajputs.

Ghanshyam Shah (1975:24-26) points out that besides being appointed revenue officers, police authority was vested with this class (Patidars). This continued during Maratha rule, and Patidars accumulated power and established supremacy over village inhabitants. This loss of power "hurt the ego of Rajputs".
Patidars, who were hardworking, adventurous and thrifty, had extended their spheres of influence by the beginning of this century. They obtained land from unskilled Kshatriya agriculturists. He mentions the case of north Gujarat, where Patidars from Kheda district acquired land at cheap rates from Rajput rulers. Land was mostly in forest areas and uncultivable. The Patidars made the land cultivable and fertile. Consequently, the Kolis, who were dependent on the forest for their source of income, were deprived of it. So they looked upon the Patidars as their enemies. As for Rajputs, they were jealous of Patidars' remarkable economic prosperity.

In the recent past, the Tenancy Act has accentuated the cleavages between the two. Patidar landlords being educated and well versed in law, evicted their tenants, largely Kolis, and turned them into "hired labour", in the name of "self cultivation".

Further, these two castes (the Patidars and the Rajputs) did not have identical views with regard to the Freedom movement. In order to preserve their prerogatives, the Rajputs supported the British, while the Patidars supported the Congress and the Freedom movement. With the coming of competitive politics, the conflict between the two found expression at all levels of politics - village, district and state. At village level it is found in north and central Gujarat.
Next, the importance of irrigation will be brought out and in the process some of the points raised in the discussion will be elaborated. In Appendix A, figures from the latest available published sources have been presented with regard to the extent of irrigation in various talukas of Kheda district.

From Appendix A, it is learnt that Balasinor and Kapadvanj talukas are not served by government (river) canals. But they, Balasinor and Kapadvanj, have irrigation facilities from other sources. Of all the talukas, Balasinor has the lowest proportion of its land under irrigation; and whatever irrigation that exists, is from tanks and wells. In contrast are the Charotar talukas which have a good proportion of their land under irrigation from canals.

The importance of canal irrigation over other forms of irrigation lies in the following:

1) in terms of the area; the canals irrigate much larger area than wells or tanks.

2) River irrigation tends to be better assured of water supply as the Mahi river has a perennial supply of water.

3) The last factor is the cost involved to the peasant/farmer. In canal irrigation, the cost is on acreage basis, while in the case of wells it is on an hourly basis. The wells have a further limitation in so far they cannot irrigate the entire land of the village.
Irrigation, and especially irrigation by canal, becomes an important variable in so far it affects the wealth of the villager. In the irrigated area and more so in the Charotar tract, there is usually triple cultivation in a year. In the dry area, the crops grown depend on rainfall. In a year when there is good rainfall, people grow two crops simultaneously and wherever there is private well irrigation, there is double cropping. Triple cropping is a rarity. This contrast in cultivation affects income and wealth of the villagers. In Charotar area, the inequities are sharp and glaring. Here one can see modern pukka houses with mosaic flooring, ceiling fans, refrigerators, scooters/cars, and tractors in the villages. In the dry area, the inequities are not so glaring. There are few pukka houses and if there are any, they may not be having the same flooring as in Charotar. Here, only a few amongst the rich keep scooters and/or tractors.

Dairying in the District

This discussion on Kheda district concludes by examining the nature of dairying in the district. When the available published documents are scrutinised, it becomes clear that dairying is a subsidiary occupation.

Unlike the 1971 census, the 1981 census has not classified workers into nine categories. So whatever information that is available with regard to dairying as main occupation in 1971 census, is not present in the published 1981 census documents. For the purposes of our argument the figures of 1971 census will suffice to show that dairying is a subsidiary occupation. And there is no
reason to believe that the situation in 1981 is different from that of 1971.

In the district, in 1971, of a total working population of 715,161, those engaged in Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards and Allied Activities (i.e., Category III) were 8,266 people. The taluka level figures of the concerned talukas (i.e., Anand, Borsad and Balasinor) are given in Table IV.2. It only shows that in Anand 1%, in Borsad 0.75% and in Balasinor 0.77% of the working population are engaged in Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantation, Orchards and Allied Activities. The actual figures of those engaged in livestock rearing occupation would be much less as this category of people have been bracketed along with others.

Having pointed out the subsidiary nature of dairying in the district, let us consider the livestock distribution in the various talukas of the district as shown in Table IV.3. One glance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kheda District</td>
<td>7,15,161</td>
<td>8266 (1.15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anand</td>
<td>1,13,395</td>
<td>1134 (1.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borsad</td>
<td>89,560</td>
<td>678 (0.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balasinor</td>
<td>37,234</td>
<td>287 (0.77%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 1971 Series 5 Gujarat Kheda District Part XB Village and Townwise Primary Census Abstract, pp.6, 7, 32, 33, 56, 57, 96, 97.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District/Taluka</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males over 3 Years</td>
<td>Females over 3 Years</td>
<td>Calves</td>
<td>Total Cattle</td>
<td>Males over 3 Years</td>
<td>Females over 3 Years</td>
<td>Calves</td>
<td>Total Buffaloes</td>
<td>Males over 3 Years</td>
<td>Females over 3 Years</td>
<td>Calves</td>
<td>Total Buffaloes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For Others</td>
<td>For Others</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheda district</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>147825</td>
<td>35573</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>44377</td>
<td>228980</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>1266</td>
<td>284258</td>
<td>1334</td>
<td>204856</td>
<td>493480</td>
<td>722460</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anand</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12823</td>
<td>2327</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3804</td>
<td>19043</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35214</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>21917</td>
<td>59435</td>
<td>78478</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malasnor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19083</td>
<td>5161</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2840</td>
<td>27156</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>20574</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>12911</td>
<td>33766</td>
<td>60922</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorsad</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12889</td>
<td>1665</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3150</td>
<td>17802</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3854</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>27223</td>
<td>66065</td>
<td>83867</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion in Irrigated-Chotrar Talukas (in %)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>69.13</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

at it shows that the irrigated Charotar talukas have a
disproportionately high share of male and female buffaloes, in
comparison to calves. The four talukas in Charotar area have
slightly less than half of the total buffalo population in the
district, which is in contrast to the cattle population
distribution.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Also written as Khambat. Both shall be used interchangeably.


Baroda is officially termed as Vadodara. Both, the older (and still used name) and the official name, shall be used interchangeably.

3. There is another and older gazetteer of Kheda district. It was first published in 1879. This earlier gazetteer shall be referred to as the first Kheda Gazetteer; and the 1977 Kheda Gazetteer as second Kheda Gazetteer.

4. The term 'Vadasinor' has been used in the second Kheda Gazetteer but the census documents refer to it as Balasinor. The terms, Balasinor and Vadasinor, shall be used interchangeably.

5. The two tracts not part of Kheda district, but in central Gujarat are Kanham and Vakkal. It must be pointed out that A.S. Patel (1960:31) mentions only three, Charotar, Mal and Bhal, as part of Kheda district.

6. The soils of central Gujarat are popularly classified into five main types: goradu (light yellow), kali (black), besar (medium between goradu and kali), retal (sandy) and bhatha (alluvial). "Texturally they are all loams" and practical classification is based on varying content of sand, clay and fertile organic matter. "The goradu soil... contains about 80 per cent of fine sand and 15 per cent
of silt and clay, and is rich in organic matter.... The retail or sandy soil, which is the least fertile, contains a still higher proportion of coarse sand. The kali or black soil contains about fifty per cent of fine sand and forty per cent of silt and clay" (cf. A. M. Shah, 1964:9).

7. This is left unexplained in the second Kheda Gazetteer. One can ask four hundred of what?

8. In 1872, the Charotar talukas of Anand, Nadiad and Borsad (as Petlad was in Baroda State) had 56.9% of the total population although they had 42.5% of the total land area (cf. Kheda District Gazetteer, 1879:1, 152, 159, 162).

9. Patidars have surnames like Patels, Amins and Desais. This does not mean that all Patels, Amins and Desais are Patidars. Farsis and Bohras have surnames like Patel; and Amin can be found amongst Muslims. Desai also happens to be the surnames of Anavil Brahmins and Nagar Brahmins.

10. This form of land tenure was called 'narva'. Neera Desai also examines the narva system but without associating to any caste (Neera Desai, 1964:21).

11. Anil Bhatt (1970:312, 338) talks of two Patidar sub-castes - Bhakta and Matia. The Bhakta Patidars are followers of Kabir panth and reside in Surat and Broach districts; while Matia Patidars used to follow some of the rituals of Muslims. They used to bury the dead; they would call Muslim priests in addition to Brahmin priests at the time of weddings. The Matia Patidars are found in Surat district only and have now given up their Muslim practices.
The 1921 census has a list of various sub-castes of Patidars (Kanbis then) in the districts which now fall in Gujarat. As per that census, there are only four sub-castes of Patidars mentioned - "Anjana", "Kadava", "Leva" and "Matia". But the census of the same year for Baroda State, parts of which - Petlad and Bhadran - are now in present day Kheda district, mentions eleven categories of Kanbis in Baroda: they are "Anjana, Barad, Kadwa, Karadia, Kokani, Leva, Maratha, Maru, Matia, Ude, Kanbis unspecified" (cf. Census of India 1921 Vol.VIII, Bombay Presidency Part II Imperial Tables. Table XIII, p.185; Census of India 1921, Vol.XVIIA Baroda State Part II, Table XIII, p.59).

12. The 1951 census shows that Kheda district had a population of 1,612,426 (cf. Kaira District Census Handbook 1951, pp.4-5). It must also be mentioned here that Weiner (1967: 76,92) states that "the Patidars constitute approximately 20 per cent of the population in Kaira district." As for Kshatriyas he states that "40 per cent of the population claim Kshatriya status." The sources on the basis of which this assertion is made, are not stated.

13. Within the state of Gujarat, there are separate regional identities. The peninsula of Kathiawar (also called Saurashtra referring to the "100 States" that existed in pre-Independent India) has a separate identity as much as Kutch. The people of Kathiawar refer to those parts not in Kathiawar and Kutch as "Gujarat". The people in Gujarat would call those in Kathiawar region as in "Saurashtra". These reference symbols are used even now in daily conversations.

15. Hardiman does not take into consideration Rajputs while discussing tension between Patidars and Kshatriyas.

16. In the Charotar area, the rate for using a private well for an hour (driven by electric motor pump) is Rs.20/-. According to the MC Secretary of Katol, who himself lets out water from his own well, the rate he charges is Rs.20/- per hour. The cost incurred by him as per his accounting, is Rs.16/- or so per hour. This includes the cost for electricity charges, maintenance and labour charges. Their profit is Rs.4/- per hour. In this village, he and other owners of private wells, had a regular bill/receipt book to issue to persons using his well water. Booking was done in advance, and the well operated, subject to availability of electricity, 24 hours a day. In the dry area of Balasinor, the private well owners use diesel motor pumps. In the entire taluka this is the common mode of pumping water as electric supply here is erratic and not of sufficient voltage and phase. More often than not, the owners operated machines on kerosene, as it is cheaper than diesel. The rate charged is slightly less than in the irrigated area. It is about Rs.18/- per hour, especially in Patidar villages.

17. In the dry area, in village Meghaliya, no person owns a tractor, nor a scooter/motor cycle/moped. Here no one subscribes to a newspaper. In the other village, Parabiya, four persons own scooters. There are two tractors in the village. In the irrigated area in Jol there were 13 tractors.
owners in 1984, while in Katol there were 5 tractor owners. Parabiya, Jol and Katol did have people who subscribed to newspapers, but most of them were shopkeepers.

18. The 1981 census document states: "During the 1971 census the workers were divided into nine industrial categories, namely, (1) Cultivators, (ii) Agricultural Labourers, (iii) Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards, and Allied Activities, (iv) Mining and Quarrying, (v) Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and Repairs (a) Household Industry and (b) Other than Household Industry, (vi) Construction, (vii) Trade and Commerce, (viii) Transport, Storage and Communications and (ix) Other Services. However, during the 1981 Census workers have been classified in only four categories which are (I) Cultivators, (II) Agricultural Labourers, (III) Household Industry and (IV) Other workers. In 1981 Census (I) Cultivator corresponds to category 1 of 1971 Census, (2) Agricultural Labourers to category II of 1971 Census, (3) Household Industry to category V (a) of 1971 Census and (4) Other Workers to Categories III, IV, V(b), and VI to IX of 1971 Census." (cf. Census of India 1981 Series 5 Gujarat Part II B General Population Tables Primary Census Abstract, p.1).

Owing to this, to get some information of those engaged in Livestock becomes difficult from the 1981 census.