DISTRICT AND VILLAGE PROFILES

Dhading District

Dhading District is one of the 75 districts of Nepal and it is comprised of 50 village panchayats. As shown in the Map of Nepal (Figure 2.1), Dhading District lies in the Bagmati Zone of the Central Development Region of Nepal. It is bordered by Rasuwa, Nuwakot, and Kathmandu districts in the east, Makwanpur and Chitwan in the south, Gorkha in the west, and the Autonomous Region of Tibet in the north. It covers a geographical area of 192,600 hectares or 1.3 per cent of the country's area (Agrawal et al. 1985, 43) and has a subtropical monsoon climate. The average annual precipitation is 2,120 mm and the rainy season is from mid June to September.

The district lies between 27° 40'N to 28° 14' N latitude and 84° 36' E to 85° 1'E longitude, and ranges from 500m (subtropical) to 7,500m (the high Himalayas, e.g. Ganesh Himal, 7,409m) with most of the area falling in the 700 to 2,000m region (MPLD/DDDP 1983, 23). The three main rivers are the Trisuli, Budhi Gandaki, and Aankhu khola.

Almost 99 per cent of the population is involved in agriculture, a notable proportion of households derive their income from selling livestock, and there is also significant seasonal migration in search of work. People of Dhading District, especially the women, make baskets, straw mats, rope, ghee, and dry vegetables for marketing.

According to the 1981 census (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS] 1981), the population of Dhading is 243,042 distributed among 50,000 households; the average size being approximately 5 persons. Out of the total population of 243,042, the male population accounts for 50.4 per cent (122,395) and the female population 49.6 per cent (120,647). Population wise, Dhading District is the third largest hill district in Nepal. The population growth rate is estimated at 2.25 per cent. Of the population, 174,763 (71.9 per cent) are above ten years of age (Agrawal et al. 1986, 46). The literacy rate for men is about 27.2 per cent and for women 6.8 per cent (Agrawal et al. 1985, 46).

According to a MPLD/DDDP (1983, 25) report, the caste and ethnic composition of Dhading District is as shown in Table 2.1. Indo-Aryan Caste Groups make up approximately 42 per cent of the total population. Tibeto-Burmese Ethnic Groups are approximately 55 per cent of the population.

Topographically the district is characterized by very steep slopes with limited flat areas on the valley bottoms. Most of the forests are subtropical and contain Sal (Shorea robusta) and Katus (Castanopsis tribuloides) species. The major crops are maize, paddy, millet, potatoes, wheat, sugarcane, oilseeds, and barley. Vegetables are also grown on a commercial scale in some panchayats. On land that has irrigation facilities, farmers can grow three crops a year either by growing early paddy, late paddy, and wheat or maize, paddy, and wheat. Approximately 20,000 ha of primary land and 30,000 ha of marginal and very marginal upland is being cultivated (MPLD/DDDP 1983, 25)
Table 2.1: Caste and Ethnic Composition in Dhading District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhetris</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Castes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamang</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurungs</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newars</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magars</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chepangs</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the Agricultural Statistics for Nepal in 1983 (Agrawal et al. 1985, 49), the latest estimates for the livestock population in Dhading District are as in Table 2.2.

The southern part of Dhading District is served by a very important all weather road that connects Kathmandu to Pokhara and passes through seventeen panchayats of the district. As far as health facilities are concerned, there is no hospital but there are 19 health posts.

Nalang Village Panchayat

As shown on the District Map (Figure 2.2), Nalang Panchayat is bordered on the east by the Thopal River, on the west by Sallang and Madi, on the north by Dhola and Murli Bhanjyang, and on the south by Sallang. Like all village panchayats, it is divided into nine political wards. Based on the CBS census (1981), the total population is 5,971 and the average household size is 5.21. Out of the total population, 2,967 are male and 3,004 are female.

Table 2.2: Livestock Population in Dhading District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Livestock</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxen</td>
<td>49,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draft buffaloes</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milch cows</td>
<td>10,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milch buffaloes</td>
<td>15,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>1,398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>1,272,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs</td>
<td>5,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry (Fowl and Ducks)</td>
<td>184,091</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are two primary schools and two lower secondary schools. Of the two primary schools, one is located at Sundar Pani in Ward No 3, and the other one is located in Aapree Gaun, Ward No 4. One lower secondary school is located at Thanti Bhanjyang in Ward No 5 and the other at Charimare Tar, in Ward No 8. There are four school teachers in Sundar Pani Primary School and four in Aapree Primary School. In the lower secondary school at Thanti Bhanjyang there are seven teachers, four of which are from within the Panchayat and three from outside. In Charimare Tar lower secondary school there are seven teachers of which six come from within Nalang Panchayat and one from outside.

There is no health post but there is a health worker from the health post in Sallang Panchayat who provides private care services at Thanti Bhanjyang in Ward No 5. The nearest health post is at Itpani Village in Sallang Panchayat.

The nearest road is the Malekhu-Dhading Road at Dunche. There is a post office at Thanti Bhanjyang, in Ward No 5. In Ward No 2, in addition to the four villages that were studied, there are two villages that are not included in the study. These villages are Apprechhap and Garamchhap. Apprechhap is a settlement of 45 households (35 Aryal Brahmin, [priests], seven Sarki, [cobbler]s and three Damai, [tailors]). In Garamchhap, there are 18 households of which six households are Kami, [blacksmiths] and 12 are Magar [a Tibeto-Burmese group].

Hattisunde-Mahadevsthan

Hattisunde Forest is conserved by the residents of Hattisunde Mahadevsthan which consists of four villages from Ward No 2 of Nalang Panchayat. The villages are Hattisunde Gaun, Kharka Gaun, Mahadevsthan Gaun and Khahare Gaun (locally sketched maps showing these four settlements are given in Figure 2.3). Altogether there are 53 households of which twenty six households are Brahmin, five households are Chhetri [warrior caste], six households are Newar, [Tibeto-Burmese], fifteen households are Magar, two households are Kami and one household is Damai. The total population of these four settlements is 292 of which 155 are males and 137 are females. The average family size throughout the four settlements is 5.4. The total population of children below 16 years of age is 125.

There are eleven households in Mahadevsthan with a total population of 64 out of which 36 are males and 28 are females. All the eleven households are Aryal Brahmins.

There are altogether eight households in Khahare. The total population is 41, out of which there are 21 males and 20 females. Out of eight households, four households belong to Aryal Brahmins, one is Chhetri and three are Newars.

There are 25 households in Hattisunde Village with a total population of 123. The male population is 65 and the female population is 58. Out of the total of 25 households, 15 are Magar, four are Chhetri, three are Newar, two are Kami, and one is Damai.

Village Resources

Forest. As shown in the locally sketched map (Figure 2.4), Hattisunde Forest is bordered by Hattisunde Village and Khahare Pakho in the east, Kharka Village in the west, Mahadevsthan and Khahare in the north, and Hattisunde Village in the south. The total area of forest is 25 ropanis¹ (although in the Minute Book they have mentioned the area of Hattisunde Forest as 100 ropanis, this figure appears to be an overestimation).

1. A ropani measures 75 ft by 75 ft, and is equivalent to 0.052 ha
FIGURE 2.3:
SKETCHED MAP SHOWING THE SETTLEMENTS

Dhola Panchayat

Maidi Panchayat

Amarai Gaun's School

Temple Khahare K.

Khahare Gaun

Khet

Ward No.3 Nalang P.

Ward No.5 Nalang P.

Pasture of Khahare

Silateral Panchayat

Kharka Gaun

Hattisunde Gaun

Mohadevsthian Gaun

Hattisunde Ban

Sukha Dando Nursery

Tree Planted By Forestry Dept.

Ward No.4 Nalang Panchayat

Garamchhap

Aaprechhap

That Bhanjang
Figure 2.4: Locally Sketched Map of Hattisunde Forest

Symbols:
- $\equiv$ Small tree
- $O$ Big tree
- $\equiv\equiv$ Cultivated land
- $\square$ House
- $\text{H}$ Temple
- $O$ Local spring
- $\cdots\cdots$ Footpath
Arable Land. The area of paddy land owned ranges from one to thirty rapanis with an average of nine rapanis per household. Villagers also own bari² land and the average is fourteen rapanis per household (ranging from four to forty-nine rapanis).

Village Flow. As indicated in the village flow diagram (Figure 2.5), items such as kerosene, salt, clothing materials, food, agricultural tools, etc are bought from outside. Similarly, items such as peanuts, fruit, livestock, ghee, and human labour are sold outside.

Village Transects. When viewed from Mahadevsthan proper, several transects (shown in Figure 2.6) can be noted. The top most transect consists of Hattisunde Forest with Sal (Shorea robusta), Chilaune (Schima wallichii), Kangiyo (Grevillea robusta), Katus (Castanopsis spp.), and Angeri (Lyonia formosa) trees. All these are on government land, but the people consider this land to be a common, former grazing area. The rights to use and maintain this forest pass from generation to generation on a lineage basis. The existence of this forest produces constraints in that it shades private bari land, thus reducing crop productivity, its wild life kills domestic animals, and its birds destroy crops.

- The next transect is of non-irrigated bari land where villagers plant upland rice, corn, millet, and oil seed. The bari land is privately-owned and family-managed. Constraints on its productivity include a shortage of labour and lack of irrigation facilities. The soil conditions are poor and villagers do not consider the land productive. The third transect is a settlement (Kharka Gaun) on private land. The condition of the houses is poor. All nine houses in Kharka are built of mud and stone. Four of them have thatched roofs and the remaining five have stone/slate roofs.

- On the bari land around the houses, fruit trees, such as oranges, lemons, mangoes, and pears, are grown. These trees are privately-owned and family-managed. Whereas most fruits trees are healthy, some are infected. Fodder trees, such as Sal and Kangiyo are also grown on the bari land. These trees are also family-owned and managed and are in good condition.

The fourth transect contains paddy land, again privately-owned and family-managed. Labour shortage and the lack of irrigation are mentioned as constraints to maintaining paddy land. The quality of paddy land is very poor and is considered to be in the chaharival category; the lowest quality of paddy land in Nepal.

Venn Diagram. The Venn Diagram (Figure 2.7) shows the various interest groups and external agencies active in the villages. There are interest groups formed around a sugarcane presser and a male buffalo, as well as the above mentioned social institutions that maintain services from the occupational castes.

From external resources, provided by the Dhading District Development Project, a small water project has been completed in Khahare Village. There is also a nursery established by the Forestry Department, just on the boundary of these villages in Ward No 4 at Sukkha Dando.

All the four villages were collectively recognized by the Jajajuri Award. The founder of the Jajajuri Award had noticed Hattisunde Forest and the efforts made by the villagers to conserve it. The name of Hattisunde Forest was announced on the radio and the award brought pride and respect to the villagers of Hattisunde-Mahadevsthan. Since the award, several neighboring villages have followed their example and begun conserving local forests.

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2. Bari refers to dry cultivable land that is rain-fed but not irrigated.
VILLAGE FLOW OF THE THREE SETTLEMENTS

Figure 2.5:
**FIGURE 2.6:**
VILLAGE TRANSECT (AS SEEN FROM MAHADEVSTHAN PROPER)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops/ Vegetation</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Management Structure</th>
<th>Constraint</th>
<th>Environmental Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Figure 2.7:
VEENN DIAGRAM FOR MAHADEVSTHAN

- Forestry Department
- Locally Protected Forest
- DDDP: Water Project
- Locally managed Irrigation Project
- Jarajuri Award
- Sugar Cane Squeezing Machine
- Settlement
- Local Oil Expeller
- Pasture
Seasonal Calendar of Crops

The work calendar for the people of Hattisunde, Kharka, Khahare, and Mahadevsthan depends upon the type of crops they plant. They have adopted very few new crops and most of the villagers plant traditional varieties of rice, corn, upland rice, millet, and vegetables.

Millet. Millet is one of the most important crops in all four villages. Most Magar families do not own irrigable land on which to grow rice. They own non-irrigable (Pakho) land and millet is the main crop. All four villages grow traditional types of millet and these are as follows:

- Kartike: which ripens in November, and
- Mansire: which ripens in December.

Both types of millet are planted at the beginning of August, possibly a few days earlier for Kartike. Both yield equal amounts of millet and millet stalk, but Kartike ripens a month earlier. Also, on shady bari (non irrigable land), Kartike is better because it does not need as much sun as Mansire does to ripen. On an average, however, local people plant both types of millet on an equal basis.

Corn. Corn is another very important crop for these four villages.

- **Yellow Corn:** Most villages plant this between the months of April to mid-May. They harvest it in the middle of August, usually on non-irrigable (bari land); it yields well and puffs up when roasted.

- Sathia means corn that ripens in 60 days. This type of corn is planted in March on the irrigable (Khet) land. It is white in colour and is not thought to be as tasty to eat as the large yellow traditional variety. It yields less corn and has a shorter stalk. This is also a traditional crop and has been grown in this village for more than 60 years.

Wheat. Most people do not plant wheat and it is rarely consumed.

Rice. The major rice varieties grown on irrigable land are:

- **Aanande:** Of the many varieties of rice, Aanande is grown by most of the paddy land owners. It was introduced into these villages only 10 years ago, although it yields more than other varieties of rice (according to villagers it yields slightly more than Kanajira, takes a little longer to ripen than Pokhareli, and is slightly harder to thresh than Kanajira). It is planted on irrigable land (Khet) in June-July (Ashad) and harvested in December (Marga).

- **Upland Rice Varieties:** Manahari is the preferred among the upland rice varieties. It is quite tasty and yields a lot of hay. All upland rice (locally called ghaiya) is planted from the beginning of April to the beginning of May and harvested some time in September. Katunje and Touli (varieties of ghaiya) are very good for producing beaten rice (locally called chiura). Begani (another variety of ghaiya) yields red coloured rice. It is extremely tasty, but the hay is short. Katunje, on the other hand, yields a large amount of hay but the rice is not as tasty as Begani rice.

Vegetables. So far improved varieties of vegetables have not been planted. Planting traditional varieties of vegetables, in very limited quantities, is the norm.
Social Institutions

The local people of Hattisunde-Mahadevsthan maintain a tailor (locally called Damai), a blacksmith (locally called Kami), and a Katuwal. The Damai makes all the clothes necessary for certain households and the Kami makes all the agricultural tools (such as sickles, ploughs, etc.) and sharpens the tools. The Katuwal acts as a messenger within the villages.

Each year the Katuwal, Damai, and Kami are paid in kind by each household. Normally, they are paid just after harvest when villagers have ample food. They are paid in rice in January (Poush) and corn in September (Bhadra). Since there is little paddy land, each household usually pays a big basket of corn to each of them. The rate is one pathi (about 3 kg) of corn per person in the employer’s family. During the Dasain festival, when goats are sacrificed, it is customary to give the tail, feet, and neck to the Damai, Katuwal, and Kami respectively. Such social institutions demonstrate a shared interdependence among the four villages that reduces their dependence on external sources.

Village History

Based on the information received from the local people, it appears that the Magars of Hattisunde Village are the oldest residents among all four villages, since they settled in Hattisunde Village about twelve to thirteen generations ago. Not all of the Magars of Hattisunde came at the same time. The Pangmi Magars from Maidi Panchayat seem to have settled first, than the Gindel Magars and finally the Ale Magars came from Gorkha. The last group to settle was that of the Khulal Magars who arrived two years ago from Ukhubari, Maidi Panchayat.

They migrated to Hattisunde Village for a number of reasons. For instance, one of the villagers of Hattisunde (Bhim B. Pulami, aged fifty) mentioned that his family “came about 11-12 generations ago because we were heavily indebted and our land was confiscated by the rich of Maidi”. According to Nil Kantha Aryal (aged seventy two) of Kharka, the first generation of Magars were invited to live in Hattisunde by the Chhetris of Maidi Panchayat (locally called Rajas because they consider themselves to be relatives of the present king of Nepal).

Following the Magars came the Aryals of Kharka Gaun from Apprechhap, Ward No 2 of Nalang Panchayat. Then came the Brahmins of Mahadevsthan and Khahare Gaun from Amarai Village, Maidi Panchayat. Three generations ago the Magars invited an Aryal Brahmin family to live in their neighborhood and serve as their priests. During that time the area was still covered with dense forest that was under the control of the Magars of Hattisunde. Finally, three generations ago came the Newars and Chhetris of Hattisunde and a year or two ago only the Newars of Khahare Gaun.

3. When this research team was in the village at 6:00pm one day, a high pitched sound was heard from a point central to the four villages. It was the Katuwal asking the villagers to meet at Chautara Dando the next day to learn about the visitors to their villages (us).

4. A ten day national festival in September/October which celebrates the goddess Durga’s victory over the devil Mahisasura (a symbolic way of depicting Ram’s victory over Ravana in the epic Ramayana).
Village Dynamism

One of the national events that had an impact on the lives of the villagers of Hattisunde was the 1934 earthquake, and this is recollected by older people. They also heard of the 1950 revolution but are not quite sure if it introduced any change within their villages. The general elections held in 1958 are also vaguely remembered, but these events do not seem to have made any difference to the way they live.

In 1960, the Panchayat System introduced the structures of District Panchayat and Ward that designated their political boundaries. Under the Panchayat System, these four villages merge at the border of Maida Panchayat. As a result of this, a large part of the forest resources that were being used by these four villages became a part of Maida Panchayat. Villagers were not sure then how they would get the necessary forest resources if they were not allowed to use the forests that were near their settlements but were demarcated as parts of another Panchayat.

Even though these four villages fall under Nalang Panchayat, they do not consider themselves to be in Nalang. They have a closer relationship with the people of the neighbouring villages of Maida Panchayat because most of their ancestors migrated from these villages. Also, some of their private land and a small part of Hattisunde Forest extends into Maida Panchayat.

The Private Forest Nationalization Act of 1957 is believed to have caused distrust in, and suspicion of, the Government among the people (Bajracharya 1983, 233). However, there was no indication of this in these villages. No one is aware of this Act. In other words, the Private Forest Nationalization Act of 1957 did not have any effect on the state of forests in these villages.

The Land Reform Act, introduced in 1964 (2021 B.S.), did not affect the villagers immediately. However, the topographical survey of land conducted in 1977, that followed as a result of the Land Reform Act, was new to them. For the first time, their land was surveyed and legal ownership of land was granted to each individual. Any land not cultivated was considered to be government land and the team did not survey Hattisunde Forest since it was not cultivated land and hence was considered to be government property.

Socioeconomic Status

Resource Use Pattern

Land and water are the major resources of the villages of Nalang Panchayat where this study was conducted. Water from the Dhodini and Khahare streams has been tapped for irrigation. Agricultural production includes maize, rice, millet, vegetables, and lentils. Peanuts and some fruits, such as oranges and pears, are the only products local people sell, because they consume most of the agricultural products themselves. Many households are not able to produce enough food from their own land to feed their families throughout the year. Some rely on wages earned from labour for part of the year. Brahmins and Chhetris are better off than the lower castes and Magars.

Livestock includes buffaloes, cows, bullocks, and goats. Pigs and chickens are also raised by certain ethnic groups and the lower caste groups. A number of Brahmin households have begun raising chickens as a means of generating additional income.
Education

None of the married women in these four villages are literate and only 28 children go to school. Two men have completed high school and four students have completed tenth grade; one of the latter is a female. Hattisunde, Kharka, Mahadevasthan, and Khahare have access to four schools—three of them being in neighbouring Maudi Panchayat and one in Nalang Panchayat.

Economic Level

All 53 residents of the four villages are farmers and agriculture is their main source of income. Yet, based on personal observation, it should be stated that food produced from family-owned land does not meet the annual family food requirements in the case of a significant number of households. For instance, food produced from the family land of 15 Magar households in Hattisunde lasts not more than three to eight months a year. Every year, men from these households go to other villages or even to urban areas such as Kathmandu, Pokhara, and Narayan Ghat, in order to earn additional income to support their families. Similarly, Sarkis, Damais, and Newars of Hattisunde and Khahare always need additional income to meet their annual food requirements. The Brahmins and Chhetris of Kharka, Khahare, and Mahadevasthan are slightly better off than the Magars of Hattisunde. Most years they do produce enough food to feed their families. A few Brahmin households may produce some surplus food during the years when the weather is favourable.

Roofing as an Indicator of Economic Status. Out of a total of nine houses in Kharka Gaun, four houses have stone/slate roofs. The others have thatched roofs. Stone/slate roofs are more expensive and are thought to be prestigious. In Hattisunde Gaun, five houses out of nine have stone/slate roofs. Out of a total of nineteen houses in Mahadevasthan and Khahare there are four houses in Mahadevasthan and one house in Khahare with stone/slate roofs.

Detailed Household Survey

A detailed household survey of 50 per cent of the total households was conducted to enhance understanding of the socioeconomic status of the villagers. Out of a total of fifty-three households in the four villages, twenty-five households were selected based on their caste/ethnic group and the villages to which they belonged. Women and men of all castes were interviewed ensuring that key people such as school teachers, political leaders, and extremely poor Magars, Damais, and Kamis were included.

From Khahare, members of four households were interviewed. Two were Brahmins, one was Chhetri and one was a Newar. From Mahadevasthan, representatives of five households were interviewed and all of them were Brahmins. From Hattisunde, members of fourteen households were interviewed, out of which eight households were Magars, two Newars, one Kami, one Damai, and two Chetris. Four Brahmin households were interviewed from Kharka village. The villagers interviewed ranged from age twenty-two to seventy-two. Eight of the households interviewed had stone/slate roofs on their houses and the other nineteen households had thatched roofs.

Politically, out of the twenty-seven householders interviewed, two were Ward level Panchayat members. One was the chairperson of the forest management committee and the remaining twenty-four villagers interviewed did not belong to any institution or organization. Out of the twenty-seven villagers interviewed, two had graduated from high school (one was a local school teacher and the other was not sure about the occupation he would follow). The remaining twenty-five villagers interviewed were illiterate; two were women and twenty-five were men.
Of the total number of households interviewed, nine households did not own paddy land at all. All nine households belonged to Hattisunde Village. The remaining households also did not own large pieces of paddy land. Paddy land ranged from one ropani to thirty ropanis with an average of nine ropanis per household (twenty ropani=1 hectare). All households interviewed own bari land ranging from four ropanis to forty-nine ropanis with an average of fourteen ropanis per household. Almost all households interviewed produced less food than needed or just enough to feed their families from their private land (dependent upon the weather being favourable). Most of the villagers did not own very productive land.

Use of chemical fertilizers is low. A ropani of land yields crops ranging from 50 kg to 150 kg, whereas each person requires about 350 kg of food per year. This means that, with an average family size of 5.4, each family requires about 1890 kg of food per year. One family produces an average of only 1350 kg of food per year from privately-owned land.

Of the total households interviewed, seventeen households brought in additional income through wage labour in nearby urban areas or in the towns of Dhading District. Almost all the villagers owned one house with a shed for animals. The size of the houses ranged from very small (nine houses) to small (eight houses) to average (seven households).

Altogether the twenty seven households own a total of 264 livestock, including poultry. Of the total, seventy-eight are goats. Some households have no goats at all, while other households have up to fourteen goats. Forty-eight buffaloes are owned by the twenty-seven households interviewed. Seven of the households cannot afford to own buffaloes. There are a total of forty-one oxen among the twenty-seven households. Six of the households do not own oxen. In addition fifty-seven cows, thirty-five chickens, and five pigs are owned.

Thus, overall, the household survey shows that the people of these four settlements are subsistence farmers. Not a single family stands out economically or politically. Their socioeconomic status is marginal with the Magars being relatively poorer than the Brahmins. However, it should be noted that the Brahmins are not so well off economically.