Chapter IV
CHANGING ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

I. Rajpur - a rural ward in an urban milieu:

This chapter aims at bringing out the changes that have occurred in the economic organization of the village. A village implies agriculture as a way of life. Owing to the operation of a number of outside forces such as rural development programmes (sponsored) nearness to the urban centre, education, exposure to mass media and the like a village may adopt new practices of leading to changes in the pattern of economic activities. But the nature of economic organization remains agricultural and the village as an entity remains intact.

The case of village under study is different in the sense that with its merger it has become an integral part of Baroda city. The implications of the merger of a village into a city on its economic organization cannot be the same as those of interplay of the above mentioned forces on the village economic organization. Rajpur the village under study, though quite in the vicinity of Baroda as also exposed to the various rural development programmes remained a village before merger. Before the merger, village was the revenue-administrative unit of Baroda Talua (Ref. Map No. I) but after its merger it became a part of one of the Wards of Baroda Municipal Corporation (Ref. Map No. II).
Today, the entire village is under the administration of BMC, and village panchayat has been dissolved. As the cities are expanding, more and more nearby villages are engulfed in this process. The adjoining villages are surrounded by the huge colonies and sky-scrapers apartments. Thus, the village agricultural land is slowly transformed into urban use.

The village Rajpur is located in ward No. 6. This ward includes the most busy and dense urban area like Sayajigunj and the rural area like Rajpur with its agricultural activities. This ward is the mixture of urban and rural areas. The total population of this ward is 67,000 people. In this process of development and expansion of Baroda city, Rajpur has remained a rural pocket, because of its agricultural activities.

After the merger the entire non-arable land came under the control of BMC. During this period there was constant pressure from the lower socio-economic groups for permission to use land for building hutment colonies. Since there was no space for building colonies nearby the city, Rajpur’s open land was the only choice left. The then elected corporator did not yield to pressure but the present (Barla) Corporator of this ward without taking the consent of the villagers allowed the lower income groups to build the hutments. The result is, at present the entire village pasture has turned into human settlement. The villagers could not raise their
voice even while they lost the grazing pasture for their cattles.

Secondly, 49 Factory Industries have been established on the village land. This has created job opportunities for the villagers and for the migrants. These factors have shaped the original lay-out of the village. Now if we take the entire ward into consideration it seems Rajpur has been lost in it. The demographic structure has become more extensive and complex. New categories of social groups have been formed in this process. The migrants coming from different parts of the country have settled in the village. This has added a new culture into the village life. The hutment colonies are inhabited by lower socio-economic groups which have become the prospective competitive labour force. The agro-based economy of the village is under the pressure of this new element in the population, which faces many constraints.

The total population of the entire ward is 67,000 people out of which the erstwhile village population is 5,729 people. This population (5,729) includes the original village settlers, migrants in the village and the population of the hutment colonies built on the village land. In 1963 the population of the village was 1,681 whereas in 1985 it numbered 5,729. Thus, population on the original village boundaries has increased three times more within two decades.
The total arable land of the village in 1963 was 1,355 acres, out of which 500 acres have already been put to non-agriculture use i.e., 36.90 per cent. The remaining 855 acres of land i.e., 63.09 per cent still remains under cultivation

While keeping this situation in mind our interest is confined only to 365 households with a population 2,218 persons constituting the original Rajpur village. It would be appropriate therefore to examine how the traditional economic organization of 365 households (which constituted the village before merger) is undergoing change and how different social groups are affected differently will also be examined.

II. Decreasing the village land:

In this section the process leading to a gradual decrease in the village agriculture land will be analysed. The meaning of decreasing the land is that, land which goes out of cultivation and is used for some other purposes. When selling of land is done within the village i.e., one cultivator sells to other cultivator it remains under cultivation.

Traditionally land is valued as an asset by villagers and it is considered as a piece of gold which can be encashed in the time of crisis. Though land enters the market rarely, it is sold for any number of reasons. Given
the choice an average Indian farmer would like to invest his savings in land. He is always on the look out to add to his holdings rather than to sell his land, such a traditional social outlook seems to have undergone change for many reasons.

Under the Land Acquisition and Compensation Act (1976) land is acquired for public purposes. Government notifies its intention to acquire land for a public purpose and notices are served to the owners of the notified land. Objections if any, are invited from land-owners within 30 days of the notification. Thus, the intention of acquiring a particular piece of land becomes clear and the specific details are published in the official gazette and the Collector makes an order for the actual possession of the land by the Government. The compensation is paid at the prevailing market rate on the date of notification. As is well known, there are considerable time-lags between the notification and the actual possession of land. Sometimes land usually lies frozen for several years. During this intervening period, land prices rise but the compensation paid takes no note of this rise in prices. Indirectly it deprives land-owners of any share in the huge profits made by private colonizers and Government through the ultimate auction of the acquired land.
Land is acquired for constructing a dam or for establishing a huge industrial complex, or for urban residential use, or for establishing different industrial units. The rate of compensation depends on the type of soil. The agriculture land of the village under study has been sold to industrialists or acquired by BMC and VUDA. We will examine how the land has gone to industry, BMC and VUDA. In both the cases the rate of compensation was different. Our main interest is what happens to the land-owners who have to part with their land? What do they do with the money they receive as compensation?

It was found that in the village there were two categories of landsellers one, those who have sold away their total land or whose entire land has been acquired. Two, those who have sold away a part of the land or whose land is partly acquired. In such situation what is the position of landlosers? In the following sections we will see how land enters the market i.e., land goes to industry and to BMC and VUDA and who are the sellers?

(A) How land enters the market?

As stated earlier, urban expansion engulfs the surrounding villages. In Rajpur, out of 1355 acres of land 200 acres of land (i.e., 14.76 per cent) went to industries. The first instance of selling village agriculture land to
an industrialist occurred in 1959 on this land was set-up the first Chemical factory. The first seller of the land was a Patidar landlord, who owned excessive land. He had good contacts with the city industrialists. He sold away a single plot of 10 acres to an industrialist for Rs. 40,000. He invested the money in constructing a house for rental purpose and within two years he started getting rent of Rs. 400 per month.

Meanwhile around 1960-61 a Patidar family returned from Africa wanted a big plot for residence-cum-factory. This family, hailing from Charotar (area of Kheda District) had contact with one of the Patidars of Lajpur village. Thus, another Patidar (landlord) offered to sell his land to that family. He sold away nearly 15 acres of land and got sumptuous amount (more than 80,000). He also constructed a house bigger than the mentioned earlier one and started deriving rental income regularly.

Both these Patidars had excessive land and they visualised that land might be acquired by Government. Secondly, they thought 'it would be better to concentrate and cultivate, few acres of land rather than to cultivate more land.' They also found it difficult to manage larger holdings due to labour shortage. In this way a total of 25 acres of land went out of cultivation. While the sellers were not losers as they invested the money in house construction, which generated a new source of regular income. In
both these cases Patidars have maintained the status of big landowners. The villagers of Rajpur were watching this process.

As already stated in chapter three, some of the leading industrialists from the city of Baroda were keen to turn the area of Rajpur into an industrial zone. There were seven industrialists, who wanted to set-up more industries in the village. The intention of these industrialists was to settle either their sons or sons-in-law. (It is said that most of those factory owners are relatives to each other and are from Patidar caste.) Thus, industrialists were successful in turning the village area into an industrial zone. Though they were successful in this matter there was no immediate response (for selling their land to them) from the villagers. Villagers did not queue up for selling their land to industrialists. Majority of the villagers had the tendency of wait and watch. They were observing the changes taking place in the surrounding villages.

Those industrialists who were interested in buying the land, created a channel for contacting the landowners. They tapped two important and influential persons from the village. One was Talati (a Patidar/nearby village) and second the ex-Sarpanch. These two persons were experts in dealing with such matter. They played the role of
mediators between industrialist (buyers) and land-owner (seller). They were also making propaganda that "in future the entire village land will be taken over by BMC at throw away price, then why not to make money by selling land to an industrialist?" Slowly and gradually the strategy of Talati and Sarpanch worked. No doubt there were other reasons also for selling the land to factory owners.

From among the Patidars medium and large landowners took the initiative in selling land. The general feeling among this group was to dispose off, part of the land and retain the rest of the land for cultivation.

The scarcity of labour was aggravating the situation, it was difficult for the cultivators to get agricultural labourers. Industrial units had opened opportunities for the manual labourers where the wage rates were higher. This created problem for Patidar agriculturists. So they thought it better to invest money in construction for rental purpose. The earlier two Patidars who were deriving income from rent motivated others to follow them.

It was reported by Patidar land sellers that the reason for selling the land to industrialists was to get more money, to facilitate the marriage of their daughters. In fact, such persons were tapped by Talati and Sarpanch,
so that they could mediate successfully.

Besides, the land which was purchased by these private entrepreneurs did not form a large single plot on one side of the village, as these were small or large pieces of land all sides of the village. This facilitated the industrialists to further purchase the land in the surrounding region. Once the work on constructing the factory premises starts, it becomes difficult to cultivate the adjoining land by the land-owners. It is also subject to pollution and quite often difficult to protect the crops from damage and petty thefts. Chemical factories which were the first to start production forced the adjoining landholders to sell away the land.

In this way constant perseverance by the city entrepreneurs, strategic roles played by Talati and Sarpanch, and motivation to get more money on the part of land-owners expedited the process of buying and selling the land in the village. In this way from 1963 to 1976 200 acres of land was purchased by factory owners. In all 49 Factory Units (both of large and small scales) came to be established. This process of buying and selling land ended in 1976 with the implementation of Urban Land Ceiling Act. Thus, 200 acres of land was taken out of cultivation i.e., the agricultural activities regarding cultivation have been ceased.
This was affected the economic organisation of the village, because of the loss of 1/7th of the total agriculture land.

To examine this process sociologically we have to find out the following: which groups are involved in this process? What changes have occurred in these groups? Who gets what? Before we go into the details of these questions we will also see how land has gone to BMC and VUDA by way of acquisition.

(B) Acquisition of Land by BMC and VUDA:

In the previous section A we have seen how land has gone to industries. In this part B we will see how Rajpur's land was acquired by BMC and VUDA. Out of 1,355 acres of land, nearly 300 acres of land i.e., 22.14 per cent of total arable land was acquired by BMC and VUDA in a gradual manner.

It is common phenomenon that in the process of expansion of the city more and more land is required for different purposes. The nearest surrounding villages are affected first. Around 1961-62 the Baroda Municipality wanted the site for constructing a Sewerage Purification Plant. The site was selected on the bank of river Vishwamitry near Rajpur village (Ref. Map No. VI). The land earmarked for it was owned by the landholders of the village Rajpur. More than 125 acres of the land was acquired for this plant.
This was the first instance of acquisition of village land by the Baroda Municipality. It was found that this area of 125 acres of land was owned by medium, small and marginal farmers. Except 5 Patidars all other land-owners were from Gosai, Mahant, Baria, Bhil and Bhangi castes, of these Bhils and Bhangis were the most affected.

When the intention of Municipality about acquiring land was brought to the notice of the land-owners there was resistance from the land-owners. The resistance of these land-owners did not get momentum because most of them were economically poor. The only objection they raised was about low compensation. These land-owners approached the big land-holders (Patidars) and requested them to intervene and do something about adequate compensation, but they did not show any interest. They approached the Talati and the Sarpanch and asked for support, but it was in vain. In fact Talati and Sarpanch were getting due share for mediating and settling the sale of land to factory owners, but in the case of acquisition they were not to get anything. The compensation fixed by Municipality was Rs. 1,100 per acre. Naturally this was much less compared to the price paid by factory owners.

Among this group of land-owners Bhils and Bhangis were very keen to get more compensation. They decided to approach the Department of Social Welfare with the help of one educated Brahmin Social Worker. He fought the case on
behalf of Bhils and Bhangis against Municipality, ultimately
the amount of compensation was raised from Rs. 1100 to 1500
per acre, and they had to contend with the amount they
received.

The second phase of acquiring the land by BMC
began in 1975-76. During this period the village was merged
with the city and selling of land to factory owners was
prohibited. In this phase nearly 80 acres of land was
acquired for construction work. For this also the compensa-
tion was fixed at Rs. 1500 per acre. This 80 acres of
land was owned by two families of Patidar and four families
of Baria. These families did not raise objection as they
were few in number and secondly the village was under
administrative control of BMC.

In the third phase about 95 acres of land was
acquired by VUDA in 1979-80 (the total land acquired was
nearly 95 acres) to construct labour quarters for low income
groups. In all 9 families had to part with their land of
these one belonged to Patidar caste and eight families
belonged to the Baria caste. The land purchased by indus-
trialists was utilized for their private factory unit pur-
pose. In the case of BMC and VUDA except Sewage Purifi-
cation Plant the rest of the acquired land (nearly 175 acres)
is still lying frozen. The marginal and small land-owners
from Baria and Bhil castes requested BMC to lease in that land for cultivation, but not has happened. Till now the acquired land is not put to any use. The present researcher has observed that some hutments though illegal have been erected on this land. It seems that municipal personnel connive at the matter, whereas landlessers watch it despair.

It was reported by the ex-Corporator (Patidar) of this village that he did not want labour quarters on this land because of the backward population. During his tenure he employed the delaying tactics and that is why even today this land is lying vacant. It may happen that in the long run this vacant land might be used for some other purpose.

(c) Utilization of compensation by the recipients:

Let us now see the money received by landowners as compensation of their land from factory owners or from BMC and VUDA was utilized. The mode of payment of compensation was different in both the cases. The factory owners at once paid the amount of compensation whereas BMC and VUDA paid the compensation in instalments. Those who received the amount from factory owners could utilize the money in a planned manner. The amount was also big compared to the amount paid by BMC and VUDA. Those who received amount in instalments could not make proper use of money. The Bhils could not utilize the money properly as they did
not even renovate their huts. Only one Bhil is an exception to this because he got money from factory owners. Most of the Bhils spent money in the marriage of their sons and daughters. Hardly few of them had purchased better utensils for household use. In short they lost both the land and the compensation.

As against this, landowners of the villages on the outskirts of New Delhi who received considerable amount by way of compensation utilized the money in a gainful way. The land was acquired and purchased by the Delhi Development Authority for a few Government Housing Society. One of the studies done by Bose, A. and Singh C. (1969), indicates that the Jat cultivators of these villages did not squander away their money but bought more land than they had possessed prior to acquisition of their original land and improved their image and status in their society as bigger landowners.

In the village Rajpur the range of compensation (both from factory and BMD/VTDA) varied from Rs 3,000 to Rs. 2 lakhs. Whatever amount the recipients got as compensation was not utilized in purchasing land even in remote villages, not a single recipient tried to invest money in buying land elsewhere. This indicates that landowners (even Patidars) did not want to continue the same occupation of cultivation. One big landowner (Patidar) who got large amount in compensation invested money in one of the factories but
was a failure in his venture. Villagers did not get any help in properly investing the money. The easiest and safest way to utilize money was in construction. Most of the recipients utilized money in either in renovating or building a new house for rental purpose. Due to constant influx of migrants in the village a house in any condition was in demand. In this situation renting the house became a common phenomenon in the merged village. We have already mentioned this in the previous chapter. Those who got good amount had either constructed or renovate better houses with water and toilet facilities. Thus, the amount of compensation was utilized only in construction or renovation of houses.

(D) Land sellers/losers - who are they?

As a result of decreasing land the agro-based economic organization of the village has undergone change. Nearly 36.90 per cent of the arable land has gone out of cultivation. In this process of decreasing land 60 (29 + 31) families of landowners from different caste groups have been affected. Out of these 60 families 29 sold away their land to factory-owners, whereas 31 had to part with their land because of the acquisition.
The above table shows that 29 (18 + 11) have sold away part of their land to either factory owners or BMC/VUDA. These families have retained part of the land with them. The other 51 (11 + 20) families have sold away their entire land either to factory or BMC/VUDA and became landless. The figures in the table indicate that majority of the Patidar and Baria landowners are landellers. In this village majority of the land is under the control of Patidars. Those who have 6 acres of land or more have retained part of the land with them for cultivation. Medium and big landowners from the Patidar caste are sellers of the land. Similarly, the Barias from medium and big landholding categories, are the sellers, who sold away part of their land. These landowners sold away their land to factory owners. These families, both from the Patidar and Baria castes were active and alert about the selling of their land. They also got good amount of compensation from factory owners.

On the other side majority of the marginal and small farmers from Brahmin, Patidar, Mahant, Gosai, Baria, Bhil and Bhangi castes were the land losers because their land was acquired by BMC/VUDA. The compensation they received was much lower compared to the one paid by factory owners. In this process of acquisition 20 families (1 Patidar, 9 Baria, 5 Bhil and 5 Bhangis) lost their entire land due to acquisition. Thus, the merger of Rajpur with BMC seem to have
adversely affected the marginal and small landowners from weaker sections.

The above table reveals that out 171 families 111 families still have their land intact that is the land of these families has not gone to factory or BMC/VUDA. The chances for selling land were open for these families also but they did not go for selling. Majority of Patidars and Barias still have feeling to retain the land. These families are aware that in future land will be taken over either by BMC or VUDA still however they sentiments for the land.

To conclude we can say that the loss of 500 acres of land to agriculture is the biggest change, that has affected the entire agro-based economy. This has brought about change in the structure of landholding pattern, this will be highlighted later on. Agricultural activities were the main activities around which the network of social relationships was intertwined. But with the decreasing land this network of social relations has undergone change. The relations between Patidar landowners and Bhils and Vankars as landless labourers have changed considerably. As we have seen earlier that new houses have been constructed or old have been renovated for rental purpose. This has created the new network of social relations between houseowner and tenants. Migrants as tenants have developed relations with village houseowners. Thus, income from the agriculture has decreased and the new
source of income from rent has developed. Now taking overall situation into consideration we can say that in the village Hajpur the following pattern is seen.

Nearly 20 families both from Patidar and Baria castes are land losers and are more or less dependent on income from rent. According to these land losers, income from the rent remains fixed. They cannot increase the rent every year, and especially after the merger of the village with the city. On the contrary they have to provide facilities to the tenants and have to pay taxes also but cannot increase rent. On the other side the income from agriculture was varying every year so that land-owners could meet their social expenditure. It is now difficult to meet the social expenditure with the limited income from rent.

The other category we find in the village is comprised of those who derive income both from rent as well as land. This category comprises of 12 families of Patidars and 14 families of Barias. The present investigator’s observations of these families revealed that 14 families of Barias have improved their economic position. These families themselves cultivate their land and also keep buffaloes through which they get extra income. One or two family members also work in the factory. In this way Barias have found out sources of income from rent, agriculture, dairying and factory jobs. On the other side the 12 families
of Patidars are gradually becoming poorer. The part of the land they have retained is cultivated under supervision for which they have to pay labour charges. Now it is difficult for them to get cheap labourers. The social expenditure on marriages has not decreased and somehow it must be maintained even by incurring debt is the feeling among Patidars. The economic condition of these Patidar families seem to have considerably weakened.

The Bhil and Bhangi landowners have suffered most. Bhils have lost their land and could not utilize money properly. Bhangis have renovated their houses but they do not get rent due to untouchability. Bhils and Bhangis were mortgaging their land when they were in need of money but it is now not possible as they have become landless. Though such families are small in number but they are the sufferers.

Now 800 acres of land is available with the villagers in this context it would be pertinent to examine the following: what problems land-owners now face? What is the present situation in terms of agriculture in the merged village? How is the entire system of agriculture reshaped? These will be discussed in the ensuing sections.
III. Agriculture - a changing scene in a merged village:

(A) Present landholding pattern:

In the villages of India generally landholding does not remain stationary. Due to family partition the size of the land owned by the family changes. In this way in due course of time landholding pattern undergoes change. This process of change is very slow, for example in the village Rajpur between 1963 to 1983 the size of the landholding of only 21 families changed. This happened because of family partition. However, the divided land remained with the owners within the village and also under cultivation.

When land goes to market or when it is acquired the landholding pattern changes rapidly. The process of selling and acquisition of land started in the village and it was expedited by the establishment of factory industries and extension of BMC/VUDA limit. The total amount of the village land has decreased due to the above processes. Thus, 500 acres of land has passed out of the hands of land-owners. This loss to agricultural land has affected the land-ownership pattern of the village. Simultaneously, this has brought about changes in the different categories of farmers. In this process big farmers turned either into medium, small, marginal or became landless. Ownership of land is one of constituents of economic organization and change in this
brings changes in other related aspects.

Within two decades the land has decreased considerably and the total number of village families has increased. In 1963, per family the land ratio was 4.08 which came down to 2.34 in 1983. Taking land-ownership into consideration in 1963 out of 332 families 171 or 50.60 per cent owned land whereas in 1983 out of 365 families only 136 or 37.26 per cent owned land. In this way 35 families became landless. There were 79 marginal, 44 small and 25 medium landowners in 1963 which came down to 75, 35 and 16 respectively in 1983. The significant change is found amongst the big land-owners. There were 25 families of big land-owners which has been reduced to 10 in 1983 (Ref. appendix Table No. 3).

At present the landholding pattern in the merged village is as follows. There are 75 families of marginal land-owners out of which 55 families are of Barias and 2 families are of Patidars. There are 35 families which fall in the category of small farmers. Out of these 35 families 19 are Barias and 7 are Patidars. If we group these two categories together we find that majority of Barias and few families of Patidars fall in these categories. There are 16 medium and 10 big land-owners. Majority of Patidar families fall in these categories. In brief 855 acres of
arable land has been amongst the above categories of land owners.

A change in land holding pattern implies a change in crop-pattern. The following section relates to the changes in crop-pattern and organization of agriculture.

(B) Crop-pattern and organization of agriculture:

As stated earlier landowners now cannot sell their land to industrialist and they are aware of the fact that sooner or later their land will be acquired by the BMC. Patidars and Barias were the main landowning castes in the village and even now out of 8.55 acres of land 425 acres is owned by Patidars and 232 acres by Barias. These two and other landowning castes with whatever size of the land they have retained is cultivated for growing different crops. Crop-pattern at two different points (1963 i.e., before merger and 1983 after merger) will give an idea about change in the crop-pattern. The following table gives a comparative picture of the crop-pattern.
Table No. 12: The distribution of land under different crops 
1963 - 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Crop</th>
<th>Name of the crop</th>
<th>Land cultivated (%) 1963</th>
<th>Land cultivated (%) 1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash-crop</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>598 (44.36)</td>
<td>90 (19.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>179 (13.27)</td>
<td>50 (5.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ground nut</td>
<td>2 (0.14)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>23 (2.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>69 (7.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food-grain</td>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>318 (23.57)</td>
<td>200 (23.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bajra</td>
<td>73 (5.41)</td>
<td>90 (0.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koddra</td>
<td>71 (5.27)</td>
<td>65 (7.64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuver</td>
<td>28 (2.07)</td>
<td>95 (11.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>8 (0.59)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>35 (4.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15 (1.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>Onion</td>
<td>10 (0.74)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chilly</td>
<td>3 (0.22)</td>
<td>4 (0.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brinjal</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20 (2.35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10 (1.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cauliflower</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10 (1.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12 (1.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pumpkin</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5 (0.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lady's finger</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3 (0.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karela</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2 (0.23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fodder</td>
<td>Sundhiya</td>
<td>45 (3.33)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other crop</td>
<td>Oil seeds</td>
<td>14 (1.03)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eucalyptus</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5 (0.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bivela</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>30 (3.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flowering</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>26 (3.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26 crops</td>
<td>1349 (100%)</td>
<td>850 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table indicates that in 1963 even-though the total acres of arable land was more than that of today, the varieties of crops grown were few. Only 12 different varieties of crops were cultivated in 1963 whereas in 1983, 21 different crops were cultivated. The diversification of crops has become more. This reveals a trend towards diversification in the cropping-pattern. This will be evident from the following data.

Cash-crops:

A major portion of land i.e., 57.63 per cent was cultivated for cash-crops like cotton and tobacco. In 1983, we find a steep decline in the utilization of land for the crops of cotton and tobacco. Only 16.48 per cent of land was cultivated for these two crops. In fact, Patidar landowners were the prime-movers for cultivating these cash-crops, out of these two cotton crop was favoured more. The sociological reason behind this was that full-time Chakars were easily available. The cotton-crop required continuous ploughing, weeding and hoeings. Labour force was continuously required for plucking the cotton. Bhils and Vankers were easily available for agricultural operations. Patidars were only supervising the agricultural operations without much tension. The village Bhils were trust-worthy and keeping homely relations with Patidars. In a changing situation now it is difficult to cultivate this crop.
Labourers are not easily available today. Patidars have diverted to other cash-crops like Sugarcane and Banana. Those who have water facility and own pump-sets have taken to Sugarcane and Banana. Only 4 Patidars and 1 Baria have taken up these crops. Generally, when Sugarcane and Banana are ready, contractors from the city come and take away the crops. Only 9.75 per cent of the total arable land is cultivated for these crops. Thus, very few Patidars landowners strive to get the maximum return from the limited acres of land they possess.

Food-grain crops:

There is a decrease in the percentage land under cash-crops but it is not so in the case of food grain crops. In 1963, 36.91 per cent of land was cultivated for food grain crops like paddy (23.57%), bajra (5.41%), koda (5.27%), tuvar (2.07%) and math (0.59%). The production of these crops has increased. At the time of study 58.92 per cent of land was cultivated for these crops. The two new crops adopted are wheat (4.21%) and maize (1.80%). It was found that marginal and small landowners have increased the production of food grain crops. A majority of Barias fall in these categories. These crops have been so much suitable to majority of Barias that they do not go for change in this crop-pattern. This can be explained in the following manner.
Paddy, kodra and bajra are the staple food for majority of the villagers. These crops provide fodder also. Besides these crops the crop of tuver has become more popular among Barias and Vankers. Baria women look after this crop in their fields. In the village as soon as tuver beans get matured they sell it in the market. Matured green beans are sold in the vegetable market, at a very high price in the initial stage. This provides monetary support to small farmers and best fodder for their cattle. The production of this crop has increased today because of the above reasons. All these crops do not require intensive cultivation and planning. Agricultural operations of these crops are simple where women can also help. The task of protection of these crops is generally undertaken by females during day time as they take their buffaloes there and also work on the farm. It was observed that Baria males along with their factory jobs also render help in agricultural activities. As factories are very near, they can visit the fields after the job hours during day time. They also carry home fodder from the field while coming from the factory via their fields. Thus, cultivation of food grain crops, dairying and factory jobs have been mutually adjusted activities for marginal and small farmers especially the Barias.

Vegetable crops:

In 1965 onion and chilly were the only vegetable crops covering only 13 acres of the land. But in 1983 nearly
8.01 per cent of land was under cultivation of different varieties of vegetables. Only 10.29 per cent of the landowners have adopted the vegetable crops. All of them are either big or medium landowners and most of them are Patidars. Patidars who were doing agriculture without much trouble (i.e., tension) in 1963, are now facing many problems. They are striving to achieve maximum yield out of land they own. Patidars were astonished at the success of a Tamboli family which became prosperous in cultivating vegetables and flowers. Patidars also wanted to do something but they were facing constraints. The shortage of trustworthy agricultural labourers was one of them. They were not in a position to undertake the manual work of cultivation themselves, they have to depend on others. Even under such constrains the following vegetable crops were found in the village. Chilly (0.47%), Brinjal (2.35%), Tomatoes (1.19%), Cauliflower (1.19%), Cabbage (1.41%), Pumkin (0.59%), Ladysfinger (0.36%) and Karela (0.23%). In order to carry these vegetables from fields to market was done by push-cart owners. These push-cart owners were coming from the city to take away the vegetables, this has eased the problem of labour for carrying the vegetables.

Other Crops:

Those landowners (Patidars) who do not want to put in more efforts or want to get rid the problem of
labour and protection have adopted the crops of Divela (3.52$) and Eucalyptus (0.59$) respectively. These crops need minimum labour and no more botheration for its protection.

In this way with the decrease in land crop-pattern has undergone change. Cultivation of cash-crops has been decreased whereas food-grain crops have been increased, which are more suitable to Barrias. Only 10 per cent of the cultivators have adopted vegetable crops. The problem of crop protection and shortage of labour has lead to the cultivation of Divela and Eucalyptus.

Flower gardening: a boon for Tamboli family:

This is the only exceptional case of a landholder who has flourished in the midst of merged situation. In 1963 the Tamboli family had 6 acres of land. This family was staying on the farm and all the three brothers were cultivators. This family took to growing vegetables on the farm, and as they were staying there hence protection of crop was no problem. Secondly, they were selling the vegetables directly to the city market, so that they could derive good income. Tamboli family slowly started purchasing land nearby their land. In 1970-71 this family shifted from cultivation of vegetables to flower-gardening. They grow varieties of roses and other flowers, the present researcher had chance to visit the farm of Tamboli and found it
systematically cultivated and managed. Tamboli brothers have now built-up good houses on the farm and owned vehicles such as tempo, rickshaw and tractor. Tambolis have organized their cultivation of flowers in the following manner. Now they have 35 acres of land out of which 26 acres of land is cultivated for flowers. Generally children are employed for plucking operation, in the early morning at about 4 a.m. they get up to pluck the flowers. Bhil and few Baria children between 10 to 14 years have to report in the previous evening. They are given light food and have to sleep on the farm so that they can get up early in the morning. These children are trained in cutting, plucking and putting the flowers into baskets. This activity requires proper care. Tamboli brothers directly go to market with their vehicle for selling the flowers. The city of Baroda provides good market for the flowers, especially in the month of Shravana and during marriage season prices of flowers go up. This cultivation is not the supervisory type of farming, it requires zeal and proper care. Village land-owners have witnessed the growth of the Tamboli family through flower cultivation although they view it as the job of 'Mali.'

Today the village more urban in its pomp than rural. It seems as if the entire scene of agricultural activity has undergone change. Very few bullocks and bullock-carts are seen. The village streets bustle with different
vehicles like auto-rickshaws, tempos, scooters and trucks. The agricultural activities like threshing and crushing of food grain crops were done on the outskirts of the village with the help of bullocks are no more seen. Agricultural activities are now organized in the following manner.

The decrease in the total arable land has changed the landholding pattern and subsequently the number of bullocks has decreased. There were in all 133 bullocks in 1963 which came down to 108 in 1983, i.e., 75 bullocks have gone out of the agricultural scene (Ref. App. table No. 4). The fact is that, it is not now economically viable to keep and maintain a pair of bullocks. Big and medium landholders were keeping full time Chakars to look after bullocks, especially among Patidars this was the common practice. Chakar and his wife were supposed to clean the dung. Today in the merged village under study Patidar women find it difficult to clean the cattleshed. Still however, landholders cannot do away with bullocks, if not a pair atleast a single bullock is required for agricultural operations. The soil structure is such that tractors cannot be used for all agricultural operations. The marginal and small landholders either lease out the land or keep atleast one bullock for exchange to form a pair. Even in 1963 the system of mutual bullock exchange prevailed among few landholders. Such groups were semi-permanent in nature and
functioned on a caste-line. Today the marginal and small landholder have formed bullock exchange groups across the caste-line. Their interests to cultivate and maintain the land in a merged situation have brought these different caste-groups together. Thus, alliance in the form of bullock exchange groups of Brahmins with Bharwads, Patidars with Barias, Gosai with Barias, Vankers with Barias seem to be a consequence of merger.

(C) Dairying - an additional economic support:

We have discussed in the earlier section that arable land and bullocks have decreased. In the midst of this decreasing trend the total number of buffaloes has increased. The village had nearly 265 acres of pasture land which has gone to BMC. There are constraints (Ref. Chapter No. III), which cattle-owners have to face. Irrespective of these problems dairying has developed in the village. One of the motivating factors in keeping more buffaloes is the establishment of Rajpur Milk Producers' Co-operative Society. The functioning of the Society has encouraged the buffalo-owners both, directly and indirectly. It has provided a good economic boost to a majority of the buffalo-owners. In fact, villagers of Rajpur had experience of selling milk to private milk buyers from the city of Baroda. Before the establishment of Society in 1971, private milk businessmen were coming from the city of Baroda. They were encouraging the villagers
for keeping and rearing the buffalow for selling the milk to them. Villagers (especially Barias) were aware of the economic exploitation they were subjected by those milk buyers. These milk-buyers were united and did not compete for taking the milk, so the villagers were always getting the prices fixed by these businessmen. Patidars were keeping buffalos but very few of them were selling the milk to the businessmen. They were not interested in developing the dairying. On the other side some of the Barias took loan from milk businessmen for buying buffalos, such families remained under the economic control of businessmen. They had to sell milk only to these businessmen.

In 1971, some executive members from Baroda Dairy visited the village and convened the general meeting of the villagers. They explained the benefits of milk-society. In the initial stage private milk businessmen were investigating the villagers for not co-operating in the formation of Milk Co-operative Society. Patidars were not much interested in it. Barias were very keen to form Co-operative Society because they were being exploited. Ultimately the Society was formed with President and Secretary from Baria caste. The Secretary was not efficient and mis-appropriated the money. Later a young Patidar took-up the job. Today it functions very efficiently. Villagers could see the difference between Co-operative Society and private businessmen. Payment is made
every 10 days, cattle food is supplied on credit, advance is given for buying other commodities, the amount of profit is distributed in the form of bonus. Veterinary services are provided for keeping buffaloes healthy.

The village was merged and agricultural land has decreased but co-operative Society provided good incentives for keeping buffaloes. Baria and Bhil women took-up this occupation and are doing it with zeal. In 1963 there were total 178 buffaloes (Ref. App. Table No. 4). Patidars and Barias had more number of buffaloes, some other castes like Brahmin, Gosai, Valand, Kumbhar, Bil and Vanker were also keeping buffaloes. In 1983 the total number of buffalos reached upto 221. Except among Brahmins and Patidars the number of buffalos has increased in all the other castes. The highest increase is among Barias and Bhils the marginal and small landholders are keeping more buffaloes. Bhils who have no land now (except two) keep buffaloes. These Bhils take their buffaloes on the bank of river Vishwamitry for grazing, which is one and half kilometer away from the village. They keep their buffaloes with them in their living huts. In 1983 the total number of members was 302 out of which 170 supplied milk to the Society. The Society made a net profit of Rs. 50,660 in 1983-84 out of which Rs. 20,594 were distributed to the milk supplying members in the form of bonus which was the highest. One of the Barias told to
the researcher that "as soon as the land will be acquired
the income from buffaloes will stop and we will be put in
trouble, our women folk will become unemployed and frustrated."

IV. Nature of occupations in a merged village:

The changes in the structurally interrelated
aspects of agriculture like size of the landholding, crop-
pattern and livestock have been analysed. In this section
the nature of occupations in a merged will be examined.

Occupational structure of a community living
in a particular settlement gives a fair idea of the economic
structure of the community. Theoretically speaking in a
merged village diversified occupations have opened the
avenues for occupational mobility. Change in occupation or
giving up of traditional occupation may imply change in the
acceptable standard of living, changes in values and ideology
or change in general circumstances in which livelihood is
to be earned.

In order to grasp the change in the village
community as a whole, families of all castes have been taken
into consideration. The main and subsidiary occupations have
been analysed. The main source of income of a family is
obviously that from which it obtains the largest net income
and others are taken as subsidiary sources. The occupations
or the activities which are the main sources of income have been classified into different categories. Change in occupational structure leads to occupational mobility. Occupational mobility is related to alterations in the division of labour and to the supporting sanctions for assisting, or forcing, people to enter into new occupational roles.

Main occupations of the families in 1965 and in 1983:

What is the present occupational structure?

Which occupations have undergone change? Which groups have shifted from which occupations to what? The answers to these questions will give an idea about the changes in the occupations and the present nature of occupations. The following table gives an overall picture of the main occupations pursued by the families.

**Table No. 13 : Distribution of the families according to their main occupations 1965 - 1983**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main occupation/source of income</th>
<th>Total No. of families 1965 (%)</th>
<th>Total No. of families 1985 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agriculture</td>
<td>145 (39.73)</td>
<td>52 (14.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agri. labour</td>
<td>71 (19.46)</td>
<td>11 (3.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dairy</td>
<td>11 (3.02)</td>
<td>40 (10.95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Service</td>
<td>97 (26.58)</td>
<td>152 (41.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Trade</td>
<td>12 (3.28)</td>
<td>17 (4.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Traditional</td>
<td>27 (7.39)</td>
<td>4 (1.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rent</td>
<td>00 (0.00)</td>
<td>15 (4.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Any other</td>
<td>2 (0.54)</td>
<td>74 (20.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>365 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>365 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For caste-wise distribution of main occupation 7 families
Ref. appendix Table no. 6)
The distribution of number of families according to their main occupations in 1963 and 1983 is given in the above table. Accordingly, the total number of households are 365 for eliciting data a question about family's main and subsidiary occupations in 1963 was also asked. Various occupations (in terms of main sources of income pursued by a family are grouped into the following different broad categories:

1. Agriculture: Agriculture i.e., self-tilling, tilling through employed labour, share cultivation or rentier were taken into consideration. Cultivation is considered as the traditional caste occupation of Patidars who have been landowners and the Barias who have traditionally been tenant cultivators. Few families from other castes like Brahmin, Kumbhar, Gosai, Mahant, Valand, Bil and Untouchables (Vanker, Khalpa and Bhangi) were also holding few acres of land.

The overall picture which emerged from the data is that out of 365 families 145 (39.73 per cent) families had cultivation as their main occupation in 1963. Thus, agriculture was the main source of income for these families. In 1983, out of 365 families only 52 (14.26 per cent) families were dependent on agriculture. In this way nearly 22 per cent of agriculturists have parted with their main occupation of cultivation.
2. Agricultural labour:

Agricultural labour was the main source of income for the castes like Bhil, Vaghari, Vanker, and Bhangi. These families were providing the agricultural labour force. These families worked on the land of Patidars and few Barias for a stipulated payment. A labourer contributes only his labour to the process of cultivation and in return he is paid the stipulated wages. In 1963, 71 (19.46 per cent) families were engaged only in agricultural labour. Today (in 1983) only 11 (2.03 per cent) families have been engaged in agricultural labour. Thus, nearly 60 per cent families have turned from agricultural labour to mostly factory labour for their source of income.

3. Dairying:

Cattle rearing is associated with agriculture in the sense that buffalos assure a regular supply of milk. As we have seen earlier that private milk businessmen were coming to the village to buy the milk. Out of 365 families, 11 families (3.02 per cent) were mainly engaged in dairying and hence the main occupation for these families. However, for the majority of the families it was a subsidiary occupation. In 1983, 40 families (10.45 per cent) had taken to dairying as their main source of income. The number of buffaloes has also increased. Majority of these families are from the Baria caste. Some Bhils are also keeping buffaloes,
there were 8 buffaloes in 1963 which have increased up to 20 in 1983.

4. Services:

The village has been exposed to urban employment opportunities. Service includes factory labour, administration, government etc. According to the villagers' perception factory or blue collar job is considered as service. In 1963, 97 families (26.58 per cent) were mainly dependent on different types of services. Majority of them were in factory jobs in the city. Due to establishment of factories on the village land the majority of families are engaged in the factory jobs. The other urban activities in the form of jobs have also increased. Out of 365 families 152 (41.65 per cent) are now engaged mainly in different services. The village which has become part of the city is transforming from agro-based economic activity to a variety of urban based economic activities. The traditional roles and relations undergo change due to such transformations.

5. Trade:

In 1963 the village was comprised of native families and the nature of trade was simple. The village shops were owned by few villagers, and transaction was done on credit. These petty shop-keepers and customers had personal relations with each other. There were 12 families (3.28 per cent) engaged in local trade. Even as the population
increased in the village only a few shops were added. In this way in 1983 17 village families (4.65 per cent) were engaged in the local trade. These shops cater to almost all poor residents of hutment colonies. One can raise the question why in this merged situation more and big shops like departmental stores have not opened? The fact is that most of the workers commute from the different places. Rajpur is an industrial zone hence factory workers come and go. If it had been residential zone like Mangalpur or Hisarapura quite a few number of huge colonies might have developed. In such situation business could develop. According to village shopkeepers "it is futile to open big departmental stores." They trade only in day-to-day commodities like butter-milk, curd, vegetables, oil and grains. This is present situation of trade in the village.

6. Traditional (caste-occupation):

In 1963, 27 families (7.39 per cent) were engaged in their traditional caste occupations. Mahant and Gosai (total 6 families) were drawing their income from priesthood. These families were looking after the temples of Ram and Shiva. In 1983 except one family of Gosai others have joined the different occupations. Two families of Suthar and one family of Lohar were engaged in their traditional occupations of Carpentry and Blacksmithing but in 1983 these
families have diverted to other occupations like contract and service. Similarly, two families of Kumbhar and three families of Valand were drawing their livelihood by giving their services to their customers. These families are now do not depend on their traditional services, they have accepted different occupations. The other castes likeRawalia (one family) by rope-making, Bharwad (two families) by cattle grazing were earning their livelihood. They are now no more in those occupations. Vaghari (two families) were keeping buffalo have still continued, similarly Khalpa (one family) has continued the occupation of carrying dead cattle. Bhangis (six families) were scavengers have now assumed the new status of Safai kamdar of BMC. One family of Ghanchi who had oil-crusher was doing the oil crushing has now discontinued. All these families were related to Jaymani ( — ) system, have now more or less accepted other occupations.

7. Rent:

The new source of income which did not exist as main source of income has come about in the merged village is rent. This cannot be rated as occupation but it has become the main source of income for 15 families (4.09 per cent). These families had their land in 1963 but some or whole of it has been sold and the proceeds invested in constructing houses for rental purpose.
8. Any other:

The occupations which are not covered in the above broad categories and considered as other occupations are of different nature. There were 2 families in 1963 in such other occupations but in 1983, 74 families (20.27 per cent) has taken to such different occupations. These sources of income are entirely new will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

Combination of main and subsidiary occupations:

We have seen in the above paragraphs the occupational structure of the village. We may now look at the nature of combination of main and subsidiary occupations by different families. Villagers of Rajpur are combining both main and subsidiary occupations in several ways. In order to supplement their incomes majority of the villagers are therefore, engaged in more than one occupations.

An inquiry into the subsidiary occupations reveals several significant facts. As a result of merger the situation of Rajpur village has been transformed, in this changing situation the main above occupations do not provide sufficient income for the maintenance of the family. The search for subsidiary sources of livelihood indicates either sheer substance in the main occupation in certain cases or
the desire to raise one's standard of living. The opportunities of taking subsidiary occupations have also increased.

Cultivation was the main occupation for many families in 1963 but as a result of selling and acquisition of agricultural land, cultivation became subsidiary occupation in many cases. Thus, cultivation, service, dairying, rent (as a source of income), trade, artisan caste occupations and a good number of urban occupations became either main or subsidiary sources of income. The following table gives the summary of the combination of main and subsidiary occupations in 1963 – 1983.

Table No. 14: Combination of main and subsidiary occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Total Number of families having main occupation only</td>
<td>157 (45.01)</td>
<td>44 (12.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Total Number of families having main occupation plus one subsidiary occupation</td>
<td>125 (34.24)</td>
<td>188 (51.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Total Number of families having main occupation plus two subsidiary occupations</td>
<td>63 (17.35)</td>
<td>90 (24.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Total No. of families having main occ. plus three or more subsidiary occupations</td>
<td>20 (5.49)</td>
<td>43 (11.78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>365 (100%)</td>
<td>365 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* Caste wise distribution of main and subsidiary occupations given in appendix table No. 5).
We find from the above table that in 1963 majority of the families (157, 43.01 percent) pursued the main occupation and no subsidiary occupation. The opportunities for subsidiary occupations were few then but with the expansion of factories and major of the village have increased the opportunities for subsidiary occupations. The number of families following one or more subsidiary occupations besides main one has therefore increased. All these make the process of diversification of occupation more complex.

V. Caste-groups their occupations and mobility: a changing scene:

Changes which have occurred in the merged village are not even and these changes have affected different caste-groups differently.

Brahmin and Bania:

In the village caste-structure Brahmin and Bania families were holding the top ritual rank. Out of a total 8 families, 6 families are of Brahmin and 2 are of Bania. Brahmin families had cultivation as main source of income. They were better off economically. These Brahmin families have more male earners now. In 1983 only one family had retained cultivation and the other five families taken to different services. These five Brahmin families are leasing out their land to Bharwad tenants and hence they do
not bother about cultivating the land. Thus, income from the land has become a subsidiary source of income. They have a number of subsidiary occupations like L.I.C. agency, Commission Agent, part-time Draftsmanship etc. Besides they have income from rent. Thus, economically Brahmins are better off now than before. Two Bania families have maintained status quo in their main occupations of trade. However, they gave-up lending money and continued with trading. The reason for this is old age and they do not have sons to look after. They faced that in their absence place may not repay money.

Patidars:

Patidars were economically better off and politically dominant. Majority of cultivable land was under their control. Though numerically the Patidars were third in rank, they by virtue of their unified force were dominating caste.

In a merged situation Patidars face many problems. The biggest one is the cultivation of land. Out of 30 families 27 families (90.00 per cent) were previously engaged in cultivation but in 1983 only 15 families (50.00 per cent) were engaged in cultivation. Majority of adult males of these families are supervising the agriculture. They do not want to take-up low status factory jobs. They
consider factory job or any menial job as below their dignity. These families of Patidar are from big and medium landholders. Their economic position has thus deteriorated. The main source of their income is from agriculture and subsidiary income is drawn from rent.

Out of 30 families of Patidar 4 families (13.34 per cent), are now mainly dependent on dairying. These families have the status of marginal farmers. They keep buffaloes and draw income from selling milk. Still other 5 families (16.66 per cent) are now dependent on factory jobs and other services. These families were medium landowners who disposed off part of the land. These families could pull on smoothly on agriculture. Some of the adult males from these families have taken-up lower factory jobs without hesitation. When asked about the change from agriculture to service one Patidar replied in his own style. 'Ham, dam and tham' (courage, money and place to plough) are the three things which are the characteristics of a good farmer. Now we Patidars as farmers have no Ham (courage) because the situation in this village is not congenial for farming, even after putting a lot of labour the farmer doesn't get due reward. In this way farmers are losing courage. Secondly, he (farmer) does not have enough money to invest in the farming. Thirdly, you know that we are losing the land (ploughing). The only alternative is to find out job. Farmer was called once the father (Pita) of the world but
now he has become servant (Sevak)." These were the words of a Patidar who in his youth (20 years of age in 1963) was very much enthusiastic about farming seems to have been dis-heartened and is now a factory worker at the age of 40. Three families (10.00 per cent) have started business out of these two families have their small retail shops of cloth run in their respective houses. Migrants and factory workers are the customers. These shopkeepers sell goods on credit for a month, at the time of salary money is being collected. One family has a retail grain shop. These families are contented with their business.

Out of 30 families 3 families (10.00 per cent) who were landlords once are now dependent on rent only. The fixed rent which was decided in 1971-72 has remained the same in 1983. The economic condition of these families is the worst. They have only rent as the source of income. The amount of rent ranges between Rs. 500 to 600 per month, which each family gets. It is difficult for these families to keep buffaloes as they do not have land. They are now repenting for selling the land.

Patidars in the merged village are struggling to keep up their status and that is why in one way or the other they have at least one subsidiary occupation. Agriculture, rent, dairying, service, petty shops etc., are the sources of secondary income. The overall economic condition
of all Patidars has not improved eventhough they received good amount of compensation. They did not invest money in buying the land else where. They lack education and enterpreneural ability.

Here, one question can be raised, why not a single villager (especially Patidar) has gone for even a small industry in the village? It was enquired during investigation and the researcher came to know about the situation. One Patidar PP wanted to invest money in a small industry, but he had no idea about the technical know how, so he collaborated with one industrialist from Baroda. EP was ready to invest money and was ready to build a shed in his field. Both the parties agreed and started the small factory of manufacturing and supplying granuals to a big factory. PP was proud of this, because he had the much more valued status of an industrialist to that of a big farmer. He purchased a car and made regular visits to the factory. In the initial stage (around 1970) it was alright, but later on his partner, instead of showing profit, showed the loss. PP didn't understand the strategy he had fear of losing the money (Rs. 1 lakh). He was ready to dispose off the shed and factory and ultimately with a big loss he had to depart from the factory. That year (1970) he could not pay attention to his agriculture, the result was a big loss in agriculture too. He was very depressed because it was a matter of his prestige. He
confessed before the investigator that without knowing the ABC of business he plunged into it and the result was economic loss. This was the lesson which villagers learnt that a person like PP with little education, capital, land and status has lost the game, no ordinary villager would think of undertaking the risk.

From educational point of view, except two Patidar youths there are no college degree holders. Educationally they are lagging behind even the Vankers. Thus, Patidars themselves feel that they have become weak economically and socially too. Among the Patidars land is an important consideration for giving daughter in marriage. Now a good number of Patidar families have lost land. The youths are not getting suitable jobs, this has adversely affected upon marriage chances of the Patidar youths. This was observed by the investigator.

Barias:

Patidars and Barias were the two main landholding castes. Cultivation was the main source of income for majority of the families of Baria. The major chunk of the land was under the control of Patidars numerically, Barias were the dominant caste in the village. Out of 175 families 101 families (57.71 per cent) had cultivation in 1963 but the situation changed in 1983. Today out of 175 families
only 27 (15.42 per cent) have agriculture as the main source of income. Majority of Barias are land-losers but they have diverted to a variety of occupations. The general impression about Barias in the past was adverse, they were considered as idlers, who were satisfied with whatever income they had. Their economic condition was poor, of course except agriculture they had very few other avenues for source of income.

After the merger of the village, they became more active. They also lost their land like Patidars but Barias found out the way. Dairying was done by them previously also but now it has become an important source of income to most of them is the concrete evidence. Today out of 171 families of Barias 31 (17.71 per cent) are mainly dependent on dairying. Besides dairying 47 families (26.85 per cent) are having service (factory jobs) as their main source of income. Only 6 families (3.42 per cent) are in trade (petty shops), whereas 10 families (5.71 per cent) derive their main income from rent. The interesting thing is that 54 families (30.55 per cent) have non-agricultural or urban occupations. These will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Barias have accepted subsidiary occupations of different kinds. The number of families having main plus two subsidiary occupations have increased but families having main occupation plus three or more have increased to more than double compared to 1963.
Baria women are helping their males in many ways. The Baria women (wives, mothers and adult daughters) join hands in agricultural operation and do most of the dairying work. It is observed that Barias do prefer jobs in the village factories even with low wages because it saves much of their time. They can utilize their time either in agriculture, dairying, running petty shops or in other miscellaneous work to earn more. Barias are keen even to get blue-collar factory jobs. Such jobs are considered as having low status. Patidars consider such jobs as below their dignity, such is not the case among Barias. The present researcher had experienced that in 1963, Barias males were easily available for interview even during day time, but it was found difficult to choose them easily in 1983. Most of the Baria males were interviewed after 6 or 7 p.m. This itself indicates that new opportunities have been harnessed by Barias in many ways. Despite loss of a part of land all these factors helped them in strengthening their economic position. Of course they have not become rich but at least a majority of them earn their bread easily.

Artisan and Servicing Castes:

The changes which have occurred in the village have also affected the small but important segment of the Artisan and Servicing castes. Previously 27 families were
mainly dependent upon jaymani services. In the changed situation they have shifted to other services or occupations. The castes like Suthar, Luhar, Kumbhar and Valand have made changes in their services. Out of 6 families of Suthar (Carpenter) 4 families have joined urban occupations long back. Whereas 2 families were giving their traditional services of maintenance and repairs to agriculturists in 1963. These two families had Jajmani relations with Patidar and Baria cultivators. In 1983 these 2 families have continued their occupation of carpentry but are not now a part of the traditional system. It was observed that these 2 families make various items of wooden furniture and are selling in the village. They have enough work for carpentry, as migrants put orders for different types of wooden articles. With the loss of land to agriculture, frequency of agriculture operations has reduced. The services of Suthar are not required as before. Whatever minor repairings the cultivators need are done on the cash bases. The fixed charges are taken for repairings of agricultural implements.

Luhar (one family) has completely given-up his traditional occupation and is now doing job in one of the factories. He had wide open space adjacent to his house, part of which he sold away and constructed few small houses for rental purpose.
There are 3 families of Kumbhar out of which 2 families were engaged in pottery and 1 family was in service. These two families maintain traditional relations with Patidars and Bariaś and on certain occasions as and when required they provide earthen pots which they bring from Padra. The males of these two families have become old and their sons do not want to continue the occupation. Since BMC does not permit to dig earth, it is difficult to get the raw material for making earthen vessels. So now they do not make earthen-pots but for the sake of continuing the relations they provide this type of service only to a limited number of families of Bariaś and Patidars. Their investment in building houses for rental purpose provides an additional source of income.

Valand families (three) in the village were engaged in the traditional occupation of barbery. Out of these 3 families, 2 families were rendering jajmani services in the village. The other one had opened a hair-cutting shop. Both these families of Valand had 5 acres of land each, the males were knowing all agricultural operations. The sons of these Valands did not like their caste-occupation. They did not help their parents in rendering their services. They (sons) are educated upto S.S.C. and one of them has some technical training, which has helped him getting job in the laboratory at the University. The older Valands given-up the job of barbery and engaged themselves in cultivation.
Weaker Groups:

Bhils, Vagharris, Vankers, Khalpa and Bhangis constitute the socially and economically weaker sections of the village population. The total number of such families are 108: Bhils 75, Vagharris 5, Vankers 21, Khalpa 1, and Bhangis 6. Of these, 24 families had land in 1963, 7 Bhil families, 1 Vaghari, 10 Vanker and 6 Bhangi families had some land. They were mainly marginal land owners, though some were small land-owners. In 1983 majority of Bhils and Bhangis had lost their land while Vankers and Vagharris could retain it. All these castes were occupied in agricultural labour and their major source of income was agricultural activities. Patidars paid in advance to Bhils, Vankers and Bhangis with the condition to work on their farms at the rates fixed by them. Thus, due to advance payment these labourers remained under the control of Patidars. Even on different social occasions these labourers were taking money from Patidars. After the merger the economic conditions of these groups have more or less improved.

Bhils:

There are 75 families of Bhils. In 1963, 6 families were occupied in cultivation, 54 families were engaged in agricultural labour and 15 in factory jobs.
Today 11 families are occupied in agricultural labour, 4 families are engaged in dairying, 47 families in service, 11 are in different jobs and 1 family is dependent on income from rent. If we take the male earners of Bhils (Ref. appendix table No.76) it indicates clearly that they have moved from sheer agricultural labour to different kinds of jobs and activities. Out of a total of 204 males 42 are non-earners and 162 are earners. Of these 2 males engaged in cultivation, 25 are in agriculture labour, 90 are in factory unskilled jobs, 10 in skilled jobs, 13 in lower jobs such as peons in either BMC or Government offices. Two are engaged as clerks and 20 males are engaged in other occupations like masonry, tailoring, flour mill etc. It can be seen that Bhils have moved from agricultural labour to factory labour, no doubt they have to work hard in the factories even at the cost of their health. But they prefer these jobs because round the year they are engaged, secondly regular payment is given and timings for work are fixed.

New roles and social settings give a sense of pride and prestige to Bhils. Even in those employed as peons feel proud of their status. The dress with emblem on the shirt is a matter of pride for them. They say 'Sarkari Nokri' is the best job. This job gives them dignity in their own community. One of the Bhils is clerk in BMC in the department of Health, he visits different wards with
senior officials. Once he wrote a memo to one of the Patidars for not keeping his water tank clean. This Bhil Clerk's father was Chakar at the same Patidar's house. After a few days the Bhil clerk told that Patidar "do not worry, nothing will happen (penalty) so long as I am there." This episode is discussed among Bhils with great pride because one of them saved a Patidar from penalty. Those who have lost their land in acquisition have become landless and have lost the status of land-owner in their own community. The youths of these families have turned to other jobs. The overall economic and social conditions of the Bhils are better compared to Bhils of distant villages.

Vankers:

Vankers in the village are slowly rising-up. Like Bhils and Bhangis they have not sold away their land. Out of 21 families, 10 families are still holding the land. The male members of these 21 families are engaged in different services. The main source of income of all Vanker families is service. Those who have land are now either leasing out to Baria or hired the bullocks and do it themselves. Agriculture has now become subsidiary source of income. It was observed by the researcher that Vankers were very keen on educating their children. They have taken the advantage of nearness of the city. As a result of this there are 20 youths who have passed upto S.S.C. and 5 are
holding graduate degree and 6 are post-graduate degree holders in either Arts or Commerce. This educational background and reservation policy have helped Vankers in getting different positions. There are 74 males out of which 40 are non-earners whereas 34 are the earners. Out of these 34 earners 9 are in factory unskilled jobs, 7 are in factory skilled jobs, 8 are in clerical jobs, 6 are employed as officers either in Bank or G.E.B. or Excise. There are 3 males who are in Police service, in the city of Baroda. One Vanker has completed his M.B.B.S. and is reading for M.D. at Surat. He plans to open his private clinic near Baroda. In this way educationally and economically they could improve their status.

Khalpa:

The one and only family of this caste has remained in the same occupation, but finds it difficult to carry on the occupational role in changed circumstances. A detailed account of this is given in the case-study.

Bhangis:

Bhangis did not take education as Vankers did. Bhangis of Rajpur were agricultural labourers and were doing the job of scavenging. They had (all Bhangi families) few acres of land which they lost in acquisition. The Bhangis have utilized the compensation in renovating their houses.
Out of 6 families of Bhangi the members of 5 families are Safai Kamdars in BMC. One family of Bhangi is doing the job of stove repairing and selling 'datan' (wooden brush) in the evening. Bhangis are now employees of BMC and as Safai Kamdar assigned to Ward No. 6 of the same village. Their work is supervised and have to keep regular time. They get their salary at the end of the month. Mostly husband and wife and adult members are employed in BMC, so that they get good income compared to their previous position. As Bhangis have become Safai Kamdar of BMC they are now part of wider organization of BMC and have become the members of their union. Once when the present researcher was sitting in the Co-operative Society's office which is located nearby Bhangi falia. At about 1.30 p.m. a mob of 25 people got down from the city bus and started shouting slogans and rushed to the Bhangi falia. The matter was one of the Bhangis was slapped by one of the Barlas on the ground of cleaning the cattleshed. Baria wanted to have the passage of his cattleshed cleaned but Bhangi denied by telling that "it is not the part of the street." Baria got wild and slapped him. This matter was reported by Rajpur Bhangis to their union office at Baroda. Thus, Bhangis came from Baroda and asked the local Bhangis not to sweep the streets from the following day. The tempo was cooled down by the intervention of a Baria Corporator by giving assurance that in future this will not happen
again. Thus, merger of the village with the city has given wide recognition to the Bhangis of Rajpur.

The changes in the occupations of different castes have expedited the process of mobility, both upward and downward.

VI. Emergence of new-occupations/activities in a merged village:

Rajpur is now a part of Baroda hence a situation in which any person can undertake any occupation or activity for earning a bread. Establishment of industries has opened up new job opportunities and various related activities. In this situation traditional restrictions on occupations by caste cannot operate. New job opportunities attract outsiders or migrants with whom the local residents can also compete to avail the new opportunities. Outsiders came and settled in the village and have taken up varieties of occupations or activities. Printing-press, Lathe, Poultry, Pounding machine etc., have been opened in the village by outsiders and are making good earning out of these.

Villagers' of Rajpur in their own capacity try to accommodate with the situation by way of engaging in various occupation/activities. Majority of the activities which villagers have accepted require manual labour. Out of a total of 365 families, 74 families (i.e., the members)
(20.13 per cent) have accepted these different activities. The significant thing is that not a single from the upper castes like Brahmin, Baria and Patidar have taken up activities. The following table indicates the distribution of different new activities in the village during 1983.

Table No. 4A : Distribution of families according to new occupations/activities, 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Traditional occupation</th>
<th>Name of occupation/activity</th>
<th>Total No. of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baria</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Driving (Truck, bus, taxi, rickshaws)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiffin carrier</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Xerography</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Omelette center</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pan-shop</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cold-drink center</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Firewood-Fuel-shop</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Banana-wholesale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mandap Decoration</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cycle-repairing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plumbery</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Centering</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Electric fitting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tube-well Drilling</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajland</td>
<td>Hair-cutting</td>
<td>Hair-cutting shop</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suthar</td>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>Masonry/Contractor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhar</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>Brick/Contractor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhil</td>
<td>Agri.labour</td>
<td>Masonry</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Single bullock cart</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Flour-mill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaghari</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stove-repairing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Datan - contractor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhangi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stove-repairing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table indicates that different castes have shifted from traditional occupations to new type of activities. Barias are agriculturists in the village, but with the changing situation they have shifted to different type of activities for drawing their main source of income. Transportation is an important urban activity, this includes vehicles which carry passengers or goods from one place to other. This has motivated some Barias to take to the job of drivers. Out of 175 families of Barias the members of 8 families (4.57 per cent) have been working as drivers. Out of these 8, 1 is a truck-driver, 3 are private taxi drivers, 1 is a rickshaw driver and 3 are S.T. Bus drivers employed by Gujarat State Transport Corporation. Thus, Barias have taken new roles implying change from the status of cultivator-cum-tenant to that of a driver. Those S.T. Bus drivers enjoy the status similar to the one of Government Servants, their social relations have been extended beyond the village due to their jobs. Driving was not their caste-occupation. As a result of this job their view becomes wider. They come in interaction with a number of people outside the village.

Due to the development of various factories around the village, commuters from the city come for their jobs in these factories. The commuters who do not bring lunch boxes with them require the services of a tiffin carrier. This has opened up a new activity of earning for the villagers.
This activity of tiffin carrier has been undertaken by 4 Barias. They collect tiffins from the commuter's place and take them to their respective factories. These tiffin carriers have designed their bicycles in such a way that they can easily put those tiffins into the boxes. The contact with commuters in the factory and their wives at their homes are the new situations of social contacts for these Barias. According to them, tiffin carrier is supposed to be a trust-worthy and known person.

The migrant population in and around the village has tremendously increased. This has made the tailoring occupation more viable. Out of 175 families of Barias, 6 families (3.42 per cent) and out of 75 families of Bhils, 2 families (2.66 per cent) are mainly dependent on the job tailoring. The males of these families took training in tailoring and cutting are now having their own machines and doing tailoring in the village. Thus, very few Barias and Bhils who mainly depended on agriculture have now switched over to new occupation of tailoring. Their contacts with residents of the village and migrants are now enlarged and are looked upon as customers.

The following incident reveals how urban contact influences the behavioural skill for new occupation of the village and brings change. Zerox machine has been installed by one of the high-school educated Barias. The father of this Baria was peon in the M.S. University of Baroda and was to
retire from his job. He got an idea from one of the clerks of installing zeroxing machine. He decided to invest his provident fund and for additional requirement he sold away two acres of land, to purchase the machine. His son made contacts with the owners of factories and requested them to give him zeroxing work. Having established good relations with factory personnel today he is doing well in this activity.

The opening of Omlette center, owned by 4 Barias (2.28 per cent), Pan-shop owned by 3 Barias (1.71 per cent) and Cold-Drink Center by 1 Baria (0.57 per cent) are new economic activities. These cater to the needs of either migrants or passers by. Everyday in the evening from 5 p.m. to 12 p.m. these 4 Omlette centers open near the bus-shop. The passers, non-vegetarian, egg-eaterian, migrants come and relish the dish of omlette. It was observed that, Patidar boys, though not as a regular practice, were relishing omlette. These 4 omlette centers have regular customers who are also served on credit. Persons running these centres bring eggs from the poultry which is owned by one of the outsiders. Thus, the contact with the owner of poultry and with the customers are the new relations which have developed in the village.

Migrants who do not have cooking gas or kerosene stove have to rely on fire-wood or coal. Two Baria families are selling fire-wood, coal and kerosene. In the past, few Barias were engaged in the activity of selling of fire-wood to the city dwellers. They were carrying fire-wood on their heads.
This practice is no more in vogue.

Banana is the local product and two Barias have opened the whole-sale shops. They buy bananas from the farmers and sell it out on the whole-sale trading basis. They get good margin out of this business.

Two Barias have purchased the material for pendal and decorations. They also keep loud-speakers and records. When enquired about this activity they revealed that migrants from the different parts of the country celebrate their religious festivals in the village. They erect pendals and install loud-speakers. Even during marriage season pendals and decorations are needed. This gives them good earning.

Construction work has opened the opportunities for economic activities. Construction of factories and housing societies require masons, plumbers, carpenters and electricians. These activities are carried on either on individual level or on group level. Persons involved in these activities have to keep contact with contractors.

Carpentry though not a caste occupation for Barias, 5 Barias have learned and adopted this occupation. They are known as Karigar in the village. This is a new status assigned by the villagers to these Barias. These Barias have established good contact with the building contractors. One of the Barias said "this occupation is better than farming because we get
Based on the daily wages, a job of mason is allied. The masonry work as a new economic activity is taken up by Bhils only. Out of 75 families of Bhils, male members of 5 families (6.66 per cent) are practicing masonry. These Bhils have contacts with contractors and take other Bhil youths with them as daily wage labourers.

Plumbing and centering are the sub-activities of construction work. Sometimes sub-contract is given by the main contractor for these activities. Four Barias of the village have been trained in the plumbing work and 4 other Barias are trained in centering. They keep material for centering which they hire also.

Casting of goods from factories and raw materials from different places also are new activities for income. Three Bhils are engaged in this activity. They have single bullock cart for carting the goods from the surrounding factories. They draw income out of this activity.

Most of the migrant families use kerosene stove for cooking purpose. Stove-repairing has become the activity which has been done by 1 Vaghari and 1 Bhangi. Vaghari sits nearby the bus-stop and does repairing, whereas Bhangi goes out on bicycle with his tool-box. He visits the surrounding colonies to repair stoves on the spot. He says "if I sit here in the village nobody will come to me for repairing as my caste is known by everybody here." Thus, even the village has become part of city, traditional norms do operate in day-to-day social interactions.
One of the Bhils who retired from the Sarabhai Chemicals Works as a worker and whatever provident and other funds he got, invested in installing a flour-mill. This family is running a flour-mill and is known as 'Ghantiwala.'

Valand has opened the hair-cutting shop in the village he has followed the same occupation, but having shop in the village, Customers go to his shop for hair-cutting. The mode of giving services has changed. He is taking cash from everybody for hair-cutting.

Two Suthars have taken up the activity of sub contract. They make contract with masons for masonry work. Similarly, two Kumbhars are labour-contractors in the brick-kiln.

It can be seen from the above activities that except Brahmin, Baria and Patidar castes the other different castes of the village started moving away from their traditional caste occupations. The process of change has started which may be expedited with the changing situation in future.

The entire economic organization of the village is under change. Factory industries on the village land provided job opportunities to the villagers. Cultivation is still done but cultivators find difficulties. Dairying has flourished as source of income.