

padipur: a central terai village¹

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Village

1. Situation. The village of Padipur lies on one side of a gravelled motorable main road running between two district headquarters in the Central Terai. It is located at a distance of just over a mile from the headquarters of its district. A cart track passes through the village at right angles to the motorable road and goes up to the Indian border which is less than three miles away. A total of 155 households are scattered on either side of the cart track going south from the main road.

2. Origin and History. No one in the village has any idea how old the village is, although an off-hand guess would suggest that one hundred and fifty years or more have passed since it was founded by immigrants from the adjoining districts of Bihar in India. It was founded, maintained and controlled by people of Indian origin under the general administration of a Bada Hakim (the chief administrative officer of His Majesty's Government in the district) and his staff from the nearby district headquarters until a member of the Shah family was given this village along with nine other villages as tax free Birta land about 42 years ago. After this, the Birta owner's family administered the village until 1959 when the Birta system was abolished and the land was returned to government control once again.

In 1954 Padipur came under the Tribhuvan Village Development plan, and a committee of village leaders was made responsible for all development activities until 1961. It was during this period that the village for the first time saw some responsible steps initiated by the Central Government. Since 1962 they have had a village panchayat which continues to administer Padipur along with three other smaller villages. Padipur comprises four of the nine wards of the Panchayat and Pradhan Panches have been elected mostly from among its inhabitants.

During the general election of 1958, the village was split into two groups, Nepali Congress and Gorkha Parishad.

B. The People

1. Caste and Religious Groups. The total number of 155 households comprises eleven caste groups. For the purposes of this report, the 13 Mussulman families have been included as one of the low caste groups in the caste hierarchy, rather than as a

separate religious entity, for that is how they are regarded by the Hindu majority of the village.

The caste divisions are as follows:

<u>Caste groups</u>	<u>No. of Household</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1. Brahmans	4	2.6
2. Chhetris	3	1.9
3. Kanu, surnames: Sah, Sahu (businessman's caste)	78	50.3
4. Ahir, surnames: Yadav, Raut (milkman's caste)	11	7.3
5. Dhanuk, surname: Mahato	15	9.7
6. Hazam, surname: Thakur (barber's caste)	1	0.6
7. Lohar, surname: Thakur (blacksmith's caste)	1	0.6
8. Teli (oil presser's caste)	13	8.4
9. Musalman (Muslim)	13	8.4
10. Dhobi (washerman's caste)	10	6.5
11. Chamar (scavenger's caste)	6	3.9
Total	155	100.0

2. Occupations.

A. The four Brahmin families are all of Pahadi origin. They came originally to the village as the personal staff of the Birta owner's family. Now they are permanent inhabitants of the village and own some properties of their own. Even today they work as the agents and bailiffs of the Shah families who still have some lands, though no longer as tax-free Birta owners. None of these Brahman families work as priests. One of them maintains a tea stall combined with a pan shop at the main road. It is mainly looked after by the older sons. The father is a member of the Padipur Gaun Panchayat.

B. The three Chhetri families listed includes two Shah families, one of which is an absentee land holder. The second Shah family regularly visits the village, though permanently based in Kathmandu. The third Chhetri family serves as bailiffs for the Shahs and permanently resides in Padipur with some property of its own. All three Chhetris have outside sources of income in addition to the land.

All other members of the village are primarily farmers with a few still maintaining their traditional non-farming professions as part-time or side jobs. In such cases one or two family members look after the "profession" while the other members of the family serve as full-time farmers.

C. The Kanu Caste is traditionally associated with trade and business, but there are only 11 Kanu families (14% of the total number of Kanu families) actually engaged in the buying and selling of commercial goods on a very small scale. With one exception, they are all poor and do not possess enough land for self-sufficiency. The part-time occupation of trade, therefore, is a supplement required for their subsistence. Besides the 11 Kanu families, Padipur has one Pahadi Brahman family and one Dhobi caste family engaged in trade. Farmers selling their surplus production are not considered as traders.

D. Ahirs are traditionally known as the milkman caste, but they do not specialize in this trade any longer even if they may have done so in the past.

E. Dhanuks are known to have served as house servants or personal attendants of rich people. In this village, there is only one Dhanuk family which serves one of the Shah families whenever they visit the village and the bailiff's almost regularly.

F. The Hazam family serves as part time barbers in addition to farming. They receive $\frac{1}{2}$ maund of paddy at the time of harvest for grooming one person throughout a year. These arrangements have been made with several families in the village.

G. The Lohar family has a smithy where agricultural iron tools are forged and repaired. They usually have permanent clients who pay them in kind once a year, but will work for cash, too, when the occasion arises. In the caste of permanent clients, the yearly charge is based on land ownership or the number of plough bullocks owned. For example, when a Lohar works for a family which owns 5 bighas of land or one pair of plough bullocks, they make and repair one plough share, two sickles and one hay-chopping knife. In return, the client supplies iron rods and one maund of paddy (worth Rs. 24/- at the time) during harvest time.

H. The Telis are of the oil presser caste, but none of them in the village actually engages in this profession.

I. The Mussulman are poor agricultural laborers. Two out of 13 also have a few client families in the village whom they serve as barbers.

J. Although Dhobis are washerman by caste most stick exclusively to farming. One exception is a man who keeps a part-time shop selling a small quantity of consumer goods. (cf. c. above).

K. Chamars are untouchables and menial workers, scavengers by tradition. All six of the listed Chamar families do own some of their own land and also cultivate as tenants of land belonging to other people in the village.

3. Family Composition. Though group feeling is strong among families of all castes, it is particularly so among the well to do. The poorer people are more concerned with keeping themselves alive, and the feeling of kinship appears less compelling. Social and ritual occasions, however, bring all kinds of kinspeople together. This helps to maintain regular contacts amongst members of the kin-groups whether they are related to it by blood or by marriage. Every village practices exogamy, that is, marriage partners are arranged from a village other than their own. Therefore there are no affinal relatives living within the village.

Of the total of 155 families, sixty-eight families or 43.9% were found to be tied with 6-7 other families of common descent. Thirty-five families belonged to groups of 4-5 families; twenty families belonged to groups consisting of 2-3 related families thirty families were not related to anyone in the village. (See Table II).

Even within rich families differences of interest arise which could develop into serious animosities. One of the two richest families in Padipur has been split since last year into two groups and one of these has gone so far as to support a rival faction in the village. More about the nature of factions will be discussed below.

4. Factions and Associations. Padipur village has several different types of informal and flexible associations which usually develop out of tradition and history rather than from any deliberate attempt at organization. The only organized group is for the purpose of elections. The traditional groups are formed by people of common caste and subcaste. Common economic interest such as borrowing and lending between landowners and tenants also leads to group formation.

Associations are formed most often by the kinship group, but other interests sometimes intervene. Thus in Padipur there are family groups and at the same time political groups which cut across all family group lines. For example, certain members of a rich Ahir family are actually rivals when political activity is involved, though for ritual and social purposes they group with their own cousins.

There are two main political factions in the village and the leaders of each faction represent two different caste groups, though their following cuts across all caste lines. Faction A is led by a Kanu and Faction B by an Ahir.

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<u>Caste Group</u>	<u>Faction A No. of Families</u>	<u>Faction B No. of Families</u>	<u>Neutral No. of Families</u>
Brahman	1	-	3
Chhetri	1	-	2
Kanu	45	30	3
Ahir	7	4	-
Dhanuk	12	3	-
Hazam	1	-	-
Lohar	1	-	-
Teli	12	1	-
Musalman	8	3	2
Dhobi	4	6	-
Chamar	6	-	-
	<u>98 (63.2%)</u>	<u>47 (30.3%)</u>	<u>10 (6.5%)</u>

Out of a total of 155 families, only 8 do not side with either of the factions and two families do not live within the village proper. Six out of 8 neutral village families are relatively self-sufficient. The two poorer ones are Musalman families. The six self-sufficient families are Kanu, Brahman and Chhetri. Large numbers of other poor families are not independent or even neutral because they are sharecropper tenants of a rich family group or are in debt to it. Thus a large degree of partisanship is not out of choice, but due to economic dependence on faction leaders who happen to control large areas of land and other resources. This will be discussed in greater detail under land ownership.

Factions and group differences, as they exist today, are serious with very strong feelings of hostility. No one is certain as to when the rivalry first began. However, the history of leadership in the village may give us some idea as to what caused the formation of the two rival groups.

During the Rana days, the Shah family was the Birta (tax-free) land owner and as such the established authority which had administrative responsibility and exercised political leadership in Padipur as well as in a number of neighboring villages. When the Ranas were driven from power in 1951, there came a wave of political consciousness throughout the country which brought some changes in attitudes of the people. Naturally, Padipur was affected too. This not only reduced the influence and power of the Shah family over the villagers, but also encouraged the lesser leaders of the village to try to establish their own authority.

It was at this time that the competitive feeling among a few ambitious and well-to-do families in the village had its start.

Meanwhile, political parties with their high commands in Kathmandu were trying to extend their organizational arms down to the villages. Padipur, at first, established a village unit of the Nepali Congress Party through the initiative of an ambitious young man. The natural consequence of this was that a second well-to-do man in the village, who did not get along too well with the former, supported the Gorkha Parishad Party. The Nepali Congress and Gorkha Parishad were bitter enemies at the central level. From this time on, two formal groups came into existence in the village. Since there are no political parties in Nepal today, I shall call the former group (Nepali Congress) Faction A, and the latter group (Gorkha Parishad), Faction B.

During 1956 Mr. Shah, the Birta owner, died leaving a widow and minor children. Mrs. Shah was unable to command the respect of the villagers, so they transferred their support to the new faction leaders. This increased the size of the groups and made them stronger than before. During the 1958 election campaign both groups supported their respective candidates very strongly. This led to deeper feelings of animosity between the two groups. Faction A leader was the Congress Party candidate for Parliament from the district, whereas Faction B supported the Gorkha Parishad candidate from a different village. The latter was elected. This was more than enough to formally widen the rift in the village. Until that time it had been more a question of competitive feeling between personalities.

With the abolition of the Birta system in 1959, the residual influence or power of the Shah family was completely gone. The family had no interest in the village other than the property they owned. Now more villagers were forced to seek loans and other help from the faction leaders. This further increased the size and strength of the rival groups. Both groups felt confident enough to openly challenge each other.

After the 1960 change in the Government, the Faction B leader went into exile in India. He now lives there with his mother's family. Meanwhile, his father assumed the leadership of Faction B. The power and influence of Faction B waned after the departure of its original leader and again after a dacoity described below.

5. The Dacoity. One night at the beginning of 1965, there was a big dacoity in Padipur, during which the house of the Faction A leader was robbed of about Rs. 50,000/- worth of cash, gold, silver and other movable property (the figure given by various informants ranged from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 100,000 worth of property and Rs. 50,000 was the estimate I accepted as reasonable), and the brother of the Faction B leader was robbed of properties worth

Rs. 20,000. The house of the Faction B leader himself was quite untouched. Some misunderstanding was already developing between the Faction B leader and his brother. This case of dacoity in which Faction B leader's house was "intentionally" spared while his brother "as well as the Faction A leader" were robbed, presented enough "evidence" for everybody to suspect that after all the dacoity was instigated by the exiled Faction B leader himself. Furthermore, the dacoits apparently came from across the Indian border and escaped back in the same direction. This supported the suspicion that the gang was led by none other than the B leader himself. As a result the Faction B leader was abandoned by his own brothers, their followers and a few neutral people in favor of the Faction A leader. At this time, too, the Faction A leader and his followers became more seriously active against their rivals. The rival groups were, to all appearances most unevenly balanced.

6. Election of Pradhan Panch. There was a Gaun Panchayat election of Pradhan Panch during the last week of December 1966. Ram Raj Ahir, the leader of Faction B and Shiv Narayan, the nephew and a member of the family of Hira Lal Sahu, the Faction A leader, were the two contestants. Everybody in the village including Shiv Narayan was confident that Shiv Narayan would win because Padipur has four out of nine wards of the Gaun Panchayat and he had an absolute majority in the village, in addition to reasonable support from other settlements constituting the five other wards. But Ram Raj Ahir was able to win an upset victory. This surprised everybody and also taught the lesson that economic domination does not necessarily coincide with political alignment. It was largely the approach at the time of election, both by the candidate and his agents, that made the difference. Some people presumed at the time, that mainly the fear of the exiled Faction B leader, who was suspected to have directed the earlier mentioned dacoity in the village, had caused many people to vote for his father, Ram Raj Ahir.

II. AGRICULTURE AND RELATED FACTORS

A. Land Area

Land in Padipur, as in the rest of the Terai, is measured in terms of bighas, katthas and dhurs. 20 dhurs make 1 kattha and 20 katthas make one bigha. One bigha is roughly equal to an acre and a half. The average size of each plot of land is roughly 5 katthas.

The total area of land cultivated by Padipur village is 316 bighas and 10 katthas. 48.1 per cent or 152 bighas, 5 katthas, 8 dhurs lies within the village boundary of Padipur and the remaining 51.9 per cent or 164 bighas 4 katthas, 12 dhurs lies within neighbouring village boundaries and outside of Padipur.

B. Tenancy Rights

Traditionally tenants did not establish any right or authority over the land merely by cultivating it for a certain period of time. Now Land Reform regulations dictate, that the cultivator established his right of tenancy ownership after he cultivates land for one season. The majority of Padipur tenants, because of their economic dependency upon the rich are in the grip of the landowners. Therefore, they do not claim the tenancy right even though they would very much like to do so. Thus the Land Reform regulations were very easily circumvented to the apparent advantage of the landowners. 57.9 per cent or 183 bighas 6 katthas of land is being cultivated by the owners themselves and the remaining 42.1 per cent or 133 bighas 4 katthas has been leased out to tenants. (See Table VII.)

C. Credit

Only eight families, 5.2%, were found to be lending cash and kind. The number of people who are indebted to them in terms of cash was 54, or 34.8% of the total. This does not give a true picture of the tremendous economic dependence of the majority, because the poorer people do not borrow only money. Their need more often is for food rather than for cash per se. The great majority of the people are indebted to the landowners in terms of paddy. 74.2 per cent or 115 families are in paddy debt as compared to 34.8% or 54 families in cash debt. Eleven families or 7.1% find their income and expenditure even. Twenty-one families are lower caste, poor, landless farm laborers who do not incur any amount of debt worth noting. They are also engaged in some other occupation which apparently makes them "self-sufficient." (See table V).

Cash borrowing has never been for agricultural purposes. It is either for marriage expenditures or for other similar needs. For agricultural purposes grain is borrowed. The borrowing and lending usually takes place in April, May, or June because that is the time most people run out of stock. The repayment of the grain is made at the time of harvest during September, October, and November.

The rate of interest is "five for four", that is, when people borrow four units they have to return five units of the same kind of grain. At the time of weighing they have to add another quarter of the interest extra per unit which is all calculated in grains. This amount is called sukhawan, the security against the quantity that may get lost while drying the grain. But that adds up to 25 per cent plus $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, a total of $31\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, not per annum, but for the period June-October, November, or December. Loans are never carried beyond the period June-November. Borrowers must pay up in order to be eligible to borrow the following spring.

Sometimes, if the amount borrowed is considerable, the borrowers have to sign a bond paper mortgaging their own land. Even though the arrangement and the understanding is one of mortgage, the lenders actually get a paper of sale for the land. The paper owners can, if they so choose, seize the land at any time as compensation for the amount lent. This puts people at the mercy of the land-owner-creditors. During the Village Development days some villagers tried to organize a cooperative society, but it did not receive any support from the rich because it affected them adversely. The poorer people were too ignorant, fearful and lacking in initiative to support it actively. It died out after a few months.

D. Yield and Cost of Land

The people always talk about 20 maunds of paddy being the standard yield of their land. Our calculations show 21 maunds per bigha is the overall average. We actually measured three separate plots (one each of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class land) employing the measurement units used by and familiar to the local people (See appendix). These parcels of land can be used as "demonstration" plots to measure comparative yields in future years as agricultural practices change.

The cost of average land at the present (1968 ed.), is Rs. 2,000 per bigha. Irrigated land is more expensive.

E. Division of Yield

All rented land has a uniform system of sharing yield fifty-fifty between the owner and the cultivator, excluding the amount of seed. The owner has to pay the government revenue for the land, which is Rs. 35 per bigha out of his own share and the balance is his net income, at least theoretically. In actual fact he gets much more than fifty per cent through the collection of charges for the lending of grain to the tiller.

The average paddy production of the majority of the land being 21 maunds per bigha, the landowner and the tenant should receive 10.5 maunds each given the prevalent arrangement of fifty-fifty shares. The actual result is very different. When newly harvested paddy is threshed and heaped in a barn, the first thing the villagers do before weighing is to offer some flowers to the god of food harvest, placing them on top of the heap of paddy, and praying for the maximum weight. Then about a seer of paddy is taken from the top and placed aside as an offering to the god. This amount, at the end of the weighing, is taken by the village priest. Secondly, a maund and a half per bigha of land is weighed and set aside as seed. This is taken by the landowner. The remaining 19½ maunds of paddy, the net yield per one bigha of land is divided equally between the landowner and the tenant. Then

out of the tenant's share of the 9-3/4 maund is taken the land-owner's loan to the tenant plus the 31.25% interest.

The average tenant family usually borrows six to seven maunds of paddy which is calculated to be the required amount for cultivating one bigha of land. Families cultivating more than one bigha are usually self-sufficient as they own some of their own land. They do not have to borrow much from others. But in the case of the majority of the tenant cultivators roughly 8 maunds, including interest, is taken by the landowner from the tenant's share of 9 3/4 maunds per bigha. This leaves the tenant less than two maunds for his own use.

By relating the various factors it is estimated that out of a total yearly production of 6636 maunds (average approximate production per bigha 21 maunds):-

65.3% of the total yield is taken by 8.4% or 13 families
 34.7% of the total yield is taken by 91.6% or 142 families
 Compare Tables V. thru X.

F. Division of Land

29.2% of the total land is owned by 91.6 or 142 families
 70.8% of the total land is owned by 8.4% or 13 families

This shows the division of the yield very close to the actual distribution of land even though the percentage of land cultivated by the tenants presents a different picture (Table VII).

G. Crops

Villagers use two or three different varieties of paddy, but by far the most popular is called laji which gives greater yields than other varieties. Rich people grow some finer quality paddy for their own use even though the yield is less than that of the coarse variety.

There are two main planting seasons for paddy. During the earlier season seed is either broadcast in Jeth (early June) or is prepared in seedbeds and seedlings are transplanted in Ashad (early July) and harvested in Asoj (early October). This planting is called saro or bhadaiya. Seventy-five per cent of the paddy fields are planted at this time.

During the later season which is called sarihan, seed is either broadcast in the field or prepared in seedbed in Shrawan (early August) for transplanting a month later and is harvested in Mangsir (early December).

H. Farming

Most of the sowing is done by broadcasting seeds. Everybody is aware that transplanting of paddy seedlings by hand produces at least 40% more yield than it would by broadcasting paddy, but they say that transplanting is not practical in a dry field. They do transplant in the small area of wet field near the village. They use bullocks for ploughing their fields. One pair of bullocks ploughs up 5 kattha (1/4 bigha) of land in work-day. The wage is 1/4 maund of paddy which was worth 6 rupees at the time. They also calculate that 1 pair of bullocks is sufficient to cultivate 5 bighas of land through the year, if worked full time. A few people work the soil by hand with a hoe because this digs more deeply into the soil, but this is a very slow process.

I. Cattle

Padipur people keep buffaloes for milk, cows for breeding of plough bullocks, and goats for meat. (See Table XII). The economic importance of the bullocks is so great that the villagers never milk their milch cow if she has a male calf. But if the cow has a she-calf, they take milk without regard for the calf and sometimes even let her starve.

J. Agricultural Calendar through the year

Agricultural activities through the year can be shown in the following agricultural calendar of the village:

Magh (Jan-Feb)

Sarihan paddyfields are either ploughed three or four times by bullock or dug up by hand once.

Falgun (Feb-Mar)

Harvesting of various pulses - masuro, gram, peas, kheshari and oil seeds, farsye and alas are harvested.

Chait (Mar-Apr)

Harvesting of pulses continues in some fields and the other fields are ploughed.

Baisakh (Apr-May)

Wheat is harvested and fields are ploughed.

Jeth (May-June)

Paddy (saro) seed beds are prepared for transplanting later in some areas and in others (dry fields) the seed is broadcast.

Ashar (June-July)

Transplanting in some fields and weeding in others where transplanting of bhadaiya (saro) paddy is already finished.

Shawan (July-August)

Seed beds of sarihan paddy are prepared and the seed is broadcast in drier fields. Weeding of earlier sown saro is done.

Bhadau (August-Sept)

Weeding of both saro and sarihan paddy. (saro needs three weedings and sarihan, only two).

Asoj (Sept-Oct)

Saro paddy is harvested and threshed. Fields are ploughed. Kheshari (a variety of pulse) is broadcast in sarihan paddy field for a double crop.

Kattik (Oct.-Nov)

Various pulses, e.g., fram, musooro; and barley, wheat, sarsyoo and mustard are broadcast in the field in which saro (bhadaiya) paddy has been harvested. (alas or mustard is mixed with wheat or grain before broadcasting for double cropping).

Mangsir (Nov-Dec)

Cutting and threshing of sarihan paddy is done during this month.

Push (Dec-Jan)

Harvesting of sarihan paddy, particularly threshing, is continued leisurely throughout this month.

K. Seed Selection.

Seed of almost any cereal is set aside immediately after harvest. For example, after an offering to the god, paddy seed is the first thing to be set aside from the freshly threshed paddy heaped on the threshing ground. Fifty per-cent more fresh seed than the actual quantity needed is taken because it is believed that there has to be a margin (sukhawan) of fifty per cent for further drying, sifting and winnowing. In the case of tenant cultivated land, it is usually the owner of the land who provides seed for every planting and who collects it before every sharing of the yield.

L. Water

Most Padipur farm land is not irrigated, and in these dry lands the seed is sown broadcast. There are, however, a few low-lying fields in the area whose soil is of better quality and which are watered by small natural springs. In these areas paddy is transplanted and the yields are considerably higher.

M. Fertilizer

Some local fertilizer such as cattle manure is used. Chemical fertilizer is used only in vegetable gardens. The people believe that chemical fertilizer is not effective in dry areas.

N. Cash Crops

The most important cash crop which the people have been traditionally producing is ganja (hemp). Ganja is in great demand in India, but because of the prohibitive taxes recently imposed by HMG, people are giving up its cultivation. There are two important reasons for discouraging ganja cultivation. Because of its narcotic effects, it is prohibited by the government of India and the entire trade is carried on by smuggling. The attitude of HMG on the sale of ganja differs from that of India as there are no restrictions on its sale in the open market in Nepal, but it may be that HMG felt that it could no longer ignore the problem of smuggling.² The other and probably more immediately important reason for discouraging ganja cultivation is that HMG believed the action would encourage sugar cane growing more than any other cash crop.

Actually sugar cane growing has declined considerably during the past year for several reasons, both economic and cultural. For a few years, with the encouragement of the sugar factories in the area, people did grow sugar cane for their cash income. But when they calculated the net income from cane cultivation and compared it with the calculated income from paddy or ganja, the result, in proportion to the amount of investment both of labor and materials, was in favor of paddy and ganja. With ganja the farmers receive a very high income from crops grown on a very small area with intensive work and it is easier to watch and control a relatively small area. Even after paying a rather high tax to the government, they can still make a worthwhile cash profit.

Another reason for the decline in sugar cane cultivation is that its production is somewhat experimental and involves an element of risk. Since most people in the area are very conservative, not only in their social customs and attitudes, but also in agricultural practices, any adventure, experiment, or risk-taking is rather rare. Paddy cultivation is safe because

the method of cultivation is well known and paddy market prices are regular and stable. So paddy gets the top priority and sugar cane growing during the past year has declined.

The proportionate areas of cultivation under these three crops were as follows:

Total land cultivated	100.0%	316. B	10 K
Under paddy cultivation	95.3%	301 B	12 K
Under sugar cane cultivation	4.4%	14 B	
Under ganja (hemp) cultivation	0.3%		18 K

Unless the sugar factories do something to reverse the trend, cane growing will be completely abandoned by the people in the area.

III. ATTITUDES

The people of Padipur, with the exception of a few Muslims, are orthodox Hindus, with traditional beliefs, ideals, and ways of living. The village as a whole gives the impression of being very rigid and conservative. People do not want to change their age-old habits, attitudes, beliefs and ways of life. They are always suspicious of new people and new ideas. Their world seems to be defined in concentric circles with their own family at the center of it. Beyond their families, they have the caste and kin group scattered in the surrounding villages within or outside the districts, often across the Indian boundary. But that is more or less their known world. Anything beyond these villages is very vague and blurred. For example, the question often raised by some intellectuals about the political loyalty of these people does not interest them in the least. They are aware of their being Nepali, but at the same time they have a very close social, cultural and economic interdependence with the Indian communities of the adjacent districts. This is their reality which they accept as natural. Any other question beyond this and its implications is not the concern or within the scope of the common people's understanding.

A. Religious Beliefs

Generally speaking the people are more disposed than their hill counterparts to adhere to the old religious traditions, ritual purity, religious ceremonies and a number of other formalities.

1. Social and Economic Effects. A few cases listed below will explain how religious beliefs affect everyday lives in the social and economic fields.

Case I - A group of villagers had organized a recitation of Shrimad Bhagavad, the Hindu religious story, for the general well-being of the villagers every evening for one week. A Brahman priest, originally an Indian, but presently a resident of neighboring village was commissioned to recite the text. Every afternoon as soon as he came to the place a group of four or five married women washed his feet with water, a small portion of which they drank and also sprinkled over their body for ritual purification. When asked the reason for this ritual the men present explained (the women were too embarrassed or shy to say anything) that it is a tradition and duty to drink the Charanamrit (holy water from sacred feet). This would relieve them of all the sins they had committed in "ignorance".

Case II - During the recital and interpretation of Shrimad Bhagavad there were usually about 30-35 listeners sitting around the small raised dais where the Brahman priest sat with his long looseleaf book. But there was always group of 3 or 4 people sitting aside on the floor in the open. They were physically separate from the rest of the listeners who sat together sharing a common straw mat or two. This small group in isolation were low caste untouchables of the village. They would profane the entire ceremony if they happened to come into physical contact even with the edge of the mat.

Case III - One day the same Brahman priest, who is also regarded as a very learned man, was found talking casually to a group of villagers in the street while I was on my usual round of the village. He was saying that the present age, according to the religious tenets, recorded by the wise men of the ancient days, is the latter part of Kaliyug. This, according to the Brahman priest, represented the worst of all ages just before the final destruction of the world. Therefore it is natural to have bad days with problems, difficulties, diseases, poverty, ill feelings, quarrels and so on. When interrupted and asked to give some more evidences of the bad age, he continued to explain that during this Kaliyug, it is said that the gods will disappear from the earth. There will be no regard for caste differences, no consideration of high and low, the junior people will argue with their seniors. Wives will not respect their husbands. There will be famine, drought, flood and epidemics. Brahmins will lose respect and the kings will tax their people more and more. When asked to give an example of the King's taxation, he cited the increased land tax compulsory savings under Land Reform.

2. Temples and Shrines. The village has a group of shrines at one end. Four different deities are represented here. The most dreaded and most imposing one of the four is "Bhagauti" (or

Bhagavati). Bhagauti, when angry, brings all kinds of diseases including epidemics of cholera and smallpox. So people are very particular about worshipping this goddess. She has a small brick temple.

Barham and Durga also have slightly smaller temples. They are considered protectors and well-wishers of the village. People do not have to be afraid of them. They are benevolent gods.

The fourth shrine stands in the open under a big banyan tree. This is called "Jat Jatin" and is symbolized by an old worn wooden plough half buried on the ground. This particular deity, when pleased, brings in good harvests. So people worship him with all sincerity and enthusiasm. All of these gods are worshipped and offered food by individual families on all important occasions, feasts, festivals, etc. "Jat Jatin" is specially worshipped in the month of Shawan (July-August) for better crops. Other gods also have their special days on which they are worshipped. But since all of these shrines are together in a cluster, in actual practice all four are worshipped on all occasions.

3. Religious Festivals. All religious festivals are observed according to a lunar calendar.

- A. Jiutiya. This falls in Aswin (Sept-Oct). Married women prepare the best food, wash themselves clean, wear clean clothes and offer the food to the dead ancestors of the family early in the morning.
- B. Dashera is celebrated during October. In Kathmandu Valley and in the hills it is known as Dashain. This is an occasion for feasting, merrymaking, wearing new clothes and offering animal sacrifices to Bhagauti and Durga.
- C. Divali. The festival of lights is observed in November. Women clean, whitewash and put various designs on the walls of their houses. They worship the cow, dog, bullock, and Laxmi, the goddess of wealth. The women, on the morning of the last day of the festival, call all the male members of the family bad names. While completing certain other rituals, they even kill their husbands and sons symbolically before they bring them back to life again. This is done for the longevity of the manfolk in the family.
- D. Chhath is also observed in November. This is an occasion for fasting and worshipping the sun. The observers must wear "clean clothes" on the body and have pure thoughts in mind." This is believed to bring good health, good luck, and prosperity and to protect children against disease and other evils. The slightest negligence on the part of the observers brings bad luck and other punishment. One woman of the

village was punished with leprosy because she had kicked the supplies which her husband had just brought from the bazaar as she was angry with him.

There are also a number of religious fairs and festivals observed at the temple sites in the surrounding area in which people from several villages come together to participate. The basic idea and purpose is general welfare, prosperity and entertainment.

The giving of gifts, alms and charity to Brahmans, beggars and other needy people is also considered a desirable thing to do. The difference between an offering to gods and goddesses, and to people is that the gods and goddesses are supposed to produce immediate benefits in a very subtle way, while gifts and charity to human beings are considered insurance for the next life.

At the time of the harvest when the heap of freshly threshed paddy is ready to be weighed and divided, as may be necessary, about a seer of the grain is taken from the top of the heap and offered to the god by setting it aside on the clean floor. After a while, a Brahman priest of the cultivating family comes in and collects it. This way, they fulfill both the purpose of appeasing the god who is expected to make the paddy weigh the maximum amount possible and of making a gift of the grain to the Brahman which ensures a good return of food for the individuals of the family during the next life.

B. Economic Development

The majority of the people are indifferent and apathetic towards any kind of planned scheme or development project. This is not to say that they do not wish for a better life or will not work harder for betterment. But their way of thinking, which is not at all systematic, reasoned or scientific in the modern sense of the term, makes them accept familiar things as they are without question. The following cases will give some idea of their attitude towards planning or working for an improved life.

Case I - During our discussion with a group of people about the possibilities of increasing agricultural output, Hari Dev Sah Knau (age approximately 30) explained in a dramatic way that during the previous year he had tried to experiment with the new chemical fertilizer in his field. He worked harder than usual and was happy to see his field look better and more promising than the adjacent field belonging to somebody else. But at the time of harvest most of the grains in his field were hollow while his neighbor's field gave a good return. Thus, having wasted his increased investment both in money and work, he was convinced that it is luck and the will of the gods alone that helps people, but not hard work or ambition.

Case II - Madbo Singh Raut, another man (approximately 35 years of age) present in the group, picked up the conversation and gave a slightly different story to the same effect. He said that his father was a man of some prestige and his family was self-sufficient. At the time of marriage negotiations several girls of similar background, and some of them with considerable dowries both in movable and immovable properties had been offered to him. But alas! He was finally married to a woman without physical beauty, financial means or social background. This was a sad case; but since it is the gods who control peoples' destinies there was no use complaining or being unhappy over it.

The impression one gathered from listening to their conversation was that it is the gods alone who can help people. If the gods are angry, they will destroy even a very good crop by sending hailstones.

C. Some Measures Taken in the Past for Development or for Protective Purposes

In the old days, people never took measures with actual economic development in mind. They did take measures for either protective or religious purposes, or sometime for convenience of administration.

1. The first project, within living memory of the villagers, ever to have been undertaken by the village was under the leadership and responsibility of the senior Mr. Shah, the original Birta owner in the year 1925. It was a dike built along the neighboring river in order to divert it away from the village. They say that at that time the river threatened to wash away the entire village along with its cultivated fields. So it was very necessary to protect the village from being completely eroded away. Mr. Shah spent Rs. 1,100 on timber, bricks, cement etc., out of his own pocket. Of course, things were very much cheaper than. It would have cost at least ten times that amount today. Mr. Shah collected approximately Rs. 2,000 a year from the revenue of the village, so he had a direct interest in taking the initiative at the time. The village give him unanimous support in the task.

2. On another occasion, the village people united under the same man's leadership to arrest a gang of dacoits. The woman leader of a group of about thirty dacoits had absolutely terrorized not only the village people in the area, but also the government offices. She used to attack the surrounding villages during broad daylight from a neighboring village which was her home. But one day, Mr. Shah organized a group of about 60 men from the village. With eight guns and 14 elephants they closed in on her while her gang was plundering the village. She was then put in jail, much to everybody's relief.

3. In 1956 under the Tribhuvan Village Development Scheme a Congress party member organized the village to dig a mile long irrigation canal into the village land. He had received a Rs. 10,000 grant in aid from the District Development Office for this purpose. People harvested a much better crop that year, but silting and sliding damaged the canal soon after. Since then, no one has taken any initiative in repairing it, even though everybody is aware that the canal, if repaired, would irrigate the fields to the benefit of all the crops. With the increasing rift between the two rival groups in the village there is slight chance of the canal's maintenance ever being undertaken.

There are also two wells and two pumps being used for the drinking water supply of the village today which were partly financed by the District Development fund at about the same time as the canal. But today, no one thinks of these as examples of village cooperation and initiative. There are only a few individuals, each of whom is anxious to relate the story as to how his initiative and skills alone brought about this achievement.

4. In 1958 under the Village Development activities a group of villagers organized themselves and established a cooperative society. They received Rs. 1,600 from their District Cooperative Bank and they were able to enroll a membership of 21 people from the village. The Society bought and sold improved paddy seeds, wheat seeds, and chemical fertilizer. They also loaned some money out. But the Society gradually declined for lack of enthusiasm and interest on the part of the people, and within two years the Society was totally defunct. There are still a few individuals in the village who owe a total of a few hundred rupees to the society. But no one talks about it any more.

D. Education

On the whole the people of Padipur are not involved in and are very indifferent towards education. There is one Government supported free primary school in the village and a permanent resident teacher. This teacher comes from a village 7-8 miles away from Padipur. He visits his family in his own village only during weekends and other holidays. During the week days he is theoretically available to help adults or children with their education. In reality most of the evenings and mornings he is busy preparing his meals and attending to other domestic chores. Being a Brahman by caste, he cannot eat food prepared by anyone else in the village.

There are only 48 children in all five grades of the single classroom school. Only one of them is a girl, the granddaughter of a very wealthy man.

The total number of literate people including the children at school is 82 or 10.2% of the total population.

The following chart will give some idea of the potential school population and at the same time of the life expectancy of the people in general.

Children below	5 years of age	121	15%
Children between	6-16 years of age	184	22.9%
People between	17-40 years of age	320	39.8%
People between	41-60 years of age	155	19.2%
Over	60 years of age	<u>25</u>	3.1%
		805	

Learning and teaching in this school is perfunctory. Children sit in a line on the floor with their backs against the wall of the building reading something aloud in unison. They are either trying to learn something by heart or they are simply marking time with their fellow students while the teacher sits in a chair behind his desk, sometimes dozing. Sometimes he reads the Ramayana, the holy text, or occasionally points to an individual child who is teasing and tickling the child next to him instead of droning out the lesson.

There are two older boys of the village who attend a high school every day at District Headquarters located about two miles away, but education does not seem to have altered their outlook on life. Their attitudes and behavior are no different from those of the illiterate boys of their age group in the village. They expect to be "employed by the Government" when their study is "completed." There are three other people who have had a high school education and are now low-level employees of the Government; one of them is a veterinary compounder.

My suggestion to expand the existing primary school by adding another teacher, extending the building and bringing in the majority of the school age children was met with a total lack of interest not only by most of the villagers, but even by the "educated" people including the teacher himself who was indifferent to the idea.

Getting educated is learning certain things by rote and being able to reproduce them at the time of an examination. It results in a certificate and the certificate is an instrument for getting employment. No one expects an educated person to have "ideas." Almost everybody in the village vaguely feels that this education is a good thing. They are not able to tell how and why it is good except that it possibly leads to "government employment." Government employment generally has prestige value. The teacher himself believes this is true. The teaching profession is only considered to be quasi-governmental employment and the prestige generally associated with "government employment"

does not apply to teachers. Furthermore, in this particular case the teacher is a very quiet and modest person. Aggressiveness and a domineering personality seem to be the most important qualities which the people respect.

The little education the villagers have received so far does not seem to have given them any self-confidence. The following cases are illustrative:

Case I - During our stay in the village, preparations were being made for the election of the Pradhan Panch. A clerk from the Zilla Panchayat office was assigned to the village for three days to check the voter list, to announce the opening and closing dates for filing nomination papers, and to attend to a number of other necessary formalities. This clerk apparently felt that the villagers did not hold him in sufficient awe and he was accordingly irked. At the end of a few days he completed a number of notices and stuck them on the wall of one of the private granaries in the middle of the village. I happened to pass by the place soon after he had left the village. There was a group of people standing around and looking at the notices as if they were reading them. Upon inquiry however, I found that none of them had been able to read the notices. Then I went closer to the wall and tried to read for them. I could not decipher a single word as the clerk's handwriting was so poor. None of the villagers seemed to take it seriously.

Case II - About ten years ago, so the people told us, they were having a caste panchayat (meeting) of all the Kanus of the village. A few caste members from neighboring villages also participated, among whom was a young Kanu caste man from the next village. Since he had been to school in India he wore Western pants and shirts. He looked very different and conspicuous among the people who were dressed in dhotis and Indian style shirts. The jeers of the group forced him to leave; to be educated was acceptable, but to wear different dress was impertinent.

E. Government Officials, Zilla Panchayat and Gaun Panchayat

As far as the village people are concerned the Government is nothing more or less than the "Police". The Government has the power and authority which it seems to use very indiscriminately. It never looks after the local people or its welfare. Now-a-days, there is some talk by some politically oriented people about the idea of helping people; but the villagers think that this is all very selfishly designed for the politician's own benefit. These sorts of feelings characterize the basic attitude towards Government at any level. Occasionally some individuals do approach the "Government", as represented by an official either in the village

or at the District Headquarters. They complain about some injustice. The complainant does not necessarily expect justice every time, but at least he hopes for vengeance upon his enemy.

A summary of a few incidents relating to individuals who represented the "Government" at some level would be relevant here:

1. Mr. Shah and his Descendants. Within the known history of the village the first thing people remember is the Court of the Birta owner, Mr. Shah. This court started in the early 1920s in a small room with open varandahs at the entrance of the "Palace" in the village. This court (kachari) consisted of several clerks and some leading villagers representing their village with Mr. Shah at the head of it. This kachari was the village government as far as the people were concerned. It provided the leadership, gave justice, took care of the village welfare and collected the land revenue. Some of this was done through village consensus and some by outright imposition by Mr. Shah. In return for the "services" provided, the villagers had to serve the "palace" free of cost. Some eight or ten adults had to guard the kachari and the palace at night. This was done by the whole village population in rotation. Anyone failing to report at night had to pay a fine, in cash, worth a day's wage. People were often physically punished for an offence. This continued for over thirty years until after the death of Mr. Shah. His two sons took over the practice. Upon the death of both of the sons, the widow of the younger son took over the responsibility with some assistance from the village during the 1950's. By this time there was a change in the Central Government. The Rana regime was overthrown. The Shah family not only lost its right over the revenue of ten villages, but also lost the right of freedom from tax on its own 25 bighas of land. This made all the difference to their status in the village.

Meanwhile, with the growing spirit of freedom throughout the country, some ambitious members of the village were trying to establish their leadership. An old-time ally of the Shah family, Mr. Sahu, tried to break away from the widow's group and become an independent leader on his own. Mrs. Shah, however, succeeded in fabricating a case against this man of independent spirit who had already won some support in the village. She put him in jail for some time on a charge of theft. The rivalry between the two wealthy families of the village also was intensified during the period. Everybody took sides. The leadership was disputed as the influence of the old and established family declined. The village was divided. Thus everything drifted towards utter confusion in the late fifties.

The vacuum left by the decline of the Shahs seems gradually (in the minds of the villagers) to have been replaced by the position of the Pradhan Panch. This is true despite the fact that the Gaun Panchayat, along with its Pradhan Panch, is not

active in any real sense. The villagers view Government positions in the light of the prestige involved, rather than by the function performed (or not performed). Certainly the position of the Pradhan Panch during the formation of the Gaun Panchayat in 1962 was viewed in this way. The increasing rivalry and competition between two groups made the Pradhan Panch's position even more important. Ram Raj Ahir was appointed as the acting Pradhan Panch by the Zilla Panchayat until elected in his own right for the position in December 1966, which has been described above under the "Election of Pradhan Panch". The Pradhan Panch found himself generously enough disposed to throw a big feast costing several hundred rupees upon his victory in the election.

2. Some Case Studies Illustrating the Attitude of the People Towards the Government or its Officials

Case I - A few years ago, villagers recollected, a Hakim (Chief Officer) of the District Revenue Office was riding past the village. At the end of the village, he stopped and asked a villager who happened to be cutting grass by the roadside at the time, to hold his horse for awhile. This villager refused to obey. Upon this, the rider got off his horse and kicked the villager, cursed him and went away. The villager and a few others were scared and didn't say a word.

Case II - At another time, during our stay in the village, several officials from the District Land Reform Office came to the village on a visit. They were responsible for Compulsory Savings which the village was having some difficulty in collecting. A meeting was called and was attended by some ten or twelve village elders including the Pradhan Panch and two of the Panchayat members. At this meeting the official, without asking many questions and without explaining anything, said in an angry tone that he would realize all the savings from everybody by using physical force if people hesitated any longer. Everybody remained silent. No one raised a single question.

F. Land Reform

Land Reform has been considered as one more imposition by the Government. The most important objectives of Land Reform (redistribution of the land by the imposition of a ceiling, tenancy rights, and easier credit) have been regarded by the villagers in a rather negative manner.

1. Redistribution of Land. The ceiling did not affect this village. A few families with larger holdings were able to circumvent it by dividing the land among their own relatives.

2. Tenancy Rights. Few tenants cultivating the absentee landowner's land registered their tenancy rights. Most did not see any advantage in offending the landowners and spoiling relationships by asserting their tenancy rights. These tenants consider themselves as being always at the mercy of the landowners of the area.

3. Credit. Compulsory Savings is regarded as an unnecessary burden. It is argued that the loan is much safer and more convenient if borrowed from the local landowners in spite of the higher percentage of interest. The Compulsory Savings Fund, being a government organization, is complicated to deal with. If the Government were able to organize itself in a manner whereby repayments of loans by the tiller were collected at the time of harvest, much less burden would result. Unfortunately this is generally not the case. The Land Reform Office does not decide upon collection policies until a considerable time after the harvest and collection of loans is often attempted during the season of scarcity when people find it difficult enough merely to maintain themselves. They say that the "Government," which in this case is the Compulsory Savings of the District Land Reform Office, threatens to punish or even imprison them if they fail to return the loan at the time the District Land Reform Office asks for repayment. Therefore it is very difficult to have any confidence in government loans.

NOTES

1/ The contents of the present paper was submitted as an official report to USAID/Kathmandu for the first time in January 1968, as the author was working as a Research Specialist with the agency at the time. Since that time the report has been listed in bibliographies and mentioned in footnotes. But being only a mimeographed report produced in a very limited number of copies, it was not available as a reference work for most people who wanted to make use of it. Many friends and acquaintances, both at home and abroad, approached the author to lend a copy or to advise them where to find it. This is what prompted me to seek a publication of the paper even though some of the facts mentioned in the paper must be a passé by now. The actual field work was conducted during November - December of 1966. Since the author has not been able to revisit the area for the past seven years, he does not know for sure as to what particular situation has changed and what has not. Therefore, it was decided to leave the present tense of the statements as they are.

If anyone wanted to revisit the area for a comparative study it would not be too hard to follow the discreet hints given in the report and recognize the village. But for other purposes, the author had given his word to the many friends in the village that he would not publish certain information including the location

3. Third Class Land

Land Owner:	Ram Agyan Teli
Tenant Cultivator:	Chandrika Sah Kanu
Location:	Southeast corner of village boundary
Date Harvested:	3 December 1966
Date Threshed:	4 December 1966
Type of Paddy:	Laji
Total Yield:	2 seers (20 maunds per bigha)

TABLE I

POPULATION DIVISION BY CASTE

Caste Names as "Term of Reference"	Term of Address	Caste Profession	No. of Households	Per Cent
1. Brahman	Pandit	Priest	4	2.6
2. Chhetri			3	1.9
3. Kanu	Sah, Ashu	Trade & Business	78	50.3
4. Ahir	Yadav, Raut	Milkmen	11	7.1
5. Dhanuk	Mahato		15	9.7
6. Hajam	Thakur	Barber	1	0.6
7. Lohar	Thakur	Blacksmith	1	0.6
8. Teli		Oil Pressing	13	8.4
9. Mussulman	Miya		13	8.4
10. Dhobi	Baitha	Washermen	10	6.5
11. Chamar		Scavenging	6	3.9

TABLE II

EXTENDED FAMILY GROUPS

<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Belonging to an Extended Group Consisting of</u>
68	43.9	6 to 7 families
35	22.6	4 to 5 families
30	19.3	did not have a group
20	12.9	2 to 3 families
2	1.3	absentee
<hr/> 155	<hr/> 100.0	

TABLE IIIFAMILY SIZE

<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>No. of Individuals within the families</u>
71	46.4	3 to 5 members
52	34.0	6 to 10 members
21	13.7	2 members
9	5.9	Over 10 members
<hr/> 153	<hr/> 100.0	

Note: 2 families not residing permanently in the village are not taken into consideration here.

TABLE IVFACTION

<u>Caste Group</u>	No. of Families in		<u>Neutral</u>
	<u>Faction A</u>	<u>Faction B</u>	
1. Brahman	1	-	3
2. Chhetri	1	-	2
3. Kanu	45	30	3
4. Ahir	7	4	-
5. Dhanuk	12	3	-
6. Hajam	1	-	-
7. Lohar	1	-	-
8. Teli	12	1	-
9. Mussalman	8	3	2
10. Dhobi	4	6	-
11. Chamar	6	-	-

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TABLE V

CREDIT

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Families Lending Cash & Cereal Grain	8	5.2
Families Borrowing Cash	54	34.8
Families Borrowing Paddy	115	74.2
Families Self-Sufficient Without Having to Borrow	11	7.1
Families Too Poor and Low caste to be able to Borrow	21	13.5

TABLE VI

LAND CULTIVATED

	<u>Bigha</u>	<u>Kattha</u>	<u>Dhur</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Total Area of Land Cultivated	316	10	-	100.0
Land within Padipur Village Boundary	152	5	8	48.1
Land Outside Padipur Village Boundary	164	4	12	51.9

TABLE VII

TENANT & OWNER CULTIVATED

	<u>Bigha</u>	<u>Kattha</u>	<u>Dhur</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Total Land	316	10		100.0
Owner Cultivated Land	183	6		57.9
Rented or Tenant Cultivated	133	4		42.1

TABLE VIIIDISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME

<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>Amount (Mds.)</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
13	8.4	4333	65.3
31	20.0	1261	19.0
111	71.6	1042	15.7

TABLE IXLAND OWNERSHIP

<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>Area of Land</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
111	71.6	31B 19K 7D	10.1
31	20.0	60B 2K 14D	19.0
9	5.8	122B 3K 7D	38.6
4	2.6	102B 4K 12D	32.3

TABLE XDIVISION OF LAND PER FAMILY

<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>Size of Holding</u>
76	49.0	Below 1 bigha
33	21.3	No land
31	20.0	1 - 5 bigha
9	5.8	10 - 20 bigha
4	2.6	Above 20 bigha
2	1.3	5 - 10 bigha

TABLE IX

LAND UNDER DIFFERENT CROPS

	<u>Area</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Land Total	316B 10K	100.0
Paddy Cultivation	301B 12K	95.3
Sugar Cane	14B	4.4
<u>Ganja</u> (Marijuana)	18K	0.3

TABLE XII

CATTLE

<u>Total No. of</u>		<u>No. Per Family</u>
Bullocks	131	0.8
Buffalo	54	0.3
Cow	56	0.4
Goats	190	1.2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	431	2.8

TABLE XIII

HOUSE TYPES

	<u>No</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Brick	19	12.3
Tile Roofed	16	10.3
Thatched	120	77.4

TABLE XIVPOPULATION BY AGE

	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Below 5 Years	121	15.0
6 - 16 years	184	22.9
16 - 40 years	320	39.8
41 - 60 years	155	19.2
Above 60	25	3.1
Total	<u>805</u>	<u>100.0</u>

TABLE XVPOPULATION BY SEX

	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Male	406	50.4
Female	399	49.6
Total	<u>805</u>	<u>100.0</u>

TABLE XVIMISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS

	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
No. of Literate	82	10.2
No. of School-Going Children	48	6.0
No. of Service Holders	8	1.0

