

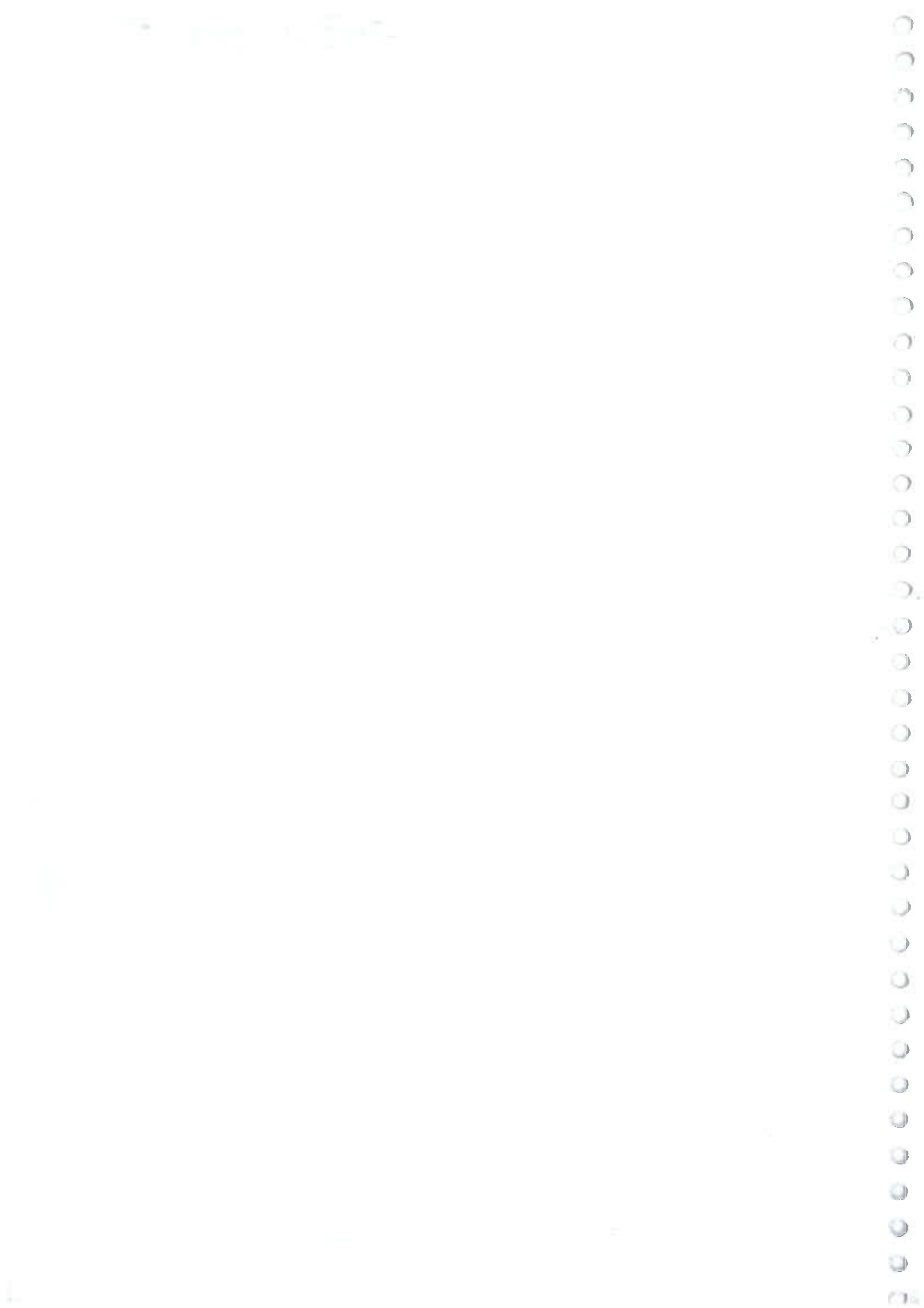
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THE KOLGHAS OF GUJARAT

(A Socio-Economic Study and a Development plan)

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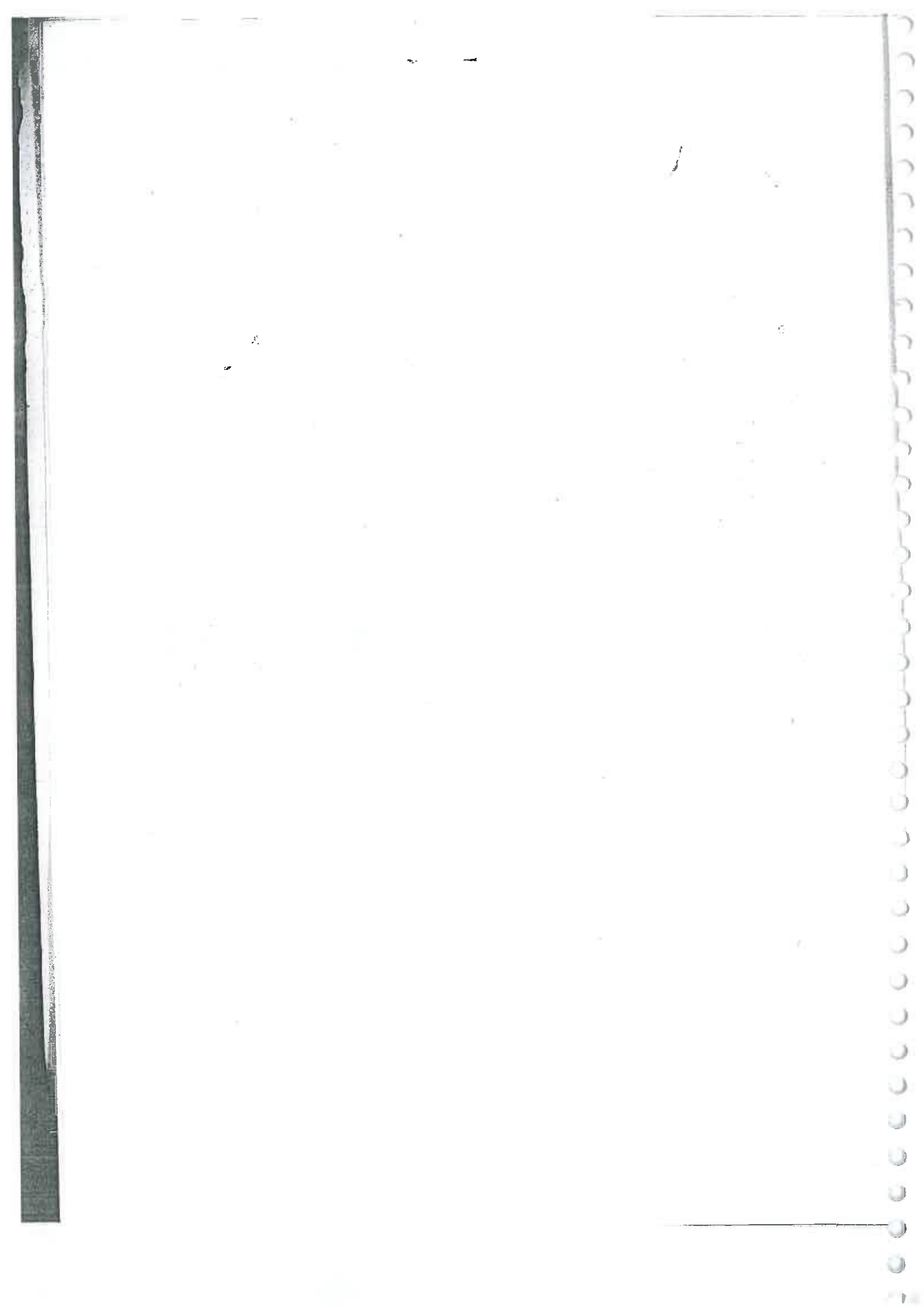
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INTRODUCTION

Primitive Groups

The State has recognized some tribal groups, who are very backward both socially and economically, as primitive groups in the Gujarat State. Some of them are Kotwalias, Kathodis and Kolghas. These groups constitute the weakest section of the tribal population in the State and hence need special attention for their development. Unless special care is taken in respect of the development of these groups, they will not be able to adjust in the changing situation. Anyone who visits their areas can clearly make out that the ecological balance of these communities have been lost and they are pressed between the advancing communities, both tribal and non-tribal, and dwindling forest resources. They have been living in a precarious stage of existence. Although some attempts were made in the previous years to take up some special schemes for these communities from the overall allocation of the State sectors of development and special central assistance, much headway has not been made and no tangible results have been achieved. The result is this that they continue to carry on a strenuous struggle for existence. Development activities for these groups have not picked up so far, mainly because it had not been possible for the State Government to get out of the schematic approach and the organizations, both voluntary and statutory working in the areas where these primitive groups are found, mainly concentrated their development activities among the dominant group of the area. And this had resulted in almost total neglect of these groups. Since these groups have no political representation nor have they formed any interest group, nobody raised voice anywhere regarding the precarious economic conditions under which they have been struggling to survive.

Development of Primitive Groups

In view of this, the Government of India had made specific allocations under the schemes of tribal sub-plan for special programmes of their socio-economic betterment, education, health, etc. for which no State participation is insisted. In other words, whatever expenditure is incurred by the State Government for the development of these groups is being treated as a special supplementation by way of additional special central assistance, not forming part of the special central assistance being granted for development programmes of other tribal groups in the State. The report of the Working Group on Tribal Development has made the following recommendations in respect of the development programmes for these groups:

- (i) High priority should be given to the programme of primitive groups in the current plan;
- (ii) Voluntary organizations should be associated in an increasing measure in these programmes; and
- (iii) Adequate flexibility should be built into these programmes by adopting society models where not already done.¹

Thus, these goals were set in the case of these primitive groups of the State in order to abolish their abject poverty. But in order to move towards these goals, and in seeking to change the present reality of the extreme backwardness, the first and most essential step was to have a first hand knowledge about these people. For implementing the policy of social change among them, facts were needed regarding the prevailing socio-economic conditions of these people. We, as students of social sciences, knew

¹ Govt. of India; Report of the Working Group on Tribal Development During Medium Term Plan, 1978-83, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, July, 1978, p.100.

that these primitive groups could not fit into the competitive economics of the dominant tribal groups of the region; and that has affected the former to push their quest for a socio-economic order based on some non-traditional legitimation. But what type of socio-economic order they gradually adopted and what were the patterns of their quest? These were some of the questions about them about which we had no answer because of the total neglect of these communities by ethnographers and sociologists. Thus, as there has been no reliable ethnographic account of these groups, it was sheer impossible to devise programmes for planned and directed change of these communities.

Preparation of monograph on primitive groups

This being the situation, the State Government rightly took the decision of first getting prepared monographs on these communities. On the basis of the facts gathered in these monographs, programmes of planned social intervention had to be proposed for these communities. The task of preparing the monograph on the basis of intensive field work was entrusted to this Institute, first for the Kathodis and then for the Kolghas. The monograph on Kathodis had been prepared about a year back and submitted to the State Government. Most of the programmes chalked out in that monograph for the socio-economic betterment of the Kathodis had been accepted by the Central Government and upon its approval the State Government went ahead in implementing those programmes. Concrete results are now being evidenced in matter of economic amelioration of the Kathodis. That research could do much for the development of the tribals can be very well seen in the case of the Kathodis.

The monograph on Kotwalias was prepared by Gujarat Tribal Development Corporation.

The Kolghas

As stated earlier, the task of preparing the monograph on the Kolghas had been entrusted to this Institute. As no systematic and authentic account of this tribe has yet been presented by any social scientist, our task became a challenging one. We had to virtually start from scratch. An intensive field work was very much needed to get a first hand and in-depth knowledge about this tribal community. Before we started to do the intensive field work, all the available literature, mainly from the Census Reports and Gazetteers, was collected by us and on the basis of that some idea about this community was evolved.

The Kolghas, who mainly inhabit the Dharampur, Vandsa and Chikhli talukas of Valsad district and Mahuva taluka of Surat district, are also scattered in other talukas of Valsad district and in Bharuch and Dangs districts too. Their population, according to 1971 Census, was 29,464 in the Gujarat State. They mainly live with other tribal groups viz., the Konkhas, the Dhodias, the Warlis, etc. In such mixed villages, the number of Kolgha families ranges from one to forty, but mostly from one to ten. They mainly work as farm labourers and as forest labourers. Their economy is dependent upon the economy of the dominant tribal and non-tribal groups amongst whom they live. They have to struggle very hard for getting food to maintain themselves. Naturally, they have an extremely poor standard of living. In fact, the vital question which comes to mind after viewing their hard existence is what standard of living the Kolghas can achieve with their poor level of income? Which of their needs can they meet and which have to remain unfulfilled? Since first of all the stomach has to be filled, their entire energy is directed to earn at least that much so that they can fill up the stomach of

their family members and of themselves. Even to earn that much all the year round is far from an easy task for them. Indeed, they virtually live in dire poverty all the year round.

As they are treated as untouchables by the dominant tribal groups of the region, there is not much mixing with them. They lead an isolated existence so far as social intermingling is concerned. However, the cultural impact of dominant tribe is apparent among them. But from all accounts, they have been left behind in development and as such, both socially and economically they have to lead an isolated existence. As in the case of other primitive groups in the State, they have their settlement either on the outskirts of the villages or in separate groups in the villages. Their's is a most backward and retarded economic life.

Culture contact of Kolghas

But as stated above, they have been in culture contact with the dominant social group since long. In the process of culture contact, the Kolghas have worked out a semi-assimilation of their own. They have adopted material and non-material culture of the dominant tribe of the area and at the same time they have been able to preserve their traditional social institutions, rituals and economic culture. However, in the process of semi-assimilation, they have suffered moral depression. They were once on par with the dominant social group of the region but now they are ordinary and extremely poor people having very little cultivable lands. This has lowered down their prestige and self confidence. When moral depression occurs, a community loses faith in its own cultural values and adopts the alien way of life. But the changes occurring in the Kolgha culture due to living in contact with the dominant social groups are more

spontaneous than directed and they have been found to reject the direct changes which do not suit them. Thus, acceptance and rejection of cultural traits of the other groups are being practiced by this tribe.

Objectives of this study

Viewing such an existing situation of this tribe, our aim was to have an intelligent collection of data which could be meaningful in relation to the pragmatic interests of a development agency. In evolving a research design we set out with questions as to (i) what are the felt needs of the Kolghas; (ii) what are the possibilities of developing means of raising their level of income? Our own orientations also influenced the design of the research. We were motivated, as has been aptly expressed, by a feeling of solidarity with the underprivileged, which made us oppose established social theory with its "consensus", rather than "conflict perspective",² on 'Kolgha Society'. The chief aim of this study was to know in detail and in depth about the economic conditions and standard of living of this primitive group. We also set our minds to find out the reasons of their degrading and primitive existence. The idea was that on the basis of collection of data on these aspects, several workable measures might be suggested to bring economic relief to these people. It was also viewed that on the basis of correct assessment of this socio-economic situation, protective measure could be suggested to involve the participation of this group in the programmes of development of the region. They must be brought on par with other social groups who have gone ahead in reaping the fruits of development efforts of the government. As in any endeavour of promotion of social and economic changes, highly complex set of social and cultural variables play a very determined role, it was thought necessary by us.

2 Goran Dujrfeldt and Staffan Luidberg; Behind Poverty, The Social Formation in a Tamil village, Oxford Press, Bombay, 1975, p.19.

to have an intelligent collection of data on their values, attitudes, social customs, religious life and so on. To put it in other words, our research was designed to make a comprehensive, an ethnographic and sociological study of the Kolghas.

Area

For the study of this tribe, altogether 11 villages were selected for the purpose of collecting what is known as conventional census information on their demographic characteristics and precise information on the economy of each household covered in the selected villages. We paid particular emphasis on income and property in framing the schedule for collecting the data. Of these 11 villages, 6 were located in Mahuva taluka, 3 in Chikhli and 2 in Dharampur taluka. We could locate 351 Kolgha households in these 11 villages.

TABLE

Number of selected households in the selected villages.

Sr. No.	Name of villages	Name of Taluka	Total No. of households	Total No. of households covered under this study
1	Umra	Mahuva	11	12
2	Tarakani	Mahuva	35	10
3	Bhagvanpur	Mahuva	10	5
4	Valvadi	Mahuva	18	15
5	Puna	Mahuva	20	15
6	Vaheval	Mahuva	43	43
Total in Mahuva taluka:			140	100 (71.4)
7	Achhavani	Chikhli	17	17
8	Agasi	Chikhli	47	47
9	Khergam	Chikhli	72	36
Total in Chikhli Taluka:			136	100 (73.53)
10	Ozar	Dharampur	51	51
11	Barohiya	Dharampur	24	9
Total in Dharampur Taluka:			75	60 (80.00)
Grand Total:			351	260 (74.07)

Of these 351 households, we covered altogether 260 households, forming 80.00 of the total households in these villages. All these villages were selected keeping in mind the sizeable number of Kolghas there. All these three regions have different physiographic characteristics. While Chikhli in Valsad district and Mahuva in Surat district are the plain region in South Gujarat, the Dharampur region is a hilly tract. Naturally, the economic opportunities for the Kolghas differed from one taluka to another taluka.

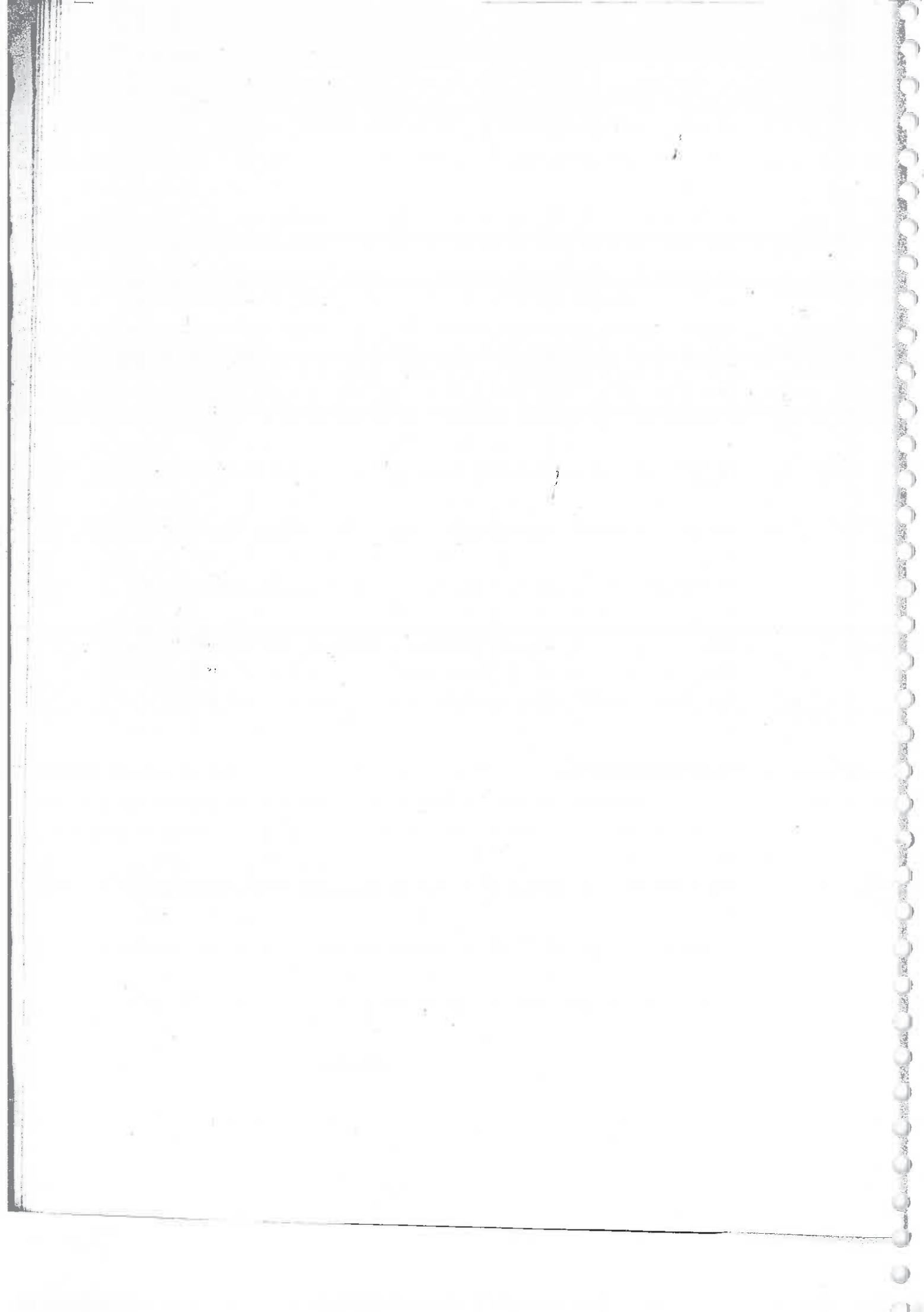
Methodology

Apart from these 11 villages, selected for the purpose of collecting data on the basis of a schedule, several other villages, particularly those located in Vandsa taluka of Valsad district were visited in order to collect data on their social, religious, economic and community life through interviewing several informants and through participant observation. The aim was to collect first hand information on these aspects. The main author of this report undertook a tour of all the talukas to have an intelligent assessment of the socio-economic situation of the Kolghas vis-a-vis the dominant tribes and other communities of the region. In some regions, he virtually undertook a 'Pad-Yatra' to meet as many Kolghas informants as possible for having a first hand observation of their precarious existence and to find out the factors responsible for such an economic plight. In undertaking an extensive tour of these four talukas, the main author's motivation was to design a plan for the development of the Kolghas which is in consonance with their social structure, values and attitudes to a great extent. Only such a plan has better opportunity to work. He also desired to check and re-check the data gathered by the investigators and other authors of this report and hence undertook the tour of field by himself.

It helped him much to gain an accurate insight into the economic life of the Kolghas, which in turn, became extremely useful in devising a workable plan by him for the Kolghas. Although the work on this study started right in May, 1978, the field work was organized by the main author only after he took up the Directorship of the Institute in the later half of August, 1978. It was completed in November last year. After this was completed, he went for doing field studies by himself and visited almost all the areas for applying the anthropological techniques. Meanwhile, tabulation work had already been started. A preliminary report on the basis of the quantitative data was prepared by the second and third authors in the month of February, 1979. After doing the field studies by himself, the main author tried to revise the entire monograph (though much was not possible) and in this way the final draft of the monograph was prepared by him. On preparing the plan for development of the Kolghas the main author approached the , the concerned officials to discuss the plan for giving it a final shape. The plan, prepared by the main author was appreciated by them. The final suggested plan forms the last chapter of the monograph.

Acknowledgement

A liberal grant of Rs.15,000/- had been sanctioned by the State Government in the Labour, Social Welfare and Tribal Development Department for the purpose of doing this study and preparing the monograph. The Institute desires to thank the State Government and the Project Administrators of ITDP, Vansda and Surat and all their colleagues for extending all necessary help in conducting this study. The Institute is also grateful to all the Kolgha informants without whose active cooperation this monograph would not have materialized.



CHAPTER - IHISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PEOPLE

The Kolghas are the people of hills and low forests. Kolghas are a minor scheduled tribal group in Gujarat, now they are considered as one under the category of "Primitive Tribes". Very little is known about their history and they have no knowledge about their origin. They are living in very primitive conditions. Nor have they information about how the name Kolghas came into existence. They are also known as "Tokar Kolis" because they work as bamboo basket-makers.

They are considered as a lowly people because they eat the meat and dead cattle and hence they are also called "Dhor Kolis". Not much ethnographic literature is available about the Kolgha tribe of Gujarat and there is no worthwhile account available regarding their economic and social conditions. Some information of fragmentary nature, is, however, available about the tribe in old Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency and several other reports.

According to R.E. Enthoven,¹

"Kolghas numbering 5,849 (1911) are a very primitive tribe, who though lowly, refuse intercourse with Bhangis. They are chiefly found in the States to the Southeast of Surat."

According to the Census of Baroda State, 1911,²

"They are one of the lowest of the early tribes, found in the Navsari district. Though reckoned impure, they neither eat with nor touch a Bhangi."

¹ R.E. Enthoven, 'The Tribes and Castes of Bombay', Vol. II, 1922, pp. 236-237.

² Report on the Census of Baroda State, 1911, Chapter XI, Caste, Tribes and Race, pp. 301.

The Dhor Kolis are also called Tokar Kolis. They are chiefly found in North Konkan. The name Dhor comes from 'Dhor' or cattle, which they eat; 'Tokar' comes from Thokar, a type of Bamboo and refers to their calling as Bamboo-cutters."

POPULATION

The population of Kolgha tribe is found only in some of the States of India. They live especially in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Orissa. According to the Census of 1961 the total population of Kolgha tribe was 3,95,761. According to 1971, the State wise population of Kolgha tribe was as given in the following table.

TABLE - 1

State wise population of Kolghas and Dhor Kolis.

	1961	1971	Decimal increase.
Maharashtra	3,78,752	4,82,996	27.5
Gujarat	14,539	29,464	102.6
Orissa	344	1,504	337.2
Karnataka	1,001	1,404	40.2
Dadra Nagar Haveli	1,125	1,396	24.1

From above table it is clearly seen that the highest population of the Kolghas and Dhorkolir was in Maharashtra State. The proportion of their population in Gujarat was approximately 9% of the total population, while in other States their population was quite low. In Maharashtra, along with the Kolghas, the population of Mahadev Kolis, Dangar Kolis, Koli Malhars and Kolis have also been included, hence the figures of their population seems to be inflated.

According to the Census of 1931, the population of this tribe was 1,85,497 which declined to 75,503 in 1941. Thus, during the earlier decades a steep decline was seen in the population of this tribe. In 1961 and 1971 Censuses, an enumeration of Kolghas and of Kolis was done separately in Gujarat. So the figures of Kolgha tribe is available separately and is thus comparable.

In absence of census figures of earlier decades regarding the Kolgha tribe separately it is difficult, therefore, to indicate the trend of their population. The figures of 1961 and 1971 only are comparable.

According to the Census of 1971, the population of the Kolghas in this State was 29,464. Thus, during the decade of 1961 to 1971, an increase of 102.6 % was noted in their population. District wise increase in the population of Kolgha tribe is indicated in Table No.2. Thus, the growth rate of the population was 10.3 %. Among other tribes of Gujarat, barring the Nayka Tribe (11.8), the growth of the population was highest among them. The highest population of the tribe was in Valsad district of the State. Then comes the number of Panchmahals, Vadodara and Surat districts. But at this stage one thing is important to note down that in 1961, the population of Kolgha was negligible in Panchmahals and Vadodara districts. It is possible that at the time of the 1971 Census, in these two districts, some other tribes seem to have been included along with Kolghas. Regarding this, we had also inquired in these two districts and found that some of the Baria Kolis living in this area were enumerated along with Kolgha tribe. None of Kolgha's, either social or economic is traceable in Baria Kolis. From this one can also assume that this factor may be responsible for the higher growth rate of the population of Kolgha tribe. If the population of Vadodara (3,532) and Panchmahals (5,463) districts are

excluded then the growth rate of their population will be 4% less.

TABLE - 2

Districtwise Kolgha population in the State.

	Name of the District	Population (1961)	Population (1971)	Percentage increased during decade.
1	Ahmedabad	191	55	- 247.2
2	Banaskantha	27	12	- 125.0
3	Bharuch	262	234	- 11.9
4	Dangs	20	44	120.0
5	Kheda	68	8	- 750.0
6	Mehsana	36	12	- 200.0
7	Panchmanals	365	5,463	1,396.7
8	Sabarkantha	141	80	- 76.3
9	Surat	13,284*	3,076	- 56.7
10	Vadodara	145	3,532	2,335.8
11	Valsad	-	16,947*	
Total:		14,539	29,463	102.7

* This shows the figures of two districts (Surat and Valsad)

According to the Census of 1971, among the total Adivasi population of Gujarat, the proportion of the population of Kolgha tribe was 0.81. Most of their population live in villages. In the total population, of Kolghas, the proportion of rural population was 96.5% and the proportion of urban population was 3.5%. If we analyse from sex point of view, there were 51.4% male and 48.6% female.

District wise census of rural and urban population is given in Table No.3 According to the Taluka wise classification of the population, it is seen that there is a high concentration of Kolgha population in Dharampur, Vansda and Chikhli talukas of Valsad district and Mahuva taluka in Surat district. All these talukas are geographically connected with Thana district in Maharashtra State and with the districts of West Khandesh.

Besides, their population is in large propulation in Maharashtra State. And according to the Census of 1961, geographically, 47 villages and 3 cities of Thana District and 129 villages of West Khandesh were merged in Surat and Valsad Districts. Besides, at that time 27 villages of West Khandesh were merged in Bharuch District.

TABLE 3

Districtwise Rural and Urban Population (1971)

District	Rural Population			Urban Population			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1 Ahmedabad	-	-	-	42	13	55	42	23	55
2 Banaskantha	8	4	12	-	-	-	8	4	12
3 Bharuch	113	79	192	25	17	42	138	96	234
4 Dangs	30	14	44	-	-	-	30	14	44
5 Kheda	3	2	5	2	1	3	5	3	8
6 Mehsana	8	4	12	-	-	-	8	4	12
7 Panchmahals	2,762	2,700	5,462	11	-	1	2,763	2,700	5,463
8 Sabarkantha	45	35	80	-	-	-	45	35	80
9 Surat	1,342	1,264	2,606	241	230	471	1,583	1,494	3,077
10 Vadodara	1,463	1,494	3,357	78	97	175	2,941	1,591	3,352
11 Valsad	8,463	8,201	16,664	124	159	283	8,587	8,360	16,947
Total:	14,637	13,797	28,434	513	517	1,030	15,150	14,324	29,464
			96.5%			3.5%	51.4%	48.6%	100%

Source: Census of Gujarat, 1971.

Habitation and Dwellings:

In the talukas where this survey has been conducted, not a single village was found which was exclusively inhabited by Kolghas. Their habitations are found to be located in multi-caste mixed villages of Dhodias, Konknas, Naikas, Rajputs, Muslims, etc. In different villages, they are living in a group of ten to twelve families in some and forty to fifty families in other villages. One reason for this is that their present occupation is that of labour and cattle grazing. If they live in large numbers in one village, then it is difficult for all of them to get wage labour or engage in cattle grazing. In some villages they build their huts on the land of the landowners with whom they work. Recently, the houses which were built for them under the 20-point programme by the Government are on barren land. Their settlements are generally located either on the outskirts or in one corner of the village. In some cases they reside in a separate hamlet of their own people which is referred to by the name of the 'Kolghavas'. The advanced tribal groups in the village consider themselves superior to Kolghas and keep minimum contact with them. They come in their contact only when necessitated by circumstances because of living together in the village. The Kolghas on account of their abject poverty take their low status for granted. But in day to day life all these tribal communities do not have any animosity against them in the village.

A Kolgha settlement is compact. The huts are clustered together and not scattered. The Kolghas huts are of mud daubed walls with a peaked roof with grass. In some huts the roofs are supported by bamboo columns. Most of huts are circular known as 'Kuba'. Usually the huts consist of one room only which is used by the family for all purposes. There is one door and no windows and ventilation. The doors are made out of bamboo splits.

The houses built by the Government have only manglari tiles on their roof. In erecting hut all the members of the family participate. The close kins also help each other while constructing their huts. A Kolgha hut does not have a tidy appearance. Inside the hut, the few things are found lying helter-skelter. Thus, their dwellings speak of their miserable living condition.

Physical Appearance

In appearance Kolghas are dark brown in colour and they are medium to full statured. Women are tall, well built and disorderly. In appearance they are not very attractive but they are strongly built. So any sort of hard work can be done by them.

Language

Kolghas have their own special dialect. And that dialect is quite different from the other tribes which live in that area. Generally in their day to day affairs, they talk in their own dialect. But they can understand Gujarati language very well.

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- 3 Report on Census of Baroda State, 1911, Chapter XI - Caste, Tribes and Race Glossary, pp. 301.

The words of Maharashtrian dialect and Konkan dialect are used in their dialect. In a way, the impact. Thus even from dialectical point of view, it is clear that most of the families have been migrated in search of labour from West Khandesh and Thana district. A list of some of the words of this dialect was prepared which is listed below :

Father - Bah	father's elder brother
mother - ayah	- modhba
elder brother - baba	-dovar' bah
younger sister-bai	father's mother
father-in-law - mama	aju
father's sister - foi	
father's younger brother - kaka	
mother-in-law - foi	
ox	- bail
cow	- kalvad
buffalo	- dobad
buffalo' calf	- pardun
cow's calf	- vachhrun
goat	- bokdi
cocks	- komdi
agriculture	- kamai
land	- mal
labour	- manjri
having eaten	- khaya
mother's sister	- jiji
mother's sister's husband-	kaka
son of mother's brother -	dajo
brother-in-law -	bhavad
aunt's son	- dajo
uncle's son	- bhai
sanbelu	- musal
water pot	- gaghar
marriage	- lagna
lamp	- kandil
kothi	- natki (of bamboo)
bread	- bhakhar
compound	- ogan
kodh	- godha
Osri	- vosri
kitchen cup-board	- ovra
an utensil	- bhaguna

jug	- tole
valgani	- valana
arm	- hatha
palm	- nad
finger	- angdhi
thumb	- onghdha
elbow	- kopar
shoulders	- khandh
forehead	- kepal
boy	- pose
having drunk	- piya
to dance	- nachay
to run away	- pyun
burners	- chooli
devta	- ishta
leaf-plate	- baj
girl	- porgi
small	- barik
young girl	- badgi
young boy	- badga
eyes	- dola
eye-lids	- papni
nose	- nak
hair	- kesh
throat	- man
back	- pich
leg	- pay
lower part of leg	- tol pay
waist	- kambar
knee	- gudgi
drunkard	- majur
sleeping	- nijlay
to take bath	- anglay
chest	- ura
head	- doki
stomach	- pot

Education and Literacy

According to 1971 Census, the proportion of literacy in Kolghas was 7.76%. The proportion of literacy in male was 12.63% and in female 2.59%. In the total urban population, the proportion of literacy was 23.5% which means out of 1030, 243 persons were educated. While in the total rural population, the the proportion of education was only 7.18%.

While the proportion of education among Adivasis of Gujarat was 14.12%. Among male it was 21.83% and in female it was 6.15%. In 1961, the proportion of literacy in Kolghas was 4.82%. In male it was 8.06% and in female it was 1.44%.

Thus during the decade, from the population point of view, there is no striking increase in literacy. The proportion of education to some extent, has increased among males. While in female, the increase which is found, is negligible. The information about the districtwise and the talukawise proportion of education in Kolghas is given in Table 5.

TABLE - 4

Districtwise and Talukawise Literacy by sex (1971).

District/ Taluka	Population			Literate			Percent.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1 AHMEDABAD City	42	13 7	55	26	4	30	54.55
2 BANASKANTHA	8	4	12	-	-	-	-
a Vadgam	-	4	4	-	-	-	-
b Vav	8	0	8	-	-	-	-
3 BHARUCH	138	96	234	83 (60.14)	37 (38.54)	120	51.28
a Bharuch	17	9	26	3	1	4	15.38
b Anklesvar	3	-	3	3	-	3	100.00
c Vagra	60	47	107	26	7	33	30.84
d Jambusar	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
e Amod	45	25	70	15	-	15	21.43
f Nandod	12	15	27	6	4	10	15.71
4 DANGS	5	3	8	1	1	2	25.00
5 KHEDA	5	3	8	1 (20.0)	1 (33.33)	2	25.00
a Nadiad	2	1	3	1	-	1	33.33
b Kapadvanj	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
c Thasra	-	2	2	-	1	1	50.00
6 MEHSANA	8	4	12	2 (25.)	1 (25.0)	3	25.0
a Kheralu	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
b Vijapur	6	4	10	2	1	3	30.0
c Patan	1	-	1	-	-	-	-

DISTRICT/ Taluka	Population			Literate			Percent.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
7 PANCHMAHALS	2763	2700	5463	786 (28.45)	72 (2.67)	858	15.71
a Halol	3	-	3	3	-	3	100.00
b Santrampur	4	5	9	1	-	1	11.11
c Jhalod	11	17	28	3	-	3	10.74
d Dohad	5	14	19	-	-	-	-
e Limkheda	401	284	685	105	3	108	10.96
f Devgadhi Baria	2339	2380	4719	674	69	743	15.74
8 SURAT	1582	1494	3076	201 (12.71)	75 (5.01)	276	8.97
a Chorasi	209	199	408	89	55	144	35.29
b Kamrej	89	5	94	43	2	45	47.87
c Mangrol	20	31	51	4	7	11	21.57
d Mandvi	38	2	40	1	-	1	2.50
e Songadh	12	1	13	12	1	13	100.00
f Nizar	44	46	90	7	-	7	7.78
g Bardoli	79	82	161	10	3	13	8.07
h Mahuva	1077	1123	2200	30	7	37	1.68
i Palsana	14	5	19	5	-	5	26.32
9 VADODARA	1941	1591	3532	381 (19.62)	78 (4.90)	459	13.00
a Vadodara	155	140	295	39	11	50	16.95
b Karjan	194	72	266	39	2	41	15.41
c Padra	39	19	58	4	-	4	6.90
d Savli	101	70	171	14	8	22	12.87
e Voghodia	30	-	30	1	-	1	3.33
f Dabhoi	70	34	104	7	1	8	7.69
g Sankheda	136	152	288	70	31	101	35.07
h Jabugam	484	443	927	51	8	59	6.36
i Chhota Udepur	613	538	1151	92	7	99	8.60

DISTRICT/ Taluka	Population			Literates			Percent.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
j Nasvadi	5	2	7	-	-	-	
k Tilakwada	14	28	42	2	1	3	7.14
l Sinor	100	93	193	62	9	71	36.79
10. VALSAD	8587	8360	16947	390	93	483	3.05
a Valsad	275	270	545	14	5	19	3.49
b Pardi	24	25	49	15	12	27	55.10
c Umbergaon	19	18	37	3	-	3	8.11
d Gandevi	315	247	562	35	9	44	7.87
e Navsari	137	107	244	17	15	32	13.11
f Chikhli	1190	1152	2342	57	22	79	3.37
g Bansda	1763	1788	3551	60	7	67	1.89
h Dharampur	4864	4753	9617	189	23	212	2.20
4 DANGS	30	14	44	14	3	17	15.90
				(46.66)	(21.42)		
11 SABARKANTHA	45	35	80	7	1	8	10.00
				(15.55)	(2.85)		
a Prantij	6	7	13	-	-	-	-
b Vijaynagar	2	-	2	1	-	1	50.00
c Bhiloda	18	15	33	2	-	2	6.06
d Modasa	19	11	30	4	1	5	16.66
e Bayad	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Total	15150	14314	29464	1914	371	2285	
				(12.63)	(2.59)	(7.75)	

The figures in bracket shows the percentage

The details of literacy as reported in this study is presented in Table-6. The data presented in the shows that the majority of Kolgha population is illiterate. It is found that out of 369 persons, 319 (94.32) were illiterate. The proportion of illiteracy among male was 93.0%. While in female it was 97%. If we exclude the infants below 6 years from the total population, the total figure of the illiterate persons was 1072. Thus the proportion of illiteracy was 93% in the total population. Only 20 persons were educated. In which four were women. Among these 20 persons, 8 were educated upto standard-IV, 5 were educated upto standard-VII, 4 were educated upto standard-X and 3 were educated upto S.S.C. One woman is also included in this. Only 38 children were studying at the time of investigation. Among these, 23 were studying in preprimary classes, 6 were studying in Standard-V to VII, while two were studying in Standard-X and two were studying in S.S.C.

From these figures it is clear that they are very backward from the education point of view. Educational backwardness is also responsible for their economic backwardness. The proportion of education was different in all the areas under study. Arewise detail information of education is given in Table 6.

TABLE - 5
Talukawise Literacy by sex.

Area	Male	Female	Total
<hr/>			
1 <u>Chikhli Taluka</u>			
Illiterate	204 (87.2)	192 (96.6)	396 (90.6)
Literate	12 (5.1)	3 (5.1)	15 (3.4)
Studying	18 (7.7)	8 (3.9)	26 (6.0)
Total:	<u>234</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>437</u>
<hr/>			
2 <u>Mahuwa Taluka</u>			
Illiterate	206 (98.1)	217 (97.8)	423 (97.9)
Literate	3 (1.4)	1 (0.5)	4 (0.9)
Studying	1 (0.5)	4 (1.7)	5 (2.2)
Total	<u>210</u>	<u>222</u>	<u>432</u>
<hr/>			
3 <u>Dharampur Taluka</u>			
Illiterate	147 (95.45)	131 (99.24)	278 (97.20)
Literate	1 (0.65)	+	1 (0.35)
Studying	6 (3.90)	1 (07.6)	7 (2.45)
Total	<u>154</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>286</u>
<hr/>			
<u>Total:</u>			
Illiterate	557 (93.14)	540 (96.95)	1097 (94.98)
Literate	16 (2.68)	4 (0.72)	20 (1.73)
Studying	25 (4.18)	13 (2.33)	38 (3.29)
Total:	<u>598</u>	<u>557</u>	<u>1155</u>
<hr/>			

CHAPTER IIMATERIAL CULTURECulture:

The population of Kolghas is, as mentioned earlier concentrated mainly in Dharampur, Vansda, Chikhli and Mahuva talukas. These areas are mountainous and covered forests. Kolghas are staying here with the other advanced tribal groups. In Chikhli and Mahuva they are living with Dhodias and in Vansda and Dharampur they are living with Konknas, and warlis who are farmers. Generally, Kolghas work as farm - labourers in their farm. The houses of Kolghas are seen from 10 to 50 in those villages where their population is found. In most of the villages Kolghas settlement are located on the outskirts of the village. The other tribal groups and non-tribal consider them untouchables so their settlement is located separately from the others. The size of the Kolgha settlement varies from small to big ones. Settlement of average size with population of 100 to 150 with 20-30 families are a common pattern.

The types of the walls of house

Generally, the huts of the Kolghas have an extracurely poor appearance. Looking into.

TABLE 7

Housing conditions by type of walls.

Taluka	Bamboo Walls	Mud Walls	Grass Wall	Total
Chikhli	97	3	-	100
Mahuwa	100	-	-	100
Dharampur	-	3	57	60
Total	197	6	57	260

From table it is clear that mostly there are bamboo walls, which are plastered with clay. The condition of houses according to roof material is given in Table 8.

TABLE 8

Housing conditions of type by roofs.

Taluka	Thatched roof	Mangalore tiles roof	Country Tiles roof.	Total
Chikhli	26	74	-	100
Mahuva	58	42	-	100
Dharampur	29	19	12	100
Total	113	135	12	260
Percentage	(43.46)	(51.92)	(4.62)	100

The houses of Kolghas are kuccha. But there are Mangalori tiles on many of the houses. The reason for this is that in some villages there was a plan for constructing houses under 20 points programme in which Rs.700/- were given as a subsidy to each house-hold for house construction. Many households utilized the amount for covering the roof with Mangalori tiles. In some villages the houses were built under the Government plan, in which the bamboo wall and Mangalori tile were used. In some villages Government built houses like a Jam-tenament which is not preferred by them. Kolghas made separate houses themselves out of it by demolishing these tenaments, because they do not prefer to live in such houses where the wall is common. They distributed the upper tiles in equal proportion. So on some houses there are tiles on half part. The houses which were built under the Government relief scheme were

approximately square in shape. There are one or two windows and a door to such houses. Otherwise there are no windows in the houses. And there is wooden window in place of a door. While the self-made houses are like round kuba. The grass which is used for covering the house on upper part is changed every year. This grass is of paddy (hay) which is brought from the field of landowners. And the ropes which are built from grass are fastened on the upper material of the grass. So the grass remains glued to the roof. This entire house they build after two or three years again. If the bamboo beams are not in the proper condition they are properly adjusted and the houses are built again. They do not fetch the labourers (workers) to build the houses; they build houses themselves. As pointed out earlier the relatives do assist in the construction of house.

The houses are approximately 10' x 15' size. Mostly the houses contain only single room.

TABLE 9

Housing conditions according to number of room.

Taluka	One	two	more than two rooms	Total
Chikhli	84	15	1	100
Mahuva	49	47	4	100
Dharampur	54	4	2	100
Total	187	66	7	260
Percentage	(71.93)	(25.38)	(2.69)	(100)

Among 260 families which were investigated 72% families have been living in single room houses. While families who possessed two rooms, houses were less in numbers. Mostly the houses containing single room are like round kuba, in which at one side they keep an oven and in the middle they keep two or three circular structure made out of bamboo strips for storing grains and other things and in one corner grinding store, if the family possessed two room houses are those which have been built under the Government scheme, very seldom, Kolghas construct two room houses from their own resources. Thus, the general pattern is that of one room house. In their houses they keep hearth, wooden pots, grinding stone etc. In the other room, a bamboo is kept hanging to put clother and other things. The other room is used as a bed-room.

Generally the houses of the Kolghas are built on the landlord's land or in barren land. They have to depend completely on the landlord if the house is constructed upon his land.

If the house is built on the landlord's land, there is a constant fear of being driven out by him at any time. Hence they cannot go out for work if the landlord needs them even if they get better wages at other places. So they can go out to work at other places only when the landlord has no work. Moreover the women-folks have to do household work of the landlord. In return they get foodgrains. They have to work there in spite of the exploitation because they have their houses on the landlord's land. The children have to go for grazing cattle in return they get the grains and the children have to work only for the cattle grazing.

The distribution of houses according to the ownership of land is given in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Distribution of households according to ownership of land.

Taluka	In own land	In Landlord's land	In Govt. land	Total
Chikhli	7	71	22	100
Mahuva	6	15	79	100
Dharampur	37	22	1	60
Total:	50	108	102	260
Percentage	(19.23)	(41.54)	(29.23)	100

It can be seen from above table that about 43 percent families were round to live on landlord's land at the time of survey. 29% of families were given land for houses by the Government. Generally the landlord gets Rs.3 to 4 - as rent per annum and they have to remain in constant fear of the landlord because they would be driven out if they do not go for landlord's work.

Household Articles

The inventory of the house shows a couple of earthen vessels or aluminium vessels for cooking, an earthen pot for water, or earthen plate for making 'Rotla'. These are the cooking utensils in a Kolghas house. Besides these there will be one or two baskets for hatching the eggs and also for enclosing the poultry. The breeding is very simple and consists of one or two

baskets for hatching the eggs and also for enclosing the poultry. The bedding is very simple and consists of one or two pieces of gunny bags or palm leaves mat and rags, generally lying on a horizontal bamboo bar. The tattered pieces of the used dresses are also put on the same bamboo bar. Cots, cotton mattresses, copper or brass utensils are absent in most of the houses of Kolghas. This is obvious because he cannot afford any such thing due to poverty. Very few Kolgha house possess cots, brass vessels, grinding stone, etc. The number of household using household articles are given in Table 11.

TABLE 11

No. of Households using household articles.

Items	Chikhli	Mahuva	Dharam- put	Total Percentage Family of	
	Total family	Total family	Total family	Total family	
<u>VESSELS</u>					
Aluminium	100	100	60	260	100.0
Brass	6	29	6	41	15.8
Stell	1	-	-	1	0.4
Earthen	100	100	60	260	100.0
<u>COTS</u>					
Newar	1	-	-	1	100.0
Kathi	21	70	4	95	36.5
<u>FURNITURE</u>					
Table.Chairs	-	1	1	2	0.8

No. of Households using household articles.

Items	Chikhli	Mahuva	Bharam- pur	Total Family	Percen- tage of Total Family
	Total family	Total family	Total family		
Bicycle	-	1	5	6	2.3
Wrist Watch	3	1	4	8	3.1
Radio	2	1	13	16	6.2
Lentern	1	24	-	25	9.6
Chimni	90	30	60	230	88.5
Lantern	-	-	21	21	8.8
Torch	1	5	18	24	9.2
Trunk	16	61	8	85	32.7
Grinding Stone	10	42	50	102	39.2
Grinder	10	42	52		

It can be seen from Table 11, what type of household things are there and how many families use them. Earthen utensils are used by all families. While brass utensils are used by only 41 families out of two hundred sixty families. Aluminium utensils were found from all the houses, while steel utensils were found only in one family.

Apart from this, among other things, cots are used not by all the families but only by 36 percent of them. Even in the houses of 36 percent families, there were only one or two cots. These are not for all the family members but only for the guests. The family members sleep on the ground on gunny bag. Only one family had a Newar cot while cots with Kathis thread were found with 95 families. These cots are made by themselves. They bring logs of wood from forest and prepare the cots themselves from bomboos or timber.

Only one family had a table and chair. No other family had any furniture.

Six families owned cycle, wrist watches were owned by 8 families. Radio by 16 and lantern by 25 families. The lantern is used for catching frogg in the dark night. The Chimni is generally used for lighting houses. Even lamps were not found in all the houses. Luxurious items were scarcely found. Only six families had torches. Only 85 families had small trunks for clothes. Apart from this, the grinding stone for daily use was not found in many houses. Only 102 out of 260 families owned the grinding stone. The rest used the grinding stone of their neighbours.

Matresses and other bedding equipments were rarely found. The beds are made of the leaves of palm trees or old bags. They do not use matresses or blankets but in winter, they sleep around the fire in the middle of their houses.

The principal occupation of the Kolghas is labour. Some of them have a land. They prepare palm-mats for their own use. The Kolghas who are farmers keep their equipments outside the house on the wall, and on one side of the wall keep a cattle-shed. In this cattle-shed, they keep cows, bullocks or goats and agricultural implements. They do not even have all the agricultural implements except a plough. Sometimes they borrow the implements from the landlord or from relatives.

The Musical Instruments

Among musical instruments, pipes, flutes and drums are found and bronze dish is also used on occasions like marriage. These instruments are not necessarily found in all the houses.

The musical instruments are handmade. The drum is also self-made from the leather. On occasions like marriage, the instruments are played by their own men. Some specialists are also called upon to play instruments at the time of marriage and paid Rs. 20 25 for their performance.

Weapons and Hunting Instruments.

Among weapons, Kolghas have nothing except axe, stick. While going to the forest, they carry axe. Apart from this, they do not use other weapon.

They do hunting by preparing trap but hunting is resorted to very rarely. The Gilol is used to kill birds.

The fishing-nets are found in almost all the houses. During monsoon, most of the men and women go out for the fishing. Fish is used in their diet. They go for fishing in groups of five or ten and distribute the fish among themselves.

Dress and Ornaments:

The male Kolghas wear short dhoti or shorts put on cap. The young men generally wear shorts and shirts. Some put on pants and bush-shirts. The children wear nickers, bando or only shirts. Men do not use any ornaments.

Women wear Saris below waist and cover head with a piece of saree and put on blouse. Old women put on sari blouse while young girls also wear sari and blouse.

Gold ornaments are not found at all. Silver ornaments are also rarely found. Among the 260 families, under the inquiry, the following ornaments were found.

TABLE 12

No. of families using ornaments.

Taluka	Gold	Silver	Nickle (Kalai)
Chikhli	-	-	75
Mahuva	-	7	97
Dharampur	-	1	22
Total families	-	8	194

Even these ornaments are not found in all the families. Generally, ornaments of brass metal like nickle are used. Among these are neck-lace, bangles and todis. Moreover, nasal-ring is also used. These are the main ornaments and all the women do not necessarily have them. Most of the Kolghas women used plastic and artificial ornaments. Especially young girls wear glass or plastic bangles, plastic necklace and ear-ring. Moreover, the ribbons, kajal, etc. are used as cosmetics.

Apart from these, other things like smaller mirrors, combs are found in some houses. Some boys and girls keep handkerchiefs and pocket-combs also.

Food and Drink

Most of the Kolghas do not get a square in a day. Their diet mainly consists of coarse food grains. They use whatever is locally available. Food is provided by the landlord or prepared from grains given in return of their labour. Today this community subsists on 'bhadka' (a gruel), a preparation in which the flour or grains is mixed up in hot water with salt and chillies. They eat chappatis which may be prepared from maize or jowar, or nagli or wari. Their food includes pulses, rice and sometimes vegetables. They even eat flesh of dead animals. As they are very fond of flesh it is possible that in absence of hunting materials i.e. wild life, they must have taken to this unhygienic practice. On some occasion they eat chicken. Moreover, they eat 'BOLIX' (dried fish) which are just roasted and eaten. Eggs are rarely consumed by them. They also supplement this diet with small games, such as hares, partridges, squirrels, pigeon, cuts and birds when available.

From summer to the close monsoon, they eat whatever is easily available in the forest. Wild roots such as 'Kadva Kanda' (wild onion), a kind of poisonous tuber, is also consumed. They eat green leaves of 'karadi' (carthamus tinctorius) Mahuda flowers and fruits (Madhnealalifolia), Bansoo seeds (Dendrocalamus strictus), Bel fruits (Aegle marmelos) etc. But by and large most of the Kolghas families are passing days without sufficient and wholesome food. They do not consume milk and any milk products. Even small children are not given milk to drink. Use of tea is

not common although many of them occasionally taste it when they visit to Bazar. Kolghas like any other tribal group do not consider consuming liquor as an evil habit. The whole family including the young ones consume liquor together. Right from the time a child is born till his death liquor is a divine drink to them. Every ceremonial or religious occasion is celebrated with liquor. Most of the Kolghas appear to be liquor addicts. Most of their earnings are spent on liquor. Generally liquor is made out of Mahuda flowers or jaggery after fermentation and distillation. It is impossible to banish liquor from the Kolgha community. If they do not get Mahuda liquor they consume liquor made out in unhygienic condition. This also affects very badly on the health of the Kolghas. It has been reported that death due to gastric ulcer is common among the Kolghas and other tribals in general.

Smoking of bidies made out of Ashitra leaves is very common and both men and women smoke without any hesitation or restriction.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The Kolghas are mainly dependent on agricultural labour. The major part of their income is derived from this source. They do not have much land. Majority of the Kolghas are hereditary labourers. Generally they work permanently for the landlord. The women also do the labour work. Many times, they have to do household work at the landlord's house. Their economic condition is pitiable. They have to remain without food many times in a year. They live permanently with the landlord for labour. Many times all the members of a family have to work for a single landlord. They are paid Rs. 2 to 3 as wages and in some case one time meal is also provided by the landlord. Only in some areas, meal is provided. They have to incur debt frequently to meet the expenditure on social occasions and have to work for the landlord with less wage in order to repay the debt. From one point of view their condition is just like bonded labours. It is found that in most of the villages under survey they have been attached to a landlord only. They could not go to work anywhere else even though they might get better wages. Thus they are working just like bonded labours, though in a strict legal sense according to Government definitions they are not bonded. They do not get work throughout the year. Hence, they have to go from place to place in search of work. Especially they go out for work at the time of sowing and cutting the sugarcane. Many families always go to work in 'Chiku' and mango orchard. They are very expert in preparing 'Kyaris'. Mostly they go out for work in summer and winter, but come back to their native place in monsoon.

Apart from this, they see their children engaged for grazing cattle of the landlord. For grazing cattle they get 100 Kilos of paddy yearly or Rs.100 and a pair of cloth.

The Kolghas residing in Dharampur cut and sell the fire-wood in addition to labour work.

In some areas some Kolgha families keep a cow buffalo belonging to some other family, feed it till it gives birth to a calf then get half the price of the cattle, arrived at mutually or through a third person. Some also keep he-buffaloes with whose half they till the field on payment both for their labour for their he buffaloes.

Some Kolghas keep hens and goats only for their own domestic purposes. The income from this sources is negligible.

Apart from this some of them collect herbs like Solenum, 'Xantha Carpum' from fields and forest and after drying it up, sell to the local shop traders at Rs.2/- per 2.5 Kg. They also sell other minor forest produce.

They are also expert in pressing grass bales, for which they get Rs.120/- per 100 bales. They also catch frogs from October to December from the ponds and canals for which they get Rs.1 to 2 per frog by selling them to a few Muslim agents at Billimora who sell them in Bombay. They also engage themselves in hewing firewood for which they are getting Rs.40/- (withour food). They have a reputation of being very efficient hewers of wood.

Some Kolghas have a plot of land. The lands have been distributed to them under Bhoodan. As they were cultivating land very primitively whatever income earned from agriculture would not support them adequately. Actually whatever he earns from farm produce would hardly last even for two months.

In Bhagwanpur village of Mahuva taluka one family was doing retail business of vegetables. Similarly, in Dharampur taluka three families were engaged in retail business of cuttlery articles. Moreover, some people prepared a kind of raincoat called "Cenghdu" out of bamboos. They got Rs.2 to 3 per piece of "Cenghdu". They have been also catching the fish but it is only for domestic consumption and not for sale. In Ozar village of Dharamput taluka, 2 families were rearing pig but again, it is only for domestic consumption and not for sale.

Total Working Population

According to 1961 Census, the number of total workers among the Kolghas was 8190 which was 55.71% of the total population. The population of the working population was 58.96% among men while 52.32% among women. The number of Women Workers was less than the men workers. Thus, the ratio of workers was 100 men for eighty five women. The information regarding the working population is not available for 1971 Census. So it is not possible to compare the difference during the decade. Now will see in which occupation the Kolghas are employed according to 1961 Census. It can be seen from the figures in Table 11 that 57% of the total population were employed in farm labour and 30% were employed in cultivation. The number of these engaged in other occupation, was negligible.

Out of the surveyed families consisting of 869 persons, only 260 (22.5%) persons were earning members, while 516 (44.6%) persons.

TABLE - 11

Industrial classification of workers (1961).

Occupation	Numbers			Percentage		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population	7,429	7,110	14,539	51.10	48.90	100.0
Total workers	4,380	3,720	8,100	54.07	45.93	100.00
Total non-workers	3,049	3,390	6,439	45.93	54.07	100.00
Cultivator	1247	1165	2412	28.47	31.32	29.78
Agriculture labourer	2,328	2,274	4,602	53.16	61.13	56.81
Forestry, Mines, Animal Husbandry	156	26	182	3.56	0.70	2.25
Household Industries	27	11	38	0.61	0.30	0.47
Other Industries	182	25	207	4.16	0.66	2.56
Construction	11	5	16	0.25	0.13	0.20
Trade and Commerce	22	8	30	0.50	0.22	0.36
Transport and Communication	38	-	38	0.87	-	0.47
Service	369	206	575	8.42	5.54	7.10
Total	4,380	3,720	8,100	100.0	100.00	100.00

though employed in economic activities, depended on the main earning members while 279 persons did not do any economic activities. Thus out of total population, average 67% persons earn livelihood through one or another economic activity. The proportion of earning women was about 47.2%.

TABLE - 12

Distribution of working population in different areas.

Subject	Chikhli			Mahuva			Dharampur		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	T.
Earners	97	3	100 (22.88)	99	1	100 (23.14)	60	-	60 (20.98)
Earners but depended	69	143	212 (48.51)	39	127	166 (38.43)	45	93	138 (48.25)
Non-earners	68	57	125 (28.61)	72	94	166 (38.43)	51	37	88 (30.77)
Total	234 (55.55)	203 (46.45)	437 (100.0)	210 (468.61)	222 (51.34)	432 (100.0)	156 (54.55)	130 (45.55)	286 (100.0)

Thus it can be seen that the Kolghas women also do very hard work to earn their livelihood just like the Kolghas men.

Economic Life

Out of the surveyed 260 families, the main occupation of 201 families was labour, while 56 families had some agricultural land in addition to labour. While the main occupation of 3 families was service.

Agriculture

As stated above the main occupation of Kolghas is labour work. They had little agriculture land. Only 58 families out of the total families had some land out of which 52 families possessed land upto 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, three families $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 acres, two family possessed more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land. Out of the total families, the maximum land possessed by a family was 9 acres, while the minimum land possessed by one family was 2 gunthas only. The average land possessed by the land owning families was one acre and 23 gunthas, yet it is noteworthy that out of 58 families who possessed land, only 47 families had land of their own, while 11 families were given land to till by their landlord.

The production was very low because of the low quality of land. The families under inquiry were cultivating mainly paddy, jower, nagli, tur, gram and sugarcane. Only 2 families produced sugarcane. Most of the Kolghas do not cultivate rabi season crop. Whatever was produced from farms was kept for own consumption. Nothing was produced for selling in the market. The agriculture was of a very primitive type, they cannot cultivate the land properly owing to the land properly owing to the scarcity of implements. Because of their poor economic condition, they rarely use highbreed seeds, fertilizers or pesticides. Generally, they have only one plough and a 'Samar' as agricultural implements. Out of 58 families under study, only 30 families had a pair of bullocks while one family had only one bullock. Generally they cultivate the land by hiring bullocks. The families without bullocks hire from tribal neighbours in the village. A pair of bullocks can be hired at the rate of Rs. 15 per day.

Kolghas do not generally use fertilizers but those having cattle use cowdung manure. About 4 families have been reported to use chemical fertilizers. Most of Kolghas are not in a position to afford chemical fertilizers. The Kolghas still use local seeds. No one has adopted improved variety of seed. No irrigation facilities are available to them. In absence of these, the average yield per acre is low (Rs.107). Though agriculture is the secondary occupation of these people, they earn very little from agriculture, so they manifest very little interest in improving their agriculture.

Regarding the income and expenditure, it can be seen from the figures in Table 13 that the net production per acre was only Rs.107. In the group of upto 2.5 acres, the yield per acre was Rs.89/- while per acre production of the families holding more than 7 acres of land was only Rs.111.00. Thus it can be clearly seen that it is impossible to maintain the family from such small-holding throughout the year.

TABLE 12

Agricultural Income and Expenditure according to landholdings.

Agricultural Income and Expenses											
Total Size of No. of land- fam- hold- lies. ing (A.G.)	Total Land (A.G.)	Agri. Prod- uction (Rs.)	Manures (Rs.)	Seeds (Rs.)	Land Revenue (Rs.)	Labour Expenses (Rs.)	Total House- hold Agri- hold Expenses (Rs.)	Cash (Rs.)	Net Agricul- tural Income. (Rs.)	Avera- ge. Produ- ction per acré (Rs.)	
52 0-1 to 2-5	55.16	9,154	1,783	1,004	176	1,259	4,222	1,877	2,345	4,932	89.20
3 2-5 to 5-0	13.00	4,540	955	375	120	725	2,175	725	1,450	2,365	182.00
2 5-0 to 7-5	18.00	1,772	100	85	80	40	305	85	220	1,467	105.00
1 Above 7.5	9.00	1,175	25	40	60	50	175	40	135	1,000	111.00
58 -	91.16	16,641	2,863	1,504	436	2,074	6,877	2,727	4,150	9,764	100.00
			(41.63)	(21.87)	(6.34)	(30.16)	(100.0)	(39.65)	(60.35)		

Animal Husbandary

3 Some Kolghas keep cows, goats, Out of total families surveyed, 16 were keeping cows. During the survey a census of cattle and poultry was undertaken and it was found that altogether the live stock numbered 162 except fowls which means that an average household possessed less than one cattle.

The figures in Table 14 reveal that 36 households owned 39 cows, 20 households owned 23 calves and 27 households owned 31 goats and pigs. 247 households owned 1225 fowls. Though Kolghas own these cattle and poultry practically no income is derived from these sources, and only in case of emergency some fowls or goat is sold to meet dire needs of case money. Cows are kept with the explicit purpose of getting bullocks to be used in their farming.

TABLE - 14

Animal Husbandary according to
different occupations.

Subject	Occupation				Service Total
	Labour work	Labour work + Farming	Service + Farming		
Cows	Total	.7	26	3	36
	Families	(19.44)	(72.23)	(8.33)	(100.00)
	Numbers	.7	29	3	39
		(17.75)	(74.36)	(7.69)	(100.00)
Bullocks	Total	.4	32	1	37
	Families	(10.81)	(86.49)	(2.70)	(100.00)
	Numbers	.6	61	2	69
		(8.70)	(88.41)	(2.90)	(100.00)
Claves	Total	.4	15	1	20
	Families	(20.00)	(75.00)	(5.00)	(100.00)
	Numbers	.4	18	1	23
		(17.39)	78.26	(4.35)	(100.00)
Goats	Total	22	5		27
	Families	(81.48)	(18.52)	-	(100.00)
Pigs	Number	23	8		31
		(74.19)	(25.81)	-	(100.00)
Fauls	Total	175	69	2	247
	Families	(70.85)	(27.94)	(0.81)	(0.40)
	Numbers	873	342	5	1225
		(71.26)	(2.92)	(0.41)	(0.41)
Grand Total	Total	212	147	7	367
	Families	(57.77)	(40.05)	(1.91)	(0.27)
	Numbers	913	458	11	1387
		(65.83)	(33.02)	(0.79)	(0.36)

Income

As mentioned earlier, for a large portion of the working population among Kolghas agricultural labour is the main source of income. There are two types of labourers, (a) the daily labourers and (b) attached labourers. They are getting Rs.2/- per day. Besides wages in cash, labourers are given mid-day meal, (only two Rotlas). Distribution of income from different sources is given in Table 15.

TABLE - 15

Income from different sources by occupations.

Income in Rs.	Occupation				Total
	Labour	Labour Agri- culture	Service Agri- culture	only Service	
Agriculture income	-	8864 (8.44)	1900 (26.53)	-	10764 (2.87)
Animal Husbandry income	7988 (3.10)	4834 (4.60)	312 (4.36)	60 1.10	13194 (3.51)
Labour income	248476 (96.40)	89910 (85.57)	750 (10.47)	-	339136 (90.33)
Service & trade income	250 (0.10)	1410 (1.34)	4200 (58.64)	5400 (98.90)	11260 (3.00)
other incomes	1040 (0.40)	50 (0.05)	-	-	1090 (0.29)
Total income	257754 (100.00)	105068 (100.00)	7162 (100.00)	5460 (100.00)	375444 (100.00)
Annual income per family	1282,36	1876.21	3581.00	5460	1444.02
Annual income per capita	309.43	343.36	796.00	780.00	325.05

The figures in Table 15 show that they derived 90 percent of total income from labour work. Income from other sources are negligible. The annual income per household was Rs.1444 and per capita income was Rs.325.

The figures given in Table 16 regarding the distribution of houses according to different income ranges show that about 2/3rd of the households had an income of Rs.1500/- annually, only 7 households had income of more than Rs.3,000/- annually.

Dimension of poverty

In the case of Kolghas a painful and grim reality of starvation emerges, for nearly the entire community .. as all of them are far below the poverty line. The nationally accepted minimum level of living postulates a monthly per capita consumer expenditure of Rs.20/- at 1960 prices which works out to about Rs.60/- per capita per month at 1974-75 prices. Almost all the Kolghas households are below the poverty line. (See Table -17).

TABLE - 16

Distribution of households according to income groups.

Income Group (Rs.)	Occupation				Total
	Labour work	Labour Agri-culture	Service Agri-culture	Only Service	
Less than 500	2. (1.00)	-	-	-	2. (0.77)
501 to 1000	70. (34.82)	1. (1.79)	-	-	71. (27.31)
1001 to 1500	82. (40.80)	19. (33.92)	-	-	101 (38.85)
1501 to 2000	28. (13.93)	17. (30.36)	-	-	45. (17.31)
2001 to 3000	19 (9.45)	14. (25.00)	1 500.00	-	34. (13.08)
3001 to 4000	-	5 (8.93)	-	-	5 (1.92)
4001 to 5000	-	-	1. 50.00	-	1 (0.38)
Above 5001	-	-	-	1. 100.00	1. (0.38)
Total	201. (100.00)	56 (100.00)	2 (100.00)	1 (100.00)	260 (100.00)

TABLE - 17

Monthly Expenditure according to Occupations.

Group of monthly Expenditure Per Capita. (in Rs.)		Occupation				
		Labour work	Labour Agri-culture	Service only Agri-culture	Total	
1 to 20	Total Family	47 (23.38)	4 (7.14)	-	51 (19.62)	
20	Total population	235	20		264	
21 to 30	Total Family	97 (48.27)	30 (53.57)	+	127 (48.85)	
30	Total population	409	180	-	589	
31 to 40	Total Family	43 (21.39)	16 (23.57)	1 (50.00)	60 (23.00)	
40	Total Population	161	76	14	241	
41 to 50	Total Family	11 (5.47)	5 (8.93)	-	17 (100.00)(6.54)	
50	Total Population	22	17	7	46	
51 to 60	Total Family	3 (1.49)	1 (1.79)	-	4 (1.54)	
60	Total Population	6	4		10	
Above 60	Total to Family	-	-	1 (500.00)	1 (0.37)	
60	Total Population	-	-	5	5	
Total	Total Family	201 (100.00)	56 (100.00)	2 (100.00)	1 (100.00)	260 (100.00)
	Total Population	833	306	9	7	1155

Nearly 80% of households covered in this study have reported period of starvation. Starvation reporting household is defined as a household members starved through-out the day (i.e. missed both the meals) for some days, and in addition missed one-meal a day for some days during some part of the year. The incidence of starvation is particularly high during monsoon. The details of starving households are given in Table 17.

Quality and level of Consumption:

Consumption of all items particularly food is pitifully low among the Kolghas. They eat whatever is readily available from coarse grains to edible leaves when nothing else is available. The pattern of consumption is examined in Table 18 for individual items. The table reveals that foremost items for expenditure in the economic life of Kolgha is food. Of the total household expenditure nearly 40 per cent. is spent on food. After food, next items are clothing and liquor on which sizeable expenditure is incurred by an average Kolgha household. Consumption of food items varied from one category of household to another. The per capita expenditure on food was Rs.129/-. Next in importance was liquor and clothing (Rs.37). The annual expenditure per family was Rs.1,427/-, out of this 97 percent in cash and only 3 percent from household

Assets

The distribution of assets held by them is given in Table 20.

TABLE - 17

Starvation period according to occupations.

Occupation	No. of starving families									
	Total		At least 15 days		One month		Two months		Total	
	Total Family	Total Population	Total Family	Total Population	Total Family	Total Population	Total Family	Total Population	Total Family	Total Population
Labourer	201	833	68	281	82	340	32	136	132	757
Labour + Farming	56	306	11	65	13	64	7	37	31	166
Total	257	1,139	79	346	95	404	39	273	213	923

TABLE - 18

Household Expenditure according to occupations (Percentage).

Expenditure	Occupations				Total
	Labourer	Labour + Agr.	Labour + Agr.	Only Service	
1 Food	96632 (37.62)	49891 (47.88)	1582 (24.44)	844 (24.56)	148949 (40.14)
2 Milk	160 (0.06)	150 (0.14)	200 (3.09)	-	510 (0.14)
3 Sugar Gur	13617 (5.30)	2271 (2.18)	155 (2.40)	157 (4.57)	16200 (4.37)
4 Ghee-Oil	10178 (3.96)	3053 (2.93)	270 (4.17)	105 (3.06)	13606 (3.67)
5 Tea-Coffee	4349 (1.69)	749 (0.72)	50 (0.77)	35 (1.02)	5183 (1.40)
6 Spices	4930 (1.92)	1515 (1.45)	60 (0.93)	30 (0.87)	6535 (1.76)
7 Vegetables	6480 (2.52)	1913 (1.84)	100 (1.54)	50 (1.46)	8543 (2.30)
8 Meal-eggs	12283 (4.78)	4522 (4.34)	375 (5.80)	200 (5.82)	17380 (4.68)
9 Fuel	7386 (2.87)	1736 (1.67)	150 (2.32)	135 (3.93)	9407 (2.54)
10 Tobacco Cigarettes	9148 (2.56)	3417 (3.28)	100 (1.54)	80 (2.33)	12745 (3.44)
11 Liquor	31582 (12.30)	7935 (7.62)	200 (3.09)	-	39717 (10.70)

Expenditure	Occupations				Total
	Labourer	Labour +Agr.	Service +Agr.	Only Service	
12 Traveling	6827 (2.66)	2929 (2.81)	139 (2.15)	100 (2.91)	9995 (2.69)
13 Clothing	28812 (11.21)	12357 (11.86)	350 (5.41)	650 (18.92)	42169 (11.37)
14 Footwear	5649 (2.20)	378 (0.84)	70 (1.08)	50 (1.46)	6647 (1.79)
15 Education	420 (0.16)	30 (0.03)	370 (5.72)	300 (8.72)	1120 (0.30)
16 Social Expenses	17212 (6.70)	9200 (8.83)	700 (10.82)	200 (5.82)	27312 (7.36)
17 Others	1265 (0.49)	1650 (1.58)	1600 (24.73)	500 (14.55)	5015 (1.35)
Household consumption	735 (0.29)	10018 (9.61)	1642 (25.30)	-	12395 (3.34)
Cash	256195 (99.71)	94178 (90.39)	4829 (74.63)	3436 (100.0)	358638 (96.66)
Total	256930	104196 (100.0)	6471 (100.0)	3436 (100.0)	371033 (100.0)

Annual Expenditure per Capita (Rs.)

Expenditure	Occupation				Total
	Labour work	Labour work + Farming	Service Farming	Service	
1 Food	116.00	163.04	175.73	120.57	128.96
2 HIRE	0.19	0.49	22.22	-	0.44
3 Sugar	16.35	7.42	17.22	22.43	14.03
4 Kerosene-Oil	12.22	9.98	30.00	15.00	11.78
5 Tea-Coffee	5.22	2.55	5.66	5.00	4.49
6 Spices	5.92	4.95	6.67	4.29	5.66
7 Vegetables	7.78	6.25	11.11	7.14	7.40
8 Meat-Eggs.	14.75	14.78	41.67	28.57	15.05
9 Fuel	8.87	5.67	16.67	19.29	8.14
10 Tobacco Cigarette	10.98	11.17	11.11	11.43	11.03
11 Liquor	37.91	25.93	22.22	-	34.39
12 Travelling	8.20	9.57	15.44	14.29	8.65
13 Clothing	34.59	40.38	38.89	92.86	36.51
14 Furniture	6.78	2.87	7.78	7.14	5.75
15 Education	0.50	0.10	41.11	42.86	0.97
16 Social Ceremonies	20.66	30.07	77.78	28.57	23.65
17 Others	1.52	5.39	177.78	71.43	4.34
18 Total	308.44	340.51	719.01	490.87	321.24

TABLE - 20

Assets according to Occupations

Assets	Labour work	Labour work + Farming	Service Farming	Service only	Total
Houses	46950 (49.65)	26620 (15.22)	4000 (15.22)	3500 (87.00)	81070 (25.92)
Lands	-	107150 (57.02)	19000 (72.30)	-	126150 (40.33)
Trees		6585 (3.50)	275 (1.05)		6860 (2.19)
Animals	11555 (12.22)	30250 (16.10)	1535 (5.84)	50 (1.24)	43390 (13.87)
Agricultural Implements	285 (0.30)	4243 (2.25)	275 (1.05)		4803 (1.54)
Household Articles	29687 (31.39)	11533 (6.14)	1115 (4.24)	448 (11.14)	42783 (13.68)
Ornaments	6087 (6.44)	1544 (0.82)	80 (0.30)	25 (0.62)	7736 (2.47)
Total	94564 (100.00)	187925	26280 (100.00)	4023 (100.00)	312792 (100.00)
Average per Household	Rs. 470/-	1,355/-	11,140/-	4,023/-	1,203/-.

Assets

The distribution of Assests held by them is given in Table 20.

The figures in Table 20 reveals that an average Kolgha household possessed 21 percent in the farm house, 40% in land, 13 percent in the form of household articles and very negligibile in the form of ornaments. A Kolgha household possessed an average assets of Rs.1203/-. Agricultural labourers had an asset of Rs.470/- only.

Indebtedness

The figures of indebtendness, as given in Table 21, show that out of total 260 households, 103 households reported indebtedness. The average debt of surveyed households works out to Rs.69/-. The average debt for for indebted households was Rs.176/-. All households incurred debt for the purpose of meeting household expenditure. The major borrowing was in kind. Many Kolghas have reported that nobody likes to lend them money because of their poverty, uncertain employment and meagre tangible assets. There are so many cases found during investigation in which a Kolgha youth had taken 'Khavti' (loan) to solemnise his marriage. In order to repay the Khavti they have to work for the landlord from whom they have taken a loan.

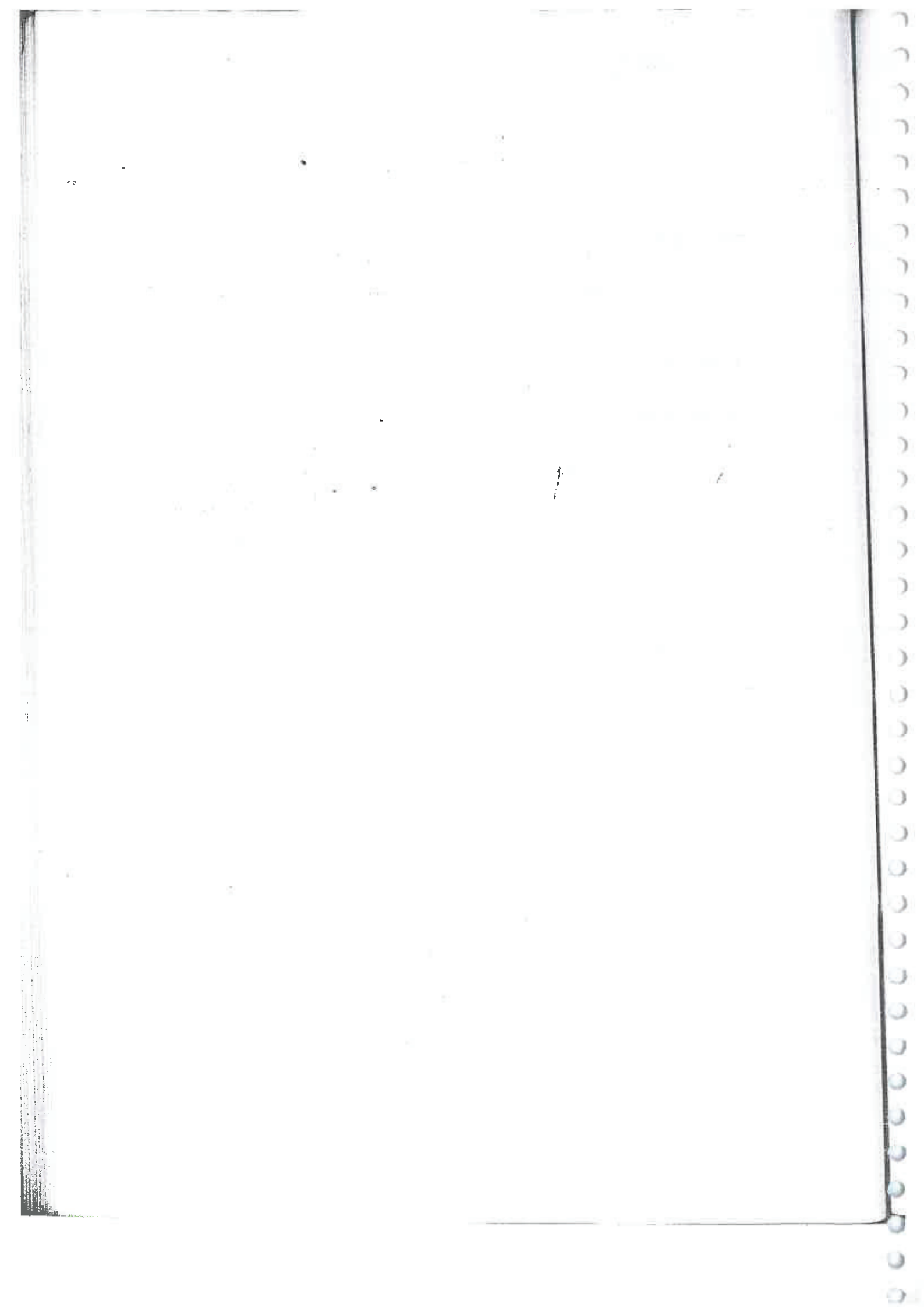
TABLE - 21

Indebtedness according to occupation.

Occupation	Total indebted families	Debt per family	Debt per indebted family.
Labourer	66	37.77	115.03
Labour + Agriculture	35	160.71	257.14
Service + Agriculture	2	750	750
Total	103	69.58	175.65

Conclusions

Economically Kolghas live an uncertain life. Most of them are unable to make both ends meet. The income of Kolgha is very low. Incomes are not only low but are also so fluctuating that they always reflect a large degree of uncertainty in their life.. It is quite clear that inspite of working hard and after pooling their earnings from different sources they are unable to meet the basic minimum need of their families.



CHAPTER IV SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The Kolghas began to live in Gujarat, about a century back. Originally they hail from Maharashtra and incidently most of the Kolghas are centred around Dharampur. Afterwards they must have shifted ahead, in search of jobs and hence must have settled in the peripheral villages of Dharampur Taluka.

They have maintained their kinship relationship with their counterparts in Bansda, Chikhli and Mahuva talukas. Their maximum population is in Maharashtra, so one can easily say that they must have travelled to Gujarat in search of jobs and consequently settled there. Even to-day they migrate from one village to another in search of jobs and get settled in villages where the availability of jobs is continuous and easy.

Family Structure

Kolghas have patriarchal and patrilineal family system. Right of inheritance is passed over in to the son. Father is the head of the family. All the final decisions are taken by him. The daughter is supposed to go and settle in her husband's home after the marriage. But at the same time we find many cases of the son-in-laws settling with their wife's families. This type of son-in-laws are known as 'Gharjamai' or 'Khandodia'. This happens when a husband cannot afford a bride price. He works at his father-in-law's place and after four or five years, he separates from his father-in-law. Instead of the bride-groom party going to bride's place for marriage ceremony, amongst Kolghas; a bride goes to groom's place for the marriage ceremonies. In spite of this, they have patriarchal and patrilineal society.

There are four main groups of Kolgha tribe. This classification was solely dependent on the system of land ownership and the hereditary "Hali pratha". All the four groups are considered equal and the social interaction amongst these four groups is taking place horizontally and not vertically. These groups are, namely :

- (1) Khandit,
- (2) Mat
- (3) Sanjapat
- (4) Navtad.

These four groups are formed on the basis of their relationship with their landlords.

(1) Khandit-Mandit

The Kolghas of this group stay as the slaves of their landlords but behave as family members. On the occasion of the death of a family member belonging to their landlord's family they also shave of their hair, beard and moustache, like other family members. The landlords are supposed to supply them with food and clothes. This type of slave like-Kolghas are known as Khandit-Mundit Kolghas.

(2) Mat: This type of bonded slavery is hereditary. The salvation from this type of slavery was only possible in cases of repayment of the debts. Repayment of debts by Kolghas themselves was an impossible task. So they sought other landlords who would settle their debts. Then they were supposed to serve as 'Halis' to the new landlord. The money needed for social expenditure is supplied by such landlords. In turn, Kolghas act as permanent labourers for landlords. They are known as Mat.

(3) Sanjapat : This type of Kolghas work in a group. Their prime duty is to dispose of the dead animals from the village and work as messengers for the village community on the occasions of death and birth.

TABLE 22

Distribution of household by length of residence in different areas.

Area	1 to 10 years	10 to 20 years	20 to 40 years	40 to 60 years	Above 60 years	Total
Chikhli	6	1	2	1	90	100
Mahuva	1	-	4	3	92	100
Dharampur	2	-	-	-	58	60
Total	9	1	6	4	240	260
Percentage	3.46	0.38	2.31	1.54	92.31	100

(4) Navtad:- Some of the Kolghas could acquire the land for themselves in recent times. They till their land independently. This was not possible in past. This new group is known as Navtad.

Thus, it is very clear that this classification of Kolghas in four groups is solely dependent on the system of Bonded Labour.

The above table 22 shows the duration of time of the habitation by Kolghas in the surveyed villages. The data is based on the study of selected 260 families.

At present, 91% of the Kolgha families have settled in villages where they now live for more than 60 years. The duration period for the remaining 9% is duration period for the remaining 9% is between 11 to 40 years. Thus, one can conclude that the Kolghas have settled in Gujarat for nearly one generation.

There are numerous clans in Kolghas. However, there is no stratification of their clans. They are held equal. No taboo exist for marriages and feasts for these clans.

The following table shows the different clans for the 260 families.

TABLE - 23

Distribution of households according to clan.

Sr.No.	Households	Total family.
1	Vahiya	34
2	Bhoya	14
3	Langhariya	18
4	Savara	14
5	Dalvi	6
6	Pavar	25
7	Masiya	11
8	Dhingada	6
9	Tumada	1
10	Valoriya	4
11	Bhagadiya	1
12	Muvariya	1
13	Vadiya	3
14	Katora	16
15	Valve	2
16	Sonery	3

TABLE - 23

Distribution of households according
to clan.

Sr.No.	Households	Total family.
17	Nayak	3
18	Machhi	7
19	Chavadari	1
20	Vaghera	37
21	Rahira	27
22	Gaund	2
23	Madhiya	3
24	Gangodiya	11
25	Gumadiya	3
26	Vaghmariya	7
Total:		260

While studying these selected 260 families, it was found out, that there were 20 dominant clans. Besides these 20 clans, other clans were also found in Kolghas. Marriages amongst the same clan is prohibited but Kolghas can marry in the same village.

TABLE - 24

Distribution of the members of family according to age-group.

Area	0 to 6 7 to 14 15 to 24 25 to 35 36 to 60 Above 60												Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total				
Chikhli	27	29	58	46	57	55	42	29	47	40	3	4	234	203	438
Mahuva	31	31	51	62	27	43	62	40	39	44	-	2	210	222	432
Dharampur	25	23	40	16	29	31	21	16	37	43	2	3	154	132	286
Total	83	83	149	124	113	129	125	85	123	127	5	9	598	557	1155

There were 1155 members in 260 families. Almost men 38.6% were below 14 years, 21% were between 15 years to 24 years. The number of members in the age group of 25 years to 35 years, 36 to 60 years and above 60 years, are almost the same.

TABLE 25

Distribution of households according to different size of households.

Area	1 to 3		4 to 6		7 to 10		Above 10		Total						
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Family					
likhli	39	34	29	158	132	62	30	31	8	7	6	1	234	203	100
huva	43	38	30	147	147	63	17	28	6	3	9	1	210	222	100
arampur	19	12	12	104	96	41	31	24	7	-	-	-	154	132	60
total:	101	84	71	409	375	165	78	83	21	10	15	2	598	557	260
Percentage	16.99	15.08	27.31	68.40	67.33	63.85	13.04	14.90	8.08	1.67	2.69	0.76	100	100	100

It is evident from the above table that the families consisting of 1 to 3 members are 29.5%, the families consisting of 4 to 6 members is 62.5%, 6 to 10 members 7%, more than 10 members constitute only 1%. This shows that the size of family amongst Kolghas is medium. The families consisting of 1 to 6 members constitute 92% of the total families

Amongst Kolghas there is a tradition of staying in separate homes after the marriage, If they cannot afford to build a new house, then they construct partition in the old house and stay separately.

TABLE - 26

Distribution of Households according to the type of household.

Taluka	Joint	Nuclear	Total
Chikhli	13	87	100
Mahuva	12	88	100
Dharampur	21	39	60
Total	46	214	260
Percentage	(17.69)	(82.31)	(100.00)

The table shows that Kolghas prefer nuclear families which form 82.31, while joint families form only 17.69 of the total families. However, there is a great amount of co-operation amongst all the family members. It is the responsibility of the head of the family that nobody stays unemployed. All the members of the family are supposed to work for the livelihood of the family. Even the small children are supposed to look after the cattle of the landlords and in turn they get grains and food. The women earn their livelihood by working as labourers or maid servants at the house of their landlords. The men enjoy higher status amongst Kolghas as compared to women. However, in important matters the women have right to express their opinion. In the important matters like selecting life partner or divorce, their wish is respected. They share the responsibility of running the house equally. In Kolgha society there is clear cut division of labour for men and women. Women's role mainly centres around the house. That does not mean that they don't quarrel. In cases of disobedience, it has been reported that the husbands physically handle their wives but most of the quarrels are settled at the family level. Their internal relations are quite amicable. In cases of excessive drinking, the quarrels do take dramatic turn.

Comparative status of Kolghas.

As compared to other tribes, Kolghas are considered as untouchables and hence are isolated. Members of Dhodia, Konkans and other tribes do not allow Kolghas to enter their kitchen. They remain cautious while giving away food to Kolghas. Food from Kolghas is not accepted by the members of the

other tribes. Hierarchically they suffer the lowest status. One of the reasons for such inferior treatment is that they eat the meat of dead animals.

Panch

Kolghas have the tradition of Panch but it is not in an organised form. Every village has a separate "Panch". It consists of leading elderly Kolgha members. The functions of the Panch are to solve the social and other quarrels and to stop and punish the acts going against their traditions. It acts as an arbitrator in cases of divorce. Their main duty is to maintain the traditional set up of Kolgha society.

Second type of kinship ties depends upon Marriages. Kolghas have tradition of marriage between offsprings of Maternal uncle and paternal aunt. Thus marriages take place in close social circle. New type of relationship like Husband, wife, mother-in-law, father-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, etc, are generated out of marriages.

Terms of kinship in Kolgha community

It is evident from the table that the same word is used for connoting different relationships e.g. Mother's brother, wife's father, husband's father. All these are known as "Mama". Same applies to "Phoi". This is because of the tradition of marriage between children of Maternal uncle and Paternal aunt. So there is no separate word for Father-in-law or Mother-in-law. There are certain groups of words like 'Daji', 'Kaka', 'Dover Bah', 'Aajo', 'Bai' which are used for more than one persons.

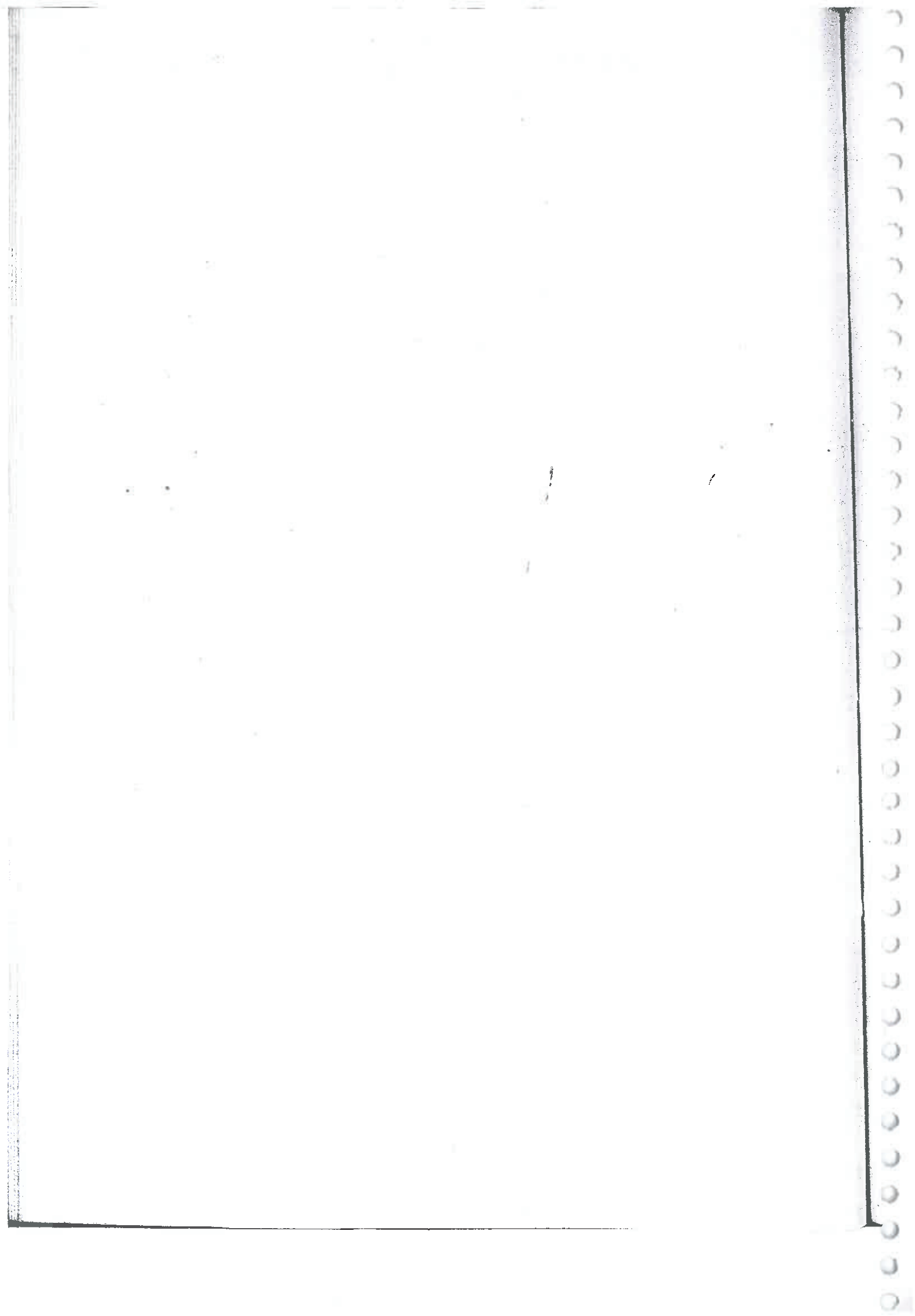
Kinship

There are two types of kinship relations.

1. Depending upon the blood relationship and others.
2. Depending upon marriage.

The relationship depending upon blood includes father, mother, son, brother, sister, uncle, grand-father, grand-mother and the members of father's clan who are the progenies of same father. They have close social relationship. Kolghas have a tradition of keeping the idols of their dead ancestors with the head of the clan. Suppose they have a head of the clan in one particular village, then the members of that clan from surrounding villages would come to this head of the clan and install the silver idols of their dead ancestors. They believe that the members of same clan have same blood relationship. This type of close relationship among clan members continues for one or two generations. Apart from membership one's own clan, they also maintain social relationship with other clan members of the village.

Kolghas have joking relationships and avoidance relationships. The daughter-in-law of the house is supposed to behave in certain disciplinary restricted manners with her father-in-law, mother-in-law and the elder brothers of her husband. Father-in-law and the elder brother are not supposed to address the daughter-in-law by her first name. They are not supposed to use her cot. Thus there are definite restricted relationships between Mother-in-law, Son-in-law, Father-in-law, daughter-in-law, Brother, Sister, Mother-Son, Father-Son, Father-daughter, elders, youngsters. Joking relationship can be developed mostly between the persons of same age or between relations like sister-in-law and younger brother-in-law between two brother-in-law etc.



CHAPTER V.
LIFE CYCLE.

A woman having her menstruation period is called "Baheri". She is not permitted to cook, carry water, touch water vessels, she is not allowed to enter places of sacred importance. They believed that this "Baheri" woman would pollute anything she touches. Such a woman is restricted from sharing bed with her husband during the menstruation period. Generally she is to remain secluded for a period of four days and after final bath on the fifth day she resumes her domestic duties again. A woman, who stops getting her period is supposed to be pregnant. The other symptom of pregnancy is sickness. In case of sterility she is taken to Bhagat, who in turn binds her with some vow. Such vows mostly consist of a cock sacrifice or a goat sacrifice. Otherwise there is no other religious ceremony for curing sterility. The diet for the pregnant woman is the usual Kolgha one. Generally she works till the last day. In normal circumstances there is no religious ceremony for the birth of a child. But in case, the child is born after taking any vow, the child is taken to the Bhagat, who after fulfilling the vow takes the child to the god. Some money is offered to the diety and then they believe that they are buying the child from the god.. Once the vow is fulfilled, they take back their child.

Birth

It does not take place at the husband's house. There is no prenatal ceremony among the Kolghas. The delivery is handled by the midwives. Men are not supposed to remain present at the time of delivery. In case of some emergency, charmed grains and medicinal herbs are brought from the Bhagat. No ceremony is performed immediately after the birth of a child.

The umbilical cord is cut with the help of bamboo knife by the midwife. This cord is either buried in a corner of the house where the child is bathed. Some bury it outside the house also.

The couple, whose children do not survive after birth are taken to the Bhagat who performs some religious ceremony. If a child is born defective, e.g. if it has a small hunch on its back, the bhagat will brand the spot with a red hot iron rod. Within the five or six days of the birth of a child, a religious ceremony, called "Panchora" is performed.

"Panchora"

"Panchora" is also known as "Chhatti". In case of boys this ceremony is performed within 3 days and for girls within 5 days of birth. A stone is installed in a place where the umbilical cord is buried. Then some vermillion powder is sprinkled over the stone; later on a small cradle is made from a piece of new white cloth. The child is made to sleep in this cradle. While the cradle swings the midwife beats the brass plate. This is done five times. Then the child is handed over to the mother, The midwife gets Rs. 15 (Rs. 10 in case of birth of a baby girl) along with of grains and 5 Rotlas.

Usually the period of confinement is limited to twelve days after delivery. On the 12th day of delivery, the mother is given a ceremonial bath. She worships the installed stone with vermillion powder and then this stone is shifted to a groove of Bor tree. She goes near the place where the drinking water is kept and worships it with vermillion powder. Then comes the naming ceremony of the child. This is mostly

done by the elderly person in the family. There is a tradition of naming the child on the basis of the name of the day he or she is borne.

Other ceremony is performed till the child gets mature. He is fondled and looked after by the older brothers and sisters, when he becomes 6 years old, he is sent to take cattle for grazing. Child beating is not rare among Kolghas. Young children get together and take cattle of different families, for grazing. They also try to catch fish from small pits of water. They hardly go to school. As they become adults: they help their elders and finally become labourers.

SEXUAL RELATIONS BEFORE MARRIAGE:

The marriageable age for boys is between 14 to 24 years while for girls it is between 15 years to 24 years. The offsprings of same clan are considered as brothers and sisters so no sexual relations between young children are allowed. The boys and girls start knowing each other since childhood as they go together for cattle grazing, or for other types of labour. The group dancing is also common amongst Kolghas. All these provide ample opportunities for youngsters to come in close contact and thus falling in love becomes very easy. A girl takes initiative in attracting a boy with gestures, like winking at a boy or making fun of the boy. Unless the girl shows any willingness a boy dares not to try being fresh with her, otherwise he can be beaten to death. Once the girl shows the inclination for a particular boy, they try to come very close to each other and they show no inhibition for sexual relations. The elders do not interfere in such matters unless the girl become pregnant. In that case, the boy and the girl are called to marry. If the boy refuses to marry the boy is fined by Jati panch. The girl is then married to some other boy.

Though Kolghas are considered untouchable, youngsters do carry on sexual relations secretly with youngsters of other tribes like Chowdhari, Dhodias, Koknas, Varlis. They are examples of inter-marriage between these tribes.

The extra marital relations are prohibited in Kolghas. However, there are quite a few instances of such relations. Hence there are cases of elopement and divorces. Many serious quarrels take place because of constant suspicion. Jati panch is required to intervene in case of controversial cases.

Extra marital relations with members of the opposite sex from other higher tribes is also carried on. Some times the landlords force the Kolgha maid servants of their house to have physical relations with them. So in spite of being considered as untouchables, the men of higher tribes do take disadvantage of poor Kolgha women. Thus Kolghas are prone to all sorts of exploitation.

Marriage

Marriage is a must for Kolgha tribesmen. They believe that an unmarried person can never get salvation after death and hence becomes a ghost and create troubles for other living family members.

Most of the Kolghas follow the tradition of monogamous marriage the instances of polygamous marriages are very few. The many reason for absence of many polygamous marriages is poor economic conditions. Marriages are costly affairs (it costs more than Rs. 1000). Besides, they do not have their own land. So they don't require more hands to help. Thus marrying more wives is considered economically unviable proposition.

Marriage in the same clan is prohibited. First preference is for marriage between Maternal uncle's daughters and Paternal aunt's youngsters. If that is not possible then the other possibilities are considered. Consent of both, boy's and girl's is considered essential. Only after mutual consent the marriage proposal is negotiated.

As discussed earlier there are instances of inter-tribe marriages. If the boy of higher tri-be marry Kolgha girl the boy is excommunicated by the caste. The indulgence of a Kolgha boy with the girl of another community is, however, not taken seriously.

TABLE 27

Sex-wise Age of first Marriage.

Area	10 to 14 Years		15 to 18 Years		19 to 22 Years		Above 22 Years		Total	Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
Chilbila	8	20	58	69	50	25	2	2	118	116	234
Mahuva	-	-	26	92	73	23	12	0	111	115	226
Dharampur	2	24	36	55	37	4	-	-	75	83	158
Total	10	44	120	216	160	52	14	2	304	314	618

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Mahuva	-	-	26	92	73	23	12	0	111	115	226
Dharampur	2	24	36	55	37	4	-	-	75	83	158
Total	10	44	120	216	160	52	14	2	304	314	618
Percentage (3.3)	(14.0)	(39.5)	(68.8)	(52.6)	(16.6)	(4.6)	(0.6)	(100.)	(100)		

During the course of field investigation data and girls' respect of their age at first marriage were collected. Their sex-wise breakup with respect to age at first marriage is given in Table 27 that marriageable age is between 15 to 22. The percentage of marriage between 10 years to 14 years is very small 3.3% for boys, 14% for girls. The proportion of child marriage is very meagre. The figures show that most of the girls get married in the age group of 15-18 out of 354 married women, 216 (68.8%) got married at the age between 15-18 and among the men 160 out of the 304 married ones get married at the age between 19 to 22.

As the youngsters come to marriageable age, parents start looking for deserving partner for their youngster. In most of the cases, the intervening person known as 'Vachotio', plays very important role. He is supposed to be intimate of both the families. He undertakes all the responsibilities till the marriage is over. Even after the marriage is over, his advice is sought in cases of differences.

Nanipen

The marriage proposal is first sent by the boy's family through "Vachotia". He negotiates on behalf of both the families. Once the girl's family agrees, he takes the boy as well as his family members to see the girl. The mutual consent from both the families is obtained first and then the auspicious day of making formal proposal is decided. This is known as 'Nanipen'. The boy and his family members go to the girl's house to make the formal proposal. Here they are welcomed by the girl's family members and are entertained with Tea, Bidi or if possible with alcohol. The expenses is borne by the boy's family. The prospective bride is

asked to serve the water to the guests, so that they can see the girl. Then the Vachotia initiates the negotiation regarding dowry, consisting of clothes, grains and ornaments. He makes it sure that both the bride and groom do not belong to the same clan. Then the bride is made to sit in the centre, when she is given a coconut and 1 rupees 25 paise. The extra sum of 20 rupees is also given at the same time. The girl's father is given 50 rupees by the boy's father for the expenses of Tea, Bidi and alcohol. At the end, an oral agreement is arrived at that. If the marriage breaks because of the groom's incapability, the bride's family is entitled to have a right to recover the marriage expenditure from the groom's father, but if the bride is found defective then the groom's family is entitled to claim double the amount of the incurred expenditure. This type of agreement is called Nanipen or Bolpen. After the announcement of the agreement, both the parties celebrate the occasion by drinking wine.

The dowry amongst Kolghas consists of various things like cash worth 100 to 125 rupees, 100 Kg. grains, 1 new pair of clothes for the bride, clothes for her nearest inlaws, all the traditional ornaments made either of silver or nickel, traditional cosmetics, etc.

After the ceremony of Nanipen is over, then the formal invitation to visit the groom's house is given to the bride's parents.

Visit to the groom's house

The girl's parents and their closest relatives go and visit the groom's house on the fixed day. They are entertained with Tea and bidi and are even offered lunch. Before sitting for lunch they are asked to wash their hands when they sit for lunch. Everybody from bride's party is expected to put 25 paise in their plate. After the lunch is over, the groom is made to sit on 'Ukhal' when

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he is garlanded and is given coconut by the bride's party. Then his in-laws leave for their homes. Ordinarily, this costs between 100 to 125 rupees. This is borne by the groom's party.

Motipen

Amongst Kolghas, it is the privilege of bride's party to go to the groom's place for marriage purposes and not the vice-versa. The dowry is sent to the groom's place before the marriage. While giving the dowry, it is conveyed to the groom's parents that all the things in dowry including the bride belong to them. Then the ceremony of Motipen starts. The bride is made to sit on the wooden plank near the 'Ukhol' she is garlanded there and given 25 rupees. Two friends of the bride (one from groom's side and other from the bride's side) are made to sit near the bride.

If the groom's party cannot afford the marriage expense then, after the ceremony of Motipen, the bride is supposed to stay at the groom's place and help the husband in earning the marriage expenditure. Actual marriage can take place even after the birth of one or two children. This type of marriage is known as "Bolray". Here actual marriage ceremony does not take place but the bride's relatives come to the groom's place, drink tea or liquer together and then depart. The bride is sent to the groom's place after four or five days. This is known as "Aanu Valwa". But the marriage ceremony is considered absolutely assential and must be performed at their convenient time.

Same type of concession is granted to bride's parents in the matter of dowry. If the requirement of the dowry cannot be fulfilled in one stratch, it can be fulfilled at regular instalments. Varlis and Dangi Bhils also observe the same custom.

Marriage.

Both the parties have to work very hard for marriage preparations. "Vachotia" is presented with Dhoti by both the parties. It is customary for Kolghas to borrow from their landlords. The groom then works as a half or bonded labourer at the landlord's place. If the amount of debt is too large then even the bride also works as a bonded labourer. The interest, as well as the amount of the loan is recovered by the landlord in form of labour.

The bride and groom are to be applied with Turmeric paste for three days before the wedding day. The ladies in the family undertake the responsibility of applying Turmeric paste which is known as 'Pithi'. This is a part of the cosmetic. The Turmeric powder is soaked in oil for few days and when the paste is ready it is applied on bride's as well as on groom's body for three consecutive days. The ladies mirthfully sing while applying the paste.

The Song

The arrival of Bride's party at groom's place is known as 'Jan'. A Mandva (Pandol) is constructed in front of the house on the previous day of the arrival of Jan. Mandva is decorated with "Toran" made out of Mango leaves. At the time of Mandva construction, traditional musical instruments are played by the relatives or by professional players. Ladies sing marriage songs.

"Jan" starts from the bride's place. The bride is asked to wear head dress known as "Mad" consisting of 50 to 60 persons belonging to all age. They usually come walking. While coming to the groom's place, they rejoice by singing songs and dances, The bride also walks with them but at interval she would be carried by her relatives. When they reach the groom's village they halt under a tree whereupon the relatives and other elderly persons of

the groom's village go and receive the Jan. Members of the Jan would be offered water and bidis. The bride is presented with a new pair of clothes and cash worth 15 rupees.

Marriage Ceremony.

Jan would be then lead to the halting place (Utaru). Then some relatives will go to fetch the bride. They will start from there to the halting place. Players of Madal and Pipudi (The traditional instruments) would accompany them in this ceremony. The bride would be carried by the relatives while other Jan members come walking to Mandwa. They all wait outside Mandwa near the Toran. Here the ceremony of "Shesh Bharvi" is done in which a small bag of Varai grain is given to the bride by five ladies of the groom's family and string of beads is filed around the bride's neck. Then the groom's relative carry the groom on their shoulder and the bride's relative carry the bride on their shoulder. They compete with each other in carrying the groom and the bride high and higher. The other relatives dance around them. Both, the bride and the groom wear the head dress. The marriage ceremony is performed by the Madal player.

For the entertainment of both the parties professional entertainers - namely "Sudjadia's" are called. They try their best to amuse the guests by wearing funny dresses making funny gestures or by imitating animals. All these and dancing last for the whole night. The groom's parents then give feast to the members of Jan and to their own relatives. Besides this, Jan is given 200 Rotlas and vegetable 'Shak' when they arrive the groom's village. The marriage ceremony lasts for the whole night. In the morning Jan is given send off after

giving Tea and liquor. The bride and one of her friends stay back at the groom's place.

Annu.

After the marriage is over, after 3-4 days 10 to 15 relatives of bride's side come to the grooms home. They are received by groom's family with food, tea and liquor. They take back the bride to her parents home. After that, within a week few relatives of groom come to take the bride to the groom's house. Then, she stays on with the groom. This is a typical ceremonial Kolgha marriage.

Love-marriages are done by eloping. Even in this type the dowry is recovered at a later stage. There are exchange marriages also (Sata) when the economic conditions are bad, then a wife is obtained by exchanging a sister. There are certain forced marriages also. If a boy refused to marry a girl goes to the boy's house and even though she is driven out or beaten she refuses to go back. In such cases, the boy is forcibly made to marry the girl. This is known as "Hath Lagna".

Other type is 'Khandad' or Marriage by service. The root cause of this system of marriage is also economic. A person who is unable to pay the bride price stays for about 4 to 5 years with the bride's father. He serves him during this period and the payment of the bride-price is waived by compensating against the services he has rendered.

Widow Remarriage.

The Kolghas allow their widow to remarry. In case there is an unmarried younger brother of suitable age of the deceased, the widow is expected to marry him, but this is by no means compulsory on her part. If there is no younger brother of the deceased, the widow is free to marry any other person belonging to the same community. In widow marriage no elaborate rites are performed. A widower preferably marries his deceased wife's sister, if she is of a suitable age and unmarried. A widow is looked down in the community so very few women prefer to stay as widows.

Marriage by capture does not receive sanction by the Kolghas. Cosanguineous marriages are not totally banned and certain types of such marriages are permitted. The children of a brother and a sister, particularly the son of a sister and a daughter of a brother can intermarry. The details of marital status is given in table - 28.

TABLE - 28

Distribution of population by
Marital Status.

Area	Unmarried		Married		Widow/ Widower				Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Chikhli	117	88	110	108	7	7	-	1	437
Mahuva	99	106	109	109	2	7	-	-	432
Dharampur	79	49	74	75	1	7	-	1	286
Total:	295	243	293	292	10	21	-	2	1,155

The table 28 shows that 50% of them were married, 2.6% were either widow or widower. Only one woman seems to be divorced.

DEATH

The Kolghas generally dispose the dead bodies by burial and in some cases by cremation too. Those who can afford the expenses of fire-wood, go for cremation. As a rule the dead bodies of infants and children, as well as those adults who die as a result of certain epidemic diseases such as smallpox cholera, or due to snake bite or are killed by wild animals are buried.

The funeral rites of the Kolghas are very simple. When it is certain that the person will not survive and death is imminent, the relatives and friends in the village gather around him. After death, the gatherers mourn the death by crying over the loss. After death the corpse is bathed with turmeric and water and draped in new clothes. If the deceased is a male, his body is wrapped in a white-cloth where as the corpse of a female is wrapped in a red sheet. They do not keep the body for a long time. If the death occurs in the evening the corpse is kept for the night and taken out in the morning.

For carrying out a dead body a hammock is prepared by the bumboos. After the corpse is placed in a hammock or on a cot, it is carried out of the house on the shoulders of four persons, who are generally close relatives of the deceased. The other persons follow the bier. Weeping and wailing women trail behind the males.

When the procession reaches the outskirts of the cremation or burial ground, the bier halts for a moment and the women take a last glimpse of the deceased as they are not allowed to enter the cremation or burial ground.

Then they return after taking a bath in a river or a well, or rivulet. The chief mourner who may be the eldest son, brother, or husband of the deceased, lights the pyre. In case of burial, a grave is dug by the mourners themselves and the corpse is laid to rest with the head pointing towards the north. The place on which the body is to be buried or cremated is selected by tossing up a corn then the body is cremated or buried only. Before setting fire to the pyre or putting the dead body in the grave, all those who are present pour some drops of wine and cooked rice in the mouth of dead person as their last offering. Along with the dead body, clothes, ornaments, utensils, and other articles loved by the dead, are also buried in the grave. After the fire of the pyre gets extinguished or the grave is completely filled, all the persons who accompanied the procession leave the ground and return home after taking a bath in the river, streams or rivulet.

The pollution after death is observed for seven days. During this period the chief mourner is considered polluted and is subject to certain restrictions. The chief mourner does not touch any household articles. The kins-women of the deceased such as wife, sister, daughters remove their bangles and 'Ganthi' (The blackbead thread).

The death ceremony of the pregnant woman:

This ceremony is usually performed by the Bhagat of the village with the fear that the spirit of such woman would haunt and harass her family members, if the ceremony is performed improperly,. The dead body of such a woman is not taken out from the main gate of the house. but a special hole is dug in the back wall of the house. The dead body of a pregnant woman is taken out from such hole and then is carried to the cremation ground, not directly but indirectly through various by-roads. There, the cremation ceremony is performed by the Bhagat, who chants several charms to pacify the soul, On the twelfth day two iron nails are tacked on the ground on which she had expired. The remaining ceremony is carried out on the cremation ground. It is believed that if a woman dies during the pregnancy or after one and quarter month, she turns into a witch or ghost and swings the child in the cradle. This continues only for a short period after then she disappears. The twelfth day ceremony of the dead pregnant woman is carried out on that day only.

The twelfth day ceremony .

This ceremony is performed on the twelfth day in case of adults and on the third day in case of small children. After the death of a person, the ground on which he had expired is smeared with cow-dung and then some flour is sprinkled on the ground. Accordingly in the night of the day on which the death occurs, the female members of the household collect some flour and spread it in the corner of a room and cover it with a basket. The next morning the members of

the household remove the basket and try^{to} Perceive some kind of prints or Impressions on the flour and interpret them according to their imaginations. According to them if there is an impression on the flour then it is presumed that the deceased person has taken a re-birth in the form, of a man, if there is no impression at all, it is presumed that the deceased has become a ghost. On the twelfth day, the relatives go to the cremation ground and remove the stones and thorny branches on the pit. A small Mandva of branches is constructed over the pit. The flour, which was sprinkled on the ground for getting the evidence of the return of the soul, is collected in a basket and brought to the pit. Some liquor and chicken is also brought there. Seven plates made of dried leaves are filled with some food, one plate is kept near the pit, one is kept near resting place along with the winnowing basket and five plates would be left floating in the river. In the evening, two out of four straws, made from castor seed tree are kept near the pit and two would be kept floating in the river. A small statue is made from the betel nut. The statue is then bound on the pit. Then the place is washed with water. Again, seven plates filled with food are kept there. Five children are fed there. The adults collect money, buy liquor and drink there. Then they return home and give food to their relatives. The expense for all these ceremonies is roughly around Rupees 150 to 200.

The ceremony to lay down Khatra:

If the dead person is an elderly person and if he haunts after the death, then the ceremony of laying 'Khatra' is performed. On copper or a silver sheet, the figure of the dead person is engraved/embossed.

When this sheet is kept with another elderly person belonging to the native migrated village of the dead person. This sheet is installed in a basket with a proper ceremony performed by the Bhagat. Along with the deceased sheet, some rice, steams of Nagli and piece of cloth is also put in the basket.

The ceremony performed for all the dead persons belonging to one family is known as "Parjan ceremony". This is performed after every two or three years. All the relatives gather on that day. Two, Bhagats, two professional lady singers, experts on death ceremony are specially called on that day. The lady singer who are specialist in death songs are known as 'Kamdhi'. Bhagats are supposed to wear the clothes of dead persons while performing the death ceremony for males, for females, the lady experts wear the dead woman's clothes. Two Bhagats, two Kammdhis, other death ceremony experts, are all together. A small drum is played when the ceremony goes on. Kamadhis sing death songs. The Bhagats chant several chorus. The dead souls are addressed one by one and then their death is described to them when the name of the dead soul is called, the concerned relatives start weeping. After such name, Bhagats start putting small heaps of rice. All these cost about 100 rupees.

CHAPTER - VI

RELIGIOUS LIFEReligion

All the life aspects of Kolghas are interwoven with religion. Religion plays a very important role in social, economic or cultural events in life of Kolghas. They lead a sort of ~~life~~ ^{life} and uncertain life. They are obsessed with ~~a~~ ^a constant fear and hence at every stage, they try to appease their ancestors as well as their gods. They believe in animism and ancestral worship as well as witchcraft play. a vital role in their life.

Kolghas have multiallingance to the gods. Their gods can be divided into three groups.

- (1) Their own gods,
- (2) The gods, borrowed from the surrounding tribes like Bhodia, Konkna, Varli, etc.
- (3) The Hindu gods like Hanuman, Mother Ambama, Lord Krishna, etc.

Some gods are worshipped individually some are worshipped collectively, Gods like Gamdev, Devlimahdi, Dongar Dev. etc. are worshipped individually, as well as collectively.

Certain gods are worshipped at the time of calamity and special vows are taken to win their favour.

There are numerous gods and goddess for Kolghas, e.g. Kansari Devi, Devli mahdi, Narayan Dev, Malavi, Donger Dev, Gam Dev. Hanuman, Mother Ambama. Menai, Kaka Balia, Baran Dev, Vaghdev, Bhawani Neta, etc.

Kauri Devi

She is supposed to be the goddess of grains, and to protect the grains from any natural calamity. She has a direct relation with the clan and her worshipment is not in individual families but in the head of the clan. Her idol is kept in a small house with an effusion of paper or silver sheets and flowers of ancestral figures (Hottia), a piece of cloth and few grains.

When any Kolgha individual would like to worship Kauri Devi, he gets this basket from the elderly head of the clan. He performs ceremony, and cock is sacrificed. Cooked rice is offered, incense sticks are burnt, liquor is poured. This ceremony is performed to protect the grains from insects and pests. Besides, this is supposed to please the ancestor who, in turn, protect the family members. After the ceremony is over he is supposed to return the goddess to her original family.

Kauri Devi

He is worshipped collectively. The villagers go to the seat of God to worship him there. When there is scarcity of rain, he is invoked by the menfolk with proper ceremony. A cock or a goat is sacrificed near the idol and then the meat is cooked and eaten there along with liquor. Special musical instruments are played at the time.

Bhagat

He is worshipped at the time of Holi and Diwali. His worship renders happiness and health. Here a cock is sacrificed and alcohol is poured by the Bhagat. He keeps peacock feathers while performing this ceremony.

Kaka Balia:

He is worshiped individually so that the family is saved from small pox.

Memai:

Though she is not supposed to be at every individual house, whoever is performing her worship, is supposed to be very happy and is supposed to have abundance of grains. Her worship is performed after the interval of 2 to 3 years. This goddess is kept in a basket. Two round stones are installed in a basket out of which one is supposed to be male and the other is supposed to be female. They are married off after two-three years. Lots of red turmeric powder and vermillion powder is sprinkled over these stones and it is believed that if you can break the stone, the blood start oozing and the hair starts blowing over the body. The sacrifice of a cock or goat is performed by a witch-doctor.

The worship of Gamdev, Simaria Dev and Vaghdev is performed collectively by the villagers. A special prayer is made to this god to protect the cattle and for the welfare of the villagers.

Besides these worshipping ceremonies, ancestral worship, belief in ghost, spirit or witch plays an important role for Kolghas. To please the ancestors, there is custom amongst the Kolghas to offer food in leaf bowls to ancestors. The bowls are then put in the oven. Even on the occasions of marriage, they invoke their ancestors and try to please them.

There are two types of ghosts for Kolghas.

- (1) Ghosts residing in cremation ground.
- (2) Ghosts residing on Samiar Trees known as 'Bagla Bhoot'.

There are different witch doctors for different ghosts. It is believed that the persons become ghosts whose death is caused by accidents, snake bites, attacks of a tigers, falls from great heights and suicides. The women who die during pregnancy or immediately after pregnancy also turn into ghosts. Such type of spirits haunts and harass the family members. For the prevention of such harassments, witch doctors are called by the concerned families to perform the necessary ceremonies.

Witch

Apart from believing the ghost and spirits, the Kolghas also believe the witches. A living woman, knowing all sorts of chants and charms is considered to be a witch. She wanders in the night taking the form of a cat, dog or an owl and is believed to devour the surrounding inmates. A person who suffers from serious illness, who meets sudden death is considered to be possessed by a witch when witchcraft is taught to another woman. She is just fed with charmed eatables or in some cases the witch disguises herself in any form and teaches witch craft to the selected woman. The test for the knowledge of witchcraft is that the selected woman has to sacrifice her nearest and dearest one like her child, husband or father. If she fails to make the necessary sacrifices, she becomes delirious. This cursed woman can be cured by only the witch doctor. For this purpose the mad woman is brought to the river. Then the witch doctor cooks rice in an earthen pot and pours liquor over it. This pot is offered to the river. He chants *chama* and makes the mad woman take seven dips in the river. Thus the woman is supposed to be freed from the curse. This ceremony can only be performed by a witch doctor who is proficient in witch craft.

Amongst the religious festivals, 'Holi' is the most important festival of the Kolghas. In other festivals the prepared food is first offered to the ancestors, by putting it in the household oven and by pouring the liquor near the oven. On festivals, they sacrifice the cock and eat its meat. In Kolgha Society, the witch doctor enjoys a very important position. In the field of religion he enjoys the status of a social doctor. In cases of serious illness, snake-bites, scorpion bites and in other major illness, the Kolghas prefer to consult the witch doctor rather than go to the village dispensary. The witch doctor' is expected to cure the patient through his witch craft.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN

I: CONCLUSIONS

The Kolgha tribe is one of the most primitive and economically backward tribes of Gujarat. Looking at the life of these people, one finds them to be a small group caught in the whirlpool of dire poverty and economic exploitation, of unemployment and underemployment, of poor health and sub-human living conditions. The main problem before the Kolgha is how not to starve and keep himself alive. We have seen that everywhere the Kolghas live in extreme poverty, squalor and semi-starvation. Everywhere they are given a minority status by the other tribal groups and are socially isolated from and looked down upon by the dominant tribal and non-tribal society. Their social and economic system is marginal to the dominant tribal society (and is protected by this marginality). Marginality means most nonparticipation in Government programmes, a rejection of assimilation devices and acceptance of poverty for the sake of being left alone.

Economically they are most backward. The annual income per Kolgha household from all sources, as has been seen earlier is Rs. 1444/- at 1978-79 prices. From the socio economic analysis of the Kolgha culture we can at once spot out their three major problems, poverty, exploitation and illiteracy. On account of the abject poverty, they are half-starved, undernourished and suffer from malnutrition. During the course of field work many Kolgha informants told us, "How can we give rotlas to all family members out of two rupees we earn? We eat only Bhadu¹ so that the liquid (with some flour) would reach all bellies."

These people mainly depend on labour work put in by them selves wherever they find it. In some areas they supplement their income by hutting, fishing and catching frogs, doing a little Agriculture and by collecting and selling miner forest produce. Labour work is not, however, available to them for all the days in a year. Agricultural land is hardly sufficient for a family's upkeep; it is stony, in fertile, ^{mountain} uneven and mostly unirrigated. The other economic activities also do not give the necessary supplemental ^{any} incomes. It is, however, interesting to note that any occupation/labour job is taken by them with great interest. Keeping all this in mind and looking to the fact that first of all the problems of poverty and illiteracy have to be solved at a great speed and on a top priority basis. The development plan for them has been suggested as follows:

1 "Bhadku" is a gruel preparation in which some jowar or wheat flour is beiled in a liberal quantity of water with salt. They can serve only gruel in Rs. two.

II: A. Development Plan.

Physical Facilities:

(a) Houses: The Kolghas live in ^{and families} separate hamlets consisting of small round-shaped grass huts, generally dilapidated. These hamlets are usually on the outskirts of villages and are not included in the inner circle of the village. Adequate housing is essential for the welfare and happiness of a Kolgha family. So houses must be provided to those of them who do not possess any (reasonably good) shelter above their heads. For construction of houses, sites must be made available to them free of cost. Also building material should be provided to them gratis. It is proposed to construct at least 150 houses in the first year i.e. 1979-80; 250 in the second and 350 in the third year, in this way. The cost of construction of a modest hut will be about Rs.1,200/-.

A word of caution in choosing house sites and in constructing houses thereon is necessary. The sites must be made available where there is likelihood of getting potable water and where facility for future expansion-for more houses, if need be, looking to increasing population and for starting welfare activities for the people- would exist.

In some areas the Government had constructed houses for them but in a year or two a few of them collapsed as could be seen at Khergam (Chikhli Taluka). In a few others the Kolghas had made many changes by making them smaller or by replacing the roof tiles with grass thatch. The Kolghas as we have seen build good looking circular houses. It is recommended that

they made to make initiative in the whole project; and should be allowed to construct the houses as per their design and desire. Allocation of house sites and construction of houses therein should be a time-bound programme. If for any reason, the programme or a part thereof is delayed too much the beneficiaries would lose interest in the whole project. It would be advisable to hold fortnightly meeting of the beneficiaries and exchange notes on the progress of the work, all the time making them feel that it is their own project.

The expenditure involved would be roughly as shown underneath:

	Houses @ 1200/-	Total Amount.
1st Year	150 x 1200	1,80,000
2nd Year	250 x 1200	3,00,000
3rd Year	350 x 1200	4,20,000

A tentative locational indication for the project in the initial stage is as follows:

<u>Taluka</u>	<u>Village</u>
Chikhli	Agashi
Dharampur	Nana Ponda, Barolia, 6 Jhar, Girnara
Mahuva	Tarkand, Kumbh Khetar, Bhagwanpura,
Vansdar	Nirpan

(b) Wells: Drinking water is a prime necessary of human life. Most of the hamlets where the Kolghas live have no drinking water wells. For drawing potable

water they have to depend on other private persons' wells. In some villages they are not allowed to draw water from the wells of other advanced tribal groups as they are considered untouchables. As a result these people have to bring water from a long distance - either from a rivulet or a river. This water is not available throughout the year; nor is it clean and hygienic whenever available. Only in Tarkani they could be seen drawing water from their Muslim landlord's wells. In Vana ponda they got water from a Dhodia's well. To overcome this difficulty in each Kolgha hamlet a separate drinking water well should be constructed (where there are more than 20 families) both in the old villages and also at places where new houses will be constructed, as recommended above. In village where there are more than 100 families living together a public water system like an overhead tank with few taps could be provided. All this will give them ample water to drink and help them to cultivate cleaner and hygienic habits which may, in turn, promote the desire to get assimilated with dominant social groups. (In some villages which we visited there was a public water system but the Kolgha quarters were not provided with water taps'. Hence the suggestion.)

The expenditure on digging these wells will differ from area to area but the work should be given top priority, under "no source" plan (considering each hamlet to be a selfcontained villages as far as the Kolghas are concerned).

For the first three years drinking water wells may be given as follows:

<u>Taluka</u>	<u>Village</u>
Chikhli	Khergam, Achhwani
Dharampur	Nana.Ponda, Barolia, Ozar, Girnara,
Mahuva	Tarkani, Kumbh Khetar, Pana, Bhagvanpura
Vansda	Nirpan.

If, on an average, a well would cost Rs.15,000/- in three years Rs.1,65,000 would have to be earmarked for this work.

(c) Electrification: It would be desirable to provide at least street lights in the Kolgha quarters in the villages ^{where} electricity is available. In Khergam (Chikhli Taluka) and Limzar (Vansda Taluka) where other streets are served by electric lights, the Kolgha streets do not have these. These, therefore, may be provided in the first instance and other villages may be taken up later on.

(d) Health: The isolation of the Kolgha community impedes their social education and their poverty, including the poor housing conditions, and lack of drinking water lower the standard of their health. Malaria, tuberculosis, scabies and other skin diseases are found among them. A knowledgeable officer told us at Vansda that chronic diarrhoea and anemia are also prevalent among them. They have not taken advantage of the medical facilities available in the neighbourhood, partly because of inadequate awareness about and also partly because of the lack of means to pay for them. The area is well served by public health centres and subcentres. Hence it is proposed that these centres

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should be able to cater to the health needs of the Kolghas in the following manner :

(i) An investigation should be undertaken to find out the deficiencies in the Kolgha diet and suitable programme should be taken up to supplement the deficiencies, especially for children, expectant mothers and old persons above 60 years of age, (ii) The doctor-in-charge of the nearby PHB/SC should tour the Kolgha hamlets every fortnight and dispense medicines to the sick tribals. This must be given as a special assignment to the doctors. (iii) Local Schools and Ashram Shalas should be given a supply of medicines for the common ailments of the Kolghas so that they could take advantage of this nearby facility. (iv) Private doctors and social service agencies in the neighbouring big village/towns could be persuaded to hold medical/health camps for the Kolghas (and others if available) as has been very wisely organised by the Vansda Project Administrator for some tribal villages.

Economic Development:

(a) Land Improvement and other programmes :

A few Kolghas do possess a plot of agricultural land. Some got it under Bhoodan. This land has not been reclaimed properly and is of a very poor quality. There is absolutely no irrigation facility and no scope for intensive cultivation practices and for introduction of new crops. A programme to survey the land owned by them and working out detailed land improvement schemes should be taken up immediately. The programmes of reclamation, bunding, leveling and terracing will improve the quality of the land. It will also be a source of providing immediate wage paid employment.

A programme to improve at least 50 acres in the first year, 100 in the second and 150 in the third year should be taken up. The programme be taken up in villages where Kolgha land of the size could be easily available. The programme of land development should be followed by schemes to replace the local varieties of land, Kori and Paddy by high yielding varieties. High yielding varieties of seeds should be supplied to them free of cost. If it is possible, new wells should be dug for them for irrigation. Generally they do not have sufficient agricultural implements and bullocks and buffaloes. They have been cultivating their own fields with the help of small he-buffaloes and also go to the other persons' fields on a hire basis. It is proposed that to supplement their income, bullocks, he buffaloes and agricultural implements should also be given to them (on a subsidized basis).

One more area we propose to be taken up for agricultural efforts is cultivation of vegetables at the household level i.e. kitchen gardening which will raise not only the income level, but also the nutrition level of the malnourished Kolghas. Some of the Kolghas do grow vegetables now but on a very tiny scale and in an unorganised manner. Vegetables like pumpkin, chillies, bringal, lady's fingers, cucumber, garlic and turmeric could be grown in the kitchen garden. Similarly, saplings of fruit trees such as mango, chickoo, jack, guava and papaya and other forest fruits like Chironji, Bar and ravan can also be given to them.

The vegetable seedlings and saplings of trees should be assigned to the woman folk as vavlu gifts (with the express consent and permission of the Kolgha men)

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so that the ladies would raise them with interest and earn a little money therefrom. The concerned department should ensure that the trees do grow on their lands. (The scheme should be implemented by the Agriculture Department under the Tribal Sub-Plan Programmes).

The targets would be as follows: beneficiaries.

<u>1st Year</u> :	Supply of HYV Seeds	25
	: " " agricultural implements	25
	: "he-buffaloes	20
	: " " kitchen garden trees, etc.	100
<u>2nd Year</u> :	Supply of HYV Seeds	50
	Supply of Agricultural implements.	50
	Supply of he-buffaloes	25
	Supply of Kitchen Garden Trees etc.	100
<u>3rd Year</u> :	Supply of HYV Seeds	50
	Supply of Agricultural implements.	50
	Supply of he-buffaloes	25
	Supply of Kitchen Garden trees, etc.	100

It should be mentioned here that in some cases the Kolgha lands have got transferred to the advanced tribal groups physically though the records do not show this'. It is necessary to see that land in their possession does not in any case go to somebody else in any guise. We should try to get them back their land (though it may not be that easy).

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(b) Enforcement Minimum Wages Act.

It is found that they are not getting proper wages as fixed by the Government under the Minimum Act. In this respect they have always been exploited ruthlessly. It has been discovered by us in almost all the areas where the Kolghas live that they are being paid only Rs.2/- per day as wages for the hard labour work, meaning the period of 11 hours from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M. In case a person has taken a food loan (Khavti) from a landlord, to whom he would have to remain attached till repayment of the loan and he would not be able to sell his labour elsewhere for a higher wage. It clearly indicates that in this manner they are compelled to become bonded to their landlords.

The Minimum Wages Act should be stricitley and properly enforced so that the labours get their due. Actually a comprehensive agriculture labour law to include payments of wages, security of service, insurance against risk and hazards, should now be thought of, drafted, discussed and then passed. In order to save them from falling into the clutches of landlords and moneylenders, a Kolgha family should be granted a loan to an extent of Rs.200/- for the purpose of meeting expenses on social occasions and ceremonies like marriages and death, at a low rate of interest. The Labourers' Co operative Society (recommended later on) should ultimately be entrusted with the work of credit giving to the Kolgha members.

(C)

Animal Husbandry and Poultry:

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Maintaining of milch cattle and large scale poultry by this community seems to be very difficult. Hence, no such ambitious scheme is recommended for them. It would not be out of place, however, to give a few birds to those of them who ask for them. Here also it should be on a subsidised basis. A few Kolgha families were found keeping goats. This may be encouraged on individual basis. They should see that their goats do not trespass Government forests and private fields and do not keep their children away from school.

In Dharampur Taluka it is found that a few families rear pigs for household consumption, but in other areas most of the families flatly refused to keep any pigs if given to them. Hence no such scheme is provided in the beginning. As in poultry birds and goats, individuals may be encouraged to rear pigs. That would increase their food content and value and also give them a little additional income if pork is sold by them.

(D)

Food for work.

In collaboration with the Central and State Governments and CARE the Sadguru Seva Sangh in Vansda Taluka and elsewhere are running the scheme of food for work. In this scheme, a tribal family is given seeds of some trees like Shisham, Bamboo, Kher and Kohabul and asked to grow saplings therefrom for later transfer (for plantation) on a plot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of forest land allotted to each beneficiary by the Forest Department. In $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of this land, the tribal will have to plant there forest trees of different kinds and

in one acre he will have to raise Kobabul and look after these till they are three years old. The beneficiary would also get a cow in the beginning; the Kobabul would serve as fodder for the animal. (In the Vansda project 123 cows have already been given to as many beneficiaries). For this work, each worker get 10 kg. of wheat and 2 kg. of Sukhadi per week. It was observed that the Kolghas also get benefit from the scheme; (though some of them did not fully understand what the scheme was. Some did tell us that the scheme would continue for three years).

It is proposed that more Kolgha families should be covered under this scheme. If the Sadguru Seva Sangh is not going into more villages, the Forest Department should expand it to other villages, so that the other Kolghas get some benefit out of it. This food for work scheme will supplement their income substantially. The scheme in all its aspects, pros and cons should be clearly communicated to them so that they take to it not only enthusiastically but also willingly. Forest land should be given to them in their own villages. The targets could be fixed as shown below:

1st Year	50 families in 2 villages.
2nd Year	50 families in 2 more villages.
3rd Year	50 families in yet 2 more villages.

(E) Supply of Ambar Charkhas:

In order to supplement their income it would be proper to give one Ambar Charkha each to at least ten families in a village; starting with big villages where other activities are also proposed to be started. For working the instrument, Kolgha women could be trained.

During the training period a stipend should be given to them as was done for the Kathodis in the Vijaynagar Taluka of Sabarkantha District.

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(F) Generating additional skills.

Training Programmes:

The Kolghas we studied do not seem to possess any peculiar skill though they are very hardworking and intelligent people. This leads us to propose that they should be trained for hard and semi-skilled jobs and professions.

In the Mahuva Taluka, 20 Kolghas are being trained in brick-making. The period of training is six months, during which a trainee gets a stipend of Rs. 120/- P.M. Similarly, some Kolghas are being trained in bidi making on similar lines. It is proposed that these trainings must be given to the Kolghas of each Taluka. (where they are in a substantial number).

The masonry classes run by the Project Administration/Taluka Development Officer at Vansda where they also give a bicycle to a trainee at 50% cost could be run for the Kolgha youths at least once in two years.

The skill generating courses could be not only in (i) brick-making, (ii) masonry, (iii) bidi making, and (iv) ambar charkha (as proposed earlier) but also in (v) entrepreneurship, (vi) collection of forest produce, and (vii) fishing. Training in entrepreneurship is proposed because the Kolghas have shown an extraordinary adaptiveness to setting up small business like

*Training in
Collection of
Forest produce
is not
necessary*

This is being done by the Forest Dept.

vegetable selling, glass-ware selling and petty contractorship. Intelligent and educated Kolgha youths could be picked up and trained in the elements of business, salesmanship and account keeping for a period of six months on a stipendary basis. In the same manner: Training in collection of minor forest produce should start under the Gujarat State Forest Development Corporation. In a period of three years a sum of Rs. 5 lakha will have to be provided under this head.

(C) Loans for setting up semi-skilled works and business:

After being trained as above, it would be advisable to go whole hog and give loan to those of the trainees who want to start their own work and business. The loans should be on easy terms and in proportion to the work. It would also be useful to give them guidance in where to start the work, when and how to sell the material produced and how to solve difficulties which arise while actually on the job.

In addition to the above mentioned schemes which are more or less on conventional lines we would like to suggest a few, new, non-conventional developmental programmes for the Kolghas. These schemes are based on what the Kolghas have been doing in an unorganized way. Some of them are as follows :

(H) Frog-based schemes for the Kolghas.

While studying the social and economic life of these people it was observed that they catch frogs, many days in a year and sell to get a little money.

Frog catching is peculiar to the Kolghas (and some other people) because many other tribals and non-tribals consider the job unclean. They catch frogs for local sub-agents who supply those to agents who in turn despatch them to several big business houses in Bombay. The sub-agents pay 25 to 50 per frog. The catch is had in ponds and canals during dark nights just after September every year. The Kolghas catch the frogs locating the spots and dazing the animals with the help of a lantern. A Kolgha could catch as many as 50 to 60 frogs on a lucky night giving him Rs.12/- to Rs.15/-. The local main agent (in this case an enthusiastic young Muslim gentleman in Bilimora) dresses the frogs, separates the legs with muscles, packs and forwards the dressed and ready material to Bombay.

Some business houses in Bombay like the Britania Foods, Savant Sea Foods, the Tatas etc., as one informant told us. export the frog-legs to many European countries and U.S.A. to earn a good deal of foreign exchange. We were told that a kg. of frog leg would earn as much as Rs.50/- in the overseas market. (Even the primary material that is sent out from Gujarat to Bombay would not be less in worth than Rs.15 to 20 lakhs per annum. Moreover, the peculiarity of the frog trade in Gujarat is that it is done throughout the year. In Maharashtra it is done only for 2 months. In M.P. the tribals and others have not taken to it at all).

Looking to all the facts and figures given above and also keeping in mind that the Kolghas are the primary collectors of frogs a scheme starting with an experimental campaign for intensive fertilization of frog eggs and setting up an experimental froggery

in the first year expanding later on into individual/
co-operative froggeries and frog leg unit is proposed.

Experimentation is necessary because the occupation is entirely new and needs a good deal of research. So, in the first year, observation of spots where frog eggs are laid and an intensive fertilization campaign for the eggs thus located would be worthwhile. In this the local colleges and the South Gujarat University Zoology Department could be asked to help and they also be given some research grant for the purpose.

In the same year, establishment of an experimental froggery at Khergam/Manekpor should be taken up, again with the help of the local Science College/University and Shri Majidbhai, the frog merchant at Bilimora. If this proves successful then a few Kolghas could be persuaded to take up the work on a 75% subsidy for capital expenses. "Later on they should be organised into a Co operative Society" which would also market the catch after dressing it for which frog leg unit should be established including a Cold Storage and a staff of Veterinary Officer and a few workers. The spare capacity of the storage could be used for chilling milk; manufacturing ice; storing vegetables etc. for other Co-operative Societies. The fat collected into a medicinal oil which is said to fetch a good price.

The expenditure on the above mentioned work is expected to be in the range of the amounts as shown below:

1st Year:

Intensive Fertilization Campaign	10,000
Research & Development grants to the Research Bodies	20,000
The Experimental Froggeries	20,000
Production Froggeries	50,000
Frog Leg Unit (Capital)	1,35,000

Apart from this, the running expenses of the Unit would be about Rs.50,000 p.a. as follows :

50,000

	1000 x 12 = 12,000
Vetoficor	500 x 4 x 12 = 24,000
Rents: Rates others	<u>14,000</u>
	50,000

It may not be out of place to mention that frog catching from paddy fields is not to be encouraged as that would mar the ecological balance for the welfare of the paddy plants (frogs eating away the paddy crop). The catch initially from tanks and canals and later on from the froggeries only will be handled by the Unit and the Cooperative Society.

(i) A Labourers' Cooperative Society:

As mentioned often, the Kolghas are hardy and experienced hewers of wood. At present they get this work but it is not on a continuing basis and they have to go begging for it. Moreover, they get not more than Rs.3/- per day for this work. It is proposed, therefore, that a Labourers' Cooperative Society (for heaving wood and

selling it) be set up. For this a separate Depot for fire-wood should be opened where these labourers would cut the fire-wood, stack there and sell it to the customers.

The Cooperative Society should be able to purchase fire-wood logs at a very reasonable price from the Forest Department/other Forest Cooperative Societies and store them in the Depot where the members would hew them and get a reasonable wage. The fire-wood thus made ready could be sold to the general public, to Ashram Shalas and could be transported to Navsari/Surat. A part of the profit could be distributed to the members or could be used for some social welfare work among them. Another part of the profits should go towards a reserve fund. In the first two years it would be advisable to bring the firewood logs in hired trucks. Later on if the work picks up and its cost would be paid up in instalments a truck could be purchased for the Society for all its transportation work. The Government would also have to give financial help to the Society for running it, by defraying its Secretary's salary and paying for some other recurring petty items. In the first year the work could be started in Khergam and Ozar. In the second at Agashi and Tarkanni.

If all goes well with the proposed Societies the fire-wood sale could be so organised that the Panchmahals district which starves of fire-wood would get it directly from the Kolgha societies. The Panchmahals District would not only get some relief from the problem but the nahe of illicit cutting of fire-wood for head loads could also be partially tackled if the work is taken up on an ever-expanding and continuous basis.

(J)

A Grass Labourers' Cooperative
Society:

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Some of the Kolghas are dependent on pressing grass-bales, in which work they are quite expert. For pressing 100 bales, they get Rs.120/-. Usually six persons can press 100 bales in 4 days, which works out an average wage of Rs.5/- per day per labourer. They get this work for two months after the Diwali. In some areas the Forest Department also gets this work done.

It is proposed that a separate Grass Labourers' Cooperate Society for the Kolghas should be organised and pressing grass bales done through and by it. This Society should be able to buy grass from the Forest Department on a reasonable price and organize its sales to the contymers. Two Societies in the first year should be started one each Nana Panda and Limjher. If the work picks up, then in the second year, it could be taken up in the places where the Labourers' Cooperative Societies would have been working for the last one year (i.e. at Khergam and Ozar).

(K)

A Forest Labourers' Cooperative
Society:

(i) It would be very essential to diversify their activities to other jobs also. A Forest Labourers' Cooperative Society could be set up and given coupes for felling and selling wherever this is possible.

(ii) Collection of minor forest produce could also be done through such a society. As we have seen, forest does play an important role in the Kolgha economy.

In Bharampur Taluka this is very clearly seen. Those people collect much forest produce like gum, mahuda flowers and fruits and barks of many trees. As they are not organized properly they have to sell the collections at throw-away prices to local traders. (This work could also be done alternatively on an individual basis, the collection being purchased by the Gujarat Forest Development Corporation.)

(iii) The Kolghas also collect Xantho carpum and sell them (after drying them at home) to local traders at a very ^{low} price. The items could sell far more if the collection and marketing are done on a cooperative basis with the blessings of the Forest Development Corporation. If the demand is found to be increasing a campaign for their collection could be organized, and later on an experimental farm of Xantho carpum on an absolutely waste land plot could be started by the Society ultimately to lead to giving one such plot per member. (They could also be encouraged to collect Burwadia, Ratanjog and Karanji seeds in the same way on cooperative basis or individually and sell these to the Corporation. It should be found out if the Forest Department could allow these xantho carpum weeds(!?) to grow in their forests as under growth. If so, then a great problem of both (the Department having to find out forest trees are standing and the Kolghas having to find out plots for growing these) will be solved.

(iv) They could form a Cooperative Society and take earth-work on a contract. They are expert earth diggers and it is hoped that they would do well in this contract work. Some earthworks for Government constructions could be given to them on preferential basis.

(v) Leaves Collection:

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The Kolgha women collect leaves from the forest for the tribal agriculturists who put these leaves in a rectangular seed plot of the required size and set them on fire. This is known as "adar", roasting which is considered essential for growing seeds therein. It is proposed that the leaves be collected by a society as visualized above (or on individual basis) at one place from where they could be supplied to the agriculturists. The women collectors could be given wages as per the local rates. Organised in this way, the work would be available for a little more time. One added advantage of this would be the availability of the leaves whenever required in the desired quantity. It will also solve the problem of limiting of forest trees by the tribals.

(L)

A Cooperative Fishing Society:

In the Mahava and Bharanpur Talukas the Kolghas catch fish from tanks, rivulets and rivers on a very small scale. In these areas, a Cooperative Fishing Society for the Kolghas could be organised to provide them opportunities to earn a little more food and money. They could be given training in fishing before they are organised in the way. Nets and accessories should be supplied to the society on a subsidised base. The expenditure is expected to be around Rs. 1,000 in the first year, Rs. 10,000 in the second and Rs. 15,000 in the third year.

Educational Programmes:

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(a) Balwadis: For forming the habits of school-going in the Kolgha children, Balwadis for the pre-school children should be started in villages where the Kolgha families are more than 25 in number. A lady teacher should preferably be employed to run the Balwadi. At the District level, any suitable voluntary agency or the Taluka Panchayat could be the implementing agency. All Balwadi children should be given a set of clothing, hair oil and one meal in the campus. The institution should be provided with all equipment; it would be better to use local materials and local devices for bringing up the children playing with them (All expense for the programme should be borne by the Government).

Balwadis in the first year may be situated at:

<u>Taluka</u>	<u>Village.</u>
Chikhli	Khergam
Mahuva	Tarkani
Marapur	Ozar, Virkshatia

in the second Year at:

<u>Taluka</u>	<u>Village.</u>
Chikhli	Agashi
Mahuva	Puna
Vasda	Linjghar, Nirpan

It is expected that the scheme would cost around Rs. 1,00,000/- in the first year; and twice the amount in the second year.

(b) Primary Schools:

Most of the Kolghas are illiterate. They are not attracted by the free ships and other facilities given by the State Government for education of their children.- The main reason for this is their poverty, on a account of which they have to engage their children for cattle grazing, labour work and other food gathering activities.

The only course to attract these children to school is to provide them with additional scholarships in kind. At present in some villages where the Kolghas reside, parents of a school-going Kolgha child get food grain worth Rs.25/- p.m. if the child has an attendance of 75% in a month. (He would lose his grains if the child is not regular in going to the school and thus attends for less than the required number of days).

This scheme is implemented in some villages. In other villages the Kolghas are not aware of the facility. It is, therefore, proposed that the Kolghas, wherever they are, should be given the benefit of the scheme. The information should reach every one of them from the Taluka officials and the village level workers. The scheme should not be withheld from them even if they are known by some other name like Dhorkali or Naikudi. The persons running the scheme should be made aware of all this.

(c) Ashram Shalas:

4 Ashram Shalas, at different village exclusively catering to the educational needs of the Kolgha community should be established. In these Ashram Shalas the

the Kolgha children would have facilities for studies as well as of residence (boarding included) from 1st std. to 7th Std. All the expenditure of Ashram Shalas would have to be borne by Government. The four places suggested above are as under:

- (1) Khergam (chikhli Taluka)
- (2) Ozar (Dharampur Taluka)
- (3) Tarkani (Annaival) (mahuva Taluka)
- (4) Nirpan (Bansda Taluka).

(It should be mentioned that there is one Ashram Shala only for the Kolghas at Malanwada, Dharampur Taluka.) Moreover, there should be reservations of seats in existing Ashram Shalas for Kolgha children and they should be given stipend like any other S.T. Student.

These Ashram Sharam should work as Community Schools, haveing contact with the Kolgha villages in their vicinity. The school should work as an extension agency for the community and help in organizing development work for the disadvantaged people.

The 4 Ashram Shalas should be phased out as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Villages</u>	<u>Expenditure.</u>
1st Year	1: at Khorgam	Rs. 1,00,000
2nd Year	1: at Taerkani	Rs. 1,00,000 Plus the first year's commitment.
3rd Year	2: One each at Ozar	Rs. 2,00,000 Plus the first two Year's commitment.

(d) Adult Education:

In order to make them aware of their plight, of the causes thereof and the ways of getting out therefrom and also to appraise them about the development programmes for the tribals, adult education and functional literacy classes should be run in each taluka of the community. The Ashram Shalas as visualised above could organise and look after these classes. A minimum of 10 classes each year should be the target.

A Dancing Troupe:

A kolgha dancing troupe could also be organized on commercial basis. This could go from place to place for performing at a fixed payment. The Ashram Shalas as contemplated above could organize the activity. This troupe could also be used for training the Ashram Shala children in folk dancing and folk singing.

A word of caution in the end.

The above mentioned development plan for the Kolghas has been discussed in detail with the beneficiaries in long sittings. They seemed very enthusiastic about it. They would accept anything which would them steady income.

The plan has also been discussed with top development people and they seemed happy about it. They wanted to implement it as soon as it was available. Thus the plan seems to be agreeable both to the takers and the givers.

A word or two of caution, however, is necessary so that we remain prepared with whatever has to be done incidental to it. Firstly, it will be apparent to whoever reads the plan that we have planned only for two or in some items only for three years. That has been done with a purpose. We want a continuous evaluation of the programmed items so that we know if we are going right. If it is found to be not so, we would find out some thing additional or alternative or drop the item altogether before going very long with it. This would save time and money and the people's patience. If we find that whatever has been planned, goes on well, being accepted by the people and generating additional income for them, without unduly disturbing their life and culture then it will be easy to continue the items, only monetary calculations and Government approval for continuing them, will be necessary.

Secondly, the implementers of the programme will have to be more fridently with the people and actively associate themselves with the agonics and ~~estacies~~ of Kolgha life so that these simple people, in their turn, take up the programme as their own.

It would be beneficial to both the parties concerned to give as much initiative as possible to the Kolghas in all that is being done for them. We should not be too much paternalistic in the sense that we run every day after them and ask if they have done this or the other or not. That kind of attitude breeds disinterest in the beneficiaries who begin to think that it is the Government's plan and not theirs. Actually after some time they could be left alone for running the schemes. However, they should be clearly made to

understand that the Government would go thus far and no further; and that a people's destiny is, ultimately, in its own hands.

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It would be worthwhile to organize the development activities for the Kolghas in one campus wherever possible. This will not only do for economy in management but will also give the whole work a grandeur of scale and the activity would get sustenance from each other. It will attract to them the other people, the outsiders, who have been so far avoiding them, and will also make it easy for the workers to deal with the beneficiaries.

The campus would be known as Mahant Wadi. In one part of it the dried leaves could be stored, near it there would be the hewing of wood; in another the grass baling would go on. There itself would be located the Ambar Charkha work; the Ashram Shala and the Balwadi would also come in there itself.

We can think of employing a full time Social Worker to look after and coordinate all the activities of the Mahant Wadi. If the worker is good, in a few year's time, the campus would be a sight to see and an institution to copy. A State level officer to look after all the above mentioned activities for the development of the Kolghas living in all the Talukas can also be employed and posted preferably in the field itself amidst the Kolghas.

Kolgha young men and women with requisite qualifications could profitably be employed in the Wadi and in other programmes mentioned above. (They could also be given preference, other things being equal,

in jobs that may require a lot of muscle work.)

It would not be too much to expect that larger-minded non-tribal businessmen, agriculturists and contractors who have seen the plight of these tribals would come forward and invest some money for the Kolgha's welfare. One person could invest Rs. 3,000/- for a period of 8 to 10 years and out of the interest of Rs. 300 + Rs. 300 to be given by the Government as its share i.e. with a total amount of Rs. 600 /- we can really do good work for one very ^{needy} Kolgha family. The investor could get his deposit back when it matures. He will have to forgo only the interest on the amount. In return he will have the satisfaction of making one family self dependent'. (He had in the past gained enough from these people's labour'.).

E R R A T A

Page No.	Para/Line/ Table/Column	Read	For
1	2	3	4
1	Para 1 Line 10	has been	have been
6	Para 2 Line 13	to know	to known
7	Para 1 Line 4	ethnographic	an ethnographic
7	Para 2	Table-1	Table
7	Table - 1 Sr. 1	14	11
8	Para 1 Line-2	74%	80%
8	Para 2 Line 13	Kolgha	Kolghas
9	Para 1 Line 9	Went	Want
9	Para 1 Line 14	himself	himsef
9	Para 1 Line 19	the Kolghas	the
9	Para 1 Line 19	and the	the /
10	Para 2 Line 2	of dead	and dead
10	Para 2 Line 7	in the old	in old
11	Para 2	Table 2	Table 1
11	Para 2	Decimiall increase	Decimal increase
11	Para 3 Line 4	5%	9%
12	Para 1 Line 1	the	thr
12	Para 2 Line 2	regarding.	regardies.
12	Para 3 Line 6	10.3% p.a.	10.3% p.a.
12	Para 3 Line 20	Kolgha's custom	Kolgha's
12	Para 3 Line 20	traceable	traceasle
12	Para 3 Line 22	may	way
13		Table 3	Table 2
13	Para 2 Line 3	0.81 percent	0.81
13	Para 2 Line 8	males	male
13	Para 2 Line 8	females	female
14	Para 2 Line 1	in a large proportion	in large population.
15	Table-4 No.1	Female-13	Female -23

Page	Para/Line Table/Column	Read	For
15		Table - 4	Table - 3
15	Table 4 No.10	Male 1863	Male 1463
15	Table 4 No.10	Male 1941	Male 2941
15	Table 4 No.10	Total 3532	Total 3352
15	Table 4 Total	Female 14,314	14,324
17	Para 4 Line 2	the impact of Maharashtra is seen in their dialect	the impact
20	Para 1 Line 6	Population	population, the
21	Table	Table-5	Table-4
21	Table-Heading	by Sex (1971)	by Sey (1971)
24	Para 1 Line-2	Table 6	Table 5
24	Para 1 Line 2	in the Table 6	in the /
24	Para 1 Line 4	(94.32%)	(94.32)
26	Para 2 Line 2	extremely	extracurely
27	Para 2 Line 3	roof	roff
27	Para 2 Line 11	aotement	a Jam tenament
27	Para 2 Line-14	distributed	distributed
29	Para 1 Line 8	Stone	Store
29	Para 1 Line 9	houses	bohses
29	Para 1 Line 11	houses	lienses
29	Para 1 Line 15	Clothes	Clother
30	Para 3 Line 3	earthenpot	earterpot
30	Para 3 Line 3	earthen plate	earten plate
30	Para 3 Line 4	utensils	etensils
31	Table 11	Steel	Stell
32	Table- Items	Petromax	Lantern
32	Para 1 Line 6	Steel	Stell
32	Para 2 Line 9	They bring	The bring
34	Para 3 Line 2	going	goind
34	Para 6 Line 4	bandi	bando
34	Para 6 Line 4	Men	Mean
35	Para 1 Line 3	Young	Youno
37	Para 2 Line 2	men	mean

Page No.	Para/Line Table/Column	Read	For
38	Para 1 Line 15	expenditure	expeariture
39	Para 3 Line 5	calf	half
39	Para 6 Line 7	(without food)	'withour food)
42	Para 1 Line 3	economic	ecenomic
43	Para 2 Line 33	Jowar	Jower
43	Para 2 Line 12	hybrid	high breed
44	Para 2 Line 1	Regarding	Requerring
44	Para 2 Line 1	expenditure	expenertuse
45	Table 12	95.16	91.16
46	Para 2 Line 4	fowls	fouls
47	Table 14	17.95	17.75
47	Table 14	88.40	88.41
48	Table 14	calves	claves
48	Table 14	Fowls	Fauls
48	Table 14	27.92	2.92
50	Para 2 Line 1	regarding	regarding
51	Table 16	(50.00)	(500.00)
52	Table 17	29	20
52	Table 17	(23.08)	(23.00)
52	Table 17	(50.00)	(500.00)
55	Table 18	Service + Agr.	Labour + Agr.
55	Table 18	Meat	Meal
60	Table 21	Debt per family (Rs.)	Debt per family
60	Table 21	Debt per Indebted family (Rs.)	Debt per Indebted family.
61	Para 3 Line 9	Khandadia	Khandodia.
61	Para 3 Line 15	ceremonies	oremonies
66	Table 24	437	432
69	Para 1 Line 1	Nuclear	Neclear
69	Para 1 Line 5	head of the	head the
70	Para 2 Line 1	depends	depands

Page No.	Para/Line Table/Column	Read	For
74	Para 1 Line 3	the day on which	the day he
74	Para 1 Line 3	born	borne
74	Para 2 Line 1	No other	other
74	Para 2 Line 3	brothers	brother
74	Para 2 Line 7	Fish	Sfish
74	Para 2 Line 8	adults;	adults.
74	Para 3 Line 8	amongst	amonst
74	Para 3 Line 14	Free	fresh
75	Para 5 Line 3	main	many
75	para 5 Line 8	an economically	economically
80	Para 2 Line 3	Not the vice-versa	Not the vice-versa
80	Para 2 Line 8	'Ukhol;	'Ukhol.'
80	Para 3 Line 2	then	them
80	Para 3 Line 9	liquor	liquor
80	Para 3 Line 12	essential	assential
81	Para 1 Line 4	works as a bonded labour	works as a half or bonded labour
81	Para 3 Line 2	wear	war
81	Para 3 Line 2	Jan would consist of	consisting of
82	Para 3 Line 7	When	when
82	Para 1 Line 1	led	lead
82	Para 1 Line 4	(the traditional instrument)	(The traditional instrument)
82	Para 1 Line 14	groom	groum
82	Para 1 Line 14	higher and	highrand
82	Para 2 Line 2	professional	proffessional
82	Para 2 Line 2	"Sungadia"	"Sudjadia"
83	Para 1 Line 5	of the groom	of groom
83	Para 2 Line 6	A girl	a girl
83	Para 2 Line 8	forcibly	foreibly
83	Para 3 Line 6	rendered	vendered

Page No.	Para/Line Table/Column	Read	For
90	Para 1 Line 6	ancestors	encestors
90	Para 2 Line 2	multialligance	multiallingance
90	Para 5 Line 4	Bhawani Mata	Bhawani Meta
91	Para 1 Line 4	Installation	Installment
91	Para 3 Line 5	meat	moat
91	Para 3 Line 1	of	od
96	Para 1 Line 11	Bhadku	Bhadu
96	Para 1 Line 12	bellys	bellays
96	Para 2 Line 3	hunting	hutting
96	Para 2 Line 4	agriculture	igriculture
96	Para 2 Line 5	minor	miner
96	Para 2 Line 11	to note	tonore
96	Para 2 Line 12	great	grant
96	Foot note Line 2	boiled	beiled
99	Para 1 Line 5	long distance	lang distance
103	Para 3 Line 2	advanced	advenced
105	Para 3 Line 1	Collaboration	Collabouration
107	Para 3 Line 3	bicycle	bicyvle
108	Para 1 Line 9	Lakhs	lakha
110	Para 1 Line 6	Zeology	Zeelogy
120	Para 2 Line 1	experimental	experimantal
114	Para 1 Line 4	properly	properly
118	Para 3 Line 2	having	haveing
118	Para 4 Line 1	Khergam	Khorgam
119	Para 3 Line 5	would give them	would them
120	Para 2 Line 3	agencies	agonices
121	Para 2 Line 1	<u>Mehant wadi</u>	<u>Mhantwadi</u>
121	Para 3 Line 3	-do-	-do-

