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DILAPIDATED DWELLINGS & RICH TEMPLES

THE PADHARS OF GUJARAT

(A Socio-Economic Study And A Development Plan)

By

CHHOTUBHAI D. PATEL

Edited by

Dr. T. B. NAIK

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Translated By

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SIMON F. MACWAN



TRIBAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD-380 014

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મહારાજ
રામલાલ ડાબાભાઈ પરીખ
વ્યવસ્થાપક ટ્રસ્ટી,
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PREFACE

This study of the Padhars, a small scheduled tribes living in the villages around the Nal Sarovar in Gujarat was done with a view to add to the ethnographic information about the Gujarat tribes. We also wanted to see if a development plan could be suggested basing it on the data thus collected. The result is not very discouraging though we are aware of its shortcomings; which we are trying to set right in subsequent studies.

We hope the study would be useful in same way to social anthropologists and social engineers. Suggestions on any aspect of this effort are welcome.

1st October, 1982
Tribal Research & Training Institute
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T.B.NAIK
DIRECTOR

PADHAR : BACKGROUNDPOPULATION

According to the 1971 census the population of Schedule Tribes in India was 3,80,15,162. This comes to only 6.93% of the total population of India. In 1971* Gujarat was 2,66,97,475 but the population of Schedule Tribe was 37,34,422. It means the total percentage of Schedule Tribe in Gujarat State is 13.99%. Every tenth Adivasi of the country lives in Gujarat, and every seventh Gujarati is an Adivasi. Twenty nine different Adivasi communities live in Gujarat.

*the total population of
Of these tribes, number of some tribes exceeds 1,00,000 (one lac) while many are having 5 thousand to 10 thousand. Of these tribes PADHAD Adivasi JATI (tribe) is our main study.

The Adivasis, according to general geographical traits live in forest and hilly regions. But in Gujarat, this PADHAR Tribe is such that does not possess this geographical trait of ADIVASIS. The PADHAR Tribe does not have the traits of 'Forester' or a 'Highlander'. Most of the ADIVASIS (Tribes) of Gujarat State reside in the frontier areas in the east of Gujarat. They mostly live in the eight districts of Gujarat - Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Panchmahal, Vadodara, Bharuch, Surat, Valsad and Dangs. Most of the ADIVASIS (Tribes) residing in these districts, live in the forest and hilly regions. The PADHAR is the only tribe that resides on the plains of Nalkantha region. The PADHAR Adivasi people are found in Dholka Taluka and Viramgam Taluka of Ahmedabad district and Limbadi Taluka of Surendranagar district. The eleven villages - Ranagadha, Nani Kathechi, Padali, Parnala, Gedi, Ralol, Anandpur, Shahpur, Shiyal, Dharaji (Durgi), and Devadthal - are considered to be the abode of the Padhar Tribe. These villages are situated in the region of Nala Sarovar kantha. Therefore, this area is known as Nala Kantha region. Besides this, there

are about three hundred sixty (360) small islands in Nala Sarovar in some of which the Padhar tribe is found. Bharela, Badoga, Tamba, Lasa etc., are included mainly in these islands. According to the 1971 Census, the population of Padhar tribe is 4758.*

The Padhar people are dark in complexion, medium size, bulky and muscular in body and are of strong constitution. They resemble rather Koli people. But the exchange of daughters is not found between them. It is believed the Padhars have mixed blood of Kolis and Rajputs.

In every Nalkantha village of Dholka and Virangam Taluka there is more or less population of the Padhar people. Formerly they were Kolis but as they used to eat the flesh of dead animals they were driven to the area of Nalkantha frontier. The main occupation of Padhar men and women is grass cutting, digging out roots and selling them in other villages. Padhar men like Vaghris go for fishing and catching ducks. They eat them and sell them to Mohmedans. Their main food is BIR. They dig it out from the pond with the help of wooden hammer. They turn it into flour and make loaves out of it and eat them with onions. When they get fish or anything as a prey, they use wheat or millet. Those who are rich, have nets to catch wild ducks, and they catch ducks with the help of the nets. Others remain sleeping in grass in the morning and catch ducks with

* These figures are according to 1971 Census. But they are not correct because it is shown in census that out of those eleven villages of the Padhar tribe, there is no population of the Padhars in one village - i.e. in Dharaji (Durgi). But in fact there is a population of the Padhars in Dharaji (Dungri). Therefore, the figures regarding the Padhar Adivasi tribe in eleven villages - given in Chapter 3 are according to the Census of project for Integrated Development of Adijati Padhar Community in Surendranagar and Ahmedabad District of Gujarat State, June, 1979.

the help of their legs. They cut off the wings of ducks and sell a piece at the rate of an anna. They follow Hindu religion and like other backward Hindu communities they worship HINGLAJ MATA. Kolis consider them untouchables and they do not exchange their daughters with them in marriage. High caste Hindus consider them WICKED hence they hate them. Padhar men are tall, strongly built and dark in complexion. Women are medium sized and fair in complexion. The dress of well to do Padhar people is like that of Kolis. Before marriage, bridegroom people give fifty (50) rupees to the father of the bride. If the husband dies, the widow gets married to the younger brother or to the relative of her husband.¹

There is no definite information available about whence and when this Padhar community - entrapped in the whirlwind of quarrels of life and with many specialities - came. Regarding the same there prevail many inferences.

As there are legends of the origin of some other Adivasis, so are there several legends about Padhars. Their chief legend is as follows. It can be had while asking their history.

Hinglaj Mata and her sister Bhurekh were out together for a walk. While thus moving they reached very far from Otari i.e. Sindh and it was night. There were twelve sons with Hinglaj. With them there was also one bird named Pausi. These twelve brothers were so exhausted that they fell down on the ground and slept. Hinglaj Mata was worried about her children that what would they eat when wake up? So she reached Sindh. She went to the other sister's house. Her name was Sindhu.

¹ Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. IX, Part I, Gujarat Population: Hindu, 1901.

Sindhu was not at home. Therefore, she stole some roots and set off. Sindhu met her on the way. So Hinglaj Mata hid those roots in her hair and told Sindhu, "My sons are hungry, give me something for them to eat." Therefore Sindhu gave roots and fish. Taking the same Hinglaj Mata set off, and came to the bank of Nala Sarovar. She threw the roots and fish which she had brought with her, into the Nala Sarovar. And the roots grew there, fish increased. The Padhars live on these two things. And it is due to the gifts given by Hinglaj Mata. They mention that they hail from the banks of the Indus.

According to other legend - the name of one of the ancestors of Padhars was Hillu Padhar. He was a contemporary of Vanraj Chavada. At that time there were many thorny trees (Bavals) around the Nala Sarovar. Here in thorny trees Hillu Padhar lived. He was the leader of Padhars. He was expert in using the spear and the bow and arrow. The dress of Padhars was similar to that of Bhils (hunters). They were dark, dwarfish and had flat nose and square face. They lived on fishing from Nala Sarovar and on catching birds and hunting. When Vanraj Chavada with his companions came along to this region, some of his companions stayed behind and got mixed with the Padhars.

Looking to the legend of the Padhars we can say that they might have originally hailed from Sindh. Shri Colonel J.W. Watson also records that they have hailed from Sindh before fifth or sixth century.

Padhars believe that their existence is due to the grace of Hinglaj Mata. So they worship Hinglaj Mata. Padhars give the meaning of "PADHAR" as 'PUJARI' (Worshipper). Hence, in original language they might be calling the worshippers of Hinglaj Mata as 'Padhar'. But to-day it is very difficult to know their original language. They also do not speak any special language.

But they speak the language of other communities of the village. Its reason may be their constant contact for many centuries with other language-speaking people, and hence gradually they might have started using this 'PADHAR' word only to recognize or to introduce their group.

Looking to their other legends after their coming from Sindh to Nalakantha, it seems that perhaps Vanraj Chavada and his companions might have come up here and might have mixed with the Padhars. That is why perhaps, there are Rajput surnames in the Padhars.

Moreover, they say that their ancestors had the qualities of Bhils. Afterwards, because of the staying of certain Vanraj Chavada's companions there and because of sexual relations, it may be believed that they have the mixed blood. For, some Rajput surnames are also found amongst them. These two details imply that the Padhars might originally be any community from Sindh side. And Rajput blood might have mixed in them after their coming and residing here.

AREA:

This Nalakantha region is to the west of Ahmedabad district. This area is 24 miles broad and 32 miles long / As this is a lowland, rainy water from all sides in monsoon season spreads up over here. It lasts till the spring season.¹

Nala Sarovar is 37 miles away in south-west from Ahmedabad. In 1827, Nelville has written that no populated (inhabited) land would be lower than the (land) country between Nala and Kutch desert. Water gets flooded in it in monsoon and the water of Nala Sarovar flows away into the bay of Cambay.

¹ As per Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. 16.

/i.e.; 768 Square miles. That which is known as Nal Sarovar is 16 miles long and 4.5 miles broad.

Stones with the holes in the centre are so often found from the Nala. And the people believe them perhaps to be the anchors of ships of that time. If we draw a line exactly from the centre through this Nalakantha country then the last village in the west is Bagodara and in the east it is Bol. This whole country is divided among four talukas - Sanand, Dholka, Viramgam and Limbadi of Saurashtra.

Moreover there are Lakhatar, Limbadi, Vitthalgadha, Patadi, Bajana of Saurashtra and some other and rewarded villages of Vadawan and Estate holders' share. But most of them are on Nalakantha boundary and remote ones are near Viramgam taluka.

It can be guessed from the general outline of both the districts - Ahmedabad and Surendranagar - that in distant past, this portion - known as Nalakantha region - of these two districts must have been under the sea. The opening (mouth) of the bay of Cambay and the land amid Kutch desert still get over flowed at the time of high tide. Except the rocks in the far end of the south, most of the land is plain. Of the rivers of Nalakantha area the Bhogavo and her branch spring^{ing} from the charming hills of Chotila flow on for about 66 miles. This river ends in the Nala Sarovar which is famous for different kinds of birds. The river has water only in the monsoon. Her water was uselessly flowing into the Nala Sarovar and the land was getting much washed off and there was a fear of flood. The water reservoir near Dhoriyali village has been built to make this area fertile. The work of this dam was over in 1964. The barren land of Nalakantha has been made fertile by this scheme. Other rivers Bhadar, Nilka and Utavali flow through Dhandhuka and Limbadi Talukas. These rivers flow from west to east. To have a vision of a river or Streamlets in Viramgam taluka is a rarity.

NALA SAROVAR:

In ancient times the king Nala passed by this place. While crossing this country he felt much thirsty and the sweet water of this great lake quenched his thirst. Then he stayed here for sometime. The name of this lake Nala Sarovar was named after this. Such types of many legends are prevailing. But really speaking it is a great water tap spread in the low land and the country spread over its bank is Nalakantha. But if we cancel certain portion of this region, then the whole country is nothing but a salty desert.

Nala - the salty sea - is between the bay of Cambay and the south-east country of Kutch desert. The area around it is known as Nalakantha area (vistar), and the country to its south is known as Bhal Pradesh. This whole region with many more parts of Dhandhuka and Dholka was called Bhal Nalkantho. This whole region must have been formed because of the dumping of the sea. Kathiawar was an island before about two thousand years. But the bay of the Cambay got gradually entered the land and the clay got accumulated in the south-east of the desert. All the channels of the north also got dumped and in-between-land got connected with that country because of its coming up due to tilling and so it became a peninsula. Hence the spread of Nala Sarovar when there is ordinary rain on 1st November, is 9-10 miles. The water of the lake at certain places is about 4 to 6 feet and at other places 8 feet and somewhere even more in the monsoon. With the coming of summer and going away of monsoon the area of the lake becomes less remaining 6 miles long and 2 to 2½ miles broad. In summer the water is only 2 to 2½ feet deep.

The legend which can be relied upon is that before thousands of years the Arabian sea would have been roaring here. The entire bay of Cambay was

attached to the water of this country. Kutch, bay of Cambay and Nalakantha region were the marine region of the Arabian Sea. This we came to know from the history of the ancient communities that inhabited in this region. In those days, sea voyages and shipping navigation might have flourished like anything in this region. The shipping trade would be going on upto Bhavnagar. This rock like Padhar community - the children of the sea - must have been sea-faring sailors at that time. They might be doing the work of making small boats, boats and sailing boats in the sea.

The sea-faring farmer Padhars whose life was woven around sea, must have settled on the sea coast. And this community would have lived life singing sea songs and thus generations would have passed.

With the passing of years there would have been an upheaval in the earth formation. The sea turned into the Himalayas, likewise the earth, changing the side, overturned the land. The sea might have been displaced. The sea portion of Nalakantha might have been dumped to certain extent.

Geographically, Nalakantha region might be connected with the bay of Cambay and Kutch but as this watery region got dumped and as the water receded, it must have remained attached to the land. However, the middle part of Nalakantha which remained a low land for miles together must have been formed into a lake. Besides, it can be imagined that some portion of the lake might have been dumped or made shallow by rains and rivers.

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF PADHARS : TOPOGRAPHY AND
THE ECONOMIC LIFE.

As described in the first chapter, the region of Nalakantha is situated in west direction of Ahmedabad district. It is 24 miles broad and 32 miles long and thus in total area consists of 768 Sq.Miles. Nala Lake itself is 16 miles long and 4 1/2 miles broad. During the monsoon season, the whole area remains submerged under water. This situation continues upto the end of Spring.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITION:

LOCATION:

What is known as Nala kantha region, consists of the southern part of Dholka taluka and the eastern part of Dhandhuka taluka (both these talukas are in Ahmedabad district), the southern and the western part of Virangam taluka, the western part of Sanand Mahal and the south-east part of Limbdi taluka of Surendranagar district of Saurashtra region.

LAND:

The land is light black and flat in nature. At some places the level is saline and when dug a little deep beneath the surface, one can find a stream of salty water. It is quite difficult to get potable water in this region. The land in Sanand Mahal is light black and "Goradu". The level in Limbdi taluka is suitable for groundnut crop. Whereas the land in the Dholka and Dhandhuka regions is light black and good for wheat crop.

CROP:

The Kharif season crops are Bajri, Jowar, Cotton, Paddy and groundnut while the Rabi crops are wheat, grams, winter Jowar, Mug and Math.

WEATHER:

It remains very hot during summer (March-May) and very cold during winter. It has an average rainfall. Maximum temperature goes upto 41.9°C. (107.5°F) during the month of May, while minimum temperature remains around 26.3°C. in summer. It gets little cool as rains start in the month of June but even then nights continue to remain quite hot. The minimum temperature during winter remains around 12.9°C, while maximum temperature remains around 28.2°C. Occasionally there are hailstorms and at such times the temperature falls down upto 5.0°C.

RAINFALL:

The average rainfall in this area is about 506.8 mm. 94% of the rainfall come from north-west. The month of July usually has the maximum rainfall and which is also a month of torrential rain.

TREES:

A cluster of trees indicates the existence of a village. Most of the land is barren and the common trees are 'Piluda' and 'Khijda'. Around the villages, the trees of 'limda' and 'amli' are found.

GRASS:

'Govdri', 'Beed', 'Saru', 'Gadar', 'Baval', 'Thor' and Mehavadi'.

ANIMALS:

Cows, Bullocks, Sheep, Goats, Fox, Rabbits and Buffalos.

BIRDS:

Crows, 'Kabar', Partrydges, Sparrows, 'Htar', 'Vaiddo' (black colour and having red mouth), etc.

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF PADHARS: POPULATION AND
THE WORKING FORCE

The three villages - Sial, Dharji (Durgi) and Devadthal of Dholka taluka and Shahpur of Viramgam taluka in Ahmedabad district and Ranagadh, Nani Katechi, Padali, Parnala, Gedi, Ranol, and Anandpur of Limdi taluka of Surendranagar district are inhabited by the Padhars.

The population figures in respective villages are given in the following table.

TABLE 3.1*

VILLAGE-WISE POPULATION OF PADHAR

Sr. No.	Name of the village	Taluka	District	Total population of the village	Padhar Population in total population
1	Ranagadh	Limdi	Surendranagar	3745	2065
2	Nani Katechi	"	"	2755	1725
3	Padali	"	"	1450	440
4	Parnala	"	"	2530	245
5	Gedi	"	"	1520	50
6	Ranol	"	"	4185	965
7	Anandpur	"	"	1088	65
8	Shahpur	Viramgam	Ahmedabad	3260	1115
9	Sial	Dholka	"	3775	1562
10	Dharji	"	"	2260	1629
11	Devadthal	"	"	1290	324
TOTAL:				27858	10185

* Project for Integrated Development of Adijati Padhar Community in Surendranagar and Ahmedabad District of Gujarat State, June, 1979.

It is interesting to note that other tribal groups are not found in the villages of Padhars but other caste groups like Bharvad, Muslim, Koli Patel, Charan, Harijan, Kumbhar, Lohar, Lohana, Bania and even Brahmin seem to be staying along with Padhars. Padhars do not have independent villages. In a village, Padhars' houses are found to be situated quite separately from houses of other communities. They live in separate 'Falias'. But they are not considered as untouchables by other communities in the village. Thus, Padhar's situation is not like the Harijans, whose houses are generally at the far end of a village. Even amongst themselves, as a rule, the members of the same lineage or clan normally live in one Falia. But in certain cases (if there are members of other clans too in the village) the members of other clans are also found to reside in the same Falia. But members of other communities are not found to reside in the Padhars' falia.

Village-wise and sex-wise population of the surveyed 100 families from the selected four villages have been given in the following table.

TABLE 3:2

POPULATION IN SURVEYED VILLAGES

Sr. No.	Name of the Village	No. of families	Male	Female	Total
1	Dharji (Durgi)	25	108	95	203
2	Shahpur	25	82	60	142
3	Ranol	25	82	69	151
4	Nani Katechi	25	85	82	167
	TOTAL:	100	357	306	663

Information regarding the age group of the members of the 100 families under the survey is given in Table 3:3

TABLE 3:3

Age Group	AGE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYED HOUSEHOLD POPULATION									
	NAME OF THE VILLAGES		SHAHPUR		RANOL		NANI KATECHI		TOTAL	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1 to 6	10	7	12	15	13	4	9	44	39	
7 to 14	19	9	21	24	12	25	23	94	63	
15 to 24	16	17	12	12	15	17	17	60	65	
25 to 60	46	25	32	24	27	33	32	144	130	
Above 60	4	2	5	2	2	3	1	15	9	
TOTAL:	95	60	82	82	69	85	82	357	306	

It is evident from Table 3:3 that out of total 663 persons 83 belong to the age group of 1 to 6 whereas 157 belong to 7 to 14 years group, and 125 to 15 to 24 years while maximum number i.e. 274 fall under the group of 25 to 60 years. Only 19 are found in the group of above 60 years.

After viewing the age-structure in the families, let us now see the size of the families.

TABLE 3:4

SIZE OF FAMILY IN SELECTED VILLAGES

Sr. Name of the No. village	1 to 3 members	4 to 7 members	8 to 10 members	11 and above members	Total families
1 Dharji(Durg)	1	13	6	5	25
2 Shahpur	6	13	5	1	25
3 Ranol	4	15	4	2	25
4 Nani Katechi	1	18	4	2	25
TOTAL	12	59	19	10	100

The average size of the family consists of 6.5 members. The village-wise average size of the family is as follows - 8 members in Dharji, 6.5 in Shahpur, 6 in Ranol and 7 in Nani Katechi. Out of the 100 families, 12 families fall in the category of having 1 to 3 members, 59 families having 4 to 7 members, 19 families having 8 to 10 members while 10 families had more than 11 members. Thus 59% are in the category of having 4 to 7 members. Even villagewise, this group has highest percentage in each village. It seems that Padhars have, twice the larger family size than India's average family size. This has a direct bearing on their economic standard.

Table 3:5 shows the type of families among the Padhars.

TABLE 3:5

TYPE OF FAMILIES IN SELECTED VILLAGE

Sr. No.	Name of the Village	Nuclear families	Joint families	Total
1	Dharji (Durg)	12	13	25
2	Shahpur	12	13	25
3	Ranol	17	8	25
4	Nani Katechi	20	5	25
TOTAL:		61	39	100

It is quite evident from the figures given in Table 3:5, that among the Padhars nuclear type of family is in majority. Out of the 100 families, 61 families are of nuclear type while 39 are of joint family type. In Dharji and Shahpur the difference between the percentage of nuclear and joint families is only 4% while it is almost 26% in Ranol and Nani Katechi.

Table 3:6 shows the numbers of earning members, and non-earners in these 100 families.

TABLE 3:6
WORKING FORCE IN SELECTED VILLAGES

Sr. No.	Name of the village	Total Population		Workers		Non-Workers				
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total			
1	Dharji (Durgji)	108	95	203	51	50	101	57	45	102
2	Shahpur	82	60	142	41	39	80	41	21	62
3	Ranol	82	69	151	45	35	80	37	34	71
4	Nani Katechi	85	82	167	43	41	84	42	41	83
TOTAL:		357	306	663	180	165	345	177	141	318

Out of 663 members of the surveyed 100 families 345 are the earning members. Among these 345 members, 180 are males (52.2%) while 165 are females (47.8%). The number of non-earners is 318, out of which 177 (55.7%) are males and 141 (44.3%) are female members. As the figures show 55% of the members of the surveyed families have to bear the economic responsibility of the remaining 45% members, there is hardly any difference between the numbers of earning members and non-earners. But even if the member of non-earners belonging to age groups of 1 - 6 and 7-14, is excluded there are still more non-earning members. As seen earlier, the number of persons belonging to the age-group of 1 to 6 years and 7 to 14 years are 83 and 157 respectively. They are entirely dependent on the 345 earning members of the surveyed families.

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF PADHARS: MATERIAL CULTUREHOUSING:

Although the houses of Padhars are situated in the same 'falia' each of the houses possess independent walls. Generally a distance of 10' to 15' is found between two huts. Their huts are made of dry grass and wood. The walls are constructed out of grass and then they are plastered with mud. For the roof they use dry godri grass. Their houses are known as 'Koobas'. It is round and conical in shape and it consists of one room. The area of a 'Kooba' is about 50 Sq.ft. The 'Kooba' does not have windows or ventilators but have only one small door, for entrance. Due to this, 'Koobas' remain very dark during the day time also. The smoke which emanates from the earthen oven during cooking cannot be ventilated out and thus left to circulate within the room itself. Village-wise housing conditions are given in the following table.

TABLE 4:1

TYPE OF HOUSES

Sr. No.	Name of the village	Kachcha house with Desi tiles	Pucca house with Manglori tiles	Houses with grass roof	Total
1	Dharji(Durgi)	22	1	2	25
2	Shahpur	20	-	5	25
3	Ranol	16	-	9	25
4	Nani Katechi	6	-	19	25
		---	---	---	---
	TOTAL:	64	1	35	100

From the figures given in Table 4:1 it becomes quite clear that the houses of Padhars are mostly kachcha. Out of the 100 surveyed families, 64 families had kachcha huts with mud walls, and country tiles on their roofs.

35 houses had gondri grass on their roofs instead of country tiles. Only one house in Dharji(Durgi) had brick walls and that had roof covered with Manglori tiles.

Thus, the Padhars construct their 'Koobas' from locally available materials. The walls are erected from 'Baroo' grass which is then plastered with fine mud. While for the roofs they get Gondri grass which grow in great abundance on the banks of 'Nala Sarovar'. The grass is used for roofing after getting it thoroughly dried in the Sun. The support pillars of their huts are made from the wood cut from the locally grown trees. From the land nearby their habitation they dig the earth and use the clay for plastering the walls. They get the bamboo chips from nearby markets in towns like Virangam, Sanand and Dholka. These chips are used for making the frame on roofs on which country tiles are put. All the family activities are carried out in the only room of the huts. But one noteworthy fact was found that the land on which houses have been built were individually owned by the owner of houses. All the family members, some how manage to get themselves accommodated in the same room along with household goods and things used in daily life. In case a guest arrives and is to stay overnight, he too is made to sleep inside the room alongwith the family members. During the night when everybody of the family goes to sleep, even a small portion of the room is hardly left unused. Since the houses are small, each bed is used by two members for sleeping. In case there are young children in the family, they too have to be accommodated in the same room. If there is such a young child in the family who needs cradle, the cradle would be made to hang with the help of strong strings or thin ropes to the beam of the roof. The child would sleep in the cradle while the mother on a string-cot beneath the cradle. Upon viewing this anyone

can have clear perception about the extreme poverty of the Padhars. Such a precarious existence eats away the vital of their economy.

HOUSE-HOLD ARTICLES:

The inventory of their house-hold articles reflect their utter poverty. For cooking, they use either aluminium or brass vessel (Tapela). For eating also aluminium or brass thali and for storing drinking water they keep one or two earthen (Chimney) pitchers. For sleeping they keep string cots. A small tin lantern is used during night for lighting the dark room. Some families can not even afford the brass or aluminium Thali so they use earthen dishes (Peni) for eating purposes and earthen cups (Bateras) for drinking tea, instead of China clay cups and dishes. The earthen utensils are purchased by them from the markets of Viramgam or Sanand.

Information about the household articles was collected from two families from Ranol and Nani Katechi respectively. This will give an idea about the types of household possessions usually found among the Padhars.

Nanaji Chhaganbhai Mer of Ranol village has 8 members in his family. His house-hold possessions are as under :

Aluminium Dish	1	Bronze Pan	1
Aluminium Thali	2	Brass Thali	2
Aluminium Tapeli	1	Brass Lota	1
Aluminium Kathrot	1	Chimney	1
Wooden Cot	1		

Savji Talka Makwana is from Nani Katechi and has 6 members in his family. The following list shows his household possessions.

Aluminium Tapeli	1	Brass Thali	2
Bronze Pan	2	Brass Lota	2
Wooden Cots	2	Chimney	1
A Tin box	1	Earthen pots	3

TABLE 4:2

VILLAGE-WISE HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

Type of Metal	Name of the Village & No. of family				Total
	Dharji (Durgi)	Shahpur	Ranol	Nani Katechi	
	25	25	25	25	100
Copper	4	-	12	19	35
Aluminium	83	89	96	107	377
Brass	110	73	233	73	489
Earthen	87	105	89	76	357
Bronze	43	19	15	31	108
Miscellaneous	4	31	41	9	85
TOTAL	331	317	486	317	1451

Table 4:2 shows the types of household articles used by the 100 families covered under the survey.

It is obvious from the example of the two families as well as the above table that most of the families are compelled to share the major basic necessary household articles amongst themselves. The question of luxury items does not arise at all for them. The surveyed 100 families had 663 total numbers. The number of household articles come to 1451 i.e. on average each member gets two articles for himself or herself. Nobody had stainless steel utensils. One noteworthy feature was that every family possessed big cots in which two persons can sleep together. As the land is saline and the floor remains damp it is extremely inconvenient to sleep on the floor. They have a good artistic sense and they know how to make the best use of locally available materials which is reflected in the 'Kothi' constructed by them. They construct a large size 'Kothi' (Earthen jar) for storing grains. It is made out of a mix of black clay and wheat or paddy straws. The 'mix' is thoroughly kneaded to make it fine. Though they do not bake it, it remains quite strong. It has four legs and stands half feet above the ground. It is quite

high, upto a man's shoulder and has four compartments. The different grains are stored in these compartments. On the outer side, several small shelves are carved out and they are used for keeping utensils as well as storing leftover food. A special niche is carved out for keeping an idol of the family goddess. The top of the Kothi is studded with pieces of bangle's glass. The pieces of the glass are studded in such a manner that when light falls on these it is reflected back and one can easily see inside the Kothi even in darkness. There is a special reason for keeping the Kothi half feet above the ground. As noted earlier the soil is saline and the ground remains damp most of the time. In order to save the grains from getting affected by dampness and allowing circulation of air around the bottom part of the ^{kothi} legs of half feet height is provided. This illustrates that geographical factors do rule the human life in every part of the world.

Each house has the provision for pounding grains. For this purpose a wooden mortar is inserted in the ground in one corner. They also have wooden pestle for thrashing the Beed grass roots. For keeping finery, they either have a lid covered - container or a tin box. Clothes of daily use are put on long hanging bamboo pole (Valagni). In this way, clothes are kept away from rabbit.

CLOTHING :

Padher men usually wear dress made from hand waven clothes which are rough and thick in texture. Now some of them have started using coarse mill cloth. The lower garment is known as Pachedi. It has a border of green, blue or black colour. The upper garment is known as Kedio. It is a kind of a sleeveless jacket.

They also use head gear which is known as Falio and it consists of 2-3 feet long cloth-piece. Young boys wear half pant and bush-shirt. Very young children (upto 3-4 years) go naked.

The women wear coloured petticoats (Chania) having very big flares (10 feet). The upper garment is known as Kapadu which serves the purpose of a blouse. Instead of a full saree they use 'Odhani', one half of which is used for covering the head while the other half is kept hanging over the petticoat. They hardly have extra pair of clothes/regularly. Due to this, their dress usually remain dirty and also stink. The woman's garments are considered very expensive as they require more cloth. They hardly use footwear. In extreme hot weather, they wear chappals made out of torn old rubber tyres. Since young children usually remain indoor the footwear is not considered a necessity for them. /and so it is not possible for them to wash their clothes

ORNAMENTS :

The women get their ears pierced and wear vedla-carrings made out of silver or some mixed alloy (kalai). They wear rings of silver or brass on their fingers. In their neck they wear silver or some cheap alloy necklace (Hansdi), and also use heavy silver plated ankles. They buy all these ornaments from markets at Virangam, Dholka or Sanand. Women have started wearing plastic or glass bangles, which they buy from wandering (Baloya) hawkers. They also wear large-thick bangles made from elephant tusk, which go right upto their armpit, and so it is difficult for themselves to maintain the cleanliness of their bodies. They tie their hair with black silken thread and make a bun. They have also started using nylon ribbons. They comb their hair with plastic comb. On forehead they put a Bindi (Beauty spot) out of kumkum (red coloured liquid). They apply

'kajal' (mascara) in their eyes. They also make the use of hairpins. They buy all these cosmetics from nearby markets. Sometimes they buy plastic beads and make necklace. They make an artistic belt out of nylon cords and plastic beads and tie around young children's waists. The young boys can be seen combing their hair with colourful plastic combs. Sometimes they also apply 'Kajal' (mascara) in their eyes. They also put coloured scarves around their neck.

The Padhar women are fond of tattoo. The designs of tattoo vary from idols of gods to a scorpion or a watch. They also get their nose pierced and wear a silver or brass nose ring.

WEAPONS :

Most of the Padhars possess an axe, a scythe and a bamboo stick. They carry either of these when they go to jungles, otherwise they do not need to use these. They make two types of fishing nets, one can be just thrown in water the other is to be held in hands as it is made of a round wooden ring to which a net is tied. For hunting a fox or a rabbit they make a trap of ropes. First they chase the animal towards the trap and as soon as the animal gets trapped they pull in the ropes so that the animal once caught inside can not made escap. For hunting birds, they make use of catapult.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS :

They do not have much variety in their musical instruments. When they sing devotional songs (Bhanjans) they use cymbals (Manjira) and Tom-toms (Nargha) and a Tanpura. They make a small group (Bhajan Mandali) who

specialise in devotional songs and buy these musical instruments collectively. When they have a family function like marriage ceremony they call a professional drum player. He gets Rs. 5-00 to 10-00 for playing the drum.

FOOD AND DRINKS :

The staple diet of Padhars consists of coarse grains. Mostly they make the rotlas out of Beed root flour. Beed grass grow in plenty on the banks of Nal Sarovar. The Padhars bring the roots, dry them and grind the roots into flour. In the morning they eat either Bajra rotla or Beed root rotla with tea or jaggery. For the day-meal they eat rotla alongwith cooked vegetable or with pulses like Moong or Math. For the evening meal they have Khichadi made out of wheat kernel and butter milk or kadhi made out of butter milk and 'chutney' of chillies and garlies. At festival time or on religious occasions, rice is included in their menu. They also rejoice having non-vegetarian food occasionally. They either hunt the animal and use the meat for food or buy it from a butcher's shop located in the markets of nearby towns. They do not eat the flesh of dead animals.

The Beed root rotle is very popular with Padhars as they are the cheapest and easiest to get. As mentioned earlier Beed grass grow in plenty in Nal sarovar area. Padhar just have to go to the place where they grow and collect it after digging. Then the roots are first thrashed and thoroughly dried for some days. Then they are pounded with a pestle and after proper cleaning, the roots are grounded into flour. The flour is sieved with the help of a thin cloth piece.

It is difficult to make rotla out of Beed roots alone, so this flour is mixed with either wheat, Bajra or Jowar flour. It is very difficult to digest these rotlas. Unless one is accustomed to eat such rotlas, one can easily become the victim of chronic indigestive diseases.

It is interesting to know about the process of making Beed root flour. The roots of Beed grass are 5" to 6" long. Only the knotty (Ganth) roots are considered edible. These knots are pulled out along with the roots. The next step is to separate these knots from the roots. Then over the heap of the knots, dry gondri grass is covered. The covering of the grass is burnt, so the roots get burnt along with the grass. The knots are separated then and are allowed to get dry for 6 to 7 days. After they are completely dry, the knots are pounded with the help of a wooden pestle. As explained earlier the flour is sieved with the help of piece of thin cloth. This is their way of removing dirt from the flour and make the flour consumable. One can not knead dough out of this flour as it is very dry. For making dough, the flour of Bajra, Jowar or wheat has to be mixed. The flour is little bit sweet in taste but it has an unpalatable odour. It is difficult to acquire taste for it, besides it is hard to digest also.

They also eat the Theng Seeds which they dig out from the bed of the Nal Sarovar. The seeds are also included in their list of food items. Their food is very simple and monotonous. They try to make the best out of their local ecological conditions. They struggle very hard to make both the ends meet. Milk is a luxury for them. A family of 5 to 6 members would buy only 100 grams milk which would be sufficient for making tea only. They are fond of smoking beedies and tobacco pipes.

A tobacco pipe is usually shared by 3 to 4 persons while a beedi would last for quite a time as the same would be smoked partially and then extinguished for smoking later. Such partially smoked beedies would be put on the upper part of ear-lobe. They can hardly afford to consume liquor.

TOOLS USED FOR MAKING A LIVING :

Most of the Padhars are landless and they are mainly labourers. They undertake two types of labour-work, (1) agricultural labour, (2) earth - digging. For both the types of labour they have their own tools. For agriculture labour, they have different types of axes and scythes. For the work of earth-digging they find it difficult to buy these tools because of their poor economic conditions. Even the Padhars who own little pieces of land can not afford to obtain the most essential tools required for cultivation. They find it cheaper to get their land cultivated by other agricultural labourers than buying the tools. The economic life is solely dependent upon the ecological conditions of the region. Instead of conquering the environmental obstacles they try to adjust to the vagaries of nature.

The following table gives the information regarding the household articles and working-tools possessed by the 100 families covered under survey.

TABLE 4 : 3

VILLAGE-WISE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND HOUSE-HOLD

Name of the tool/article	Name of the villages and No. of tools				Total
	Dharji (Durgi)	Shahpur	Ranol	Nani Katechi	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Copper Utensils	4	-	12	19	35
Aluminium	83	89	96	109	377
Brass utensils	110	73	233	73	489
Bronze utensils	43	19	15	31	108
Earthen utensils	87	105	89	76	357
Grinding stone	6	5	7	9	27
Chimney	21	19	22	18	80
Lantern	4	6	3	7	20
Coir Cots	102	79	98	112	391
Pati Cots	4	3	1	8	16
Earthen kothi	22	19	24	23	88
Fishing net	12	9	16	11	48
Sickle	139	89	74	76	398
Pick-axe	54	66	72	48	240
Axe	32	45	39	31	147
Baskets	36	31	28	37	122
Troughs	4	7	3	2	16
Hoe	29	35	39	32	135
Cycle	-	1	-	-	1
Wrist watch	1	2	-	1	4
Radio	-	-	1	-	1
Battery	3	2	4	5	14
Tin Box	23	25	21	20	89
Chairs	-	2	-	1	3
Table	-	-	-	-	-
Stove	1	-	-	-	1
Mogri	24	26	21	23	94
Karap	2	3	4	1	10

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Karabdi		4	3	4	2	13
Flough		1	2	1	-	4
Cart		1	-	-	-	1
Vavania		1	-	1	-	2
Dhesali		1	-	2	-	3

As discussed earlier, most of the Padhars are having nuclear type of family. At the time of wedding the bridegroom is supposed to meet all the expenditure. He is forced to borrow from a money lender. Hence if after marriage he continued to stay with his parents he will be required to contribute towards the expenses of the larger family. In such a situation it will be difficult for him to repay the debt but if he has a smaller family it would be easier to make both ends meet. In such a situation it is inevitably difficult to possess luxury items. However, out of the 100 surveyed families, one family had a radio, four families had wrist watch and one family owned a kerosene stove.

Thus it can be easily visualized that by and large the Padhars are extremely poor and inspite of working hard they can hardly fulfill their basic needs of their families.

CHAPTER 5

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION : ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

India is a large agricultural country and so its major population is concentrated in villages as per 1971 Census 72.05% of the country's population is dependent on primary sector, 11.05% on secondary sector and 16.15% on tertiary sector. Though the main occupation of 72.05% of the population is agriculture, land holding per family is extremely low. The same situation is prevalent in Gujarat too. According to 1971 census, 67.59 per cent of the total population is occupied in primary sector, 13.90% population in secondary sector and 18.51 per cent in tertiary sector. Thus in Gujarat also majority of the people are engaged in agriculture. But due to inequitable distribution of agricultural land, it was difficult for majority of them to earn proper livelihood. Most of the farmers do not possess economically optimum size of land.

As mentioned earlier, very few Padhars possess cultivable land. Those who have cultivable land hardly possess enough land needed for maintaining themselves. Due to this they have to depend upon various occupations for earning livelihood. The following list gives the information regarding their various occupational activities in which the Padhars engage themselves.

- (1) Agriculture
- (2) Agricultural labour
- (3) Earth digging
- (4) Collection of Beed roots
- (5) Removing husk from Cotton flower
- (6) Boating
- (7) Fishing
- (8) Animal husbandary

AGRICULTURE :

The following table explains the classification of 100 surveyed families according to their land holding.

TABLE 5 : 1

CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF HOLDING

Name of Village	SIZE OF LAND HOLDING (IN ACRES)						Land less families	Total Number of families
	0.1 to 2.5	2.6 to 5.0	5.1 to 7.5	7.6 to 10.0	10.1 to 15.0	More than 15.0		
Dharji (Durgi)	6	3	-	-	2	1	12	25
Shahpur	8	-	2	1	-	-	14	25
Rajol	3	2	1	3	5	1	10	25
Nani-katechi	4	-	2	1	-	1	17	25
Total	21	5	5	5	7	3	53	100

It is evident from the table that the proportion of landless families is higher than the families owning land. 53 families did not have land. 21.0% families had less than 2.5 acre of land. Thus very small farmers and landless labourers form 75% of the total surveyed families. 15% held below 10 acres while 7% were having land upto 15 acres while only 4% had more than 15 acres.

As the land holding is very low amongst Padhars it is not possible for them to own a pair of bullocks for ploughing purposes. Thus for such purpose they have to depend upon human labour. Every body gets busy during the sowing season and many a times it happens that

they can not get labourers^{at} the right time. This has an adverse effect on production. Those who own bullocks, can not plough properly. Due to this reason too they also have low yields. Besides, due to poor economic conditions they can not afford other essential agricultural tools. They have^{to} borrow these tools from better-off farmers. These tools are also not available at the right time and more than often they have to sit idle during the peak season due to unavailability of the tools when needed.

Neither they have the knowledge about the new variety of hybrid seeds, nor do they have money to buy them. For instance some times 1 Kg. of new variety of cotton seeds will cost the same amount of money with which they could have bought 1 mound of inferior variety of cotton seeds. But they are not aware of this. This looks ridiculous to them at initial stage to use only 1 Kg. of seeds instead of 1 md. But the yields from the hybrid seeds are far more in proportion. They are not in habit of maintaining the saving from previous year's crop. Thus when the season sets, they start hunting for proper seeds from market. Many a times they are cheated and their efforts go in vain. They can not complain to the shop-keeper as he is the chief supplier for their daily requirements. They will buy seeds again and sow them in their field second time. They would thus lag behind in reaping the crop. The more fortunate would be keeping their crop for the market, while the less fortunates would be just struggling to save their delayed crop from the attacks of birds and animals. They would be losing from both ways. On the one hand they incur double expenses on seeds and on the other hand they would be prevented from working in some other farms as they have to guard their own farms. This would act as adding fuel to the fire and thus they would be pushed into more vulnerable condition.

As they are poor, they can not afford necessary chemical manure and the result is less production and so low income. The Padhars hardly possess any cattle and even if some of them have few animals, they keep them wandering for the purpose of grazing. On account of this they fail to collect the cowdung to be used as manure. As mentioned earlier most of the land is barren, due to which the number of trees is negligible. Around plot of their land too, they don't plant trees for fencing. On account of these factors, they have to face great hardship in getting wood for fuel. Those who own cattles, use cowdung as fuel.

No irrigation facility exists in this area. Besides, as the land is saline, after the monsoon the salt emit out on the surface and due to this they cannot grow Rabi crop. They can cultivate their land only during the monsoon for Kharif crops.

As the Padhars have uneconomic holdings, they have not adopted improved variety of seeds, they do not generally use fertilizers, no irrigation facilities are available to them, the yield per acre is extremely low. Since they can earn very little from agriculture they manifest very little interest in improving their agriculture. It is impossible to maintain a small family completely on agriculture yields alone. They are forced to undertake other kinds of labour work.

As we have seen earlier, the surveyed 100 families had 663 members out of which only 345 were earning members. Among the earning members there were 180 males and 165 females. Table No.11 gives information about number of work days in different occupations through out the year.

TABLE 5 : 2
NUMBER OF DAYS OF EMPLOYMENT IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

Name of Village	Number of working Population		Days in Agri-culture labour		Earth digging		Construction work		Total work days		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Dharji (Durgi)	51	50	101	1745	640	450	2070	870	4890	3065	7955
			(43)	(35)	(13)	(9)	(41)	(17)	(97)	(61)	(79)
Shahpur	41	39	80	1545	6450	6370	-	-	8875	7915	16790
			(59)	(40)	(157)	(163)			(216)	(203)	(210)
Rajol	45	35	80	1945	5120	4100	-	-	8300	6045	14345
			(71)	(56)	(114)	(117)			(184)	(173)	(179)
Nani katechi	43	41	84	1340	1485	1395	1210	960	4385	3695	8080
			(39)	(33)	(35)	(34)	(28)	(23)	(102)	(90)	(96)
Total	180	165	345	6575	13695	12315	3280	1830	26450	20720	47147
			(53)	(40)	(76)	(75)	(18)	(11)	(147)	(126)	(137)

The figures in bracket indicates the average number of workdays per person.

It seems that out of 180 males each one got an employment for 147 days on an average. Out of these 147 days they were employed in agriculture for 53 days, 76 days in earth digging and 18 days in construction work. The 165 females got employment for 126 days in a year on an average. Out of these 126 days the females were employed for 40 days in agriculture, 75 days in earth digging and 11 days in construction work. These women also carried on their normal household responsibilities alongwith these economic activities. Thus these 345 earning members were employed for round about 5 months only. As the figures speak, both males (76 days) and females (75 days) get larger employment in earth digging than agricultural labour and construction work. In fact, they get negligible employment in construction activities.

The villagewise figures about the employment data indicate that Padhars living in Shahpur villages get employment for longer period i.e. 80 Padhars got employment for 210 days, while in Dharji(Durgi) 101 Padhars workers got employment for only 79 days. Shahpur has the advantage of having pucca road as well as it is near to Virangam. It is easier for contractors to get labourers from Shahpur than from Dharji(Durgi) and Rajol which are quite far and which inspite of having pucca road get cut off during monsoon. Thus the Padhars from Rajol and Dharji(Durgi) remain unemployed for a longer period. Their per capita ^{income} in a year comes to Rs. 685, assuming they get minimum wages rate of Rs. 5-00 per day. And if we assume that they have minimum 5 family members, each member is left with Rs.137 which is supposed to last for the whole year. What else they can do but collect the beed roots and some how manage to survive on them ?

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR :

As we have seen earlier very few people have their own land. Besides, the land holding is also quite uneconomic. The result is that there are more agricultural labourers in proportion to the land available for cultivation. Most of the land is classified as Kyari land wherein, due to being non-porous in nature, the water do not penetrate inside the land so easily. It just remains above the ground. So there are less weeding problems. The labour is required only at the time of transplantation and at the time of harvest. Hardly 40 to 50 workdays are required for the abovementioned agricultural activities. So during monsoon also Padhars remain partially unemployed. As there are no irrigation facilities, they cannot take Rabi crop. Hence Padhars do not get employment in agricultural sector during summer and winter. The very nature of land compels the Padhar to remain mobile throughout the year. They move from here to there in surrounding areas in search of available labour work. The men leave their homes early in the morning and come home late at night. It is not customary to provide a meal as a part of the work payment so they carry their food along with them. Mostly women prefer to refrain from this daily migration. Thus agricultural sector in this area limits employment opportunities to only male section of the local population. Besides, they are highly exploited in the sense that get less payment as the supply of labour is greater than demand.

LABOUR FOR REMOVING HUSK FROM COTTON FLOWERS :

By and large, the land is infertile and not conducive for cotton crop. However, the nearby towns like Dholka, Viramgam and Bavla have ginning press mills which get cotton from other regions. They give employment to Padhars for two months in winter. The Padhars are used to doing hard

labour. While the job for removing husk from cotton flowers, requires constant sitting on one place. Besides, they fetch only Rs.2.00 for removing husk from one maund of cotton flowers, which takes the whole day's labour. They are often reproached for leaving behind a little bit of cotton while removing husk and sometimes out of these two rupees also their payment is cut under the pretext of minor inefficiency. For this type of work also they have to leave their homes and find new accommodations in towns. They find it difficult and in absence of other avenues they are compelled to resort to such monotonous and lowly paid economic activities.

FISHING:

The Padhars are at disadvantageous situation as far as fishing is concerned. As they do not have enough equipment required for fishing, they can not catch enough fish in proportion to the time they spent on fishing. At the end of the day they hardly procure 5 to 7 kilo of fish which they sell to Muslim traders of Viramgam or Ahmedabad. After keeping some portion of the day-catch for their daily consumption they sell out the rest to these traders at the rate of Rs.2 to 3 per Kilo. The traders sell the same fish at the rate of Rs.12.00 to Rs.14.00 per Kilo in the bigger towns. As they do not possess boats, after the monsoon is over they can not go into the deep part of lake and catch the fish. So in summer and winter fishing becomes difficult. Besides they do not have any storing facilities, so in the absence of it they have to do distress selling. Due to lack of adequate knowledge in fishing many a times they also catch fish spawning along with big fishes. Instead of using them for consumption they should resort to catching only big fish and allow the very young fish to remain in water for breeding purposes.

Nal lake plays economically significant role in Padhars' life. However, ^{under} the new forest Act, Padhars are not allowed to fish in Nal lake without licence and

digging beed roots from the banks of the lake is also considered illegal. Till now they were free to make use of the natural resources surrounding the Nal lake. With this new enactment the auction will be held for procuring the licenses to make use of waters of Nal lake. The highest bidder will get the licence and he can sublet his licence for procuring fish and beed roots. Obviously the very poor Padhars can not afford to participate in such auction. The government itself is encouraging the entry of undesired elements.

EARTH DIGGING AND CONSTRUCTION WORK:

The major section of the Padhars population is involved in this type of labour work. Most of the construction works connected with road, canal, drainage, etc. are undertaken by the government through the contractors. These construction activities are carried at any place in Gujarat and the contractors are required to supply labour for such works. The labourers have to migrate to the site. Usually the old and disabled people are left behind. The younger children travel with their parents and they look after the very young ones, when their parents go for work. Sometimes the schoolgoing children have to leave the schools due to this reason.

Most of the time the Padhars are exploited by these contractors. Such work is available during the summer and winter. In monsoon such activities come to a halt so the Padhars have to return to their home land where the employment opportunities are negligible. Sometimes they are forced to borrow from the contractors so that they can survive through these months of unemployment. Besides, they would like to have an assurance from their contractors that they would get employment as soon as the work is resumed. The contractors take the advantages of their pitiable conditions and renew their contract at a lower rate.

The payment for earth digging is done according to certain brass measures. The pay masters cheat them while making payments by calculating less measurements. These pay masters take more money from the contractors but pay less to the labourers. The Padhars pay commissions to their leaders for getting employment from such contractors. These middlemen take commission from contractors. These suppliers of labourers are known as Panchatia. He keeps track of unemployed labourers as well as of the construction activities. He constantly keeps himself in touch with both the parties and makes income from both the sources. There is no direct contact between the contractors and the labourers. It was observed that each Padhar used to pay 25 paise to the Panchatia for his job placement. These Panchatias serve as a guarantors for the loans they take from the contractors.

COLLECTION OF THE BEEDS:

Nal Sarovar is the life nerve for Padhars. It is the only place of bliss in the entire barren region surrounding Padhars. It provides the raw material for building their houses. It also acts as a place of food supply for the Padhars. Apart from catching fish Padhars collect beed roots from the banks of Nala Sarovar. The beed roots serves as their main staple diet.

We have already discussed in the preceding chapter how the beed root is used as a food item. In summer and winter, as the waters of Nal Sarovar recede the Padhars have to go to farther place inside the lake to collect the beed roots. Some times they have to go quite far to collect the beed roots. After putting 8 to 10 hours of labour they can collect 2 to 3 mds. of beed roots.

BOATING:

Due to non-porous character of the land, the entire Nal Kantha region gets covered with water in

monsoon. The roads get flooded with water and hence normal transportation activities are badly affected. The Padhars make small rafts and boats and carry people from one village to another. The boat fare rates are decided by the Zilla Panchayat and thus it provides a short term means of earning livelihood during monsoon.

Certain other local people like Bharwad inhabiting the Nal Kantha region undertake animal husbandary as a profession but the Padhars have not taken to it.

DAILY ACTIVITIES:

The observations about the daily activities of the Padhars will give an idea about the economic contribution made by each member of the family.

THE PADHAR MEN:

From morning to night the men keep themselves extremely busy in one or other kind of work. After finishing their morning chores they have the left over food of the previous night with tea for breakfast. Then they immediately leave for getting engaged in a labour work. If they are engaged in agricultural labour-work they work for the entire day in the field and get their lunch from home in the field itself. If they are engaged in other kind of labour work, they come home at 2 O'clock in the noon, have their lunch and then immediately they leave their home in search of beed roots or in search of getting work for the next day, or for fishing etc. If they go for collection of beed roots or for fishing, they come home late in the evening and have their dinner. After dinner, the men of the same age get together and while away their time in gossiping for some time and then go home to sleep.

THE PADHAR WOMEN:

The Padhar women wake up early in the morning and start doing the household work like cleaning the house, bringing water from the well, feeding the children and

the men in the house etc.etc. Then they cook lunch and leave for the labour work, if it is available. In the afternoon they come back to home and take lunch with children. After this they again leave the home and help the men in the collection of the beed roots or in fishing. While returning they collect fuel wood for cooking. Preparing the evening dinner is also her responsibility. She only goes to bed after all the evening chores are over.

THE PADHAR CHILDREN:

The Padhar children also lead a very busy life. When their parents go for work, the older children look after the younger children. Otherwise if they go alongwith their parents, they help their parents in collecting beed roots, fuel woods, cow dung, etc. Some times they are required to carry lunch for their parents to the place of work.

THE CALENDAR:

The Padhars do not enjoy any vacation. They work for the whole year and yet can hardly make both ends meet. Though each member is engaged in one or other kind of economic activity the entire family earn hardly beyond the subsistence level.

JETH (JUNE): The farmers get busy making their fields ready for cultivation. The women start storing the fuel wood and do the necessary arrangement for repairing the house like putting Gondri grass on the roof for protection against rain, plastering the mix of cow dung and mud on the walls and floor.

ASHADH (JULY): After the rains start pouring, the men do the tilling and sowing seeds of paddy. The women help the men in fields; do the weeding, pull out 'karbadi', etc.

- SHRAVAN (AUGUST) : The men prepare the field for transplantation of paddy, remove the weeds with the help of 'karbadi', transplant the paddy and get engaged in boat ferrying.
- BHADARVO (SEPTEMBER) : The pulses are sown in this month, also carry out weeding, operate the boat for ferrying people from one village to another.
- ASO (OCTOBER) : Collect the cotton flowers and remove the husk, guard the crop, also continue ferrying; do fishing; till the field.
- KARTAK (NOVEMBER) : Reap the harvest of paddy, thrash the paddy, collect the cotton flower and remove the husk and go for the labour work of earth-digging.
- MAGSAR (DECEMBER) : Collect the cotton flowers. Collect the beed roots and go for other types of labour work.
- POSH (JANUARY) : Thrash the pulse crops; collect the Gondri grass; and cotton flowers and remove the husk.
- MAHA (FEBRUARY) : Collect the beed roots; collect the Gondri grass; carry out repair works of their houses; do the agricultural labour.
- PHAGAN (MARCH) : Reap the harvest of the wheat crop; collect the cotton straws for fuel and collect the cow dung.
- CHAITRA (APRIL) : Renovate the house; construct new houses if necessary, polish the floor and plaster the walls of the house; collect the beeds, perform social functions like marriage.

- VAISHAKH (MAY) : On the day of Akhatrij, they prepare five heaps of manure in their fields; till the land for monsoon crops; it is also a marriage-season.

It is evident from the above yearly calendar that the Padhars have to remain very much preoccupied during the entire year. Those who own the land work in their fields and those who do not, work as agricultural labourers for some time. As soon as monsoon gets over the Padhars join the labour force engaged in construction work. Usually they leave their homes in November for this time when most of the construction activities is undertaken. They return when these activities are abandoned when monsoon season starts. Then they immediately make attempt to get agricultural labour work. Thus the Padhars have to work very hard for earning the livelihood for the family.

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THE PADHAR ECONOMY: INCOME, EXPENDITURE AND INDEBTEDNESS

Now we will make an attempt to understand the earnings of the selected households from agriculture and other sources. The Table 6:1 gives information about villagewise data regarding different sources of income of the surveyed families.

TABLE 6:1

VILLAGEWISE INCOME CLASSIFICATION FROM DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

No.	Name of village	Agriculture and Animal husbandry	Wage Income	Total
01	Dharji (Durgi)	14803 (21.44)	54253 (78.56)	69056 (100.00)
02	Shahpur	4332 (7.33)	59790 (92.67)	64522 (100.00)
03	Ranol	3865 (6.13)	59135 (93.87)	63000 (100.00)
04	Nani Kathechi	3325 (3.17)	101450 (96.83)	104775 (100.00)
	Total:	26725 (8.87)	274528 (91.13)	301153 (100.00)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage.

It is evident from the table that working for wages has become an important means of earning livelihood. In fact in view of the paucity of resources available to undertake agricultural activities, the wage employment is the main source of income for Padhars. Among the 100 surveyed Padhar families, 91.13 percent of their total income is derived from different kinds of labour work. Only 8.81 percent of their total income is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry. The villagewise figures are as following :

In Dharji village, 21.44 percent of the total income was from agriculture and animal husbandry while 78.56% was from wage employment. The income from agriculture and animal husbandry in Shahpur, Ranol and Nani Kathechi were 7.33%, 6.13% and 3.17% respectively and the income obtained through wage employment in the above mentioned three villages were 92.67%, 93.87% and 96.83% respectively. For both the two types, those families who own cultivable land and those 53% landless families, dependency on wages earned by working as labourer was greater than that earned through during agriculture. The agriculture occupation for them is just for name's sake. The main reasons for this state of affairs are (i) they do not possess enough land, (ii) those who own land cannot afford to use improved seeds, fertilizer, etc. and (iii) due to saline nature of land, the yield has to remain poor. Let us now view the different groups of family on the basis of income.

TABLE : 6.2
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO INCOME GROUPS

Name of the Village	Less than Rs. 500	Rs. 501 to 1000	Rs. 1001 to 1500	Rs. 1501 to 2000	Rs. 2001 to 3000	Rs. 3001 to 4000	Rs. 4001 to 5000	Rs. 5001 and above	Total
Dharji (Durgi)	-	2	3	2	11	1	3	3	25
	-	8 %	12 %	8 %	44 %	4 %	12 %	12 %	100 %
Shahpur	1	2	3	-	11	6	1	1	25
	4 %	8 %	12 %	-	44 %	24 %	4 %	4 %	100 %
Ralol	3	2	1	2	9	4	3	1	25
	12 %	8 %	4 %	8 %	36 %	16 %	12 %	4 %	100 %
Nanikathechi	2	4	11	2	2	2	-	2	25
	8 %	16 %	44 %	8 %	8 %	8 %	-	8 %	100 %
Total	6	10	18	6	33	13	7	7	100
	6 %	10 %	18 %	6 %	33 %	13 %	7 %	7 %	100 %

As the table 6.2 shows, out of 100 surveyed families, 6 families had less than Rs. 500 as their annual income, 10 families had between Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000, 18 families between Rs. 1001 to Rs. 1500, 6 families between Rs. 1501 to Rs. 2000, 33 families between Rs. 2001 to Rs. 3000. While 13 families had an income up to Rs. 4000, 7 families between Rs. 4001 to Rs. 500 and 7 families more than Rs. 5000.

TABLE : 6.3

PER FAMILY AS WELL AS PER PERSON YEARLY, MONTHLY AND DAILY INCOME.

	Income from Agriculture and Animal husbandry in (Rs.)	Income from wage employment in (Rs.)	Total in (Rs.)
Per family annual income	267	2746	3013
Per family monthly income	22	229	251
Per capita monthly income	40.20	424.12	464.32
Per capita monthly income	3.35	34.51	37.86
Per capita daily income	0.11	1.15	1.26

It is clear from the above table 6.3 that main source of income for Padhars is obviously the wage employment and not agriculture. The annual income of an average Padhar family from agriculture is just Rs. 267. While it is Rs. 2746 from earning derived from wage employment. Average monthly family income from agriculture and animal husbandry is just Rs. 22 while it is Rs. 229 from labour work. The per capita figures for the annual, monthly and daily income from agriculture and animal husbandry are Rs. 40.20,

Rs. 3.35 and Rs. 0.19 respectively. The per capita annual, monthly and daily income from the wage employment is Rs. 424.12, Rs. 34.51 and Rs. 1.15 respectively.

From the figures given in the preceding table it is apparent that the Padhars are having an economic life which is below the poverty line existence. The economic life of Padhars reflects their miserable quality of life. Whatever they earn during the eight months gets consumed and they can not literally save anything for rainy days. The construction as well as the earth digging activities are not pursued during monsoon and the employment opportunities in agricultural sector are uncertain and irregular. The poor Padhars become poorer in the months of monsoon. By chance, if the stock of beed roots is exhausted earlier then they have to remain in a starving situation for since they do not hold any creditability, they can not obtain loan easily. The poverty is endemic and pervasive. The Padhars having their own land may seem to be in better position. They may get some loans and advances from a co-operative credit society or a money lender in the initial stage. These families also can barely meet their minimum necessities of life from the income available to them. There is hardly any possibility of making investment so as to improve the quality of productive resources available to them. On the contrary the indebtedness increases and as a result they end up losing their ownership of land. The proverbial saying that a farmer is borne in debt applies very much to Padhars in present times also.

Let us have now a look to the pattern of expenditure among the Padhars.

TABLE : 6.4

VILLAGE WISE EXPENDITURE PATTERNVILLAGE WISE HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE ON DIFFERENT ITEMS

Item	Dharji (Durgi) (in Rs.)	Shahpur (in Rs.)	Ralol (in Rs.)	Nani- kathe- chi (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)	%
Grains	34970	25122	30131	33070	123293	41.3
Oil	8325	5880	4966	5612	27783	8.3
Jaggery- sugar	4765	5122	4569	3261	17717	6
Milk	1964	1920	2076	1992	7952	2.7
Tea	1920	1213	912	842	4887	1.6
Spice	1161	1158	1982	795	5496	1.9
Beedi Tobacco	2090	3170	3043	1695	9998	3.4
Fuel	652	594	255	714	2215	0.7
Matches	370	469	284	568	1691	0.5
Vegetables	640	1615	3700	2090	8045	2.7
Health Education	-	1444	980	-	2424	0.8
Travelling	2635	3455	3230	4350	13670	4.6
Clothes	17080	12365	19010	17120	57475	19.5
Shoes	1075	970	1480	800	4325	1.4
Social	3680	5260	1400	2537	12877	4.3
Total	81327	70157	69918	75446	296848	100

In Dharji out of 25 surveyed families, 13 families had their own land while 12 were landless families.

The number of members in these 25 families is 204. Their total income^{is} Rs. 69,360 while their total expenditure comes to Rs. 81,327. The per capita income is Rs. 340. While the per capita expenditure is Rs. 400.62. The pattern of this expenditure is as follows. They spend 43 % on grain, 10.24% on oil, 5.86 % on jaggery and sugar, 2.41 % on milk, and tea, 1.43 % on spices, 2.50 % on beedies and tobacco, 0.80 % on fuel, 0.45 on match boxes, 0.79 on vegetables, 3.24 on travelling, 21 % on clothes, 1.32 % on shoes, and 4.52 % on social^{and} religious functions. Thus major expenses are accounted for food and clothing.

In Shahpur, 11 families had land, while 14 families, were land less. These 25 families had 142 members and had total income of Rs. 64,522. The per capita income is Rs. 454.38 while per capita expenditure is 494.04 Rs.

In Rañol village¹⁵ families had land while 10 families were without land. These 25 families had 121 members and their total income is Rs. 63,000. The average per capita income is 412.21 Rs. while the average per capita expenditure is Rs.463.03.

Thus, in these three villages, the amount of expenditure was bigger than the amount of income. The situation is different in Nani Kathaachi. Here 17 families were landless while 8 families had land. Their total income was Rs. 1,04,775. While the average per capita income is Rs. 627.29. The economic conditions in Nani-kathechi appears to be better and one of the reason for this is that the majority of people are engaged in wage employment in this village. 96.83 % of the income is from the wage employment while only 3.17 % income is from agriculture. For the Padhars, agriculture is a subsidiary occupation.

However, the overall picture is little different. The surveyed 100 families has 663 members. Their total income is Rs. 3,01,357. The 47 % families were engaged in agricultural activities. While 53 % were employed in other labour works. The average family annual income is Rupees 3,013.51. While the average family annual expenditure is Rs. 2,968.48. The average per capita income is Rs. 462.52. While the average per capita expenditure is Rs. 447.73.

The following table gives the information about Annual and monthly family expenditure and per capita annual, monthly and daily expenditure.

TABLE : 6.5

PER FAMILY AND PER PERSON ANNUAL, MONTHLY, DAILY EXPENDITURE

Particulars	Expenditure in Rs.
Per family annual expenditure	2,968-00
Per family monthly expenditure	247-00
Per person annual expenditure	447-00
Per person monthly expenditure	37-00
Per person daily expenditure	1-23

As seen from the table, the average family annual expenditure is Rs. 2,968 and family's monthly expenditure is Rs. 247. The per capita annual expenditure is Rs.447 while monthly expenditure is Rs. 37.00. The per capita daily expenditure comes to Rs. 1.23. Thus a Padhars individual has to accomodate all his needs like food, clothing, education social and religious commitments also within the amount of Rs. 1.23 only.

TABLE : 6.6

VILLAGE WISE PER FAMILY AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

No.	Name of the village	Family wise average annual income (in Rs.)	Family wise average annual expenditure (in Rs.)
1.	Dharji (Durgi)	2,762	3,253
2.	Shahpur	2,580	2,806
3.	Ralol	2,520	2,796
4.	Nanikathechi	4,191	3,017
Total average		3,013	2,968

It is evident from the above table that Ralol village has the minimum income as compared to the other three villages. Village Dharji (Durgi) has the maximum expenditure figures as compared to the three villages. Though the villages under the survey belong to the same region their economic conditions differ from each other. Hence the government has undertaken the block level planning for such an area having a precarious economic situation.

It is quite obvious that the Padhars are in very unfortunate economic situation. They seem to be worse off in terms of education, skills and the total assets. Their extremely low position arises out of a poor command over productive resources and due to relatively scarce employment opportunities. A very large proportion of their time is spent on the non-paying agricultural as well as non-agricultural work. They spent a greater proportion of their income on food articles, consequently the expenditure on education or other such activities which would lead to an improvement in the quality of

life is almost nil. The bulk of population can barely meet their minimum necessities from the income available to them.

The population of Ralol village is 4,185 out of which the Padhar population is 965. The total number of students in the primary school in Ralol village is 471, out of which the number of Padhar student is just 24. Not a single girl student is registered. This is evident from the Table 6.7.

TABLE : 6.7

GRADEWISE NUMBER OF STUDENTS STUDYING IN RALOL ASHRAMSHALA

Grade	No. of total students			No. of Padhar students		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
7	18	2	20	-	-	-
6	33	8	41	3	-	3
5	42	5	47	-	-	-
4	53	10	63	1	-	1
3	74	10	84	2	-	2
2	65	20	85	13	-	13
1	94	37	131	5	-	5
Total	379	92	471	24	-	24

We have already seen in Table 6.4 that Padhars spend only 0.8 % on education. As they have very low income and most of it is used for subsistence consumption, they can hardly afford to spend on education. Since the bulk of the population is busy looking for employment opportunities, there is limited possibility of their being able to spend money or time for improving their skill or on education.

The information about the educational status of 663 members of the 100 surveyed families is given in Table 6.8.

TABLE : 6.8

EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE SURVEYED FAMILY MEMBERS

Name of the Village	PRIMARY		SECONDARY		ILLITERATE		TOTAL	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	M	F
Dharji (Durgi)	1	-	-	-	107	95	108	95
Shahpur	8	2	-	-	74	58	82	60
Ralol	4	-	-	-	78	69	82	69
Nanikathechi	-	-	-	-	85	82	85	82
Total	13	2	-	-	344	304	357	306

The Table No. 6.8 shows that the percentage of education among Padhar males is 3.64, while that is only 0.65 amongst Padhar women. There are 44 boys and 39 girls in the age group of 1 to 6 years. Thus if we omit them from our assessment, there are 313 males and 267 females either having school going age or has crossed over this age. Out of these 313 males only 13 males are educated and 2 females are educated out of 267 females. The total percentage of educated amongst the members of the surveyed families is only 2.5 %.

The Table No. 6.9 shows the information about their indebtness.

TABLE : 6.9

STATEMENT SHOWING THE FAMILIES UNDER INDEBTNESS

Name of the Village	No. of families	Indebted families	Debt of money lender/ Traders (in Rs.)	Co-operative societies (in Rs.)	Relatives (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
Dharji (Durgi)	25	13	2250	29950	3000	35200
Shahpur	25	15	7715	-	2850	10565
Ralol	25	15	7200	4800	5200	17200
Nanikathechi	25	12	2536	9100	5800	17436

Out of 100 families 55 families had to incur debt to meet their needs. The maximum borrowing is from co-operative credit society (54.54 %). 24.50 % of the total borrowing has been done from money lenders while 20.96 % borrowing from the relatives. The families who own land have borrowed from co-operative credit societies while the landless families seem to have approached the money lender or the relatives. The interest rate charged by the money lender is 18 %. While the co-operative society charges 13 %.

When the families were asked for the reasons for borrowing, they informed that the floods of 1977-78 had adversely affected them and they were compelled to borrow. They have to borrow for their social commitments like celebrating marriage or on other social and religious occasions. As most of the borrowing is done for consumption purposes, they can not repay back in due time and indebtedness keeps on increasing. This seems to be classic vicious circle of poverty. Because of poor resources, the poor have low incomes, and since the bulk of it and the borrowings as well are used for subsistence consumption, there is no way to save and improve the resource situation. Consequently in the next year too, they would continue to have poor incomes. The Padhars are in no way having better socio-economic conditions than the Kolgha, Kathodi or other primitive tribal groups.

As far as property amongst Padhars is concerned they consider Nalsarovar as their property alongwith their houses and land. When they go for the collection of beed roots to the banks of Nal-sarovar, they mark the land from which they intend to dig out the roots. The demarcation of boundaries is done on all the four sides and other Padhars would not be allowed to enter into that piece of land. Thus they consider Nal-sarovar as their property. As far as immovable property is concerned, they consider their cattle, ornament, their tools for agriculture, hunting tools, and tools for other labour work and also their children as their property. The children are considered as economic assets in tribal economic systems.

There is a wide gap between the income and expenditure amongst Padhars. They can hardly make any saving, as the deficit in their budget is a chronic factor for Padhars. The power to produce more than what one consumes is a prerequisite of capital formation. Due to pervasive nature

of poverty amongst Padhars they are not able to go beyond the subsistence level. The economic prosperity of a society is in indirect proportion to the capital assets it owns. A society without the capital assets remain poor.

CHAPTER : 7

THE CHANGING PADHARS

We have already discussed in greater detail about certain aspects of the economy and the social structure of this primitive tribe. It may raise a question whether this tribe has been passing through any change or not. And to find the reply of this question, it is necessary to understand that how they adjust their life and culture into their prevailing physical conditions and the social structure.

The Padhars have been residing in the Nalkantha area since Hinglaj mata settled them there. They can get all their requirement including grass and water for their cattle, roots for their own food, grass for their kuba's roofs, water for their farms and alternately social relation with the other communities residing in that area. However the population-density in this area is not dense but still the Padhars do not like to migrate elsewhere and settle down there. And if they migrate, temporarily, in distant areas of Gujarat, in search of the labour-work, they return, in any case, on the occasion of certain festivals and some religious ceremonies. But they never migrate during the four months of the monsoon. However, although they appear to be dynamic, physically and physiologically, due to their mobility to other areas for labour work, even then, they are, socially and psychologically inseparable limb of this area. A significant change in their life style has not come. The Padhars informed that their forefathers used to go for digging the clay and they were doing the same kind of work. So the process of change in their socio-economic life is considerably slow.

We have also seen peculiarity in their structure. The social structure of the entire Padhars society is centred around the village-goddess and their falias to such level that the process of structural reinforcement

can not take place. The whole social-structure has become static and has ultimately made the adverse situation for the process of social change. The social customs, social relations, and the social institutions of the Padhar society has halted the process of change.

The Padhars are peaceful by nature, honest, hard-working and content with whatever they get. They are frank and amicable. The Padhars live peacefully, and are co-operative with the people of different castes including the Brahmin, the Baniya, the Khoja, the Suthar (Carpenter), the Luhar (blacksmith), the Bharwad (shepherd), the Valand (hair-cutter), the Gosai, the Prajapati (potter), the Vankars (weaver), and the Bhangi (Sweeper). The Padhars are connected with the above mentioned group in one way or other.

Among the Padhars, the nuclear family system is more prevalent than the joint family system. Among them, the bride-groom has to pay some rupees in form of a bride-price to the bride's family at the time of marriage. And due to the extreme poverty, they have no alternative except to borrow money from others and the boy is supposed to be solely responsible for the repayment of the loan. After the marriage, both, the husband as well as the wife have to work hard in order to come out from indebtedness. Secondly, they stay in very small kuba's in which more members can not be accommodated. Thus, directly or indirectly, the boy is forced to live in a separate kuba-roof, immediately after his marriage.

The Padhars explain their problems, difficulties etc. to sympathetic and open minded listeners. They have their own ideas about what to be done for their development. However, they seem to be ready for the development but are unprepared for any change.

THE PADHARS VIEWS ABOUT THEIR DEVELOPMENT :

The Padhars have gained a deep insight about the schemes beneficiary-programmes, necessary for their development. And they come forward with different suggestions about the various schemes.

The Padhars of Ralol village had taken us to Kalunda Dam, situated 3 Kms. away from the village. The dam was damaged due to a hole of 300 Fts. and water was continuously flowing out. The government had allotted them land for agricultural purpose.

The land was 'khari' land. They had explained that they could grow paddy if the dam could be repaired. While the Padhars of Jasmatpur village explained that they could grow wheat in this land which gets submerged in this water-flow during the monsoon. If the water-flow can be stopped, then atleast two villages can be benefitted as the land in both these villages can be utilized.

TRAINING AND INSTRUMENTS FOR THE COTTAGE INDUSTRIES :

The Padhar youth of Sijal village explained that they were ready to do tailoring work provided they were given proper training as well as sewing machines. They can utilize their leisure time during the monsoon season in economic activity while some other Padhars demanded for ambarcharkha and training for spinning on ambarcharkha so that atleast the old and the weak persons can earn by spinning work. Some Padhars were also ready for animal husbandry work if they were helped in buying buffaloes.

Some Padhars felt that their family-life gets disorganized as they have to migrate for earth digging work. They have to take their school-going children

alongwith them which affects their education. Secondly they have to leave the sick and old family members at home and no family member remains at home to look after them. So, they have to remain in worries about those family members.

However, it is true that the entire Padhar society is organised strongly but still the tremendous change taking place around them has affected them to some extent.

Slowly and gradually, their land has been snatched away from their hands. And as a consequence of frequent famines, their occupations have been depressed. In such crucial situation, they are compelled to enter in indebtedness. And due to their poverty even the shopkeepers cease to give essential commodities on credit. So in such situation, they have no alternative except to get money from the money lenders etc. They are never in position to repay their debts so the interest go on increasing and some time they have to pay more interest than the original money, taken from the shopkeepers or money lenders. And after some years, they are compelled to give away their land in lieu of their debts.

The Padhars who have sustained their land have accepted scientific and modern methods of agriculture. They also receive guidance from the gram sevaks for better agricultural produce. They also get new instruments to utilize in agriculture. Some of the Padhar farmers also get motivated from the other progressive farmers who always make new experiments in their farming. The Padhar farmers, too, make all the possible efforts for improvement in the agriculture production. And due to their efforts in this direction, their economic conditions have improved to some level. Previously, they were unable to get profit from the paddy-crop due to failure of rain. But nowadays, they have installed pumps on their wells for irrigation facility, with

financial help, in form of loans from the banks. But it was observed during the field-investigation that the facility was not much helpful due to having small land as well as they did not sell water due to having fear of not getting money in time from their customer-farmers. Before 2 years, the Development Officer of the Bank helped in getting loans from the bank to the Padhars of Dharji (Durgi) village. And in enthusiasm some of them fixed pumps on their wells and also utilised water for one year. But, during the fieldwork those pumps were not seen to be functioning.

One of the important reasons for not getting benefits from the various developmental schemes was found in their co-operative societies. However, the Padhars did become members of the co-operative society and also get credit for agricultural purpose. But as they failed to repay their previous credit, the society ceased to give credit for the coming season. The President and the Secretary, Siyal Seva Sahakari Mandli were Padhars but due to failure in recovery of previous credit, they were also helpless in giving credit for the coming year to their other tribe farmers.

Siyal Seva Sahakari Mandli has got 237 registered members out of which 137 members failed to repay their previous credit and legal cases have been filed against them under Sec.96/106 of Co-operative Societies Act. The members of the co-operative society can be distributed as 165 big-farmers, 42 small-farmers, and 30 agricultural labourers. Those who got the credit were 165 big farmers, 42 small farmers and 21 agricultural labourers, while those who failed to repay their previous credit were 111 big-farmers, 20 small-farmers and 6 agricultural labourers. Thus, it can be concluded that the big-farmers are not well-to-do and are having debts. Out of 165 big-farmers, 111 farmer-members failed to repay the previous credit. And due to failure to repay the credit, interest on credits go on increasing. So, after a couple of years, either, they have to sell their land or mortgage their land. Thus slowly and gradually their economic conditions get deteriorated e.g. big farmers are becoming landless agricultural labourers.

Nowadays, most of the Padhars do not possess land. And that land has ^{got} converted into khari land so the crop produce is comparatively low. They can not get labour work within the same village or in surrounding villages. Consequently, they are forced to migrate to different parts of Gujarat, in search of labour work-particularly earth digging work. The earth digging work starts immediately after the monsoon season,

so during the monsoon they stay in their villages. Those persons who give them the digging work, use certain malpractices including paying only the half of the fixed rate. As earlier noted they migrate alongwith their school-going children, who look after their small brothers while the husband and wife do the labour work. This has resulted into low-education ratio among the Padhars.

Thus, due to bad economic conditions and low-education rate, the process of social change has remained slow. And as a result they can not easily come out from their own social structure. However, they have already started coming into contacts with the outsiders. And the important contribution of the voluntary agencies have opened the doors for change in their life-style.

FROM ROUND-KUBA TO SQUARE -ROOF :

The Kuba-roofs and other accessories of the Padhars were drawn away in flood in the year 1978. The Sarvodaya Ashram, Gundi made it possible, with co-operation of Sadvichar Parivar, to construct new roofs for them. Those new roofs were square in shape while their original Kubas were round in shape and made up of grass. So, the other Padhars were motivated to construct their new roofs in square shape and having walls of bricks and mud.

REALIZATION OF IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION :

Balwadis and Ashram schools for the Padhar children have been started in some villages and the parents have also started sending their children to these institutions. In the ashram schools, the Padhar children stay and get education there. So, now the parents leave the burden of education as well as care of their children on ashram schools and go for labour work. Thus, change in education are visible to some extent.

CHANGE IN OCCUPATION :

The educated Padhar youths are fortunate to get opportunities for variety of occupations and now have been taking occupations as teacher, as contractor, as barber, as shopkeeper, etc. While previously, they had only few occupations e.g. farming, agriculture-labour, fishing, etc. This diversity in occupation is accompanied by the specialisation of occupation. Now, the Padhars residing nearby the highway consider their other tribe brothers who live in interior parts as conservative. They believe themselves to be superior-ones as they are having direct contact with the non-tribal people.

Nowadays, the Padhars migrate to distant and different places in search of occupations, labour, etc. Some Padhar leaders were found to be participating in rallies, organised by political parties at Delhi. While some Padhar Bha^{for}jan Mandlis also go to Ahmedabad and other places/bhajan and dance programmes. As a consequence of their increasing contact with the outer world, they have started knowing more and more about the world.

INCREASE INTEGRITY IN INTERNAL RELIGIOUS FAITH :

The Padhars of all the clans are always ready to make all the possible efforts including collecting funds, for building the 'Madh' of their clan-mother. They never

miss such opportunity as to give their contribution for religious purpose even at the cost of their hungry children. During the field investigation, it was found that no Padhar family was having a roof made up of cement and brick while on the other-side all the eleven 'madhs' were having pucca-structure.

The Padhars also celebrate Mata's mandva with great rejoice. On the day of celebration of matas mandva in the village, they invite their relatives, particularly sister's children, to participate in the celebration. They also give their contribution to celebrate this occassion.

RECREATION IN THE RELIGIOUS FAITH :

Nowadays, the element of recreation has also entered into religious activities. The Padhars get inspiration from films and dramas and also enact drama on the basis of previously seen films. The Sarpanch of Shiyal village had seen Gujarati film 'Jeevi Rabaran' at Dholka and later on, started the drama based on the script of 'Jeevi Rabaran' film. The Sarpanch himself played the role of Jeevi Rabaran. That Sarpanch is so enthusiastic that he himself composes bhajan and songs and also gets them tap^{re} recorded and later on peay them before the villagers. Their Bhajan Mandlis do go out whenever they are invited.

CHANGE IN TRADITIONAL CASTE-PANCH :

Elected legal village Panchayats came into existence alongwith enforcement of Gujarat Panchayat Act, 1963. And alongwith the arrival of such elected village Panchayat, the traditional caste-panch got paralysed. In the traditional caste panch systems the membership was hereditary while to get membership in the village Panchayats, the candidate has to fight in the elections.

The new element of election has inspired them to make caste-panch membership election-oriented instead of hereditary membership.

The second major consequence of the village Panchayat was that the Padhars started approaching the courts of law for getting justice, instead of previously approaching the caste - panchs. Earlier their problem of getting justice was solved within expenditure of Rs. 20 - 25. While nowadays, they are supposed to pay big amount of fees to lawyers and also other miscellaneous expenditure. So the system of village Panchayat has proved to be unbeneficial to the Padhars. During the days of domination of the caste-panch, an individual would hesitate to violate any decision of the caste-panch as they feared social bycot. The caste-panch prohibits taking liquor. And if any Padhar is found to violate this taboo he is made to pay the fine. In case if that Padhar refuses to pay the fine then he would be bycoted. Because of the strong control of the caste panch over the Padhars, the evil of taking liquor is hardly found among them. The further continuation of the caste-panch is in their wider interest.

CHAPTER : 8

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

We have seen frequently that the Padhars are poor and are victimized since ages. Due to lack of education and uncertainty of labour work, they have to struggle hard to maintain their lives. Before the year 1971, the Padhars residing in the villages of the Limbdi taluka in Surendranagar district only were recognized as the scheduled tribe and so were given all the possible benefits available for the scheduled tribes. While the Padhars, residing in the villages of Dholka and Viramgam talukas in the Ahmedabad district were not recognized as the scheduled tribe people and so were excluded from getting benefits from any governmental schemes, meant for the scheduled tribes, and consequently they remained in the miserable conditions.

However, the Padhars work hard on the farms as well as in other labour work, but still they hardly get two meals per day. So they remain physically weak. They have to struggle hard for getting labour work. They have also to migrate in distant places in search of labour work, consequently, they can not send their children to schools.

The Padhars have skills in working but due to lack of occupational tools, they have to depend on others. If the government desires to alienate them from the exploitation, it would be necessary to create an atmosphere in which they could be doing their agriculture work as well as other occupations with self-respect. Only then they can be brought out from the state of miserable economic conditions and illiteracy. During field investigation, they had given some suggestions in relation to their development. And out of discussion with related officials and researchers, the following few programmes have been suggested for their development.

1 RENOVATION OF NALKANTHA :

The culture and the economy of the Padhars centre around the Nalsarovar. They get beed, thang, dungro, samo and fish from the banks of lake, mud and grass of gondri for their kuba-roofs, and grass and water for their cattle. Thus their entire economy is depended on the Nalsarovar. It is woven in their folk-songs and in Bhajans. So, renovation of Nalsarovar will bring prosperity for the Padhars. For its renovating purpose, its salty water should be kept sweet or drinkable for longer time during the year. so that the water of the lake would be utilized for agriculture. In order to decrease the proportion of salt from the water of lake rain-water should be prevented from flowing away and for that protection-walls should be constructed as and where necessary. Canals should also be made in order to provide water to the corn-fields for irrigation which will also improve their economic conditions. A large capital must be provided for this purpose, if necessary to do so.

Secondly, the vegetation growing inside and outside the lake as well as the moss and the other greenery should be cultivated and utilized for economic development. For the fruitful utilisation of this water vegetation the Botanists and concerned scientists should be consulted.

The possibility of using gondari-grass, which is of human hight, in cardboard industry should be considered.

However, alongwith these renovations it should kept in mind that the Nalsarovar provides a winter abode for thr birds comming from distant lends. While planning for new projects the concept of ecological and environmental factors should be given equal importance.

A well-planned and integrated scheme for renovation of Nalsarovar, under the above mentioned suggestions, should be prepared. In renovation work, opinions and suggestion of experts from different disciplines should be considered.

2 BASIC AMENITIES :

(1) HOUSE :

Most of the Padhars have been living in Kuba-roofs, made up of grass and muddy-walls. These kubas are too nuclear-families only. However, during the winter and the summer seasons, they can sleep outside the kuba at night, but in the monsoon season they find difficult to accomodate all the family members in the small kubas. They have also shortage of houses-due to increasing Padhar population. So, they should atleast be provided the financial-aid for constructing kuba having muddy-walls and deshi-tiles on the roofs. A scheme can be formulated and according to that the Padhars themselves construct the muddy - walls, while the government can provide them other requirements such as windows, doors, tiles, 'mobh', etc. Moreover, at present the government has been giving financial-aid for constructing the roof in three instalments. But these instalments are not given at proper time. And due to this policy, a number of houses have been found incomplete e.g. houses without roofs and roofs without tiles. These muddy walls may get collapsed during the monsoon and ultimately their entire labour get ruined. So the government should provide other requirements, coming under its contribution, immediately after constructing the muddy walls. The government should give fist priority in providing the houses to the needy and poor Padhars. Later on, priority should be given to the other Padhars.

(2) ELECRIFICATION :

Some of the Padhar villages have been elecrified, so this amenity should also be made available in the Padhar-vas or faliyas.

(3) DRINKING-WATER :

Priority for constructing wells for drinking water should be given to the Padhar villages where source of water is not available.

3 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT :(A) AGRICULTURE :

Sufficient and adequate land for agriculture : -

Some of the Padhars have been engaged in agricultural activity, but they do not possess sufficient and adequate land so they should be allotted land. A lot of barren land is found in this area, which can be converted into agricultural land. If they can be provided that land, they can earn good income through agriculture.

(B) AGRICULTURAL LAND - REFORM AND CONVERTING INTO GARDENING :

The land of this area can not absorb the rain-water sufficiently. So salt comes out, immediately after the monsoon season. So, if the land can be divided into small gardens and necessary bunding are made, after which the rain-water can enter into depth. Gypsm can be utilized in order to prevent salt coming out from the land. And paddy can be produced in that land.

(c) TUBE - WELLS FOR IRRIGATION :

No irrigation source is available in this area. And as this is a khar-land water in wells too is salty. So it can not be utilized in farms. There are ample possibilities for getting sweet or drinkable water, if tube-wells are installed. Sadvichar Parivar has made such two tube-wells at Shahpur Village and at Kathechi village and sweet water has been found from these two tube wells. The same water has been utilized for drinking as well as for irrigation. So, if tube-wells are made in this area, water can be provided to the corn-fields, through the pipe-lines. And thereafter, the failure of the crop would be prevented as well as the kharif crop would also be cultivated.

(D) UTILIZATION OF THE IMPROVED SEEDS :

Now, it has been proved that better crop produce can be possible only through utilization of particular type of seeds for the particular land. So, the arrangement for the testing of land of this area should be made so that it can be possible to know that which type of seeds would be appropriate for better crop produce. They should also be informed about different types of crops which can grow in this land. The experiments in agriculture should be arranged in the demonstration plots so that the Padhars themself can see the results.

(E) MID-TERM CREDIT FACILITY FOR AGRICULTURE PURPOSE :

The Padhars are too poor to spend after the purchase of chemical fertilizers, improved types of seeds, grains for their consumption purpose, etc. and so they approach the shop keepers for getting money. However, the shop-keepers lend them money or in kind, but at the same time they get contract of purchasing the crops at the rate

decided by them from the Padhars. And the price decided by the shop-keepers are comparatively very low. So when the crop is ready, then that Padhar farmer is supposed to sell his crop to that shop-keeper only, and at the previously decided rate and not according to the market rate. The shop keeper decided the cost of 'mung' for Rs. 35 per 20 Kg. before the crop was ready. But when the crop was ready, the market price of 'mung' per 20 Kgs. was Rs. 70 to 80. Thus, the Padhars get exploited at the hands of the shop-keepers by selling their produce at very low rate. In order to prevent the Padhars from falling into such evil, a mid-term credit facility should be given to them. Gujarat Tribal Development Corporation can take this task.

(F) ORGANIZATION OF THE PADHARS' AGRICULTURE -
DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES :

In order to prevent the Padhars from the exploitation done by the money lenders and by the shop-keepers, the agriculture development co-operative societies should be set-up. And through these societies, arrangement to provide the improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides etc. to the Padhar farmers should be made as well as their crop-produce should be purchased at the reasonable price.

(G) LOW-INTEREST RATE LOAN FOR PURCHASING THE
MILCH-ANIMALS :

A plenty of grass for grazing the milch-animals is available in this area. The shepherds graze their milch animals in this land and earn quite a good income out of animal husbandry. Many Padhar families will be ready to accept this occupation if they are given a low-interest rate loan for purchasing the milch animals.

(H) REPAIRMENT OF KALUNDA-DAM :

The Government has allotted the barren land to the Padhars of Ralol village of the Limbdi taluka. And this land is situated beside the dam and is quite fertile. This dam has been damaged due to a hole of about 300 fts., so water can not be reserved in the dam. The Padhars grow paddy in this land but due to failure of the last rain in the monsoon season, the entire crop got spoilt. So, this dam should be repaired without further delay. And after the proper repair it will not only be beneficial to the Padhars but will also be beneficial to the other population of this area.

(I) FISHERY :

Some Padhars are engaged in this occupation. So with^a view to develop their this occupation, they should be given good boats, nets etc. Secondly, as there is no nearby market to sell their fish, they have to sell their fish to the local traders at the rate of Rs. 2 to 4 per Kg. While these traders earn upto Rs. 15 - 17 from the same quality of fish in the Ahmedabad market. So, it is proposed to set up the Padhars fishery co-operative society with a view to enable the Padhars to gain profit from this occupation. Through the co-operative society they would be able to get low interest loan to * co-operative society would also handle the entire business of sales and purchase of fish. Thus the society would earn better price of fish from the market and consequently would give better price to the Padhar fisher-men. These Padhar fishermen can also be given training in fishery as well as in birds taming. *purchase boats, nets, etc. This

(J) LABOUR :

Most of the Padhars are engaged in different types of labour works. They also migrate to distant places in search of labour work. They have to face

many hardships in getting labour work. Some time they have to pay 25 to 50 paise as a commission to the middle man for getting the labour work. Some time they are also not paid adequate wages as the contractors resort to malpractices e.g. false calculation about labour work. This evil can be eliminated with the establishment of the Padhars' Earthenwork Co-operative Society. The government work contracts should be given directly to such co-operative society. And the government itself should arrange for the technical assistance at work-site. Then they would get sufficient rate of labour work.

A responsibility of various tasks such as providing houses at work-site, child-care and education of the children etc. should be entrusted to such co-operative societies.

4 THE PADHAR AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS :

The Padhar agricultural labourers are not paid labour according to minimum wages act. So necessary actions should be taken in this direction.

5 COTTAGE INDUSTRIES :

The Padhars should be involved in different types of cottage industries so that they can earn supplementary income during the monsoon-season. The following cottage industries can be taken into consideration.

(A) AMBAR-CHARKHA :

Either the Padhars can be provided ambar charkhas, according to their requirement or a spinning centre can be set-up with having 20-25 such ambar-charkhas.

They can come to this centre for spinning work during their leisure time in the day and the wage of the completed work should be provided at the centre on the same day. In the beginning, they can be given proper training and stipend.

(B) EMBROIDERY :

The Padhar ladies know good embroidery work and also motif work. So the Padhar ladies, too, can earn a supplementary income, during their leisure-time, if necessary arrangement can be made for providing necessary raw-material as well as marketing of the Embroidery-work.

(C) TRAINING IN TAILORING :

Most of the Padhars, men and women, wear ready-made clothes, purchased from the market. Many Padhars are eager to accept this occupation provided they are given necessary training and also given sewing machines. So, necessary arrangement should be made in this direction and it should be on the co-operative-basis.

(D) CREDIT FOR SELLING THE READY MADE CLOTHES ON HAWKING-BASIS :

Those Padhars, who are engaged in this occupation, face a problem in getting sufficient customers. So, if they can be provided necessary credit for making ready made clothes as well as selling them on hawking basis, they can earn good income from their occupation.

(E) GRANARY-MAKING :

The Padhar ladies have good skill in making an artistic granary. And such artistic - granary will have

wide scope in the market. The arrangement of making the granaries as well as of marketing should be made so that they would earn good income.

(F) FAIR-PRICE SHOPS :

The Padhars are hard-workers, so they require more nutritive food in order to sustain their energy. They should be provided grains, oil jaggery etc. through the fair - price shops and at subsidized rate. The government allots sugar for them through the fair-price shops but as they do not consume it, they do not purchase it and the entire sugar stock go to black-market. And as the Padhars consume Jaggery, this should be provided at control rate. This arrangement should be made at village level. Tribal Development Corporation can bear the expenditure for providing essential commodities, such as grains, oil, jaggery, soap etc., at subsidized - rate.

(G) PENSION TO DISABLED AND OLD PADHARS :

The Government has implemented a scheme to provide pension to the disabled and the old persons. But the Padhars do not know about the scheme and hence have not got any such benefits out of such schemes. Such benefits should be directed towards them through proper information channels.

(H) HEALTH :

In order to maintain their health, the arrangement of providing pure drinking water and nutritive- food for the children should be made. Moreover, it is necessary to educate them to approach the hospitals at the time of sickness instead of approaching the Bhuvas and Bhagats etc. Either health centre or

mobile hospitals should be arranged for all the Padhar villages. Mass medical-check-up programme should also be organized.

(I) EDUCATION :

(a) BALWADIS :

With a view to develop positive attitude towards education, Balwads should be opened for the Padhar children. It has been found that Balwads do help in creating proper environment for further education. There would be less wastage and stagnation in primary school, if the children are accustomed to go to school.

Such five Balwads can be started at Dharji(Durgi), Tal, Dholka, Nani-kathechi and Ralol villages.

(b) ASHRAM SCHOOLS :

As we have seen earlier that the Padhars migrate to distant places for labour work and also take their school going children alongwith them at work-site. Consequently their education gets hampered. So, opening of the ashram schools for the Padhars can be the most appropriate solution to this problem. Moreover, hostels for the Padhars can also be started at such villages where the Padhar children go to school. Incentives can be given to guardians who send their children to school in order to send their children to school regularly.

(c) ADULT EDUCATION :

Adult - education classes should be started for the benefit of the uneducated Padhar adults. And through such adult education classes they can realize the importance of education and may also get motivated

to send their children to schools and also get knowledge about their development, health, etc.

(d) MISCELLANEOUS :

(1) The voluntary organizations should come forward to undertake the complete developmental work for the Padhars.

(2) The Padhars' Bhajan and Dance Mandals should be set-up as they are keenly interested in these activities.

(3) A special programme for the development of the Padhars should be made which will cover above suggestions and one Special Officer, alongwith necessary and appropriate staff, should be appointed to execute the programmes.

PEOPLE THEMSELVES MAKE THEIR WILL :

While going through the above suggestions, one may think that the whole responsibility of the development work has to be entrusted to government only. But we do not mean that. The Padhars themselves should be made to expect that government will go on providing them benefits under various programmes and schemes. Let us quote the example of mother and child where a mother provide support to her child who learns walking but as soon as the child has started walking, the mother withdraws her support. In the same manner, in the beginning the Padhars can expect help from the government for their occupations but can not expect it for indefinite time.

The government should help such as to provide breakfast to Balwadi children and free lodging &

boarding and uniform to the ashram school children. The Padhars themselves should also give their contribution, in the same manner as they save five paise out of their daily labour and five-seers of grain for the 'madh' of Mata.

The Padhars Bhajan and Drama Mandals should present their programme in such a manner that the other Padhars can get inspiration from them.

The village leaders should keep in mind that the development programmes would be executed not only by the governmental officials but they will have to participate actively by forming developmental councils. These developmental councils can meet together to discuss about their development programmes and also can motivate their other brothers. They should also see that the programme can be executed properly.

CHAPTER : 9

SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The financial outlays for the developmental programmes for Padhars would be Rs. 85,22,000-00 to be spent within three years. The financial figures by themselves look extraordinary but if the population of Padhars is taken into consideration (which is more than 10,000) the per capita expenditure would be Rs. 852-00 which seems very small.

As there was a controversy about their status in the society, the Padhars could not get the advantages accruing to the other tribes. Hence, there should not be any objection about the above mentioned financial expenditure. The Padhars live below the poverty line. They can not generate forces on their own to build an infrastructure for their development. The certain portion of expenditure for the development schemes is to be incurred only in the initial stages and it is not recurring. It is not too much to expect that once the momentum for the development activities is initiated it will continue on its own.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMESMODERNISATION OF NAL SAROVAR :

- (1) Reduction of the proportion of salt from Nalsarovar.
- (2) Prevention of the rain water flow.
- (3) Building bunds on the sloppy regions to collect the rain waters.
- (4) Digging canals for using the rain water from the bunds for the fields.
- (5) Research on vegetation growing on the banks of the lake.

The above mentioned programmes would require funds as follows :

	<u>First Year</u>	<u>Second Year</u>	<u>Third Year</u>	<u>Total</u>
Rs. (in lakh)	1.50	1.50	1.00	4.00

HOUSES :

The Padhars who hold their own land but who live in kachcha kuba should be given the facility to construct pucca house. They should make such house with their own labour but the government should supply the raw materials. The house having an area of 30' X 15' will have following expenditure.

Deshi tiles 5,000 pieces	Rs.
(Rate Rs. 100 for 1000 piece)	500
Bamboos 100 (Rs. 5 (per Bamboo)	500
Supports - 8 piece (Rs. 100 for 1 piece)..	800
A Bundle of Bamboo chips - 20 bundles (Rs. 20-00 per bundle)	400
Carpentry charges	200
Doors	200
	2,600
Rs.	2,600

Year	Expenditure for 1 house (in Rs.)		families	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	2,600	X	200	5,20,000
Second Year	2,600	X	200	5,20,000
Third Year	2,600	X	100	2,60,000
TOTAL			500	13,00,000

AGRICULTURE :

(1) The Padhars, who have uneconomic piece of land, should be given more land from the extra barren land. The level should be made cultivable and then be given to the eligible Padhars.

Year	Acres of land		Exp. per Acre (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	500	X	500	2,50,000
Second Year	500	X	500	2,50,000
Third Year	1000	X	500	5,00,000
TOTAL	200	X	500	10,00,000

(2) As there are no irrigation facilities on their land, the Padhars have to become the victim of famine and droughts. The ordinary wells can not provide the water which can be used for cultivation. The only way to meet this challenge is to have more tube wells.

Year	No. of Tube-wells		Exp. per well (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	5	X	1.5 lakhs	7.5 lakhs
Second Year	3	X	1.5 lakhs	4.5 lakhs
Third Year	2	X	1.5 lakhs	3.0 lakhs
TOTAL	10	X	1.5 lakhs	15.0 lakhs

(3) The Padhars who do farming are not equipped with proper tools. They have to depend for tools on others who never give them at right time. Such farmers should be given proper tools like plough, karab etc.,.

Year	No. of families	Exp. per family (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	200	X 500	1,00,000
Second Year	200	X 500	1,00,000
Third Year	100	X 500	50,000
TOTAL	500	X 500	2,50,000

(4) Conversion into kyari land- The land is saline in this region and as a result, as soon as the monsoon gets over, the mineral salt spreads over the land. The land can be turned into kyari land then the paddy crop can be taken and this will also stop the deposition of salt.

Year	Acre	Exp. per acre (in Rs.)	Total exp. (in Rs.)
First Year	500	X 500	2.5 lakhs
Second Year	500	X 500	2.5 lakhs
Third Year	500	X 500	2.5 lakhs
TOTAL	1500	X 500	7.5 lakhs

4 ANIMAL HUSBANDRY :

As mentioned earlier, the shepherds of this region breed cattle on the large pasture-lands. If the Padhars can be encouraged to undertake cattle breeding they can earn livelihood. They should be given subsidy for purchasing milch animals.

Year	No. of families	Cost per Buffalo (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	200	X 2000	4.0 lakhs
Second Year	200	X 2000	4.0 lakhs
Third Year	100	X 2000	2.0 lakhs
TOTAL	500	X 2000	10.0 lakhs

The Padhars who follow the profession of earth digging, have to migrate to distant lands for almost eight months. As such earth digging is very labourious work and so they require enough nutritive food otherwise their health will be weakened. If the earth diggers can be supplied with milch goats, they can travel with such goats.

Year	No. of families	Cost per goat (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	200	X 200	40,000
Second Year	200	X 200	40,000
Third Year	100	X 200	20,000
TOTAL	500	X 200	1,00,000

5 FISHERY :

During the drought conditions, Padhars resort to fishing. If they can be properly trained in fishing and be given proper tools, fishing can be made an important source of income.

Year	No. of families	Help per family (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	100	X 200	20,000
Second Year	100	X 200	20,000
Third Year	50	X 200	10,000
TOTAL	250	X 200	50,000

6 EDUCATION :

The Literacy rate amongst the Padhars is very low. Due to poor economic conditions, they are forced to migrate to different places in search of work. Thus, the young children suffer as they have to travel with their parents. If Balwadis and Ashramshalas are started in such regions, the Padhar children can stay in such ashram shalas and study. Shahpur village of Virangam taluka is an appropriate place to start ^{an} Ashramshala.

(1) BALWADIS :

5 Balwadis can be started to make children interested in education from early age. The following expenditure ^{is} necessary.

RECURRING EXPENDITURE :

5 teachers (Rs. 250/- per teacher per month)	250x12x5	(in Rs.) = 15,000
Expenditure for food to children	1500 x 5	= 7,500
Monthly rent for the rooms for Balwadi	25 x 5x12	= 1,500
Total Rs.		24,000

NON-RECURRING EXPENDITURE :

Tools for education and games - 2,000 x 5 = Rs. 10,000

Year	Recurring Exp. (in Rs.)	Non Recurring Exp. (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	24,000	+ 10,000	= 34,000
Second Year	24,000	+ -	= 24,000
Third Year	24,000	+ -	= 24,000
TOTAL	72,000	+ 10,000	= 82,000

AN EXPENSES FOR STARTING / ASHRAMSHALA :

NON-RECURRING EXPENSES :	Rs.
Furniture	4,000
Utensils for 50 children	5,000
Tools for games	1,000
Hostel for the students	70,000
Land	10,000
Tools for agriculture (Bullock cart etc.)	10,000
Tube well	1,50,000
Total :	2,50,000

RECURRING EXPENDITURES :

	(in Rs.)
Salary (including D.A. per month for two trained teachers) 600 x 2 x 12	14,400
Salary for Kamathi 400 x 12	4,800
Salary for a Cook 400 x 12	4,800
Salary for an assistant to cook 330 x 12	3,600
Scholarship of Rs. 75 to 50 student 75 x 12 x 50	45,000
Accidental expenses	1,800
Total :	75,000

Year	Recurring exp. (in Rs.)	Non-Recurring exp. (in Rs.)	Total exp. (in Rs.)
First Year	75,000	+ 2,50,000	= 3,25,000
Second Year	75,000	+ -	= 75,000
Third Year	75,000	+ -	= 75,000
TOTAL	2,25,000	+ 2,50,000	= 4,75,000

(3) The day scholar who stay with their parents should be given 20 Kilos of grain and 2 pairs of clothes.

The following estimate is based on assumption of such 500 students.

(1) 20 Kilo grains to 500 students for 9 months - $500 \times 20 \times 9 = 90,000$ Kg. Rs. 1.50 Per Kg.	Rs. 1,35,000
(2) 20 Rs. for 1 pair of clothes $500 \times 20 \times 2$	Rs. 20,000
	Rs. 1,55,000
$1,55,000 \times 3$ years	Rs. 4,65,000

(4) ADULT EDUCATION :

In order to make them aware of their plight and to apprise them about the development programmes for the tribals, adult education classes for illiterate persons above the age of 14 years should be started. Minimum 40 adults should be allowed in one class and atleast 10 such classes should be started.

Salary for one teacher for 7 months $150 \times 7 \times 10$	(in Rs.) 10,500
Stipend to attract adults Rs. 30 x 40 x 7 x 10	8,400
Unforseen expenditure per class Rs. 150 x 10	1,500
Total :	20,400

7 COTTAGE INDUSTRY

In order to supplement their income they should be trained to operate Ambar Charkha. Ten training classes should be started and a minimum ^{of} 30 persons should be admitted in such classes.

Salary for a trained teacher for 2 months $400 \times 2 \times 10$	(in Rs.) 8,000
Stipend of Rs. 75-00 to the trainees $75 \times 300 \times 2$	45,000
As Ambarcharkha to each trainee after the course Rs. 700 x 300	2,10,000
Total	Rs. 2,63,000

(2) FOUR WHEELER HANDCART TO HAWKERS :

The Padhar youngsters can work as hawkers and sell vegetables or cutlery in their cart. Initially 50 persons should be given such carts.

Rs. 500, per handcart x 50 persons = Rs. 25,000-00

(3) TRAINING CENTRES FOR TAILORING :

This profession can help in augmenting their income and help in raising their living standard. They should be given necessary training and be helped in buying sewing machines. In the beginning 5 training centres ^{may} be started and each class can have a minimum of 20 students.

	(in Rs.)
Salary for the teacher for 2 months 400 x 2 x 5	4,000
Stipend of Rs. 75 for the students for 2 months 75 x 2 x 100	15,000
Loan of Rs. 800 to each student to buy a machine 800 x 100	80,000
Total Rs.	99,000

(4) LOAN TO BUY CLOTHES FOR MAKING READYMADECLOTHES :

Rs. 5,000 to each trained students. Minimum 50 students.

Year	No. of persons	Per person (in Rs.)	Total exp. (in Rs.)
First Year	20	X 5,000	1.0 lakh
Second Year	20	X 5,000	1.0 lakh
Third Year	10	X 5,000	0.5 lakh
TOTAL	50	X 5,000	2.5 lakhs

LOAN FOR MAKING KOTHI (GRANARY) :

The Padhar women are expert in making Kothis made out of horse dung, clay, dry grass etc. They use it

for storing their grains as well as storing the cooked food. They are very artistic and can be sold as decorative articles. In the initial stage only 50 kothis can be made and loan of Rs. 200 should be given for each kothi. The Tribal Development Corporation should be made responsible for the sale of such kothis.

Year	Cost per Kothi (in Rs.)	No. of Kothi	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	200	X 20	4,000
Second Year	200	X 20	4,000
Third Year	200	X 10	2,000
TOTAL	200	X 50	10,000

8 HEALTH :

A mobile dispensary should be provided so that the Padhars living in very distant areas can be approached by such van.

(A) RECURRING EXPENDITURE :

	(in Rs.)
1. Medical officer Class II for 12 months 1200 x 12	14,400
2. A trained Nurse for 12 months 600 x 12	7,200
3. A Driver Rs. 400 x 12	4,800
4. A Peon Rs. 300 x 12	3,600
5. D.A. and contingency expenses ..	10,400
6. Medicines	15,000
Total Rs.	55,000

(B) NON-RECURRING EXPENSES :

1. One Matador	75,000
2. Accidental expenses	10,000
3. One Refrigerator and furniture	15,000
	1,00,000
Total Rs.	1,00,000

Year	Recurring (in Rs.)	Non-Recurring (in Rs.)	Total (in Rs.)
First Year	55,000	+ 1,00,000	= 1,55,000
Second Year	55,000	+ -	= 55,000
Third Year	55,000	+ -	= 55,000
TOTAL	1,65,000	+ 1,00,000	= 2,65,000

9 CULTURAL :

To preserve the cultural heritage of the Padhar tribe, the Bhajan Mandals and Dence Troupes should be encouraged. 10 Bhajan Mandals should be formed and each group should be given 1,000 Rs.

$$10 \times 1,000 = \text{Rs. } 10,000.$$

10 ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF FOR THE PROGRAMME :

	(in Rs.)
1. A Special Officer Class II for 12 month @ Rs. 800 x 12	9,600
2. Two Assistants @ Rs. 600 x 2 x 12 ...	14,400
3. D.A. and other allowance	12,000
4. Unforeseen expenditures	3,800
5. A Peon @ Rs. 350 x 12	4,200
	44,000
Total Rs.	44,000

These schemes are for three years

$$44,000 \times 3 = \text{Rs. } 1,52,000.$$

