

Gokhale Institute Mimeo Series No. 3

PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT
A Case Study
Harsul Block, Nasik District (Maharashtra)

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FOREWORD

The present publication in our mimeographed series comprises a report on the socio-economic conditions in a tribal area namely the Tribal Development Block of Harsul in Nasik district of Maharashtra State. It begins with a general description of the conditions in the area based on the village and other administrative records available at the Block Headquarters. This is followed up by a more intensive field survey of twelve out of the 49 villages in the Block. The twelve surveyed villages were inhabited by about 1,500 tribal families. For a study of their household and agricultural economies, about one-fifth of these families were intensively interviewed. Dr. M. G. Kulkarni is a sociologist by training. A greater part of the analysis will therefore be found to have been presented in a sociological frame.

In his concluding remarks, Dr. Kulkarni rightly emphasizes the importance of improving roads and communications in the area. Tribals have remained economically backward because of their isolation from the rest of the society. It is evident therefore that high priority must be accorded to improving roads and communications in any programme of development of the area and the people inhabiting the same.

The investigation was undertaken at the request of the Nasik Zilla Parishad. Throughout our investigation, we received close co-operation from the authorities of the Zilla Parishad both at the district and the block level. We are thankful to them for this assistance and co-operation and we trust that the report will prove useful to them in appreciating the primary problems of a tribal area.

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PREFACE

The field study, the results of which are incorporated in this report, was conducted at the beginning of 1965 its period lasting for about three and a half months from 18th January.

As the study deals with the development of the area as well as the people, the socio-economic characteristics of the people are discussed in terms of spatial patterns in some detail. Unlike the usual type of studies dealing with tribal life, such aspects as values, beliefs, customs, fairs, feasts, festivals, etc., are not dealt with here, although they are important in their own right. It was not possible to collect detail information about these qualitative aspects in such a short period. An attempt has been made here to present as much statistical information about the area and people as was possible, and to pinpoint some of the tribal problems in quantitative terms.

Throughout the field study help was readily available from the Zilla Parishad, Nasik, either directly or through its good offices. Our thanks are due to Shri B. R. Kavade, the then President of the Zilla Parishad, and to Shri M. D. Godbole, the then Chief Executive Officer, Zilla Parishad, Nasik, both of whom evinced interest in the study. Shri V. N. Thakore, the then Vice-President, and Shri Gadre, the then Deputy Chief Executive Officer must be thanked for rendering all help whenever asked for. The Block Development Officer at Peint and the Assistant Block Development Officer at Harsul facilitated our tour and stay in the tribal area by removing many inconveniences that came in our way. We cannot but express our gratitude to both of them.

We are greatly thankful also to the tribes of Harsul, who responded to our approach to them with unexpected understanding and patience.

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PART I : THE TRIBAL BLOCK

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The Harsul Tribal Development Block is a part of Peint Mahal, an administrative sub-division of Nasik district. The study visualizes the Block as an area or sub-area which is a part and parcel of a wider region embracing the whole district with Nasik city which is 32 miles away from Harsul, the Block centre, as the regional centre from where the socio-economic forces emanate and towards which socio-economic activities in the towns and villages of the region are oriented. The peripheral limits of the region, however, are not considered here, as it is beyond the scope of the study.

As the study, which is preparatory to area development planning, deals with a tribal Block both the area and people of which are backward, and as such it has to encounter in the development planning, hurdles which are at once geographical, socio-economic, and cultural, its basic approach has been comprehensive, in the sense that it visualizes simultaneous, co-ordinated, and complementary development in a number of fields. While the study cannot boast of an expert handling of those aspects of its subject which lie in the jurisdiction of other special disciplines such as geography, geology, botany, civil engineering, etc., it has laid down broad outlines of targets and their ancillary requirements, the technical feasibility of which may be tested by the concerned experts in the field. The main-stay of the study has been the concepts and principles drawn from human ecology, economics, politics, and sociology. While the focus is on economic development, ecological, political, and sociological features have been considered as factors conducive to, or inhibiting, circumscribing, or vitiating economic development.

While considering the sociological factors abutting on economic development no extreme stand of either doggedly preserving and perpetuating the traditional institutions, customs, beliefs, and values of the tribals or subjecting them to sudden disruption and disintegration is thought of. As economic development cannot be thought of as being diverted from a simultaneous change in the material culture and the institutions, customs, beliefs, and values that were in harmony with it and the earlier economic situation; it is presumed that some of the traditional elements at least will be rendered dysfunctional and will lose their significance. Obviously, much unlike the isolationists and the "tradition-mongers" among the non-tribals; not every cultural peculiarity of the tribals is viewed as a sanctified object to be left untouched. On the other hand, the study heavily relies on the fact that man has always been adaptive to changing conditions of survival and that 'culture' has been the index and result of his adaptability. In the changing conditions of living, therefore, one should expect and be prepared for the gradual modification or disappearance of some cultural trait or the other. In any case as to what aspect and part of their culture should be preserved and protected be left to the discretion of the tribals' enlightenment. No non-tribal who has himself lost or

abandoned many of the cultural traits of his forefathers in adapting himself to changing conditions is a better judge in this respect.

The comprehensive basic approach has to branch out analytically into a number of studies of conceptually separable aspects. As all these studies deal with one given area and its people, they are to be co-ordinative in nature. Study of each of these aspects will have to refer to and take into cognizance the facts relating to the other aspects. The overall economic development that will be aimed at is thought of as the cumulative effect of goals achieved in each of these aspects. Two broad aspects that have been accordingly separated are the natural and the human resources. In the former are included the enumeration of the resources in forestry, land available for agricultural and allied purposes, water supply for irrigation, power and drinking purposes, and cultivation of non-forest plants, grass, herbs etc.; the latter aspect includes the beliefs, customs, and values, the socio-economic organization, division of labour, occupational classification, measure of employment and unemployment, level and extent of education, and some demographic particulars. In the light of these two broad aspects that embody the twin forces governing the life of the people, the problems they have thrown up, namely, of indebtedness, destitution, fragmentation of landholdings, etc., have been studied. As a background to all these the infra-structure of the area depicting the distribution of the population in villages and hamlets, the communication system and transport facilities, the centres of socio-economic activity and their satellites--in short, the spatial human pattern of the entire area--has been elaborated.

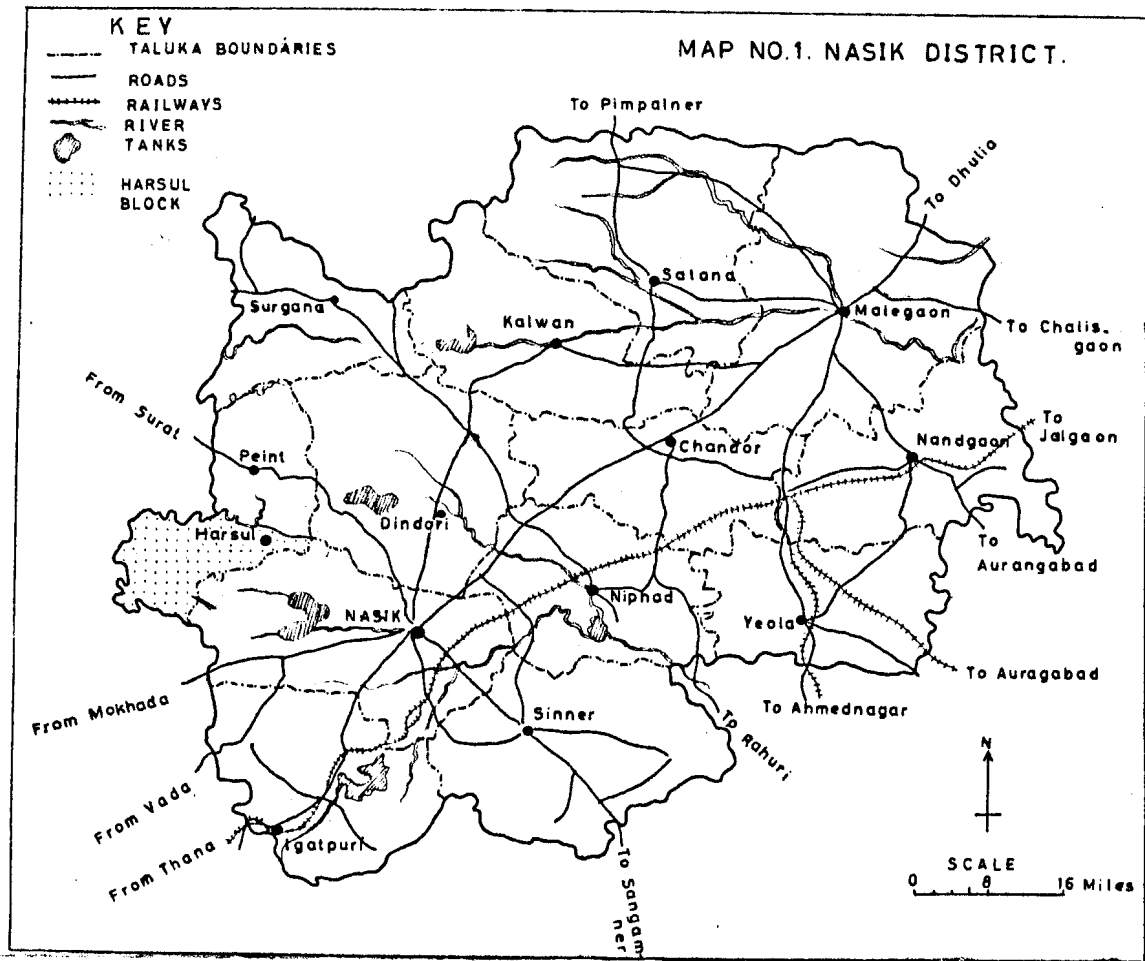
The study and its results fall into four broad sections: description and analysis of the facts, listing and discussion of the problems, discussion of the measures adopted so far by the government or other agencies to solve these problems, and lastly a broad outline of the development plan which emerges from the foregoing discussion.

The study for its data has drawn upon the records available at the Block, Mahal, and the District offices, the records of the co-operative societies, and those with the village officials. It is combined with an intensive field-study of twelve of the forty-nine villages. From the records information under certain broad heads pertaining to all the 49 villages was gathered, and detail information regarding family size and composition, occupational particulars, housing, standard of living, education, migration, and indebtedness was gathered during the field-study by canvassing a family-schedule roughly among 20 per cent of the families in the twelve villages. The total number of the families in the surveyed villages was 1,562 out of which 72 families of non-tribals and of those who were in government service were excluded and among the remaining, 296 families were selected for detail study. The period of the field-study lasted for about four months from 18th January 1965.

MAP NO.1. NASIK DISTRICT.

KEY

- TALUKA BOUNDARIES
- ROADS
- RAILWAYS
- RIVER
- TANKS
- HARSUL BLOCK



SCALE
0 8 16 Miles

CHAPTER II

OVERALL FEATURES OF THE BLOCK AND THE TRIBAL AREA IN THE DISTRICT

The characteristics of the Harsul Block may be properly assessed as to their nature against the background of the tribal tract of the Nasik district of which Harsul Block is a part. This tribal tract of the district is administratively divided under seven talukas and Mahals and under even more Development Blocks. The whole of the Peint Mahal is declared as a Scheduled Area as it has more than 66 per cent of its population constituting the Scheduled Tribes. Surgana Mahal as well is entirely a Scheduled Area (Table No.1). In the other talukas only a part is declared to be Scheduled Area and as such is covered by the Tribal Development Blocks. Kalwan, Peint, and Surgana (Map 1) appear to be the three Blocks which are geographically contiguous, and wherein the villages on an average have smaller area and population. The small area per village means that the villages are closer to one another than in other Blocks. Peint and Surgana while they show both in area and population per village an average which is less than that of the total of all the Blocks, appear to have compensated for these in having the highest density of all the Blocks; which means that taking all factors into consideration their villages are sufficiently bigger in population. Kalwan's villages appear to be smaller on all counts. But the villages of Baglan have lost what they have gained in the average population, in having a larger average area per village, consequently taking down its density to the lowest. Kalwan, Peint, and Surgana are also the Blocks which are the most tribal of all, their tribal population being 85.6, 88.9 and 95.2 per cent of the total respectively. Of all the talukas or Mahals which have tribal Blocks, Peint includes the highest proportion of the total tribal population; it comprises a little less than one-fourth (24.32 per cent) of the tribal population of all the Blocks.

As the Peint Mahal stands out distinctly from other tribal tracts as distributed under different talukas and Mahals, within itself the Peint Block and the Harsul Block also appear to stand apart from one another. The distinguishing features of the two Blocks as in the case of the seven sub-divisions are given in Table 2. The real difference again is in the density which shows the population of Peint Block thicker than that of Harsul. The other differences may be more apparent than real, since the area in both the Blocks is more or less equal, and since the difference in their respective populations is also not great. The difference in the number of the villages and the average area per village will be understood better if it is noted that the number of the villages does not necessarily denote the actual population clusters. The villages are just names given to one, or to a collection of more than one population cluster for revenue purposes. The villages of the Harsul Block do have, each of them, number of hamlets ranging from 3 to 25. Possibly, the villages of Harsul Block have on an average larger number of hamlets than those of Peint Block. This has made the villages of Harsul Block appear to have a larger area per village, to be fewer in number, and, consequently, larger in average population.

Table No.1 : Area, Villages and Population of the Tribal Tract of the Seven Talukas in the Nasik District

Name of the Taluka or Mehals	Baglan	Dindori	Igatpuri	Kalwan	Nasik	Peint	Surgana	Total
Number of villages	53	72	60	108	54	149	155	651
Area in square miles	185.2	278.1	177.1	220.4	203.5	341.8	313.2	1,719.3
Average area per village	3.5	3.9	3.0	2.0	3.8	2.3	2.0	2.6
Total Population	26,106	50,865	31,879	31,853	29,985	67,688	58,247	296,623
Tribal Population	20,601	39,802	22,306	27,289	21,882	60,193	55,452	247,525
Percentage of total tribal population	8.36	16.08	9.01	11.02	8.84	24.32	22.40	100.00
Average population per village	493	706	531	295	555	454	376	456
Percentage of Tribal population	78.9	78.2	69.9	85.6	72.9	88.9	95.2	83.4
Density per square mile	141	183	180	145	147	198	186	173

(Figures worked out from the data obtained from the Block Office.)

Table No. 2. : Area and Population of Peint and Harsul Blocks

Name of the Block	Peint	Harsul
No. of villages	100	49
Area in square miles	168.32	173.48
Average area per village (square miles)	1.68	3.54
Total population	36,553	31,872
Tribal population	31,857	28,328
Percentage to the Mahal Tribal population	52.93	47.07
Average population per village	366	650
Percentage of tribal population	87.15	88.88
Density per square mile	217	184

(Figures worked out from the data taken from the District Census Handbook, 1963.)

Peint Mahal is situated in the westernmost part of Nasik district and is part of the hilly tribal tract which extends to the east and covers part of Nasik and Dindori talukas, to the west into similar areas of Surat district, to the north covers the whole of the Surgana Mahal and extends beyond into the Dang area, and to the south into Nasik taluka and Thana district. Thus it is seen that except a little opening to the east and partly to the south the whole of the Peint Mahal is flanked by wide, hilly, tribal tracts. It comprises mainly the western slopes of the Sahyadri ranges. Harsul Block forms the southern half of Peint Mahal. Its connection with the outside world is mainly through Nasik city with which it is connected by a bus route. Even with the town of Peint which is the administrative centre of the Mahal it is connected only by a cart track about 23 miles long, which is presently being re-constructed to suit the proposed bus route from Harsul to Peint. Barring these two avenues connecting the Block with outside areas there are no suitable roads whatsoever through which the Block maintains a regular connection with its neighbouring areas. The people, however, have maintained what little socio-economic connection they could, through foot-tracks across the rugged hills with the adjacent areas of Surat and Thana districts. The socio-economic development of Harsul Block cannot be thought of, under these circumstances, without the simultaneous development of the whole of the tribal tract and without opening the whole of the tribal tract in general and Harsul Block in particular to outside contact. In the following study and subsequent outlining of the development, however, only possible links as such are hinted at.

CHAPTER III

BROAD PATTERNS OF RESOURCES AND THEIR UTILIZATION

The total area of the Block is 111,029.91 acres, out of which nearly half or 47.4 per cent (52,658.5 acres) is covered by forest (Table No.3). About half of the Block's

Table No.3 : Area Particulars of Hersul Block

	Acres	Percentage
Total Geographical area	111,029.91	100.00
Cultivable Land	47,326.60	42.63
Cultivated Land DRY	34,947.68	31.48
" " WET	135.17	0.12
Forest Reserved	28,713.79	25.86
" Protected	23,944.67	21.57
Land under Rice	8,183.12	7.37
" " Nagli	11,957.00	10.77
" " Warai	4,691.73	4.23
" " Tur	969.85	0.87
" " Urid	2,628.84	2.37
" " Kulith	2,073.43	1.87
" " Khurasani	3,248.20	2.93
Uncultivated cultivable	12,243.75	11.03

(Data taken from the Records at the Block Office.)

northern boundary is bound by the river Damanganga flowing westward into Surat district through gorges which separate the block from Surat district and the adjacent part of Peint Block (Map 2). Because of the gorges, communication and transport which are denied the benefit of roads becomes difficult, which explains the absence of regular and easy contact with Peint Block across these gorges. Two big tributaries, one at the centre and another in its north-west part flow from south to north and join the river. Whereas the length of the river Damanganga as the boundary of the Block is about 12 miles, the tributaries joining the river are about 5 to 6 miles long. The river Damanganga flows throughout the year although in summer especially in April and May the flow much narrows. The tributaries which are big streams dry up in summer, leaving watery ditches here and there. There are two other rivers traversing the south-western boundary of the Block. They are the Val and the Vagh; the former running for about 12 miles from east in a slightly north-western direction joins the Vagh which runs for about six miles in an almost northern direction. Besides these rivers which are on the boundary of the Block, within the Block area, there are a number of streams big and small which flow mostly during the monsoon, gradually drying up in summer. These streams mostly run from north to south or south to north. Obviously the ranges of hills which form the deep ravines through which these streams flow, also run at many places, especially in the northern and southern

MAP NO. 2. HARSUL BLOCK, NASIK DISTRICT.
 GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES (HILLS OMITTED.)
 AND
 DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGES.



sector of the Block in a north-south direction. The hills of the eastern sector of the area are scattered leaving larger level-tracts in between. They are also generally lower in height than those in the central sector. In the westernmost part, however, from Goldari to Ozar the altitude of the hills drops down to 1200 to 1000 feet from sea level. The forests of the western and southern sectors are denser than elsewhere. So also the altitude of the hills is less towards the northern and southern boundaries, close to the rivers at some places, dropping down to less than 1000 feet. The maximum altitude of the hills ranges to 2000 feet, and only in the central sector of the area the hills of maximum height are found (vide Nasik District Gazetteer and Survey of India Maps).

These forests administratively, together with the forest area around 14 villages of the Peint Block, are under Harsul Range of the West Nasik Division. The forests from the point of their produce are termed as rich with a high quality of teak timber. To quote from the Socio-Economic Review and District Statistical Abstract of Nasik District, 1958-59 : "These are deciduous forests tending towards moister type. Teak is by far the main timber species found in these forests. Other closely associated species are Ain or Sadada, Hed, Kolam, Shisham, Khair, Tiwas, Bibla, and Dhabda, found in varying proportions. Bamboos are also common except in the eastern part of the Mahal. Bamboos are of two varieties: manwel and kashti. The former occupies upper and comparatively drier slopes and the latter likes rich damp soil and is generally found at the bottom of the valleys." 1/ In the Block area the bamboos are abundantly found in the ravines along the beds of Damanganga, Val, and Vagh rivers.

"Distribution of teak in this zone (westernmost zone of Nasik district) is fairly uniform. On the upper slopes teak is very scarce and is often absent over large stretches of forests:

"..... in rich valley soils the teak grows to a height of 60-70 feet, and girth of about 4 feet. The height at the maximum goes upto 90 feet and the girth to 5 feet.

"Along the crest of the Western Ghats they sustain a poor type of growth and in many places vegetation becomes scrubby. Large grass blanks occur and the vegetation is confined to the terraces and bottoms of the valleys. The vegetation along the terraces is mainly of evergreen type the chief species of which are mango, jambul, harep, hirde, mohwa, kombal, etc., with shrubs of karawand and karavi etc. These forests do not yield any substantial forest produce but largely serve the purpose of protecting the countryside from severe land slides and erosion." 2/ The trees of the Harsul forest that are mentioned appear to be only a few. But these are only the important ones. The Bombay Gazetteer of Nasik District mentions that "among the western slopes of the Peint hills, more than 200 kinds of trees are found." 3/

1/ Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Socio-Economic Review and District Statistical Abstract of Nasik District, 1958-59, p. 41.

2/ Ibid, pp. 41-42.

3/ Government of Bombay, Nasik District Gazetteer, 1885, p. 18.

Teak is by far the most important tree both from the viewpoint of the number and kinds of its exploitation and of earning revenue. Royalty rights in the tree were emphasized and exercised by the pre-British principalities, by the East India Company and the British Government in India. The Government of India after independence has continued to exercise similar rights in the tree even in lands under private proprietorship. Felling of a tree is as a rule done only after it matures and there are varying versions as to how long a teak takes to mature. The Encyclopaedia Britannica puts it at 80 to 100 years when it grows to a maximum height of 100 to 150 feet. These Harsul forests come under the West Coast Region which includes "the coast districts of the Konkan, Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, and extends over the western scarps of the mountainous ranges behind them in the Mahratta country, Coorg, the Nilgiris, Anaimalais, Cochín, and the Travancore Hills....." 4/ According to Munro, the Conservator of the Travancore Forests, in 1837, "the teak tree shoots up for the first seven or eight years remarkably fast till it attains the height of 12 or 15 feet, after which its growth is uncommonly slow, and it does not attain the rise of the 6th class log even in the most favourable situations till it is about 35 or 40 years old; a 5th class log takes about 50 years, a 4th about 60 years, a 3rd about 70 or 80 years, a second about 90 and a 1st class takes about 100 to 120 years." He added that a tree of the 1st class will remain "sound and good" for nearly 200 years and then begin to decay slowly. 5/ The Harsul forests, therefore, appear to be capable of producing teak of a superior variety. But indiscriminate felling of the trees, not by the local residents as might be believed, had set in even in those days and had done much damage against conservancy of the forests. For Colonel Jervis, the Chief Engineer at Bombay during 1843, in his capacity of Member of the Military Board, wrote a Minute wherein he says: "Proceeding south to the Peith and Hursool country; teak was formerly very extensive, but had largely been cut away, chiefly for export to the Dekhan,..... By proper care and conservation it was expected that this tract would soon yield large supplies." 6/ The denudation of the forests has started for more than a century now, and the teak and other produce of the forests naturally must have suffered a setback, in quantity.

Felling, logging, and transporting operations connected with the timber and the manufacture of coal in the Block area are being handled by the local Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies at present. We have the accounts of their produce for three years, 1961-62, 1962-63, and 1963-64. There are four such societies in the Block, named after four villages that are central to the sectors around them, although regarding the assignment of coupes for their operations no society has any exclusive sectors demarcated as its rightful fields of operation. The societies are: Harsul, Deodongra, Shirasgaon, and Kulwandi; the last being a new society registered during 1964-65, we have accounts of the first three societies only.

4/ Stebbing, E.P., The Forests of India, London, 1922, p.41.

5/ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

6/ Ibid., p. 112.

Table No. 4 : Production of Timber and Coal

Name of society	Area of coupes in acres (fractions rounded to the nearest acre)	Timber in cubic metres	Coal in tons	Timber per acre of coupes	Coal per acre of coupes	Timber per acre of total forest in cubic metres
<u>1963-64</u>						
Harsul	332	3,101	1,276	9.34	3.84	
Deodongra	115	2,865	207	24.91	1.80	
Shirasgaon	205	1,057	612	5.16	2.98	
Total	652	7,023	2,095	10.77	3.21	.133=4.65 Cft.
<u>1962-63</u>						
Harsul	700	4,463	642	6.38	0.92	
Deodongra	255	3,333	235	13.07	0.92	
Shirasgaon	447	985	301	2.20	0.67	
Total	1,402	8,781	1,178	6.26	0.84	.167=6.00 Cft.
<u>1961-62:</u>						
Harsul	372	1,929	425	5.19	1.14	
Deodongra	258	1,566	394	6.07	1.53	
Shirasgaon	156	447	202	2.87	1.29	
Total	786	3,942	1,021	5.02	1.30	.074=2.59 Cft.
Total for 3 years	2,840	19,746	4,294	6.95	1.51	.375
Average per year	947	6,582	1,431	6.95	1.51	.125=4.37 Cft.

(Data taken from the records at the office of the Federation of the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies, Nasik District, Nasik.)

Although from year to year there is variation in the quantity of timber production, the average of 4.37 cubic feet of timber per acre of the forests in the Block is almost double the average of the country which is 2.5 cft.* If the forest produce is considered in relation to the

* The figure is quoted from Development of Forest and Forest-Based Industries in Mysore, 1962, p. 36.

total area of the Block it stands at 2.17 cubic feet per acre. It is possible that the area of operations assigned to the co-operative societies in Harsul Block by the West Nasik Forest Division which includes 14 villages of the Peint Block under the Harsul Range, has inflated the produce per acre. Even considering this the forest produce as far as timber is concerned appears to be more than the national average.

Table No. 4A: Production of Timber Per Acre

Year	Total area in Sq.K.metres	Total production of timber in Cft.	Average Production in Cft. per sqare K.metre	Per acre in Cft.
1958-59	24,437.34	12,649,000	517.61	2.09
1959-60	24,516.24	12,876,000	525.20	2.13
1960-61	63,544.51	11,768,000	185.19	0.75
1961-62	63,513.53	16,620,000	261.67	1.06
1962-63	63,361.68	12,694,000	200.34	0.81
			338.00	1.71

(Worked out from the figures given in the Statistical Abstract of the Maharashtra State years 1961-62 & 1962-63, 1966, pp. 108-112)

The figures pertaining to the timber production in Maharashtra State successively for 3 years from 1960-61 and in the Bombay State of the previous 2 years are given in Table No. 4A. The total production has not increased much after the formation of the Maharashtra State even with the larger forest area which is nearly three times of the forest area in the earlier Bombay State. The average production per acre of the forest area is only 1.71 cubic feet which is much less than the Harsul production. The production in Harsul Block therefore appears to be at a much higher rate per unit of time and area. Even in the year 1961-62 the produce (in Harsul Block) which is the lowest in the three years under reference, is above the Indian average. In relation to the total area of the Block, however, the per acre timber produce is below the national average. If the felling operations seem to denude the Harsul forests at a faster rate than the national average, they should be counterbalanced by plantation operations. If the average area under coupes assigned to the societies, viz. 947 acres be taken as the uniform size of coupes throughout the years to come, it will take about 56 years to cover the whole forest area of 52,658 acres. In view of the fact that many authorities put the age of maturing of the teak at about 80 years and onwards (although the Divisional Forest Officer of West Nasik Division during conversations put it at 60 years) the denudation of the forests is going at a faster rate than afforestation provides; and this in respect of teak only. As regards the other species the denudation is

more alarming, as the maturity age of these trees is also much below. If it is to spread the area of annual operations over 80 years the average area per year should be--strictly confining to the Block area again--658 acres or one square mile roughly. The area under operations during 1963-64 therefore approximates this average.

The rivers and streams that border on and intersect the area do not seem to have been tapped for irrigation, which is clear from the fact that only 135.17 or 0.12 per cent acres are shown as under wet cultivation.

Out of the total 42.63 per cent of cultivable land only 31.60 per cent is actually cultivated (Table No.3). From the data collected from the eleven out of twelve villages which were studied in detail it is seen that the land that comes under private ownership, is almost equal to the land that is cultivable.

Table No. 5 : Total Land Under Private Ownership

	Total land in acres	In approximate percentage to the total				Culti- vable but not culti- vated in acres
		Land under private owner- ship	Culti- vable land	Culti- vated land	Diff- erence between culti- vable and culti- vated	
1. Dalpatpur	2,531.28	50.49	47.91	39.61	8.30	209.92
2. Nirgude	1,090.30	39.45	38.74	34.73	4.01	42.70
3. Torangen	2,890.50	28.19	28.11	26.21	1.90	54.68
4. Deodongra	3,230.30	31.76	32.59	22.41	10.18	328.90
5. Deodongri	2,485.35	20.00	19.95	12.75	7.20	178.90
6. Bafanvihar	2,502.75	16.62	16.64	11.57	5.07	126.45
7. Kulwandi	4,037.95	50.02	49.92	40.09	9.83	397.03
8. Palashi Bk.	582.78	48.71	48.72	37.75	10.97	63.95
9. Donawade	2,175.20	52.41	52.98	36.15	16.83	331.64
10. Shirasgeon	3,241.85	61.32	61.24	45.80	15.44	300.75
11. Gadadawne	1,459.45	53.05	54.30	45.16	9.14	133.27
12. Rautmal	992.70	Not available	44.38	33.27	11.11	109.25

(Worked out from the Village Form No. 8A of the Villages under reference.)

This fact coupled with the fact that in the tribal tract almost every bit of cultivable land is grabbed by the land-hungry tribals, so much so that they encroach even upon cultivable patches of land under the jurisdiction of the Forest Department, leads us to believe that almost all of the cultivable land in the Block has gone under private ownership. This means that the landowners do not cultivate

all the cultivable land that they own. Of the total cultivable land nearly 26 per cent (11.03 per cent of the total area of the Block) is left uncultivated. It is true that the tribal methods of cultivation require setting apart a bit of their land for rab and as fallow in rotation for three or four years. 7/ Besides these facts which might have reduced the land under cultivation, another fact was noticed during the field study of the twelve villages. It is that the land under a single ownership is usually not a single contiguous tract but is split up into a number of bits separated and far removed from one another. In Table No. 6 is given the distribution of owned lands according to the fragments they comprise for ten out of the twelve villages. It is seen that contiguous single-unit holdings are only 25.24 per cent of the total holdings and comprise even less, that is, only 10.71 per cent of the total land held. Barring these unitary holdings, among the holdings having two and more fragments, concentration of landholders and their land appears between the holdings with two and eleven fragments, although it is also seen that 3 per cent of the landholders of holdings with more than 11 fragments, hold nearly 10 per cent of the total land. The average size of a fragment is 3.19 acres; but a majority of the fragments, classified as they are here, show an average size between two and three acres. From the fact of the extent to which the individual landholdings appear to be fragmented it is to be pointed out that simultaneous cultivation and/or management of cultivational operations of all the cultivable fragments of a landholding is utterly difficult if not impossible. This fact has been corroborated during the field study. As a result in a number of cases the fragments that are inaccessible or not easily accessible are left uncultivated. It is probable therefore that the difference between the total cultivable land and cultivated land is partly because of this inability on the part of the landholders to bring into cultivation, all the land that belongs to them, in one and the same year.

In addition to the cultivated land under the jurisdiction of the Revenue Department there are 1,147 acres and 25 gunthas granted by the Forest Department from the area under its jurisdiction to 290 families from among the landless, on annual basis. These grants are renewed year after year in the name of the same families unless the grantee families fail to cultivate the lands or commit breach of conditions laid down for the purpose. In actual practice, if what the local forest officers told is not incorrect, it is the result of the acceptance of encroachment upon forest areas by the local people year after year, as a de facto situation and providing some legal basis for the same. The average size of this land per family comes to 3.96 acres (approximately) which is more than the average size of a fragment in the holdings of land in the jurisdiction of the Revenue Department. Almost all these former holdings are single-unit ones.

It has been pointed out earlier that there are two types of forests classified for administrative and protective purposes, viz., reserved and protected. The

7/ Papers Relating to the Revision Survey Settlement of 14 villages of the Peint Taluka of the Nasik Collectorate, Bombay, 1891, Appendix J, p. 14 ".... These "Mal" lands produce a rotation of crops generally in the following order: 1st year 'Nagli'; 2nd year 'Khurasni', 3rd year 'Nagli', and are left fallow for three or four years."

Table No. 6 : Fragmentation of Landholdings

Number of fragments per holding	No. of holdings	%	No. of total fragments	%	Total land held A.G.	%	Average size of the fragment (approximate in acres)	Average size of holding (approximate)	
No. Fragments	185	25.24	185	6.29	1,004.31	10.71	5.43	5.43	
2	116	15.83	232	7.84	965.04	10.28	4.16	8.32	
3	100	13.64	300	10.18	965.03	10.28	3.22	9.65	
4	84	11.46	336	11.41	1,158.16	12.34	3.46	13.79	
5	64	8.73	320	10.86	944.36	10.07	2.95	14.77	
6	51	6.96	306	10.39	863.15	9.19	2.62	16.92	
7	43	5.87	301	10.22	926.16	9.86	3.08	21.53	
8	24	3.27	192	6.52	494.20	5.27	2.58	20.62	
9	21	2.86	189	6.41	531.05	5.66	2.82	25.24	
10	13	1.77	130	4.41	352.34	3.76	2.71	27.15	
11	10	1.36	110	3.73	324.19	3.45	2.95	32.40	
12	3	3.00	36	1.22	96.07	1.02	2.67	32.00	
14	5		70	2.38	175.06	1.86	2.50	35.00	
15	5		75	2.55	193.13	2.06	2.57	38.60	
16	2		32	1.09	71.08	0.76	2.22	35.50	
17	2		34	1.15	52.22	0.56	1.56	26.50	
18	1		18	0.61	45.08	0.48	2.50	45.00	
19	3		57	1.93	148.12	1.58	2.60	49.33	
23	1		23	0.78	76.13	0.81	3.30	76.00	
Total	733		100.00	2,946	100.00	9,389.08	100.00	3.19	

(Figures worked out from the Village Form No. 8A pertaining to the 10 out of 12 sample villages.)

protected forest generally is situated close to the villages and surrounds and at many places butts in between private landholdings. This protected forest is called locally as rabi from where the local villagers are allowed to pick the forest produce, for fencing their fields, fuel, thatching, and with special permission and at concessional rates the timber necessary for their huts. The fallen forest produce is also utilized by the local villagers to prepare their rab—a practice which requires burning the soil so as to make it fit for the paddy seedlings to sprout. The protected forest takes its local name rabi, therefore, as it is exploited towards the requirements of rab. This forest is also used as a grazing ground for the cattle. Because of all these reasons the villager has more connections and is more conversant with the protected forest. As such his encroachment for agricultural purposes is mainly on the protected forest, although a few cases might occur in the interior in the reserved area. Because the protected forest is traversed by the villagers for a number of their requirements, and because felling of the trees or their branches for household and agricultural purposes, lawfully or unlawfully, goes on round the year except during the rainy season, the protected forest is, comparatively, sparsely covered with trees, rendering it more and more susceptible to encroachment.

Of the total cultivated land the three food crops rice, nagli, and warai cover more than two-thirds, nagli alone covering nearly one-third (Table No.3). The principal pulses grown in this area are tur, urid, kulith, and khurasani, which together cover 8.04 per cent of the total geographical area or a little more than one-fourth of the cultivated land. Nagli is the staple food of the people although rice and warai are occasionally utilized for home consumption. Rice and warai are mainly cash crops. As nagli is their essential daily food, the 11,957 acres under the crop, if the Block area is to be self-sufficient as far as their staple food is concerned, should be able to produce enough for the total population, viz., 31,872. This means that per capita acreage under nagli is approximately 0.38, which appears to be too small to offer any self-sufficiency. This feature in its analysis involves both agricultural resource complex and economic organization, and as such will be dealt with later at appropriate places.

So far the elaboration is made only about the resources available to and as utilized by the people in the Block area, as a whole. As the resources are not evenly distributed over the whole of the area due to the topographical variations, as the population is also unevenly distributed in big and small villages, and as the people in the villages can possibly make use of the resources only in their vicinity, there is bound to be variation in the way the resources have been utilized, in the kind and abundance or paucity of the resources, and in other factors such as communication facilities and water supply which are conducive to better exploitation (granted the knowledge of) of the available resources. The way the resources are exploited or not exploited is also affected by the prevailing socio-economic organization. In the following sections, therefore, the description and discussion of the spatial distribution and growth of population along with the same of the infrastructure will be taken first, and the socio-economic organization will be considered next.

CHAPTER IV

AREA, POPULATION AND THE INFRA-STRUCTURE

A : Distribution and Growth of Population

The distribution and growth of population in the area will throw some light on the availability and abundance of the resources and the way they have been utilized by the people. In this section these features will be discussed tracing the growth of population from 1901. The figures of the decennial censuses form the basis of the study of the population growth.

Table No. 7 : Decennial Variation in Population from 1901 to 1961

Census year	Population (1)	Percentage variation (2)	Average Population per village (3)
1901	21,200		433
1911	23,776	+ 12.15	485
1921	20,331	- 14.49	415
1931	20,866	+ 2.63	426
1941	20,160	- 3.38	411
1951	23,525	+ 16.69	480
1961	31,912	+ 35.65	651
1901-1961		+ 50.53	

(Source : Records at the Mahal Office, Peint.)

The population of the area is distributed into 49 villages. These villages form the revenue units of the administration, and, as pointed out earlier are not the only clusters of population. The village is invariably a group of scattered hamlets. Although the hamlets are recognized by an independent nomenclature they are grouped under their respective central revenue village. As such, when it is said that the population is distributed into 49 villages, it does not give a correct picture of the distribution in space. The twelve villages that were studied in detail, had in all 42 clusters including the central villages. It appears to be safe to presume on this basis that the 49 villages have not less than 100 hamlets which means that there are in the Block area not less than 150 population clusters.

As for the growth in the population, after the initial increase during the decade 1901-11, until 1941 there has been no substantial growth at all; on the other hand during the two alternate decades 1911-21 and 1931-41 there has been decrease, it being heavy in the former. There had been steady increase again during the period 1941-51 and during the latest decade of 1951 to 1961 the increase has been quite substantial. Treating the 1901

population as base during the six decades of the country, the population in the area has grown by more than 50 per cent. If we compare this growth with that in the district and the State its peculiarities may appear more clearly in a broader perspective. The comparable figures of the district and the state pertain to the rural areas alone, the urban figures being given in order to understand the shifts in population variation.

Table No. 8 : Percentage Variation in Population from 1901 to 1961*

Year	Nasik District		Maharashtra	
	Rate of variation in		Rate of variation in	
	Rural population	Urban population	Rural population	Urban population
1901-11	+ 12.35	+ 2.97	+ 12.68	+ 0.99
1911-21	- 13.02	+ 36.57	- 6.77	+ 18.72
1921-31	+ 21.81	+ 6.61	+ 14.77	+ 15.54
1931-41	+ 10.05	+ 21.47	+ 8.54	+ 27.11
1941-51	+ 11.38	+110.26	+ 7.72	+ 62.42
1951-61	+ 30.22	+ 28.39	+ 24.51	+ 21.32

In view of these figures of variation in population in the district and the state, the Block appears to have increased or decreased in population in a normal way during the first two decades. In the decade 1921-31 the Block population has increased only by 2.63 per cent which is much below the percentage increase of the district and the state. There has been a reversal again in the next decade of 1931-41 by 3.38 per cent. During the last two decades, however, the Block population increase has surpassed the rate of increase of the rural areas of the district and the state.

The initial loss in population can be explained by "the severe influenza epidemic that took a heavy toll of life" in the whole of the district and many parts of the state as well. But it might not have been only death that decreased the population in the rural areas. The substantial increase in the urban areas of the district during the same decade of 1911-1921 appears to be partly due to the migration of the rural people to the urban centres. It seems to have taken a longer period in the Block area for the conditions to normalize than in other rural areas of the district. This presumption is nearer truth in view of the fact that health conditions in the Block area are even now worse than elsewhere. Until 1941, therefore, the population of the Block appears to have been affected by the vicissitudes of migration as well. The higher rate of increase during the last two decades perhaps is due to the higher fertility rate among the tribals and slightly improved conditions of health.

* Figures taken from the District Census Handbook, Nasik, Census of India 1961, Bombay, 1965, p. 15.

Within the Block all the villages have not behaved uniformly in population variation; the same pattern that has appeared between the rural and the urban areas in the district or the state is seen among the satellite and central or smaller and bigger villages within the Block. The distribution of population among the larger and smaller villages decade to decade might give us some idea about this (Table No.9). The increase in population during the first decade shows the upgrading of four villages in the lowest category of villages having less than 500 population and of the villages in the next category of 501-1000 population. Thereafter the general decrease in population during 1911-21 has affected the villages in all the categories. During the next two decades there appear ups and downs until in 1951 the position of 1911 is reached. From 1911 to 1951 although the overall picture is the same all the villages have not fared uniformly. The table shows that during the decade 1951-61, there has appeared an allround increase in population reducing the number of villages in the lowest category and giving rise to four villages in the highest category of 1501-2000 population. As to which of the villages have grown faster during 1951-61 against the background of their population variation during 1911-1951 will be seen from the Table No.10. Among the villages that had increased in population during 1911-1951 some of the smallest villages in the first category of 500 and less population, and the larger villages in the third category of 1001-1500 population have grown at a greater rate than the others during 1951-61. Among those villages that had decreased in population during 1911-1951, half of the smallest villages have grown by more than 50 per cent some having even doubled their population during 1951-61. From 1911 to 1951, 16 of the smallest villages have increased in population, while 14 have decreased; and among the largest villages all the five have increased; it is among the medium villages of 501-1000 population that we see a large number of villages that decreased in population. But during 1951-61 majority of the medium villages have also grown by more than 30 per cent. Thus if we compare the growth of population in the individual villages with the Block average during 1951-61, only 23 villages show a higher rate of increase, and 16 of these are those that had decreased in population during 1911-1951 as seen in Table No. 11. Whereas those that had increased in population during 1911-1951 appear to have kept up a steady increase during the next decade also, of those that had decreased during 1911-1951 a majority appear to have compensated by growing at a greater rate in the next decade.

The point in elaborating upon this feature of population growth at length is to hint at the possible vicissitudes of migration within the Block in keeping the population variation fluctuating. Possibly also it has been the medium villages that have suffered most during hard times. It is time that the villages that have grown at a higher rate than the Block average during 1951-61 are spelt out. It will be useful to understand their growth against their ecological background: They are: (1) Adgaon, (2) Bafanvihar, (3) Belpali, (4) Berwal, (5) Bhagohol, (6) Bhutmo-khada, (7) Dalpatpur, (8) Deo:ongra, (9) Deola, (10) Gadadawne, (11) Harsul, (12) Jatagaon Budruk, (13) Kas, (14) Khadakohol, (15) Khairapali, (16) Kharshet, (17) Murembi, (18) Nirgude, (19) Ozer, (20) Palashi Budruk, (21) Rautmal, (22) Reyate, and (23) Shirasgaon. When these

Table No. 9 : Classification of Villages on Population Basis

Population Group	1901		1911		1921		1931		1941		1951		1961	
	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage	No.	Per-centage
Upto 500	34	69.39	30	61.22	32	65.31	30	61.22	32	65.31	30	61.22	27	55.10
501 - 1000	12	24.49	14	28.57	16	32.65	16	32.65	13	26.53	14	28.57	12	24.49
1001 - 1500	3	6.12	5	10.20	1	2.04	3	6.12	4	8.16	5	10.20	6	12.24
1501 - 2000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	8.16
Total	49		49		49		49		49		49		49	

Table No. 10 : Population Increase During 1951-61

	De- crease	+ upto. 10%	+ 10-19%	+ 20-29%	+ 30-39%	+ 40-49%	+ 50% and more	Total
<u>Villages which increased in population during 1911-1951</u>								
With population upto 500 in 1951	1	1	-	5	5	2	2	16
" " 501-1000 in 1951	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	3
" " 1001-1500 in 1951	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	5
Total	1	2	-	6	9	4	2	24
<u>Villages which decreased in population during 1911-1951</u>								
With population upto 500 in 1951	1	1	1	2	1	1	7	14
" " 501-1000 in 1951	-	-	3	1	3	3	1	11
" " 1001-1500 in 1951	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	1	4	3	4	4	8	25
TOTAL	2	3	4	9	13	8	10	49

Table No. 11 : Villages Growing at a Higher Rate Than the Block Average During 1951-1961

Category of villages with population	Villages which had increased in population from 1911 to 1951	Villages which had decreased in population from 1911 to 1951	Total
Upto 500	5	9	14
501 - 1000	-	7	7
1001 - 1500	2	-	2

villages are grouped on the basis of geographical contiguity they appear as follows (Statement No. 1) barring Berwal and Palashi Budruk which cannot be grouped with any other village because they are far removed from other villages which have grown at a higher rate during 1951 to 1961. Berwal, which itself is a big village with a population of 1,713 (next only to Harsul with 1,825 population) is geographically situated far from any other village. In the case of Palashi Budruk (population 176), all the villages in nearness to which it is situated have grown at a lower rate.

Larger number of villages in a single group are found around Harsul, the Block Headquarters. Next to it is the Shirasgaon group of four villages which is adjacent to the Harsul group geographically. Further to the west of the Shirasgaon group are the three villages Bhagohol, Bhutmokhada, and Rayate which are nearer to the bigger village Mulvad (population 1,621); and further to the south of the group are Adgaon and Deola. The three villages Bafanvihir, Kas, and Deodongra are in the north-western sector of the area to the south of which extend the areas of Khadakohol and Ozar. To its east are the two villages Khairipali and Kharshet. The villages to the north of the Harsul group of villages, and those in the north-eastern sector of the area headed by Kulawandi (population 1,171) are among those that have grown at a lower rate. In each sector of the area therefore we find villages that have grown at a higher and a lower rate, barring, of course, Harsul and villages in its immediate vicinity. Thus if population growth is the criterion there appears to be not one central sector as such, growing at a higher rate than all others, but a number of different pockets of villages, some of which are simultaneously growing at a higher rate than others. Which means that there is not one set of factors which centrally situated induce growth within it at the cost of others, but that different factors or different combination of the same factors have affected the growth of population in the different sectors. It is necessary therefore to find out such groups of villages which not only are geographically contiguous but are interlinked with one another by one or more socio-economic and other connections. For this we have to study the communication system and central places of human activity and their areas of influence as spread out in space. The next section on infrastructure will elucidate this, along with the other details of factors affecting daily chores of life.

Statement No. 1 : Groups of Villages on the Basis of Geographical Contiguity with Their Population in 1961

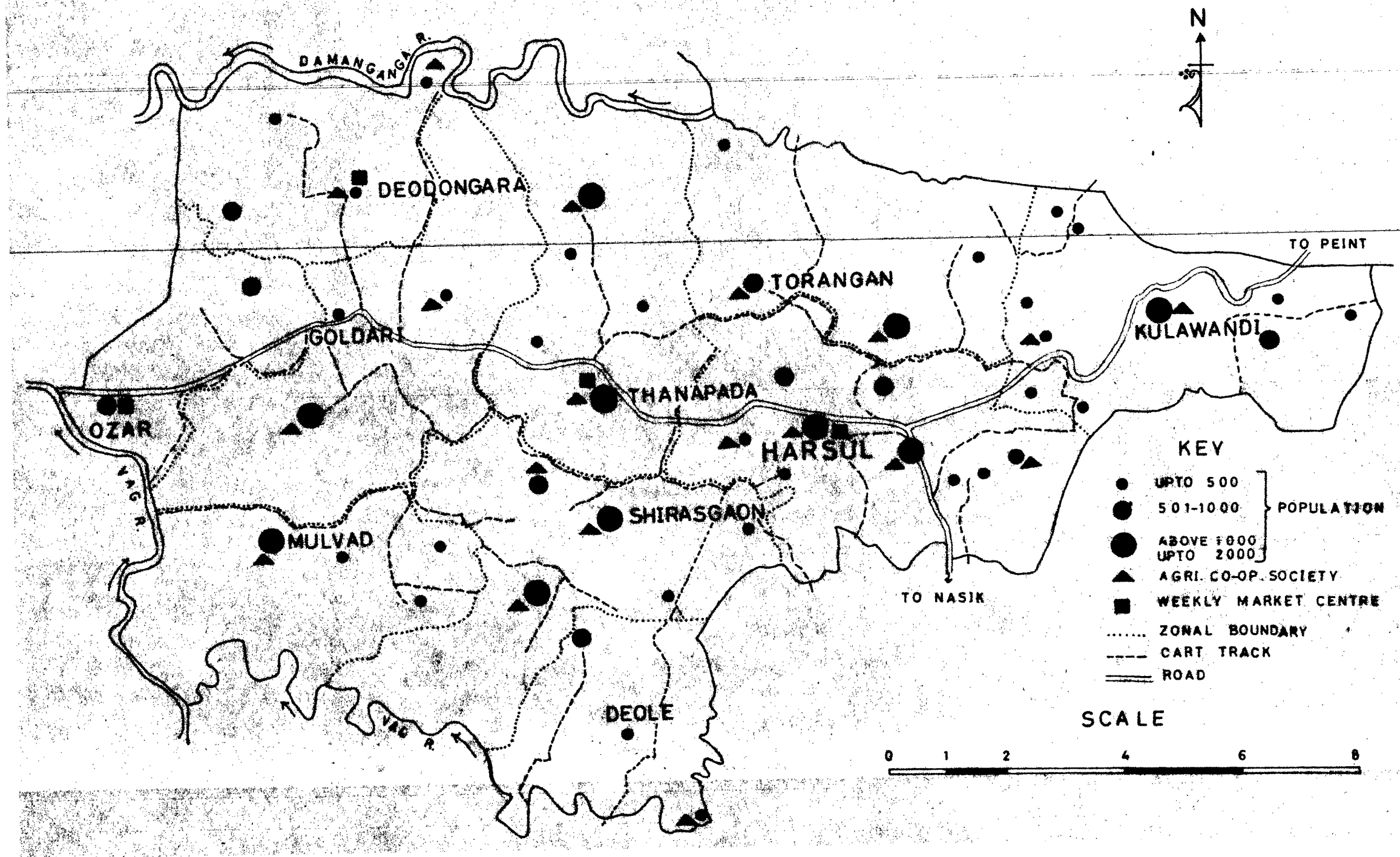
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1.	Adgaon 346	Kas 138	Belpali 194	Bhutmo-khada 201	Reutmal 210	Khairai-pali 457	Khada-kohol 589
2.	Deola 499	Bafen-vihir 455	Nirgude 364	Bhagohol 241	Gadadawne 426	Kharsket 1,335	Ozar 908
3.		Deo-dongra 976	Jategaon Bk. 902	Rayate 386	Murambi 1,123		
4.			Dalpatpur 975		Shiras-gaon 1,230		
5.			Harsul 1,825				
Total Villages	2	3	5	3	4	2	2

B : The Infrastructure

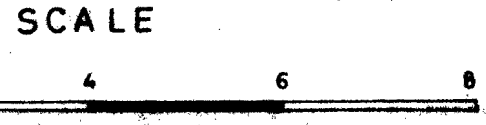
(1) Communication :- As has been noted earlier the population of the Block is distributed into 49 villages which are not the actual clusters, but revenue units under each of which a number of hamlets are included, the name of the 'central' hamlet being given to the whole collection. Of these 49 villages 4 belong to the 1501-2000 category of population, 6 to the 1001-1500 category, 12 to the 501-1000 category, and 27 to the lowest category of 500 and less population. Harsul, the Block headquarters, has the highest population of 1,825, and is situated more or less equi-distant from the north-western, south-western, and north-eastern corners of the area. From the Map No.3 it appears that the villages are more or less evenly distributed spatially, although between Thanapada and Ozar a distance of about 12 miles, there are only two villages, Hatlonahi and Goldari that are close to the road. The sector that is least populated seems to be the southern part of this road from Thanapada to Ozar with a lone village, Berwal. It may be as well that this part is filled in by the hamlets of Berwal. But it is also true that all the 49 villages, as is a common feature with the mountainous terrain, have each two to five, and in some cases upto 25, hamlets, at a distance of one to four miles from the main village.

Harsul, the main village of the area, is 32 miles to the west-north-west of Nasik city. The road for the first 22 miles or so runs more or less on a level ground; at 22 miles, at Devargaon, the road for three to four miles runs towards a precipice; at Devargaon a branch jets out towards Girnare which is two miles to the north from the edge of the precipice the western slope of the road starts by the northern side of a hill range, with four precarious bends, and ends in a valley, near Chinchawade (population 1,217), a village about three miles to the east of Harsul. The same road runs to Harsul, to Thanapada about four miles to the west of Harsul, to Hatlonahi at a distance of two miles, and to Goldari about six miles to the west of Thanapada. This road upto Goldari runs in a slightly north-western direction with ups and downs and a number of bends, and the villages just mentioned are quite close to the road. From Goldari one branch runs to the north upto Deodongra at a distance of about three miles, and another in a slightly south-western direction runs upto Ozar. The road throughout is a kaccha one, it being worse from Thanapada onwards towards Deodongra or Ozar. This road as well as others are under the jurisdiction of the Forest Department. The width of the road through the ghat is 15 feet, and the work of widening the road upto the width of 22 feet was in progress during April and May 1965. As it is, it becomes very difficult for two trucks to cross each other in the ghat, especially at the bends. The width of the road elsewhere is even less than 15 feet. From Harsul to Ozar the road is cut at not less than seven places by the streams which run in a south to north direction. These streams are full in the monsoons, and the communication through this road becomes very difficult and almost comes to a standstill during the rainy season. There is another road besides this, which joins Harsul with Peint, the taluka headquarters. This road, about 25 miles long, branches out from the Nasik-Harsul road near Chinchawade, and then proceeding in a south-eastern arc along the boundary reaches Karanjali at a distance of about 19 miles, from where the metal-road runs to Peint at a distance of about 6 miles, running further to Bulsar in

MAP NO. 3. HARSUL BLOCK, NASIK DISTRICT.
 THE ZONES AND THE CENTRES
 OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.



- KEY**
- UPTO 500
 - 501-1000
 - ABOVE 1000
 - ▲ AGRI. CO-OP. SOCIETY
 - WEEKLY MARKET CENTRE
 - ZONAL BOUNDARY
 - - - - - CART TRACK
 - == ROAD
- POPULATION

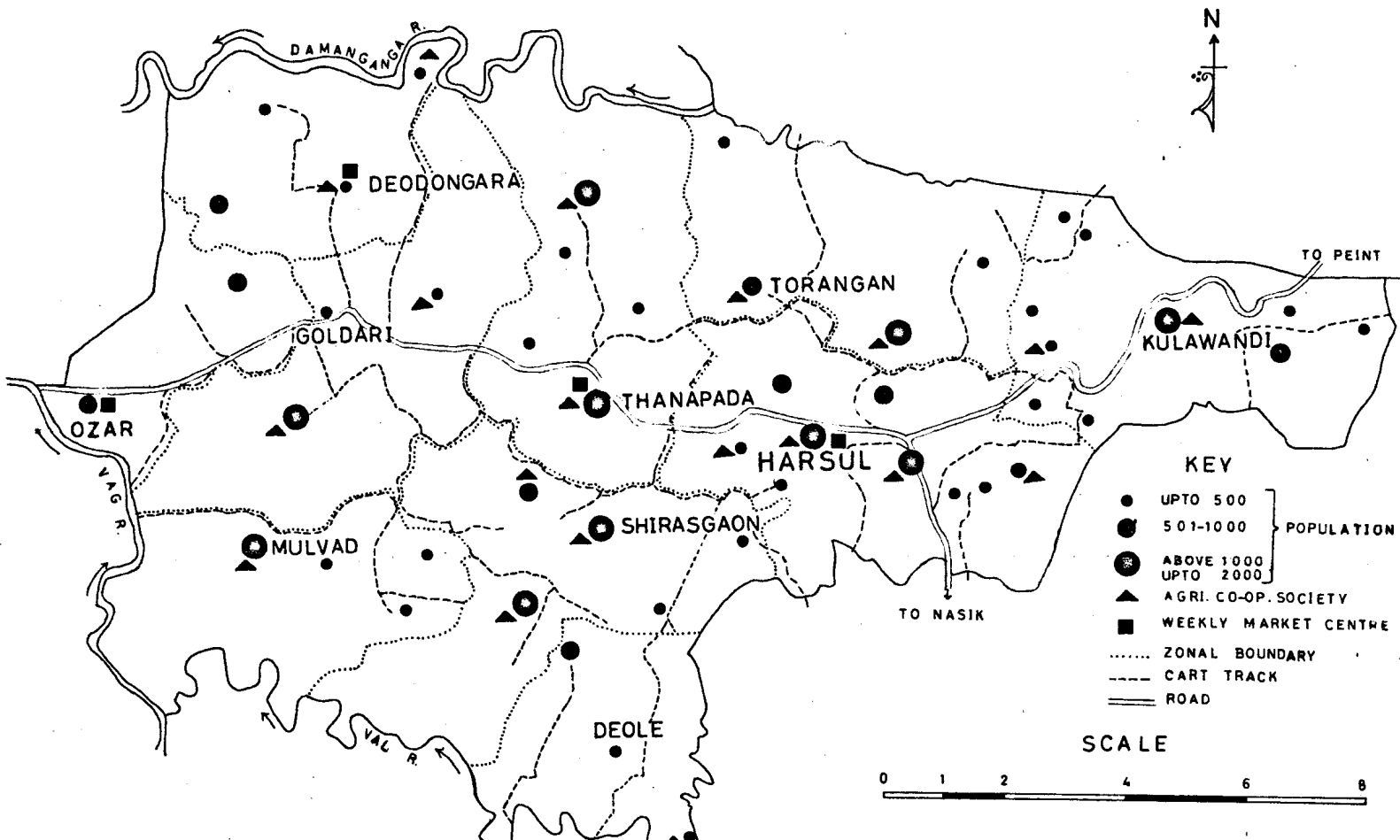


B : The Infrastructure

(i) Communication :- As has been noted earlier the population of the Block is distributed into 49 villages which are not the actual clusters, but revenue units under each of which a number of hamlets are included, the name of the 'central' hamlet being given to the whole collection. Of these 49 villages 4 belong to the 1501-2000 category of population, 6 to the 1001-1500 category, 12 to the 501-1000 category, and 27 to the lowest category of 500 and less population. Harsul, the Block headquarters, has the highest population of 1,825, and is situated more or less equi-distant from the north-western, south-western, and north-eastern corners of the area. From the Map No.3 it appears that the villages are more or less evenly distributed spatially, although between Thanapada and Ozar a distance of about 12 miles, there are only two villages, Hatlonahi and Goldari that are close to the road. The sector that is least populated seems to be the southern part of this road from Thanapada to Ozar with a lone village, Berwal. It may be as well that this part is filled in by the hamlets of Berwal. But it is also true that all the 49 villages, as is a common feature with the mountainous terrain, have each two to five, and in some cases upto 25, hamlets, at a distance of one to four miles from the main village.

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MAP NO. 3. HARSUL BLOCK, NASIK DISTRICT.
 THE ZONES AND THE CENTRES
 OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.



Surat district. Of those of this Block, the villages Saraste, Kulawandi, and Pate are situated by this road. This road is proposed to be included in the extension of the State Transport Bus routes and was under repairs during March 1965. The width of the road from Kulawandi onwards upto Pate appeared to be 15 feet although towards Harsul from Kulawandi it narrows at places. Between Chinchawade and Kulawandi at two places the road gets cut by streams running across. A third road running from Harsul to its south via Nirgude joins Shirasgaon (Nandurki Pada) at a distance of seven miles. The road from Harsul to Kulawandi and the one from Harsul to Shirasgaon do not take precarious bends nor do they have steep ups and downs. Another road runs from Harsul upto Torangan to the north of Harsul at a distance of three miles, passing through Dalpatpur about a mile from Harsul. On all these roads jeeps and heavy vehicles like trucks can ply without having to encounter great risks except during the monsoon when some of the roads get blocked at a number of places by overflowing streams. Besides these the only other tracks where heavy vehicles can move, but with great difficulty, are the forest tracks leading to different coupes and thereby to some villages. Constant use of some of these has made them conventional avenues of communication. Some villages besides, wherever they are nearer the beaten track or the road proper, are connected to the latter by approach roads. Thus communication has been made possible through three types of roads or tracks: roads proper, forest tracks where heavy vehicles can move, and the approach roads, the last being a link between a village and the road or track.

The villages that are directly connected with a road proper are: on the Nasik-Harsul-Ozar road, Chinchawade, Harsul, Nirgude, Thanapada, Hatlonchi, Goldari, and Ozar; on the Harsul-Chinchawade-Point road, Saraste, Kulawandi, and Pate; on the Harsul-Nirgude-Shirasgaon road, none; and on the Harsul-Torangan road, Dalpatpur. The villages that are connected by the forest tracks are: Nachlonchi and Sapatpali to Chinchawade; Berwal to Goldari; Mulvad to Ozar; Kharshet and Behedpada to Thana; Adgaon and Gadadawne to Nirgude; Kalamuste, Murambi and Rautmal to Shirasgaon; Kharpadi to Torangan; Kas, Deodongri and Bafenvihir to Deodongra; and Bhaghol, Bhutmokhada and Rayate to Mulvad. Besides these there are villages which are connected by approach roads; these are, if we consider only those that are connected by safer and shorter roads, Abheti, Amlon, Gawandh, Palashi Budruk, Donawade, Sasune, Jeteagaon Budruk, Jateagaon Khurd, Bhanasmet, Belpali, Gaotla, Deola, Chinchohol, and Khadakohol.

From this description it might appear that all the villages in the area are well connected with roads or some semblance of a road. The roads that are, besides the vehicles, used by the people in their inter-village communication are only four, namely, (1) Nasik to Ozar via Chinchawade, Harsul, Nirgude, Thanapada, Hatlonchi and Goldari; (2) Harsul to Kulawandi leading further to Point; (3) Harsul to Shirasgaon; and (4) Harsul to Torangan. All the other tracks are used only for vehicular traffic, either trucks plying for transporting the forest produce or jeeps conveying administrative personnel. In the case of the other roads and tracks barring perhaps the approach roads, it is not always that they are used by the people. They are not at least the conventional roads. This feature stems from the fact that the roads wherever they are laid are winding and lengthy out of necessity of

evading the rugged hills and their slopes and by-passing them by taking a level course on their periphery as far as possible. Even these roads are a recent development in the area. In the Revision Survey Settlement of 14 villages of the Peint Taluka in 1891, only two roads are mentioned, the one from Nasik to Harsul, and the other from Harsul to Peint (via Kulawandi); this latter was then just sanctioned and commenced. Its utility was even then doubtful as the remarks therein point out. "The necessity of this last line of communication is not apparent, as the traffic must be infinitesimal." * The conventional roads for the people have been foot-paths, across the hills and through forests, which shorten the distance. Because of the difficult terrain which does not yield easily to the laying of roads, and because carting was absent as a result, man himself undertook to serve as the beast of burden. The popular way even now is to carry loads on the head and trek through the hills along the conventional foot-paths. Carting as a means of transport, not to speak of as an occupation, is even now negligible. The roads wherever they are laid, however, have paved the way for outside agencies and amenities to reach the innermost villages, while the villagers may gradually take to them with increased needs, and improved means of transport, together with the ability of the villagers to take to the latter. This is clear from the fact that the villagers take to the buses, even between Harsul and Thanapada, a distance of four miles. Every bus that runs between these two villages is always overcrowded.

The area keeps connection with the outside areas of the region practically through the road running from Ozar to Harsul and from there to Nasik. Passenger bus service run by the State Transport is available from Nasik upto Thanapada only. The road turns into a blind alley at Ozar. There are three buses plying between Nasik and Harsul and only one of these runs upto Thanapada. The State Transport proposes to run buses between Harsul and Peint via Kulawandi and Karanjali in the near future (as given to understand during May 1965). As it is, passengers intending to reach Peint from Harsul have to go to Nasik by bus and then take another bus from Nasik to Peint, thus traversing a distance of 68 miles. Tribals without heavy luggage and who belong to the villages to the north of Harsul usually prefer to walk the distance. Because of the rugged terrain and the unevenness of the roads even bicycles as means of transport are absent. Messengers carrying administrative orders, intimations, or circulars have to walk sometimes 20 to 30 miles a day. If he is alone, and provided the foot-path passes through dense forest, for personal safety he might take the road, but if has a company he takes the foot-path only. Where the forest is not dense and the chances of being accosted by wild animals are less or nil, he invariably takes the foot-path.

The whole area appears to be closed to quick and easy outside contact except through Nasik. And for inter-village communication within the area it is clear from the above that there are few roads that are practically used.

* Papers Relating to the Revision Survey Settlement of 14 Villages of the Peint Taluka of the Nasik Collectorate, Bombay 1891, Appendix J, p. 12.

Another feature about the inter-village communication within the area that is to be noted here is that the geographically contiguous villages have some semblance of road connections, these latter converging in some central or convenient village. Thus the connections through road among the villages Kulawandi, Donawade, Palashi Budruk, and Pate converge at Kulawandi; those among Mulvad, Bhagohol, Bhutmokhoda, and Rayete, converge at Mulvad; those among Deodongra, BaFanvahir, Deodongri, and Kas at Deodongra, and so on. The groups of these inter-connected villages appear to coincide more or less with the groups of villages that were noted earlier in the growth of population. This prompts one to visualise the whole area as divided into a number of segregated, though not disparate, units which may be called as zones. Physical proximity and easy access perhaps might also lead to socio-economic cohesion or co-operation. This feature of socio-economic activity and the different centres with their satellites if any will be noted presently.

(ii) Centres of Socio-economic Activity, and Services:-

The criteria adopted in finding out the centres of socio-economic activity and services are: weekly market and/or regular shopping facilities, credit and banking facilities in the Block area, the headquarters of agricultural co-operative credit societies, seat of Village Panchayat, postal delivery centres or branch post offices, and openings for casual labour absorbing people from nearby villages. Educational facilities at the primary level are excluded from these criteria because almost all the villages have their own schools conducting classes upto Marathi IV standard; some villages with bigger hamlets having this facility in each of such hamlets. Likewise educational facilities upto Marathi VII standard or Ashram schools imparting vocational training as well, are also excluded from these criteria, because only Harsul and Chinchewade have these facilities, the latter alone having the Ashram school.

Weekly markets are held in the area only in four villages, namely, Harsul, Thanapada, Deodongara, and Ozar, on every Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday respectively. The commodities that are brought for sale in the market are vegetables, fruits—mostly bananas and other seasonal choice like guavas or grapes (for non-tribals), sweetmeats and other confectioneries, stationery articles like slates, pencils, and mirrors, beads of various size and colour, shaving blades, aluminiumware, earthenware, petty hardware such as nails of different size, ready-made clothes, salt, chillies, and other cheap household articles like spoons, glasses, ropes etc. The villagers on their part sell nagli or wara in these markets to earn some money either to make purchases in the market, or to pay off some of their outstanding dues and regular payments. Almost all of the visiting merchants bring their ware from Nasik either by the S.T. bus or by hiring private trucks. Usually they return to Nasik only from Ozar, carrying their goods from Harsul to Thanapada, then to Deodongara, and last to Ozar. Only in exceptional cases when the sales are brisk, especially prior to the monsoons, they return to Nasik and come back with their stock replenished. As this entails a tiresome and expensive job, they generally bring a large stock and continue with the same from Harsul to Ozar. As they proceed from one village to the other the stock gets thinner, only the goods of an

inferior type remaining unsold. Even these will have customers at reduced prices. The vegetables and fruits as they are taken from village to village get rotten and shapeless. They too have customers among the tribals. All this shows that the weekly markets are eagerly awaited days in the area, and the fact that only four villages bear the burden of catering to the needs of 49 villages, heightens the importance of these markets. Because the same stock with unsold articles is carried from Harsul to Ozar, from Saturday to Tuesday, there is a tendency among the tribals who live in far-off villages to visit the Harsul market on Saturday and try to make the best of their purchases. However, the villages that are generally served by the four weekly market villages are given below.

Statement No. 2 : Weekly Market Villages and the Villages Served by them

Weekly Market villages	Villages served
1. Harsul	Abheti; Adgaon; Amlon; Behedpada; Belpali; Bhagohol; Bhanesmet; Bhutmokhada; Chinchawade; Dalpatpur; Deole; Dhulghat; Donawade; Gadadawne; Gavatha; Gawandh; Jategaon Bk.; Jategaon Kh.; Kulawandi; Mulvad; Murambi; Nachlondhi; Nirgude; Palashi Bk.; Pate; Rautmal; Rayate; Sapatpali; Saraste; Sasune; Shevkhandi; Shirasgaon; Torangan.
2. Thanepada	Chinchohol; Goldari; Hatlondhi; Kalamuste; Khairaipali; Kharpadi; Kharshet.
3. Deodongara	Bafanvahir; Deodongari; Kas.
4. Ozar	Berwel; Khadakohol.

(Data taken from the District Census Handbook, 1951.)

About two-thirds of the villages depend upon Harsul for their weekly market facilities. It is true that some of the villages in the southern sector of the area, like Mulvad, Shirasgaon and smaller villages around them are nearer to Thanepada or Ozar. But for reasons stated above all of these flock to Harsul. The villages in the north-eastern sector headed by Kulawandi although they are at a distance of 10 to 20 miles from Harsul depend upon the latter's weekly market; so is the case with the southernmost villages like Adgaon, Deole, and Gawatha. Kulawandi is said to have been a seat of weekly market on every Friday about 10 to 15 years ago; but owing to lack of sufficient number of customers it turned to be a loss to the merchants and was discontinued. Kulawandi and the villages nearabout themselves look to an alternate weekly market in Girnare in Nasik taluka. Kulawandi group of villages has otherwise regular connections with Girnare, although there is no proper road connecting the two.

As there are only four weekly market villages the different groups of villages that were noted earlier get submerged under the group of villages served by these four villages. As it is the case of a phenomenon that occurs

only once a week, it might not throw up groups of villages that are more deeply connected with internal socio-economic links. Such links might be revealed through existing groups of villages depending upon the agricultural credit facilities, the needs for which may be said to be more frequent and vital. It is presumed that these groupings of villages coincide with the convenience and convention of the people. There were in all 19 agricultural co-operative credit societies serving the whole area of the Block during the period of the field-study from January to May 1965. The central villages of these societies and the villages depending upon them throw up groups of villages, which coincide more or less with the geographically contiguous groups, as seen in the following Statement.

Statement No. 3 : Headquarters of Agricultural Co-operative Credit and Multi-purpose Societies and the Villages Depending on Them

1. Amlon	Abheti; Amlon
2. Berwal	Berwal
3. Chinchawade	Bhanasmet; Chinchawade; Saraste; Sasune.
4. Chinchohol	Chinchohol; Goldari.
5. Deodongara	Bafanvihir; Deodongara; Deodongari; Kas
6. Deola	Adgaon; Deola; Gavatha
7. Harsul	Belpali; Harsul; Sapatpali; Gadadawne
8. Jategaon Bk.	Jategaon Bk.; Jategaon Kh.
9. Kalamuste	Bhutmakhada; Kalamuste; Rayate
10. Kharshet	Behedpada; Khairapali; Kharpedi; Kharshet
11. Kulawandi	Dhulghat; Donawade; Gawandh; Kulawandi; Palashi Bk.; Pate
12. Mulvad	Mulvad
13. Murambi	Bhagohol; Murambi; Rautmal
14. Nachlondhi	Nachlondhi; Shevkhendi
15. Nirgude	Dalpatpur; Nirgude
16. Ozer	Khadakohol; Ozer
17. Shirasgaon	Shirasgaon
18. Thanapada	Hatlondhi; Thanapada
19. Torangan	Torangan

Particulars of membership and the transaction about 13 of the 19 societies could be collected as the working of the three societies of Berwal, Mulvad, and Ozer was not in order during the field-study. The data about another three societies could not be had because their secretaries could not be contacted. It appeared from the list of members that the jurisdiction of the societies was not restricted to the villages assigned to them. Or, rather agriculturists of smaller villages although they had a society locally or nearby available to cater to their needs sought membership of the society of nearby bigger

village which they had to frequently visit otherwise. If this encroachment on the jurisdiction of other societies is considered, the Amlon, Jategaon Budruk, Nirgude, and Nachlonthi societies merge into the Kulawandi, Chinchawade, Harsul, and Torangan societies respectively. Thus practically there are only 15 societies in the area viably functioning.

The grouping of the villages under the different village Panchayats also coincides with this. The villages that usually have capacity to absorb non-agricultural casual labour and the villages from which such casual labour is attracted reveal the central villages and their satellites in different sectors of the area as seen from the following Statement, where the number of people thus visiting the central villages is also shown against the respective villages.

Statement No. 4 : Villages Visited by Labourers for Casual Labour

Name of the central village	Labourers coming from
Chinchawade	Jategaon Bk. (20); Jategaon Kh. (10); Amlon (10); Saraste (10)
Harsul	Belpali (20); Dalpatpur (10); Nirgude (20); Sapatpali (37); Shirasgaon (30); Gadadawne (10); Torangan (25); Nachlonthi (30)
Kulawandi	Dhulghat (4); Donawade (4); Pate (4)
Thanapada	Chinchohol (10); Kalamuste (20); Hatlonthi (8)

(Figures in brackets indicate the number of labourers.)

(Source : Information supplied by the Block Office, at Harsul.)

Harsul and Chinchawade and to a less extent Thanapada appear to have more capacity to attract non-agricultural labour from their nearby villages. Harsul has been able to attract labour from such far-off villages as Shirasgaon and Nachlonthi which are themselves large villages with more than 1,000 population in each. It is to be noted that Chinchawade, Harsul, and Thanapada are situated on the only bus route in the area connecting all the three villages in a row with Nasik city. The number of shops and other such establishments in these and other villages will reveal the characteristics of the different groups of villages in another dimension. Such establishments were found only in eight villages as shown in Table No.12.

More than half of the total establishments are found in Harsul. That they are also concentrated along the bus route and further at Ozar on the same road, where the only weekly market in the westernmost sector serving the western and south-western villages is held is also clear from the Table No.12. Although Harsul, or the Chinchawade-Harsul-Thanapada trinity, if we may so name it, bears the burden of catering to the needs of the

Table No. 12 : Distribution of Non-agricultural Occupations

	Berwal	Chincha- wade	Deo- dongara	Harsul	Kula- wandi	Ozar	Shiras- gaon	Thana- pada	Total
1. Carpentry	-	3	-	5	1	4	1	5	19
2. Smithy	-	2	-	3	1	1	1	2	10
3. Footwear	-	3	2	10	1	2	1	5	24
4. Grocer-cum-provision store	5	10	10	60	5	12	5	25	132
5. Milling	-	3	-	15	2	2	2	5	29
6. Brick manufacturing	-	-	-	15	-	1	-	5	21
7. Miscellaneous	-	-	-	50	-	-	-	25	75
Total	5	21	12	158	10	22	10	72	310

(Data taken from the records at the Block Development Office, Harsul.)

most of the villages in the area, any development of the area cannot visualise them as growing in stature and expanse at the cost of the villages in other sectors. In any scheme of allround development of the whole of the area each sector or groups in each sector having some unity and homogeneity of characteristics be allowed and encouraged to grow along the lines that are feasible and desirable for them. Our observation in tracing such groups of villages in the area has all along been in an attempt to find out such units which may require independent and different treatment for the development of each of them.

It is proposed here therefore on the basis of the different aspects of socio-economic links that were found to be existing among the villages in the area that in all, ten groups of villages be conceptually and later operationally accepted as requiring independent and different treatment. The 'independence' of the treatment implies that these ten groups of villages should be rendered self-sufficient in at least some minimum requirements or conditions of a developed stage; and the differential treatment lies in the adoption of methods and schemes of development best suited to the peculiar conditions of the resources, natural and human.

These ten groups of villages, called hereafter as zones, are to be headed by Harsul, Deodongara, Deola, Goldari or Berwal, Kulawandi, Mulvad, Ozar, Shirasgaon, Thanapada, and Torangan or Nachlondhi. These zones differ in the number of villages covered by them as follows:

Statement No. 5 : The Ten Zones and the Villages to be Included in Them

1. Harsul	Belpali; Bhanasmet; Chinchawade; Dalpatpur; Jategaon Bk.; Jategaon Kh.; Nirgude; Sapatpali; Harsul.
2. Deodongara	Bafanvihir; Deodongari; Kas; Deodongara.
3. Deola	Adgaon; Gavatha; Deola.
4. Goldari	Berwal; Chinchohol; Goldari.
5. Kulawandi	Abheti; Amlon; Dhulghat; Donawade; Gawandh; Palashi Bk.; Pate; Saraste; Sasune; Kulawandi.
6. Mulvad	Bhagohol; Bhutmokhada; Rayate; Mulvad.
7. Ozar	Khadakohol; Ozar.
8. Shirasgaon	Gadadawne; Kalamuste; Murambi; Rautmal; Shirasgaon.
9. Thanapada	Behedpada; Hatlondhi; Khairaipali; Kharshet; Thanapada.
10. Torangan	Kharpadi; Nachlondhi; Shevkhandi; Torangan.

The Chinchawade-Harsul-Thanapada trinity in the first instance are split up into two different zones, Chinchawade with its satellite villages being included in the Harsul zone. But some of the bigger villages which lie to the immediate north and south of Harsul and are tied with it through many links are separated from Harsul and form two different zones; these are Torangan or Nachlondhi with

their satellites to the north, and Shiresgaon and its villages to the south of Harsul. The zones in the mid-western, western, south-western and the southernmost sectors, namely, Goldari or Berwal, Ozar, Mulvad and Deole respectively have only two to four villages each. This is so because either the zone itself is sparsely populated the number of hamlets here being very large and widely scattered, or the villages are too confined geographically to be included in the adjacent zones.

Before we proceed to scan the special features regarding area and population of these zones, we shall look into the third feature in the infra-structure, namely, water-facilities for daily chores, as prevailing in the ten zones.

(iii) Water-facilities for daily chores:- Sources of water in the area in general are meagre, and even where the water-supply was reported as sufficient, it was barely so and with great difficulty. Harsul, for example, which reports that its water-supply is sufficient, has very few wells, only three to be exact, which have water available in them during summer. (Water-facility for agriculture is even more acute—which aspect will be dealt with later.) Therefore in the State No.6 where villages are marked out as experiencing shortage of water during summer it should be noted that the conditions are very appalling.

Although the area receives a heavy rainfall, its normal rainfall being nearly 100 inches, and in spite of its being intersected with rivers and rivulets or streams (nalas), it cannot depend entirely on either the river or the nala. Kes is the only village which depends entirely on the river Damanganga which flows throughout the year. Gawandh which entirely depends upon the nala suffers acute shortage of water. As the river or stream beds are usually steep in this mountainous terrain, and as a result water flows out before monsoon sets in, the wells appear to be the only resort. Wells alone support 17 villages, combined with river they support 20 villages, and combined with nala they support 9 villages. Shortage of water is felt in all by 11 villages, the majority of these belong to those that depend upon both the river and wells. They are less among those that entirely depend upon wells or wells combined with nalas. It appears that too much reliance on the rivers or their beds from which water is dug up during summer, has resulted in reluctance to dig a sufficient number of wells, and the shortage of water continues year by year.

Zonewise, Kulawandi, Thanapada, and Shiresgaon are the only zones where almost none suffer from any shortage of water. These have comparatively low-lying lands or the villages are situated at a lower level where water flows down from the surrounding slopes. Even in other zones all the villages that are so situated do not suffer from any shortage of water. Harsul and Torangan are the two adjacent zones which together have six villages having insufficient water-supply. Thus if we look to the villages suffering from scarcity of water-supply, eight of them are found in the eastern sector around Harsul, six of them being to the north or north-east and two to the immediate south-west and south-east respectively. The six villages to the north or north-east, namely, Gawandh, Shevkhadi, Nachlonthi, Torangan, Dalpatpur, and Sapatpali appear to be situated on the stretch of the ground at the same and higher level. Likewise Deodongara, Berwal, and Bhaghol in the western sector are all situated on a higher level.

Statement No. 6 : Water-Facilities for Daily Chores in the Ten Zones

Sources Zones	Well	River	Nala	River + Well	Nala + Well
1. Harsul	Belpali Bhanasmet X Jategaon Bk. Jategaon Kh. Nirgude	-	-	Chinchawade Dalpatpur X Harsul Sapetpali X	-
2. Deodong- gara	Bafanvihir Deodongeri	Kas	-	-	Deodongara X
3. Deole	-	-	-	Gavatha	Deole Adgaon
4. Goldari	Berwal X Chinchohol	-	-	-	Goldari
5. Kula- wandi	Dhulghat Donawade Saraste Sasune	-	Gewandh X	Kulawandi	Abheti Amlon Palashi Bk. Pate
6. Mulvad	Bhagohol X Bhutmokhada	-	-	Mulvad Rayate	-
7. Ozar	-	-	-	Ozar Khadakohol	-
8. Shiras- gaon	Kalamuste	-	-	Gedadawne X Murembi Shirasgaon	Rautmal
9. Thanapada	Behedpada Hotlondhi	-	-	Khairaipali Kharshet Thanapada	-
10. Torangan	-	-	-	Kharpedi Nachlondhi X Shevkhandi X Torangan X	-
Total	17 (3)	1	1 (1)	20 (6)	9 (1)

(Villages marked with X and the bracketed numbers in the total are those suffering acute shortage of water especially from March to May.)

(Data taken from the respective Talathis' records.)

It is not always that the whole population of a village as shown in the census figures suffers from shortage of water when it is mentioned to be so. It is to be remembered throughout that each village has invariably a number of scattered hamlets, and not all of them suffer shortage of water-supply, and if at all, to the same extent. For, our field study revealed that in the case of Torangan, Dalpatpur, Gadadawne, and Deodongara, whereas the main village suffered shortage of water, their hamlets situated near stream-beds in low-lying areas did not.

Water-supply is one among many differentiating features of the zones. We shall presently see the distribution of area and population among them, for further differences, if any.

C : Distribution of Area and Population among the Ten Zones

(i) Area :- The treatment of the area and population of each zone independently is, as stated earlier, primarily to study them as self-sufficient, surplus or scarcity zones from the viewpoint of natural and human resources. As such it does not consider the zones as water-tight compartments developing independently of one another but as constituent parts of a complex whole. It takes into consideration, therefore, inter-migration from one zone to another necessitated by developing requirements. Initially the treatment proceeds with the presumption that resources, both natural and human still remain to be exploited properly or the exploitation of the two is not judiciously combined. The area and population particulars of each zone are worth-considering from this point of view. (Table No. 13.)

In view of the cultivable land for the whole of the Block being 42.63 per cent of the total geographical area five of the ten zones have proportionately more cultivable land than the Block average. In all these five zones it is more than half of their total land. They are Harsul, Deola, Kulawandi, Mulyad, and Shirasgaon. In Shirasgaon and Harsul it is as high as 64.9 and 62.81 per cent respectively. It is interesting to note here that there is a clear geographical demarcation of zones that have more than the average proportion of cultivable land from those that have less and less of it. In the former category starting from the north-eastern end of the area, we have the zones Kulawandi, Harsul, Shirasgaon, Deola, and Mulyad. All these form a contiguous tract. Likewise those that have less of cultivable land proportionately, namely, Torangan, Thanapada, Goldari, Deodongara, and Ozar also form a contiguous tract. Obviously the proportion of cultivable land and of forest are in inverse ratio. On either side there are three zones larger and two smaller in area. The proportion of cultivable land in the Shirasgaon zone, the largest of all the zones, is more than three times that of Ozar, having the smallest of all. This feature though apparently speaks of the anomalies in the distribution of cultivable land in the area it does not bring out the same more clearly. Because the number of villages in each zone differs from those of others, the total average area per village in each zone and the cultivable and cultivated average per village are more significant in bringing out the anomalies.

From the average total area, average cultivable area and average cultivated area per village it appears that

Table No. 13 Area Particulars of the Ten Zones

	Zones					
	Harsul	Deodongra	Deola	GoIdari	Kulawandi	Mulvad
Number of villages	9	4	3	3	10	4
Total area in acres	14,432.19	8,722.67	8,478.66	13,312.03	13,831.88	9,930.06
<u>In percentage to the total area</u>						
Cultivable	62.81	23.86	52.92	25.04	51.21	50.76
Cultivated	48.74	16.08	28.46	18.63	39.88	38.36
Forest : Reserved	15.97	43.74	30.29	23.04	13.51	15.53
" : Protected	15.55	26.25	13.37	29.38	24.45	20.10
Rice	14.64	3.96	2.12	4.76	10.05	3.71
Nagli	17.04	6.48	11.27	6.51	13.92	11.47
Warai	2.75	1.49	5.66	2.17	4.85	10.26
Tur	1.15	0.56	0.63	0.73	0.42	1.17
Udid	3.79	1.79	1.56	1.48	1.21	3.91
Kulith	1.94	0.46	3.15	1.20	0.95	3.83
Khurasni	5.33	0.97	3.75	1.33	5.28	3.49
Average area per village	1,603.57	2,180.67	2,826.22	4,437.68	1,383.19	2,482.51
Average cultivable area per village	1,007.21	520.43	1,495.70	1,111.15	708.29	1,260.34
Average cultivated area per village	781.65	350.75	804.40	826.81	551.70	952.40

(continued)

Table No. 13 : (continued)

	Zones				Total
	Ozar	Shirasgaon	Thanapada	Torangan	
Number of villages	2	5	5	4	49
Total area in acres	6,350.00	11,888.23	13,865.61	10,218.58	111,029.91
<u>In percentage to the total area:</u>					
Cultivable	21.02	64.90	28.38	31.80	42.63
Cultivated	19.29	44.79	22.63	26.78	31.60
Forest : Reserved	47.17	9.20	43.63	33.36	25.86
" Protected	16.80	10.20	25.00	31.73	21.57
Rice	6.13	8.58	7.78	6.50	7.37
Nagli	7.46	13.11	7.40	9.67	10.77
Warai	1.87	8.95	2.00	2.39	4.23
Tur	1.28	1.58	0.74	0.56	0.87
Udid	1.23	4.51	1.64	1.93	2.37
Kulith	0.44	4.51	0.61	1.62	1.87
Kurasni	0.25	2.32	1.80	2.75	2.93
Average area per village	3,175.00	2,377.65	2,773.12	2,554.64	2,265.91
Average cultivable area per village	667.53	1,543.16	787.07	812.25	965.85
Average cultivated area per village	612.50	1,064.95	627.80	684.00	715.98

(Data taken from the Records at the Peint Mahal Office, Peint, and refer to the year 1962-63.)

the zones which have larger proportion of cultivable area for the whole zone, have comparatively (a) the total area, (b) the cultivable area, and (c) the cultivated area per village more than the other zones. The exceptions to this regarding (a), on the one hand are Harsul and Kulawandi zones and on the other, Goldari, Ozar, Thanapada and Torangan, and regarding (c), are Kulawandi and Goldari zones. Both Harsul and Kulawandi zones have a large number of villages (9 and 10 respectively) and comparatively larger total area (14,432 and 13,832 acres respectively) but have less area per village; which means that the geographical proximity between two villages in these zones is greater than in other zones. The Harsul zone with comparatively less total area has comparatively larger cultivated area per village, which is more than the Block average. Kulawandi has the lowest cultivated area per village among all the five zones on its side. In the exceptions on the other side, namely, Goldari, Ozar, Thanapada and Torangan, the number of villages in relation to the total area is small. But Goldari has its cultivated area per village which is higher than the Block average. Thus the area per village that is available for cultivation varies with the total area, the number of villages and the type of terrain.

Another feature to be noted here is that all the five zones that have less than the Block average of cultivable and cultivated area show that the difference between their cultivable and cultivated area is less than that among the other five zones. Thus among the zones, Torangan, Thanapada, Goldari, Deodongara, and Ozar, the difference varies from 1.73 per cent in Ozar to 7.78 per cent in Deodongara; whereas among Kulawandi, Harsul, Shirasgaon, Deola, and Mulvad, the difference varies from 11.33 per cent in Kulawandi to 24.16 per cent in Deola. It has been noted earlier that among the twelve villages that were studied in detail the land under private ownership was almost equal to the cultivable land (vide p. 11). Unless it is, that part of the land under private ownership is uncultivable and part of the cultivable land is as yet unowned, it is to be inferred that the land-owners have not brought all the cultivable land under cultivation. For reasons stated earlier again (*loc.cit.*) there is every likelihood that all the cultivable land is owned by private land-holders. As such it has to be concluded that the zones that are well-placed as far as the availability of land for cultivation is concerned have neglected it to a greater extent than the other zones. This fact will be more clear when it is stated in terms of actual acres, as given in Table No. 14.

Table No.14 : Uncultivated Cultivable Area in Acres

Zones with more than average cultivable area	Zones with less than average cultivable area
Zones	Zones
Area	Area
Kulawandi	Torangan
Harsul	Thanapada
Shirasgaon	Goldari
Deola	Deodongara
Mulvad	Ozar
1,565.87	513.01
2,030.09	796.33
2,391.04	853.00
2,073.88	678.73
1,231.74	110.06

In all about 13,909 acres of cultivable land remain uncultivated, and the zones in the first category alone have about 10,958 acres. Average uncultivated cultivable land

per zone in the first category is about 1,859 acres whereas in the second category it is about 590 acres. Such uncultivated land per village (average of 31 villages) in the first category is about 300 acres, and in the second category (average of 18 villages) it is about 164 acres. From all angles, that the zones that are well-placed in the availability of cultivable land have not brought it under cultivation to the extent that the ill-placed zones have, is clear. This may be explained, or, clues as to why such anomaly in the exploitation of land exists (in spite of the partial explanation hinted at earlier, vide p.12) may forthcome when land and man ratio is studied. It is necessary therefore to turn to the distribution of population among the ten zones.

As for the distribution of cultivated land under the different crops, it is seen that the zones of the first category show, when compared with the Block average, larger proportions of area under cereals as well as pulses, in general. Deola and Mulvad zones of this category, however, have very little of their area under rice. In the other category of zones, Thanapada has its land under rice proportionately more than the Block average. Deola and Mulvad appear to have less land available for rice cultivation; much of its land appears to be of the 'mal' or 'warkas' type. Thanapada on the other hand appears to have comparatively more land available for rice cultivation. The truth of this statement, however, is to be verified by the scrutiny of the occupational distribution of the population presuming that rice cultivation requires more labour than others. This will be done in the next chapter after observing the population distribution in the ten zones and differential growth rates if any. The land-man ratio, the economic activity as revealed cursorily in the foregoing pages, and the distribution and growth of population, it is hoped, will reveal the differential characters more clearly.

(ii) Population :- The general growth of the population in the Block as such has been observed earlier. In this section the distribution of the same in the ten zones, the per capita land available for cultivation and land cultivated and the differential rates of growth of population, if any, will be discussed.

If we consider the percentage distribution of the total cultivated area of the Block among the ten zones, only four zones, namely, Harsul, Kulawandi, Mulvad, and Shirasgaon come up as having contributed more than their quota as per their total area (Table No.15). Together they have nearly 62 per cent of the total cultivated area of the Block. Of these, Kulawandi and Shirasgaon come up in the list in having a larger area under all the cereals, Rice, Nagli, and Warai. Harsul tops in rice and nagli, Deola and Mulvad come up in having more area under warai; and Thanapada is having a larger area under rice. Deola and Mulvad being ignored as the two zones which have brought comparatively little of their cultivable area under cultivation, in the 1961 position of population, the four zones, namely, Harsul, Kulawandi, Shirasgaon, and Thanapada together comprise nearly 58 per cent of the total population of the Block. Obviously, as a general observation one can say that the zones having a larger area available for cultivation or brought under cultivation support a larger population (Table No.16).

Table No. 15 : Percentage Distribution of the Total Area of the Block in the Ten Zones

	Total area	Culti- vable area	Culti- vated area	Forest	Rice	Nagli	Warai
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Harsul	13.00	19.15	20.05	8.64	25.83	20.56	8.47
Deodongara	7.86	4.40	3.99	11.59	4.22	4.73	2.77
Deola	7.64	9.48	6.90	7.03	2.20	7.99	10.23
Goldari	11.99	7.04	7.08	13.25	7.74	7.25	6.17
Kulawandi	12.46	14.97	15.65	9.97	16.99	16.10	14.29
Mulvad	8.94	10.65	10.89	6.72	4.51	9.53	21.72
Ozar	5.72	2.82	3.49	7.71	4.75	3.96	2.54
Shirasgaon	10.71	16.30	15.22	4.38	12.46	13.04	22.69
Thanapada	12.49	8.32	8.94	18.07	13.19	8.58	5.93
Torangan	9.20	6.87	7.78	12.63	8.11	8.26	5.21
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table No. 16 : Percentage Distribution of the total Block Population among the Ten Zones at Each Census Year (From Records at Mahal Office, Peint)

Zones	Census years						
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Harsul	18.05	20.45	18.50	18.00	18.93	20.19	20.40
Deodongara	5.89	6.48	5.95	6.71	6.37	6.02	6.68
Deola	5.85	5.95	5.39	5.84	5.81	5.41	5.07
Goldari	9.54	9.74	9.52	10.51	9.97	9.74	9.79
Kulawandi	14.13	13.63	14.72	13.50	12.61	13.32	12.22
Mulvad	9.47	6.51	7.31	9.17	8.69	7.40	7.67
Ozar	5.61	4.18	3.25	4.04	3.93	4.10	4.69
Shirasgaon	12.35	13.28	13.41	11.74	12.04	11.66	12.39
Thanapada	11.62	11.34	13.08	11.75	12.31	12.95	12.68
Torangan	7.49	8.46	8.86	8.75	9.33	9.20	8.39
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

But if we compare the percentage distribution of the population with that of the cultivated area, it is found that six zones, namely, Harsul, Deodongara, Goldari, Ozar, Thanapada, and Torangan, show a percentage of population higher than the percentage of their cultivated area. Excluding Harsul, the population growth of which, for reasons stated earlier in elaborating the spatial distribution of economic activity, depends not only on the extent of cultivated area, at least directly, all the other five zones belong to the category of those that have the lowest proportion of their respective areas brought under cultivation; but they are those that have most of their cultivable area under cultivation. This position of having a population which is more than justified by the cultivated area either is an obvious case of pressure of population on land, or should be explained by the existence of non-agricultural pursuits, if any. Since the non-agricultural population as well has to be fed (it is so, as we will see later)

with the local produce, in any case that there is a pressure on land is clear. Assuming that the fertility rates are uniform throughout the ten zones, it is to be inferred that immigrants from outside, possibly from other zones within the Block itself, have come to these zones in a greater number and have reduced the difference between the cultivable and cultivated land. This inference is supported further by the growth of population in the ten zones from 1901 to 1961 (Table No. 17).

Table No. 17 : Percent Decennial Variation in Population among the Ten Zones

	1901- 1911	1911- 1921	1921- 1931	1931- 1941	1941- 1951	1951- 1961	Popula- tion in 1961	1901- 1961
Harsul	26.99	-22.59	- 0.19	1.62	24.48	36.52	6,510	70.11
Deo- dongara	23.37	-21.55	15.79	-8.28	10.74	50.00	2,133	70.77
Deola	13.94	-22.48	11.22	-3.85	8.53	27.20	1,618	30.37
Goldari	14.54	-16.40	13.32	-8.38	13.98	36.40	3,125	54.54
Kulawandi	8.21	- 7.65	- 5.188	-9.72	23.20	24.48	3,900	30.21
Mulvad	-22.95	- 3.94	28.73	-8.41	-0.62	40.66	2,449	21.96
Ozar	-16.48	-33.43	27.38	-5.81	21.56	55.29	1,497	25.90
Shiras- gaon	20.54	-13.62	-10.19	-0.89	12.97	44.23	3,955	51.01
Thanapada	9.41	- 1.29	- 7.81	1.22	22.72	32.86	4,047	64.31
Torangan	26.40	-10.22	1.33	3.07	15.05	23.29	2,678	68.75
Total	12.12	-14.49	2.63	-3.38	16.69	35.65	31,912	50.53

(Worked out from Records at Mahal Office, Peint.)

Whereas the rate of growth for the whole Block is 50.53 per cent, only Harsul, Deodongara, Goldari, Shirasgaon, Thanapada and Torangan show a higher rate of growth. If Harsul is ignored for reasons as the same stated above, and Shirasgaon which shows only a slightly higher rate is also excluded, the remaining four zones are the same as having a population more than justified by their proportionate cultivated or cultivable area. Ozar, which belongs to this category of zones, is the only exception on this side having not grown in population at the same higher rate; however, it has grown at a higher rate during 1921-31, 1941-51 and 1951-61.

The pressure of population on land may be also seen from the per capita land available for cultivation and actually cultivated (Table No. 18). On the Block average, only 1.48 acres per man are available for cultivation, of which only 1.10 acres are actually cultivated. Those zones having a less average each are, Harsul excluding, Deodongara (0.66 acres), Goldari (0.79 acres), Ozar (0.82 acres), Thanapada (0.78 acres), and Torangan (1.02 acres), the same zones which are geographically contiguous and belong mostly to the northern sector of the Block area, which predominate in having a larger proportion of forest land, and which have shown a higher rate of population growth taking the six decades together. As has been seen earlier the population growth cannot be because of any fresh avenue other than cultivation, possibly through encroachment in fresh land belonging to the forests. The narrowing down of the per capita cultivated land to much less than an acre points to no other avenue. However this may be further

Table No. 18 : Per Capita Land Distribution in the Ten Zones

Zones	Total area in acres	Total cultivable area	Total cultivated area	Population	Per capita total area	Per capita cultivable area	Per capita cultivated area	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Total workers in agriculture
1. Hersul	14,432.19	9,064.92	7,034.83	6,510	2.22	1.39	1.08	2,432	1,208	3,640
2. Deodongara	8,722.67	2,081.73	1,403.00	2,133	4.09	0.98	0.66	915	413	1,328
3. Deola	8,478.66	4,487.09	2,413.21	1,618	5.24	2.77	1.49	805	231	1,036
4. Goldari	13,312.03	3,333.44	2,480.44	3,125	4.26	1.07	0.79	1,247	728	1,975
5. Kulawandi	13,831.88	7,082.91	5,517.04	3,900	3.55	1.82	1.41	1,905	438	2,343
6. Mulvad	9,930.06	5,041.34	3,809.60	2,449	4.05	2.06	1.56	1,031	402	1,433
7. Ozar	6,350.00	1,335.06	1,225.00	1,497	4.24	0.89	0.82	501	277	778
8. Shirasgaon	11,888.23	7,715.77	5,324.73	3,955	3.01	1.95	1.35	1,686	703	2,389
9. Thanapeda	13,865.61	3,935.33	3,139.00	4,047	3.43	0.97	0.78	1,624	721	2,345
10. Torengan	10,218.58	3,249.01	2,736.00	2,678	3.82	1.21	1.02	1,141	517	1,658
Total	111,029.91	47,326.60	35,082.85	31,912	3.48	1.48	1.10	13,287	5,638	18,925

(Figures taken from the Mahal Office regarding area particulars; the population figures from 1961 Census Handbook.)

examined by the occupational classification of the population.

At this stage it is safe to conclude, that bringing more and more cultivable land under cultivation appears to have greater scope in the five zones: Harsul (presuming that much of its population pursues non-agricultural occupation), Deola, Kulawandi, Mulvad, and Shirasgaon; and that Deodongara, Goldari, Ozar, Thanapada, and Torangan zones should evince more scope regarding forest based industries.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND LIVESTOCKA : Occupational Classification of the People

In this chapter we shall deal with the occupational structure and distribution of the population. The approach, here too, as was thus far, exploratory or fact-finding. The occupational distribution of the population will be discussed, besides at the Block level, on the basis of zones. For, having accepted that the zones should be the spheres of different measures in development suitable and feasible in their peculiar situations, and that these measures should be controlled immediately from the zonal centres, in short, having accepted that the developmental measures should be decentralised on the zonal basis, it becomes necessary to study the occupational structure on the basis of these zones.

The main occupation in the Block is agriculture, and if few villages can be ignored which together show only about 5 per cent of the total number of workers as engaged in non-agricultural activities, it can be said that agriculture is the only occupation of the people. The peculiarity of this tribal community engaged in agriculture, as is common with almost all the tribal communities in India with few exceptions, is that they do not have the usual non-agricultural functionaries, ancillary to agriculture, that are usually found in the non-tribal rural communities. Although the need for such functionaries might be said to have just appeared, depending on the changing needs of agriculture, they are not the usual members of a village community. Thus the village 'community' has the cultivators who are mostly owners of land and landless agricultural labourers.

Another feature which may be found among the non-tribal rural communities as well, although not to the same extent, is that the working age for a tribal both male and female starts much earlier. At the age of 12 or even earlier a boy or girl starts helping in the agricultural operations in one way or the other. If they belong to a labourer's family, they may start earning wages likewise at a very early age. According to the 1961 census the total number of workers in Peint Mahal are 60.92 per cent of the total population (Table No. 19). Of these, workers belonging to the age-group of 0-14 years are 6.60 per cent, and those of the age-group of 60 or more years are 2.66 per cent. This means that they not only start working at an earlier age but also that they continue to work till they reach an older age than among the non-tribal rural or urban communities. These two features need be borne in mind in understanding the tribal occupational structure.

The total number of workers in the Block is 62.66 per cent of the total population (Table No. 20). In an average family (household) of 5.17 members as many as 3.24 members are workers. In the total population the Scheduled Tribes are as many as 88.85 per cent, but the number of those among the workers cannot be made out from the census figures. Nearly two-thirds or 66.54 per cent of the workers are cultivators either as owners or tenants. The landless

Table No. 19 : Proportion of Workers in the Total Population

Peint Mahal 1961 Census

Total Population	Total workers %	Population of ages 15-59 %	Workers of ages 0-14	Workers of ages 60 +
68,425	60.92	53.95	6.60	2.66

(Worked out from the figures taken from the District Census Handbook.)

Harsul Block 1965 Survey (12 villages)

	Total Popu- lation %	Total workers %	Workers of ages 6-10	Workers of ages 11-20	Workers of ages 21-50	Workers of ages 51 +
Cultivators	1,291	62.27	2.40	15.10	37.33	7.44
Agricultural labourers	596	57.21	1.68	12.25	37.92	5.37

(Worked out from the Survey data.)

agricultural labourers are 28.23 per cent. For every landless labourer in the fields there are 2.36 cultivators, either owners or tenants. The lowest number of workers is seen in the non-agricultural work pertaining to 'transport activities by air, rail, road, or water and in services incidental to transport such as packing, carting, loading, unloading, etc.' Likewise those engaged in household industry and construction work are also less than one per cent. Traders and workers in commercial activities are also less than one per cent. The only occupations that show more than one per cent of workers are the category of mining, quarrying, fishing, hunting, forestry, plantations, orchards and allied activities and that of manufacturing other than household industries. Although it points out to the fact that the economy predominantly hovers round agriculture at the production level, one reason as to why workers in some of the non-agricultural categories, especially that of traders etc., are very few, is possibly that the main occupation of even those is agriculture as reported to the census enumerators. It has been observed during the field-study that the non-tribal shopkeepers (grocers and provision merchants) also own lands in the village. But such cases must be few because among the twelve villages that were actually surveyed, only in four villages one or two shopkeepers were found.

Against this background of the overall occupational classification of the people of the whole Block are to be seen the peculiarities of occupational structure in the ten zones.

The highest proportion of workers is found in Deola and the lowest in Mulvad, the two zones which have the larger proportion of their cultivable land as yet uncultivated. Next to Deola, a higher proportion of workers is found, in

Table No. 20 : Occupational Distribution of the Population

	Total Population	Total Workers		Occupational Categories								
		No.	%	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
				Cultivator	Agr. Labour	Mining and Quarrying	Household	Mfg. other than Household	Construction	Trade and Commerce	Transport etc.	Other Services
1 Harsul	6,510	3,965	60.91	61.34	30.47	1.21	0.91	0.55	0.13	2.17	0.05	3.18
2 Deongara	2,132	1,383	64.87	66.16	29.86	2.68	0.14	0.07	-	0.42	-	0.63
3 Deola	1,618	1,127	69.65	71.43	20.50	0.89	-	6.48	0.09	0.27	0.18	0.18
4 Goldari	3,125	2,022	64.70	61.67	36.00	0.64	0.05	0.74	0.25	0.10	-	0.54
5 Kulawandi	3,881	2,440	62.87	78.07	17.95	2.13	0.53	0.04	0.12	0.04	-	1.11
6 Mulvad	2,449	1,483	60.56	69.52	27.11	1.96	-	0.81	-	0.20	-	0.40
7 Ozar	1,487	901	60.59	55.60	30.74	4.33	-	0.11	0.33	0.33	-	8.55
8 Shiresgaon	3,945	2,489	63.09	67.74	28.24	1.29	0.32	1.45	0.16	0.12	-	0.68
9 Thanapada	4,047	2,452	60.59	66.23	29.40	0.98	0.16	1.79	0.12	0.16	-	1.14
10 Torangan	2,678	1,708	63.78	66.80	30.27	0.35	1.29	0.23	-	0.29	-	0.76
Total	31,872	19,970	62.66	66.54	28.23	1.45	0.43	1.05	0.12	0.58	0.02	1.58

(continued)

Table No. 20 : (continued)

	Non-workers	Number of Households	Members per Household	Workers per Household	Scheduled Tribes	Percentage	Literates	Percentage	Non-workers per Household	Difference between workers and non-workers per Household
1 Harsul	39.09	1,281	5.08	3.10	5,372	82.52	940	14.44	1.98	1.12
2 Deodongara	35.13	409	5.21	3.38	2,033	95.36	94	4.41	1.83	1.55
3 Deola	30.35	334	4.84	3.37	1,138	70.39	83	5.13	1.47	1.94
4 Golderi	35.30	612	5.12	3.30	2,847	91.10	90	2.88	1.82	1.48
5 Kulawandi	37.13	756	5.13	3.23	3,713	95.67	174	4.48	1.90	1.33
6 Mulvad	39.44	447	5.48	3.32	2,380	97.18	80	3.27	2.16	1.16
7 Ozar	39.41	302	4.92	2.98	1,284	86.35	40	2.69	1.94	1.04
8 Shirasgaon	36.91	755	5.23	3.30	3,617	91.69	172	4.36	1.93	1.37
9 Thanapada	39.41	773	5.24	3.17	3,470	85.74	360	8.90	2.07	1.10
10 Torangan	36.22	493	5.43	3.46	2,464	92.01	158	5.90	1.97	1.49
Total	37.34	6,162	5.17	3.24	28,318	88.85	2,196	6.89	1.93	1.31

decreasing order, in Deodongara, Goldari, Torangan, Shirasgaon, and Kulawandi. Harsul, Ozar, and Thanapada have their workers less in proportion than the Block average. The earlier bifurcation of the ten zones into two categories in some of the features that were discussed, is not to be seen here. This apparent unaccountability of the variations in the proportion of workers in the zones has to be explained. This can be understood if the proportion of workers is looked into along with the proportion of non-tribals in the population and the proportion of workers in relation to the family size.

The case of Harsul, Ozar, and Thanapada zones, thus viewed, becomes more clear. All these zones have a proportion of non-tribals higher than the Block average. Harsul and Ozar have their families also of a much smaller size which is larger only than that of Deola. Thanapada, however, has a larger family size. But the workers per family of all these three zones, irrespective of their family size, are also the lowest in number among all the zones. That they have contributed the least number of workers per family is better proved by the difference between the number of workers and non-workers per household or family. It is seen that higher the difference, the more the proportion of workers is per household and the less the difference the more are the non-working dependents. Harsul, Ozar, and Thanapada have the least difference among all the zones. This proves, irrespective of their household or family size, that they have contributed the least proportion of workers per household. This may be due to the possibility that the non-tribals among them have contributed less proportion of workers.

The case of Deola and that of Mulvad stand at two extremes throughout. These were the two zones which showed more or less uniform characteristics in the earlier discussions. They are the two zones which showed a larger proportion of their cultivable land as uncultivated. But it seems that they have arrived at the same phenomenon through different ways. Deola has the least proportion of tribals (70.33 per cent) whereas Mulvad has the highest (97.18 per cent). Deola has the highest proportion of workers (69.65 per cent) whereas Mulvad has the lowest (60.56 per cent). The household size of Deola is the lowest, of 4.84 members and that of Mulvad is the highest, of 5.48 members. But, in spite of the fact that workers per household are 3.37 in Deola and 3.32 in Mulvad—which do not show much difference and they stand third and fourth respectively in the decreasing order of the number of workers per household, strangely enough, the difference between the number of workers and that of non-workers per household in Deola (1.94) and Mulvad (1.16) shows that the largest proportion of workers per household is contributed by Deola whereas the proportion contributed by Mulvad is higher only to that of Harsul, Ozar, and Thanapada. The reference to the proportion of the tribals in the population and to the family size fails to explain these exceptional cases. Deola, even with the smallest household size, has pressed all possible labour to work, whereas Mulvad, with even the largest household size has been unable to utilize its available labour. This shows that land in Deola remains uncultivated in spite of its efforts whereas in Mulvad it remains so for lack of efforts. This inference is drawn with the assumption that the number of workers available to a household is in direct proportion with its size. This feature will be further examined with reference to the cultivators and agricultural labourers in relation to cultivable and cultivated land later.

Kulawandi and Shirasgaon are the two zones which more or less take the middle path avoiding the extremes. In the proportion of tribals with 95.67 per cent of them, however, Kulawandi stands second only to Mulvad. But regarding the proportion of workers per household (the difference between the number of workers and non-workers per household being 1.33 and 1.37 respectively) and in the total population (62.87 and 63.09 per cent respectively) both Kulawandi and Shirasgaon move together.

The zones that remain still to be examined are Deodongara, Goldari, and Torangan.

In all these three zones the proportion of tribals is pretty high; Deodongara has 95.36 per cent of tribals (next only to Mulvad and Kulawandi), Goldari with 91.1 per cent stands sixth, and Torangan with 92.01 stands fourth, Shirasgaon with 91.69 per cent of tribals cutting in between Torangan and Goldari. They have also contributed the highest proportion of workers per household, the difference between the number of workers and non-workers per household being 1.55 in Deodongara, 1.49 in Torangan, and 1.48 in Goldari (excepting Deola where it is 1.94). The proportion of workers in the total population also is the highest (excepting again the case of Deola), they being 64.87 per cent in Deodongara, 64.7 per cent in Goldari, and 63.78 per cent in Torangan.

Thus from the above overall picture of the proportion of workers in the total population, and barring the two extreme cases of Deola and Mulvad, we have three groups of zones which show certain similarity of characteristics. They are: (a) Harsul, Ozar, and Thanapada with a fair proportion of non-tribals and the least proportion of workers in the total population or per household; (b) Kulawandi and Shirasgaon which take a middle path with the proportion of workers in the total population and per household more conforming to the Block average; and (c) Deodongara, Goldari, and Torangan with sufficiently larger tribal population, and the largest proportion of workers either in the total population or per household.

Of the earlier two categories of zones based on the proportion of cultivable land and cultivated land, and man-land ratio, Ozar and Thanapada of the category which showed the proportion of cultivable land at the lowest but which had brought most of its cultivable land under cultivation, and which had the smallest land per man, stand apart and to the opposite of Deodongara, Goldari, and Torangan of the same category. Instead they are one with Harsul of the other category. Of the other category Deola and Mulvad stand opposite one another, combining between them both the characteristics of the two groups (a) and (c) above. Deola is with group (a) topping the list by having the largest proportion of non-tribals, but by contributing the largest proportion of workers in the total population or per household, it tops the group (c). On the other hand Mulvad tops the group (c) by having the largest proportion of tribals, but goes with group (a) having the lowest proportion of workers in the total population and a fairly low proportion of workers per household. The two characteristics, non-tribals in the population and a lower proportion of workers, that appear to move together in the case of group (a), and its reverse in group (c), get bifurcated in the case of Deola and Mulvad. Kulawandi and Shirasgaon, however, take the average characteristics of the Block. These differences may be better understood by examining the break-up of the workers into the different occupational categories (Table 21).

Table No. 21 : Distribution of Workers in Some Occupational Categories of the Census, 1961 (In the decreasing order of percentages in each category)

I CULTIVATORS		II AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS		III IN MINING, QUARRY FORESTRY, ETC.		IX OTHER SERVICES		I AND II COMBINED	
Zones	Perce- tage	Zones	Perce- tage	Zones	Perce- tage	Zones	Perce- tage	Zones	Perce- tage
1 Kulewandi	78.07	Goldari	36.00	Ozar	4.33	Ozar	8.55	Goldari	97.67
2 Deola	71.43	Ozar	30.74	Deodongara	2.68	Harsul	3.18	Torangan	97.07
3 Mulvad	69.52	Harsul	30.47	Kulewandi	2.13	Thanapada	1.14	Mulvad	96.63
4 Shirasgaon	67.74	Torangan	30.27	Mulvad	1.96	Kulawandi	1.11	Deodongara	96.02
5 Torangan	66.80	Deodongara	29.86	Shirasgaon	1.29	Torangan	0.76	Kulawandi	96.02
6 Thanapada	66.23	Thanapada	29.40	Harsul	1.21	Shirasgaon	0.68	Shirasgaon	95.98
7 Deodongara	66.16	Shirasgaon	28.24	Thanapada	0.98	Deodongara	0.63	Thanapada	95.63
8 Goldari	61.67	Mulvad	27.11	Deola	0.89	Goldari	0.54	Deola	91.93
9 Harsul	61.34	Deola	20.50	Goldari	0.64	Mulvad	0.40	Harsul	91.81
10 Ozar	55.60	Kulawandi	17.95	Torangan	0.35	Deola	0.18	Ozar	86.34
Total	66.54	Total	28.23	Total	1.45	Total	1.58	Total	94.77

The categories I and II comprising the cultivators (either owners or tenants) and the agricultural labourers respectively together form the bulk of the workers engaged in agriculture. If the entire figure of workers engaged in agriculture is observed it is seen that all the four zones Thanapada, Deola, Harsul, and Ozar which have a larger proportion of non-tribals than the other zones, have also a smaller proportion of workers engaged in agriculture. Kulawandi and Shirasgaon remain at the centre and on the other end from Deodongara to Mulvad, Torangan, and Goldari, there appears a higher and higher proportion of workers engaged in agriculture.

Obviously those zones which have a less proportion of workers than in other zones engaged in agriculture, have other openings either in the occupations falling under category III (mining, quarrying, fishing, hunting, forestry, etc.), or in other non-agricultural categories such as household or other industries (categories IV and V) in howsoever small capacity for absorbing workers, and in other services (category IX). Deola has 6.48 per cent of its workers engaged in manufacturing other than household industries.* The other zones which show a fair proportion of non-agricultural workers are Harsul, Thanapada, and Ozar. All these three zones have the three of the four weekly market centres in the Block area, these centres being situated on the single road that runs across the area from east to west connecting Harsul and Nasik city beyond on the east, and Ozar at the western end. From the earlier account of trade and industrial units or establishments in the area (p. 29), it is seen that out of 310 such establishments 179 or 57.74 per cent are found in Harsul zone (at Harsul and Chinchawade), 72 or 23.33 per cent at Thanapada, 22 or 7.09 per cent at Ozar, 12 at Deodongara, 10 each at Kulawandi and Shirasgaon, and only 5 at Berwal in the Goldari zone. (This position refers to the year 1965; nonetheless it may explain the occupational distribution of the workers in 1961 to some extent at least.) Excepting Deola the other three zones thus obviously show some openings for non-agricultural economic activities in some detail. But according to the 1961 census figures Deola does show a significant number of workers in manufacturing other than household industries. In any case it is to be inferred that the non-agricultural economic activities and non-tribal workers or population appear to go together, because these zones are also the ones which have comparatively a larger proportion of non-tribals in the population. That is why Deola which has contributed the highest proportion of workers is here one with those that have contributed the lowest proportion of workers to agriculture. Mulvad with a contribution of lower proportion of workers appears on the other side. Can one say, therefore, that the introduction of non-tribals is the only possible way to lead to the non-agricultural activities that have appeared in the four zones? Do they or do they not have any impact on or connection with the occupational structure of the tribals? Answers to these questions may be found in the break-up of the agricultural workers into cultivators and labourers, and in the man-land ratio among the cultivators and the labourers.

The analysis of the proportion of workers found as cultivators and labourers in agriculture brings us back to the two categories of zones that were demarcated on the basis of the proportion of cultivable and cultivated land

and the proportion of forest land. Although forest appears in all the zones, for the purpose of clarity and of avoiding the repetition of their respective characteristics we can call the category of zones having a larger proportion of cultivable and cultivated land as the non-forest category and the category where cultivable or cultivated land is less and the forest land predominates as the forest category of zones.

All the zones excepting Harsul in the non-forest category have a larger proportion of their workers in agriculture, as cultivators; and all the zones in the forest category have a larger proportion of these workers as labourers (Table No.22). The labourers are more found in the zones where there is less land available for cultivation. Only in Harsul

Table No.22 : Ratio of Cultivable and Cultivated Area to Cultivator and Labourer

	Cultivable Area		Cultivated Area		No. of cultivators per one labourer
	Per cultivator	Per Agri. labourer	Per cultivator	Per Agri. labourer	
1. Harsul	3.73	7.50	2.89	5.82	2.01
2. Deodongara	2.23	5.04	1.53	3.40	2.22
3. Deola	5.57	19.42	3.00	10.45	3.49
4. Goldari	2.67	4.58	1.99	3.41	1.71
5. Kulawandi	3.72	16.17	2.90	12.60	4.35
6. Mulvad	4.89	12.54	3.70	9.48	2.56
7. Ozar	2.66	4.82	2.45	4.42	1.81
8. Shirasgaon	4.58	10.98	3.16	7.57	2.40
9. Thanapada	2.42	5.46	1.93	4.35	2.25
10. Torangan	2.85	6.28	2.40	5.29	2.21
Total	3.56	8.39	2.64	6.22	2.36

(Figures worked out from the data available at the Mahal Office, Peint, and from the District Census Handbook.)

because of the availability of opportunities other than in agriculture the contribution of workers to agriculture may be less among the cultivators. As for the other zones where labourers in agriculture are more, their ratio to the cultivators ranging from 1:1.71 in Goldari to 1:2.22 in Deodongara, this fact might perhaps be explained by another characteristic that is possibly common with these zones. It is in the tribal classification of the population. The data are not available for the whole Block as such, but from the data collected from the twelve villages (which are: Dalpatpur, Nirguda, and Torangan; Donawade, Kulawandi, and Palashi Budruk; Gadadawne, Rautmal, and Shirasgaon; and Bafanvahir, Deodongari, and Deodongara) it can be said, of the three tribes that are mostly found here, namely, Koknas, Mahadev Kolis, and Warlis, Koknas are more found as cultivators mostly as owners, and the Mahadev Kolis and Warlis are mostly found as labourers. This can be seen from the figures presented in Table No. 23. The Block area comprises a predominant number of Koknas. This is inferred from the field-data as well as from the census figures for the Peint

Table No. 23 : Occupational Distribution of the Different Tribes

Name of the Tribe	Census 1961 (Peint Mahal)				Survey (12 villages) 1965				
	Total Popula- tion	Workers	Percen- tage to total popula- tion	Percentage to total No. of workers		Total No. of Fami- lies	Percen- tage to total of all tribes	Families by percentage to total of each tribe as	
				Culti- vators	Agri- cultural Labourers			Culti- vators	Agricul- tural labourers
Bhil	14	7	50.00	-	-	2	0.13	-	-
Kathwad	1,146	652	56.89	16.87	60.58	33	2.21	-	100.00
Kokna	31,264	19,253	61.58	85.22	12.88	830	55.78	83.25	14.82
Mahadev Koli	11,301	7,127	63.07	55.09	40.68	175	11.76	36.00	62.86
Warli	16,441	10,246	62.32	56.75	38.82	443	29.77	35.67	63.88
Others	19	15	78.95	66.67	13.33	5	0.34	100.00	-
Total	60,185	37,300	61.98	70.42	26.15	1,488	99.99	61.63	36.90

Mahal. According to the 1961 census the entire tribal population in a total population of 68,425 came to 60,185 and of these the majority are Koknas. Among the Koknas both in the census data pertaining to the whole of Peint Mahal and in the data pertaining to the twelve villages (Table No. 23) the workers or the families engaged in agriculture as cultivators are much larger in proportion than any other tribe. The twelve villages of the Block show a majority of families of the other tribes (excluding the 'Others') engaged as agricultural labour. The point in elaborating on the occupational distribution of the different tribes lies in the contention that the zones which show a larger proportion of agricultural labourers have also a larger proportion of Warlis, a majority of whom are agricultural labourers. We have covered in the twelve villages only five zones, namely, Dalpatpur and Nirgude from Harsul; Torangan from Torangan zone; Donawade, Kulawandi, and Palashi Budruk from Kulawandi; Gadadawne, Rautmal, and Shirasgaon from Shirasgaon; and Bafanvihar, Deodongari, and Deodongara from Deodongara zone. The villages of Harsul also are seen to have a larger proportion of agricultural labourers. Thus the twelve villages cover three of the non-forest category of zones, and two of the forest category, although Harsul here is bracketed with Deodongara and Torangan of the latter category. The distribution of the four numerically significant tribes on occupation basis among these five zones will prove the contention made above (Table No. 24).

In four of the five zones (except Deodongara) the Koknas predominate in number. The majority of the Koknas are cultivators. The agricultural labour is mostly contributed by the other tribes Mahadev Kolis, Warlis, and Kathwads. These labour-supplying tribes are found in a larger proportion in Harsul, Deodongara, and Torangan, than in Kulawandi and Shirasgaon. In Deodongara the Koknas are only 29.04 per cent of the total of all these tribes. The Warlis are 69.75 per cent. But even here the Koknas have their 68.87 per cent of families as cultivators whereas the Warlis have only 47.18 per cent of families as cultivators. Among all the cultivator families in the zone Koknas contributed 37.24 per cent whereas Warlis contributed 59.69 per cent. The agricultural labourers' families even here are mostly found among the Warlis (79.39 per cent) as against the Koknas (17.58 per cent). It can be seen there are more labourers' families proportionately in Harsul, Deodongara, and Torangan and they mostly come from the Mahadev Kolis and Warlis.

From these figures it appears that in Harsul, and in Deodongara and Torangan of the forest category of zones, and also in Goldari, Ozar, and Thanapada which are contiguous and are of the same category, Mahadev Kolis and Warlis, especially the latter, possibly form a sizeable section of the tribal or the total population. They may be in a larger proportion in Goldari, Ozar, and Thanapada, the villages of which were not in the sample of the villages selected for detail study. This statement derives its reasoning from the fact that the westernmost zones, Deodongara and Ozar lie on the boundaries of Nasik district on the one hand and Surat and Thana districts on the other. The tribals in the adjoining areas of these latter districts are mostly Warlis. It is believed therefore that quite a large proportion of Warli families might have migrated from these districts in search of labour. Although we do not have the data pertaining to the migrants as such, the higher rate of population growth in all these five zones of the forest category during the period from 1901-1961,

Table No. 24 : Occupational Distribution of Four Tribes in the Surveyed Villages

Names of the Tribes and the Occupation Categories	Harsul			Deodongara			Torangan			Kulawandi			Shirasgaon		
	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occu- pation	No. of Families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occu- pation	No. of families	Percentage to the total in each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occu- pation	No. of families	Percentage to total of each Tribe	Percentage to total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to total of each Tribe	Percentage to total in each occupation
KOKNA															
Cultivator	135	81.33	85.99	73	68.87	37.24	68	88.31	88.31	220	90.53	83.65	195	81.93	89.04
Agr. Labour	29	17.47	30.21	29	27.36	17.58	6	7.79	12.00	21	8.64	19.44	38	15.97	29.23
Crafts & Trade	-	-	-	2	1.89	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.42	100.00
Service in Govt.	2	1.20	50.00	2	1.89	100.00	3	3.90	100.00	2	0.83	66.67	4	1.68	80.00
Total	166	100.00		106	100.00		77			243			238		
Percent to the total of all Tribes	64.59			29.24			59.23			64.97			67.04		
MAHADEV KOLI															
Cultivator	8	34.78	5.10	6	54.55	3.06	9	29.03	11.69	33	35.87	12.55	7	38.89	3.20
Agr. Labour	15	65.22	15.63	5	45.45	3.03	22	70.97	44.00	58	63.04	53.70	10	55.56	7.69
Crafts & Trade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Service in Govt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	23	100.00		11	100.00		31	100.00		92	100.00		18	100.00	
Percent of the total of all Tribes	8.95			3.01			23.85			24.60			5.07		

(continued)

Table No. 24 : (continued)

Names of the Tribes and the Occupation Categories	Harsul			Deodongara			Torangan			Kulawandi			Shirasgaon		
	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to total in each occupation
WARLI															
Cultivator	14	22.95	8.92	117	47.18	59.69	-	-	-	10	25.64	3.80	17	23.29	7.76
Agr. Labour	45	73.77	46.88	131	52.82	79.39	22	100.00	44.00	29	74.36	26.85	56	76.71	43.08
Crafts & Trade Service in Govt.	2	3.28	50.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	61	100.00		248	100.00		22	100.00		39	100.00		73	100.00	
Percent to the total of all Tribes	23.74			67.95			16.92			10.43			20.56		
KATHWAD															
Cultivator	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agr. Labour	7	100.00	7.29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	100.00	20.00
Crafts & Trade Service in Govt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	7	100.00		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	100.00	
Percent to the total of all Tribes	2.72												7.32		

(continued)

Table No. 24 : (continued)

Name of the Tribe and the Occupation Categories	Harsul			Deodongara			Torangan			Kulawendi			Shirasgeon		
	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occupation	No. of families	Percentage to the total of each Tribe	Percentage to the total in each occupation
<u>TOTAL</u>	257			365			130			374			355		
Cultivator	157	61.09	-	196	53.70	-	77	59.23	-	263	70.32	-	219	61.69	-
Agr. Labour	96	37.35	-	165	45.21	-	50	38.46	-	108	28.88	-	130	36.62	-
Crafts & Trade	-	-	-	2	0.55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.28	-
Service in Govt.	4	1.56	-	2	0.55	-	3	2.31	-	3	0.80	-	5	1.41	-

when the conditions regarding availability of land for cultivation were not much inviting as compared with the five zones of the non-forest category, points to the possibility that these people might have entered the Block area from the adjacent Surat and Thana districts. That they are not sufficiently found in the non-forest category of zones might be perhaps a transitional phase, they being on the eastern side of the Block area, and the trek into the eastern zones might be a continuing process.

The case of Deola and Mulvad also might be explained by the fact that the former has a fair proportion of non-tribals and the incidence of a significant number of workers engaged in non-agricultural activities. As a result perhaps it might be having a less proportion of labourers in agriculture, a prospective number among whom have either gone to the non-agricultural activities or are engaged in agriculture as tenants. Mulvad in the absence of any scope for non-agricultural activity has more of its workers engaged as agricultural labour, although the proportion of workers as cultivators is less than in Deola. As hinted at above Deola forming the south-eastern sector of the Block area is the most inaccessible zone, to the possible immigrant labour from the west.

The man-land ratio, if only the two classes of workers, cultivators and labourers in agriculture, are considered, will further emphasize the distinguishing features of the ten zones.

The ratios of cultivable or cultivated land per cultivator, agricultural labourer, or per worker in agriculture (average for both cultivator and labourer combined) among the ten zones as revealed in the Table No. 25 are self-explanatory. The two categories of zones, the forest and non-forest are clearly demarcated the former evincing less land and the latter more for each type of worker in agriculture. The pressure on agriculture in the former stands in contrast to the lack or less of it in the latter.

Thus, availability of cultivable land, size of family, and the proportion of workers contributed by each household have been instrumental in bringing about a patterned combination of land and labour in the ten zones. The proportion of workers contributed by each household is in turn affected by the presence of non-tribals on the one hand and landless labourers on the other, in the total population of the respective zones. The proportion of workers available for agriculture in general either as cultivators or as labourers is further influenced by the availability of openings in the non-agricultural sphere. Unique combinations of land with all its variegated characteristics, man with the peculiar structure of population in its social aspect, and the ecological characteristics have resulted in the area into two categories of zones five on each side. In total population, and total, cultivable, and cultivated area the two categories stand distinct from one another as shown in Table No. 26.

Before we close this analysis of broad items of resources and means of livelihood in relation to the population, it is to be seen as to how the area and the zones therein fare in yet another item of resources, namely, the livestock in relation to the area and population. For this, only the working bulls and the he-buffaloes, in relation to the cultivated land and to the workers in

Table No. 25 : Man-Land Ratio Per Cultivator and Agricultural Labourer (In descending order of the per capita area)

Cultivable Area in Acres				Cultivated Area in Acres				Cultivated Area Per Worker in Agriculture	
Per Cultivator		Per Agri.Labourer		Per Cultivator		Per Agri.Labourer			
Zones	Area	Zones	Area	Zones	Area	Zones	Area	Zones	Area
1 Deola	5.57	Deola	19.42	Mulvad	3.70	Kulawandi	12.60	Mulvad	2.66
2 Mulvad	4.89	Kulawandi	16.17	Shirasgaon	3.16	Deola	10.45	Kulawandi	2.35
3 Shirasgaon	4.58	Mulvad	12.54	Deola	3.00	Mulvad	9.48	Deola	2.33
4 Harsul	3.73	Shirasgaon	10.98	Kulawandi	2.90	Shirasgaon	7.57	Shirasgaon	2.23
5 Kulawandi	3.72	Harsul	7.50	Harsul	2.89	Harsul	5.82	Harsul	1.93
6 Torangan	2.85	Torangan	6.28	Ozar	2.45	Torangan	5.29	Torangan	1.65
7 Goldari	2.67	Thanapada	5.46	Torangan	2.40	Ozar	4.42	Ozar	1.57
8 Ozar	2.66	Deodongara	5.04	Goldari	1.99	Thanapada	4.35	Thanapada	1.34
9 Thanapada	2.42	Ozar	4.82	Thanapada	1.93	Goldari	3.41	Goldari	1.26
10 Deodongara	2.23	Goldari	4.58	Deodongara	1.53	Deodongara	3.40	Deodongara	1.06
Total	3.56	Total	8.39	Total	2.64	Total	6.22	Total	1.85

Non-Forest
Forest

Table No. 26 : Percentage Distribution of Area and Population in the Two Categories of Zones

Category of Zones	Total Population	Total Area	Cultivable Area	Cultivated Area
Forest	42.23	47.25	29.45	31.28
Non-forest	57.77	52.75	70.55	68.72
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

agriculture are discussed, besides observing the proportion of bulls and buffaloes on the one hand and the proportion of males, females, and the young ones under three years of both the cow and the buffalo class, on the other.

B : Livestock

The livestock of the Harsul Block and of the ten zones therein can be compared with that of Peint Mahal as a whole, and of the Nasik District (Table No. 27). Between the cattle and the buffaloes the proportion of the former increases from the district to Peint Mahal and then to Harsul Block and accordingly the proportion of buffaloes decreases. This variation, however, is slight and may not imply any specific feature. The proportion of the males and females over three years and the young under three years among the cattle also does not show much variation among the district, the Mahal, and the Block, although in the last group the females show an increase in proportion at the cost of both the males and the young. But among the buffaloes the males over three years predominate both in the Mahal as well as in the Block. This is because the tribals use the he-buffaloes also for agricultural purposes and have not taken to rear the she-buffaloes as milch ones, to the extent at least as found among the neighbouring non-tribals.

Among the ten zones no definite pattern emerges in respect of the proportion of the males and females over three years and the young under three years both among the cattle and the buffaloes. The proportions likewise of the milch animals and the working ones are interlinked with one another and with the proportion of the young stock. Those that show less proportion of the young either of the cattle or of the buffaloes show comparatively larger proportion of either the males or the females over three years. The proportions of these different categories of the cattle and the buffaloes do not mean anything by themselves. To understand the variations in their different proportions as they affect the people, the proportions have to be related to the people. Here, the males over three years both among the cattle and the buffaloes combined are related to the cultivated area and to the number of cultivators and to the total number of workers in agriculture.

When the males over three years that may be assumed to be available for agricultural use are viewed in relation to the cultivated area, except Ozar from the forest category and Harsul from the non-forest category of zones,

Table No. 27 : Distribution of Cattle and Buffaloes Among the Ten Zones

	Cattle				Buffaloes				Percentage to Total of Cattle and Buffaloes	
	Total	Percentage to Total			Total	Percentage to Total			Cattle	Buffaloes
		Males over 3 years	Females over 3 years	Young under 3 years		Males over 3 years	Females over 3 years	Young under 3 years		
Harsul	3,403	53.74	29.45	16.81	401	78.80	15.96	5.24	89.54	10.46
Deodongara	565	57.52	42.48	-	79	92.41	7.59	-	87.73	12.27
Deola	1,027	42.94	27.95	29.11	83	100.00	-	-	92.52	7.48
Goldari	1,838	45.54	31.83	22.63	117	70.08	16.19	13.73	94.02	5.98
Kulewandi	2,885	31.96	32.86	35.18	296	80.74	11.15	8.11	90.69	9.31
Mulvad	897	37.68	32.66	29.66	135	76.30	17.04	6.66	86.92	13.08
Ozer	421	57.72	36.34	5.94	9	88.89	11.11	-	97.91	2.09
Shirasgaon	2,009	46.69	47.58	5.73	137	97.08	2.19	0.73	93.62	6.38
Thenepada	1,396	58.38	35.03	6.59	193	86.53	7.25	6.22	87.85	12.15
Torangan	1,805	52.08	35.07	12.85	182	85.16	12.09	2.75	90.84	9.16
Total	16,276	46.96	31.90	21.14	1,632	83.27	11.33	5.40	90.89	9.11
Peint Mehal	37,600	44.68	29.79	25.53	3,900	76.92	12.82	10.26	90.60	9.40
Nasik District	812,900	45.17	30.88	23.95	95,100	16.09	53.00	30.91	89.53	10.47

(continued)

Table No. 27 : (continued)

Per Head of Males among Cattle and Buffaloes in Descending Order				Per Cultivator Cultivated Area			
Cultivated Area in Acres		Cultivators		Workers in Agriculture (Cultivators and Labour combined)			
Mulvad	8.64	Mulvad	2.34	Deodongara	3.34	Mulvad	3.70
Shirasgaon	4.97	Deodongara	2.30	Mulvad	3.25	Shirasgaon	3.16
Ozar	4.88	Ozar	2.00	Ozar	3.10	Deola	3.00
Kulawandi	4.75	Thanapada	1.65	Thanapada	2.39	Kulawandi	2.90
Deola	4.61	Kulawandi	1.64	Shirasgaon	2.23	Harsul	2.89
Deodongara	3.53	Shirasgaon	1.57	Goldari	2.15	Ozar	2.45
Harsul	3.26	Deola	1.54	Kulawandi	2.02	Torangan	2.40
Thanapada	3.20	Goldari	1.36	Deola	1.98	Goldari	1.99
Goldari	2.70	Harsul	1.13	Harsul	1.68	Thanapada	1.93
Torangan	2.50	Torangan	1.04	Torangan	1.51	Deodongara	1.53
Total	3.90	Total	1.48	Total	2.10	Total	2.64
Peint Mahal	3.76	Peint Mahal	1.40	Peint Mahal	1.93		
Nasik District	5.92	Nasik District	1.28	Nasik District	1.76		

(Figures worked out from the data available at the Office of the Veterinary Doctor, at Harsul.)

the forest category of zones (Deodongara, Thanapada, Goldari, and Torangan—see Table No. 27) shows a larger proportion of such males than the non-forest category. Of these four zones of the forest category that have a larger cultivated area per head of male cattle and buffaloes, Deodongara and Thanapada have a larger number of cultivators as well. Which means that in these two zones as there is a larger number of cultivators per cultivated acre they are also more in relation to the working livestock available. In Goldari and Torangan where the area per cultivator is larger, and area per head of working livestock is less than in Deodongara and Thanapada, consequently the number of cultivators per working livestock also is less. Thus in Deodongara and Thanapada in relation to the number of cultivators both the area and the working livestock are less than in Goldari and Torangan where in relation to the number of cultivators both the cultivated area and the livestock are less. In Ozar, the remaining zone of this forest category, the area per cultivator is still larger—more than in the other four zones of the category, but the working livestock is proportionately much less raising the cultivated area and the number of cultivators in relation to the former much above the average.

The non-forest category of zones all but Harsul show uniform characteristics, where the working livestock both in relation to the cultivated area and the number of cultivators is less and the cultivators are less in relation to the area cultivated. In Harsul, the livestock is more in relation both to the cultivated area and to the number of cultivators and the number of cultivators are less in relation to the cultivated area. The three factors considered here, namely, the number of cultivators, the cultivated area, and the livestock, give us five types of their combinations in varying proportions to one another. These five types are stated below with their corresponding zones. The three factors are so arranged that the factor at the top is less in relation to the two placed under, and the second or the middle factor is more in relation to the one at the top but less in relation to the third or the last. Likewise the factor at the bottom is more both in relation to the top and the middle factor.

FOREST CATEGORY

Type I	Area Cultivators Livestock	(Goldari and Torangan)
Type II	Area Livestock Cultivators	(Deodongara and Thanapada)
Type III	Livestock Area Cultivators	(Ozar)

NON-FOREST CATEGORY

Type IV	Livestock Cultivators Area	(Deola, Kulawandi, Mulvad and Shirasgaon)
Type V	Cultivators Area Livestock	(Harsul)

The five zones in the forest category show three types of combinations among them; and the non-forest category show only two types, Harsul alone breaking away from the other four. These five types show only the broad patterns and as such between two zones of the same type there are differences in degrees, as are obvious from the table.

In the zones of Types I and II the pressure of both the cultivators and the livestock on the cultivated area is heavier than the Block average; in Type I the cultivators with less area cultivated are 'burdened' with more livestock whereas in Type II the cultivators with less cultivated area also 'suffer' from less livestock. The words 'burdened' and 'suffer' here are used to denote the problem, if any, of feeding and rearing the livestock and of lack of bullock-power per cultivator for agricultural purposes, respectively. In any case in both these types there is a clear shortage of cultivated area in relation to the number of cultivators and the livestock. The Type III also denotes more cultivators in relation to the cultivated area but the livestock is much less. The Type IV is the opposite of Type I and the Type V, that of Harsul, is the opposite of Type III. In both the Type IV and the Type V the cultivators have a larger cultivated area per head, but in the former the livestock is less and in the latter it is more in relation to the other two factors.

The implications of the varying proportions of these factors, and their conditioning factors may be understood only after observing and analysing the conditions of agriculture in some detail. The type of land that is brought under cultivation, the crops that are reaped, the factors that affect these two, namely, water-supply, irrigation, bunding, fertilizers, manure, bullock-power required and available, the labour required and available, etc. on the one hand and the disposal of the harvest on the other, in short, both the factors, those affecting the production and those affecting distribution have to be looked into. For this, we rely on the field-data.

The field-study, however, covers only twelve villages, covering eight villages of three zones of the non-forest category, and four villages of two zones of the forest category. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the overall picture that emerges from the study will reflect the characteristics that are common to the whole of the Block area.

Prior to dealing with these details, an introductory note on the households in the selected villages, and on the general characteristics of the sample households will throw some light on the composition of the village community and the sample households.

SUMMARY

In order to facilitate a quick appraisal of the broad characteristics of the Harsul Block which was analysed in some details so far, a resume of those characteristics is given here.

The area and population of the Harsul Block are almost equal to those of the Peint Block; but the villages in the former are 49 whereas in the latter they are 100. Apparently the villages of the Harsul Block claim larger area and population; however, this may be more apparent than real. For, the number of villages do not necessarily denote the number of actual population clusters. Each village having a number of satellite hamlets, it may be that the villages of the Harsul Block have a larger number of hamlets than those of Peint.

About half of the total area of the Block is under forests. Of the remaining 42.63 per cent is cultivable out of which only 31.6 per cent is cultivated. Presuming that almost all the cultivable land is under private ownership it appears that owners have not been able to cultivate all the land owned by them! The chief crops grown are rice, nagli, and warai among the cereals; and tur, kulith and khurasani among the pulses. The chief produce of the forests is teak-timber. The statistics reveal that the rate of exploitation is possibly faster than the average of either Maharashtra or India.

The growth of population in the Block has suffered vicissitudes for four decades from 1901, but during the last two decades of 1941-51 and 1951-61 it has grown at a rate faster than that of Nasik district and the whole of Maharashtra. During the period 1911-1951 it is found that within the Block smaller villages of less than 500 population and larger villages of more than 1,000 population have increased in population, whereas the medium villages of 500 to 1,000 population have decreased in population. Of the 49 villages, 23 have grown at a faster rate than the whole Block during 1951-61. It is felt that the increase and decrease in population among the 49 villages, apart from the natural increase or decrease, were also due to differential rates of migration in and out. It was pointed out that possibly this migration is confined to different groups of villages, within each of which migration from one to the other took place to the exclusion of the other groups.

On the basis of this and the spatial distribution of agricultural co-operative credit societies, weekly markets, central villages attracting casual labour, and of non-agricultural establishments, ten zones were conceptually demarcated. Each zone is headed by a central village the zonal limits coinciding with the limits of its satellite villages. These zones are of Harsul, Deodongara, Deola, Goldari, Kulawandi, Mulvad, Shirasgaon, Thanapada and Torangan.

These zones are found to differ from one another in further details of water-supply, area, number of villages, and population. Two broad categories of zones forest and non-forest could be visualized; the former includes Torangan, Thanapada, Goldari, Deodongara and Ozar, and the latter has Harsul, Kulawandi, Shirasgaon, Deola and Mulvad. In the forest zones naturally there is more of forests and less of cultivable land but they have brought most of the cultivable land under cultivation. The non-forest zones with the

opposite characteristics, viz., less of forests and more of cultivable land have brought under cultivation comparatively little of it. The forest zones also appeared to have grown in population at a greater rate.

As for the proportion of workers in the total population and their occupational distribution, those zones which have comparatively higher incidence of non-tribals in their population, showed proportionately less number of workers among whom non-agricultural workers as well could be found to a significant extent. Harsul, Ozar and Thanepada conformed to this pattern. The opposite of this was found in Deodongara, Goldari and Torangan. Deola could go with the former group except that it contributed proportionately more as workers; and Mulved could go with the latter except that it contributed comparatively less proportion as workers. Kulawandi and Shirasgaon stood between the two groups in all the characteristics. The forest zones showed a higher ratio of agricultural labourers per cultivator than the non-forest ones, but the land per cultivator or worker in agriculture in the former was much less in comparison to the latter zones. Likewise livestock per cultivator or per acre of cultivated land appeared to be more in the forest zones than in the non-forest ones. The former also had a larger proportion of Werlis, Kothwads, and Mahadev Kolis who were mostly landless labour engaged in agriculture.

PART II : THE SAMPLE VILLAGES

CHAPTER VI

THE SELECTED VILLAGES AND THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

A : Occupations

It was decided that out of 49 villages of the Block area 25 per cent or 12 villages should be selected for detail study. These villages were to be, as far as possible, representative of the area and its varying characteristics of the terrain and the natural resources, and of the villages of different size of population and their ecological characteristics. Accordingly, twelve villages were chosen, after selecting them first on the population basis and then tracing their geographical (aerial) position on the map, in order to satisfy the two requirements to make the sample representative. The twelve villages that were thus first selected were: Kulawandi, Donawade and Palashi Budruk with a population of 1,171, 629 and 176 respectively (vide census 1961) in the eastern sector, Shirasgaon, Gadadawne and Rautmal with 1,230, 426 and 210 population respectively in the south-eastern sector, Deodongara, Deodongari and Bafanvihr with 976, 564 and 455 population in the north-western sector, and Gawtha, Deola and Bhagohol with 773, 499 and 241 population respectively in the southern sector. The northern, the western, and the south-western sectors were ignored as there were very few villages and far from one another. Likewise the central sector of Harsul and the villages near about were ignored as it was not possible to broaden the size of the sample and as it was felt that inclusion of Harsul with the non-tribal complex would involve much time and labour and would perhaps camouflage the main object of studying the tribals and their area. Although it was rightly felt also that a study of the socio-economic forces at Harsul would throw much light on the conditions of the area and its people around, we could satisfy ourselves by deciding to take note of these forces in a general observation of Harsul and besides by-tracking them while studying the villages in the sample. The sample of villages was then placed before a meeting of the Peint Mahal Panchayat Samiti at Peint. The Panchayat Samiti suggested three villages Dalpatpur, Torangan and Nirgude in the central sector in the place of Gawatha, Deola and Bhagohol in the southern sector, on the grounds that communication with and arrangement at the latter for research facilities could not be made. Since the substitute villages belonged to the central sector which was left out earlier, the change was accepted. The villages that were finally selected included two with population more than 1,000; five with population between 501 and 1,000; and five with population less than 500. In the changed list of villages there was an addition in the medium size villages with loss of one in the last group of villages. Thus out of ten villages with more than 1,000 population two, and out of twelve of 501-1,000 population and out of twenty-seven of less than 500 population five villages each are included in the sample.

The occupational distribution of the villages broadly corresponds to the zonal characteristics to which they belong (Table No. 28). Dalpatpur, Nirgude, Torangan,

Table No. 28 : Occupational Distribution of Families in the 12 Villages (1965)

Name of Zone	Name of Village	Total No. of families	Cultivators (owners of Land)	Agr. Labour	In Crafts	In Trade	In Service	In percentage to the total					No. of Members	
								Cultivators	Agr. Labour	In Crafts	In Trade	In Service	Total	Average per family
HARSUL	Dalpatpur	191	116	67	1	2	5	60.73	35.08	0.52	1.05	2.62	1,062	5.56
	Nirgude	81	42	30	3	-	6	51.85	37.04	3.70	-	7.41	406	5.01
TORANGAN	Torangan	149	82	54	5	-	8	55.03	36.24	3.36	-	5.37	859	5.73
DEODONGARA	Befanvahir	91	42	45	-	-	4	46.15	49.45	-	-	4.40	487	5.35
	Deodongara	185	101	73	3	2	6	54.59	39.46	1.62	1.08	3.24	1,073	5.80
	Deodongari	105	55	47	1	1	1	52.38	44.76	0.95	0.95	0.95	612	5.83
KULAWANDI	Kulawandi	232	150	71	2	1	8	64.66	30.60	0.86	0.43	3.45	1,278	5.53
	Donawade	116	89	27	-	-	-	76.72	23.28	-	-	-	621	5.35
	Palashi Bk.	38	27	10	-	-	1	71.05	26.32	-	-	2.63	205	5.40
SHIRASGAON	Shirasgaon	232	136	87	1	-	8	58.62	37.50	0.43	-	3.45	1,286	5.54
	Gedadawne	80	48	22	2	-	8	60.00	27.50	2.50	-	10.00	393	4.91
	Rautmal	62	40	22	-	-	-	64.52	35.48	-	-	-	302	4.87
Total		1,562	928	555	18	6	55	59.41	35.53	1.03	0.51	3.52	8,584	5.50

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Bafanvahir, Deodongara, and Deodongari show less of cultivators and more of agricultural labourers. The other villages of Kulawandi and Shirasgaon zones have a larger proportion of cultivators and less of agricultural labourers. The non-agricultural occupations cover only about five per cent of the families. Traders are found only in four villages. The craftsmen include the blacksmith, carpenter, potter, and tailor. Although we came across tribals who were trained in tailoring in four villages, working tailor was found only in Nirgude where currently a training school in tailoring was being conducted. In other villages those who had undergone training were yet to receive subsidy from the government towards the purchase of a sewing machine. Those in service include the talthis, the gramsevak, the kotwals, and the officials and guards of the forest department. The classification of the families on the basis of occupation refers only to their principal means of livelihood. A trader, who is generally a petty grocer and provision dealer, and who also deals in money or grain lending, may also have cultivation of owned land as a subsidiary occupation. Likewise a cultivator may have recourse either to trading or to agricultural labour. An agricultural labourer's family on the other hand may resort to cultivate a bit of land encroaching upon the forest area or cultivate a bit of surplus land owned by a cultivator in return paying only the revenue of that land due to the government or take to rearing working livestock and collect their hire-charges from the cultivators. These details will be elaborated later.

The family size is of 5 to 6 members although in two villages Gadadawne and Rautmal it is of less than 5 members. It is also found that the cultivators' families are larger and those of the agricultural labourers are smaller in size, the size being mainly dependent upon the composition of the family rather than on the number of children. Although a fertility survey as such was not conducted from the information gathered through the family schedules it can be said that the fertility rates appear to be uniform both for the cultivator and the agricultural labourer. As the size of the family depends more on the composition of the family, therefore, the proportion of workers in a cultivator's family also is found to be more than in an agricultural labourer's family—which fact will be seen later.

The proportion of cultivators and labourers in the twelve villages may be better understood by the composition of the village communities (Table No. 29). The tribals are predominant in number, the non-tribal families being only 4.76 per cent of the total number of families. The tribals are mainly found in the two categories of agricultural occupations, whereas the non-tribals are mostly found in the non-agricultural categories. Among the non-agricultural occupations the tribals are more found in the category of service where they are mostly employed as kotwals, peons in the Village Panchayat, as forest guards, and some as talthis. Only three Koknas appear in the category of crafts and trade. They are mainly found in smithy which they traditionally used to practice with crude implements to produce crude articles. Smithy as the main occupation is followed by two Koknas from Deodongara and one from Shirasgaon. Of the two from Deodongara one has the cultivation of owned land as his subsidiary occupation, and the other depends partly on agricultural labour and loaning working bullocks for agricultural purposes and collecting the hiring charges. The one from Shirasgaon entirely

Table No. 29 : Distribution of Families according to Tribe, Caste or Community

	Owner culti- vator	Agr. Labour	Crafts and Trade	Service	Total	Percentage to Total
1. Bhil	-	-	-	2	2	0.13
2. Kathwad	-	33	-	-	33	2.09
3. Kokna	691	123	3	13	830	53.14
4. M. Koli	63	110	-	2	175	11.20
5. Thakur	5	-	-	-	5	0.32
6. Warli	158	283	-	2	443	28.36
7. Brahmin	-	-	-	5	5	} 4.76
8. Kunbi	5	3	-	-	8	
9. L. Patil	-	-	-	1	1	
10. Mali	-	-	-	1	1	
11. Maratha	-	-	-	18	18	
12. Vani	-	-	-	1	1	
13. Kumbhar	-	-	2	-	2	
14. Lohar	-	-	1	-	1	
15. Sonar	1	-	-	1	2	
16. Sutar	-	-	1	-	1	
17. Teli	3	1	3	-	7	
18. Beldar	-	-	4	-	4	
19. Buddhist	-	2	-	2	4	
20. Chambhar	-	-	2	-	2	
21. Harijan	-	-	-	5	5	
22. Holar	-	-	5	-	5	
23. Muslim	2	-	3	2	7	
Total	928	555	24	55	1,562	100.00

depends on smithy. It is clear from this that the occupational distribution of the families which refers only to the main occupation, does not fully satisfy the probe to find out the sufficiency or otherwise of the principal means of livelihood. For this, one has to look into the subsidiary occupations as well. This will be done after studying the principal occupations of the different tribes.

Among the tribes the Koknas are predominant in number, followed by Warlis, Mahadev Kolis, Kathwads, Thakurs and Bhils. The Koknas appear to have settled much earlier than the other tribes in the area (Tables Nos. 30 and 31).

Table No. 30 : Percentage Distribution of Each Tribe into Different Occupations

	Culti- vators	Agri- Labour	Crafts and Trade	Service	Total
Kathwads	-	100.00	-	-	33
Koknas	83.25	14.82	0.36	1.57	830
Mahadev Kolis	36.00	62.86	-	1.14	175
Thakurs	100.00	-	-	-	5
Warlis	35.67	63.88	-	0.45	443

Table No. 31 : Percentage Distribution of Different Tribes in Each Occupation

	Kathwad	Kokna	Mahadev Kolils	Thakurs	Warlis	Total
Cultivation	-	74.46	6.79	0.54	17.03	928
Agr. Labour	5.95	22.16	19.82	-	50.99	555
Crafts and Trade	-	12.50	-	-	-	24
Service	-	23.64	3.64	-	3.64	55

As they are predominant in number, they are also found predominantly as owner-cultivators. Very few of their families are found as agricultural labourers and much less as craftsmen or in 'service'. Ignoring the five families of Thakurs who are all owner-cultivators, among the other three tribes, Kathwads are found only in agricultural labour. The Mahadev Kolils and the Warlis have a majority of their families in agricultural labour. The tribals as a whole are predominant both as cultivators and as agricultural labourers, as 98.82 per cent of the cultivators and 98.92 per cent of the agricultural labourers are found among the tribals. Whereas in the former occupation the Koknas, the Mahadev Kolils and the Warlis are 74.46, 6.79, and 17.03 per cent, in the latter they are 22.16, 19.82, and 50.99 per cent respectively. The Warlis obviously are the one tribe which is engaged mainly in agricultural labour. Even in the three villages, Bafanvihir, Deodongara and Deodongari where they predominate in number, the families of Warlis who are mainly engaged in agricultural labour are 79.39 per cent of the total number of families so engaged (13 out of 165), whereas in the same villages among the cultivator families they form 59.09 per cent (117 out of 198). The Mahadev Kolils do not predominate in any of the villages. But on the average of all the twelve villages they closely follow the Warlis in having a larger proportion of their families engaged in agricultural labour. The 33 Kathwad families are all engaged in agricultural labour as their main occupation. The labour supply in agriculture therefore depends much upon the landless tribes in the area, the Kathwads, the Mahadev Kolils, and the Warlis and their proportion in the population of a given village, although some Koknas with insufficient land-holdings might also take to agricultural labour or there may be some landless even among the Koknas. For, as seen in the earlier chapter, there is no uniformity in the relation between the proportion of cultivators and of agricultural labourers and between these two and the cultivated land. The labourers in agriculture appear proportionately more in the forest category of zones where the per capita or per cultivator or per agricultural labourer cultivable or cultivated land is less than in the non-forest category of zones where the agricultural labourers are comparatively less in proportion to the total number of workers. This larger proportion of agricultural labourers is, as seen above, in the villages belonging to the forest category, due to the presence there of the landless tribes, the Kathwads, the Mahadev Kolils, and the Warlis.

The larger proportion of the labourers may also be related to the differences if any in the agricultural operations arising from the differences either in the soil conditions or in the crop pattern resulting in a demand for a larger amount of labour-inputs. The analysis of the subsidiary occupations pursued by the families in the twelve villages will reveal that in those villages where the labourers are larger in proportion the principal occupation has failed to a larger extent to remain as the sole occupation, for both the cultivator and the agricultural labourer (Table No. 32).

The distribution of the families among the subsidiary occupations reveals that a majority of the families in five of the six villages belonging to Kulawandi and Shirasgaon zones in the non-forest category have reported that they do not have any subsidiary occupation. Proportion of such families among the five of the six villages of the other three zones is less. Rautmal in the former group and Torangan in the latter are exceptions. It may be inferred that the absence of the subsidiary occupation may mean that the principal occupation is sufficient to that extent to support the family. In line with this inference one may say that in the five villages, viz., Donawade, Kulawandi, Palashi Budruk, Gadadawne, and Shirasgaon where the families reporting no subsidiary occupation are 80.17, 60.78, 73.68, 72.50, and 53.88 per cent respectively there is a clearer demarcation of families of cultivators and those of agricultural labourers. Accordingly in the other five villages, viz., Delpatpur, Nirgude, Bafanvahir, Deodongra, and Deodongari where the families with no subsidiary occupations are 38.22, 39.51, 35.16, 24.86, and 27.62 per cent respectively the cultivators and the agricultural labourers have to exchange their occupation with one another's for their subsidiary occupation. Here the occupations of the cultivator and the agricultural labourer alone are considered because either as the principal or as the subsidiary occupation the non-agricultural category of occupations has very few families. (5.06 per cent of families have them as the principal, and 2.5 per cent as the subsidiary occupation for all the twelve villages together).

Among the subsidiary occupations wherever they are taken to, the cultivators have mostly taken to agricultural labour, and the agricultural labourers have mostly taken to cultivation and lending bullocks on hire for agricultural purposes. The proportion of cultivators taking to agricultural labour may be said to have been mainly influenced by the proportion of cultivators having small land-holdings. The proportion of the agricultural labourers taking to cultivation depends mainly on the extent of encroachment on the forest areas and the number of fragments per land-holding of the cultivators; their taking to lending bullocks for agricultural purposes depends on the scope of cultivation as a subsidiary occupation and the sufficiency or otherwise of the working bullocks in the village. We shall first deal with the situation prompting the cultivators to take to agricultural labour.

The average size of the holding among the cultivators of eleven villages is given in Table No. 33 (barring Rautmal the figures about which were not available during the field-study). The villages of the Kulawandi and Shirasgaon zones except Palashi Budruk in the former, show a larger average land-holding per cultivator. The villages in the other zones all but Delpatpur have their

Table No. 32 : Distribution of Families According to Their Subsidiary Occupations

Villages	Total Number of families	No. of families in subsidiary occupations								Families in subsidiary occupation Percentage to the total							
		No subsidiary	Cultivation	Agricultural labour	Loaning Bullocks	Craft	Trade	Service	Others	No Subsidiary	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Loaning Bullocks	Craft	Trade	Service	Others
1 Delpatpur	191	73	7	87	19	1	2	-	2	38.22	3.66	45.55	9.95	0.52	1.05	-	1.05
2 Nirgude	81	32	15	32	1	-	-	1	-	39.51	18.52	39.51	1.23	-	-	1.23	-
3 Torangan	149	82	23	35	6	-	1	2	-	55.03	15.43	23.49	4.03	-	0.67	1.34	-
4 Bafenvihir	91	32	25	25	9	-	-	-	-	35.16	27.47	27.47	9.89	-	-	-	-
5 Deodongara	185	46	22	91	22	-	2	2	-	24.86	11.89	49.19	11.89	-	1.08	1.08	-
6 Deodongari	105	29	19	41	13	-	-	3	-	27.62	18.10	39.05	12.38	-	-	2.85	-
7 Donawade	116	93	4	10	8	-	-	1	-	80.17	3.45	8.62	6.90	-	-	0.86	-
8 Kulewandi	232	141	25	57	3	-	1	2	3	60.78	10.78	24.57	1.29	-	0.43	0.86	1.29
9 Pelashi Bk.	38	28	4	3	2	1	-	-	-	73.68	10.53	7.89	5.26	2.62	-	-	-
10 Gadadawne	80	58	2	13	7	-	-	-	-	72.50	2.50	16.25	8.75	-	-	-	-
11 Rautmal	62	8	8	34	5	-	-	-	7	12.90	12.90	54.84	8.06	-	-	-	11.29
12 Shirasgaon	232	125	26	64	9	2	2	4	-	53.88	11.21	27.59	3.88	0.86	0.86	1.72	-
Total	1,562	747	180	492	104	4	8	15	12	47.82	11.52	31.50	6.66	0.26	0.51	0.96	0.77

Table No. 33 : Average Size of Holding

	No. of culti- vators	Total land held in acres	Average land-holding
Dalpatpur	116	1,278.48	11.68
Nirgude	42	429.58	10.23
Torangan	82	814.68	9.94
Bafanvahir	42	415.68	9.90
Deodongara	101	1,026.25	10.16
Deodongari	55	496.95	9.04
Donawade	89	1,139.93	12.81
Kulawandi	150	2,019.65	13.46
Palashi Budruk	27	284.45	10.54
Gadadawne	48	774.08	16.13
Shirasaon	136	1,988.05	14.69
Total	888	10,667.68	12.01

cultivators with an average holding of about 10 acres or even less. Dalpatpur shows a larger holding of 11.68 acres. One may be tempted to say from this that the average size of the land-holding appears to be in direct proportion with the number of families declaring no subsidiary occupation. But the percentage of families declaring no subsidiary occupation in the case of Palashi Budruk and Dalpatpur shows an inverse ratio with their respective average size of land-holding. Dalpatpur although having the largest size of land-holding is not the highest in the proportion of families with no subsidiary occupations. On the other hand Torangan with an average holding of 9.94 acres has a higher proportion of such families. Palashi Budruk with only 10.54 acres of average holding has 73.68 per cent of its families going without any subsidiary occupation. If we look at the number of families in the subsidiary occupation of agricultural labour where the cultivators seeking a subsidiary occupation are mostly found, Dalpatpur with a larger holding also shows a larger percentage; and Palashi Budruk in the other group with a smaller size of holding shows the smallest proportion of families in agricultural labour as their subsidiary occupation. Even among the other nine villages the average size of holding does not show a clear-cut direct relation with the proportion of families found in the subsidiary occupation of agricultural labour. Rather than the average size of holding, therefore, the proportion of cultivators in the different groups of varying size of the holding would perhaps show a direct bearing on the proportion of cultivators taking to agricultural labour as a subsidiary occupation. Along with this the number of families declaring no subsidiary occupation among the cultivators apart from the agricultural labourers and others, needs consideration (Tables Nos. 34 and 35).

Table No. 34 : Distribution of the Cultivators According to the Size of Their Land-holdings

	Less than 1 acre	1-5 acres	6-10 acres	Upto 10 acres	11-15 acres	16-20 acres	21-25 acres	26-30 acres	31-35 acres	36-40 acres	41-45 acres	46-50 acres	Total Land Held in Acres	Total No. of Cultivators
1 Dalpatpur	2.65	29.21	23.89	55.75	27.44	5.31	32.75	2.65	8.85	11.50	1,278.48	116		
2 Nirgude	13.33	37.79	24.44	75.56	6.67	4.44	11.11	-	13.33	13.33	429.58	42		
3 Torangan	6.17	39.51	23.46	69.14	12.35	3.70	16.05	3.70	11.11	14.81	814.68	82		
4 Bafanvihir	6.06	27.28	18.18	51.52	15.15	12.12	27.27	9.09	12.12	21.21	415.68	42		
5 Deodongara	1.18	25.88	29.41	56.47	16.47	10.59	27.06	4.71	11.76	16.47	1,026.25	101		
6 Deodongari	5.40	16.22	29.73	51.35	16.22	13.51	29.73	2.70	16.22	18.92	496.95	55		
7 Donswade	3.85	25.64	20.51	50.00	17.95	8.97	26.92	6.41	16.67	23.08	1,139.93	89		
8 Kulawandi	6.67	22.42	23.04	52.13	20.00	11.51	31.55	4.85	11.51	16.36	2,019.65	150		
9 Palashi Bk.	4.00	28.00	20.00	52.00	20.00	12.00	32.00	8.00	8.00	16.00	284.45	27		
10 Gadadawne	5.88	19.61	19.61	45.10	19.61	9.80	29.41	5.88	19.61	25.49	774.08	48		
11 Rautmal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
12 Shirasgaon	4.51	21.05	22.56	48.12	16.54	15.04	31.58	4.51	15.79	20.30	1,988.05	136		
Total	5.08	26.12	23.40	54.61	18.09	9.81	27.90	4.49	13.00	17.49	11,667.68	888		

Table No. 35 : Distribution of Families according to their Subsidiary Occupations

	No. of Families in Subsidiary Occupation					In Percentage to Total				
	Nil	Culti- vation	Agr. Labour	Lending Bullocks	Others	Nil	Culti- vation	Agr. Labour	Lending Bullocks	Others
CULTIVATORS										
1. Dalpatpur	28	-	85	-	3	24.14	-	73.28	-	2.58
2. Nirgude	11	-	30	-	1	26.19	-	71.43	-	2.38
3. Torangen	51	-	30	-	1	62.19	-	36.59	-	1.22
4. Bafanvahir	17	-	25	-	-	40.48	-	59.52	-	-
5. Deodongara	9	-	90	-	2	8.91	-	89.11	-	1.98
6. Deodongari	11	-	41	-	3	20.00	-	74.55	-	5.45
7. Donawade	78	-	10	-	1	87.64	-	11.23	-	1.12
8. Kulawandi	89	-	57	-	4	59.33	-	38.00	-	2.67
9. Palashi Bk.	23	-	3	-	1	85.19	-	11.11	-	3.70
10. Gadadawne	36	-	12	-	-	75.00	-	25.00	-	-
11. Reutmel	5	-	34	1	-	12.50	-	85.00	2.50	-
12. Shiresgaon	65	-	63	-	8	47.79	-	46.32	-	5.89
Total	423	-	480	1	24	45.58	-	51.72	0.11	2.59

(Continued)

Table No. 35 : (continued)

	No. of Families in Subsidiary Occupation					In Percentage to Total				
	Nil	Culti- vation	Agr. Labour	Lending Bullocks	Others	Nil	Culti- vation	Agr. Labour	Lending Bullocks	Others
<u>AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS</u>										
1. Dalpatpur	41	5	-	19	2	61.19	7.46	-	28.36	2.99
2. Nirgude	14	15	-	1	-	46.67	50.00	-	3.33	-
3. Torangan	23	23	-	6	2	42.59	42.59	-	11.11	3.71
4. Bafenviher	11	25	-	9	-	24.44	55.56	-	20.00	-
5. Deodongara	29	21	-	21	2	39.73	28.77	-	28.77	2.73
6. Deodongari	15	19	-	13	-	31.91	40.43	-	27.66	-
7. Donawade	15	4	-	8	-	55.56	14.81	-	29.63	-
8. Kulewandi	42	25	-	3	1	59.15	35.21	-	4.23	1.41
9. Palashi Bk.	4	4	-	2	-	40.00	40.00	-	20.00	-
10. Gadadawne	14	1	-	7	-	63.64	4.54	-	31.82	-
11. Reutmal	3	8	-	4	7	13.64	36.36	-	18.18	31.82
12. Shirasgaon	52	26	-	9	-	59.77	29.89	-	10.34	-
Total	263	176	-	102	14	47.39	31.71	-	18.38	2.52

(continued)

Table No. 35 : (continued)

	No. of Families in Subsidiary Occupation					In Percentage to Total				
	Nil	Culti- vation	Agr. Labour	Lending Bullocks	Others	Nil	Culti- vation	Agr. Labour	Lending Bullocks	Others
<u>OTHERS</u>										
1. Dalpetpur	4	2	2	-	-	50.00	25.00	25.00	-	-
2. Nirgude	7	-	2	-	-	77.78	-	22.22	-	-
3. Torangan	8	-	5	-	-	61.54	-	38.46	-	-
4. Befanvihir	4	-	-	-	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
5. Deodongara	8	1	1	1	-	88.89	3.70	3.70	3.70	-
6. Deodongari	3	-	-	-	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
7. Donawade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Kulewandi	10	-	-	-	1	90.91	-	-	-	9.09
9. Palashi Bk.	1	-	-	-	-	100.00	-	-	-	-
10. Gadadawne	8	1	1	-	-	80.00	10.00	10.00	-	-
11. Rautmal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Shirasgeon	8	-	1	-	-	88.89	-	11.11	-	-
Total	61	4	12	1	1	77.22	5.06	15.18	1.27	1.27
GRAND TOTAL	747	180	492	104	39	47.82	11.52	31.50	6.66	2.50

The proportion of cultivators declaring no subsidiary occupation (in relation to the total number of cultivators) is less than 50 per cent in Bafanvahir, Deodongara, Deodongari, Nirgude, and Rautmal. In these villages even among the agricultural labourers those declaring no subsidiary occupation are less than 50 per cent. In these five villages both the cultivators and the agricultural labourers find their principal occupation apparently insufficient to depend upon. On the other hand in Donawade, Gadsdawne, and Kulawandi both the cultivators and the agricultural labourers have more than their 50 per cent without any subsidiary occupation. These two categories of villages reveal quite different conditions from one another.

Dalpatpur and Shirasgaon have more than half of the cultivators seeking a subsidiary occupation whereas more than half of their agricultural labourers follow only one occupation. As against this in Palashi Budruk and Torangan we see the opposite situation where more than half of the agricultural labourers seek a subsidiary occupation and the cultivators largely follow only their principal occupation.

Even this broad classification of the villages may not give the comparative position of the cultivators and agricultural labourers in them, especially where a majority of both of them have or have not any subsidiary occupation. Actual percentages of cultivators and agricultural labourers will give a better picture of the same.

Among the five villages, Nirgude, Bafanvahir, Deodongara, Deodongari, and Rautmal, which have more than half of both the cultivators and the labourers pursuing a subsidiary occupation excepting Bafanvahir all of them have proportionately more cultivators than labourers doing so. In Rautmal, however, the difference is much less, the proportion of labourers going in for a subsidiary occupation being only 1.14 per cent less than that of cultivators. In Deodongari they are 11.91 per cent less, but in Deodongara and Nirgude they are much less i.e. 30.82 and 20.48 per cent respectively. This means that self-sufficiency of the principal occupation is equally low for the cultivator as well as labourer in Rautmal, whereas in Deodongari on the other hand, a larger difference occurs pointing to a larger proportion of cultivators resorting to more than one occupation and in Nirgude and Deodongara the proportion of such cultivators is still larger than the labourers. In Bafanvahir on the other hand the proportion of such cultivators is 16.04 per cent less than that of the labourers.

We may consider along with these five villages two more villages, namely, Dalpatpur and Shirasgaon where more than half of the cultivators pursue more than one occupation whereas more than half of the labourers do not have any subsidiary occupation. In Dalpatpur of these two, the proportion of cultivators pursuing a secondary occupation is 37.05 per cent more than that of the labourers, whereas in Shirasgaon they are only 11.98 per cent more than the labourers. Thus in Deodongara and Nirgude of the first five villages and in Dalpatpur of the two villages mentioned above the cultivators when compared with labourers find it harder to carry on with a single occupation. We shall consider the distribution of cultivators in these three villages on the basis of the size of their holdings (Table No. 34).

The case of Nirgude stands at the extreme of pre-dominance of small holdings, as 75.56 per cent of the

cultivators have holdings of 10 acres and less. The cultivators of holdings of less than one acre alone are 13.33 per cent, the largest proportion among all the eleven villages (Rautmal, about which the figures were not available being excluded). Obviously in Nirgude's case the smaller holdings seem to have a direct bearing on the number of cultivators seeking a secondary occupation (73.81 per cent). But Deodongara and Dalpatpur which have 56.47 and 55.75 per cent of their cultivators with holdings of 10 acres and less show a larger proportion of their cultivators (91.09 and 75.86 per cent respectively) pursuing a secondary occupation as is clear from the fact that Deodongara has 8.91 per cent and Dalpatpur 24.14 per cent of their cultivators declaring no subsidiary occupation. Therefore size of land-holding appears to be partially correlated with or causal to the self-sufficiency or otherwise of cultivation as the sole occupation. In Dalpatpur unlike the two others the labourers appear to be much more secure as 61.19 per cent of them have no subsidiary occupation. In Deodongara and Nirgude such labourers are only 39.73 and 46.67 per cent respectively.

Deodongari and Shirasgaon, and Bafanvihir to a larger extent than the former two, have comparatively a larger proportion of their cultivators with larger holdings of 11 to 20 acres and more than 20 acres, especially of the latter size. Among the proportions of cultivators holding lands of 16 to 20 acres and 25 and more all the three villages appear at the top or nearabout with the highest proportions in the former, and nearabout, in the latter. Bafanvihir also tops in having 9.09 per cent of its cultivators with holdings of 21 to 24 acres. This perhaps explains its cultivators' being more secure in their principal occupation than its labourers' in agricultural labour.

In all these seven villages it is the cultivators that are really seeking a subsidiary occupation than its labourers. Although in villages like Rautmal conditions may be equally bad both for the cultivators and the agricultural labourers, the fact, that these seven villages are the ones which report the least proportion of families without any subsidiary occupation among all the families as a whole, shows that it is the cultivators who really find their principal occupation insufficient to support them. If the twelve villages be taken as a representative sample of the whole Block it may be said that in a majority of the villages the cultivators in general are unable to depend upon cultivation alone as their means of livelihood, under the existing circumstances and practice of agriculture.

This observation although prompted by the consideration of the seven villages mentioned above is substantiated by the consideration of the other five villages as well.

The three villages Donawade, Ga'adawne and Kulawandi report a majority among both the cultivators and agricultural labourers without a subsidiary occupation. The first two villages although with 50 and 45.10 per cent of cultivators respectively holding land of 10 acres and less in size, have the largest proportions, among all the villages, of cultivators with holdings of 20 acres and more. Kulawandi remains in the middle among the twelve villages throughout except in the land-size of 11 to 20 acres where it occupies the fourth place.

In Torangan and Palashi Budruk, where the cultivators appear to be secure in their occupation and it is the agricultural labourers who have sought a subsidiary occupation

in a predominant number, the size of land-holdings alone fails to explain the proportion of families seeking subsidiary occupations among the cultivators. Torangan has 69.14 per cent of its cultivators with holdings of 10 acres and less and naturally like Nirgude it has few cultivators with larger holdings. But the cultivators reporting no subsidiary occupation are 62.19 per cent. Palashi Budruk which has 52 per cent of its cultivators with holdings of 10 acres and less, has 32 per cent with holdings of 11 to 20 acres and 16 per cent with holdings of 20 acres and more. It has thus a larger proportion of cultivators, compared with other villages, only in the size-group of 11 to 20 acres. Still, 85.19 per cent of the cultivators do not have any subsidiary occupation. These two villages point to the possible intervention of other factors such as soil type, water facility conditioned by terrain and other natural and man-made factors, and a number of other features of agricultural practice and equipment. It is not that these factors are operative in the case of these two villages only, but that they are possibly more pronounced in their impact in these villages.

One thing to be noted in the case of all the villages is that nearly half or more than half of the cultivators have land-holdings of 10 acres and less. Of the eleven villages, in Gadadawne they are 45.10 per cent and in Shirasgaon they are 48.12 per cent. Their proportion in the other villages ranges from 50 per cent in Palashi Budruk to 75.56 per cent in Nirgude. The proportion of the cultivators holding lands of 5 acres and less, excepting Deodongari where it is 21.62 per cent, is throughout more than 25 per cent, its range being from 25.49 per cent in Gadadawne to 51.12 per cent in Nirgude. Thus cultivators with smaller holdings appear to be predominant in nearly all the villages.

Another thing to be noted, this in respect of the two categories of villages—forest and non-forest that we had earlier demarcated, is that, six villages, the two villages of the Harsul zone in the non-forest category and the four villages of the forest category viz., Dalpatpur, Nirgude, Torangan, Bafanvhir, Deodongara and Deodongari respectively have a larger proportion of cultivators with smaller holdings than the other villages which belong to non-forest category. Dalpatpur and Nirgude which lie in the westernmost part of Harsul zone flanked by the forest zones of Torangan and Thanapada evinced characters in the foregoing elaboration more of a forest zone rather than a non-forest one. It may be therefore that there are more cultivators with smaller holdings in the five forest zones of Torangan, Thanapada, Goldari, Deodongara and Ozar in order from east to west.

It is also seen earlier that these are the five zones where the proportion of agricultural labourers among the workers is comparatively more than in the non-forest zones, Harsul among the latter behaving more like the former zones in this respect. The forest zones have a larger scope for the agricultural labour to take to cultivation as a subsidiary occupation by encroaching upon the forest lands or by taking uncultivated fragments of land belonging to the cultivators (Table No. 36). The agricultural labourers taking to cultivation, among 52.61 per cent of them who have resorted to a subsidiary occupation, are 31.71 per cent, and 18.38 per cent have taken to lending bullocks on hire, in the twelve villages as a whole. The cultivators taking to agricultural labour as a subsidiary occupation are 51.72 per cent of the 54.42 per cent seeking some subsidiary occupation or the other. Agricultural labour has absorbed a larger proportion of cultivators, than cultivation has

Table No. 36 : Subsidiary Occupations of Agricultural Labourers

	No. of families in subsidiary occupation					No. of families in subsidiary occupation In Percentage to total No. of families					Total No. of Families
	Nil	Cultivation of			Lending Bullocks	Others	Nil	Cultivation of			
		Forest lands	Private Lands					Forest Lands	Private Lands	Lending Bullocks	
Dalpatpur	41	5	-	19	2	61.19	7.46	-	28.36	2.99	67
Nirgude	14	15	-	1	-	46.67	50.00	-	3.33	-	30
Torangan	23	16	7	6	2	42.59	29.63	12.96	11.11	3.71	54
Bafanvihir	11	12	13	9	-	24.44	26.67	28.89	20.00	-	45
Deodongara	29	13	8	21	2	39.73	17.81	10.96	28.77	2.73	73
Deodongari	15	12	7	13	-	31.91	25.53	14.90	27.66	-	47
Donawade	15	3	1	8	-	55.56	11.11	3.70	29.63	-	27
Kulawendi	42	16	9	3	1	59.15	22.54	12.67	4.23	1.41	71
Palashi Bk.	4	3	1	2	-	40.00	30.00	10.00	20.00	-	10
Gadedawne	14	1	-	7	-	63.64	4.54	-	31.82	-	22
Rautmel	3	5	3	4	7	13.64	22.73	13.63	18.18	31.82	22
Shirasgaon	52	8	18	9	-	59.77	9.20	20.69	10.34	-	87
Total	263	109	67	102	14	47.39	19.64	12.07	18.38	2.52	555

the agricultural labourers. Lending bullocks on hire is mainly resorted to by the agricultural labourers. We shall have to consider the agricultural labourers in cultivation simultaneously with those lending bullocks as their subsidiary occupations. Dalpatpur and Rautmal about which details about the fragments in holdings were not available are excluded from the discussion.

It is pointed out earlier that the agricultural labourers have taken to cultivation of lands either held by private owners or by the Forest Department; in the latter case it is either by encroachment without the knowledge of the Forest Department or the encroachment has been taken note of by the Department but the encroachment has been allowed to stay after the levy of a suitable fine. Where the agricultural labourers have taken to the cultivation of privately held lands, it is attempted to see in the following whether such cases are correlated with the extent of fragmentation of the lands, the size of the fragments, and the size of the holdings with varying number of fragments. The number of agricultural labourers cultivating the two categories of lands are accordingly separately shown.

The proportion of the agricultural labourers in cultivation as their secondary occupation is on the other hand governed by the self-sufficiency of agricultural labour as the only occupation and availability of other source as a secondary means. Since lending bullocks on hire forms the next important secondary source (18.38 per cent of the total agricultural labourers being found to be pursuing this) the proportion of agricultural labourers going in for cultivation and taking to lending bullocks has to be considered along with the proportion of agricultural labourers going in for any secondary occupation as such.

Out of the seven villages reporting more than 50 per cent of their agricultural labourers going in for a secondary occupation in six villages they have mostly taken to cultivation (Tables Nos. 36 and 38). These are Rautmal, Bafanvahir, Deodongari, Palashi Budruk, Torengan and Nirgude. In the seventh village viz., Deodongara, those going in for cultivation and those engaged in lending bullocks on hire are equal in number. Of the five villages which reported less than 50 per cent of their agricultural labourers taking to any subsidiary occupation, in Kulawandi and Shirasgaon also those taking to cultivation are more than those engaged in lending bullocks. Thus out of the twelve villages, in eight villages cultivation has been the main subsidiary occupation for the agricultural labourers, and in three they have mainly resorted to lending bullocks on hire.

In cultivation, between the Forest Department lands and the privately held lands they have resorted more to the former, as can be seen from the overall percentage of 19.64 of the total number of agricultural labourers in 'forest' lands as against 12.07 per cent in private lands. Individually, only in Shirasgaon and Bafanvahir they are more in private lands. The difference in Shirasgaon is much more pronounced with 20.69 per cent in private lands as against 9.2 per cent in the Forest Department lands than in Bafanvahir where those in private lands are 28.89 per cent and those in the Forest Department lands are 26.67 per cent. In all the other villages whether they have reported their agricultural labourers more in cultivation or as lending bullocks they have resorted more to the Forest Department lands. Three of them, namely, Dalpatpur, Gadadawne and

Table No. 37 : Fragmentation of Land-holdings

	Total Holdings			Holdings without Fragments		Holdings with 2-5 Fragments			Holdings with more than 5 Fragments		
	No. of Holders	No. of Fragments	Land in Acres	No. of Holders	Land in Acres	No. of Holders	No. of Fragments	Land in Acres	No. of Holders	No. of Fragments	Land in Acres
1. Nirgude	45	135	429.23	19	61.48	19	60	181.10	7	56	187.00
2. Torangan	81	411	814.27	13	23.10	40	146	279.45	28	252	512.13
3. Bafanvihir	33	105	415.27	9	33.20	20	62	290.65	4	34	91.83
4. Deodongara	85	324	1,026.11	15	74.28	50	145	514.83	20	164	437.18
5. Deodongari	37	135	496.38	8	47.60	22	76	248.18	7	51	201.18
6. Donawade	78	279	1,139.37	22	129.33	40	138	525.83	16	119	484.78
7. Kulawandi	165	575	2,019.28	50	315.63	82	249	969.40	33	276	734.68
8. Peleshi Bk.	25	90	284.19	7	38.43	12	45	141.50	6	38	104.55
9. Gadadawne	51	164	774.04	19	133.08	21	60	429.35	11	85	211.68
10. Shirasgaon	133	728	1,988.04	23	148.68	58	207	553.33	52	498	1,286.10
Total	733	2,946	9,389.08	185	1,004.78	364	1,188	4,033.48	184	1,573	4,350.95

(continued)

Table No. 37 : (continued)

	Average land per holder of holdings with fragments		Average size of Holdings without Fragments (Acres)	Average size of Fragments in holdings with fragments		In Percentage to Total, of					
	5 and less (Acres)	More than 5 (Acres)		2 to 5 (Acres)	Above 5 (Acres)	Holders of Holdings with			Land in holdings with fragments		
						No Fragments	2 - 5 Fragments	More than 5 Fragments	Nil	2 - 5	More than 5
1. Nirgude	6.39	26.71	3.24	3.02	3.34	42.22	42.22	15.56	14.31	42.16	43.53
2. Torengan	5.71	18.29	1.78	1.91	2.03	16.05	49.38	35.57	2.84	34.30	62.86
3. Bafanvihir	11.17	22.96	3.69	4.69	2.70	27.27	60.61	12.12	7.99	69.92	22.09
4. Deodongara	9.06	21.86	4.95	3.54	2.67	17.65	58.82	23.53	7.24	50.16	42.60
5. Deodongari	9.86	28.74	5.95	3.27	3.94	21.62	59.46	18.92	9.58	49.94	40.48
6. Donawade	10.57	30.29	5.88	3.81	4.07	28.21	51.28	20.51	11.35	46.13	42.52
7. Kulswandi	9.74	22.26	6.31	3.89	2.66	30.30	49.70	20.00	15.63	48.00	36.37
8. Palashi Bk.	9.47	17.43	5.49	3.14	2.75	28.00	48.00	24.00	13.51	49.74	36.75
9. Gadadawne	14.06	19.24	7.00	7.16	2.49	37.25	41.18	21.57	17.19	55.46	27.35
10. Shirasgaon	8.67	24.73	6.46	2.67	2.58	17.29	43.61	39.10	7.48	27.83	64.69
Total	9.18	23.64	5.43	3.40	2.77	25.24	49.66	25.10	10.70	42.96	46.34

(Worked out from the figures available in the Village Form No. 8A of the respective villages.)

Table No. 38 : Percentage of Agricultural Labourers Going in for a Secondary Occupation, for Cultivation, and for Lending Bullocks in the Decreasing Order of the Percentages

Agricultural Labourers in Secondary Occupations							
Total	In Cultivation		Lending Bullocks		Craft, Trade or Service		
Rautmal	86.36	Bafanvahir	55.56	Gadadawne	31.82	Rautmal	31.82
Bafanvahir	75.56	Nirgude	50.00	Donawade	29.63	Torangen	3.71
Dedongari	68.09	Torangen	42.59	Dedongara	28.77	Dalpatpur	2.99
Dedongara	60.27	Dedongari	40.43	Dalpatpur	28.36	Dedongara	2.73
Palashi Bk.	60.00	Palashi Bk.	40.00	Dedongari	27.66	Kulawandi	1.41
Torangen	57.41	Rautmal	36.36	Palashi Bk.	20.00		
Nirgude	53.33	Kulawandi	35.21	Bafanvahir	20.00		
Donawade	44.44	Shirasgaon	29.89	Rautmal	18.18		
Kulawandi	40.85	Dedongara	28.77	Torangen	11.11		
Shirasgaon	40.23	Donawade	14.81	Shirasgaon	10.34		
Dalpatpur	38.81	Dalpatpur	7.46	Kulawandi	4.23		
Gadadawne	36.36	Gadadawne	4.54	Nirgude	3.33		
Total	52.61	Total	31.71	Total	18.38		

Nirgude report all of their agricultural labourers in cultivation as occupying or cultivating 'forest' lands. In the other seven villages their proportion ranges from 61.90 per cent in Deongara to 75 per cent in Donawade and Palashi Budruk; as is clear from the proportional distribution of the agricultural labourers in cultivation between the Forest Department lands and the private lands (Table No. 39).

Table No. 39 : Agricultural Labourers Cultivating Forest and Private Lands
Percentage Distribution in Decreasing Order

	Total	In 'Forest' lands	In Private lands
Dalpatpur	5	100.00	-
Gadadawne	1	100.00	-
Nirgude	15	100.00	-
Donawade	4	75.00	25.00
Palashi Budruk	4	75.00	25.00
Torangan	23	69.57	30.43
Kulawendi	25	64.00	36.00
Deongari	19	63.16	36.84
Rautmal	8	62.50	37.50
Deongara	21	61.90	38.10
Bafanvihir	25	48.00	52.00
Shirasgaon	26	30.77	69.23
Total	176	61.93	38.07

If we consider the proportion of agricultural labourers going in for cultivation of private lands along with the extent of fragmentation of land-holdings, the two villages Shirasgaon and Bafanvihir, where the resort to private lands is more than to the 'forest' lands, exhibit opposite characteristics. The fragmentation in Shirasgaon to a great extent appears in the largest proportion of holdings and comprises the largest proportion of land, whereas in Bafanvihir it is the least both in the proportion of holdings with a large number of fragments and the proportion of the land that these holdings comprise (Table No. 37). Besides, Torangan which has 35.57 per cent of its cultivators with holdings of more than five fragments with a total land which is 62.86 per cent of the total of all the holdings has only 30.43 per cent of its agricultural labourers in cultivation, cultivating private lands. These three cases point out the insufficiency of the proportion of holdings with larger number of fragments and of the proportion of the total land they comprise to account for the proportion of agricultural labourers found in the cultivation of privately held lands or the 'forest' lands. It is to be seen as to whether the average number of fragments per holding among the holdings with a larger number of fragments and the size of such fragment has anything to do with it. The number of fragments per holding on an average among the 10 villages out of 12 are shown in Table No. 40:

Shirasgaon, Torangan, and Bafanvihir come at the top with larger number of fragments the last of these equalling the average of the ten villages. All the other seven villages have below average number of fragments. Torangan

Table No. 40 : Average No. of Fragments Per Holding Among the Holdings With More Than Five Fragments in Decreasing Order

Shirasgaon	9.6	Nirgude	8.0	Deodongari	7.3
Torangan	9.0	Kulawandi	8.0	Palashi Bk.	6.3
Bafanvihir	8.5	Gadsdawne	7.7		
Deodongara	8.2	Donawade	7.4	Total	8.5

with the smallest size of its fragments (2.03 acres in the category of holdings with more than five fragments, in the other categories it being still less) perhaps has been unable to attract agricultural labourers. In Shirasgaon and Bafanvihir therefore the number of fragments and their size appear to have been instrumental in drawing some agriculture labourers to their cultivation. Availability of 'forest' lands and the facility for encroachment are also instrumental in driving them towards cultivation of private lands. But it is presumed that such facility and availability are present throughout the Block area differing only in degrees. Therefore only the fragmentation with its many facets as the principal variable is considered here.

The extent of fragmentation of holdings incidentally is revealed here. As to how it effects the cultivator and his operations will be discussed later. Presently it is to be seen as to how far the proportion of agricultural labourers engaged in lending bullocks be related to the livestock situation in the villages concerned. The sufficiency or otherwise of the livestock is measured here in relation to the number of working cultivators and the cultivated area as was done earlier in relation to the ten zones (p. 61). Only five types were noted in respect of the ten zones whereas in respect of these twelve villages in addition to the five types we have a sixth one. The villages thus individually typed do not evince one and all the characteristics of the zones to which they belong according to our classification of the villages. Some villages conform to their zonal pattern whereas some show characteristics altogether different or those of their neighbouring zones. The classification of the ten zones according to the livestock-cultivated area-cultivators combination is given on the following page and the twelve villages are sorted out into the six types of different combinations, according to their individual characteristics.

As stated earlier the three quantities or numbers are placed one below the other the one at the top being proportionately less in relation to the two below, the middle one being more proportionately in relation to the one at the top but less in relation to the one at the bottom, and the one at the bottom being proportionately more in relation to both the numbers or quantities at the top and in the middle.

Of the twelve villages six evince the characteristics of the zones to which they belong. These are Torangan, Bafanvihir, Deodongara, Kulawandi, Rautmal and Nirgude. Three villages, Dalpatpur, Deodongari and Palashi Budruk, show the characteristics of their neighbouring zones, and three others Donawade, Gadadawne and Shirasgaon show altogether different characteristics. Donawade has the

characteristics of the westernmost zone of Ozar whereas Gadadawne and Shirasgaon have the characteristics which are not seen in their or any other zone.

Type of combination of Livestock-Cultivated area-Cultivators	Zones which have the peculiar combination	Villages according to their zones	Villages according to their individual characteristics
I Area Cultivators Livestock	Goldari, Torangan	Torangan	Dalpatpur Torangan
II Area Livestock Cultivators	Deodongara Thanapada	Bafanvahir Deodongara Deodongari	Bafanvahir Deodongara
III Livestock Area Cultivators	Ozar	-	Deodongari Donawade
IV Livestock Cultivators Area	Deola Kulawandi Mulyad Shirasgaon	Donawade Kulawandi Palashi Bk. Gadadawne Rautmal Shirasgaon	Kulawandi Rautmal
V Cultivators Area Livestock	Harsul	Dalpatpur Nirgude	Nirgude Palashi Bk.
VI Cultivators Livestock Area	-	-	Gadadawne Shirasgaon

Of the twelve villages, in three villages, Gadadawne, Donawade, and Dalpatpur there is a larger proportion of agricultural labourers engaged in lending bullocks than in cultivation (Table No. 36). In Deodongara they are equal in both these subsidiary occupations. Of these Gadadawne, Donawade and Deodongara either have their livestock less in relation to their cultivators or cultivated area or they belong to the zones which have proportionately less of livestock. It appears therefore that the shortage of livestock (working bulls) either locally or in the nearabout villages has led a majority of their agricultural labourers in need of a subsidiary occupation to take to lending bullocks on hire. Dalpatpur, however, appears to be more influenced by the situation in the neighbouring zone of Thanapada. In other villages the proportion of agricultural labourers in this subsidiary occupation is less because openings for cultivation of either the 'forest' or the private lands are available.

The above elaboration of the occupational distribution of the families in the twelve villages both in their principal and secondary sources reveals that the entire population depends on agriculture and its most essential

ancillary occupation, agricultural labour. The agricultural labour looks more to the cultivation of lands as its security-giving source of livelihood. The other source of lending bullocks on hire also refers to the cultivators' assets and their ability in maintaining these assets and the opportunities available for cultivation of the 'forest' or the private lands. Although cultivation of owned or other lands is the principal security-giving source of livelihood, it is also seen that quite a big number of the cultivators, if not a majority, are also finding their source insufficient to support. It will be instructive to see as to how the different tribes among the Koknas, the Mahadev Kolis, the Werlis, and the Kathwads fare in their principal sources of livelihood.

It is already seen that the Koknas are predominantly owner-cultivators and that the Warlis, the Mahadev Kolis and the Kathwads are predominantly agricultural labourers, the last of these being all agricultural labourers. It is also seen that the Koknas are also predominant in number. The Koknas appear more secure in cultivation and the other tribes in agricultural labour as their principal occupations. Of the 691 Kokna families of owner-cultivators, 344 or 49.78 per cent do not have any subsidiary occupation. The corresponding percentages among the Werlis, and the Mahadev Kolis are 27.22 and 39.68 respectively. Among the agricultural labourers, those having no subsidiary occupation among the Koknas are 40.65 per cent, among the Warlis 47 per cent, among the Mahadev Kolis 58.18 per cent and among the Kathwads 45.45 per cent. Naturally therefore there are proportionately more Warlis and Kolis in the subsidiary occupation of agricultural labour, and proportionately more Koknas in cultivation and lending bullocks as their subsidiary occupations. Thus either as the principal or as a subsidiary occupation Koknas are more found in cultivation and the other tribes in agricultural labour. The tribes other than the Koknas appear to have less of cultivators and of small holdings at that.

Among the non-agricultural occupation as subsidiary sources it is the Koknas that have taken to some craft and trade or the other whereas the others are only found in 'service', which is invariably the government service. This source both among the Koknas and others has very few families. The Kathwads in Rautmal (seven families) report as engaged as labour in coal-manufacturing.

This occupational distribution of the families is to be viewed now in relation to the actual utilization of their resources in agricultural land.

B : Utilization of Agricultural Land

The data refer to 180 families of cultivators selected on a random sample basis of 20 per cent (Table No. 41).

The average land-holding of the 180 cultivator families is 14.84 acres. Out of this 79.50 per cent of land is brought under cultivation and 20.50 per cent is uncultivated. In the uncultivated land 18.89 per cent comprises grassland kept for cattle-grazing and for reb preparation, whereas fallow land is only 1.61 per cent of the total land-holding. In the 79.50 per cent of land which is under cultivation only 8.68 per cent is exclusively under paddy whereas 70.82 per cent is 'varkas' land. While

Table No. 41 : Cultivators and Land Utilization in Harsul Block (Nasik District)

Village	No. of Cultivators	Total Land Owned	Land under Cultivation			Land under Grazing		Fallow Land
			Land under Rice	Varkas Land	Total Land under Cultivation	Grass Land + Rab.	Total Land under Grazing	
1 Delpatpur	23	324.96	42.50	227.95	270.45	52.41	52.41	2.10
Average		14.13	1.85	9.91	11.76	2.28	2.28	0.09
2 Nirgude	8	116.46	17.83	84.65	102.48	11.98	11.98	2.00
Average		14.56	2.23	10.58	12.81	1.50	1.50	0.25
3 Torangan	16	191.50	26.48	145.01	171.49	20.01	20.01	-
Average		11.96	1.65	9.06	10.71	1.25	1.25	-
4 Shirasgaon	27	556.74	47.05	390.48	437.53	110.41	110.41	8.80
Average		20.62	1.74	14.46	16.20	4.09	4.09	0.33
5 Rautmal	6	86.62	3.50	62.50	66.00	20.62	20.62	-
Average		14.44	0.58	10.42	11.00	3.44	3.44	-
6 Gadadawne	9	250.82	11.00	166.00	177.00	69.82	69.82	4.00
Average		27.87	1.22	18.45	19.67	7.76	7.76	0.44
7 Kulawandi	10	403.45	28.23	287.54	315.77	80.88	80.88	6.80
Average		13.45	0.94	9.58	10.52	2.70	2.70	0.23

(continued)

Table No. 41 : (continued)

Village	No. of Cultivators	Total Land Owned	Land under Cultivation			Land under Grazing		Fallow Land
			Land under Rice	Varkas Land	Total Land under Cultivation	Grass Land + Rab	Total Land under Grazing	
8 Donawade	17	255.02	6.60	201.76	208.36	46.66	46.66	-
Average		15.00	0.39	11.87	12.26	2.74	2.74	-
9 Palashi Bk.	5	50.63	0.50	45.11	45.61	5.02	5.02	-
Average		10.13	0.10	9.02	9.12	1.00	1.00	-
10 Bafanvihir	8	84.25	11.06	52.76	63.82	6.35	6.35	14.08
Average		10.53	1.38	6.60	7.98	0.79	0.79	1.76
11 Deodongari	10	95.85	6.71	73.00	79.71	10.91	10.91	5.23
Average		9.58	0.67	7.3	7.97	1.09	1.09	0.52
12 Deodongara	21	254.27	30.31	154.63	184.94	69.33	69.33	-
Average		12.11	1.44	7.36	8.81	3.30	3.30	-
Total	180	2,670.57	231.77	1,891.39	2,123.16	504.40	504.40	43.01
Average		14.84	1.29	10.51	11.80	2.80	2.80	0.24

this is the broad classification of land utilization by the 180 cultivators there are great variations from village to village.

Excepting Deodongari in the Deodongara zone, the two villages of Harsul, Torangan, and the two villages of Deodongara zone show a larger percentage of land under paddy. The six villages of Kulawandi and Shirasgaon zones have comparatively less of land exclusively under paddy. In Palashi Budruk where the land under paddy is not even one per cent the 'varkas' land is the highest (89.10 per cent) followed by Donawade (79.13 per cent), Deodongari (76.2 per cent), Torangan (75.75 per cent), Nirgude (72.66 per cent), Rautmal (72.16 per cent), and Kulawandi (71.23 per cent). The other villages range below the average of 180 families belonging to all the twelve villages.

The area under cultivation distributed between paddy and 'varkas' appears to be influenced in its size by the area kept apart for grazing and rab purposes. The rab and grazing land both may belong to the 'Varkas' type of land. Whereas rab is actually a part of the 'Varkas' land, the grazing land may be adjacent to the 'varkas' land and being less amenable to cultivation is kept apart for grazing purposes only. There is a patch of land kept apart for rab purposes in the land under paddy as well. But this does not remain uncultivated throughout the year and as such is not declared as uncultivated by the cultivators. Thus it appears that the 'varkas' land alone is influenced by the area kept apart for grazing and rab purposes. As such the land under paddy per cultivator being less or more than the average of the twelve villages speaks more of the absolute position of the land under paddy unrelated to the 'varkas', grazing-cum-rab, or fallow land, other conditional complex of the land and its utilization remaining the same, in space and time. The 'varkas' land in its proportion depends on its being predominant in the total holding itself, on the proportion of land left for grazing and rab, and the fallow land. The five villages, two of Harsul, Torangan and two of Deodongara (Delpatpur, Nirgude; Torangan; Bafanvihir, and Deodongari) zones have less of land left for grazing and rab. In Palashi Budruk of Kulawandi zone also such land is less proportionately. In all the other six villages such land is much more than the average of the 12 villages, its range being 18.27 per cent in Donawade to 27.84 per cent in Gadadawne. The fallow land is found to an unusual extent, of the 12 villages, only in the two villages of the Deodongara zone. As a result in Nirgude and Torangan the two villages which have a high proportion of land under paddy exclusively, the 'varkas' land also is more than average. In four villages, Donawade, Kulawandi and Palashi Budruk of Kulawandi zone, and Rautmal of Shirasgaon zone either because the land under paddy occupies a small portion or because less land is kept apart for grazing and rab or because there is very little or no fallow land, the 'varkas' land is higher than the average. In other villages on the opposite grounds it appears below the average of the 12 villages.

The size of the land kept apart for grazing and rab must have some relation to the livestock maintained by the cultivators. Since fallow land is also utilized as grazing land the size of the land kept apart for grazing has relation with this as well. The shortage of the former may be compensated by a larger proportion of the latter and where the former is larger or sufficient the latter may be diminished.

Table No. 42 : Distribution of Land Held Per Family According to the Use

	No. of culti- vator fami- lies	Per Family						In Percentage to the Total Land Held			
		Total land held	Land under Culti- vation			Uncultivated Lend		Rice	Varkas	Grass + Rab	Fallow
			Only Rice	'Varkas'	Total	Grass Land + Rab	Fallow				
1 Dalpatpur	23	14.13	1.85	9.91	11.76	2.28	0.09	13.09	70.13	16.14	0.64
2 Nirgude	8	14.56	2.23	10.58	12.81	1.50	0.25	15.32	72.66	10.30	1.72
3 Torangen	16	11.96	1.66	9.05	10.71	1.25	-	13.80	75.75	10.45	-
4 Befanvihir	8	10.53	1.38	6.60	7.98	0.79	1.76	13.11	62.68	7.50	16.71
5 Deodongara	21	12.11	1.44	7.36	8.81	3.30	-	11.92	60.81	27.27	-
6 Deodongari	10	9.58	0.67	7.30	7.97	1.09	0.52	6.99	76.20	11.38	5.43
7 Donawade	17	15.00	0.39	11.87	12.26	2.74	-	2.60	79.13	18.27	-
8 Kulawandi	30	13.45	0.94	9.58	10.52	2.70	0.23	6.99	71.23	20.07	1.71
9 Palashi Bk.	5	10.13	0.10	9.02	9.12	1.00	-	0.99	89.10	9.91	-
10 Gadadawne	9	27.87	1.22	18.45	19.67	7.76	0.44	4.38	66.20	27.84	1.58
11 Rautmal	6	14.44	0.58	10.42	11.00	3.44	-	4.02	72.16	23.82	-
12 Shirasgeon	27	20.62	1.74	14.46	16.20	4.09	0.33	8.44	70.13	19.84	1.60
Total	180	14.84	1.29	10.51	11.80	2.80	0.24	8.68	70.82	18.89	1.61

Figures of land indicate acres with decimal fractions.

In studying the total grazing land all the three types of land, namely, the land kept apart for grazing, the land reserved for rab, and the fallow land are considered together. In considering the grazing cattle in relation to the total grazing land both the cow and the buffalo class of cattle of all ages are taken into account.

We see three types of relationships between the grazing cattle and the land (Table No. 43). One, where the land is proportionately less, second, where the land is more, and the third, where the land is more or less equal to the average of the 12 villages. In Nirgude and Torangan, in the three villages of Deodongara zone and in Palashi Budruk, there are more heads of cattle per acre of grazing land. In Donawade and in the three villages of Shirasgaon there is a less number of cattle, and in Dalpatpur and Kulawandi they are more or less the same as the average of 12 villages. This difference is seen because there is a difference not only in the number of cattle held by a family but also in the area kept apart for grazing, for rab and the fallow land i.e. the total grazing land. The villages that show a larger number of cattle per family have comparatively less of grazing land, those that have less number of cattle have comparatively larger grazing land and the two villages Dalpatpur and Kulawandi have more or less balanced their grazing land with the number of cattle they have. It is pertinent to note here that the first six villages, Dalpatpur, Nirgude, Torangan, Bafanvihir, Deodongara and Deodongari, irrespective or in spite of a larger number of cattle per family, have less of grazing land. These villages especially the last four belong to the forest category of zones. The other two, as has been observed earlier, evince characteristics of forest zones being close to the forest zones of Torangan and Thenapada. In the remaining five villages, excepting Palashi Budruk, the size of the grazing land contrarily is larger irrespective of their cattle per family being larger or smaller in number. Thus our observation earlier regarding the zonal characteristics of land-utilization, that proportionately more land is brought under cultivation in the forest zones than the non-forest zones is substantiated. Even with this there has been greater pressure of population on land, resulting of course with more of livestock and less of grazing land per family in the greater pressure of livestock on grazing land in the forest zones than in the non-forest zones.

The occupational distribution of the people and the way they have utilized their land will appear meaningful when they are viewed with the added dimension of the conditioning factors of their land-utilization. In the following section therefore these factors will be taken for consideration:

C : Factors Conditioning the Land Utilization

1. Water supply :- The sources of water-supply in the Block area are six in all, namely, well, river, stream, lake, pond and small channel. Of these, wells are the most common in the Block area although when compared to the non-tribal or the plains rural areas they are much less than sufficient or normal. Of the 12 villages only six villages reported having wells in their fields. Of these six villages, Dalpatpur, Nirgude, Torangan, Palashi Budruk, Kulawandi, and Gadadawne, those having two wells each are Nirgude, Torangan and Palashi Budruk. In the other three villages there is only one well each. River as the source of water-supply for agriculture appears only in Bafanvihir

Table No. 43 : Livestock-Land Relationship

Village	Cultivators	Working cattle		Milch cattle		Draught cattle		Total	Sheep & goats	Fowls	Total	Average cattle per family	Total Grazing Land Acres	Average grazing land+ fallow land per family	Average No. of cattle per acre of grazing+ fallow land	Ave. No. of cattle per acre of grazing land per family	Average No. of cattle per acre of fallow land per family	
		Oxen & Bulls	Male Buffaloes	Cows	She-buffaloes	Cows	She-buffaloes											Calves Calf
1. Dalpatpur	23	57	6	24	-	9	-	31	27	50	204	5.52	54.51	2.37	2.33	2.43	61.3	
2. Nirgude	8	28	4	6	-	11	-	22	22	17	110	8.87	13.98	1.75	5.07	5.91	35.5	
3. Torangan	16	48	18	16	-	20	-	59	33	34	228	10.06	20.01	1.25	3.05	3.05	-	
4. Befanvihir	8	19	1	10	-	6	-	23	12	21	94	7.64	20.43	2.55	3.00	9.67	4.3	
5. Deodongara	21	39	24	27	-	18	-	67	34	39	254	8.62	69.33	3.30	2.61	4.23	6.8	
6. Deodongari	10	24	6	13	-	11	-	27	12	28	121	8.10	16.14	1.61	5.03	7.43	15.6	
7. Donswade	17	41	1	24	-	3	-	24	14	29	136	5.47	46.66	2.74	2.00	2.00	-	
8. Kulawandi	30	78	21	53	-	5	-	61	96	99	413	7.29	87.68	2.93	2.48	2.70	31.7	
9. Palashi Bk.	5	6	2	5	-	-	-	1	1	14	29	2.80	5.02	1.00	2.80	2.80	-	
10. Gadadawne	9	25	4	20	-	6	-	19	74	14	131	8.22	73.82	3.20	1.00	1.06	18.7	
11. Rautmel	6	20	4	8	-	7	3	11	29	14	96	4.83	20.62	3.44	1.40	1.40	-	
12. Shirasgaon	27	72	42	27	-	10	-	23	95	132	401	6.44	119.21	4.42	1.46	1.57	19.5	
Total	180	457	133	233	4	106	7	368	1308	418	491	2217	7.27	547.41	3.04	2.39	2.74	18.6
		34.94	10.17	17.81	0.31	8.10	0.53	28.14	100.00									

the farthermost village of Deodongara zone. The river Damanganga which flows throughout the year is about half a mile from the main village. Streams are found only in three villages in Kulawandi of which there being two. Dalpatpur is the lone village which reported both a lake and a pond (the latter being smaller in dimensions) as sources of water-supply for its agriculture. Channels were found only in Palashi Budruk and Kulawandi. Dalpatpur, Palashi Budruk, and Kulawandi are the three villages which have three or more sources, whereas the other villages except Gadadawne have each two sources either in wells, river, or stream. That the sources of water-supply as have been utilized are meagre is clear from this. It is not that there are no other sources at all in or near other villages where only one or two sources are reported. It all means that the sources reported could be or have been used for agricultural purposes. The sufficiency or otherwise of these sources will be seen from the duration of availability of water from these sources.

Of the six villages which have reported nine wells in all, five villages reported that their seven wells have water throughout the year. Only Nirgude reported that its two wells have water only upto the Holi festival or the middle of March. The five villages are Dalpatpur, Torangan, Palashi Budruk, Kulawandi, and Gadadawne. Dalpatpur reported that in addition to its one well the lake as well has water throughout the year. Bafanvahir reported that the river Damanganga is its continuous source of water-supply. Besides the two wells in Nirgude those that continue to supply water upto the middle of March are the stream in Dalpatpur and the two channels in Kulawandi; although there are stream-beds near the hamlets of Kulawandi especially near Ghanshetpada through which water flows at a slow pace even during summer. The streams or other sources in these and other villages dry up by the end of Diwali festival or the month of October.

The villages reported in all 23 wells which were not used for agriculture; of these 12 were pakka constructions and 11 were kachha ones. Nirgude and Torangan reported five wells each and Rautmal a small village three. The remaining villages of Deodongara, Kulawandi and Shirasgaon zones have not reported the existence of more than one well in any of them. These wells were not used for their agricultural purpose because either the water ran out in a few months after the rains or was not sufficient during summer. The water level in summer was reported to be above 5 feet, only in Palashi Budruk. In Deodongara, Deodongari, Gadadawne, Rautmal, Shirasgaon and Kulawandi it was reported to be below 5 feet. In all the other villages it was reported to sink almost to the bed level.

Of the seven villages where information was available about the depth below ground level at which water could be found, five villages (Bafanvahir, Deodongari, Dalpatpur, Gadadawne, and Kulawandi) reported that it could be found at a depth of 15 feet and two villages (Palashi Budruk and Torangan) put it at a depth of 15 to 30 feet. In the other five villages it varied from below 15 feet to more than 30 feet, as the situation of their hamlets differed much from one another.

Actual utilization of the well-water for irrigation in howsoever small scale was reported in Nirgude, Palashi Budruk and Kulawandi only. The area thus irrigated varied from the minimum of one acre to the maximum of three acres per well. The irrigation was done by power-engines in

Nirgude (1), and Kulawandi (2), whereas in Palashi Budruk it was done by lift system using the buffalo-power. The irrigated land in Nirgude however was a part of encroachment on forest land (by the Sarpench of the village).

The water-supply for drinking and household purposes was available for the twelve villages from 64 wells of which 30 were pakka constructions and 34 were kachcha (Table No.44).

Table No. 44 : Wells for Drinking Water

	Pakka well	Kachcha well	Total
Delpetpur	4	5	9
Nirgude	1	4	5
Torangan	5	-	5
Bafanvihir	4	-	4
Deodongara	3	2	5
Deodongari	2	3	5
Donawade	1	5	6
Kulawandi	3	5	8
Palashi Budruk	1	1	2
Gadadawne	1	2	3
Rautmal	1	2	3
Shirasaon	4	5	9
Total	30	34	64

Each hamlet appeared to have at least one pakka or kachcha well and therefore on an average the figure shows more than 5 wells per village. The water available from these wells was barely sufficient for the population and besides they were not even close at hand. In some villages such wells were situated as far as a mile from the village. This was especially where the village site was on a higher level, the lands on its periphery sloping down to valleys or stream-beds, as in Deodongara and Donawade. The scarcity of water is made good by the supplementary source of streams or rivers. Such sources are reported by nine villages. All these have one or two streams in their vicinity usually within a mile of their main village (only the main village is considered here). Four of these nine also reported the availability of river as a source of water supply for their domestic purposes. These four are Torangan, Bafanvihir, Delpetpur and Gadadawne the rivers near which reportedly flow throughout the year. Streams were reported by these four and other five villages: Nirgude, Deodongari, Palashi Budruk, Shirasaon and Kulawandi. The duration of water remaining in the beds of these streams varied from 6 to 8 months, starting from the month of June. These streams or rivers as is clear were not useful or were not utilized for agricultural purposes, the water being mainly used for domestic purposes.

From the foregoing it can be seen that there is a clear shortage of water both for domestic and agricultural purposes especially for the latter and during the four months of summer for domestic purposes as well.

2. The agricultural implements and other tools that an agriculturist employs in this part will be discussed in the next chapter, where the cultivator and his method of

cultivation will be dealt with. Besides they are too common and indispensable and some of the items such as the plough, the axe, the sickle, the bow and arrow, etc., are held by each family of a cultivator and except the first by adults and sometimes children above 14 of all families. Thus they do not show any meaningful variation from village to village and therefore require a treatment at the level of the way of living.

3. The means of transport that were available and utilized shows the level of easy and quick contact achieved or possible between one village and another. As has been hinted at earlier much of the transport of goods within the area is done by carrying the load on head. They are not accustomed to carry it on their back. As the load usually consists of grain which they take for sale to the market places and of other provisions like salt, chillies, clothing etc. on their way back home, they pack these in a cloth in an oblong cylindrical shape and carry it on their head keeping both the hands free to clear the way for their passage through the thicket down or up the hill. In addition, as the goods which are foodgrains, are usually sold to a particular person who usually finances the agricultural operations or supplies other goods of provision against the crops, which all means that the purchaser is fixed, it becomes his responsibility to carry the foodgrains, which he does by hiring a truck for their transport. These trucks usually go to all the villages where weekly markets are held and to some others which are accessible, these in turn serving as central places to which the villagers bring their load carrying it on their head. This being the case we came across very few bullock-carts in the twelve villages taken together. There were only 29 bullock-carts of which 12 were found in Kulswandi alone. Shirasgaon, Rautmal, Befanvahir and Deodongari did not report any bullock-carts.

This lack of means of transport at the village level speaks of the difficult terrain and the resulting restriction on movement and narrowing down of the area of socio-economic links of a village. Both the extension and intensity of such links of a village get stunted because of this lack of transport and communication means.

4. The contour-setting in which the fields are situated and the soil are also the factors affecting the agricultural operations and the efforts at improving them. The amount of rainfall and the capacity of the soil conditioned by the contour to hold water are relevant issues here. The measures adapted to improve upon the 'natural' assets and liabilities are again subject to the cultural appraisal of these measures as historically developed and as introduced by outside or non-indigenous agencies.

Because of the hilly terrain most of the cultivated land is situated on slopes. By a rough estimate it is not less than half of the total cultivated land. As a result the rain-water rushing down the slopes cuts through the soil causing erosion. Levelling in patches or terracing was not witnessed in the Block area. The measures usually adopted to counteract this erosion was bunding in a crude form. This was mostly done by individual farmers with or without the government's help. Where the government's aid in the form of subsidy or loan was forthcoming either through the Soil-conservation Department or through the Block Development Office, the bunds were of a better kind of stones and mud. The measures were not collectively adopted by the

cultivators, which means that visualisation of not one holding but a collection of them which all are situated on one slope or in one contour pattern was not resorted to. Thus contour bunding although present as a measure in the minds of the officials was not implemented in the area to an appreciable extent.

The people are usually not accustomed to use manure for the crops either in the initial pre-sprouting stage during the sowing or ploughing processes or later. The cow-dung or different types of green fodder when dried up are all used for rab i.e. the patch of land where the cow-dung, branches of trees, collected dry leaves, hay etc. from the forest, are all dumped in layers throughout the year and burnt at the end, to prepare ground for the paddy seedling. The ash later on may be spread over the whole field. But all the items of manure which are available easily and are household assets are used by the people for burning alone. Very few cultivators are induced as yet to use chemical fertilizers. But even these, numbering about 100 for all the twelve villages together, complained that they could not use these fertilizers for a number of reasons, among which, non-availability or absence of timely availability, inadequate supply, ignorance about the method of their use, and damage to the crops due to improper or untimely use are the prominent ones.

These chemical fertilizers are available to the people through the agricultural co-operative credit societies. But the stock at the headquarters of these societies is not always sufficient or ready for distribution. Some cultivators who are convinced of the efficacy of the fertilizers reported that the grocer also keeps them for sale and makes them available on credit. They are readily available, they said, at the grocer's rather than at the co-operative societies. Another difficulty is that of communication with the headquarters of these societies during the rainy season when the fertilizers are available. Rather they wished that the fertilizers should be made available well in advance of the rainy season.

None of the villages included in the sample had compost pits either of the individual cultivators or of the Panchayat.

5. Fields are usually protected from wild animals such as rabbits, monkeys, rats, boars etc., by hedging and putting wooden hurdles, the latter also to keep away the stray grazing cattle from trespassing. Usually the neighbouring cultivators share the burden of keeping watch over their fields in turn or they hire a watchman in common. Beyond this there are no collective efforts that have been either thought of or taken to protect the fields from wild animals and Katkaris as the latter, the poorest among the tribals also were reported as habitual crop-lifters. As a result, the villagers complained that, they are unable to take such crops as gram, beans, and other secondary crops.

Among the pests and diseases affecting the crops the usual symptoms mentioned were reddish and white spots denoting some kind of vermin in the case of paddy, and reddish and blackish vermin in the case of nagli among the pests, and turning yellow or blackish among the diseases. Only three villages, Dalpatpur, Nirgude and Torangan which are nearer to Harsul reported that the agricultural co-operative society supplies an insecticide which is sprayed over the crop with the help of a spray-pump which is available with Village Panchayat. This powder is supposed to be both

preventive and curative. The people of Torangen reported household remedy, namely, that of spraying buttermilk over the affected crop. In all the other nine villages, they were unaware of any of these remedies except the household one which was not resorted to for lack of buttermilk.

6. In none of the villages was there any family reported to be following the dairy business or mere sale of milk as a principal occupation. Milk or any of its products does not form a part of their food. Milch cattle are not usually treated as such. The villagers do supply milk in small quantity only on previous intimation. For their own use (which is only with tea) also they do not milk the cows regularly. As is seen earlier they have more of the cows than she-buffaloes. That they have not taken to this calling is not due to the inadequacy of the environmental conditions alone. It mainly stems due to a number of reasons to be discussed later, from their ignorance and absence of aptitude or inclination towards this trade. However, each of the twelve villages reported that they have enough grazing ground for the cattle. In addition the cattle are fed with paddy stalks, Khurasani stalks etc. The grazing land as seen earlier belongs to the Forest Department.

Availability of water for the cattle is generally insufficient. Among the twelve villages only Kulawandi, Palashi Budruk, Gadadawne, Rautmal, Shirasgaon and Bafanvahir reported that the water-supply was sufficient. In others either the water sources were far from the villages in one or the other of their hamlets or was insufficient especially from March onwards for three months till the onset of the monsoon.

Veterinary medicines and treatment are available mainly at Harsul and at the sub-centre at Thanapada. There is only one veterinary doctor stationed at Harsul, who looks after both the centres. But the villagers complained that the veterinary facilities are inadequate and that it is difficult to communicate with the authorities because of the distance to be covered.

The number of cattle owned by each cultivator family among the twelve villages is worth-noticing (Table No.43), especially those of milch and non-milch cattle, at the village level. Among the total number of all the cattle in the 12 villages the milch cows are 17.81 per cent whereas non-milch ones are 8.1 per cent. Of the total cows therefore about one-third are non-milch. From village to village, however, their proportion varies showing in some a great burden of the non-milch. The overall average number of cattle per family is 7.27. Against this average of all the twelve villages if we look at those villages which show a higher average of cattle-holding, viz., (1) Nirgude, (2) Torangen, (3) Bafanvahir, (4) Deodongara, (5) Deodongari, (6) Kulawandi and (7) Gadadawne, except the last two, the five villages which either belong to the forest category of zones or evinced its characteristics, show a higher proportion of non-milch cows. Rautmal is the only exception on the other side showing very few cattle per family and also showing a higher proportion of non-milch cattle.

The proportion of the working bulls and buffaloes and the implications of these vis-a-vis to milch and non-milch cows and the relation of these with the family land-holding, will not be discussed here for lack of data regarding the breed of the cattle and their conditioning factors and

characteristics. Their relation with the grazing land has already been seen, but even here the detail variations in fodder requirements are not considered. In view of the burden of greater number of cattle on the available or assigned grazing area in the villages of the forest category of zones it can be said now that the same is in a large measure due to the presence of the non-milch cattle.

The working bulls and male buffaloes comprise about 45 per cent of the total cattle, and the young ones below three years comprise about 28 per cent. For every two families there are five working bulls and for every family there are two young ones. Including the male buffaloes there are roughly 3 working cattle per cultivator-family. Although prima facie this appears to be a favourable position from the point of view of the cultivator's needs, the young ones being a little less, the milch cows are much less than might be required to meet the needs of the owner family or of the market. As on these latter two grounds which have not arisen so far in the area, the dearth of the milch cattle does not appear to have been felt by the people. The availability of grazing land likewise has not posed the problem of maintaining the non-milch cattle.

7. The marketing facilities are made out in the initial section on the infra-structure of the area. While the connections of the cultivators as far as the sale of their produce, mainly rice and warai and little of nagli and khurasani is concerned, operate within the broad framework, they get inhibited and conditioned by their connections with the grocer-cum-moneylenders in other spheres. They usually borrow money or nagli from the shopkeeper on the eve of rainy season in the month of Jyestha in order to keep enough stock to pay wages in kind to the agricultural labourers as soon as the operations start. These borrowings are usually paid in kind after the harvest. Added to these borrowings are all and sundry purchases made, and borrowings in cash or kind for household needs effected throughout the year. The cultivator therefore as in duty bound delivers his annual produce to the shopkeeper. Such sales are also made during weekly markets as well to earn cash for making occasional purchases, but even here the shopkeeper or his agent with whom they maintain year-round connections usually buys their stock. These connections with the shopkeeper-cum-moneylender appear to have grown into conventions because of the central, communicable, accessible position of the village from which he operates, i.e., because of the ecological advantage of the village, and repetitive, recurrent transactions that have thereby taken place between him and the villagers around. As a result of these connections growing into conventions, the connections once established with a shopkeeper in a particular village, are rarely snapped in preference to the connections with one who later arrives and establishes or starts his business, locally or in a village which might be more easily approached. Thus the cultivators of all the 12 villages reported that their produce was sold or delivered to the merchants at Harsul.

This is also facilitated at the cost of local or nearby shopkeepers wherever they are found because the merchants or their agents take the delivery of the produce locally or in the nearby villages, and carry the same to Harsul in trucks. Only in few cases where the village is situated nearer to Harsul and easily or comfortably communicable depending upon the condition of the road, the produce is taken to Harsul in bullock-carts by the cultivator himself. Only Dalpetpur and Nirgude reported that

their cultivators, carry the produce in bullock-carts to Harsul. These two villages are situated at a distance of 1 and 2 miles from Harsul and the road is mostly level and in good condition. Two other villages Gadadawne and Rautmel also reported that they too occasionally carry their produce to Harsul in bullock-carts. In all the other eight villages the merchants at Harsul bring their own trucks or other means of transport especially bullock-carts and take the delivery of the produce locally or in the nearby village. The two villages Bafanvihir and Deodongari take their produce to Deodongara, carrying the loads on their head.

Except one cultivator, the Sarpanch of Nirgude, none reported the sale of their produce through any Sale-Purchase Union or Society. This is because of three reasons: one, the villagers are not aware of any such union and sufficient publicity is not given to the same; two, the villagers go more by convention which is a continuous process in the sense, which is the third reason, that they are bound by chain of obligations which compel them to deliver the produce to the shopkeeper-cum-moneylender year after year and generation after generation. These obligations, as pointed out earlier, are in the form of credit for the purchase of year-round or occasional family requirements or cash advances to meet such requirements, usually against the next or annual crop produce. This last factor brings us to the sources of cash credit or subsidies and of grain available to the villager.

8. Cash is available to the villager normally through the government departments, agricultural co-operative credit societies, and the shopkeeper-cum-moneylender. It is seen that the major share in some aspects at least goes to the moneylender. The details of the loans taken by the cultivator will be discussed in the chapter dealing with the cultivator. The villagers also can avail themselves of the local grain-bank to meet their consumption requirements, if they are cultivators. The agricultural labourers can borrow grains from the cultivators against their labour, which feature will be discussed in the chapter dealing with the labourers. The government measures including cash or kind loans and subsidies adopted through various departmental schemes to alleviate the hardships of the villagers will be discussed in the appropriate chapter at the end after stating the problem of the area and its people.

The government loans are available at the interest-rate of 6 per cent, the loans from the co-operative societies at a rate of 9 or 10 per cent and the moneylender charges interest at a rate of 25 per cent which may shoot up to 50 per cent as well. Whereas the interest charged by the government and the co-operative societies are per annum, that by the moneylender is the same for any duration upto a year. Thus the principal in cash or kind returned even after a week since receiving the loan has to be with an interest of 25 per cent. It is calculated therefore on an annual basis or a part thereof.

The interest charged by the local grain banks is 10 per cent per annum although it may vary according to the discretion of the authorities who operate them.

9. Another conditioning factor of the agricultural operations is the wages paid to the agricultural labourer. The labour charges appear to have remained stationary for

nearly a century now. The wages both for man and women are the same. They are usually paid in kind, which is an athava or 2 seers or nagli for a full day's labour, which roughly comes to 8 to 10 hours, in addition to a mid-day meal of about three nagli breads and tobacco for chewing and smoking. The same wages are quoted in the Proposals made for the Revision Survey Settlement of 217 villages in the then Peint Taluka, by the Revenue Settlement Officer of Nasik district in 1920, and the same is mentioned to have been in vogue for quite a long time. It is also mentioned in Papers Relating to the Revision Survey Settlement of 14 Villages of the Peint Taluka in 1891. Whereas the cash equivalents of these wages in kind did fluctuate from 3 annas in the beginning of the settlement to 4 to 5 annas at the end of it the latter did not change at all. The Settlement Reports do not mention anything about the wages for a half-day's labour. However, the current rates for the same fluctuate from season to season. During the summer the wages in kind are 1 seer of nagli, during the monsoons when the work is heavy the labourers are paid 1 seer of nagli and the mid-day meal of three nagli breads, and during the winter at the harvest time the same may be continued or if it is a pre-harvest light work the wages of summer might be introduced. There are no cash equivalents in vogue in the area now for a full day's wages in kind. But for the half-day's wages it is half a rupee. This shows that the cash equivalents of the wages show an upward trend whereas the quantity of the kind wages has remained the same. But the cash equivalent for a half-day's labour is a poor substitute to the wages in kind which are worth more than half a rupee.

That the wages in kind have not fluctuated shows the comparative absence of competition either among the cultivators or among the labourers to seek the services or employment as the case may be. This single fact itself speaks of many things that will be elaborated later.

We have seen so far the broad outline of the twelve villages and the population therein. The occupational distribution of the population, classification of land, and factors conditioning the utilization of land are the three broad heads under which some details have been described and discussed which form the broad framework within which further details about the cultivator, the agricultural labourer, the non-agricultural labourer and the craftsman are to be studied. This will be done in the subsequent chapters.

SUMMARY

Here are summarized the foregoing characteristics of the twelve villages that were analysed in detail.

While the predominant occupation is agriculture with that of agricultural labour, their ratio being 5:3, many of the cultivators are found to have sought a secondary source in agricultural labour.

In Bafanvahir, Deodongare, Deodongari, Nirgude and Raitmal, among the cultivators as well as the agricultural labourers, more than half are found to pursue subsidiary occupations. The cultivators are more so in all these except Bafanvahir. In Daltapur and Shirasgeon it is the cultivators alone who have predominantly sought a

secondary occupation. In Palashi Budruk and Torangan the opposite situation is found where the agricultural labourers rather than the cultivators are forced to go in for a secondary source. The three villages, Donawade, Gadadawne and Kulawendi have majority of their cultivators as well as labourers more secure in their single occupations. The cultivators' going in for a secondary occupation appears to have been influenced by the insufficiency of the land-holding.

Nearly half or more than half of the cultivators have land-holdings of 10 acres and less. The two villages: Dalpatpur and Nirgude from the non-forest Harsul zone, and the four villages: Torangan, Bafanvahir, Deodongare and Deodongari of the forest zones, have a larger proportion of cultivators with smaller holdings.

Agricultural labourers have taken to cultivation of private lands as a subsidiary occupation where there is a great fragmentation of private lands into bits of smaller size. They have taken to forest lands in other cases. Likewise they have taken to lending bullocks on hire where there is a shortage of livestock.

Koknas are more found in cultivation either as the principal or secondary occupation, whereas Kathwads, Mahadev Kolis and Warlis are more found in agricultural labour in both respects.

As for the land utilization, in the villages of the forest zones and in Dalpatpur and Nirgude which evince the characteristics of the former, the land per family is, uniformly less than the average of all the twelve villages, and they have brought most of their land under cultivation. The land under paddy is also more in these villages than in others.

As for the general characteristics, the villages suffer from acute shortage of water-supply, especially during summer. Cases of soil erosion caused by rain water rushing down the slopes where the lands are situated are common. No measures as yet undertaken are satisfactorily complete. No communal efforts towards this end were seen in the villages. Use of manure and fertilizers was conspicuously absent. Even cow-dung is used only for rab operations; the fertilizers are being introduced hesitatingly, but their use is inhibited by a number of factors. Communications are difficult and delayed, medical facilities are meagre, and money or credit is made available through the agricultural co-operative credit societies. The efficacy of this last factor will be discussed in a later chapter.

THE CULTIVATOR

The broad framework delineated above puts a limit to the operations of cultivator, the labourer and the craftsman, all alike. Although they (the ingredients of the framework) are to be treated technically as end results of certain processes, as it is presumed that the process is very slow and spread over a longer period, say, of more than a generation, the framework has to be taken as the existing environment, a given situation, which conditions the operations of the people therein to earn their livelihood.

While all of them are subject to certain conditioning factors which are common, the cultivator is further subject to some other factors which refer to the cultivation methods, family composition and size, availability of labour, technical know-how of agriculture, resources and sources for his capital requirements and others. These factors are viewed here as interdependent in the sense that change in any one of them will affect the content of others to some extent at least. Thus at any point of time they may be viewed as holding each other in balance, with allowance for a little imbalance at some level due to the process of change that might be going on. Therefore each of the aspects of the cultivator's socio-economic life that are here described as facts, is to be treated as the end result of the cumulative impact of as well as causal in some measure to the existing position and content of all other aspects.

1. Methods of Cultivation

Because of the establishment of proprietary rights in land, and cultivation being restricted legally to these lands under private proprietorship there has been no shifting cultivation practised by the people in the area at present. As far as our information goes, this is not an all-India development. As per the Duebar Commission Report, about 25 lakhs or 10 per cent of the total number of tribes at present are so far found to have adhered to shifting cultivation which meant finding out fresh patches of land the standing trees on which were felled, burnt, and the land was cleared for cultivation every year.* But remnants of this shifting cultivation in this area are still found in the methods adopted for cultivation in the area—which again is a common feature among all the Scheduled Tribes in India. These are found in the rab operations which includes covering a part of the field with wood and leaves collected and freshly felled from standing trees from the end of rainy season to the break of monsoon, and dumping in layers in between cow-dung, dry grass etc., all of which is burnt and in the ashes the seeds of the food crops, rice, nagli, and warai are sown. This is in essence the practice of shifting cultivation in miniature. Whereas the burning of the trees at the earlier stage was necessitated by the need to clear the land, the method still adhered to does not obviously depend upon such a need. But the explanation given for its

* Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1960-61, Vol. 1, 1961, pp. 145-46.

persistence by the people is that it is necessary to rid the soil, where the seeds are sown, of the undesirable grass and its roots which prove injurious to the crop. Much of their assets which could otherwise be utilized as manure is used by them towards this rab preparation. If the explanation given by them—it occurred to not a few of them—is correct, one has to find some other cheap method to weed out the injurious grass roots and get the people convinced of the desirability and efficacy of the same, in order to save much of the manure from wastage. Just at present as has been seen earlier none of the crops is usually manured, although use of fertilizers bought from elsewhere has appeared to a little extent.

The seedlings of the crops sown in the burnt soil are taken out and transplanted in the field either in a row or in a zigzag fashion in bunches. Usually the distance between any two bunches of seedlings in the case of rice and nagli is 5 to 6 feet and in the case of warai a little more, sometimes leading to 9 feet.

Ploughing operations start after the fall of the first rains. Ploughing is done by wooden ploughs drawn either by two bullocks or two buffaloes (male) or a bullock and a buffalo. Rice lands are ploughed usually four times and the mal lands two to three times. After ploughing, levelling is done by pulling a wooden plank drawn by bullocks or buffaloes in order to break the clods turned up by ploughing. This is done as many times as necessary ranging upto five times as reported by some in Bafanvihir.

The seeds required, per acre, are about 2 to 4 paylees for paddy, 1 to 3 seers for nagli, and $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ seer for warai.

The other food crops that are sown along with these are urid, kulith and khurasani. Among the pulses other popular ones are tur and gram. At some places the villagers felt like reaping onions, coriander, chillies etc. In one village, Torangan, a cultivator had sown jowar in an acre of his field as an experiment. Where the water supply was assured in Nirgude and Palashi Budruk one cultivator in each had cultivated sugarcane (in the former it was an encroachment on the Forest land). But the sugarcane in Palashi Budruk could not be utilized as gainfully as possible elsewhere, as there was no transport and communication facility for the village. The cultivator at best could sell sugarcane juice to the nearby villagers at cheap rates.

The fertilizers are used to a little extent, as pointed out earlier. Wherever they are used, the method employed is to mix it with the mud at the time of transplantation. Japanese method of paddy transplantation is not followed by any one among the 12 villages at present. Though, about seven cultivators from Kulawandi reported that they had tried the method and given up. The reasons that they gave for its abandonment were that the local labour does not know the method and has to be trained; that the method requires more labour--two to hold the thread or chain marked at equal distances, and the labour to go on planting the seedlings at the markings of the thread held horizontally close to the field, that this method rules out the employment of children or such family labour that is conversant with the traditional method, that it therefore requires more adult labour, and that subsequently it means more wages to be paid. Initially at least before the people get accustomed

to this method lack of knowledge about the same is an impediment in its adoption. The grocer-cum-moneylender at Amlon (not in the sample) near Kulswandi, who employs the Japanese method in paddy transplantation, however, reported that once the people are taught, it would not entail expenditure as it could be done by the same or even less labour in a shorter time.

The tribals treat every Tuesday as an off day and do not engage themselves in agricultural work on that day. Their routine starts at the sunrise and lasts till the sunset with a break of about two hours at the mid-day. The working hours come to about 9 to 10 hours per day if it is full working day. The felling operations start by the end of monsoon in September or October. Felling of branches of trees deep in the forest, which is legally not allowed, is usually resorted to as a right. Along with it collection of droppings in the rabi area of the forest is also made. All these are dumped in the pit for rab burning. This is carried on till the monsoon breaks. While the cultivators themselves are engaged in these operations, where children of 8 to 10 years even are efficient, paid labour also is engaged wherever necessary. The agricultural operations done mainly by the family labour or by hired labour depend upon the extent of labour supply at home or outside.

The wages of the labour are fixed as is seen earlier and the labour supply outside is ample as is also seen from the fact that the ratio of cultivator families to labour families is 3 : 2. Which means that there is no question of competition to grab the labour and therefore no change in the wages paid to them. The wages paid to the labour are also stationary perhaps due to the stationary nature of the needs of the labour. In any case the extent of labour employed in addition to the size and quality of the holding, should mainly depend upon the availability of domestic labour. But, the labour is employed also because of at least two other considerations. The labourers do not find employment enough to support them throughout the year. When the rab preparations are complete and the people almost lie in waiting for the monsoons to set in there is practically very little work left for the labourers. During this period which is about two and a half months from the Holi festival to the beginning of monsoons the labourers have to go abegging for the grains for their daily consumption. It is not begging in spirit because they get grains by mortgaging their labour for future service. It is almost obligatory for the cultivator to lend him grains if he has any stock and thus to employ him, as it is obligatory for the labour to work for the former. The second occasion when a cultivator brings in an outsider to work for him without actually paying him is when he accepts a person as his would be son-in-law who having no enough money to pay the bride-price is willing to pay it off by working for his would be father-in-law for a stipulated period. His wages then are counted towards the bride-price. In these cases, however, he actually stays with the cultivator and moves about as the de facto husband of his daughter. These cultural conditions apart the family size and composition of the cultivator does play an important part in the extent of family or outside labour employed. We shall see the same presently.

2. Family Size and Composition of the Cultivator Compared with those of the Labourer.

(a) Size : The 180 families of the cultivators

together have 1,291 members and the 108 families of the labourers have 596 members with an average size of 7.2 and 5.5 respectively. Obviously the cultivator's family is larger in size. But there are variations in size between one village and another and between the cultivators and the labourers in the same village that go against this average pattern.

Table No. 45 : Family Size of the Cultivators and Labourers in the 12 Villages

	Cultivator	Labourer	Total
Dalpatpur	6.4	4.6	5.8
Nirgude	7.1	4.3	5.8
Torangan	9.9	6.6	8.0
Bafanvihir	6.3	6.4	6.3
Deodongara	7.3	5.7	6.6
Deodongari	7.7	4.1	6.0
Donawade	5.6	7.0	6.0
Kulawandi	7.1	6.4	6.8
Palashi Budruk	6.6	8.0	7.0
Gadadawne	5.1	4.3	4.8
Rautmal	6.7	7.5	6.8
Shirasgaon	8.8	4.6	7.2
Total	7.2	5.5	6.6

Among the cultivators the highest size of 9.0 members appears in Torangan and the lowest of 5.1 members appears in Gadadawne. In addition to Torangan, Shirasgaon, Deodongari and Deodongara with 8.8, 7.7 and 7.3 members per family show more than the average size of the cultivator's family. As against this the average size of the labourer's family in Palashi Budruk and Donawade is nearer to the highest average size of the cultivator's family. There are five other villages, Rautmal, Torangan, Bafanvihir, Kulawandi and Deodongara where the average size of the labourer's family is more than the average of all the villages. As among the cultivators' families in general the difference between the lowest and the highest average among the labourers' families of the 12 villages taken separately is of 4 members. In four villages: Palashi Budruk, Donawade, Rautmal and Bafanvihir the labourer's family is larger than the cultivator's family. Unless we know the composition of these families we may not be able to account for these peculiarities.

(b) Composition :- The family composition is shown as classified under four broad categories: joint, nuclear, transitional and broken. Each of these is further divided into sub-categories. Thus the joint (1-1) where the ego's family and his parents or his one married son stay together, the family (1-2) where the ego's family and more than one married sons stay together, the family (1-3) where the ego's family and his parents and his father's brother with his wife and children or his brother's family or his paternal cousin and his wife and children or his brother's son with his wife and children stay together, and the family (1-4) where the ego with his wife and children and his brother(s) with his (their) wife (wives) and children stay together are the four types of joint family. The

type 1-1 is the lineally joint family with one couple in each generation (in our sample only of two generations) the male spouse in each couple is related to one another as father and son. The difference between the type 1-1 and 1-2 is that more than one married son live with their parents. Both are lineally joint families. Type 1-4 refers to the laterally joint family, where the ego with his wife and children stays together with his married brother or brothers with their wives and children. Type 1-3 is the mixture of both lineal and lateral joint families, and differs from type 1-4 with more than two generations living together as in type 1-1 and 1-2.

The nuclear family where the ego lives with his wife and children is typed as 2-1. Based on the relationship that an additional member or members bear to the ego in a nuclear family two more types 2-2 and 2-3 were classified. Type 2-2 refers to the presence in a nuclear family of either of the parents of the ego and/or minor brother or unmarried sister. Type 2-3 refers to the presence of affinals, i.e., those related through mother, sister, daughter or wife.

The transitional families are nuclear families with major son who is earner (3-1), with major earning brother (3-2) or with major brother's son who is earner (3-3) all of whom are unmarried. These families are so named because on the additional members getting married they will automatically become joint families of one type or the other. If they break up they may turn into as many nuclear families. It is only the degree of instability in time that has prompted its being so named. The types 2-2 and 2-3 are comparatively more stable in time.

The fourth category of family types, namely, the broken family is essentially without a single couple as its constituent. 4-1 and 4-2 refer to a single member either male or female respectively, who is married, unmarried, or widowed. The type 4-3 refers to the family where ego and his first degree relatives or members related through these stay together.

The data for all the 12 villages together and for all the 288 families of both the cultivators and labourers combined reveal that the nuclear family with or without other stray relatives is the predominant one (58.68 per cent. Table No. 46). With the transitional family which is in actuality a nuclear family with other stray relatives it is 61.11 per cent. The joint family appears in only 35.77 per cent of the families. The average size of family for all the twelve villages together and for the combined number of cultivators and labourers is 6.6. The break-up of the total number of family members for the 288 families shows a predominance of children and minors below age of 21 years (Table No. 47). Of the 1,887 members, 352 or 18.65 per cent are below 6 years; 342 or 18.12 per cent are of 6 to 10 years, and 326 or 17.28 per cent are of 11 to 20 years. These total up to 1,020 or 54.05 per cent of the total number of members. This means that in an average family of 6.6 members almost 3.6 members are of 20 years and less and only 3 members are adults. Which also means that there are no two couples in the adult generation on an average (which rules out the possibility of joint families of couples in the same generation) and that the joint family usually combines two couples of two different generations, the couple in the second generation being of minors.

Table No. 46 : Distribution of Families According to the Different Types

Family Type	CULTIVATORS												Total
	Dalpatpur	Nirgude	Torengan	Deodongara	Deodongari	Befanvihir	Shiresgaon	Gadedawne	Rautmal	Donawede	Kulewandi	Palashi Bk.	
Joint	9	4	11	9	4	1	17	3	4	7	16	1	86
Percentage	39.13	50.00	68.75	42.86	40.00	12.50	62.96	33.33	66.67	41.18	53.33	20.00	47.78
Nuclear	13	4	5	12	5	7	10	5	2	9	14	4	90
Percentage	56.52	50.00	31.25	57.14	50.00	87.50	37.04	55.56	33.33	52.94	46.67	80.00	50.00
Transitional	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Percentage	4.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.56
Broken	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	3
Percentage	-	-	-	-	10.00	-	-	11.11	-	5.88	-	-	1.66
Total	23	8	16	21	10	8	27	9	6	17	30	5	180
Percentage	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(continued)

Table No. 46 : (continued)

LABOURERS

Type of Family	Dalpatpur	Nirgude	Torangen	Deodongara	Deodongari	Befanvahir	Shirasaon	Gadadawne	Rautmal	Donawede	Kulewandi	Palashi Bk.	Total
Joint	2	-	5	1	-	3	-	1	-	3	2	-	17
Percentage	14.29	-	45.45	6.67	-	37.50	-	25.00	-	75.00	12.50	-	15.74
Nuclear	10	6	6	13	9	5	12	2	2	1	13	-	79
Percentage	11.43	85.71	54.55	86.66	100.00	62.50	75.00	50.00	100.00	25.00	81.25	-	13.16
Transitional	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	6
Percentage	7.14	14.29	-	-	-	-	6.25	25.00	-	-	-	100.00	5.55
Broken	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	6
Percentage	7.14	-	-	6.67	-	-	18.75	-	-	-	6.25	-	5.55
Total	14	7	11	15	9	8	16	4	2	4	16	2	108
Percentage	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

(Continued)

Table No. 46 : (Continued)

CULTIVATORS + LABOURERS

	Dalpatpur	Nirgude	Torengan	Deodongara	Deodongari	Bafanvihir	Shirasgaon	Gadadawne	Rautmal	Donawade	Kulewandi	Palashi Bk.	Total
Joint	11	4	16	10	4	4	17	4	4	10	18	1	103
Percentage	29.73	26.67	39.26	27.78	21.05	25.00	39.53	30.77	50.00	47.62	39.14	14.29	35.77
Nuclear	23	10	11	25	14	12	22	7	4	10	27	4	169
Percentage	62.16	66.67	40.74	69.44	73.69	75.00	51.16	53.85	50.00	47.62	58.69	57.14	58.68
Transitional	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	7
Percentage	5.41	6.66	-	-	-	-	2.33	7.69	-	-	-	28.57	2.43
Broken	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	9
Percentage	2.70	-	-	2.78	5.26	-	6.98	7.69	-	4.76	2.17	-	3.12
Total	37	15	27	36	19	16	43	13	8	21	46	7	288
Percentage	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Out of 1,652 families of the twelve villages the sample covers 296 families; 180 of cultivators, 108 of labourers and 8 of others in service or household industry, in all approximately 18 per cent (or 17.92 per cent to be exact).

Between cultivators and labourers although the nuclear family as a single type of family predominates among both, it is seen in a greater proportion among the labourers. The cultivators have 50 per cent of their families as nuclear, and 47.78 per cent joint, the transitional families being 0.56 per cent and the broken families being 1.66 per cent. The labourers have their nuclear, joint, transitional and broken families which are 73.16, 15.74, and 5.55 per cent for the last two types respectively. If the transitional family is added to the nuclear family, the type of family with a single couple with either of the parents of either of the spouse and/or other stray relatives forms 78.71 per cent of the total number of families of the labourers. The labourers, it is clear, find it more convenient to have nuclear families. This also corroborates with the size of their family which is of 5.5 members on an average as against of 7.2 members of the cultivators.

Before we scan the details of each of these types of family it may be instructive to see the break-up of the population of cultivators and labourers according to age-groups. The same is shown below.

Table No. 47 : Distribution of Cultivators and Labourers into Age-Groups

Age-groups	Cultivators	Percentage	Labourers	Percentage	Total	Percentage
0 - 5 years	223	17.27	129	21.64	352	18.65
6 - 10 "	230	17.82	112	18.79	342	18.12
11 - 20 "	242	18.75	84	14.10	326	17.28
21 - 50 "	483	37.41	228	38.26	711	37.68
51 and above "	113	8.75	43	7.21	156	8.27
Total	1,291	100.00	596	100.00	1,887	100.00

The cultivators have proportionately less of children and those of 20 years and below and of the major working age-group of 21 to 50 years but more of those of 51 years and above than the labourers. Among those of 20 years and below they have, although more or less the same proportion of members among the three sub-groups of 0-5, 6-10 and 11-20 years, a slightly increasing proportion of those members as we go up the age-scale. Among the labourers, however, the children of 0-5 years are the largest, i.e. 21.64 per cent, of 6 to 10 years 18.79 per cent and of 11 to 20 years they are only 14.1 per cent. It is clear therefore that there are proportionately less dependent non-earning members among the cultivators among the age-groups of 10 years and below than among the labourers presuming that children above 10 years usually take to lend a helping hand in the family pursuits. This overall picture treating the whole of the population either of the cultivators or of the labourers might not give the correct position. As these different age-wise population is distributed over families, and as all labour is motivated by the subsistence standard of the family, the dependence

or otherwise of the members and the burden that each family may have to share in relation to its non-earning members in lower or higher age-groups will be better understood by observing the average break-up of these age-groups per family both among the cultivators and the labourers (Table No.48).

Table No. 48 : Average Number of Members Per Family among Cultivators and Labourers

Age-groups	Cultivators	Labourers
0 - 5 years	1.24	1.19
6 - 10 "	1.28	1.04
11 - 20 "	1.34	0.78
21 - 50 "	2.68	2.11
51 and more "	0.63	0.40
Total	7.17	5.52

Because of the larger number of members in each of the age-groups, irrespective of their proportion, the average cultivator family is larger in size. Those in the age-group of 11 to 20 years are particularly greater in number among the cultivators than among the labourers. Between the ages of 21 and 50 years also there are almost three members per family among the cultivators as against two among the labourers. Because of the adults in the working age-group and those between 11 and 20 years being more among the cultivators perhaps the burden of non-working dependents is less among the cultivators. This will be further seen while discussing the distribution of the working population among the different age-groups. In the light of the broad family types and the break-up of age-groups it will be now seen how they appear in their details among the twelve villages.

The break-up of the joint and nuclear families among the cultivators and labourers is as follows.

Table No. 49 : Distribution of the Joint and Nuclear Families into Their Sub-types

Family type	Cultivators	Percentage	Labourers	Percentage
Joint	1-1	49	10	58.82
	1-2	15	4	23.53
	1-3	3	-	-
	1-4	19	3	17.65
Nuclear	2-1	70	57	72.15
	2-2	17	18	22.79
	2-3	3	4	5.06

Among both the cultivators and the labourers the lineally extended family appears to be more common, the labourers showing a higher percentage of them than the cultivators. The families where married brothers with their wives and children stay together (1-4) are found more

among the cultivators than among the labourers. The 'complex' joint family, a combination of lineally extended and laterally extended family (1-3) is found only among the cultivators. Among the variations of nuclear family, the 'pure' nuclear family comprising husband, wife and children only (2-1) is predominant both among the cultivators and the labourers. Surprisingly it is more so among the former. The nuclear families with either of the parents of the head or his minor brother or brothers (2-2) come next and are found to a greater proportion among the labourers. Likewise the nuclear families with affinals (2-3) appear more among the labourers.

Higher proportion of members of lower age-group of 10 and less years among the labourers seems to be the result of the higher proportion of nuclear families. The higher proportion among them of those between 21 and 50 years also is perhaps because of the higher incidence of the type 2-2 and 2-3 which include either of the parents and affinals like wife's brother, son-in-law, mother's brother etc., respectively. These members with the nuclear family appear more among the labourers because of lack of means of subsistence—ownership of land—and need to supplement one's own income by adding some more members who can be earners.

Coming to the variations among the twelve villages, it is seen that among the villages which show a larger size of family among the cultivators, Torangan and Shirasgaon have a larger proportion of joint families—68.75 and 62.96 per cent respectively (Table No.46). Deodongara and Deodongari which also show a larger size of family have less of joint families—42.86 and 40.0 per cent respectively; but among the joint families almost all or majority of them are lineally joint families. Between the lineally joint and the laterally joint families the former appears to be highly correlated with a larger size of family. Likewise Kulawandi and Nirgude which have 53.33 and 50.0 per cent of their families as joint and have majority of these joint families belonging to the lineally extended type, have also a larger size of family. Rautmal with a family size of 6.7 members has 66.67 per cent of its families joint majority of which are lineally extended families. As is noted earlier among the joint families, the lineally extended type is the most common comprising 74.42 per cent of the joint families; of the cultivators of the twelve villages. It is so even among the villages which show less proportion of joint families among their cultivators. These villages are Bafanvihir, Palashi Budruk, Gadadawne, Dalpatpur and Donawade with 12.5, 20.0, 33.33, 39.13, and 41.18 per cent respectively of their total cultivator families as joint.

Among the labourers some exceptions to the general correlation of large size of family with a high proportion of joint families were found in Palashi Budruk and Rautmal which had two families each in the sample of labourers' families. Palashi Budruk with both of its families in the transitional type (nuclear family + major son or brother earner) has a size of 8 members per family; and Rautmal with both of its families in the 2-1 type has a size of 7.5 members. The five villages Donawade, Torangan, Bafanvihir, Kulawandi and Deodongara, however, show a clear correlation between proportion of joint family and large size of family among their labourers. The remaining five villages, Dalpatpur, Nirgude, Deodongari, Shirasgaon and Gadadawne more or less show their size of family related to the type of their family.

As to what this size and type of family means for the subsistence of the family scattered as the members are into different age-groups (the difference in sex-composition is not considered here because the agricultural operations, except the harder or heavier ones are equally efficiently done by both males and females), i.e., as to who and how many are the earners and as to at what age the tribal starts working and contributing towards the family subsistence will be seen next. Prior to that we shall see the cultivators' families in relation to their land-holdings.

Nearly half (43.33 per cent) of the cultivator families of all the twelve villages own lands of 10 acres and less, although the families owning lands of 5 acres and less are only 13.89 per cent (Table No. 50). From the size of holding group of 6 to 10 acres the number of cultivator families falling in each group decreases upto the group of 21 to 25 acres. This would have been so perhaps even further had the groups been shown till we exhausted the remaining 28 families holding lands of 25 and more acres. This pattern is seen in all the villages except two, Kulawandi and Shiresgaon where larger number of families are found with larger land-holdings. These two and the other four villages, Torangan, Reutmal, Nirgude and Deodongara which show a higher incidence of joint families compared with others are the only ones which also show a correlation of joint families with larger land-holdings. Among the remaining six villages, namely, Dalpatpur, Bafanvahir, Deodongari, Donawade, Palashi Budruk, and Gadedawne, no such correlation is found. Joint families are seen with smaller land-holdings (which feature is also found among the former six villages) and contrarily families with larger land-holdings have remained nuclear. It is safe therefore to conclude that larger land-holding is not an indispensable and the only basis of joint family in this area.

It is to be seen now as to how these families fare in the contribution of earners for their subsistence. The working members of the cultivators and the labourers in comparison with one another, as distributed among the different age-groups have to be studied for this purpose.

(c) Working Members of the Cultivators and Labourers:-

Out of the 1,291 family members of the cultivators 804 or 62.27 per cent are working members; and out of the 596 persons of the 108 labour families 341 or 57.21 per cent are working members (Table No. 51). The cultivator families have more of their members as workers, than the labourer families. This might be because when a family owns a field or has land completely at its disposal either in the capacity of tenant or under other agreements, there remain certain sundry jobs which have to be and could be done by the family members themselves. Even the children may be asked, if required, to give a helping hand in certain light jobs. These members, however, cannot be said to be employed as full-time workers. About the employment of family labour it was difficult to ascertain the time taken by these members for purely agricultural work. Another difficulty is the fact that not all members reported as workers have sufficient work continuously. The family may have continuous work, if at all, but the work in bits may be assigned to different members alternately according to the family convenience. As such the members reported as workers by the cultivators may not be so in the sense the labourers are. It may mean at best that so many members

Table No. 50 : Distribution of Families of Cultivators
According to Size of Land-holdings and the
Type of Family

Name of Village	Type of Family	Size of land-holding (acres)						Total
		Upto 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	More than 25	
Delpatpur	Joint	2	3	2	-	-	2	9
	Nuclear	2	5	2	1	-	3	13
	Transitional	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	Total	4	9	4	1	-	5	23
Nirgude	Joint	-	1	1	-	1	1	4
	Nuclear	-	3	1	-	-	-	4
	Total	-	4	2	-	1	1	8
Torangan	Joint	2	3	3	1	1	1	11
	Nuclear	1	2	2	-	-	-	5
	Total	3	5	5	1	1	1	16
Bafenvihir	Joint	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	Nuclear	1	3	2	-	-	1	7
	Total	1	4	2	-	-	1	8
Deodongara	Joint	1	2	2	2	-	2	9
	Nuclear	5	4	1	-	-	2	12
	Total	6	6	3	2	-	4	21
Deodongari	Joint	-	3	1	-	-	-	4
	Nuclear	-	3	-	2	-	-	5
	Broken	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Total	1	6	1	2	-	-	10
Donawade	Joint	-	2	3	-	-	2	7
	Nuclear	4	1	2	1	1	-	9
	Broken	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	4	3	5	2	1	2	17
Kulawandi	Joint	-	6	2	4	2	2	16
	Nuclear	4	4	3	2	2	1	14
	Total	4	10	5	6	2	3	30
Palashi Bk.	Joint	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Nuclear	1	1	2	-	-	-	4
	Total	1	1	3	-	-	-	5
Gadadawne	Joint	-	-	1	-	1	1	3
	Nuclear	-	-	-	2	-	3	5
	Broken	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	-	-	2	2	1	4	9
Rautmal	Joint	-	-	2	-	1	1	4
	Nuclear	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
	Total	-	2	2	-	1	1	6
Shirasgaon	Joint	1	1	2	6	2	5	17
	Nuclear	-	2	5	2	-	1	10
	Total	1	3	7	8	2	6	27
Grand Total		25	53	41	24	9	28	180
		13.89	29.44	22.78	13.33	5.00	15.56	100.00

Table No. 51 : Working Population According to Age-Groups

Age-group	Total Population			Working Population			Percentages to total population of the age-groups			Percentage of working cultivators to the total working cultivators			Percentage of working labourers to the total working labourers			Distribution of members in each age-group Percentage to the total number of members	
	Cultivators	Labourers	Total	Cultivators	Labourers	Total working population	Working Population of cultivators	Working Population of Labourers	TOTAL	Percentage of working cultivators to the total working cultivators	Percentage of working labourers to the total working labourers	Percentage of working cultivators to the total cultivators.	Percentage of working labourers to the total labourers	Cultivators	Labourers		
6 - 10	230	112	342	31	10	41	13.48	8.93	11.99	3.87	2.94	2.40	1.67	17.82	18.79		
11 - 20	242	84	326	193	73	266	79.75	86.90	81.59	24.09	21.41	14.95	12.25	18.75	14.10		
21 - 50	483	228	711	481	225	706	99.59	98.68	99.30	60.05	65.98	37.26	37.75	37.41	38.26		
51 & above	113	43	156	96	33	129	84.95	76.74	82.69	11.98	9.68	7.44	5.54	8.75	7.21		
Total	1291	546	1887	801	341	1142	62.04	57.21	60.52	100.00	100.01	62.05	57.21	1291	5.96		

are usually available for work and that they share the work of the family. This possibility of each or the majority of the members among the cultivators having some work or the other, regarding agricultural operations is especially seen in the larger proportion of workers found among them in the age-groups of 6 to 10 years, 11 to 20 years, and of 51 years and above, in comparison with the labourers, the proportion of workers in each age-group being worked out either in relation to the total number of workers or in relation to the total population (Table No. 51, columns 11 and 12, and 13 and 14 respectively). This difference on the face of it, between the cultivators and the labourers, appears natural because as is seen earlier, the distribution of total number of members into different age-groups is also not uniform. The age-groups where cultivators have more members proportionately also show a higher proportion of workers. The proportion of workers in each age-group in relation to the total number of members in each age-group will bring out the real difference (columns 8 and 9).

The features pertaining to two age-groups, viz., 6 to 10 and 51 and more years, noted above, appear in bold relief. The workers among the cultivators in the former age group are 13.48 per cent as against 8.93 per cent among the labourers. In the age-group of 51 years and above they are 84.95 per cent among the cultivators and 76.74 per cent among the labourers. It is seen that few of the children of 6 to 10 years are employed in work contributory to agriculture or wages among the cultivators and the labourers respectively. This appears so because children take to giving a helping hand or are so employed usually when they are at least 8 years old. The children of this age were observed engaged in cutting the branches of standing trees towards the requirements of rab. The high incidence of workers above 50 years of age both among the cultivators and labourers shows that they continue to work pretty late in life. Here too, the cultivators show a higher proportion, indicating perhaps that the cultivator has some work or the other for the aged members of his family. In the age-group of 21 to 50 years both the cultivator and the labourer families show very few as unemployed, their workers in this age-group being 99.59 and 98.68 per cent of the total of that age-group respectively. Although the percentage shows a slightly higher proportion among the cultivators it may not really mean anything when we know that out of 483 members in the age-group among the cultivators 481 are workers and out of 228 among the labourers 225 are workers. The fact that the cultivators have only 37.41 per cent of their total members in the age-group of 21 to 50 years as against 38.26 per cent among the labourers, might have rendered it necessary for them to draw its workers from the other age-groups as well in the family. Members in these lower and higher age-groups although they might be assigned some work when they belong to cultivator families may not get employment outside the family. This might explain partially at least the differences between the proportions of workers in the different age-groups among the cultivators and labourers. The labourers show a higher proportion of workers drawn from the age-group of 11 to 20 years. This is because members in the labourers' families in these groups might seek employment in the cultivators' families either as cowherds or as farm servants on an annual basis, the latter being true only in the case of males.

As all labour is basically related to family 'subsistence', in the sense that the amount of labour,

especially the family labour of cultivators, put in is not necessarily related to the availability of labour but to the needs of the family and because the cultivators and the labourers differ in family size the break-up of workers in different age-groups per family among them might show the same characteristics noted above, from the family point of view.

Table No. 52 : Distribution of Workers and Non-workers among the Different Age-groups

Age-groups (years)	Cultivators		Labourers	
	No. of members per family	No. of workers per family	No. of members per family	No. of workers per family
0 - 5	1.24	-	1.19	-
6 - 10	1.28	0.17	1.04	0.09
11 - 20	1.34	1.08	0.78	0.68
21 - 50	2.68	2.67	2.11	2.08
51 and more	0.63	0.53	0.40	0.31
Total	7.17	4.46	5.52	3.16

It can be seen from the above that per family workers are more among the cultivators and as a result the proportion of non-working dependents also is less, the burden of supporting the non-working dependents shared by each working member being less than in the labourer family.

The proportion of workers contributed by the cultivators and labourers will now be seen as it varies from village to village, in order to see whether any pattern in relation to the composition of the family and its age-structure, and in relation to the different zone emerges (Table No. 53).

As far as the age-groups 21 to 50 and 51 and more years are concerned almost all the villages both among the cultivators and among the labourers have almost all of them engaged in work. The percentage difference between the total number and the workers relates only to one or two members in almost all the cases. The difference from village to village in the proportion of workers on the whole refers mainly to the proportion of workers drawn from the age-groups of 6 to 10 and 11 to 20 years, especially the latter.

The villages where the joint families are in the majority or form a fair proportion to that extent show a higher proportion of members in the age-groups of 21 to 50 and 51 and more years, both among the cultivators and the labourers. Naturally the proportion of workers in the total number of members is also larger in these villages. The only villages that are exceptions to this are Dalpatpur and Gadadawne for the cultivators and Bafanvihir and Donawade for the labourers. Dalpatpur and Gadadawne have among their cultivators 39.13 and 33.33 per cent joint families and have 46.62 and 58.69 per cent of their members,

Table No. 53 : Percentage Distribution of Total Number of Members in Age-groups, Percentage of Workers to Total Population and Percentage of Joint Families

CULTIVATORS

Village	Total No. of Members	Age-groups					Percentage of workers to total population	Percentage of joint families
		0-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51 and above		
Dalpatpur	148	15.54	17.57	20.27	39.19	7.43	63.51	39.13
Nirgude	57	19.30	17.54	12.28	31.58	19.30	63.16	50.00
Torangan	143	15.38	21.68	11.89	39.86	11.19	65.03	68.75
Bafanvihir	50	22.00	22.00	16.00	40.00	-	52.00	12.50
Deodongara	153	16.99	14.38	25.49	36.60	6.54	61.44	42.86
Deodongari	77	22.08	22.08	16.88	27.27	11.69	59.74	40.00
Donawade	95	13.68	16.84	26.32	34.74	8.42	67.37	41.18
Kulawandi	212	18.87	17.45	17.45	40.57	5.66	60.35	53.33
Palashi Bk.	33	24.24	27.27	12.12	36.36	-	39.39	20.00
Gadadawne	46	8.70	15.22	17.39	41.30	17.39	71.74	33.33
Reutmel	40	10.00	22.50	20.00	35.00	12.50	67.50	66.67
Shiresgaon	237	18.57	14.77	19.41	37.55	9.70	63.29	62.96
Total	1,291	17.27	17.82	18.75	37.41	8.75	62.28	47.78

(continued)

Table No. 53 : (Continued)

LABOURERS

Village	Total No. of members	Age-groups					Percentage of workers to total popula- tion	Percentage of joint families
		0-5	6-10	11-20	21-50	51 and above		
Dalpatpur	65	13.85	16.92	16.92	43.08	9.23	70.77	14.29
Nirgude	30	36.67	16.67	6.67	36.67	3.33	46.67	-
Torangen	73	21.92	19.18	6.85	41.09	10.96	53.42	45.45
Bafanv'hir	51	19.61	27.45	11.76	31.37	9.81	50.98	37.50
Deodongara	86	29.07	17.44	11.63	34.88	6.98	50.00	6.67
Deodongari	37	10.81	24.32	13.51	48.65	2.70	56.75	-
Donawade	30	23.33	10.00	33.33	26.67	6.67	60.00	75.00
Kulewandi	103	25.24	16.50	14.56	35.92	7.77	53.40	12.50
Palashi Bk.	16	25.00	31.25	-	37.50	6.25	31.25	-
Gadadawne	17	5.88	11.76	23.53	47.06	11.76	82.35	25.00
Rautmal	14	14.29	28.57	28.57	28.57	-	71.43	-
Shirasgaon	74	18.92	17.57	16.22	43.24	4.05	66.22	-
Total	596	21.64	18.79	14.10	38.26	7.21	57.21	15.74

of 21 years and more respectively. Likewise Befanvihir and Donawade among their labourers have 37.5 and 75 per cent joint families and have 41.18 and 33.34 per cent of their members above 20 years. The proportion of all the twelve villages of members of these ages among the cultivators is 46.16 per cent and among the labourers 45.47 per cent. Among the cultivators, Dalpatpur and Gadadawne which despite their having a smaller proportion of joint families have 46.62 and 58.69 per cent of their members respectively in the latter two age-groups (21 to 50 and 51 and above) have 63.51 and 71.74 per cent of workers respectively. Befanvihir despite its high percentage of joint families among its labourers has only 41.18 per cent of its members in the latter two age-groups. Its total workers therefore are only 50.98 per cent of its members. Donawade's labourers who returned 75 per cent of their families as joint have only 33.34 per cent of their members in the latter two age-groups. But their total workers are 60.0 per cent of its members because 30 per cent are drawn from the age-group of 11 to 20 years. The exceptional case of Rautmal's labourers comprising only two families is left out of consideration here. In all other villages, higher proportion of joint families, of adult members, and of workers seem to be more or less correlated with one another. The nuclear families appear to have more members in the lower age-groups of 10 years and less and therefore less number of workers available. This appears to be so in the case of both the cultivators and labourers.

To return to our earlier categorization of zones as 'forest' and 'non-forest' no pattern of age-wise distribution of the workers, of joint families, or of total proportion of workers is seen. Each village is having its own peculiar characteristics. The employment of minor members, however, might also be seen in relation to the school-going children (Table No. 54).

Among the cultivators those who attend school between the ages of 6 and 20 years are in all 93, and among the labourers they are 26 between 6 and 14 years. Those between 6 and 14 years among the cultivators, who attend school are 87. The school-going children of 6 to 14 years among the cultivators are 6.74 per cent of the total population. The total members of these ages are 35.8 per cent of the total population. The school-going children among the labourers form 4.36 per cent out of the 24.5 per cent members in those ages. Not all the unemployed children are school-going. The proportion of school-going children is much less among the labourers than among the cultivators. None of the families in the sample reported any of their members having gone outside the village for education.

The labour requirements of the cultivators outside their family will be now seen.

3. Labour Requirements of the Cultivators Outside Their Families and the Wages Paid

(a) Labour Requirements :- Labour outside the family is employed mainly for four agricultural operations. These are avani the transplanting operations, nindani the weeding operations, khandani-rabani-bhujani the felling of branches from the trees, collecting other dry wood and leaves and preparing the rab and the burning of this rab, and lastly songani the harvesting. Of these, for avani and songani labour is employed for full days and for nindani and khandani-rabani-bhujani it is employed for half-days. It is

Table No. 54 : Distribution of School-going Children
Among the Cultivators and Labourers

	Cultivators				Labourers	
	6 to 20 years		6 to 14 years		6 to 14 years	
	Number of children	Percentage to total population	Number of children	Percentage to total population	Number of children	Percentage to total population
1 Dalpatpur	19	12.84	16	10.81	1	1.54
2 Nirgude	5	8.77	5	8.77	3	10.00
3 Torengan	11	7.69	11	7.69	10	13.70
4 Bafanvihir	2	4.00	2	4.00	-	-
5 Deodongara	7	4.58	6	3.92	4	4.65
6 Deodongari	-	-	-	-	1	2.70
7 Donawade	3	3.16	3	3.16	-	-
8 Kulawandi	19	8.96	19	8.96	4	3.88
9 Palashi Bk.	4	12.12	4	12.12	2	12.50
10 Gadadawne	3	6.52	3	6.52	-	-
11 Rautmal	5	12.50	4	10.00	-	-
12 Shirasgaon	15	6.33	14	5.91	1	1.35
Total	93	7.20	87	6.74	26	4.36

not that all the cultivators employ labour outside the family. Some who own small holdings or otherwise are unable to make the payments manage the operations by themselves. As such, the families reporting the employment of labour outside their families in the four operations are less than the total number of the cultivator families in some of the villages (Table No. 55-A). Especially the families reporting employment of labour for nindani and rabani etc., are much less. Of the 180 cultivator families those reporting labour employment for avani are 147, for nindani 113, for rabani etc. 107 and for songani they are 137. At least roughly 24 per cent of the families for songani and 18 per cent for avani manage themselves. The families managing by themselves for nindani and rabani etc., are roughly 37 and 41 per cent respectively.

The labour required for sowing operations is much more than that required for the other three operations. Among the other three, although the families employing labour for nindani are less than those employing labour for harvesting, the total labour employed is more in the former than in the latter. For avani or sowing operations, per cultivator labour employed is 92.3, for nindani it is 58.7, for songani 44.8 and for rabani etc., it is 44.3. But it is not to be forgotten that for weeding (nindani) and rab preparations the labour is employed for half-days only. Thus the major operations requiring labour are the sowing and the harvesting ones.

On an average every cultivator employs 69.41 labour for full days and 51.67 for half days (Table No. 55-B).

Table No. 55-A : Labour Employed by the Cultivator Per Year (as estimated by the Cultivators)

	Total Number of families	For Sonangi and Malani		For Avani		For Nindani		For Khandani, Rabani, Bhujani		Total No. of families employing labour	Total No. of labourers employed
		No. of families employing labour	No. of labourers	No. of families employing labour	No. of labourers	No. of families employing labour	No. of labourers	No. of families employing labour	No. of labourers		
1 Delpatpur	23	19	691	19	2,276	15	925	17	681	70	4,573
2 Nirgude	8	6	515	6	1,465	3	166	2	45	17	2,191
3 Torangan	16	14	850	15	1,848	8	855	6	268	43	3,821
4 Bafanvihir	8	6	167	6	417	5	222	4	132	21	938
5 Deodongara	21	13	487	14	1,237	9	624	6	341	42	2,689
6 Deodongari	10	7	332	7	351	5	89	5	94	24	866
7 Donawade	17	17	479	14	865	13	515	17	469	61	2,328
8 Kulawandi	30	18	727	25	2,048	20	1,200	15	911	78	4,886
9 Palashi Bk.	5	2	55	4	170	3	75	3	47	12	347
10 Gadadawne	9	8	577	9	885	8	698	9	380	34	2,540
11 Reutmal	6	6	152	6	290	3	135	4	120	19	697
12 Shirasgaon	27	21	1,110	22	1,720	21	1,118	19	1,257	83	5,205
Total	180	137	6,142	147	13,572	113	6,622	107	4,745	504	33,081
Percentage of families for each operation		77.77		81.16		62.28		59.44			
Percentage of Labourers for each operation			19.76		43.67		21.31		15.26		
Labourers per cultivator family			44.87		92.33		58.60		44.34		

Table No. 55-B : Agricultural Labourers Employed by the Cultivators

	Labour employed per cultivator family, for			Size of Family		Average size of Land-holding	Percentage of labour families in subsidiary occupations
	Songani and Avani	Nindani, Khendani, Rabani etc.	Ratio of cultivator families per labour family	Cultivator	Labourer		
1 Dalpatpur	78.08	50.19	1.73	6.4	4.6	10.65	38.81
2 Nirgude	164.17	42.20	1.40	7.1	4.3	9.55	53.33
3 Torangan	93.03	80.21	1.51	9.0	6.6	10.06	57.41
4 Bafanvahir	48.67	39.11	0.93	6.3	6.4	12.60	75.56
5 Deodongara	63.85	64.33	1.38	7.3	5.7	12.07	60.27
6 Deodongari	48.79	18.30	1.17	7.7	4.1	13.43	68.09
7 Donawade	43.35	32.80	3.30	5.6	7.0	14.61	44.44
8 Kulawandi	64.53	60.31	2.11	7.1	6.4	12.24	40.85
9 Palashi Bk.	37.50	20.33	2.70	6.6	8.0	11.38	60.00
10 Gadadawne	86.00	63.41	2.18	5.1	4.3	15.18	36.36
11 Rautmal	36.83	36.43	1.82	6.7	7.5	-	86.36
12 Shirasgaon	65.81	59.38	1.56	8.8	4.6	14.95	40.23
Total	69.41	51.67	1.67	7.2	5.5	12.81	52.61

The villages, however, show wide differences from this average. Nirgude shows the highest number of labour per cultivator for full days (164.17) and Palashi Budruk and Rautmal show the top lowest (37.5 and 36.83 respectively). If Nirgude's case is set aside as being exceptional the remaining eleven villages show an average employment of 65.2 labour per cultivator for full days. Against this average the comparatively bigger villages like Dalpatpur, Torangan, Deodongars, Kulawandi and Shirasgaon show per cultivator employment of labourer nearer or more than the average.

These variations in the per cultivator employment of labour are intriguing. One explanation perhaps may be found in the size of the land-holdings of the cultivators. As hinted at earlier it may be that usually the cultivators with larger land-holdings might be employing more labour. But that is not all. To our mind there are many other factors that influence the amount of labour employed by a cultivator. These are: (a) amount of family labour available as indicated by its size, (b) total number of the local labour families in relation to the cultivator families, (c) size of the labour family as an indication of the labour supply, and (d) scope for the labour families to pursue other occupations as subsidiary sources. Thus the labour employed by a cultivator family is the result of the inter-play of all these factors. Thought as such, the labour employed does not necessarily mean the labour required to be employed

just enough to carry out the operations, but the labour that is employed which may be less than the required amount or even more. The reason for saying this will be presently explained, by elaborating on the four factors just stated above. The four factors together with the average size of land-holding per cultivator family are listed in the Table No. 55-B showing the amount of labour employed by each cultivator for full-day and half-day operations separately.

It is presumed that a larger land-holding requires a greater number of labourers employed, and that larger the family size of the cultivator, to howsoever small an extent, the less the labour outside the family employed. But factors (b) and (c) stated above, namely, the ratio of the families of the labourers to those of the cultivators and the family size of the labourers are supposed to have a peculiar impact on the amount of labour employed. The ratio of the cultivator's families to those of the labourers is indicated in the table by so many cultivator families to one labourer family. A larger figure denoting so many cultivator families per a labourer family means that the locally available or resident labourers are comparatively less. Likewise the larger family size of the labourers denotes a larger number of local labourers. It is presumed here that the number of labour families in relation to the cultivator families are residents of their respective villages because they are sure to get employment in their villages or are assured of the same. Somehow they hope to meet with their subsistence needs. The basis of this assuredness about their employment is, it is felt, in the traditional attitude of the cultivators and the labourers towards one another. A labourer is usually not allowed to go without employment, failing which without the minimum needs of subsistence, namely, the foodgrains. A labourer if he fails to get employment or to engage himself in any other pursuit mortgages his labour with any cultivator for future employment against foodgrains to alleviate his immediate difficulties. The cultivator as far as he can does not refuse foodgrains to him on these terms. The cultivator accepts the labourer as bonafide resident of the village and he feels it his responsibility to feed him. Basic to the thinking and attitude is lack of any motive to maximise the profits. The motive is, one can say, to eke out one's (family's) livelihood from year to year, and not to store up the grain-wealth in order to earn long-term security or to invest its equivalent in cash in any other form of resources. The foregoing argument tries to maintain that the labour employed, wherever it is larger, is not so mainly because it matches the exact requirement of the cultivator, but it may be an incumbent for him. In line with this hypothesis employment of larger amount of labour should have appeared where the labourers in relation to the cultivators are also more. But there is another factor which intercepts this. This is the one mentioned in (d) above, that is, the alternate pursuits open for the labourer families as a subsidiary occupation. Wherever such alternative sources exist the prominent among them is cultivation of lands hired from the cultivators or of those belonging to the Forest Department. As to why a labourer is always keen to take to cultivation is explained earlier. That is the only status-ascribing and security giving source for him. Naturally where these alternate sources exist, the labour employed or that has to be employed by the cultivator is comparatively less. The interplay of these factors might explain perhaps the variations found among the twelve villages in respect of

employment of labour. The case of Nirgude where per cultivator labour employed is 164.17 for a full day remains hard to explain even considering all the factors aforementioned. It is presumed throughout that the reporting of the extent of labour employment is correct.

The total number of labour employed for a full day is 19,714 which means that so many full days' work is available with the cultivators. This is to be met with by 341 working labourers in the sample. Presuming that all are equally eligible for a full day's work, each worker among the labourers gets work in a year for 57.8 or roughly 58 full days. Likewise he gets 33.3 or roughly 33 half-days' work. He thus appears to get employment for nearly two and a half months only in a year. This will be further examined while dealing with the labourers separately.

(b) Wege Payments :- The traditional mode of payment of wages to the labour has been in kind which is still in vogue. The wages differ in the actual payments made and in the other considerations or services given between a full-day and a half-day of work. The traditional payment for a full-day's work has been an athava (roughly equal to 2 kilograms) of nagli, a mid-day meal and tobacco leaves etc. As the old measures of grain are out of use in at least accountable transactions on paper and in the 'accredited' measures of the market, the old athava has been giving way to new ones. The transition is not yet complete because in the place of athava some speak of seers. The villagers do not seem to be very sure of the equivalent of an athava in seers. That is why not all the villages and cultivators therein are uniform in reporting the payment of wages in seers of nagli (Table No. 56).

For sowing and transplanting operations 42 cultivators have reported that they pay 2 seers of nagli and serve a mid-day meal and distribute tobacco etc., as many times as they ask for. Calculating from the average this requires 7,752.2 seers of nagli. There are none who have reported to be paying 3 seers. There are 105 cultivators who have reported to be paying an athava in addition to a mid-day meal, tobacco etc. Mid-day meal and tobacco etc. are common to all payments for a full day's work. An athava is equivalent to a little more than 2 kgs. If a seer is to be treated as equivalent to 2 lbs. an athava has to be termed as equivalent to roughly 2.5 seers (1 kg. = 2.205 lbs.). The 105 cultivators thus pay 24,228.75 seers of nagli. That the payment in seers wavers between 2 and 3 seers is also understandable because the equivalent of athava in seers is also between 2 and 3. It appears that the payments are still made by the measure of athava (wooden measures were shown to us in some villages) and only the reporting is made in terms of seers.

For harvesting operations one cultivator has reported a payment of 2 seers, forty of 3 seers and ninety-six of an athava. Their total wages come to 89.6, 5,376, and 10,752 seers of nagli respectively.

The total wages paid for both transplanting and harvesting operations i.e. for all the full days of working come to 48,198.55 seers of nagli. Each cultivator for the labour employed for full days on an average gives away 267.77 seers or 242.92 Kgs. of nagli.

Table No. 56 ; Rates of Wages Paid to the Labourers Employed for Different Agricultural Operations

	No. of Cultivator Families distributed according to the wages paid to Labourers for											
	Harvesting Operations			Sowing Operations			Weeding Operation			Rab Preparation		
	2 seers nagli, 1 meal, Tobacco, etc.	3 seers nagli, 1 meal, Tobacco etc.	1 Athva nagli, 1 meal, Tobacco, etc.	2 seers nagli, 1 meal, Tobacco, etc.	3 seers nagli, 1 meal, Tobacco, etc.	1 Athva nagli, 1 meal, Tobacco, etc.	1 Meal, Tobacco, etc.	1 Meal, Tobacco, etc. + 1 seer nagli	1 Athva nagli + Tobacco	1 Seer nagli, 1 meal, Tobacco, etc.	8 Annas + Tobacco etc.	1 Athva nagli + Tobacco, etc.
Nirgude	1	3	2	4	-	2	1	2	-	2	-	-
Dalpatpur	-	11	8	11	-	8	-	15	-	17	-	-
Torangan	-	5	9	5	-	10	-	8	-	6	-	-
Palashi Bk.	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	3	-
Rautmal	-	-	6	1	-	6	-	3	-	-	-	4
Kulawandi	-	2	16	2	-	23	-	20	-	10	3	2
Gedadawne	-	-	8	-	-	9	-	8	-	9	-	-
Bafanvahir	-	1	5	3	-	3	-	5	-	2	1	1
Deodongari	-	4	3	4	-	3	-	5	-	3	1	1
Deodongara	-	6	7	6	-	8	-	9	-	3	2	1
Donawade	-	-	17	-	-	14	-	13	-	5	3	9
Shirasgaon	-	8	13	7	-	15	-	19	2	3	8	8
Total	1	40	96	42	-	105	1	110	2	60	21	26
Total No. of Labourers employed against each wage category	44.8	1792	4300.8	3876.6	-	9691.5	58.6	6446	117.2	2658	930.3	1151.8

As for the operations involving half a day's work, regarding weeding operations one cultivator has said that he just serves the mid-day meal and does not pay any wages. One hundred and ten cultivators reported that they serve one meal and in addition give a seer of nagli. This requires them to pay off 6,446 seers of nagli. The two cultivators who just pay an athva of nagli in all disbursed 117.2 seers of nagli.

The rab operations also require half a day's employment per labourer. Sixty cultivators who pay a seer of nagli and a meal in all paid off 2,658 seers of nagli. Twenty-one cultivators who have said that they paid 8 annas for half a day's work totally have paid Rs.466 roughly speaking. Twenty-six cultivators who paid an athva only have in all paid 2,879.5 seers of nagli.

The total payment in kind i.e. nagli for the labour employed for half days only comes to 12,100.7 seers for all the cultivators. On an average therefore each cultivator has paid 67.22 seers or 60.98 kgs. Cash payments come to Rs.466.-

If we calculate the quantity of nagli required to serve the meals which consist of about 3 nagli breads and curry, treating 3 nagli breads equal to half a kilogram the total comes to 13,105.15 kgs. i.e. 72.8 kgs. per cultivator.

In all on an average a cultivator spends for all the operations together 382.94 kgs. of nagli in a year. The money value of this will be, calculating on the basis of 9 annas a kilogram of nagli (the current price during our survey) roughly Rs.215. Together with the cash payments made, it comes to Rs.218.

These wage payments are made to everyone employed outside the family. It has been said earlier that the cultivators may sometimes feel compelled to employ the labour, either because the labourer has already mortgaged the labour or because otherwise the labourer goes without any employment and as a result without any food. Mutual help among kin members also does not seem to be present (it might have been there and now disappeared; at least the respondents in our sample were not aware of it), because of scarcity conditions. All labour is contractual. This is so not only for field operations but all other labour that a person requires outside his family in such items as erection of the hut. Even kin members and affinals have to be paid wages against their labour. This fact has also led to the increase in the wage labour employed and the wages thereby. These wages have now to be reviewed against the production of the cultivators. The wages paid per labourer in kind including the meal served comes to 199.43 kgs. of nagli (total 67,907.15 kgs.) if we presume that all the 341 labourers are equally employed and paid wages equally. This again will be considered later while dealing with the labourers.

4. Production of Crops

The production of the crops has to be viewed in relation to the subsistence needs and wage payments. The subsistence needs may include both the food requirements as well as other needs. The staple food of the people is

nagli. Rice is less for consumption but more used for sale to earn purchasing power to be utilized for procuring other necessities. So also Warai is more of it sold than consumed.

As nagli is mainly used for consumption and for payment of wages to the labour the total production of nagli has to be viewed from its sufficiency point of view towards these ends. The per cultivator production per year of nagli comes to 796.3 kgs. (Table No. 57). Out of these we have seen earlier that the cultivator disburses 382.9 Kgs. in the form of wages and meals to the labourer. The remaining 413.4 Kgs. alone are left for his home consumption. It is clear that nearly half of his produce of nagli he gives away in wages. The employment of labour is clearly disproportionate in view of his resources for payment of wages. The remaining quantity of nagli is utterly insufficient to meet his food requirements for his family. Even making allowance for over-reporting of the employment of labour and under-reporting of his produce, the produce falls much short of the cultivators' requirements. It is true that he keeps some rice and Warai also for home consumption, but much of it is sold out. Many agriculturists do not have enough nagli to feed their family towards the end of the agricultural year. Naturally they also do not have nagli to pay wages to the labour. They borrow nagli from the local grain bank for *khavati* i.e. for self-consumption, which they may also utilize for paying the wages of the labour. They also borrow their requirements in nagli from their grocer. As production usually falls short of their requirements the borrowing and the resulting indebtedness runs into a vicious circle. Rice is usually sold to the grocer-cum-moneylenders with whom they have connections over years and with whom they have transactions throughout the year for one reason or the other. It is not even correct to say that they 'sell' the rice. The produce is acquired by the grocer towards the outstanding dues and the balance if any in cash or kind is carried over to the next year. If the produce is worth more than the dues the extra cash returns are paid back to the cultivators either in cash or kind. But usually the produce turns out to be short of the outstanding dues. The procurement of rice by the government in 1965 upset the usual transactions of the cultivators with the grocer-cum-moneylender. In fact not all the rice produced by the cultivators could be procured by the government, because some cultivators felt obliged to hand over some of it at least to their traditional 'benefactors', namely, the grocer-cum-moneylenders. It is true that these are not the only sources for them to draw upon their cash and kind needs, especially the cash needs. The agricultural co-operative credit societies, the government loans and subsidies, and the grain banks have been instituted and have been operating to cater to his needs. But to a great extent the cultivator still turns to the grocer-cum-moneylender. This will be seen by the extent of his indebtedness to them in comparison with other agencies.

The production of the different crops may also be seen from the viewpoint of their proportion in the total production. Rice forms the largest bulk followed by nagli and Warai. Per cultivator production of rice is 963.4 Kgs. of nagli 796.3 Kgs., and of Warai 166.4 Kgs. The pulses occupy a smaller proportion individually, and altogether, the tur and urid again forming a larger proportion i.e. 48.5 and 54.2 Kgs. respectively per cultivator.

Table No. 57 : Agricultural Produce - Total, Per Cultivator and Per Acre

Village	Rice				Nagli				Warai				
	Cultivators	Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per Cultivator	Production per acre Kgs.	Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per Cultivator	Production per acre Kgs.	Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per Cultivator	Production per acre Kgs.
Dalpetpur	23	72.25	27,780	3.14	384.50	72.00	11,120	3.13	154.44	12.87	1,292	0.56	100.39
Nirgude	8	28.73	12,750	3.59	443.79	38.00	6,680	4.75	175.79	7.75	1,075	0.97	138.71
Torangan	16	53.20	19,160	3.32	360.15	52.50	12,800	3.28	243.81	12.03	1,224	0.75	101.74
Bafanvihir	8	17.55	3,720	2.19	211.96	15.32	1,500	1.92	97.91	6.00	700	0.75	116.67
Deodongara	21	52.85	19,520	2.52	369.35	55.88	9,538	2.66	170.69	14.20	1,990	0.68	140.14
Deodongari	10	21.95	5,000	2.19	227.79	25.08	5,100	2.51	203.35	4.50	800	0.45	177.78
Donawade	17	58.25	8,345	3.43	143.26	77.75	10,680	4.57	137.36	16.00	1,860	0.94	117.87
Kulawandi	30	96.95	30,000	3.23	309.44	108.33	28,856	3.61	266.37	26.93	7,800	0.89	289.64
Palashi Bk.	5	15.00	2,440	3.00	163.59	11.50	2,300	2.30	200.00	5.75	800	1.15	139.13
Gadadawne	9	18.58	9,180	2.06	494.08	67.37	12,500	7.48	185.54	19.75	3,800	2.18	192.40
Rautmal	6	7.38	3,680	1.23	320.86	25.97	5,076	4.33	195.45	8.25	1,520	1.37	184.24
Shirasgaon	27	107.10	31,840	3.96	297.29	142.25	37,200	5.27	261.51	38.50	7,100	1.42	184.42
Total	180	549.79	173,415	3.05	315.35	691.95	143,350	3.29	207.17	172.53	29,961	0.96	173.65
Per cultivator			963.4				796.3				166.4		

(continued)

Table No. 57 : (continued)

Village	Cultivators	Kulith				Udid				Tur			
		Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per cultivator	Production per acre in Kgs.	Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per cultivator	Production per acre in Kgs.	Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per cultivator	Production per acre in Kgs.
Dalpatpur	23	33.08	1,467.5	1.43	44.35	30.78	1,445	1.34	46.95	17.70	760	0.77	42.93
Nirgude	8	9.25	285	1.16	30.81	11.00	450	1.37	40.91	3.75	210	0.47	56.00
Torangan	16	11.00	490	0.69	44.55	16.00	615	1.00	38.44	6.60	345	0.41	52.27
Bafenvihir	8	8.15	130	1.02	15.95	5.75	250	0.72	43.48	5.17	318	0.64	61.51
Deodongara	21	19.65	1,445	0.94	73.54	25.00	1,915	1.19	76.60	8.12	427	0.39	52.58
Deodongari	10	5.50	100	0.55	18.18	10.13	520	1.01	51.33	5.37	197	0.54	36.68
Donawade	17	15.62	580	0.92	37.13	2.00	120	0.12	60.00	9.02	65	0.53	7.22
Kulawandi	30	25.43	1,780	0.85	69.99	20.25	975	0.67	48.15	14.13	400	0.47	23.31
Palashi Bk.	5	3.75	42	0.75	11.20	0.95	135	0.19	142.10	3.53	20	0.71	5.66
Gadadawne	9	14.25	630	1.58	44.21	17.50	750	1.94	42.86	11.00	567	1.22	51.54
Rautmal	6	7.00	170	1.17	24.29	8.50	260	1.42	32.94	5.25	115	0.87	21.90
Shirasegon	27	44.45	1,613	1.65	36.29	54.38	2,313	2.01	42.53	29.50	1,256	1.09	42.57
Total	180	197.13	8,732.5	1.09	42.29	202.24	9,748	1.12	48.16	119.14	4,680	0.66	39.28
Per cultivator			48.5				54.2				26.0		

(continued)

Table No. 57 : (continued)

Village	Cultivators	Khuresani				Chillies				Other Crops			
		Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per cultivator	Production per acre in Kgs.	Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per cultivator	Production per acre in Kgs.	Acres	Production in Kgs.	Acres per cultivator	Production per acre in Kgs.
Dalpatpur	23	24.95	350.96	1.08	14.07	0.42	32	0.02	76.14	6.40	436.56	0.28	68.21
Nirgude	8	4.00	75	0.50	19.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Torangan	16	16.08	410	1.00	25.50	0.33	28	0.02	85.00	3.75	400	0.23	106.66
Bafenvihir	8	5.38	105	0.67	19.52	0.30	16	0.04	53.33	0.20	22	0.02	110.00
Deodongara	21	6.62	370	0.31	55.89	1.80	100	0.09	55.55	0.82	30	0.04	36.59
Deodongari	10	3.33	242	0.33	72.67	0.22	25	0.02	113.64	1.63	128	0.16	78.52
Donawade	17	26.67	740	1.57	27.75	1.20	236	0.07	190.60	1.85	172	0.11	92.97
Kulawandi	30	12.75	505	0.43	39.61	7.00	225	0.23	32.14	4.00	350	0.13	87.50
Palashi Bk.	5	5.00	80	1.00	16.00	0.05	-	0.01	-	0.08	60	0.01	750.00
Gadadawne	9	25.00	946	2.78	33.84	1.47	75	0.16	53.57	2.08	215	0.23	103.36
Rautmel	6	2.75	150	0.46	54.56	0.30	60	0.05	200.00	0.60	60	0.10	100.00
Shirasgaon	27	13.62	820	0.50	60.20	2.08	475	0.08	228.36	5.65	886	0.21	156.81
Total	180	146.15	4793.96	0.81	32.79	15.17	1,272	0.08	83.85	27.06	2,759.56	0.15	101.88
Per cultivator			26.63				7.07				15.33		

Among the 180 cultivators in the case of all the crops majority fall in the category of those who produce less than 1,000 Kgs. of each of the crops. In the case of rice 107 or 59.44 per cent of the cultivators produce 1,000 Kgs. and less. Those who produce nagli have 125 or 69.44 per cent of them producing 1,000 Kgs. and less. Almost all the cultivators produce Warai 1,000 Kgs. and less each; rice and nagli are produced by almost all the cultivators, only 2.18 and 3.33 per cent respectively declaring that they do not produce either of them. Warai and the pulses appear less resorted to comparatively.

These crops are being grown by them traditionally and the introduction of new crops like grams, chillies etc. is not taken to by them to any appreciable extent.

The production of these crops notwithstanding the indebtedness of the cultivator might give a better picture of his economic standing, which will be reviewed next.

5. Indebtedness

The total indebtedness of the 154 cultivators runs into Rs.72,656/- and 15,129 Kgs. of nagli (Table No. 58). Per cultivator it comes to Rs.471.79 and 98.24 Kgs. of nagli. Twenty-six cultivators or 14.4 per cent of the total of 180 have reported no outstanding debt. These 26 cultivators are distributed over nine out of the twelve villages. Nirgude, Donawade and Palashi Budruk have all of their cultivators reporting indebtedness in cash or kind. The villages Bafanvihir, Deodongara, Deodongari and Gadadawne, Rautmal, and Shirasaon are the six which have a larger proportion of their cultivators not reporting any indebtedness.

There are 13 items in which the cultivators have specified to have borrowed either in cash or kind. As for the indebtedness in cash, 4 items, namely, general agricultural purposes, bunding, construction of well and construction of house stand out as those for which comparatively the dues are higher. Together they form 59.22 per cent of the total indebtedness of Rs.72,656/-. Among the total borrowings these appear to be the most important items. It may be noted that the first three among the above four items are in one way or the other connected with agriculture. That the construction of wells claims 21.68 per cent of the total indebtedness shows the extent of the attention received by the water-scarcity problem. Of the total indebtedness in cash per cultivator (Rs.471.79) construction of wells claims Rs.102.27 i.e. nearly 25 per cent. The loans in grain are mainly for home consumption and to pay wages to the labour during the transplanting operations. That 61.17 per cent of the grain loans are taken for home consumption reveals the shortage of the foodgrains. Per cultivator the grain loan for home consumption comes to 59.89 Kgs. of nagli. The grain loan for paying the wages to the labour during transplanting operations comes to 22.24 Kgs. per cultivator. The other two items that are mentioned are 'agriculture' and bunding, per cultivator indebtedness in which comes to 8.12 and 7.01 Kgs. respectively. These are loans advanced to meet the seed requirements and wages for the labour employed in bunding. That bunding is not always mutual especially when it does not involve the neighbouring cultivators should be noted here.

Table No. 58 : Outstanding Loans Among 154 Cultivators in 1965

Item for which Loans were Borrowed	Loans Borrowed from							
	Revenue & Other Departments		Block Development Office		Co-operative Societies		Moneylender-cum-Grocer	
	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.
1. Agriculture	-	450	-	200	6,220	430	1,760	-
2. Bunding	5,273	-	4,625	-	-	1,080	100	-
3. Well construction	7,500	-	8,250	-	-	-	-	-
4. Purchase of Bullocks	1,105	-	-	-	600	-	400	-
5. Sowing Operations	150	2,620	-	-	1,150	440	20	125
6. Purchase of Engine	-	-	5,000	-	-	-	-	-
7. House Construction	2,250	-	-	-	700	-	5,200	-
8. Purchase of Tiles	900	-	2,200	-	-	-	100	-
9. Grocery	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,201	-
10. Marriage	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,100	-
11. Clothing	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,972	-
12. Other Household expenditure	-	1,120	-	-	-	4,830	585	-
13. Repayment of Debt	-	-	-	-	55	-	550	-
14. Not Mentioned	2,300	120	-	-	80	-	-	-
Total	19,478	4,310	20,075	200	8,805	6,780	18,988	125
Average per Borrower	126.48	27.98	130.36	1.40	57.17	44.03	123.30	0.81
Percentage to the total of cash and kind separately	26.81	28.50	27.63	1.32	12.12	44.81	26.13	0.83

(continued)

Table No. 58 : (continued)

Item for which loans were Borrowed	Loans Borrowed from Relatives & Other Agriculturists		TOTAL		Average per Borrower		Percentage for each item of Borrowings	
	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.
1. Agriculture	220	170	8,200	1,250	53.25	8.12	11.29	8.26
2. Bunding	-	-	9,998	1,080	64.92	7.01	13.76	7.14
3. Well Construction	-	-	15,750	-	102.27	-	21.68	-
4. Purchase of Bullocks	65	-	2,170	-	14.09	-	2.99	-
5. Sowing Operations	80	240	1,400	3,425	9.09	22.24	1.93	22.64
6. Purchase of Engine	-	-	5,000	-	32.47	-	6.88	-
7. House Construction	925	-	9,075	-	58.93	-	12.49	-
8. Purchase of Tiles	80	-	3,280	-	21.30	-	4.51	-
9. Grocery	-	-	1,201	-	7.80	-	1.65	-
10. Marriage	1,970	-	5,070	-	32.92	-	6.98	-
11. Clothing	40	-	6,012	-	39.04	-	8.27	-
12. Other Household Expendi- ture	430	3,304	1,015	9,254	6.59	59.89	1.39	61.17
13. Repayment of Debt	-	-	605	-	3.93	-	0.83	-
14. Not Mentioned	1,500	-	3,880	120	25.19	0.78	5.35	0.79
Total	5,310	3,714	72,656	15,129			100.00	100.00
Average per borrower	34.48	24.12	471.79	98.24				
Percentage to the total of cash and kind separately	7.31	24.54	100.00	100.00				

(Borrowers in cash only are 74, and in cash and kind both are 80; non-borrowers are 26. The figures refer to all the 154 borrowers.)

The item of clothing shows loans which are 8.27 per cent of the total which is a pretty big proportion in view of their dress that is observed. This clothing which necessitates borrowing may be in respect of marriage and other ceremonies. Usually the majority have a piece of cloth to cover their private parts, a jacket to cover their body above the waist and a turban. Only a few cultivators who live in villages near the market centres or are comparatively better-off wear a dhoti and have a better turban and jacket. Those who frequent the block headquarter Harsul or have to meet the officials always keep a spare dhoti which they wear on such occasions. These of course also happen to be comparatively well-to-do. The least amount borrowed 0.83 per cent is for the repayment of loan. It is interesting to note that almost all of it is borrowed from the moneylender. It may be to pay off the due instalments of payments of loans borrowed from the government, or to pay the revenue.

As for the sources from which they borrow cash, the government agencies, the Revenue and other departments and the Block Development Office, together have loaned a major amount, 54.44 per cent of their cash needs. Per cultivator loans from these come to Rs.256.84. The third in importance comes the moneylender whose loans form 26.13 per cent of the total. The cash loans from the Co-operative Societies are only 12.12 per cent whereas those from the other agriculturists are only 7.31 per cent. The loans from the agriculturists or relatives (who are very few of the two) are not mutual in the sense that they are not interest-free. On the other hand the interest charged by them is 25 to 50 per cent the same that the moneylender charges. Per cultivator cash loan from the co-operative societies is Rs.57.17 and from other agriculturists and relatives, Rs.34.48.

The co-operative societies as a single agency advancing loans in kind stand at the top, their loans forming 44.81 per cent of the total loans in kind. The second are the local grain banks with 28.5 per cent of the total and the third are the other agriculturists and relatives with 24.54 per cent of the total loans advanced. The Block Development Office loan which is 1.32 per cent of the total is mostly in the form of improved seeds. The moneylender has given mainly for the payment of wages during the transplanting operations.

The dependence of the cultivator for his different needs on the different sources reveals an instructive picture. For general agricultural purposes (which includes the harvesting, the weeding, and the rab operations) the co-operative societies take the major share in cash loans loaning Rs.6,220/- out of Rs.8,200/-. The next is the moneylenders who have loaned Rs.1,760/-. Grain loans for this purpose have been advanced by the local grain banks and the co-operative societies together claiming about two-thirds of the total, the other agriculturists and the Block Development Office together sharing the remaining one-third.

For bunding, the cash needs are mostly met with by the government, the moneylender, the only other source having advanced only Rs.100 out of nearly Rs.10,000/-. The needs in kind for this purpose are met with by the co-operative societies only.

Construction of wells which entails a heavy expenditure has been financed entirely by the government. So also the government has entirely given the required amount for the purchase of pumping engine. A major portion of loans required for the purchase of tiles too is shared by the government.

For the construction of houses more than 50 per cent of the loan is given by the moneylender. About 25 per cent is given by the government, about 8 per cent by the co-operative societies and the remaining 10 per cent or so by the other agriculturists.

The three items of grocery, marriage and clothing appear to be predominantly the moneylender's charge. More than one-third of the loans for marriage have been, however, also advanced by the other agriculturists.

The grains required for home consumption have been procured mainly from the co-operative societies although here too the agriculturists themselves have advanced more than one-third of the total.

The foregoing description of the amount borrowed or the debts outstanding against the 13 different items and as shared by the different sources reveals certain features regarding the part played or the help rendered by these different sources or agencies extending 'help' in the life of the tribal. The governmental agencies on the whole have extended help regarding 9 items, the most important being bunding, well-construction, purchase of pumping engine, house construction and tiles. There is another item which is unspecified for which the government has extended Rs.2,300/- out of the total of Rs.3,880/- and all the 120 Kgs. of nagli. The co-operative societies appear against 8 items the most important being 'agriculture' (including the weeding, rab, and harvest operations), and transplantation operations; regarding cash loans, and home consumption regarding loan in kind—nagli. It is interesting to note that the moneylender appears in 11 items, The most important from the point of his share in the total of the respective item are general agricultural operations, house construction where his share is much more than that of the government or the co-operative societies, grocery, marriage, clothing and repayment of debt.

Bunding, well construction, engine, and tiles are the non-traditional items of expenditure which the government has introduced as measures of improving the agricultural and living conditions. The agricultural operations in general and the transplantation in particular are traditional items which appear to have been taken care of by the local grain banks and the co-operative societies. Traditionally the cultivator in order to meet these needs as well used to borrow from the moneylender-cum-grocer. To that extent the tribal appears to have taken to the voluntary co-operative agencies and thus has been freed from the inevitability of depending upon the moneylender and all its attendant disadvantages.

But in the case of all other traditional items it is the moneylender who figures as the prominent source from which the cultivator has borrowed. House, grocery and other provisions, marriage, clothing, other recurring household expenditure and repayment of debt are such items which

the tribal cannot evade. They are even more important for him than the non-traditional items for which he has been induced to borrow. Since he has been induced to borrow on these items in order to better his agricultural and living conditions without being convinced of the same, he might look upon the loans taken on these items as being thrust upon him. In many cases therefore these loans might have been misused or not used properly. Again, these items are such that they are not recurring ones. Some of them such as construction of wells and houses or purchasing an engine may appear once in a life-time or even more. As the connection with the government as far as loans are concerned is not continuous and is limited to certain requirements the underlying motivation for which is not completely owned and assimilated by the cultivator, he looks upon the loan more or less as an unwanted burden. For these reasons the repayment of the loans by the government also is not made by him voluntarily. He has to be compelled to do so by the force of law. On the contrary his ties with the moneylender-cum-grocer are continuous and recurring throughout the year. These ties run on traditional lines for traditional requirements of the necessity of which he is convinced or which are part of his life. There are no other agencies in the field to take the place of the moneylender. The repayments that he makes to the moneylender also have to be continuous and year after year in order to keep the requirements flowing to him unchecked. This process has been going on for years and generations now, so that the ties between the moneylender and the cultivator are traditionalized. The cultivator now here and there evinces an interest in the accounts kept by the moneylender and asks for the balance of dues left after repayment which is mainly by attaching his crop produce, especially rice and warai. This awareness about the cash-value of his produce is also observed in his keenness to know the quantity of his produce attached or 'sold' to the grocer-cum-moneylender. But by and large he is still ignorant of the accounts, or if he is aware of them is unable to check, correct or dispute the errors therein because of his being illiterate. But the situation is not as hopeless as the foregoing might suggest. Because the indebtedness that was discussed was referred to all the 154 cultivators who had declared their indebtedness to one source or the other. Not all the cultivators of these 154 owe to all the sources. It was not clear so far as to how many cultivators borrowed from each of the different agencies and how much. It was also not revealed as to who are these cultivators with regard to the size of their land-holding. Analysis of these factors will throw further light on the indebtedness of the cultivators. Only the cash loans are considered here (Table No. 59).

As we were concerned with the role and importance of the moneylender let us consider the loans due to him and the number of cultivators concerned. Out of 180 cultivators those that owe the moneylender any amount are 89, or 49.4 per cent. On the very face of it, it is redeeming to note that more than half of the cultivators reportedly did not owe anything to the moneylenders.

The distribution of these 89 cultivators according to the size of their land-holdings shows that majority of them have land-holdings of 15 acres and less. They are 74.15 per cent of the total. Of these those holding lands of 6 to 10 acres alone are 35.95 per cent, those holding lands of 5 and less acres and 11 to 15 acres being 14.61

Table No. 59 : Distribution of Loans Borrowed From the Different Agencies According to the Size of Land-holding

		Loan Taken from Moneylenders						Total	Per Head
		Land in Acres							
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	More than 25		
DALPATPUR	No. of Land-owners	4	9	4	1	-	5	23	
	No. of Borrowers	4	8	2	-	-	3	17	
	Total Amount Rs.	403	865	250	-	-	400	1,918	112.87
NIRGUDE	No. of Land-owners	-	4	2	-	1	1	8	
	No. of Borrowers	-	3	-	-	1	-	4	
	Total Amount Rs.	-	180	-	-	200	-	380	95.00
TORANGAN	No. of Land-owners	3	5	5	1	1	1	16	
	No. of Borrowers	1	3	3	1	1	1	10	
	Total Amount Rs.	30	270	417	300	160	400	1,577	157.70
BAFANVIHIR	No. of Land-owners	1	4	2	-	-	1	8	
	No. of Borrowers	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	
	Total Amount Rs.	100	40	-	-	-	-	140	70.00
DEODONGARA	No. of Land-owners	6	6	3	2	-	4	21	
	No. of Borrowers	1	2	2	1	-	2	8	
	Total Amount Rs.	100	126	255	75	-	290	856	107.00
DEODONGARI	No. of Land-owners	2	5	1	2	-	-	10	
	No. of Borrowers	-	2	-	1	-	-	3	
	Total Amount Rs.	-	140	-	50	-	-	190	63.33
DONAWADE	No. of Land-owners	4	3	5	2	1	2	17	
	No. of Borrowers	2	3	4	1	-	-	10	
	Total Amount Rs.	26	320	260	145	-	-	751	75.10

(continued)

Table No. 59 : (continued)

		Loan Taken from Moneylenders								
		Land in Acres						Total	Per Head	
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	More than 25			
KULAWANDI	No. of Land-owners	4	10	5	6	2	3	30		
	No. of Borrowers	3	8	3	4	2	1	21		
	Total Amount Rs.	570	1,170	600	1,425	2,200	2,800	8,765	417.40	
PALASHI BK.	No. of Land-owners	1	1	3	-	-	-	5		
	No. of Borrowers	1	1	3	-	-	-	5		
	Total Amount Rs.	200	100	905	-	-	-	1,205	241.00	
GADADAWNE	No. of Land-owners	-	-	2	2	1	4	9		
	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
RAUTMAL	No. of Land-owners	-	3	1	-	1	1	6		
	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
SHIRASGAON	No. of Land-owners	1	3	7	8	2	6	27		
	No. of Borrowers	-	1	4	2	-	2	9		
	Total Amount Rs.	-	40	356	142	-	2,678	3,216	356.22	
TOTAL	No. of Land-owners	26	53	40	24	9	28	180		
	Percentages	14.44	29.44	22.23	13.38	5.00	15.56	100.00		
	No. of Borrowers	13	32	21	10	4	9	89		
	Percentages	14.61	35.95	23.59	11.24	4.50	10.11	100.00		
	Total Amount Rs.	1,429	3,251	3,043	2,137	2,560	6,568	18,988	213.35	
	Percentages	7.53	17.12	16.03	11.25	13.48	34.59	100.00		

(continued)

Table No. 59: (continued)

Loans Taken from Block Development and Revenue Etc.

		Land in Acres						Total
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Above 25	
DALPATPUR	No. of Borrowers	-	5	1	-	-	2	8
	Total Amount Rs.	-	1,500	600	-	-	700	2,800
NIRGUDE	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TORANGAN	No. of Borrowers	-	2	3	1	1	1	8
	Total Amount Rs.	-	2,600	400	2,500	200	2,600	8,300
BAFANVIHIR	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DEODONGARA	No. of Borrowers	-	-	1	-	-	2	3
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	250	-	-	2,100	2,350
DEODONGARI	No. of Borrowers	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
	Total Amount Rs.	-	350	300	-	-	-	650
DONAWADE	No. of Borrowers	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	700	-	-	-	700
KULAWANDI	No. of Borrowers	1	2	1	2	2	1	9
	Total Amount Rs.	2,000	500	600	300	5,600	6,000	15,000

(continued)

Table No. 59 : (continued)

Loans Taken from Block Development and Revenue Etc.

		Land in Acres						Total
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Above 25	Total
PALASHI BK.	No. of Borrowers	1	1	3	-	-	-	5
	Total Amount Rs.	200	400	1,700	-	-	-	2,300
GADADAWNE	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	160	600	760
RAUTMAL	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SHIRASGAON	No. of Borrowers	-	-	1	5	2	2	10
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	500	2,193	1,000	3,000	6,693
TOTAL	No. of Borrowers	2	11	13	8	6	9	49
	Percentages	4.08	22.45	26.53	16.33	12.24	18.37	100.00
	Total Amount Rs.	2,200	5,350	5,050	4,993	6,960	15,000	39,553
	Percentages	5.56	13.53	12.77	12.62	17.60	37.92	100.00

(continued)

Table No. 59 : (continued)

		Loan From Co-operative Society						Total
		Land in Acres						
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Above 25	
DALPATPUR	No. of Borrowers	1	2	1	-	-	2	6
	Total Amount Rs.	100	200	150	-	-	150	600
NIRGUDE	No. of Borrowers	-	3	2	-	1	1	7
	Total Amount Rs.	-	250	300	-	250	350	1,150
TORANGAN	No. of Borrowers	2	2	2	1	1	1	9
	Total Amount Rs.	250	500	250	100	100	150	1,350
BAFANVHIR	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DEODONGARA	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DEODONGARI	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	70	-	-	70
DONAWADE	No. of Borrowers	1	-	2	-	1	1	5
	Total Amount Rs.	60	-	250	-	100	75	485
KULAWANDI	No. of Borrowers	-	1	2	1	1	-	5
	Total Amount Rs.	-	100	400	100	600	-	1,200

(continued)

Table No. 59 : (continued)

Loan from Co-operative Society

		Land in Acres						
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Above 25	Total
PALASHI BK.	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GADADAWNE	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RAUTMAL	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	100	-	100
SHIRASGAON	No. of Borrowers	-	-	4	1	-	3	8
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	900	250	-	2,700	3,850
TOTAL	No. of Borrowers	4	8	13	4	5	8	42
	Percentages	9.52	19.05	30.95	9.52	11.90	19.05	100.00
	Total Amount Rs.	110	1,050	2,250	520	1,150	3,425	8,805
	Percentages	4.67	11.92	25.55	5.90	13.06	38.90	100.00

(continued)

Table No. 59 : (continued)

Loan from Relatives and Other Agriculturists

		Land in Acres						Total
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Above 25	
DALPATPUR	No. of Borrowers	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Total Amount Rs.	50	-	-	-	-	-	50
NIRGUDE	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TORANGAN	No. of Borrowers	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Total Amount Rs.	75	-	-	-	-	-	75
BAFANVIHIR	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DEODONGARA	No. of Borrowers	3	-	1	1	-	-	5
	Total Amount Rs.	250	-	50	210	-	-	510
DEODONGARI	No. of Borrowers	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
	Total Amount Rs.	-	500	-	-	-	-	500
DONAWADE	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
KULAWANDI	No. of Borrowers	-	1	-	2	1	-	4
	Total Amount Rs.	-	75	-	350	200	-	625

(continued)

Table No. 59 : (continued)

Loan from Relatives and Other Agriculturists

		Land in Acres						
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Above 25	Total
PALASHI BK.	No. of Borrowers	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	50	-	-	-	50
GADADAWNE	No. of Borrowers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RAUTMAL	No. of Borrowers	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	200	-	350	-	550
SHIRASGAON	No. of Borrowers	-	-	1	1	2	3	7
	Total Amount Rs.	-	-	100	400	250	2,200	2,950
TOTAL	No. of Borrowers	5	4	4	4	4	3	24
	Percentages	20.89	16.67	16.67	16.67	16.67	12.50	100.00
	Total Amount Rs.	375	575	400	960	800	2,200	5,310
	Percentages	7.06	10.83	7.53	18.08	15.07	41.43	100.00

and 23.59 per cent respectively. It is true that the cultivators on the whole are also found more in the size-groups of 15 acres and less. But the proportions of those who have borrowed from the moneylender in these size-groups are more than those of the cultivators found in them. Their share in the total loan however is in inverse proportion. Of the total loan due to the moneylenders the share of these cultivators holding lands of 15 acres and less comes to 40.68 per cent. The share of the cultivators with holdings of 16 to 20 acres is almost on par with their proportion among the total borrowers. The cultivators of larger land-holdings of 21 to 25 acres and more than 25 acres have borrowed nearly half, 48.07 per cent, of the total amount. The average borrowing per cultivator comes to Rs.213.35. The lowest amount of Rs.101.6 is found among the cultivators of 6 to 10 acres' size-group of holdings whereas the highest of Rs.729.9 is found among the borrowers with holdings of more than 25 acres.

Among the ten villages reporting dues payable to the moneylender, borrowers appear proportionately in respect of their total number of cultivators more in Dalpatpur, Nirgude, Torangan, Donawade, Kulawandi, Palashi Budruk and Shirasgaon. The first three villages of these are found near Harsul within a distance of 1 to 3 miles, and Kulawandi and Shirasgaon are two big villages in the sample. Donawade, although it shows a larger proportion of borrowers in relation to its cultivators, has the amount per cultivator much less, comparable only to the three villages where a lower proportion of borrowers is found. The per cultivator debt in Donawade is Rs.75.10, and in the three villages: Bafanvahir, Deodongara and Deodongari it is Rs.70.0, 107.0 and 63.33 respectively. Per cultivator debt is the highest, Rs.417.40, in Kulewandi followed by Rs.356.22 in Shirasgaon, Rs.157.7 in Torangan, Rs.112.87 in Dalpatpur, and Rs.95.0 in Nirgude. The moneylender thus appears more broad-based in the villages near the Block Headquarter which is also a banking, educational, wholesale and retail shopping, and weekly market centre, and in big villages like Kulawandi and Shirasgaon which although lack weekly markets are well-connected with Harsul, their distance from which is 11 and 7 miles respectively. In Gadadawne and Rautmal the moneylender does not appear at all.

The next source that is to be seen now is of the governmental agencies. Here out of 180 cultivators only 49 or 27.2 per cent have borrowed from these. And the smaller cultivators again predominate among them. Of the 49 borrowers those with holdings of 15 acres and less are 53.06 per cent. But the total number of cultivators in these three lower groups are 68.11 per cent of the total, which means that the borrowers among them are less than their proportion among the total cultivators. In other words proportionately to their total strength less of them have borrowed from the governmental agencies. Each of the groups taken separately it is clear that those with land-holdings of 11 to 15 acres and above have more and more of them as borrowers. Those with land-holdings of 6 to 10 acres have less proportion of borrowers, and those with holdings of 5 acres and less, have much less. The proportionate strength of the cultivators in these groups is 29.44 and 14.44 per cent, whereas the borrowers among them are 22.45 and 4.08 per cent of the total respectively.

As for the amount of debt due from these borrowers, those with holdings of 21 to 25 acres and 25 acres and more have taken each of them on an average a larger amount than the others, their average per cultivator dues coming to Rs.1,160 and Rs.1,666.7 respectively. The smallest cultivator with holdings of 5 acres and less also appears to have taken a larger amount his average dues coming to Rs.1,100. The average of all others is much less than these. The average of all the cultivators together therefore works out to be Rs.807.2 only.

Among the twelve villages, in proportion to the total number of their cultivators more borrowers appear in Dalpatpur, Torangan, Kulawandi, Palashi Budruk, and Shirasgaon. It is to be noted that these are the villages which showed a proportionately larger number of borrowers even in respect of the moneylenders. In Kulawandi and Shirasgaon it has to be noted again that it is the bigger cultivators who predominate as borrowers. The highest amount of dues per cultivator-borrower, of Rs.1,666.7 is seen in Kulawandi, that in Shirasgaon being Rs.669.3. Torangan's average dues per cultivator come to Rs.1,037.5. In all the other villages the average dues are much less than these.

Those who have borrowed from the co-operative societies are 42 or 23.33 per cent of the total number of cultivators. The number of cultivators owing dues to the societies is about half of those owing dues to the moneylender. The pattern of those borrowing with reference to the size of their land-holdings is the same here as well. The borrowers with holdings of 15 acres and less are 59.52 per cent of the total. But the dues payable by them again are only 42.14 per cent of the total dues. Another feature to be noted is that per borrower average dues come to only Rs.209.6, the lowest average among the dues payable to the four sources. Among the twelve villages, Shirasgaon and Kulawandi again show the highest two averages of Rs.481.25 and Rs.240.0, respectively; It is also surprising to note that Bafanvhir, Deodongara, Palashi Budruk and Gadadawne do not show any of their cultivators reporting dues payable to the co-operative societies. Gadadawne does not show any dues to the moneylender and Rautmal does not show any to the government.

There are only 24 cultivators who have reported outstanding dues to other cultivators and/or relatives. The smaller and the bigger cultivators are almost equal as borrowers although as seen before the dues payable by the bigger cultivators come to as big as 74.58 per cent of the total. The bigger cultivators as borrowers appear more again in Kulawandi and Shirasgaon. These 24 cultivators belong to eight villages; Nirgude, Bafanvhir, Donawade, and Gadadawne do not report any among their cultivators owing dues to this source. Per cultivator dues for all the eight villages come to Rs.221.2 which is more than the average dues payable to the moneylender. Shirasgaon, Rautmal and Kulawandi are the three villages where the per cultivator dues are the highest their averages being Rs.421.4, Rs.225.0 and Rs.212.5 respectively. Kulawandi's average, however, conforms to the average of all the borrowers of the eight villages.

From the foregoing it is seen that the moneylender still plays a significant role in catering to the cash needs of the villagers. The cultivators borrowing from

the moneylender are comparatively more and their average dues also are high enough among the borrowers from all the sources. It is to be seen now as to how far the cultivator is able to redeem himself of his indebtedness, and which among the different sources get their loans repaid. The mode of repayment also will be seen to differ from one source to the other.

6. Repayment of Debt

Out of the 154 cultivators who have reported outstanding dues only 95 have reported to have repaid dues during the previous year i.e. 1963-64. (Table No. 60). 32.78 per cent of the total borrowers have not paid or have not been able to pay off any of their dues. It is to be noted that more than 50 per cent (51) of those (95) who have repaid their loans have done so in kind or have paid off grain loans. Those who have paid off in cash only are 31 or 32.63 per cent and those who have repaid both in cash and kind are 13 or 13.68 per cent.

The total amount repaid in cash is Rs.7,330/- and the quantity of grains is of 63,660 Kgs. of rice and nagli, the latter being mainly the grain loans repaid to the local grain banks. The total dues reported were Rs.72,656/- and 15,129 Kgs. of nagli. Obviously, if the dues piling up afresh every year are to be treated as being more or less the same, not all the dues could be paid back in one year. Which means that the dues may go on accumulating to a limit which may be beyond the capacity of the cultivator to pay back.

The total payments in cash are 55 and those in kind, mainly rice, are 72, which again show that most of the payments are made in kind. These numbers exceed the total number of those who have repaid, because some have paid back to more than one agency among the five noted earlier. Of the 55 cash payments made the moneylender grabs the largest proportion, 40.0 per cent, as a single agency, next comes the co-operative societies with 29.09 per cent, and the third is the Revenue and the departments other than the Block Development Office with 20.0 per cent. Block Development Office and the other agriculturists have received only 3 or 5.45 per cent of payments each. Among the kind payments as well the moneylender has received the majority, 54.17 per cent. The second are the co-operative societies with 15 or 20.83 per cent of payments. The other agriculturists, the Revenue Department and the local agencies and the Block Development Office have received 13.89, 9.72 and 1.39 per cent of the payments respectively. The proportion of these payments shows the number of the borrowers connected with the different agencies and the urgency of their payment to the latter. That the moneylender and the co-operative societies show a larger number of borrowers repaying their loans to them means that the urgency to pay back to these agencies is greater than to others. It may also mean that these two can exercise their control direct or indirect in a more efficient way in getting their loans repaid, partially at least, than the others. It is true as has been seen earlier that their connections with the cultivators are more 'intimate' and more frequent because of their role in catering to the 'essential' needs of the latter. Their connections with the government or the other agriculturists are not as frequent or as intimate. That is why, perhaps,

Table No. 60 : Repayment of Debt by the Cultivators

Name of Village	No. of Repayers				Revenue and Other Departments		Block Development Office		Co-operative Societies							
	Total	In Cash	In Cash + Kind	In Kind	No. of Repayers	Cash in Rs.	No. of Repayers	Kind in Kgs.	No. of Repayers	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	No. of Repayers	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.		
Dalpatpur	11	5	1	5	4	315.50	-	-	-	-	-	1	50	2	400	
Nirgude	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	375	1	200	
Torangan	8	5	1	2	3	333	-	-	-	-	-	2	80	-	-	
Bafenvihir	4	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
Deodongara	8	4	-	4	1	300	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Deodongari	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Donawade	9	3	1	5	-	-	3	1215	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Kulawandi	24	3	3	18	2	232	-	-	2	1050	-	2	500	2	1000	
Palashi Bk.	4	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	105	1	800	
Gadadewne	5	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	210	-	4	335	-	-	
Rautmal	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	115	-	-	
Shirasgaon	16	3	5	8	1	25	4	750	-	-	1	1800	3	835	7	700
Total	95	31	13	51	11	1205.50	7	1965	3	1260	1	1800	16	2395	15	3700
Per payment						109.59		280.7		420		1800		149.7		246.7

(continued)

Table No. 60 : (continued)

Name of Village	No. of Repayers				Moneylender-cum-Grocer			Relatives and Other Agriculturists				Total				
	Total	In Cash	In Cash + Kind		No. of Repayers	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	No. of Repayers	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.	No. of Repayers	Cash in Rs.	Kind in Kgs.			
			In Cash	In Kind												
Dalpatpur	11	5	1	5	7	447	4	2,200	-	-	1	100	12	812.50	7	2,700
Nirgude	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	400	-	-	-	-	1	375	2	600
Torengan	8	5	1	2	2	410	2	800	-	-	1	400	7	823	3	1,200
Bafanvihir	4	-	1	3	1	12.50	1	50	-	-	3	340	1	12.50	4	390
Deodongara	8	4	-	4	1	50	3	815	2	185	1	40	4	535	4	855
Deodongari	2	1	-	1	1	25	1	600	-	-	-	-	1	25	1	600
Donswade	9	3	1	5	4	260	3	250	-	-	-	-	4	260	8	2,065
Kulewandi	24	3	3	18	2	300	20	35,600	-	-	-	-	8	2,082	22	36,600
Palashi Bk.	4	1	-	3	-	-	2	500	-	-	-	-	1	105	3	1,300
Gadadawne	5	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50	5	545	1	50
Rautmal	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	115	-	-
Shirasgaon	16	3	5	8	4	700	2	13,600	1	80	3	450	9	1,640	17	17,300
Total	95	31	13	51	22	2,204.50	39	54,815	3	265	10	1,380	55	7,330	72	63,660
Per payment						100.20		1,405.5		88.7		138		133.3		884.2

the cultivator more readily pays back to the moneylender and the co-operative societies. In any case the transactions of the cultivator with these two agencies appear to be more than with the others.

Although more payments are made to these two agencies, the amount and the quantity involved varies from one agency to the other. The cash payments made to the moneylender are only Rs.100.20 on an average per payment. Only the 'other agriculturists' show a per payment average of Rs.88.7 which is lower than that of the moneylender. The Block Development Office which received very few payments shows the highest average of Rs.420 per payment. The co-operative societies show an average of Rs.149.7 and the Revenue and other government departments show an average of Rs.109.59. Against the average of all the 55 payments in cash, which is of Rs.133.3, the amount per payment, the annual instalment fixed, or the amount borrowed during the previous year (in the case of the co-operative societies) appears to be more in the case of the Block Development Office and the co-operative societies. But not all the loans are paid back in cash. Even cash loans are paid in kind. This is already seen in the total repayments where those in kind far exceed the ones in cash. Especially the repayments due to the moneylender against loans either in cash or kind are mostly made in kind. This can be seen from the fact that the repayments in kind to the moneylender far exceed the same to any other agency. Against the average per payment of all the agencies put together, which is of 884.2 Kgs., the average quantity per payment to the moneylender comes to as high as 1,405.5 Kgs. The lone payment of 1,800 Kgs. to the B.D.O. from Shirasgaon may not be taken to represent the usual size of payment to that office. The local grain banks come next with an average payment of 280.7 Kgs., then the co-operative societies with 246.7 Kgs., and the 'other agriculturists' with 138 Kgs., come last. Whereas the moneylender appears to play an important role in the village economy more deep and wide-spread than the other agencies, the co-operative societies appear as keen competitors in the field as yet playing a moderate role. It is also worth-noting that the role of other agriculturists and relatives is comparatively less extensive.

It is also to be noted that Kulawandi and Shirasgaon again lead all others in showing larger payments in both cash and kind to all the agencies than the other villages. Dalpatpur, Donawade and Palashi Budruk, show large payments in cash or kind to one or the other agency. Bafanvahir, Deodongara and Deodongari appear to have made the least number of payments which again are mostly to the moneylenders, and other agriculturists.

We have seen so far about the cultivator, his method of agriculture, the size and composition of his family, the age-group structure and the working members, these last two in comparison with the labourers, the size and composition of his family in relation with the size of the land-holdings, the proportion of workers in the family in relation with the type of his family, his labour requirements as expressed in the amount of labour he employs outside of his family, his wage payments to the labour, his annual production, and his indebtedness and repayment of the dues. The distribution of the cultivators according to the size of their land-holdings, their

distribution according to their subsidiary occupations in comparison with those of the labourers have been elaborated earlier. The implications of the different features along with their peculiarities have been hinted at and commented upon at relevant places. His subsidiary occupations will be further elaborated here.

7. The Subsidiary Occupations of the Cultivators

Earlier it was noted that the cultivators and the labourers both interchange their occupations as their subsidiary sources. Those cultivators who go in for agricultural labour or any other occupation must be doing so in order to supplement their income from cultivation alone which may be insufficient.

Of the 180 cultivators 74 or 41.11 per cent have reported to be following subsidiary occupations. Among them they follow in all 80 occupations. The number of subsidiary occupations exceeds the number of cultivators following them because in Torangan, Deodongara, Donawade, and Kulawandi one or two cultivators follow more than one subsidiary occupation. These 80 occupations bring on an average an income of Rs.152.94 and 45.31 Kgs. of nagli per occupation (Table No. 61-A).

The subsidiary occupations followed are agricultural labour, forest labour, carting, lending bullocks or buffaloes on hire, service, carpentry and 'others' which include selling eggs, milk, ghee, sugarcane, bananas, and cowdung although the number of cultivators following these in the last category is very small.

The largest number of cultivators—28 or 15.56 per cent—are found to be resorting to agricultural labour. Among the twelve villages, the larger proportion of cultivators in this occupation are found in Donawade, Kulawandi, and Rautmal, followed by Nirgude and Bafanvihr. Shirasgaon does not have any in this occupation; Gadadawne does not have any of its cultivators in any of the subsidiary occupations. In those zones where the proportion of agricultural labourers was more in the total population, especially Deodongara zone, there appear less number of cultivators following agricultural labour as their subsidiary occupation and where the agricultural labourers were less, especially in Kulawandi and Shirasgaon zones (the latter here shows only one village, Rautmal) more cultivators are seen following agricultural labour as their subsidiary occupation. But Nirgude and Bafanvihr in the former case, and the three villages of Shirasgaon, Gadadawne and Palashi Budruk in the latter behave contrary to this observation. This may be because Nirgude and Bafanvihr show a larger pressure on land resulting in the lack of self-sufficiency of the cultivators; and the Kulawandi and Shirasgaon zones have generally shown less pressure on land resulting in the self-sufficiency of the cultivators. This is only a partial explanation because the number of cultivators following agricultural labour is also affected by the number following the other subsidiary occupations.

Each cultivator pursuing agricultural labour has earned Rs.41.36 and 125.89 Kgs. of nagli on an average. Cash earnings are seen in six villages and kind earnings are seen in three villages, Rautmal showing both cash and

Table No. 61-A : Distribution of Cultivators According to Their Subsidiary Occupations and Their earnings

Village	Total No. of cultivators	No. of families	Agricultural Labour			Forest Labour (including forest cutting)			Cart Rent			Buffalo Rent		
			No. of fami- lies	Income		No. of fami- lies	Income		No. of fami- lies	Income		No. of fami- lies	Income	
				Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.		Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.		Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.		Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.
Dalpatpur	23	7	1	50	-	1	240	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nirgude	8	6	3	291	-	-	-	-	1	125	-	-	-	-
Torangan	16	6	2	400	-	2	800	-	1	100	-	-	-	-
Bafanvihir	8	3	2	-	160	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deodongera	21	10	2	278	-	2	150	-	3	600	-	2	250	-
Deodongari	10	5	1	50	-	2	160	-	1	8	-	-	-	-
Donawade	17	6	5	-	985	-	-	-	1	-	100	-	-	-
Kulawandi	30	11	7	-	1,780	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	40	-
Palashi Bk.	5	3	1	40	-	1	50	-	-	-	-	1	50	-
Gedadawne	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rautmal	6	4	4	50	600	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shirasgeon	27	13	-	-	-	2	420	-	-	-	-	7	2,175	-
Total	180	74	28	1,159	3,525	11	1,920	-	7	833	100	11	2,515	-

(continued)

Table No. 61-A : (continued)

Village	Total No. of cultivators	No. of families	Service (including Patilship)			Craft (Carpentry)			Others			Total		
			No. of families	Income		No. of families	Income		No. of families	Income		No. of families	Income	
				Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.		Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.		Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.		Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.
Dalpatpur	23	7	-	-	-	-	-	5	170	-	7	460	-	
Nirgude	8	6	-	-	-	-	-	2	98	-	6	514	-	
Torangan	16	6	1	770	-	1	300	-	1	60	-	8	2,430	-
Bafanvihir	8	3	1	240	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	240	160	
Deodongara	21	10	1	1,500	-	-	-	-	1	20	-	11	2,798	-
Deodongari	10	5	1	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	268	-	
Donewade	17	6	1	360	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	360	1,085	
Kulawandi	30	11	2	225	-	-	-	2	375	-	13	740	1,780	
Palashi Bk.	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	140	-	
Gadsdawne	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Rautmal	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	50	600	
Shirasgeon	27	13	3	1,340	-	1	300	-	-	-	13	4,235	-	
Total	180	74	10	4,485	-	2	600	-	11	723	-	80	12,235	3,625

kind earnings. The highest cash earnings of Rs.200/- per cultivator are seen in Torangan followed by Deodongara with Rs.139 and the lowest of Rs.12.50 are found in Rautmal. The highest kind earnings of 254.29 Kgs. of nagli per cultivator are found in Kulawandi followed by 197 Kgs. in Donawade and 150 Kgs. in Rautmal. The lowest, 80 Kgs., are found in Befanvahir.

Table No. 61-B shows the average earnings per cultivator (both the cash and kind earnings combined, the latter being converted to rupees at the rate of 60 paise per Kg. of nagli). The average of all the ten villages comes to Rs.116.90. Against this Torangan, Kulawandi, Deodongara, and Donawade show higher averages.

Only seven villages show their cultivators getting work in the forest coupes. There are only 11 or 6.11 per cent of the total who are employed in felling the trees as their subsidiary occupation. All these are paid in cash. On an average each cultivator by this work has got Rs.174.56. The villages Torangan, Dalpatpur, and Shirasgaon with their average earnings per cultivator of Rs.400/-, Rs.240/-, and Rs.210/- respectively obviously get more work or are employed for more days than the others.

Lending bullock-carts, or plying them on hire is found to be pursued in all by only seven cultivators of 5 villages, one each in Nirgude, Torangan, Deodongari and Donawade and three in Deodongara. The average earnings of all the seven per cultivator come to Rs.127.57. Deodongara alone shows a higher average of Rs.200/- and Nirgude comes nearer the average. Carting seems to be brisk comparatively between Torangan and Nirgude and Harsul, and between Deodongara and Thenapada. Donawade and Deodongari show very little carting to Kulawandi and back and Deodongara and back respectively. Here again the appearance of the cultivators in this occupation shows the scope for this occupation as well as lack of scope in others.

Lending bullocks or he-buffaloes, mostly the latter for agricultural purposes is found in only four villages, Deodongara, Kulawandi, Palashi Budruk and Shirasgaon. Altogether 11 cultivators are found in this occupation their average earnings coming to Rs.228.64. Shirasgaon shows the highest average of Rs.310.71 as it also shows the largest number of cultivators in this occupation and more than half of its cultivators going in for a subsidiary occupation. Kulawandi and Shirasgaon are the two zones, it may be remembered, where the livestock was seen to be comparatively less.

The subsidiary category of 'service' which is followed by one or the other member of the family resident in the village does not necessarily relate to the resources for the subsidiary occupation in the villages themselves. Because the members thus employed in service are not residents of the villages to the families of which they belong. Although this does not directly refer to the openings for 'service' in the villages themselves, they may affect the economy of the villages in the form of cash resources.

In all 10 families from seven villages reported that their incomes are supplemented by one or the other of their members being in service. Their average earnings

Table No. 61-B : Per Cultivator Average Earnings in Each of the Subsidiary Occupations

Village	Per Cultivator earnings (in Rs.) in							Total
	Agri. Labour	Forest labour	Cart Rent	Buffalo or Bullock Rent	Service	Carpentry	Others	
Dalpatpur	50.00	240.00	-	-	-	-	34.00	65.43
Nirgude	97.00	-	125.00	-	-	-	49.00	85.67
Torangen	200.00	400.00	100.00	-	770.00	300.00	60.00	405.00
Bafanvahir	48.00	-	-	-	240.00	-	-	112.00
Deodongara	139.00	75.00	200.00	125.00	1,500.00	-	20.00	279.80
Deodongari	50.00	80.00	8.00	-	50.00	-	-	53.60
Donewade	118.20	-	60.00	-	360.00	-	-	168.50
Kulawandi	155.43	100.00	-	40.00	112.50	-	187.50	164.36
Pelashi Bk.	40.00	50.00	-	50.00	-	-	-	46.67
Gadadawne	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rautmal	102.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	102.50
Shirasgaon	-	210.00	-	310.71	446.67	300.00	-	325.77
Total	116.90	174.56	127.57	228.64	448.50	300.00	65.73	194.73

come to Rs.448.50 the highest among all the subsidiary occupations. Deodongara, Torangan, and Shirasgaon are the three villages again with their averages of Rs.1,500/-, Rs.770/-, and Rs.446.67 respectively.

The families following carpentry are only two their earnings for each being Rs.300/-. Torangan and Shirasgaon are the two villages where they are found.

The category of 'others' where in all 11 families are found includes selling eggs, cowdung, milk, ghee, sugarcane, garlic and bananas. These families belong to five villages, three of which, it needs be noted, are within the distance of 1 to 3 miles from Harsul.

The five families from Delpatpur all sell eggs and their average returns are Rs.34/-. The two families of Nirgude sell eggs and cowdung respectively, their returns coming to Rs.78/- and Rs.20/-. The one family from Torangan sells both milk and eggs and gets about Rs.60/-. It should be noted that in no other village in the sample the families have reported sale of milk or eggs. Distance from the ready market and lack of transport and communication means have naturally discouraged the sale of these perishable commodities. One family of Deodongara, however, reports the sale of ghee, which is comparatively more enduring than eggs and milk. The sale of ghee has been possible because of the weekly market held there. The distance from Harsul and Nasik further off might induce the purchasers nearby to buy it either at Deodongara or at Thanapada. The sale of ghee brings the cultivator only Rs.20/-. From Kulawandi none of the cultivators is found to pursue any of these. Instead we find two of its cultivators together earn Rs.375/- by selling between them sugarcane, garlic, and bananas. Kulawandi strikes a pleasant departure from the other villages in that the subsidiary source reported by the two cultivators is not apart from cultivation but actually an improvement upon it. It has thus moved a little ahead of the traditional crops, and has tried to utilize this departure to supplement the income as well. Selling sugarcane only brings Rs.100/- for one family, and for the other selling garlic and bananas in addition bring Rs.275/-.

The total earnings of the 74 families, converting the 3,625 Kgs. of nagli into rupees, comes to Rs.14,410/-. Per cultivator earnings come to Rs.194.73. Against this average per cultivator earnings of Torangan, Shirasgaon, and Deodongara are higher than others whereas the same in Nirgude, Delpatpur, Deodongari, and Palashi Budruk, are less than Rs.100/-, the last two showing only Rs.53.60 and Rs.46.67 respectively. Bafanvihir and Rautmal report averages which are nearabout Rs.100/- and Donawade and Kulawandi show nearer to the average of all the 74 families.

Torangan, Deodongara and Shirasgaon to a greater extent and Kulawandi a little less than these show more scope for occupations other than agriculture but all the villages in their choice of occupations have shown that agriculture is still the central occupation for almost all of them pointing to the fact thereby of slow shift in the needs, resources, and adoption of new technologies or technical devices.

In the next chapter some of the important features of the labourers will be seen. The size and composition of their families, their distribution according to their subsidiary occupation, their age-structures, and the working members in relation to their total population and to the age-structure are elaborated in the preceding pages, while dealing with the cultivators in the relevant aspects. The distribution of their working members, their working days and the wages they earn will be dealt with now, and will be wound up with the discussion about their indebtedness, and their subsidiary occupations.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LABOURER

1. The Working Days

We have account of 337 workers among the labourers out of 341, four being left out because their working days could not be ascertained. Of these four, one from Dalpatpur rears cattle, one from Kulawandi serves as a Kotwal, another from the same village stays with his maternal uncle, and one from Torangan rears sheep (Table No. 62).

Of the 337 labourers, 149 are males, 127 females and 61 children their percentages being 44.21, 37.69 and 18.10 respectively. It may be recalled that the age-wise break-up of the labourers is 10 or 2.94 per cent between 6 and 10 years, 73 or 21.41 per cent between 11 and 20 years, 225 or 65.98 per cent between 21 and 50 years, and 33 or 9.68 per cent of 51 years and more. The workers of 20 years and less are 83 or 24.35 per cent, whereas the workers listed as children here are in all (61 + 4 left out) 65 i.e. 19.06 per cent. Obviously 18 persons belonging to the age-group of 11 to 20 years have got distributed in the male and female class. This is so because persons of 20 years and less who were married and had children have been counted as adult males and females.

The 337 workers have been distributed in Table No.62 according to the number of days that they are employed for, in agricultural operations. The working days have been grouped into units of 30 days, and the number of workers is shown against the units in which their total number of working days fall.

From the table it can be seen that the concentration of workers is in the columns of 121 to 150 days, 151 to 180 days and 181 to 210 days, the percentages of workers getting work for so many days being 22.85, 15.13, and 28.78 respectively. Majority of the workers, 66.74 per cent, seem to get work from 5 to 7 months in a year. More than 25 per cent however are there who get work for 211 to 300 days. Those who get work for 7 to 8 months are 6.23 per cent, those getting work for 8 to 9 months are 13.35 per cent and those getting work for 9 to 10 months are 5.93 per cent. There are very few who get work only for four months or less. Likewise there are only two children who are reported to be working almost round the year. These are farm servants attached to the cultivator working for the latter on an annual payment basis which is about Rs.80 or its equivalent in kind, three meals a day, sufficient cloth to wear, and a blanket to cover himself in cold or to lie on.

Majority of the labourers therefore seem to be free from agricultural labour for at least 5 months. But even for the 7 months during which they get work it is not always for full days. Usually from the month of Jyestha of the Hindu calendar to Kartik for 6 months there are

Table No. 62 : Workers According to Working Days (Labourers)

Villages		Working Days											Total of the Village		
		Upto 30	31-60	61-90	91-120	121-150	151-180	181-210	211-240	241-270	271-300	301-330		331-360	Total
DALPATPUR	Male	-	1	-	1	-	3	9	5	3	-	-	-	22	45
	Female	-	1	-	-	4	3	4	2	-	-	-	-	14	
	Children	-	-	-	-	2	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	9	
NIRGUDE	Male	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	5	14
	Female	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	6	
	Children	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	
TORANGAN	Male	-	-	-	1	2	1	5	1	7	2	-	-	19	38
	Female	-	-	-	3	2	1	1	-	8	2	-	-	17	
	Children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	
BAFANVIHER	Male	1	-	-	-	3	1	3	-	-	2	-	-	10	26
	Female	1	-	-	-	6	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	11	
	Children	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	
DEODONGARA	Male	-	1	-	-	2	3	6	2	1	3	-	-	18	43
	Female	-	-	-	1	5	2	3	1	2	2	-	-	16	
	Children	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	9	
DEODONGARI	Male	1	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	1	1	-	-	9	22
	Female	1	-	-	-	3	1	4	-	1	-	-	-	10	
	Children	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	
DONAWADE	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	8	18
	Female	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	
	Children	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	5	

(continued)

Table No. 62 : (continued)

Villages		Working Days												Total of the village	
		Upto 30	31-60	61-90	91-120	121-150	151-180	181-210	211-240	241-270	271-300	301-330	331-360		Total
KULAWANDI	Male	-	-	-	-	1	3	17	1	1	2	-	-	25	53
	Female	-	-	-	-	12	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	21	
	Children	-	-	-	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	7	
PALASHI BK.	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	3	5
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	
	Children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
GADADAWNE	Male	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	6	14
	Female	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	
	Children	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	
RAUTMAL	Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	10
	Female	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	
	Children	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	
SHIRASGAON	Male	-	1	-	-	5	5	3	2	6	-	-	-	22	49
	Female	-	-	-	1	7	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	17	
	Children	-	-	-	2	2	2	1	1	-	1	-	1	10	
TOTAL	Male	2	3	-	3	15	19	57	14	26	10	-	-	149	337
	Female	2	1	-	8	45	21	26	4	15	5	-	-	127	
	Children	-	-	-	5	17	11	14	3	4	5	-	2	61	
GRAND TOTAL		4	4	-	16	77	51	97	21	45	20	-	2	337	337
Percentage		1.19	1.19	-	4.75	22.85	15.13	28.78	6.23	13.35	5.93	-	0.59	100.00	

continuous agricultural operations going on. These are the months therefore when the labourer possibly gets work continuously and for full days. During the next 6 months from Margashirsha to Valsakha there is no continuous agricultural work and it is of a different type; therefore in this period he gets work intermittently and most for half days. These are the months also when he can turn to some subsidiary occupation other than agriculture. Deducting Tuesdays (which are taboo for him for work) from his working days we get about 300 days on which he offers himself for employment. Out of these, from the table it is clear, on an average a worker gets work for 171 to 200 days only. But all the workers do not work equally and are not employed for the same kind of work for the same number of days. All may not be available for work for an equal number of days either. Because we have seen earlier that a good number of labourers have a number of subsidiary occupations among which agriculture is the prominent one. Of the 108 agricultural labourer families 69 have gone in for a subsidiary occupation and out of these 69, 45 pursue agriculture as their secondary occupation. If it can be presumed on the basis of the proportion of 341 workers for 596 members or for 108 families (57.21 per cent of workers) that these 45 families involve 142 workers, it may be that these may be available for employment for less number of days. The total number of persons employed for 6 months and less, however, comes to 152 although one cannot say that these 152 include all the 142 workers of the 45 families. But it is true that at least women and children get work or are available for employment for less number of days than men. This can be seen from the table. Upto the column of 121 to 150 days there are more women and children than men seen as workers. There are more women than men even in the next column of 151 to 180 days. Seventy-seven of 127 women and 33 of 61 children work only for 6 months and less. Whereas men found to be working for a similar period are 42 out of 149.

Presuming that half-days and full-days are evenly distributed for each worker, the maximum number of days that a worker can be employed for each category come to 150 only, which means that he will be employed for $(150 + 75) 225$ man-days. This maximum employment is possible according to the table only for 21 workers. Even with this maximum employment the workers are idle for at least 60 days. Although these are written off as being Tuesdays on which he prefers to remain idle, the fact remains that he has to provide for those non-working days. But if the worker's word is to be believed in, the daily wages if they are full days are just enough to feed the family for the day. And the half-days' wages by this rate fall much short to sustain a family for the day. By the same calculation it means that for 5 months he is fed enough, for another 5 months he is half-fed and for 2 months he goes without food. This may not take place as per schedule in actual life, although some reported it to be true in their case, but it clearly shows that they might be under-fed. If this is the case with a worker who gets the maximum employment, the plight of the others would be worse. This is so of course if he has no other subsidiary occupation. But as noted earlier, the agricultural labourers, 67 of them, have resorted to some secondary occupation or the other in order to supplement their income. It is to be seen now as to how far they are able to do so.

2. Subsidiary Occupations

As mentioned above 67 or 62.04 per cent of the 108 families have reported subsidiary occupations of one kind or the other. Some families follow more than one subsidiary occupation. There are 14 such families belonging to six villages which follow two subsidiary sources each. The total number of these subsidiary sources shared by 67 families therefore come to 81. In Deodongara and Kulawandi such families are found more than in others; and proportionately to their total number of families going in for a subsidiary source Deodongara has the largest number 5 out of 7 (Table No. 63).

Forty-five of these 67 or 41.67 per cent of the total follow agriculture. It is not clear as to whether they cultivate the uncultivated fragments left by the owner-cultivators or they have encroached on forest lands. The produce on an average comes to 45.9 Kgs. of rice, 169.6 Kgs. of nagli, 20.5 Kgs. of warai, and about 40 Kgs. of pulses. This is in no way comparable with the produce of the owner-cultivators. Nor does it appear to be enough to feed them through all the days of unemployment. But it certainly gives them a link with the moneylender-cum-grocer and keeps hopes of security continuous.

Only 23 or 21.3 per cent of the total get employment in the forest coupes. In Dalpatpur, Nirgude, Torangan and Donawade the number of families getting such work is proportionately greater than in others. The first three villages of these belong to the forest category of zones. The average earnings per family come to Rs.127.2. The number of days spent in forest work cannot be ascertained as the payments made are not on the basis of days of work, but on the basis of the kind and girth of the tree felled. The wages are given to the gang of people who work. Out of every rupee of wages 5 to 10 paise are collected towards the membership of the forest labourers' co-operative society which holds the contract from the Forest Department to fell the trees. The days spent in the coupes however as reported approximately by the labourers range from one month to 5 months, the latter period being for those who do not get enough employment as agricultural labour for the latter half of the agricultural year and do not have any other subsidiary source either. It is only when they do not have any other source that they resort to working in the coupes.

Road construction work has helped only one family to earn Rs.22/-. There are six families belonging to Deodongara, Deodongari and Shirasgaon who earn by lending bullocks and/or buffaloes on hire for agricultural purposes. The rent paid per bullock or buffalo for this is 2½ mds. or roughly 100 Kgs. of nagli. The total earnings in nagli have been converted to rupees at the rate of 60 paise per Kg., and thus they come to Rs.480/-. Per family they come to Rs.80/-.

In the category of 'others' are found six families, two each from Dalpatpur, Kulawandi and Shirasgaon. The two families of Dalpatpur have sold eggs to earn Rs.30/-; of the two families from Kulawandi one earned Rs.560/-, Rs.200/- by selling sheep and Rs.360/- as the salary of one of its members who serves as a Kotwal, and another earned 80 Kgs. of nagli by serving as a barber, and of the two families of Shirasgaon one family earned Rs.200/-

Table No. 63 : Agricultural Labourers Subsidiary Occupations

Name of the village	Total No. of families	Agriculture							Forest		Road Construction		Rent from Bullocks etc.		Others			
		Produce in Kgs.							No. of families	Rs.	No. of families	Rs.	No. of families	Rs.	Kind K s. of nagli	No. of families in more than one Subsidiary Occupation		
		Rice	Udid or Tur	Nagli	Warai	Khurasani	Kulith	No. of families									Rs.	No. of families
Dalpatpur	9	4	200	62	460	-	-	-	5	560	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Nirgude	5	2	-	-	400	10	-	-	3	800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Torangan	8	6	-	170	1300	25	10	22	2	495	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bafanvahir	4	4	210	33	200	32	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Deodongara	7	5	900	100	1100	210	30	35	4	355	-	-	3	300	-	-	-	5
Deodongari	6	5	140	95	300	25	10	265	-	-	-	-	1	60	-	-	-	1
Donawade	3	2	200	-	270	8	-	22	2	220	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kulewandi	13	9	80	40	2100	570	-	25	4	271	1	22	-	-	2	560	80	3
Palashi Bk.	1	1	-	10	200	-	-	-	1	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gadadawne	3	3	180	35	800	42	10	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rautmal	2	2	-	25	-	-	14	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shirasgaon	6	2	200	12	500	-	-	17	2	150	-	-	2	120	2	250	-	2
Total	67	45	2110	582	7630	922	74	437	23	2926	1	22	6	480	6	840	80	14
Average per family			45.9	12.9	169.6	20.5	16.4	9.7		127.2		22		80		140		

by selling a he-buffalo and another earned Rs.50/- for weaving the fisher's net. The six families together have earned Rs.840/- and their average comes to Rs.140/- which is more than the average per family earnings of those who worked in the forest coupes.

But on the whole agriculture and to a less extent comparatively working in the coupes appear to be the only two sources to which the labourers have returned to supplement their income. All others except the Kotwal's job in Kulawandi appear as irregular sources fetching chance earnings. Against this background the indebtedness of the labourers will be worth-noting.

3. Indebtedness

Out of 108 families 64 or 59.26 per cent have reported indebtedness. Of these 64, 23 have borrowed cash, 15 have borrowed in kind and 26 have borrowed both cash and in kind. Some families have borrowed from more than one agency and therefore the total borrowings come to 73, which means that at the maximum nine families have borrowed from more than one agency. In all four agencies are mentioned by the borrowers. They are the local grain banks, co-operative societies, moneylenders, and agriculturists. The total items for which they have borrowed number 9. They are agriculture, hiring bullocks, grocery and provisions, marriage expenses, clothing, household consumption, tiles, and awani or transplantation operations, and one who has borrowed 10 Kgs. of nagli from the agriculturists could not specify the reason. The cash borrowings total upto Rs.2,904/- involving 45 borrowers, their average borrowings coming to Rs.64.53. The borrowings in nagli total upto 3,549 Kgs. involving 28 borrowers, their average borrowings coming to 126.75 Kgs.

Of the total cash borrowings the highest amount Rs.2,353 or 81.02 per cent made by 35 or 77.78 per cent of total cash-borrowers refer to the moneylender. The borrowings shown in cash are not all actually cash loans as such. Commodities sold on credit are treated as loans and the repayment is received along with the interest calculated at the rate of 25 to 50 per cent on the value of the commodities. The average cash loan per borrower from the moneylender comes to Rs.67.23. (Table No. 64).

The kind-loans of nagli are mostly borrowed from the agriculturists. Out of the total 3,549 Kgs. of nagli their loans amount to 2,209 Kgs. or 62.25 per cent. The average per borrower comes to 147.27 Kgs., the total number of borrowers being 15.

The other two agencies, the local grain banks and the co-operative societies figure very little in the borrowings by the labourers. Only seven labourers have borrowed in all 860 Kgs. of nagli from the grain banks for home consumption. Another four families have taken 400 Kgs. of nagli from the co-operative society for the same purpose. Two other labourers have borrowed Rs.225 from the latter agency.

Itemwise the highest dues in cash appear against marriage expenses, its percentage being 31.55, followed by clothing which takes 24.48 per cent of the total loans, and household expenditure showing 20.14 per cent. The

Table No. 64 : Indebtedness Among the Labourers

Purpose of Borrowing Money	Revenue etc.		Co-operative Society		Moneylender						
	Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.	Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.	Cash Rs.	Kind Kgs.					
1. Agriculture	-	-	(2)	225	-	-					
2. Bullocks	-	-	-	-	-	-					
3. Grocery	-	-	-	-	(2)	88					
4. Marriage	-	-	-	-	(3)	775					
5. Clothing	-	-	-	-	(8)	640					
6. Other Home expenditure	-	(7)	860	-	(4)	400	(20)	520	(2)	80	
7. Tiles	-	-	-	-	-	-	(2)	330	-	-	
8. Aveni	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
9. Not Mentioned	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	-	(7)	860	(2)	225	(4)	400	(35)	2,353	(2)	80
Average per Labourer	-	-	122.86	-	112.50	-	100	-	67.23	-	40
Percentage	-	-	24.23	-	7.75	-	11.27	-	81.02	-	2.25
Total		(7)		(6)				(37)			

(continued)

Table No. 64 : (continued)

Purpose of Borrowing Money	Agriculturists				Total				Percentages	
	Cash Rs.		Kind Kgs.		Cash Rs.		Kind Kgs.		Cash	Kind
1. Agriculture	-	-	-	-	(2)	225	-	-	7.75	-
2. Bullocks	(1)	40	-	-	(1)	40	-	-	1.38	-
3. Grocery	-	-	-	-	(2)	88	-	-	3.04	-
4. Marriage	(1)	150	(1)	40	(4)	925	(1)	40	31.85	1.13
5. Clothing	(3)	71	-	-	(11)	711	-	-	24.48	-
6. Other Home Expenditure	(3)	65	(11)	1,819	(23)	585	(24)	3,159	20.14	89.01
7. Tiles	-	-	-	-	(2)	330	-	-	11.36	-
8. Avani	-	-	(2)	340	-	-	(2)	340	-	9.58
9. Not Mentioned	-	-	(1)	10	-	-	(1)	10	-	0.28
Total	(8)	326	(15)	2,209	(45)	2,904	(28)	3,549	100.00	100.00
Average per Labourer		40.75		147.27		64.53		126.75		
Percentage		11.23		62.25		100.00		100.00		
Total		(23)				(73)				

Bracketed Figures denote the Number of Borrowers.

expenditure incurred on tiles also shows borrowings which are 11.36 per cent. Among the loans in kind the highest 89.01 per cent is for home-consumption. The only other two items mentioned are awani with 9.58 per cent and marriage expenses with 1.13 per cent.

Of the seven items in which cash borrowings are made, five, namely, grocery, marriage expenses, clothing, home-consumption or sundery expenditure, and tiles appear to be the monopoly of the moneylenders. Next to the moneylender it is the agriculturists that play an important role. They figure next to the moneylender in cash loans and are predominant in the kind-loans. He has lent nagli to meet the marriage requirements, for home-consumption (khavati) and for awani.

It can be seen that the labourer looks just as the cultivator does more to the moneylender for his cash and non-agricultural requirements, and to the cultivator more for his needs in nagli.

If the proceeds from his subsidiary occupations are viewed against his dues, it is observed that the labourer finds it hard to make both ends meet. Presuming that the 45 families who have gone in for agriculture as their subsidiary occupation have borrowed cash from the moneylender and nagli from the agriculturists, their agricultural of rice which comes to 45.9 Kgs. per family and their nagli which comes to 169.6 Kgs. per family may match their borrowings from the two sources, presuming again that rice is valued at Rs.1.50 per Kg. and nagli at 60 paise per Kg. Here the interest is not considered at all which is 25 to 50 per cent for the duration of a year and a part thereof. Thus even those who have taken to agriculture and whose per family earnings are the largest among all the subsidiary occupations, appear to find their means insufficient to meet their needs. Here again we have not considered the cash and kind loans from other sources, and kind loans from the moneylender and the cash loans from the agriculturists. Although borrowing from these other sources is comparatively less and by few families, it is to be noted that earnings from the subsidiary occupations other than agriculture are also less and by few families.

It appears that agriculture is pursued mainly to achieve the subsistence level which itself is very low reduced to minimum needs; that it establishes him in the eyes of the moneylender as a credit-worthy person and he feels assured of a continuous flow of supply to meet his requirements. It is also to be noted that the local grain banks and the co-operative societies take cognizance of his holding lands legally or illegally and do not shirk advancing at least loans in kind to him. These sources that lend security to an individual could be tapped by having a piece of land at one's command. Therefore hunger for land among the people who do not own it derives its acuteness on the two counts, direct consumption and security. Unless this security is assured to him in other spheres this hunger for land may not subside. These and other features will be discussed in the chapter on the problems of the area and its people.

CHAPTER IX

THE ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN

The artisans and craftsmen here discussed do not strictly belong to the 'sample' in the sense that they are not selected on 20 per cent basis. There were 18 craftsmen listed among the families resident of the twelve villages at the time of the survey. All were not permanent residents of the village. Few were those who come on their annual rounds, or who go from village to village in search of work. These were especially the potters who migrate from the bordering areas of Gujarat during the year when they have little agricultural work to do at their native place, in search of work. The 8 families include 2 carpenters, 3 blacksmiths, 2 leather workers-cum-cobblers, and 1 potter. Wherever possible more than one family of the same craft was selected for comparison. The classification of the 8 craftsmen according to the village from which they were selected, and their caste or community are shown below.

Table No. 65 : Distribution of Artisans and Craftsmen Selected

	Caste or Community	Carpenter	Blacksmith	Leather-worker	Potter	No. of members in the family	No. of workers
Bafenvihir	Warli	1	.	.	.	4	3
Dalpatpur	Ahir	-	1	-	-	10	4
Deodongara	Kokra	-	1	-	-	6	3
Gedadawne	Holar	-	-	1	-	3	3
Nirgude	Sutar	1	-	-	-	6	3
	Kumbhar	-	-	-	1	6	3
Shirasgeon	Kokna	-	1	-	-	6	3
Torangan	Holar	-	-	1	-	3	2
Total		2	3	2	1	46	24

It can be seen from the above that although the potter and the two leather workers and the one carpenter in Nirgude are those who follow their caste occupations, the Koknas and Warlis have taken to carpentry and smithy. This feature was noted earlier while discussing the occupational distribution of the tribals.

The 8 families altogether have 46 members their average number per family coming to 5.75. Out of these 46 members 24 or 52.17 are workers. This percentage is less even than the labourers, although their family size

is larger.. This may have a relation with the composition of their families. Three of the 8 families are nuclear families comprising the head, his wife and their unmarried children (Table No.66). In 3 families along with the nuclear family is also found the widowed mother of the head.

Table No. 66 : Family Composition

Type of Work	Kumbhar Potter	Werli Carpenter	Holar Leather worker	Ahir Black- smith	Kokna Black- smith	Sutar Carpenter	TOTAL
Caste or Community							
1. Head of the family, his wife and unmarried children			1	1		1	3
2. 1 + widow mother of the family head	1	1			1		3
3. 1 + Married daughter and son-in-law			1				1
4. 2 + Married son with children + daughter and son-in-law with children					1		1
Total	1	1	2	1	2	1	8

In one family the head's married daughter with her husband and children stays with the head's nuclear family. In another family along with the head's nuclear family are also found his married son with his wife and children and his married daughter with her husband and children. Thus in all there are 11 couples in the eight families. Thus the smaller nuclear families appear to have contributed smaller number of workers and have brought down the proportion of workers. This composition of the family will mean nothing if they do not simultaneously affect the age-structure within the family. Since the joint nature of the family ensues from the fact that more than one married couple are found together with or without their children, the proportion of adults or of those who take to work is found to be more in the joint family. There being only two such families in the sample the proportion of the number of workers has gone down. Presuming that the amount of domestic work and its nature are same among all the families, the larger families naturally can release more workers for economically gainful work.

The age-structure of the 46 members reveals (Table No.67) that more than half of them, 52.18 per cent, are of 20 years and less. In the working age group of 21 to 50 years they are 36.96 per cent. (17) and beyond 50 years they are only 5 or 10.87 per cent. Compared with

Table No. 67 : Age and Sex Composition of Total Members and Workers

Age-group (years)	Total members			Total workers			Percentage to total population	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total members in age-groups	Workers
I) Upto 5	7	3	10	-	-	-	21.74	-
II) 6 to 10	3	4	7	-	2	2	15.22	4.35
III) 11 to 20	2	5	7	1	4	5	15.22	10.87
IV) 21 to 30	4	5	9	4	5	9	19.57	19.57
V) 31 to 40	4	2	6	4	2	6	13.04	13.04
VI) 41 to 50	1	1	2	1	1	2	4.35	4.35
VII) 51 to 60	1	1	2	-	-	-	4.35	-
VIII) Above 60	-	3	3	-	-	-	6.52	-
Total	22	24	46	10	14	24	100.01	52.17

both the cultivators and the labourers, the proportions of members of 20 years and below are less among the craftsmen, and the proportion of members of 50 years and above are more. Naturally the proportion of their workers between 21 and 50 years, in relation to the total number of their workers is much more, i.e., 70.83 per cent as against 62.05 per cent among the cultivators and 57.21 per cent among the labourers. But in the total population the number of workers in this age-group is much less i.e. 36.96 per cent only as against 37.26 per cent among the cultivators and 37.76 per cent among the labourers. Although all belonging to the age-group of 21 to 50 years are workers, none from the age-group of 51 years and more and only 10.87 per cent from among those of 11 to 20 years and 4.35 per cent from among those of 6 to 10 years are workers. As the work of the craftsmen is a skilled one it appears that the members of 11 to 20 years and more so of 6 to 10 years cannot be employed to the same extent as is found among the cultivators and labourers where they can be assigned some unskilled work.

The two Kokna blacksmiths, the Ahir blacksmith at Dalpatpur, and the Holar at Gadadawne have not received any education. The potter from Nirgude, the Warli carpenter from Bafanvihir, and the Holar leather-worker from Torangan have studied upto vernacular 4th standard, the Holar in Marathi, and the potter and the Warli in Gujarati. The Warli carpenter is not the resident of Bafanvihir, but of some village in the adjoining Gujarat State. But in Bafanvihir he was staying with his

father-in-law. It is his usual practice to visit this and the adjoining villages during summer and do some 'business' in carpentry. The Sutar from Nirgude, however, has studied upto Marathi 7th standard.

The principal occupations of all except the Kokna blacksmith from Deodongara are their respective crafts. The blacksmith from Deodongara is mainly a cultivator and as a subsidiary occupation he pursues smithy and labour. The Ahir blacksmith from Dalpatpur and the Kokna blacksmith from Shirasgaon take to agricultural labour as their subsidiary occupation. The Ahir blacksmith however reports his income in foodgrains which are not payments but his household produce. He must be cultivating some unowned land which he has not reported. The Warli carpenter from Bafanvahir has his own lands which he cultivates as his subsidiary source. Both the Holars for a subsidiary source act as village musicians for the villagers' ceremonies and are employed as agricultural labour. The potter and the carpenter from Nirgude have their crafts as full-time year-round occupations and do not have any subsidiary occupation.

As for their income from their principal and subsidiary sources, the crafts where they are the only occupations followed have brought the highest income in cash, there being no kind income in their case. The carpenter from Nirgude has reported an annual income of Rs.2,000/- approximately, and the potter from the same village has reported an annual income of Rs.800/-. It may surprise one to see that the potter despite his annual income being Rs.800/- only has not taken to any subsidiary occupation. Although he has not reported any income in kind, the terms of contract with the cultivator or any one who engages him for his requirements especially in tiles, are such that he is given free food as long as he works for him in addition to the cash payments. Therefore his cash earnings of Rs.800/- per year are over and above the expenditure incurred to meet his food requirements.

Of the three blacksmiths the one from Shirasgaon earns more cash than the other two. His earnings in kind against his year-round work like repairs etc., for the cultivators are about 80 Kgs. of rice and 200 Kgs. of nagli. These quantities may come to about Rs.200 to 250. The value of rice is presumed here to be Rs.1.25 to 1.50 per Kg., and that of nagli is about 50 to 60 paise per Kg. His total income comes to about Rs.700 to Rs.750. The Kokna blacksmith from Deodongara earns Rs.300 cash from his craft. His casual repairs etc. bring him about 200 Kgs. of nagli, and his own produce from his land comes to about 200 Kgs. of rice. This comes to about Rs.400 bringing his total earnings to about Rs.700. The Ahir blacksmith from Dalpatpur earns in cash only Rs.100. But his earnings in kind are more than the other two. His own produce brings him about 80 Kgs. of rice and 300 Kgs. of nagli. His casual repairs etc., through the year bring him about 80 Kgs. of rice and 400 Kgs. of nagli. His kind earnings are thus 160 Kgs. of rice and about 700 Kgs. of nagli. His total kind earnings may be valued at Rs.600, thereby making his total earnings both the kind and cash combined of about Rs.700.

The Warli carpenter at Bafanvahir earns about Rs.300 in cash and his earnings in kind are about 100 Kgs. of nagli as his field-produce, and about 200 Kgs. of rice as

his casual earnings from year-round repairs etc. These earnings in kind may be totally valued at about Rs.330/-. His total earnings therefore come to about Rs.630/-.

It is interesting to note that the total earnings of the three blacksmiths and the Warli carpenter all come to about Rs.700 or near about. The per capita income of these families comes to Rs.125 for the blacksmith in Shirasgaon, Rs.116.7 for the one in Deodongara, Rs.70.0 only for the Ahir blacksmith in Dalpatpur and Rs.157.5 for the Warli carpenter in Bafanvihir. The variations in the per capita income are due to the variations in the number of members. The earnings do not show any variations in total income in relation to the number of members because the number of workers in the family is 3 in three families and 4 in the blacksmith family at Dalpatpur. That the three blacksmith families situated as they are at different places, Dalpatpur which is one mile away from Harsul, Shirasgaon about 7 miles and Deodongara about 16 miles away from Harsul, show the same earnings may mean that there are no variations in the type of work they do, the needs of the villagers that they cater to, and the rate of payment and the number of clients served by them being correlated with each other in inverse ratio. That Dalpatpur's earnings are comparatively less may mean that the villagers might also be depending perhaps on Harsul and its weekly market for their requirements from a blacksmith.

Of the two leather workers the one at Torangan appears to be earning more than the one at Gadadawne. Their cash earnings per year are Rs.300 and Rs.125 respectively, and their earnings in kind are 80 Kgs. of rice and 300 Kgs. of nagli of the former and only 80 Kgs. of nagli of the latter. These earnings in kind may be valued at Rs.250 to Rs.300 for the Holar at Torangan and Rs.40 to Rs.50 for the Holar at Gadadawne. Their total earnings come to Rs.550 to Rs.600, and Rs.165 to Rs.175 respectively. The Holar at Torangan being nearer to Harsul which is only 3 miles away is better placed in getting more clients than the one at Gadadawne. The Holar at Torangan is also more in demand because he also caters to the changing needs of his clientele in the sense that he is able to prepare footwears—chappals of comparatively latest fashion.

The foregoing description reveals another feature about the craftsmen. The tribals have taken only to smithy and carpentry the latter of which they knew even before in howsoever crude form. The carpenter in Nirgude is non-tribal and his earnings are far greater than the tribal carpenter in Bafanvihir. This is for three reasons: one, the non-tribal is a seasoned carpenter (carpentry being his caste occupation) and more skilled than the tribal; two, he has better tools and instruments; three, he operates from Nirgude which is only a mile away from Harsul whereas Bafanvihir from where the tribal operates is about 20 miles away from Harsul and as such the former has more orders of work. This last reason, however, needs some modification. Both the carpenters have reported that they do not necessarily remain at one place. They expect orders from far and near villages in the area and keep on moving to the place of their work. But the carpenter at Nirgude can operate from there even for the orders from Harsul which is the major purchaser

of his products. Whereas the carpenter from Bafanvahir may not be able to come much into the interior from his village as he has stake across the border in his own village.

The quantity and volume of the products of these craftsmen will give an idea of the extent of their 'business'. Along with the details of the products, the quantity of their raw material and its source and expenditure and the approximate value of their products will also be seen.

Among the three blacksmiths the Kokna from Shirasgaon appears to be faring better than the other two and the Kokna at Deodongara has little business compared with the other two. The blacksmith mentions 8 items of his products both made to order and for sale in the weekly markets; the one from Dalpatpur mentions only 4 all made to order only and the one from Deodongara mentions only 1 item of product made to order and for market and this and other two which he deals with for repairs as his baluta duties towards the agriculturists. The products of the Shirasgaon blacksmith are roughly valued at Rs.585/- those of the Dalpatpur blacksmith at Rs.101/- and those of the Deodongara blacksmith at Rs.400/- approximately.

The material brought to make these products could not be specified in quantity by any of the three blacksmiths, apart from saying that they need iron, steel and charcoal. The iron and steel they procure either from Nasik or at Harsul at a price of Rs.7.50 to Rs.10 per 10 Kgs. The charcoal is locally available at a price of Rs.1.50 per 50 Kgs., approximately.

It is to be noted here that it is the Deodongara blacksmith alone who reports that he performs repairs etc. as his baluta duties towards the agriculturists. This is perhaps because Deodongara is about 16 miles from Harsul where services for repairs etc., are available, and as such the necessity of a readily available local man is more felt there. It may not be that all the villages that are remote from Harsul have a blacksmith nearby, unless their needs press for the presence of such a person. The Shirasgaon blacksmith unlike the two, is neither too far from Harsul to discourage him to make trips to bring raw material, nor too near to make him face competition from Harsul. It appears that this has facilitated the expansion of his business and to earn comparatively more than the other two.

The carpenter from Bafanvahir gets the wood required for his products from the forest at a nominal price. Often it is the responsibility of his customer to supply the wood, as he makes the goods against orders. In a majority of the cases the wood is brought from the forest without paying a price. Usually the Forest Department allows the tribal to take the necessary wood required for his house construction etc., from the specified areas by issuing a permit. But even this is evaded by the tribals as their needs in carpenter's goods have gone beyond those specified by the government. The carpenter mentioned two types of trees the wood of which is preferable, the teak (sag) and the tiwas.

The items mentioned by him included 4 doors, 6 windows, 3 charpyos, 4 wooden planks to squat on,

2 chairs, and 1 cupboard, the collective wages of which comes to Rs.66/-. This is not the strength of his products in the whole year. This was the list of goods he made since he came to Bafanvihir, during the course of two to three months. If the response from the customers be encouraging he had a mind to continue in the village as a member of his father-in-law's family. The details of the carpenter at Nirgude could not be collected during our stay in the village as he could not be contacted for a second time to complete the schedule.

Of the two leather workers-cum-cobblers the one from Gadadawne mentioned only 20 chappals 10 each against orders and for sale, and the one from Torangan mentioned 100 chappals and 55 leather-whips against orders and 60 and 20, for sale in the weekly markets at Harsul. The collective value of these was Rs.655/-, the chappals being sold at Rs.5 per pair. The leather was reported to have been usually brought from the local and nearby villages and lime from Harsul. The cost of leather reported by the Gadadawne Holar was Rs.50/- and that of the Torangan Holar was Rs.140/-. The lime cost the former Rs.6.50, whereas the latter could not specify.

The potter could not report the expenditure incurred for his raw materials as all of them, clay, saw-dust, ash and fuel are usually supplied by the customer. He reported that the average quantity of the tiles—the roundish country ones—manufactured by him per day comes to about 1,000. He works only for about 5 months in a year in manufacturing the tiles.

The capital invested by these craftsmen in the form of purchasing or otherwise procuring the necessary tools ranges from Rs.70.0 in the case of the potter to Rs.350.0 in the case of the Shirasgaon blacksmith. The Ahir blacksmith at Dalpatpur has invested Rs.205 and the Kokna blacksmith at Deodongara has invested only Rs.125/-. The carpenters at Bafanvihir and Nirgude have invested Rs.125 and Rs.150 respectively. The Holar at Gadadawne has spent Rs.100 approximately to procure his tools whereas the Holar at Torangan has spent Rs.200/-. The difference in the invested capital between persons pursuing the same occupation speaks of the difference in the quality and number of the tools. The Shirasgaon blacksmith, the Nirgude carpenter, and the Torangan shoemaker have better and more tools than their respective co-occupationists. This account of the income, procurement of raw materials, value and number of produced goods, and invested capital will not be complete without considering their indebtedness if any.

The potter and the carpenter from Nirgude and the leather-worker from Torangan do not report any indebtedness. As is seen earlier all the three have comparatively good 'business'. The Shirasgaon blacksmith owes Rs.100 to the grocer-cum-moneylender. The Dalpatpur blacksmith owes Rs.10 to the agriculturists and 10 paylees of nagli to the co-operative society. The Deodongara blacksmith owes Rs.150 to the grocer-cum-moneylender, and about 40 Kgs. of nagli to the agriculturists. The Warli carpenter from Bafanvihir owes Rs.100 to the moneylender, 60 Kgs. of nagli to the agriculturists and 80 Kgs. of nagli to the local grain bank. The Holar leather-worker from Gadadawne owes Rs.200 to the Block Development

Office and Rs.100 to the moneylender. It is clear from this that the last three mentioned, the blacksmith from Deodongara, the carpenter from Bafanvahir and the leather-worker from Gadadawne are worse off than the other two blacksmiths. All these three villages are either far away from Harsul and other big market villages or are small villages. Deodongara is no doubt a village where a weekly market is held and Bafanvahir is only 3 miles away from Deodongara, and Gadadawne is a small village (so is Bafanvahir) although much nearer to Harsul than the other two. The craftsmen in the first two villages have been unable to expand their 'business' because of lack of clientele or because of lack of better tools or better skill. Likewise the leather-worker in Gadadawne suffers from lack of clientele being too near to Harsul. The blacksmiths have borrowed money among other things pertaining to the domestic requirements in cloth, marriage, and foodgrains, also for purchasing necessary tools or to equip their occupational accessories; whereas the Holar has borrowed mainly for domestic purposes. The interest rates for the money borrowed from the moneylender as reported is 25 per cent. These facts explain the differential borrowings and the inference drawn above.

As for the reasons for their presence in the villages where they are found they differ from one to the other. The potter and the carpenter at Nirgude are not stationary especially the potter, who is always on the move from one village to the other. The blacksmith of Deodongara is a local man who owns lands in the village. The Holars of Gadadawne and Torangan came there in search of work and have more or less settled there. The carpenter of Bafanvahir was brought by his father-in-law. The blacksmith at Dalpatpur was brought by the village Patil from Harsul and the Kokna blacksmith at Shirasgaon moved in with his mother when he was a minor, when she married (a second time) a man from Shirasgaon.

All the three tribals who have taken to these crafts first started their initiation in them working as unskilled labour and later as apprentices under their masters who were non-tribals.

As is seen earlier among the subsidiary occupations of both the cultivators and the labourers, the tribals have taken to non-agricultural occupations which were not traditionally found among them. Secondly they have not taken to leather work or shoe-making which are despised as unclean occupations by the non-tribals. Thirdly, where formerly there was perhaps mutual help rendered to meet each other's requirements, now division of labour to a very slight extent in some villages at least has taken place.

CHAPTER X

THE HOUSING CONDITIONS

The housing conditions of the tribals in 12 villages are being described and discussed here. We have accounts here of 180 cultivators and 108 agricultural labourers. Of these one cultivator from Rautmal had not completed the construction of his hut and one labourer from Nirgude was staying with his brother-in-law (sister's husband). Therefore actually we will be dealing with 179 cultivators and 107 labourers.

The housing conditions refer to two categories of dwelling places, the houses and huts. The houses are those where brick-work either of baked or unbaked bricks is involved, and therefore the roof either of thatch, country tiles or the Mangalore type tiles rests on walls. The huts have no walls but are enclosed by Karvi and bamboos with a thatched roof. The beams in both the cases are long logs of teak. The doors are usually made of bamboos with intercepting Karvi and leaves. A semblance of bolt is made by tying a rope joined to the door to the frame of the entrance. This is only to protect the foodgrains and cooked food from sheep, chicken and cattle that may stray into the house or hut if the door is kept open and the inmates are absent.

The dwelling place usually consists of three parts demarcated from one another. As we enter we are led into the parlour-cum-bedroom which because it serves many purposes, of storing foodgrains and other belongings as well, is rather bigish and from this one enters into the kitchen. The kitchen may be separated from the front-hall either by walls of brick and bamboos, or by placing the cylindrical cane containers of foodgrains which are found only in rather well-to-do families, the poorer families storing them in gunny bags or baskets of cane. The third part is the cattle-shed which is usually found within the four sides of the dwelling-place as a whole. This cattle-shed runs along the other side of the front hall. There is no wall between the front hall and the cattle-shed, which is cordoned off by placing bamboos and logs of small girth upto the height of 4 to 5 feet so that the animals are not able to stray into the hall. This is the usual type of the dwelling place. There are two doors in these types one leading from the front into the hall and the other at the back leading into the cattle-shed. Those who can afford have their cattle-shed separately but attached to one side of the house; the main difference being a wall of brick or Karvi and bamboo between the house and the cattle-shed instead of the hurdles mentioned above. The houses or the huts have no windows at all, the openings between the wall and the roof serving as outlets for ventilation. Bathing is done outside the house on a stone slab. The people usually bathe in the evening after they return from work.

The height of the ceiling at the central beam is about 10 feet sloping down on the sides to the height of

4 to 5 feet. The height at the centre however increases with the breadth of the house, as usually the slope on the sides does not come to below 4 feet from the ground level.

Every dwelling place is usually flanked by a courtyard in the front the slope of the roof running over it and supported by bamboo or teak pillars. This space as the floor inside the house is regularly plastered with cow-dung and kept clean comparatively. Where the front hall is small people usually sleep in the courtyard in summer and winter, in summer because inside it would be too hot and stuffy, and in winter because it would not be possible to have the pit of burning logs of wood, round which men, women and children sleep, within the hall. These courtyards are spacious usually in the hamlets, whereas in the main villages as the dwelling houses are comparatively nearer one another the courtyards may not be as spacious. In the accounts of the dwelling places below the space covered by the courtyard is not taken into consideration although the expenditure incurred in stretching the roof over them is included in the total cost of the house or hut. The extra expenditure incurred for the extra roof to cover the courtyard is presumed to be a small proportion of the total cost.

Out of 179 dwelling places of the cultivators 38 or 21.23 per cent are houses with brick-walls and 141 or 78.77 per cent are huts. Out of 107 dwelling places of the labourers 106 are huts and only one family has been able to build a house (Table Nos. 68 and 74). While the majority of the tribals have huts with bamboo and karvi walls and thatched roof the cultivators are obviously and naturally too in a better position as more among them have been able to build houses.

I. Cultivators

(A) Area of the Dwelling Place :- Among the twelve villages Nirgude alone among the cultivators shows a predominance of houses as against huts. Bafanvihir and Deodongari have no houses at all, while Deodongara their central village has only one house as against 20 huts. In all other villages the ratio of houses to huts comes more or less to 1 : 3. Nirgude shows a large proportion of houses because in that village the Block Development Office has built some new houses of a fixed model and the cultivators are allowed to live in them by paying off the cost in instalments. It is to be noted that in Deodongara and its two satellite villages there are almost no houses of the sample cultivators, denoting perhaps the poorer conditions of the people there, on the whole (Table No. 68).

We have spoken of the usual model of the house or hut above. But all of them are not of the same size. They differ from family to family; and from village to village also the proportion of families having dwelling places of different sizes varies. The space may differ according to the capacity and needs of the family. The capacity of the family is here related to the size of the holding and the needs to the type of the family.

In the case of the houses the largest number of them, 16 or 42.1 per cent, are found to have an area of 800 sq. feet and more. The next to this size are the houses

Table No. 68 : Distribution of Houses and Huts According to Area (Cultivators)

Name of the village	Area in Sq.feet					Total
	100-200	200-400	400-600	600-800	800& above	
<u>HOUSE</u>						
Dalpatpur	1	-	3	-	1	5
Nirgude	-	1	3	-	1	5
Torangan	-	1	-	-	3	4
Bafanvihir	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deodongara	-	-	-	-	1	1
Deodongari	-	-	-	-	-	-
Donawade	1	1	-	1	1	4
Kulawendi	-	1	3	1	3	8
Palashi Bk.	1	-	1	-	1	3
Gadadawne	-	-	-	1	1	2
Rautmal	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shirasgaon	1	-	-	1	4	6
Total	4	4	10	4	16	38
Percentage	10.53	10.53	26.31	10.53	42.10	100.00

<u>HUT</u>						
Dalpatpur	1	3	8	4	2	18
Nirgude	-	2	1	-	-	3
Torangan	1	3	3	3	2	12
Bafanvihir	-	3	2	1	2	8
Deodongara	-	3	11	5	1	20
Deodongari	-	4	3	1	2	10
Donawade	-	6	6	1	-	13
Kulawendi	-	10	7	3	2	22
Palashi Bk.	-	1	1	-	-	2
Gadadawne	-	2	4	1	-	7
Rautmal	-	2	1	1	1	5
Shirasgaon	-	10	7	2	2	21
Total	2	49	54	22	14	141
Percentage	1.42	34.75	38.30	15.60	9.93	100.00

of 400 to 600 square feet. In the case of the huts the largest number of houses are found to have an area of 400 to 600 sq.feet. If both the houses and huts are taken together this size comprises 64 or more than one-third of the total number of dwelling places. If this size is, therefore, taken as the most common, there are more families owning houses above this size than there are below it. As for the families owning huts, there are more families below this size than above it. The families owning houses tend to have larger area than the families owning huts.

There is not a single family which uses only 100 square feet or less as its dwelling place. Those who have

their dwelling places between 100 and 200 sq.ft. in area are only 4 in the case of houses and 2 in the case of huts. The huts in the size of 200 to 400 sq.feet suddenly rise to 49 or 34.75 per cent of the total. Thus for the hut-dwellers although the most common size is of 400 to 600 sq.feet the number of families in the next lower size group are also almost equally large. Of the nine villages which show houses owned by the cultivators, Torangan, Shiragaon, Gadadawne, and Kulewandi have more houses with an area above the size of 400 to 600 sq.feet. These are the villages which have fared better in all other aspects of agricultural conditions, and income accruing from it. It seems to show up perhaps in the size of the houses. As for the area of the huts among the twelve villages, Dalpatpur, Torangan and Deodongara are the three villages which show huts more of a larger size than the smaller leaving the most common size of 400 to 600 sq.feet.

The area of the dwelling place related to the type of the family and to the size of the land-holding also shows some pattern.

(B) Area of the Dwelling Place and Type of Family:-

Out of 85 joint families 64 or 65.29 per cent have huts and the remaining have houses; and of the 90 nuclear families 73 or 81.11 per cent have huts and the remaining have houses (Tables 69-A, 69-B and 69-C). The joint families have obviously more houses either because they can afford to build houses or because they need them. The joint families also show preference to bigger area than the nuclear families. The transitional type which has only one family and the broken type which has three families may be kept out of this consideration as they are very few compared to the other two types.

Table No. 69-A gives us the families in each of the two major types distributed according to the area of their dwelling places (houses and huts combined) and according to the size of their land-holdings. The joint families have 1.18 per cent only of their total families, their dwelling places with the minimum area of 100 to 200 sq.feet, whereas the nuclear families have 5.56 per cent of their total in this size. In the next higher size of 200 to 400 sq.feet the joint families have 20 per cent and the nuclear have 36.67 per cent. The largest single majority size-group in the case of the joint families is found to be of 400 to 600 sq.feet, whereas the proportion of the nuclear families gradually falls down in the higher and higher size-groups. In the size-group of 400 to 600 sq. feet, they are 33.33 per cent, in the next of 600 to 800 sq.feet 13.33 per cent, and in the highest of 800 sq.feet and more they are only 11.11 per cent. The joint families, although they register a sudden fall in the size-group of 600 to 800 sq.feet, show a rise again in the last size-group of 800 sq.feet and more. The joint families, therefore, have more dwelling places of larger area and the nuclear ones have more of smaller size.

This incidence of larger or smaller dwelling places, while it appears to have some correlation with type of the family may also be explained or correlated with another factor, namely, the size of their land-holdings.

Table No. 69-A : Distribution of the Dwelling Places According to the Area, Type of Family and Size of Land-holding

HUTS + HOUSES

Family Type	Area in Square feet	Land in Acres						Total	Percentage
		Upto 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	25 and above		
JOINT	100 - 200	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1.18
	200 - 400	3	8	1	5	-	-	17	20.00
	400 - 600	2	11	7	5	3	5	33	38.82
	600 - 800	1	3	5	1	2	2	14	16.47
	800 and above	-	1	6	2	1	10	20	23.53
	Total		6	23	20	13	6	17	85
Percentage		7.06	27.06	23.53	15.29	7.06	20.00		100.00
NUCLEAR	100 - 200	2	1	1	1	-	-	5	5.56
	200 - 400	9	11	9	2	-	2	33	36.67
	400 - 600	6	10	7	5	-	2	30	33.33
	600 - 800	2	2	3	1	1	3	12	13.33
	800 and above	1	4	-	1	-	4	10	11.11
	Total		20	28	20	10	1	11	90
Percentage		22.22	31.11	22.22	11.11	1.11	12.22		100.00

Table No. 69-B : Distribution of the Dwelling Places According to the Area, Type of Family and Size of Land-holding

HUTS

Family Type	Area in Square feet	Land in Acres						Total	Percentage
		Upto 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	25 and above		
JOINT	100 - 200	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	25.00
	200 - 400	3	8	1	4	-	4	29	45.31
	400 - 600	2	10	6	5	2	4	12	18.75
	600 - 800	1	3	5	1	1	1	7	10.94
	800 and above	-	1	2	1	1	2	7	10.94
	Total	6	22	14	11	4	7	64	100.00
NUCLEAR	100 - 200	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	2.74
	200 - 400	9	10	7	2	-	2	30	41.09
	400 - 600	5	8	5	4	-	2	24	32.88
	600 - 800	2	2	3	1	-	2	10	13.70
	800 and above	1	4	-	-	-	2	7	9.59
	Total	17	24	16	8	-	8	73	100.00

Table No. 69-C : Distribution of the Dwelling Places According to the Area, Type of Family and Size of Land-holding

HOUSES

Family Type	Area in Square feet	Land in Acres						Total	Percentage
		Upto 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	25 and above		
JOINT	100 - 200	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4.76
	200 - 400	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	4.76
	400 - 600	-	1	1	-	1	1	4	19.05
	600 - 800	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	9.52
	800 and above	-	-	4	1	-	8	13	61.90
	Total	-	1	6	2	2	10	21	99.99
NUCLEAR	100 - 200	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	17.65
	200 - 400	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	17.65
	400 - 600	1	2	2	1	-	-	6	35.29
	600 - 800	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	11.76
	800 and above	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	17.65
	Total	3	4	4	2	1	3	17	100.00

(C) Area of the Dwelling Place and Size of the Land-holding :- It can be seen from the Table 69-A that the nuclear families have more than half of their families with holdings of 10 acres and less. The joint families with similar holdings are only 34.12 per cent. If the average holding is to be taken to fall within the size of 11 to 15 acres (vide our earlier discussions, page) the joint families have more of their families above this average size than below it. On the contrary the nuclear families are more with smaller than the average holdings.

Relating these different sizes of holdings with the area of the dwelling place in each of the two types of families, it is found that dwelling places of larger area are also found with families with smaller holdings, as the families with larger holdings are also found to have smaller dwelling places among both the joint and nuclear types. But the difference between the joint and the nuclear families as to their preference for larger or smaller area commensurate with the size of their holdings still exists to some extent. Of the total number of families having larger dwelling places of 600 to 800 and 800 and more square feet, among the joint families, the larger contribution comes from families with larger holdings of 16 acres and more (5 against 4 and 13 against 1 respectively). The nuclear type has its families with larger and smaller holdings equally distributed into larger and smaller dwelling places (4 and 5 respectively). It may mean therefore that in the case of joint families, larger land-holdings may also be correlated with larger size of family and that in the case of nuclear family it does not respond in size to the size of land-holdings. This may be so because the size of the nuclear family is limited in the maximum to the fertility rate, whereas that of the joint family may not be so limited as it has more than one married couple and besides its capacity to absorb stray unattached relatives may be comparatively more than the nuclear family. This may further mean that it is really the size of the family strengthened by the size of the land-holding that dictates the size of the area required. While the size of the land-holding operates as an influential factor in determining the size of the dwelling place upto a limit, in this case of 400 to 600 sq.feet, beyond that it is the size of the family that determines it. This inference holds good even if we take the houses and huts separately. It has been seen earlier that the houses are generally of a larger size than the huts. It is also seen that the joint families have more of them having houses than the nuclear families. Naturally when the total dwelling places combining the houses and huts are considered, the joint families show higher incidence in larger dwelling places.

When the huts alone are considered (Table No. 69-B) of the 64 joint families there are none found to have them below 200 sq.feet. Of the 73 nuclear families there are 2 or 2.74 per cent in huts of 100 to 200 sq.feet area. In the next higher size group of 200 to 400 sq.feet the joint families have 25 per cent and the nuclear have 41.09 per cent of their total number, in the case of the latter this being their largest found in a single size-group. The joint families show their largest proportion in the next higher size-group of 400 to 600 sq.feet (45.31 per cent) whereas the proportion of the nuclear families in this

size comes down to 32.88 per cent. Both the types after registering their highest proportion in the size-groups of 201-400 and 401-600 sq. feet respectively gradually appear less and less in the next two higher size-groups of 601-800 and 801 and more sq. feet.

In the case of the houses (Table No. 69-C) among the joint families both the families having a larger area, viz., of 601 to 800 sq. feet have larger land-holdings. But of the 13 families having the largest area of 801 and more sq. feet, 4 are with land-holdings of 11 to 15 acres, one of 16 to 20 acres and 8 of more than 25 acres. Some joint families even with smaller holdings are found with bigger houses.

Among the nuclear families owning houses, however, the families with smaller holdings are usually found in smaller houses and those with larger holdings in larger houses.

The difference between the joint and nuclear families may also be seen in the fact that a predominant number of the former are found in the largest size-group of 801 and more sq. feet. Barring this difference in the largest size-group, they are alike in having a fairly large proportion in the size-group of 401 to 600 sq. feet.

Therefore both types in the case of huts as well as houses have the 401 to 600 sq. feet area as the most common size of their dwelling place.

We have seen the trend of the dwelling places in their two broad types, house and hut, and the area involved, and both these in relation to the type of family and the size of their land-holdings. The housing conditions are further seen now in respect of the age of the houses and huts that are existing now.

(D). Age of the Existing Houses and Huts :- The age of the existing houses and huts is calculated in units of 5 years upto 30 years, the last unit being of 31 years and more. Some families are continuing in the houses or huts for more than a generation and the heads have reported that they were built by their elders or 'father'. The age of these could not be ascertained and they are shown separately. In any case their age is of more than 30 years. Such cases are 4 in the case of houses and 9 in the case of huts. There are two families staying in houses and four in huts which also could not say as to when their dwelling places were built. These also are shown separately. Altogether we are dealing with 140 huts and 38 houses.

From the Table No. 70 it can be seen that more than half of the houses and huts were constructed during the decade previous to 1965. In the case of houses these form 57.90 per cent and in the case of huts they form 57.86 per cent, almost of same proportion in both the cases. If the houses and huts of more than 30 years and those built by 'father' are added up, their proportion in the case of houses is 18.42 and in the case of huts 7.14 per cent of their respective totals. While the houses and huts of 10 years and less are almost equal in their proportion to the total, the proportion of older houses is much greater than

Table No. 70 : Age-wise Distribution of the Houses and Huts (Cultivators)

Name of the Village	HOUSE							Built by Father	Cannot Tell	Total
	Age of House (in Years)									
	Upto 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	30 and above			
Dalpatpur	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	5
Nirgude	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5
Torangan	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Deodongara	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Deodongari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bafenvihir	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Donawade	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	4
Kulawandi	4	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	8
Pelashi Bk.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Rautmal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gadadawne	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Shirasgaon	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	6
Total	11	11	4	2	-	1	3	4	2	38
Percentage	28.95	28.95	10.53	5.26	-	2.63	7.89	10.53	5.26	100.00

(continued)

Table No. 70 : (continued)

HUT

Name of the Village	Age of Hut (in Years)							Built by Father	Cannot Tell	Total
	Upto 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	30 and above			
Dalpatpur	5	3	3	2	1	1	-	1	2	18
Nirgude	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Torangan	3	3	2	1	-	1	1	1	-	12
Deodongara	10	5	2	-	1	1	-	1	-	20
Deodongari	5	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	10
Bafanvihir	-	2	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	8
Donawade	3	3	1	2	1	-	-	2	1	13
Kulawandi	4	8	6	2	1	-	-	1	-	22
Palashi Bk.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rautmal	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
Gadedawne	1	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Shirasgaon	7	6	-	4	1	1	-	-	1	20
Total	42	39	22	14	5	4	1	9	4	140
Percentage	30.00	27.86	15.71	10.00	3.57	2.86	0.71	6.43	2.86	100.00

that of such huts. Of the 38 houses we have seen that 21 belong to joint families and 17 to nuclear families, which means that not all the joint families have continued to live in the same house of their fathers. It may be that they have been able to erect a house in the place of a hut left by their fathers. Or, they had to give up the hut or house of their fathers for one reason or the other and set up a new house. The preponderance of houses and huts built during the last decade previous to 1965 points to three other possible reasons. It is seen in the chapter on indebtedness the extent to which the cultivators are under the burden of dues payable to the moneylender, to their fellow cultivators who are in a better position and to other agencies, and that their repaying capacity is much low. This leads not infrequently to the attachment of their dwelling places for the teak and bamboos they involve. The debtor himself often prefers to sell his house in order to pay off his dues partially at least. As teak and other requirements to erect a house or hut are allowed for the tribal by the Forest Department to be had from the forest on application, he does not find it difficult. Secondly, it is not unusual with the tribal to set up a new house or hut after separating from his parents or brothers when he reaches adulthood and is married. This results in new houses or huts being set up to the extent the separations take place. Thirdly, the tendency to erect new houses or huts might have received a fillip by the Government policy and programme of advancing loans for the purpose, or his condition otherwise might have been improved by the Government aid in other spheres as well.

As for the third factor mentioned here, we have particulars about the total loans given by the Block Development Office to the villages concerned. The particulars are presented in Table No. 71. The loans given for housing are shown apart from the total of other loans given for bunding, construction of well and pumping engine. The loans for housing are mostly Rs.250/- per family whereas those for other purposes differ in their average per family. The Table also gives against each village the number of families having their houses or huts constructed during the decade ending in 1965 and the total number of families having houses and huts. Whereas the families receiving loans belong to the whole village, the families shown with reference to houses or huts belong to the sample. As such the families in the sample may not be necessarily those that have received loans. Yet some correlation between the incidence of loans received and the proportion of houses or huts recently constructed may be found.

In the villages, Bafanvahir, Deodongari, Donawade, and Rautmal which have either not received any loans in housing or where the average loan per family in other matters is also very low or nil, no family has a house constructed during the decade ending in 1965. Bafanvahir has only 2 out of 8 huts erected during this period. Deodongari which has 5 families receiving loans for particularly housing has 6 out of 10 families erecting their huts during this period. Donawade has 6 out of 13, and Rautmal has 3 out of 5 huts erected during this period. Except Bafanvahir all the three villages have about half of their families living in huts with new ones erected from 1956 to 1965. Nirgude and Kulawandi have not received any loans for housing. But their average per family for

Table No. 71 : Loans Advanced by the Block Development Office, 1958-59 to 1964-65

	Housing		For Housing and other requirements			Houses		Huts	
	No. of families	Amount in Rs.	No. of families	Total Amount in Rs.	Average per family (approx.)	Upto 10 years	Total	Upto 10 years	Total
Dalpatpur	17	4,250	36	9,050	251	2	5	8	18
Nirgude	-	-	15	8,925	595	4	5	2	3
Torangan	2	500	19	8,980	473	4	4	6	12
Bafanvihir	-	-	4	700	175	-	-	2	8
Deodongara	5	1,250	3	3,625	1,208	-	1	15	20
Deodongari	5	1,250	-	-	-	-	-	6	10
Donawade	-	-	9	1,705	189	-	4	6	13
Kulawendi	-	-	40	25,775	644	6	8	12	22
Palashi Bk.	1	250	22	6,555	298	2	3	2	2
Gadadawne	7	1,700	1	500	500	1	2	6	7
Rautmal	-	-	5	950	190	-	-	3	5
Shirasgaon	7	1,750	38	22,748	598	3	6	13	20
Total	44	10,950	192	89,513	466	22	38	81	140

other requirements comes to Rs.595/- and Rs.644/- respectively. This goes with their high proportion of newly constructed houses and huts. The other six villages, Dalpatpur, Torangan, Deodongara, Palashi Budruk, Gadadawne and Shirasgaon have not only received loans in housing but have a number of their families which have received loans for other purposes as well. All these villages have shown a high proportion of newly constructed houses or huts.

The expenditure incurred in erecting these houses or huts may further reveal the comparative ability of the tribals in pooling resources in cash or kind for them, among the twelve villages.

(E). Cost of the Houses and Huts :- Out of the 38 houses for 10, and out of 140 huts for 21, no expenditure could be ascertained as the families could not recollect the same because of their dwelling places being old.

From the Table No. 72, it is seen that more than one-third or 34.22 per cent of the houses are built at a cost of Rs.1,000 to 2,000 each. Two houses costing Rs.5,000 to 10,000 each are found in Torangan and Gadadawne and two more costing more than Rs.10,000 but less than Rs.20,000 are found in Shirasgaon. The houses that cost Rs.5,000 and less each form 60.53 per cent of the total.

Table No. 72 : Expenditure on Houses and Huts (Cultivators)

Name of the Village	Expenditure on Houses (in Rs.)								Total	
	Upto 100	100-500	501-1,000	1,001-5,000	5,001-10,000	10,001-20,000	20,000 & above	Self Built		Cannot Tell
Dalpatpur	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	5
Nirgude	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	5
Torangan	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	4
Deodongara	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Deodongari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bafanvihir	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Donawade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Kulawandi	-	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	2	8
Palashi Bk.	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Rautmal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gadadawne	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Shirasgaon	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	6
Total	3	4	3	13	2	2	-	1	10	38
Percentage	7.89	10.53	7.89	34.22	5.26	5.26	-	2.63	26.32	100.00

(continued)

Table No. 72 : (continued)

Name of the Village	Expenditure on Huts (in Rs.)							Self Built	Cannot Tell	Total
	Upto 100	100-500	501-1,000	1,000-5,000	5,001-10,000	10,000-20,000	20,000 & above			
Dalpatpur	4	9	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	18
Nirgude	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Torengan	6	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	12
Deodongara	4	8	4	1	-	-	-	1	2	20
Deodongari	5	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	10
Bafenvihir	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	8
Donawade	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	13
Kulewandi	5	11	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	22
Palashi Bk.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Rautmel	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Gadadawne	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Shirasgaon	2	12	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	20
Total	30	62	14	4	-	-	-	9	21	140
Percentage	21.43	44.29	10.00	2.86	-	-	-	6.43	15.00	100.01

Only two families have erected their houses without employing labour and perhaps procuring material at a minimum cost, but they have been unable to quote the expenditure. These can be counted with those who had employed labour but who were unable to remember the cost as their houses were very old. Thus about 28.95 per cent of the houses we have no account of their expenditure. The majority of the houses have not gone beyond Rs.5,000 as their cost.

As for the huts it is clear from the Table that their individual cost is much less than that of the houses. There are no huts that have cost more than Rs.5,000/-. The huts costing Rs.1,000 to 5,000 each are only 4 or 2.86 per cent. The majority of the huts have cost less than and upto Rs.500/- only their percentage being 65.72. There are 30 or 21.53 per cent of the huts which have cost upto Rs.100/- only. Among the families owning houses and huts almost an equal proportion of the former has spent more or less 10 times the expenditure incurred by the same proportion of families in the latter. Dalpatpur, Torangan, Deodongara, Deodongari, Rautmal, Gadadawne and Shirasgaon in the case of huts and Dalpatpur, Torangan, Deodongara, Kulawandi, Palashi Budruk, Gadadawne and Shirasgaon in the case of houses show a higher expenditure per each. It may be recalled that these are more or less the same villages which showed preference for larger area. It may be therefore that the larger cost is due to bigger dwelling places.

It may be interesting to note as to whether the cost of house or hut has been rising over time. For this we have to scan their cost in relation to their age, which is done next.

(F). Cost and Age of the House and Hut :- In the case of houses it is seen (Table No. 73) that almost all those the cost of which could not be ascertained are old constructions. The majority of them costing less than and upto Rs.5,000/- were built during the last decade. One house costing Rs.5,000 to 10,000 was built about 11 to 15 years ago, and one costing Rs.10,000 to 20,000 was built more than 30 years ago.

In the case of huts as well the majority of them costing Rs.1,000 and less were erected during the last decade. Twenty-two out of 30 costing upto Rs.100/-, 35 out of 62 costing Rs.101 to 500/-, and 8 out of 14 costing Rs.501 to 1,000 were erected during the last decade. Thus older the hut the higher appears to be the cost. More recent huts have cost less than the older ones.

Many of the families who have erected their huts in a recent period have been unable to cite the cost. This is perhaps because either they have built them without employing outside labour or have utilized nagli and meals as wages and thus cannot mention their equivalent in cash or they are unable to cite the quantity of the material and its cost as it was drawn from old and/or spurious sources.

II. Labourers:

(A). Area of the Dwelling Place :- As has been seen earlier the labourers have only one family owning a house whereas 106 own huts. This lone house is owned by a family in Nirgude.

Table No. 73 : Age and Cost of the Houses and Huts (Cultivators) in the 12 Villages

Age of House (in Years)	Cost of Houses (in Rs.)						Self Built	Cannot Tell	Paid in Food-grains & meals	Total
	Upto 100	100-500	600-1,000	1,000-5,000	6,000-10,000	10,000-20,000				
Upto 5	1	2	-	5	1	-	1	1	-	11
6 - 10	2	1	2	5	-	1	-	-	-	11
11 - 15	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	4
16 - 20	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
21 - 25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 - 30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
30 and above	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3
Built by Father	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
Cannot Tell	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Total	3	4	3	13	2	2	1	10	-	38

(continued)

Table No. 73 : (continued)

Age of Hut (in years)	Cost of Huts (in Rs.)						Self Built	Cannot Tell	Paid in Food-grains & meals	Total
	Upto 100	100-500	600-1,000	1,000-5,000	6,000-10,000	10,000-20,000				
Upto 5	12	16	5	1	-	-	1	3	4	42
6 - 10	10	19	3	-	-	-	5	2	-	39
11 - 15	3	11	2	1	-	-	3	1	1	22
16 - 20	2	9	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	14
21 - 25	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	5
26 - 30	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
30 and above	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Built by Father	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	9
Cannot Tell	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
Total	30	62	14	4	-	-	9	16	5	140

Among the huts the most common size appears to be of 201 to 400 sq. feet, as 51 or 48.11 per cent of them are found in that size-group (Table No. 74). Majority of the

Table No. 74 : Distribution of Huts According to Area (Labourers)

Name of the village	Area in Sq. Feet						Total
	Below 100	100-200	200-400	400-600	600-800	800 & above	
Dalpatpur	2	2	10	-	-	-	14
Nirgude	2	3	-	-	-	-	5
Torangan	1	1	7	2	-	-	11
Deodongara	1	2	8	3	1	-	15
Deodongari	1	5	3	-	-	-	9
Bafanvahir	-	1	5	2	-	-	8
Shirasgaon	1	8	5	2	-	-	16
Gadadawne	-	1	3	-	-	-	4
Rautmal	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Donawade	-	1	1	1	-	1	4
Kulawandi	2	4	9	1	-	-	16
Palashi Bk.	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total	10	32	51	11	1	1	106
Percentage	9.43	30.19	48.11	10.38	0.94	0.94	99.99

huts are found to have less than 400 sq. feet each, as can be seen from the fact that 87.73 per cent of them are found in the first three size-groups together. It is to be noted that there are 10 or 9.43 per cent of huts having 100 sq. feet and less of area. This is in clear contrast with the cultivators who had very few houses or huts having each an area even of 200 sq. feet and less.

Among the twelve villages, Nirgude, Deodongari, Shirasgaon, Rautmal, Kulawandi, and Palashi Budruk, have majority of their huts of smaller size. There are two families one each in Deodongara and Donawade having their huts of 600 to 800 sq. feet and more than 800 sq. feet respectively. The number of huts in the size-group of 401 to 600 sq. feet are almost equal to that of the smallest in size, and these are found in Torangan, Deodongara, Bafanvahir, Shirasgaon, Donawade and Kulawandi.

While the predominance of smaller huts may speak of poorer means of livelihood as compared with the cultivators, it may also be because of the type of family. Thus ability and needs may both be instrumental in determining the size of the hut, as again in the case of cultivators.

(B). Area and Type of Family :- Table No. 75 gives the distribution of the labourer families according to their types among the twelve villages. It is seen that 73.15 per cent of them are nuclear families. Although it may mean that preponderance of nuclear families have led to the preponderance of smaller huts on an aggregate

of all the twelve villages, it does not strictly conform to the facts in the case of individual villages.

Table No. 75 : Distribution of Families According to Their Types (Labourers)

	Joint	Nuclear	Transi- tional	Broken	Total
1. Dalpatpur	2	10	1	1	14
2. Nirgude	-	6	1	-	7
3. Torangan	5	6	-	-	11
4. Bafanvihir	3	5	-	-	8
5. Deodongara	1	13	-	1	15
6. Deodongari	-	9	-	-	9
7. Donawade	3	1	-	-	4
8. Kulawandi	2	13	-	1	16
9. Palashi Bk.	-	-	2	-	2
10. Gadadawne	1	2	1	-	4
11. Rautmal	-	2	-	-	2
12. Shirasgaon	-	12	1	3	16
Total	17	79	6	6	108
Percentage	15.74	73.15	5.56	5.56	

Joint families among the labourers have appeared only in seven villages, namely, Dalpatpur, Torangan, Bafanvihir, Deodongara, Donawade, Kulawandi and Gadadawne. Of these in Torangan and Bafanvihir their proportion is more, whereas in Donawade they are preponderant. If the area of huts in these three villages only is taken, it is seen that these are also among the six villages that have shown a fair proportion of their huts in the size-groups of 400 to 600 sq. feet and above. Even in others, Deodongara and Kulawandi it may be presumed that the huts appearing with larger size belong to the joint families!

The joint family not only means a larger size but a larger proportion of earners as is seen earlier. Thus both the ability and needs are greater with a joint family and therefore it may be associated here with the larger huts.

(C). Age of the Existing Huts :- Out of 106 huts that are considered here about 12 the families could not tell as to when their huts were built. Two families stated that they were continuing in the huts built by their fathers. Both these categories show that they were old constructions. The lone house belonging to the Nirgude labourer also is unaccountable as to its age and therefore appears to be old (Table No. 76).

It can be seen that there is no hut which is more than 20 years old. Nearly half or 48.11 per cent of them have been erected during the last five years ending in 1965 and about one-fourth or 25.47 per cent were erected from 6 to 10 years ago. Thus 73.58 per cent of the huts were erected during the last decade. Compared with those of the cultivators, the frequency of putting up new huts appears to be greater among the labourers, for the same

Table No. 76 : Age-wise Distribution of the Huts (Labourers)

	Age of Hut (in Years)				Built by Father	Cannot Tell	Total
	Upto 5	6-10	11-15	16-20			
Dalpatpur	9	2	1	-	-	2	14
Nirgude	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Torangan	4	3	1	1	-	2	11
Deodongara	4	5	4	-	-	2	15
Deodongari	2	3	1	-	-	3	9
Bafanvihir	5	2	-	-	-	1	8
Donwade	-	1	-	1	2	-	4
Kulawandi	8	6	2	-	-	-	16
Palashi Bk.	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Rautmal	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Gadadawne	1	1	1	-	-	1	4
Shirasgaon	10	3	1	1	-	1	16
Total	51	27	11	3	2	12	106
Percentage	48.11	25.47	10.38	2.83	1.89	11.32	100.00

reasons stated in the case of the former. Which means that the labourers have to give up their old huts and are forced to erect new ones more frequently. Piling up debts and the need to separate from the stem family both may be more compelling factors among the labourers. This economic stringency in comparison with the cultivators may get expression in yet another aspect, that of the cost of the hut.

(D). Cost of the Hut :- The cost of the house in Nirgude as well as that of 20 huts together belonging to seven villages could not be ascertained as 13 families could not recollect the cost and seven were unable to calculate the cost because they had erected them by paying wages in nagli and meals. These appeared to be old huts. Of the remaining 86 huts, 59 or 55.66 per cent of the total (106) were built purely employing the family labour. As majority of the huts are smaller in size this was possible for the families to build them without employing outside labour against wages. The remaining 27 or 25.47 per cent all have cost less than Rs.500 each. Even here those that have cost less than Rs.100 are more than those that have cost from Rs.100 to 500/- (Table No. 77).

Among the labourers therefore the different features namely, the area of the hut, the nuclear family, the appalling poverty, the frequency of erecting new huts, and the low cost involved or the compulsion of erecting them without employing labour, all clearly appear to be inter-dependent.

The huts that have cost Rs.100 to Rs.500 appear in Dalpatpur, Torangan, Deodongara, Kulawandi, and Shirasgaon which barring Deodongara, have appeared in earlier accounts

Table No. 77 : Expenditure on Huts (Labourers)

Name of the village	Upto Rs.100	Rs.100- Rs.500	Self built	Cannot Tell	Paid in food-grains & meals	Total
Dalpatpur	2	1	10	1	-	14
Nirgude	1	-	3	1	-	5
Torangan	3	1	7	-	-	11
Deodongara	3	5	2	1	4	15
Deodongari	-	-	4	5	-	9
Bafanvahir	2	-	4	-	2	8
Donawade	-	-	2	2	-	4
Kulawandi	1	3	8	3	1	16
Palashi Bk.	-	-	2	-	-	2
Rautmal	1	-	1	-	-	2
Gadadawne	-	-	4	-	-	4
Shirasgaon	3	1	12	-	-	16
Total	16	11	59	13	7	106
Percentage	15.09	10.38	55.66	12.27	6.60	100.00

as the villages where there has been scope for the labourers to go in for a paying subsidiary occupation. This, and the fact that they are also the villages which have received loans from the Block Development Office for housing, might have enabled the labourers to spend more on the erection of their huts. This cost will now be seen in relation to the age of the huts.

(E). Cost and Age of the Huts :- As a majority of the huts have been built by family labour and there has been a frequency of erection of new huts, many of the huts appear in recent period and also show low cost. There is only a very slight feature to be noted here, which also has appeared in the case of the cultivators (vide Table No. 78). It is that the huts that are more than 10 years old appear to have cost more than the recent ones. There are 11 huts which have been erected during the last decade and have cost less than Rs.100 as against 6 huts erected during the same period costing Rs.100 to 500 each. Of those that are more than 10 years old 3 have cost less than Rs.100 each whereas 4 have cost Rs.100 to 500 each. Although one hut which is more than 15 years old appears to have cost less than Rs.100/-, that the cost of the huts should increase with their age may be due to the suspected habit of the people to over-report their expenditure on items such as housing which cannot be checked easily. This may be so even with the cultivators.

The labourers here stand in clear contrast with the cultivators in all the aspects of housing that were here described and discussed.

Table No. 78 : Cost and Age of the Huts (Labourers)

Age of the Hut (in Years)	Upto Rs.100	Rs.100- Rs.500	Self Built	Cannot Tell	Paid in food-grains and meals	Total
Upto 5	7	4	34	3	3	51
6 - 10	4	2	17	1	3	27
11 - 15	3	4	2	2	-	11
16 - 20	1	-	2	-	-	3
21 - 25	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 - 30	-	-	-	-	-	-
30 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-
Built by Father	-	-	-	2	-	2
Cannot Tell	1	1	4	5	1	12
Total	16	11	59	13	7	106

This difference may also appear in other household belongings such as utensils, furniture if any and others enumeration of which is not included in this report.

CHAPTER XI

THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA AND ITS PEOPLE AND THE EFFORTS MADE TO SOLVE THEM

The problems pertaining to the tribals all over India have been again and again reviewed and various recommendations have been made towards their solution. In the post-independence period starting with the Backward Classes Commission headed by Acharya Kalékar, we have the Balwantraj Mehta Committee Report—Forty-Eighth Report of the Estimates Committee—of 1958-59, the Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission headed by Shri U.N. Dhebar in 1961, and the Report of the Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks by Verrier Elwin among others. There are also the annual Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The problems pinpointed by these various Commissions and the recommendations made by them towards their solution have a certain concurrence. The problems of the Harsul Tribal Block which is a part of a Scheduled area are not different from those that obtain on an all-India level as stated by the various bodies. It is intended here, therefore, not to state the problems in a general way but to specify their location and extent.

Because of the compactness of the area, preponderance of tribal population and comparative isolation the area and its people stand apart from the adjoining areas and non-tribal population. The problems that arise therein are inter-dependent and ensue from the interplay of various factors. The problems of the area and those of the people also are inter-dependent. The under-developed nature of the area and the backwardness of the people both reinforce each other. The under-development of the area arises from the lack of proper, co-ordinated and balanced utilization of the resources and these are tied down with the 'resource-complex' of the people, to borrow from Walter Firey's terminology. This concept of resource-complex takes note of the cultural appraisal of resources prevailing among a people. The utilization of the resources to the optimum level without co-ordinating the cultural appraisal and ability of the people inhabiting the area with it might lead to the exploitation of the people. In such an eventuality while the area might be developed the people might remain backward or poor. Because, the development of the area takes place by drawing skilled personnel and other factors of production from outside, in this case the non-tribal areas, without equipping the local population with the talent, tools and training to participate in the area development. Certainly this is not the objective of the development of a tribal block. On the other hand, if efforts wholly or mainly are directed to improve the tribal by educating him, giving him training in different vocations, sanctioning freeships for his education, establishing hostels for his free boarding and lodging, and reservation of posts in the government and government-aided departments and establishments for him, without simultaneously creating avenues for his absorption in his own locale, the tribal in order

to benefit from his enhanced capacity and the training and skill he has acquired, is forced to quit his area and resort to the towns and cities in search of employment. The problem arises therefore when one tries to avoid both the drawbacks and to achieve the development of the area and improvement in the conditions of the tribals simultaneously.

It is generally stressed in relation to the Scheduled Tribes in all discussions and recommendations about their welfare that while every effort should be made to improve their economic conditions equal attention should also be paid to preserve their culture. But in a sense these two objectives appear to be incompatible. Culture is not an absolute entity. It is related to the environment: social (including religious, economic, and political frameworks therein) and geographical. Economic development demands that the existing system of resource utilization, of production and the distribution of the returns be changed. This cannot be done without opening up ways and means for interchange of men, goods and services. This in turn depends upon a communication and transport network. In the process of this interchange, communication of values, ideas and ideologies, and their interchange as well, do take place to some extent at least. This latter interchange or change is expressed in practice by adopting new goals, new standards of living, new vocations, new training and new tools, which necessitate new associations of men and environment. Broadly speaking culture does undergo change in order to adapt itself to the changing conditions and the converse is also true that without the change in goals or economic objectives voluntary efforts may not be made by the people. In any case economic development has to accept certain modification of the culture of the people concerned, as inevitable.

Whenever preservation of the tribal culture is talked about reference is made to their song and dance aspect of culture. These are aspects of recreation which can very well attain a new meaning and function in the changing economic conditions. Culture and economy have to balance each other and the former in its broader meaning includes the latter. Thus a culture in its entirety cannot be and need not be sustained if one visualizes economic development as the objective which is to be achieved at as rapid a pace as is advisable. In delineating the problems and suggesting solutions this broad view is kept as the guiding principle. But the study of culture and the institutionalized relations is necessary in order to understand the inhibitions and impediments which thwart the introduction of new agencies or institutions of economic development. Unless one knows the underlying forces it may not be possible to adopt and operate the developmental measures successfully. The problems arising from the customs, beliefs and institutionalized relations are described from this point of view. While pinpointing the problems efforts made so far to solve them are also described and their efficacy discussed.

Economic development of the area for its own sake and for eliciting voluntary co-operation, in the process, of the local people by bringing about a change in their values, ideologies and goals, needs in the first place a network of communications to facilitate interchange of goods and services within the area and between the area

and the outside region. Therefore the basic problem is the comparative isolation of the area. The only connection of the area with the outside world is through Nasik which is connected with Harsul the Headquarters of the Block. As is noted in the beginning, three buses a day ply between Harsul and Nasik. The last bus starting from Nasik runs up to Thanapada 4 miles ahead of Harsul and returns to Nasik the next morning. There is no bus facility to connect Harsul with Peint the taluka headquarter either. Nasik-Harsul road and the Harsul-Peint road appear to be very old, their mention being made in the Gazetteers of late 19th century. The Harsul-Goldari road was under construction from 1883 to 1893; the distance covered was of 11 miles. The road was only rubbled and 'murumed' without bridges or culverts. An extension of this road from Goldari to Ozar a distance of 10 miles was also started during this period, and 4 miles of it was partly made. This was, however, as per accounts, completed during 1918-20. During the same two years another road of 10 miles was laid by the Forest Department to connect Harsul with Adgaon at the southernmost end of the area. The road from Harsul to Ozar continues towards Saywan Road and the one to Adgaon continues towards Sanjan in the Dahenu taluka of Thana district. All these roads, however, are cut in between by stream-beds running across them and no culverts or bridges are constructed over them. As such they are only fair-weather roads and are out of use during the rainy season. From Harsul to Ozar the road is cut across by the stream beds at, at least, 7 places, between Harsul and Nirgude, at Thanapada, at 2 places between Thanapada and Goldari and at 3 places from Goldari to Ozar. From Harsul to Kulawandi along the road proceeding to Peint, there are 2 or 3 such breaks. The road from Harsul to Adgaon and further into Dahenu taluka gets impeded beyond Adgaon by wider and deeper stream-bed. The road from Harsul to Nasik also, as described before, is only 15 feet wide—work for widening it to 22 feet was in progress in May 1965—and was only rubbled and 'murumed' hampering smooth plying of vehicles, the trucks carrying heavy loads of the forest produce and the buses carrying the passengers being the heavier ones. There are no proper roads connecting the villages with one another. We have seen that some villages on the basis of their socio-economic and administrative connections fall into groups, hovering round central villages, which were here dealt with as zones. Even these central villages are not well-connected with their satellites. For example, Deodongara has no proper roads to connect it with Bafanvihar, Deodongari or Kas. This lack of communication is equally felt in the case of each village and its hamlets. The physical separation of the people into different and distant hamlets amidst their fields, and the absence of easy and quick communication with them might lead to lack of consensus and co-operation which was absent in some spheres of their social life at least (which will be dealt with later). While this absence of roads and the communication means hampers the interchange of goods and services within the area, it also hampers opening up the whole area from its solitude to the outside contacts in socio-economic and cultural spheres. The network of the communication system by itself leads to the market places being brought nearer and within easy reach, which might induce some people to supplement their income by the sale of their produce. The examples of tribals of the villages nearer to Harsul selling eggs and milk, and one from Deodongara a weekly market place selling ghee may be recalled here. In the annual budgets of some village Panchayats,

some amount could be seen earmarked for the repairs or construction of the approach roads.

The second problem is the scarcity of drinking water facilities not to speak of agriculture. Some of the villages in the northern half of the area more, and almost all villages to some extent especially during summer suffer from acute shortage of water. The cattle have to go without water for 3 to 4 days at a stretch when they are driven to stream beds sometimes at a distance of three to four miles in order to quench their thirst. The government through the elected agencies like the Zilla Parishad down to the Village Panchayat has on its agenda this item for long. But what with the water resources being scanty and what with the absence of proper technical survey of water resources and of the method to be employed in tapping them many villages still remain without the proper supply of this basic need. It is not that the villagers are not voluntarily forthcoming to share the burden but according to them the authorities, even when possible water sources were pointed out, were not very enthusiastic about them. On the officers' part the comment was that unless they are assured that their efforts in pooling money for such schemes will meet with success by expert advice they would not venture upon them. As a result the villages go without water. Such cases were reported in Dalpatpur, Torangan, Deodongara, Bafanvihir, and Donawade. In many of the hamlets of these villages, however, it is not as acute as in the main villages, for example Hattipada and Chikhalpada of Dalpatpur, Vahanderipada of Torangan, Hanumantpada of Deodongara and Ranpada of Bafanvihir being in low-lying areas or nearer stream beds had a better supply of water. Torangan, Deodongara and Donawade are situated on high rocky ground their fields sloping down around them and perhaps because of this suffer from shortage of water more than others. Even Harsul and Peint the Block and Taluka headquarters are not free from this problem. What cannot be cured must be 'ended' in the sense that a broad policy has to be laid down about the advisability of continuing the habitation of a people on a particular site if water supply cannot be maintained and if displacement and selection of a new village site does not involve a larger population and does not invite graver problems. This acuteness of water shortage to some extent is minimised by the government aid in the form of loans for construction of wells in the agricultural lands to the cultivators who ask for them. These aids in the form of taccavi loans given to different individuals in the different villages for different purposes will be discussed later. Here it is to be noted that these wells in the fields wherever they have been able to strike water—some have failed and some others have not utilized the loans for the purpose they were given—have relieved the villagers to some extent of this problem.

The problems relating to the infra-structure of the area besides this water supply and communication avenues and means, namely, of educational facilities, banking or credit facilities, marketing and shopping facilities, medical facilities and administrative facilities depend largely on the improvement of the communication system.

The educational problem is firstly related to the availability of a teacher who is willing to take up a post in the remote villages of the area. Many incentives are offered by the government to such teachers. But

lack of facilities which one is accustomed to in non-tribal areas and the difficulty in getting adjusted to the tribal customs, beliefs and way of life may also act as deterrents for him. In Donawade there was no teacher at all. On enquiries it was found that the villagers treated his household belongings in his presence as well as absence as their own or in other ways took too much liberty with him that the teacher could not appreciate and put up with. So in dire frustration he fled from the village not to return. In Bafanvahir a predominantly Warli village, the local teacher who hailed from Malegaon in Nasik district whispered that the villagers were in the habit of resorting to sorcery and black-magic on the slightest pretext and that therefore he shuddered to stay there. These and such reasons always act on the negative side. There is another side to this problem related to education. It is also prevailing to only comparatively less extent even in non-tribal rural areas. It is that the children who otherwise render a helping hand in the household work or in the agricultural operations or if employed as labour to supplement the family income are not spared sufficiently to enable them to attend classes. It is seen earlier in the section dealing with working members that children belonging to the age-group of 6 to 10 years and of 11 to 20 years are employed to the family's benefit. Naturally the families might look upon education as waste or unnecessary and thus may be reluctant to release them for education. This is also seen from the reported number of school-going children among both the cultivators and labourers. But well-to-do cultivators among them do send their children to school.

Almost every village has a primary school although the standards upto which education is imparted may vary from II to VII. The government in order to impart 'useful' education and at minimum cost has established Ashram Schools all over the State. In Nasik district there are 4 such schools of which one is at Chinchawade about two miles from Harsul on Harsul-Nasik road. Even the age-limit is relaxed in the case of the tribals. They are admitted to the first standard between the ages of 6 and 9, upto the age of 10 to the second standard, and upto the age of 11 to the third standard. These Ashram Schools are organized through voluntary agencies. Each such school is a residential school with a hostel attached to it where the inmates are provided with free boarding and lodging and other amenities. The recruitment of students is to be done from the nearby villages. Although the students are preferably tribals non-tribals are also admitted as day-scholars. In addition to the usual instruction in the school, arrangements for teaching of simple crafts like kitchen-gardening leading to agriculture, spinning and weaving, poultry farming etc., are made in the initial stages. Agriculture is the main craft taught in the school. For this purpose each such school is to have a farm of about 10 acres with a well, two cows and a pair of bullocks, agricultural implements etc. The government grant-in-aid to the tune of 90 per cent of the recurring expenditure and 90 per cent of the non-recurring expenditure is given to these schools. The recurring cost of each such school is estimated to come to Rs.24,950. For the full development of an Ashram School the cost is estimated to come to Rs.71,200. The school is expected usually to grow to a capacity of 60 boys and 60 girls in a course of four to five years. The

Ashram School at Chinchawade is run by the Adiwasi Sewa Samiti at Nasik, and is started from 11th October 1954. The students on the roll were 70 boys and 50 girls. But this one school is obviously insufficient to meet with the needs of all the villages in the area, though not all of them are willing to send their children to school.

The banking or credit facilities are available through the agricultural co-operative credit societies situated at 19 villages. The societies situated at three villages Ozar, Mulvad and Berwal were not in order. The accounts of Amlon, Jategaon Budruk, and Kulawandi were not available. Therefore accounts of only 13 societies could be referred to in order to assess the benefit derived from them. Of these 13 societies the number of land-holders among the members and the total land held by them were not available for four societies, namely, Adgaon, Chirapali, Murambi and Nachlonthi. The membership of the societies does not appear to be restricted to certain villages exclusively, although the villagers might seek membership in the society which is housed or the secretary or the chairman of which lives in their own or in the village convenient for them. As a result it was found that members who belonged to Nirgude were found in the societies of Nirgude, Harsul and Torangan. Members belonging to Nachlonthi were found in the local as well as the Torangan society. Each society appeared thus to overlap in its jurisdiction over that of the other.

The total number of members in the nine societies excluding the four which could not give the particulars of land-holders among their members, was 876 out of which shareholders were 815. Out of these 815; 661 were land-holders, and those who had taken loan were 339. Of these 339 (Table No. 80), 277 were land-holders and 62 without holdings of their own. The discussion of the extent of loans disbursed to them will be done elsewhere. Here it is to be noted that, as the nine societies may be taken to include 20 to 25 villages, per village land-holders who are members of the societies come to 26 to 33, out of per village members who are 33 to 41. Of these those who have taken loan come to roughly 14 to 17. These figures show that although facilities for credit are offered to the villagers they have been unable to make use of them fully. The successful operation of these co-operative societies is beset with many difficulties and is intercepted by the operation of the moneylender. The difficulties relate to the rules and regulations through which the procedure of granting loan has to go and which prove irksome and time consuming to the tribal. Secondly the co-operative societies do not recognize social needs of the tribal and therefore do not advance any loans to meet expenditure on those items. Thirdly, the social relationship that has traditionally developed with the moneylenders is stronger than the relationship with the co-operative societies. The moneylender comes to the aid of the tribal at short notice on various occasions. The relationship with him is more personal and informal than with the impersonal agency like the co-operative society. It is to be pointed out here that the co-operative societies in order to be successful have to encounter a powerful force in the moneylender.

Marketing and shopping facilities as well depend upon the efficient laying of the communication lines.

We have seen earlier that there are only four weekly market centres—not to speak of the absence of retail shopping centres—in the whole of the area. The burden of service on these villages that are scattered far and wide, especially on Harsul, is very heavy, and on the other hand the villagers around also are forced to foot long distances. This may discourage them from visiting the market centres for as many times as they like to. This may also hold them aloof from the free, competitive and uninhibited transaction of the 'market', which may result in their being tied down to the moneylender.

Medical facilities in the area are available only at Harsul. The general state of the health of the Adiwasis was very poor to observe. The diseases commonly prevalent among them are influenza, malaria, small-pox, leprosy, and venereal diseases. The last two are more alarming in their extension, the first in the village Khadakohol and the nearby villages and the latter predominantly in the villages nearabout Harsul, as per the local doctor's word. The Public Health Centre at Harsul has one doctor, one wardboy and one nurse. The dispensary has 3 beds. The statistics regarding the number of indoor and outdoor patients and the extent of each reported disease could not be had as unfortunately our sojourns in Harsul could not be synchronised with the presence of the doctor in Harsul. There is another doctor in Harsul who is doing private practice. Both the doctors are always busy and they have to travel to distant villages in order to attend to serious patients.

It is generally believed and written about that the tribals do not usually take to the scientific medicine but that they take to superstitious cures and Bhagat's magic formula. At least in Harsul we did not find this to an alarming extent compared to the non-tribal rural or even urban areas. The difference if at all is only of degrees and not of kind. In one village, Deodongere, the Sarpanch's son was sick and when some initial household medicines could not show any effect, the Sarpanch employed a Bhagat to propitiate the spirit that troubled him. The Bhagat did this, among other things by offering a hen to the spirit. This illustration apart, the tribals do take to 'medicine' too readily, more readily one should say than the non-tribals. To distribute elementary medicines and to attend to casual complaints by maintaining a kit of first-aid appeared to be the best way to attract the attention of the tribals. Both the doctors at Harsul reported that the tribals are not unwilling to approach them. On the other hand they come and with full faith in the efficacy of the medicine. Only they get quickly disillusioned if they are not cured or if the case proves fatal. If they do not come to the doctors it is partly because of the expenditure incurred and partly because they have to travel on foot long distances to come to Harsul which is exasperating, especially so for the patient, and time consuming for the people who escort him or her. Thus for small complaints or initial troubles they cannot afford to leave their village in search of medicine. This again speaks of the lack of communication means, the presence of which could lead the doctor to the patient or vice versa with more ease and speed and with less money expended.

It can be seen from the foregoing that lack of proper well-knit infra-structure itself is the major

problem of the area. This infra-structure is the arteries through which the socio-economic processes of development are sustained.

Next we come to the land and water utilization problem. This involves the main stay of the livelihood of the tribals. Agriculture and utilization of the forest resources are the twin problems the solution of which has to be balanced with the number of workers available and are to be advisably released for work, holding the under-age population in training and education. This in turn has to be balanced with the income, standard of living, and wage structure among the people.

The problem regarding the agricultural land refers to fragmentation, lack of soil conservation, lack of water resources for irrigation, lack of improved seeds, lack of manure and chemical fertilizers, lack of cash resources on easy terms, lack of working livestock, lack of innovation in the methods of cultivation and lack of other supporting enterprises like dairying. The alienation of land is also usually mentioned as a problem rampant among the tribals. So also the absence of proper distribution and utilization of cultivable waste land also is another problem mentioned. Both these problems relate to the settlement of the tribes in the tract to which they belong and the ones mentioned before relate to better his utilization of the land and his economic conditions thereby.

As regards the last two problems, namely, restrictions to be placed in the way of transfer of lands from the tribals to the non-tribals and settlement of landless tribals by distributing cultivable waste land or forest land belonging to the government the Maharashtra Government has laid down definite policy as enunciated and provided for in its laws. 'The Western Maharashtra region (which includes Nasik district) is governed by the Bombay Land Revenue Code and the Rules made thereunder. Necessary restriction has already been imposed under Section 73(A) read with Section 68 of the Land Revenue Code and according to these provisions, conditions of inalienability and impartibility can be attached to the grants made in favour of tribals so as to prohibit transfer of lands granted to them. Section 73 (A) also provides that in any tract or village in respect of which such notification will be issued, the right of transfer will be prohibited except with the previous sanction of the Collector.'

So also grant of surplus available land is made by the government to landless persons, landless labourers, and co-operative societies among the tribals. The lands that are made available belong to 5 categories. These are: (1) Government waste lands; (2) Forest lands suitable for cultivation; (3) Tank-bed lands; (4) Lands which become available for disposal under the Tenancy Laws; and (5) Lands which may become available for disposal under the ceiling law.

In the disposal of the Government waste land the tribals and their co-operative societies get a priority. In Nasik district by 1960; 8,529 acres were given to 1,624 families. In our sample of twelve villages such cases were reported from Deodongara, Kulawandi and Nirgude. In all, starting from the First Five Year Plan,

54 families were granted 124 acres and 39½ gunthas of land upto the end of 1964. These 54 families belonged to nine villages, namely, Deodongara, Goldari, Chinchawade, Khadakohol, Kulawandi, Murambi, Nirgude, Pate and Saraste. The average land per family comes to 2.3 acres. If the land allotted is virgin-land no price is charged for the land. If it is non-virgin land six times the assessment value is charged. The allottees are to be given financial assistance to purchase bullocks, ploughs, seeds, manure and the construction of irrigation wells. Subsidies are given for the purchase of seed to the extent of 50 per cent of the cost, of agricultural implements 50 per cent, of plough-cattle 100 per cent, of development of land such as levelling, bunding and bull-doing etc. Rs.500 per acre, and for the construction of wells for irrigation of Rs.1,500/- per well.

As for the forest lands given to the tribals, as has been said earlier, it appears the grants are periodic regularizations of encroachments made upon forest lands. This is clear from the background of these grants at least in the period following 1958-59 during which the tribals of the West Nasik Division were reported to have encroached on forest lands by destroying the tree growth and bringing the land under illegal cultivation. The total land under these encroachments including the same in East Nasik Division was about 6,403 acres. The High Power Committee which was appointed to go into the entire problem of the disposal of the culturable waste lands examined this problem and recommended to the Government that the forest land under these encroachments should be transferred to the Revenue Department for distribution. The Government accepted the recommendation and particulars of the encroachments such as area, period, improvement made and his other holdings if any were called for through the District Collectors and the lands were distributed to them. This is a clear regularization of illegal encroachments. How far it is advisable as a part of the broader policy will be seen in the last conclusive chapter. In 1965 during the period of this survey the villagers reported that those among them who had encroached on forest lands for five years then and had paid fines to the department were called upon to submit the receipts of the fines for five years in order to enable the government to treat them as *de facto* holders of those lands. Such legalization of illegal holdings therefore appears to develop into a periodic feature unless the pressure on land is taken away and employed elsewhere.

In the Block area, as mentioned earlier, in all 1,147 acres and 25 gunthas are granted to 290 families. At the start of the First Five Year Plan in 1952, 240 families were granted 986 acres approximately, in 1953 another 48 families were granted about 156 acres and in 1955, two more families were granted 5 acres bringing the total to 290 families and 1,147 acres and 25 gunthas. Thereafter no fresh grants were made to any family till the end of 1964. The grant of waste lands, however, have kept on increasing from one Plan-period to the other, although the number of families is very small. This grant of lands looking to the number of families involved is very small in relation to the number of landless labourers in the Block area. Secondly, especially in the case of the families getting the forest lands, probably they were holding those lands even before by encroachment and what has been done is only to accord a

a legal status to it. Virtually therefore the situation might not yield much change in the output, unless one takes the psychological factor of ownership of the lands into consideration.

Fragmentation of land is another problem which has been described in the foregoing pages. It is also hinted at that because of this, much cultivable land has possibly remained uncultivated, in spite of the fact that some landless agricultural labourers have undertaken the cultivation of some of these uncultivated bits of land on the oral contract of paying the revenue of the land and/or giving a maund or so of nagli to the owner. The total land-holdings of a cultivator being scattered far and wide into fragments which range upto 23 in the sample villages, makes it practically impossible for the cultivator to undertake to cultivate and supervise all of them. It is the problem of bringing all the cultivable land under cultivation. No attention as yet has been given to this. Deola and Mulvad of the 10 zones have larger proportion of their cultivable land as yet uncultivated; this is so generally with all the non-forest zones. This needs attention.

Much of the land is varkas and is situated on slopes, and almost all the villagers in the sample have reported erosion of the soil. The soil conservation department and the Block Development Office both are interested in the matter but co-ordination between the two was not witnessed. For example, the Soil Conservation Department gives two-thirds of the cost of bunding as subsidy, and the Block Office gives 50 per cent of the cost as loan. But there is no proper check on overlapping of the subsidies and loans by the two different agencies. As bunding requires proper understanding of the direction of slopes, course of water running through the fields etc., expert supervision and survey of the different sectors of the area need be undertaken instead of leaving it to the individual farmer's judgment, although his intimate knowledge of these factors may be useful in arriving at a proper decision. Almost all the villages in the sample except Kulawandi, Palashi Budruk, and to some extent Shirasgeon suffered from this problem.

The blocking and tapping of water courses might relax the scarcity of water for irrigation purposes, and at the same time achieve the objective of bunding. Lack of irrigation facilities has remained another major problem regarding agriculture.

The reluctance to take to improved seeds, improved methods of cultivation and supporting enterprises like dairying partly arises from the cultural inhibitions, partly due to lack of quick availability of aid and advice, and lack of communication facility. The pressure of people and livestock on land and of the labourers on the cultivators the latter arising from the nature of the relations that are built up between them are also hinted at in the preceding pages. Finding an alternate employment for the labourers and small farmers and thus minimizing the pressure on land and also improving the income of the people is another problem. One such alternate source is provided through the organization of the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies.

The cash needs of the agriculturists are attempted to be met with by the loans given by the Block Office and the Co-operative Societies. Below we shall discuss first the loans lent by the Block Office, next by the Co-operative Societies, and lastly we shall deal with the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies as sources of alternate employment.

Loans by the Block Development Office

In Table No. 79 the monetary aid given by the Government mainly to cultivators and to some extent to others of the 49 villages is shown under different heads under which aid is given. These heads are bunding, housing, construction of wells, purchase of engines, and cottage industries. The aid amount under each head is shown for two periods 1958 to 1964 and 1964-65. The amounts thus relate to the entire period of the Second Five Year Plan and to the three years of the Third Five Year Plan. The villages are grouped on the basis of the ten zones that were demarcated according to their socio-economic links and geographical contiguity.

In bunding, there are in all 495 families which have received aid from 1958-64 and 56 families during the last year 1964-65. The average amount per family comes to Rs.274.53 and Rs.184.64 respectively. Looking to the amounts disbursed to the different zones one is struck by the discrepancy between one zone and the other, both in respect of the number of families benefited and the average amount they have received. Harsul, Kulawandi, and Shirasgaon are three zones which combinedly have grabbed a major part of the loan. Together they get 76.10 per cent of the total loan. Harsul's share is the largest, 37.67 per cent, followed by Kulawandi's 20.28 per cent and Shirasgaon's 17.74 per cent. The share in the total loan of the other seven zones is much less. All the zones that have benefited more, it may be noted, are the non-forest zones. The averages per family of Harsul and Shirasgaon zones are the highest followed by Thanapada. In the latest year also Harsul and Kulawandi together take more than 25 per cent of the total loan. Deodongara, Goldari and Ozar have suddenly received greater attention and their average per family is also greater. Harsul, Kulawandi, and Shirasgaon have taken loans out of proportion to the number of their villages and to their total area or to their total cultivable area. Deola and Mulvad of the non-forest category and Deodongara, Goldari and Ozar among the forest category of zones have received much less of loans for bunding.

In housing, Harsul has the largest number of families, 81, receiving loans and the largest amount, 40.2 per cent, disbursed to them. Thanapada and Shirasgaon follow with 32 and 27 families with 17.5 and 13.9 per cent of loans respectively. The average loan per family for all the ten zones together comes to Rs.255.1. Against this average of the whole area, Deola, Shirasgaon and Thanapada have a larger average.

In the total loans given for the construction of wells, Harsul has 41.87, Kulawandi 22.69 and Thanapada 15.02 per cent for 24, 16 and 7 families respectively with an average per family of Rs.2114.25, Rs.1718.75, and Rs.2600. Shirasgaon and Torangan also have higher

Table No. 79 : Loans Advanced by the Block Development Office Distributed Among the Ten Zones

Zones	LOANS ADVANCED FOR											
	Bunding								Housing			
	1958-59 to 1963-64				1964-65				1958-59 to 1963-64			
	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average per Borrower	Percentage to total	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average per Borrower	Percentage to total	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average per Borrower	Percentage to total
Harsul	151	51,195	339.04	37.67	11	1,850	168.18	17.89	81	20,100	248.15	40.20
Deola	25	3,800	152.00	2.80	-	-	-	-	14	3,700	264.3	7.40
Deodongara	-	-	-	-	5	1,075	215.00	10.39	10	2,500	250.00	5.00
Golderi	32	6,505	203.28	4.79	10	2,325	232.50	22.49	11	2,750	250.00	5.50
Kulawandi	123	27,560	224.06	20.28	5	1,070	214.00	10.35	1	250	250.00	0.50
Mulvad	5	1,085	217.00	0.80	5	550	110.00	5.32	6	1,500	250.00	3.00
Ozar	5	900	180.00	0.66	5	1,325	265.00	12.81	2	500	250.00	1.00
Shirasgaon	65	24,098	370.74	17.74	-	-	-	-	27	6,950	257.41	13.90
Thanapada	51	13,065	256.18	9.61	9	1,130	125.55	10.93	32	8,750	273.44	17.50
Torangan	38	7,685	202.23	5.65	6	1,015	169.12	9.82	12	3,000	250.00	6.00
Total	495	135,893	274.53	100.00	56	10,340	184.64	100.00	196	50,000	255.10	100.00

(continued)

Table No. 79 : (continued)

Village	LOANS ADVANCED FOR											
	Well Construction								Purchase of Engine			
	1958-59 to 1963-64				1964-65				1958-59 to 1963-64			
	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average per Borrower	Percentage to total	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average per Borrower	Percentage to Total	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average per Borrower	Percentage to Total
Harsul	24	50,742	2114.25	41.87	4	3,650	912.50	54.07	12	31,310	2609.2	75.80
Deola	1	1,200	1200.00	0.88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deodongara	2	3,250	1625.00	2.68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goldari	2	3,500	1750.00	2.89	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kulawandi	16	27,500	1718.75	22.69	1	1,000	1000.00	14.82	2	5,000	2500.00	12.10
Mulvad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ozar	1	2,300	1150.00	1.90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shiresgaon	2	4,500	2250.00	3.71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thanapada	7	18,200	2600.00	15.02	2	2,100	1050.00	31.11	2	5,000	2500.00	31.11
Torangan	4	10,000	2500.00	8.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	59	121,192	2054.10	100.00	7	6,750	964.29	100.00	16	41,310	2581.88	100.00

(continued)

Table No. 79 : (continued)

Zones	LOANS ADVANCED FOR				TOTAL			
	Household Industry							
	1958-59 to 1963-64				1958-59 to 1964-65			
	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average Per Borrower	Percentage to Total	No. of Borrowers	Amount Rs.	Average Per Borrower	Percentage to Total
Harsul	2	500	250.00	75.00	285	159,347	559.11	43.51
Deola	-	-	-	-	40	8,700	217.50	2.37
Deodongara	-	-	-	-	17	6,825	401.47	1.86
Goldari	-	-	-	-	55	15,080	274.18	4.12
Kulawandi	1	250	250.00	25.00	149	62,630	420.36	17.10
Mulvad	-	-	-	-	16	3,135	195.94	0.86
Ozar	-	-	-	-	13	5,025	386.54	1.37
Shirasgaon	-	-	-	-	94	35,548	378.17	9.71
Thenapada	-	-	-	-	103	48,245	468.40	13.17
Torangan	-	-	-	-	60	21,700	361.66	5.96
Total	3	750	250.00	100.00	832	366,235	440.19	100.00

averages although their share in the total loan is much less. In the latter period of 1964-65 as well only the three zones of Harsul, Kulawandi and Thanapada figure as recipients of loans.

Likewise loans for the purchase of engine are given to the three zones of Harsul, Kulawandi and Thanapada, the average per family being greater in Harsul. Loans for cottage industries or crafts are given to two families of Harsul and one from Kulawandi zone.

Of the total number of borrowers of all the zones (832), the largest, about 34 per cent, are found in Harsul zone, 17.9 per cent in Kulawandi zone, 12.38 per cent in Shirasgaon zone, and 11.3 per cent in Thanapada zone. These four zones together have 75.83 per cent of the total families as borrowers, of 43.51, 17.10, 9.71 and 13.17 per cent of the total loan respectively. Their total loans come to 83.49 per cent. The first three zones belong to the non-forest category and the last Thanapada belongs to the forest category but contains the second biggest village and weekly market place after Harsul. The disbursement of loans is clearly not equally shared by the zones, certainly not in proportion to the needs, whether it is due to the lack of 'felt' needs of the people or neglect on the part of the authorities one does not know. This imbalance certainly poses a problem.

Loans from the Co-operative Societies

In the beginning of the First Five Year Plan period in 1952 there were only three agricultural co-operative credit societies started at Harsul, Shirasgaon and Chirapali (Chinchawade). They comprised in all 11 villages and 194 members. The number of societies remained constant till 1954 while the villages served by them and the number of members increased to 14 and 223 in 1953 and to 16 and 260 in 1954 respectively. In 1955, three more societies were added, Torangon, Nachlonchi, and Thanapada comprising in all 10 villages the total number of these villages rising to 26. But the number of members did not rise to an appreciable extent, the total number of members of the six societies standing at 297 i.e. with an addition of only 37 members. In 1956, two more villages were covered by the same societies with addition of 33 members. In 1957 there was not much change. In 1958 with the addition of Jetegeon Budruk Society and 6 villages served by it and perhaps due to the increase of members in the other societies as well, the total number of members rose to 1,054. In 1959, three more societies Adgaon, Ozar and Kharshet raised the total number of villages served to 39 and the number of members to 1,637. By 1960, it is seen that all the villages of the area were covered by creating nine more societies at Kulawandi, Berwal, Kalamuste, Mulvad, Murambi, Amlon, Chinchohol, Deodongara and Nirgude, raising the total number of members to 2,064. At the end of 1964, the members were 2,386. This gives an average of 49 members approximately per village.

As stated earlier in this chapter, we have accounts of 13 societies in general and of 9 societies in particular details about the members and the loans outstanding against them by the end of 1964-65. A review of them will give us an idea as to how the needs of the cultivators in the different parts of the area are met with.

There are 876 members in the nine societies (Table No. 80) and the shareholders among them are 815. Their share capital comes to Rs.47,866 i.e. on an average to Rs.58.73 per shareholder. The members who are land-holders are 661 or 75.5 per cent of the total number of members. There are only 339 who have loans outstanding against them. More than half of the land-holders who are members have not taken loan. Because, of the 339 who have taken loans, 27 are land-holders and 62 have no lands of their own. The total loans come to Rs.65,862.91 the average per debtor coming to Rs.194.28. Among the nine societies per debtor loan in Harsul is Rs.494.89 and in Shirasgaon it is Rs.182.89. Barring Harsul which has raised the average of the nine societies Shirasgaon has the highest average although it is less than the average of all the nine societies. The proportion of those who have taken loans among the shareholders is 41.6 per cent among all the nine societies together. Against this, the proportion of such persons in Nirgude, Thanapada, Torangan, Chinchohol and Harsul societies is higher than in others. While Chinchohol, Thanapada and Torangan of the forest zones register a higher proportion of borrowers, Shirasgaon and Kalamuste of the non-forest zones register a lower proportion.

Among the four societies of Nachlonthi, Adagaon, Murambi, and Chirapali (Chinchewade), the last society registers a higher proportion of debtors among its shareholders as also a higher amount per debtor.

The number of debtors from among the land-holding members distributed according to the size of their land-holdings (Table No. 81) appears more in the smaller holdings group of 15 acres and less. From the size group of 5 acres and less to that of 11 to 15 acres their percentage increases from 14.44 to 20.21. From then onwards it decreases gradually in the next two groups rising in the last group of more than 25 acres to 21.3 per cent. Up to the size of 11 to 15 acres the loan-taking tendency increases with the size and then onwards it decreases with the increase in size upto 20 acres. This may appear so because the members holding lands of smaller size also form a greater proportion of the total number of members holding lands. The proportion of members holding land upto 15 acres in size is 59.76 per cent of the total. But their number of members taking loan is 53.78 per cent of the total. The members with land-holdings of 5 acres and less and of 6 to 10 acres have proportionately less number of members who have taken loan. The proportion of members taking loan has increased from the size group of 11 to 15 acres onwards. Among those who have taken loan those with land-holdings of 21 to 25 acres and more than 25 acres have taken a higher per head amount than all others.

The average loan per debtor of all the 9 societies is Rs.209.65. The average loan per debtor of Harsul society is Rs.473.46, which has been instrumental in raising the average of the 9 societies put together. Barring Harsul, the average amount of debt per head among the 8 societies with 213 debtors and Rs.27,772.30 of debt comes to Rs.130.39. Against this, Thanapada, Shirasgaon and Nirgude show a higher average, which means that Harsul, Shirasgaon, Nirgude and Chinchewade-Chirapali which fall in the non-forest category and Thanapada

Table No. 80 : Agricultural Credit Co-operative Societies : Number of Members and Their Outstanding Loans

Name of the Society	Total No. of members	Number of Share-holders	Shares Capital in Rs.	Land-holders among members	Land Held in Acres	No. of Borrowers	Total Loan in Rs.	Average per Borrower	Borrowers per cent of share-holders
Chinchohol	68	68	1,395	59	1,077.14	31	3,524	113.67	45.59
Deodongara	69	69	1,180	48	796.22	15	1,098	73.20	21.74
Harsul	163	156	21,866	146	2,317.22	67	33,158	494.89	42.95
Kalamuste	146	111	1,955	82	11,076.21	28	2,659	94.96	25.23
Kharshet	96	96	2,430	75	762.50	38	4,287	112.81	39.58
Nirgude	103	90	2,735	70	935.96	59	6,382.91	108.16	65.56
Shirasgaon	77	76	5,715	64	1,033.03	19	3,475	182.89	25.00
Thanapada	104	99	7,080	78	1,260.34	57	8,224	144.28	57.58
Torangan	50	50	3,510	39	505.31	25	3,055	122.20	50.00
Total	876	815	47,866	661	19,763.93	339	65,862.91	194.28	41.60
Percentage		93.04		75.46		38.70			
Average per member			58.73		30.36		194.28		
Adgaon	89	89	1,580	-	-	8	390	48.75	8.99
Chirapali	165	165	8,380	-	-	128	23,533.70	183.85	77.58
Murambi	86	86	1,125	-	-	5	290	58.00	5.81
Nachlonldhi	79	79	4,560	-	-	36	3,751	104.19	45.57
Total	419	419	15,645	-	-	177	27,964.70	157.99	
Percentage		100.00				42.24			
Average per member			37.34				157.99		

Table No. 81 : Distribution of Borrowers Among the Land-holders According to the Size of the Land-holdings

Name of the Agricultural Credit Co-operative Society		Land in Acres					Total	Average Loan per Borrower	
		1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25			More than 25
1. CHINCHOHOL	Land-holders	6	13	14	6	5	15	59	120.46
	Borrowers	1	3	9	5	2	8	28	
	Loan Rs.	50	501	568	286	55	1,913	3,373	
2. DEODONGARA	Land-holders	7	9	6	11	3	12	48	83.84
	Borrowers	1	2	3	3	1	3	13	
	Loan Rs.	40	112	141	162.30	10	625	1,090.30	
3. HARSUL	Land-holders	26	30	21	20	13	36	146	473.46
	Borrowers	10	7	12	7	8	20	64	
	Loan Rs.	787	675	2,752	2,185	5,086	18,817	30,302	
4. KALAMUSTE	Land-holders	12	20	23	11	8	8	82	113.19
	Borrowers	4	5	3	6	-	3	21	
	Loan Rs.	340	475	410	875	-	277	2,377	
5. KHARSHET	Land-holders	20	25	11	11	3	5	75	119.27
	Borrowers	2	13	4	6	1	4	30	
	Loan Rs.	248	940	962	851	125	810	3,936	
6. NIRGUDE	Land-holders	20	10	13	11	6	10	70	141.05
	Borrowers	11	7	6	7	5	4	40	
	Loan Rs.	800	628	663	904	1,412	1,235	5,642	

(continued)

Table No. 81 : (continued)

Name of the Agricultural Credit Co-operative Society		Land in Acres						Total	Average Loan per Borrower
		1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	More than 25		
7. SHIRASGAON	Land-holders	10	11	13	9	9	12	64	
	Borrowers	2	1	2	4	2	6	17	
	Loan Rs.	140	125	278	550	400	1,102	2,595	152.64
8. THANAPADA	Land-holders	12	20	16	10	5	15	78	
	Borrowers	8	11	11	5	3	8	46	
	Loan Rs.	1,055	1,060	1,106	545	471	2,867	7,104	154.3
9. TORANGAN	Land-holders	6	12	9	3	4	5	39	
	Borrowers	1	4	6	2	2	3	18	
	Loan Rs.	100	125	660	120	200	450	1,655	125.27
TOTAL	Land-holders	119	150	126	92	56	118	661	
	Percentage to total	18.01	22.69	19.06	13.92	8.47	17.85	100.00	
	Borrowers	40	53	56	45	24	59	257	
	Percentage to total	14.44	19.13	20.21	16.25	8.67	21.30	100.00	
	Total Loan Rs.	3,560	4,641	7,540	6,478.30	7,759	28,096	58,074.30	209.65
	Percentage to total	6.13	7.99	12.98	11.16	13.36	48.38	100.00	

the second biggest village in the area, which is only four miles away from Harsul and is a weekly market place are the four societies which have benefited the cultivators to a greater extent. Or the land-holding members of these societies have been able for one reason or the other to utilize the facilities of the societies in a better way. Chinchewade and Nirgude also are nearer to Harsul. The co-operative societies thus appear to have gained more ground in Harsul and nearabout villages demarcating the compact area of their influence at the centre around Harsul the influence fading away at the periphery.

Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies

In 1965 there were in all five such societies operating in the Block area. These were Harsul, Deodongara, Shirasgaon, Kulawandi and Kharshet. Of these five the last two were started only during the year 1964-65. The Harsul society was started during the year 1956-57 and the other two in 1961-62. From 1956-57 with 245 labourers earning in all Rs.12,607 as wages their per head wages coming to Rs.51.45 the society grew to the capacity of employing 787 labourers disbursing wages to the tune of Rs.59,745, their per head earnings coming to Rs.75.91. In 1961-62 it was joined by two more societies. The accounts of these three societies from 1961-62 to 1963-64 are given in the Table No. 82.

Table No. 82 : Workers Employed by the Forest Labourers' Co-operative Societies and the Wages Paid to Them

	Harsul	Deodongara	Shirasgaon	Total
<u>1961-62</u>				
No. of members	235	126	138	499
No. of workers	1,247	1,180	465	2,885
Total wages	79,138	69,203	22,937	171,378
Average per worker	63.82	58.64	49.32	
<u>1962-63</u>				
No. of members	250	199	87	536
No. of workers	2,281	2,343	763	5,387
Total wages	140,916	84,625	40,570	266,111
Average per worker	61.77	36.12	53.17	
<u>1963-64</u>				
No. of members	352	305	115	772
No. of workers	2,076	977	1,019	4,072
Total wages	127,699	71,248	78,157	277,104
Average per worker	61.51	72.92	76.70	

It can be seen from the table that not all the workers are members. Only those persons who have purchased shares are enrolled as members, and those who are unable to pay the share money but are employed as workers are made to pay 5 to 10 paise from each rupee of their wages towards their share capital. In 1961-62 the total members were 499 who rose to 772 in 1963-64. The number of workers including the members as well as non-members was

2,885 in 1961-62; 5,387 in 1962-63 and 4,072 in 1963-64. The number of workers was more during 1962-63 because there were more workers brought in by the Deodongara and to a little extent by the Shirasgaon society and not because the work was proportionately more. The amount of work put in was more during this year for the Harsul and the Deodongara society as can be seen from the total wages disbursed by these societies in the particular year. But that the workers were proportionately more can also be seen from the low per head wages earned in Deodongara and Shirasgaon societies, in the former the same being as low as Rs.36.12 the lowest among all the societies among all the three years. The average wages earned by a worker during a year appear to be around Rs.60 to Rs.70.

The work in the coupes may be said to have given employment for the tribals at least for 2 to 3 months in a year. The wages may not be in proportion to the days spent in the coupes. However the number of workers suggests that at least a majority of the people in the working age group might be getting regular work in the coupes every year. This presumption is based on the following rough calculations. The tribal population of the Harsul Block according to the 1961 census is 28,320. Presuming on the basis of the age-structure revealed in our sample that persons in the working age-group of 21 to 50 years are about 38 per cent, and therefore deducting the females who might again be presumed to be half of them or little less, we get 19 to 20 per cent as the male population which is available for employment in the coupes. By this calculation we get about 5,380 to 5,664 persons. In 1962-63 the number of workers employed comes very near this figure, although it has gone down in the next year. But this cannot go on for long. The work in the coupes may not be always commensurate with the growing number of workers year by year. At some stage it may fall short of the demand by the workers. Unless some other avenue is sought to engage them gainfully the problem of unemployment might assume huge proportions.

The attempt to find out means to earn a living for the tribals apart from agriculture has been made also by running training courses in tailoring.

Training School in Tailoring

The accounts of the training school for tailoring are available for four years, of those who have passed out of the school in 1962-63, 1963-64, 1964-65 and of those who were studying at present for the examination of 1965-66. (Table No. 83.) The school changes its place from year to year. For the first year it was at Harsul, for the second at Thenapada, and for the third and fourth year it was situated at Nirgude. The students altogether hailed from 21 villages and all the four years together they are 58, those who have already passed out coming to 46. Many of the students appeared to have joined the school after the completion of the 4th standard although some appeared to have completed 6th standard. There appears to have been a gap between their leaving the school and joining the training school as is seen from the age-wise classification of the students. Out of 58; 33 are of 17 and 18 years. Five are of 19 years, three of 20 years and five are of 21 years and more.

Table No. 83 : Training School for Tailoring: Distribution of Trainees According to Age and Year of Training

Training Centre at	Year	Ages of students in completed years								Total No. of Trainees
		14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 and more	
Harsul	1962-63	-	-	-	6	5	3	1	-	15
Thenepada	1963-64	-	3	2	5	2	2	1	-	15
Nirgude	1964-65	1	2	2	3	5	-	1	2	16
Nirgude	1965-66	-	1	1	4	3	-	-	3	12
Total		1	6	5	18	15	5	3	5	58

This inclination on the part of the tribals to take to non-agricultural vocations is heartening indeed. The problem, however, is how to attract more and more people, for this and other non-agricultural vocations. Certainly tailoring cannot provide work for an indefinite number. The vocation itself is such that its scope depends upon the change in the people's needs and their capacity to provide for new clothes. Besides the tailors have to compete with the readymade garments, sold at the grocers'. Even then, the school as at present has scope to widen its capacity with more seats for the students and with increased staff. There is one teacher with an assistant at present. The school might better move into the interior or have its branches in one or two other villages to attract more students from the interior.

Attracting the tribals more and more towards non-traditional non-agricultural occupations has a double purpose that of finding means of livelihood for them and of lessening or stopping the chase for land. Instead the available land should be brought under intensive cultivation or 'optimum' cultivation by providing innovations and better implements, and resources. The hunger for land has to be cried halt to at one stage or the other. Trying to find land for the landless has already cut deep into the once thick forests. Statistics apart, the forests of Harsul have deep imprint of slow denudation. As denudation goes on, fresh patches of cultivable land attract the land-hungry tribals and further encroachment starts which in due course they know would be legalised as it has been so far. Thus, allowing the forest to remain as a forest and to exploit it as a forest instead of as a reserved area for slow usurpation for agriculture is yet another problem. Much of the labour force that has clung to agriculture has to be motivated to find fresh avenues in the non-agricultural sector. As we have seen, the landless agricultural labourers are proportionately more in the 'forest' zones and in some villages of the 'non-forest' zones. The problem of utilizing the forest as a source for forest-products and the problem of lessening the burden on land of both the cultivators and the labourers has to be tackled together. The ways to improve the cultivator's returns, adjusting the wages of the agricultural labour and the returns in the increased and variegated forest work so as to make them competitive, releasing the non-adult population for better training, these and others, have to be co-ordinated towards a common end.

These problems relating to the infra-structure, land-utilization and occupational redistribution are not new to the students of tribes but they are only specified here as relating to different sectors or zones of a particular area. The social problems that impede the path to economic progress will be described and discussed now. The attention will be focussed mainly on the social relations operating among the tribals found in Harsul Block. The conclusions drawn are tentative and subject to further examination of the grounds stated here.

The area consists of Koknas predominantly who are mainly cultivators, the Mahadev Kolis, Warlis, and Katkaris who are mainly agricultural labourers forming a smaller proportion of the population. Non-tribals are few

and these are either landlords, merchants or men in 'service'. All these three tribes are endogamous. The Koknas because of their economic position perhaps treat the other tribes as of low status. Although inter-dining is witnessed, inter-marriage between two different tribes never has taken place so far.

Traditional social organization of the Koknas is said to have consisted of Mahalkari, Deshmukh, Patil and Korbhari. The Mahalkari was the head of 40 villages, Deshmukh over 12 and the Patil over one village. The Korbhari acted as the secretary of the Mahalkari. Accounts also tell us about the tribal panchayat which controlled the behaviour of the individual member, settled disputes, and acted as liaison with the outside agencies. The Panchayat consisted of elders of the village; these elders derived their importance from their family and kin group importance of belonging to the original residents, or to the economically strong based family. On all counts the traditional tribal community is supposed to have been a well-knit community where cohesion, concurrence and co-operation in all aspects of their life were deep-rooted. In the light of these observations about the traditional tribal community, the tribes in Harsul presented a different picture.

The traditional posts of Mahalkari etc., were not operative in the area. The Patil has retained some name but that is because of his connections with the administration. In marriage ceremonies he is done some honour but that is the end of it. The tribal Panchayat as such also was not existent. Even after repeated enquiries directly or indirectly the Panchayat could not be traced. There is no work left in the hands of the Panchayat. The traditional Panchayat was effective because the individual used to remain within its jurisdiction. There was besides no redressal of his grievances against the Panchayat. At present the individual can always get out of the jurisdiction of the Panchayat by quitting the village and besides there are established law courts which do not recognise the Panchayats in many matters which were traditionally handled by the latter. The kinship solidarity (cohesion, co-operation, and concurrence) stemmed, it is believed, mainly from the mutual give and take of goods and services. Kinship solidarity reinforces economic solidarity and in turn is reinforced by it. Where economic interests are divergent or selfish which latter is the result of scarcity conditions kinship solidarity may operate with difficulty. Or it will give way gradually to new alliances. Even in scarcity conditions had the community got or retained the Panchayat as the effective agency to control its members perhaps the kinship solidarity would have continued. But the Panchayat is not only not effective but non-existent. But some people still play the role of elders in settling marital disputes. Their word is honoured because they always set out to bring about a compromise and not to pass judgments against any party.

The kinship alliance also may not be viable to the same extent as of old because the unstable marital tie brings together within the same family step-mother, step-brothers, or step-fathers which once being put up with perhaps as the norm operating in the whole of the community is not tolerated by youngsters who sooner or later separate

from the stem family and put up separate households. The marital tie even among the younger generation is not stable. It is usual with the tribal woman who enjoys greater economic freedom than the woman among the non-tribals, to run away with her paramour leaving behind even her unwedded child. The social remedy for this is only to approach the father of the woman to return the bride-price paid to him back to the forsaken husband, or to approach the new husband to give some compensation to the former husband. The elders' help is solicited only on these occasions. This craze for seeking fresh companionship is alive even till old age. For example, a widow past her fecund age may move into the house of a widower and stay with him with her children, even when the widower has his own married son or sons living with him. The son in such situations quits the house and puts up his own separately. The extent of the instability of marriage can be seen from Table No. 84.

It is seen that cultivators of five villages and labourers of four villages have not reported any divorces. Even among others it is believed there has been under-reporting. Despite this, there are 35 divorces reported among the cultivators and 21 among the labourers. Thus 20 per cent of the families approximately both among the cultivators and labourers have reported divorces. In relation to the number of couples which are 308 and 129 respectively, they come to 11.36 and 16.28 per cent respectively. This may not be as alarming as the divorce rate in some of the Western countries especially U.S.A., where in every 3 marriages one gets broken because of divorce. But its repercussions on family relations even where divorces have not taken place cannot be minimised. As the basic relationships in a family namely that between the spouses and that between the parents and their children is undermined by scant respect shown to it the wider kinship alliance as well gets disrupted if not completely destroyed. The kinship solidarity or link has remained operative as yet only in the mutual obligations of gift exchange fulfilled in marriage and birth ceremony and in being present in these and the funeral ceremonies.

The affinal affinity as well is not very strong because of the same unstable marital ties. The traditional links with the maternal uncle and the maternal uncle's daughter being a preferential mate were not seen at least in the marriage connections that were traced. The maternal uncle's role might be noticed in marriage ceremonies. But it is more a ritualistic relic. In Table No. 84, 338 marriages of the 308 couples among the cultivators and 134 marriages of 129 couples among the labourers are shown distributed according to the previous relationship between the spouses. Seventeen of the cultivators and 6 of the labourers could not be specified as per the relationship. Of the remaining 321 and 128 marriage connections respectively 232 or 72.27 per cent and 89 or 69.53 per cent are outside previous relationship. It has been seen that marital tie even with the maternal uncle's daughter cannot be guaranteed to last.

The communal solidarity is believed to be reinforced by the worship of ancestors, in whose honour stone emblems called *Vih* are erected. In upcountry non-tribal areas they are also called as *Vadil*. The traditional deities of the *Kokna* are said to be *Kansari*, *Hirava*, *Asara*, *Vagh* and *Nag*. Slow Hinduisation has taken place long ago and

Table No. 84 : Distribution of Marriage-Connections and Divorces

	No. of Couples		No. of Marriages		Spouses selected				Not Reported		No. of Divorces Reported	
	Cultivators	Labourers	Cultivators	Labourers	From previous relations		Out of relations		Cultivators	Labourers	Cultivators	Labourers
					Cultivators	Labourers	Cultivators	Labourers				
1. Dalpatpur	36	19	37	19	7	3	30	16	-	-	4	-
2. Nirgude	13	6	13	6	5	4	7	2	-	-	-	-
3. Torangan	33	16	37	16	16	7	21	8	-	-	4	-
4. Bafanvihir	11	10	13	11	6	1	7	7	-	-	-	-
5. Deodongara	37	16	40	16	12	4	22	11	-	-	7	-
6. Deodongari	13	9	13	9	4	-	9	8	-	-	-	-
7. Donawade	27	8	30	9	5	2	23	7	-	-	7	-
8. Kulawandi	51	21	60	23	17	7	39	16	-	-	3	5
9. Palashi Bk.	6	2	7	2	2	-	3	2	-	-	-	-
10. Gadadawne	12	6	12	6	3	1	9	5	-	-	2	-
11. Rautmel	10	2	10	2	2	1	8	1	-	-	-	-
12. Shiresgaon	59	14	66	15	10	3	54	12	2	-	8	3
Total	308	129	338	134	89	33	232	95	17	6	35	21
Percentage to total marriages					26.33	24.63	78.64	70.89	5.03	4.48	10.36	15.67

Maruti, Mahadev, Ram, Krishna and other epic heroes along with Ganapati and other deities are known to them and revered by them. Songs eulogizing the epic heroic deeds of Bhiwa (Bhim) son of Koti Mata (Kunti) are sung by them. But the Virs surprisingly are neglected and forgotten. We came across the stone emblems in a group erected at the end of the gavthan in Torangan, Deodongara, and Donawade. But none of the villagers knew them as their ancestors, nor could they explain their presence otherwise. The trend therefore appears to be gradual merger into the Hindu fold rather than holding on to their own identity. Nevertheless this has resulted into fading away of their own traditional solidarity. It is not only due to slow cultural assimilation in a larger society but also due to the slow disintegration and dysfunction of their own culture. Along with this is another powerful force, the economic one, which has not only loosened the kinship ties but has minimised the co-operative aspects of the tribal life in general.

This is reflected in the contractual relationship operating in all economic exchanges of goods and services. For all recurring items of expenditure and non-ceremonial occasional expenditure such as all the agricultural operations, construction of bunds, construction of houses, etc., the labour employed is on contractual basis. Even brothers-in-law or maternal uncle if employed has to be given wages. This may be again due to scarcity conditions. The help rendered in kind is not mutual but as loan with 25 to 50 per cent interest, just as the moneylender's.

Lack of division of labour into specialized crafts and arts is also instrumental in creating a concomittant absence of cohesion among the tribals. Only in few villages a carpenter and a blacksmith is turning up among the tribals. And we have seen that in only one village of the twelve was there a semblance of the baluta system operating in respect of the carpenter. The tribal was traditionally generalized in his activities. Cultivation and agricultural labour were the only two complementary occupations which brought and bound the people together. But these are no specializations and particular cultivators do not have to depend upon particular labourers, although they are in general bound together by obligations. Both the cultivators and the labourers are seen as inter-changing their occupations as their subsidiary sources. This lack of cohesion arising from mutual division of labour is bemoaned by almost all students of the changing village communities and the disintegrating baluta system therein. Among the tribals in the Block area it appears that while their traditional cohesive forces are gradually disappearing the new ones are yet to take roots. In the transitional stage that has set in therefore he appears to stand aloof from his fellow-beings. But there is another force that holds him away from his men. It is his institutionalised relationship with the moneylender.

It is seen in the chapter on indebtedness that the moneylender successfully competes with the other agencies in the field in attracting the tribal for his cash and 'kind' needs. The Government and the Co-operatives take the share of some specific requirements which are thrust upon him or he is somehow induced to adopt—only in few cases the initiative may lie with him—or which he may use

as excuses to get the loans. Wherever the tribal is enlightened enough or the needs for which the loans are advanced are 'felt' by him he does ask for and wisely uses the loans. But even in his case his cultural and other domestic needs force him to go to the moneylender. The absence of mutual help among the people themselves arises firstly from the inability of any other among them to render help as efficient as the moneylender; and secondly from the fact that even if there is such an agriculturist he operates just as the moneylender does. That he is 'forced' to go to the moneylender may not be strictly true. It does not occur to him that there could be any other alternative. In fact there is none. Nor does it appear to occur to him that he should get himself freed from his ties with the moneylender for his needs and turn over his produce to pay off the dues as man would go to the river to quench his thirst. This analogy was mentioned by a tribal himself.

The relationship with the Government and the Co-operative societies is statutory and because of that it has to be formal. It is for a specific purpose with rules laid down for the procedure of transaction. Whereas his relationship with the moneylender is informal and involves multi-faceted relationship. The moneylender thus rendering help not only in cash and kind but also in tendering advice, settling disputes, bringing about marital alliances, and rendering ready service for all sorts of recurring needs, becomes a sort of indispensable for the tribal. The co-operative movement in this area if it has to be successful in weaning the tribal from the moneylender's grip has to take cognizance of the role played by him and will have to set up a competent agency if not in itself at least as its ancillary, to perform the same role. This co-operative movement has scope in this area to play an important part in many other spheres. About this a tentative outline will be hinted at in the last chapter.

We have seen the problems of the area and its people and some of them we have been able to locate in space as well as among the people in the form of their social organization and the institutionalized relationships. It may now be seen as to what remedies can be suggested to overcome these and achieve economic development.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

An attempt is made here to draw the threads together and suggest some steps which if they do not directly bring about the development of the area and improvement in the conditions of the people may at least pave the way for them. The steps suggested here are only hints, the feasibility and advisability of which may be tested by experts in the fields concerned. Some have been discussed with the people of the area and some have been suggested by them. The facts about the area and the people have been stated and their problems have been pointed out. The solution should lie in creating a broad framework of infra-structure within which the people should be induced to take to new things. In the suggestions that will be made hereafter the guiding assumption is that the people respond better to impersonal forces and try to adapt themselves to them rather than to personal interference and advice; that they learn better by practice and emulation rather than by precept.

Communication System : In proposing the communication system in the Block, three objectives have been kept in view. They are (1) to render the present communication system and routes more easy and effective, (2) to introduce new ones so as to facilitate and invite further socio-economic development of the area, and (3) to open up the whole area to easy and quick contact with the outside areas. Whereas the first two mostly deal with the internal situation, the last one deals with the whole area in relation to the adjoining ones.

As we are here dealing with a predominantly hilly area, the major hurdles in communication being the rugged and ravinous contour the technical feasibility of the suggested roads may be examined by experts.

As the population is distributed unevenly into different hamlets which in turn are not always so situated geographically as well as in the existing communication arrangements, as to remain oriented to their revenue village, it is thought advisable in view of the first objective stated above, to stabilize such links in the first place, by rendering the roads serviceable throughout the year and for vehicular traffic, and then to extend them to other villages.

The ten zonal centres, Harsul, Deodongara, Deola, Goldari, Kulawandi, Mulvad, Ozar, Shirasgaon, Thanapada and Torangan need be connected with one another and with the road running from Nasik to Harsul via Chinchawade, and then to Thanapada, Goldari and Ozar. Some villages are already connected with this road. They are Kulawandi, Shirasgaon, Torangan and Deodongara, the three villages Thanapada, Goldari and Ozar being close to the road. These central villages in turn are to be connected with roads with their satellite villages, because (1) they

already serve the villages nearabout either as market centres or as an opening to roads, (2) they are nearer to their satellite villages and (3) they cover the whole of the area among them and minimise the distance, time and effort for exchange of goods and services among them.

Harsul at present is connected with Peint by a road which runs through Kulawandi. This is proposed for a bus route by the State Transport. This traverses the eastern part of the Block leaving the western part unconnected with an independent route to Peint. Therefore another route is suggested here. This also starts from Harsul and the total distance covered will be about 16 miles about 5 miles less than the existing route. It is proposed that this road starting from Harsul to Torangan in a slightly northern direction and then to Kharpedi, covering about 6 miles and then to Ambapani across the Damanganga bed at a distance of about 4 miles should join Peint straight from Ambapani running for about another 6 miles. On Harsul's side there is a cart-track upto Torangan at a distance of about 3 miles. This cart-track was being levelled, rubble and murumed in 1965. There is a jeepable road from Torangan to Kharpedi. On Peint's side also there is a jeepable road upto Ambapani. The problem is only about bridging the 4 miles road between Kharpedi and Ambapani. As this runs across the Damanganga bed a bridge may have to be built to connect the two ends, as indeed culverts have to be constructed at a number of places on all roads.

The road running upto Shirasgaon from Harsul has to be joined to Adgaon the southernmost village of the Block. There is a cart-track already, which has to be levelled and culverts built up wherever necessary.

As for the roads opening up the area to outside contacts, there are only three possibilities that can be suggested. The road coming from Nasik to Harsul runs upto Ozer the westernmost village and ends up there. The Block boundary here is the district boundary, the adjacent area being of Thana district. This road further extended may be joined to the Saywan Road. Likewise the road running upto Adgaon may be further extended to touch the Mokhada area of the Thana district. The third possibility is to join Kulawandi in the eastern sector of the area with Girnare a weekly market centre in the adjacent Nasik Taluka. The distance traversed is about 10 miles the same as the distance from Harsul. But it brings Nasik nearer to these people of Kulawandi and the villages around.

All these roads have been suggested taking into consideration the existing socio-economic links of the people and their demands as expressed during our survey. One of the members of the Taluka Panchayat Samiti hailing from Shirasgaon and the Sarpanchs of Deongara, Kulawandi and Adgaon particularly had suggested the roads opening up the area to outside contacts.

Water Supply : Water supply for daily chores is the next basic problem that has to be tackled. The resources of water for this as well as for agricultural purposes may be tackled jointly. Shifting the village sites to comparatively low-lying areas where water can be struck may also be given serious thought. The villages are usually small and shifting them to suitable sites within the vicinity of their fields may not entail great expenditure or hardships.

Health : Medical facilities be made available to some of the zonal centres through the Panchayat or through subsidised medical practitioners, stationed at these zonal centres. Public Health Centres may also be opened at Thanapada, Shirasgaon, and Ozar. The one at Harsul may be equipped with more beds for indoor patients and the staff may be suitably increased.

Agriculture, etc. : Improvement in agricultural conditions starting from bunding to improved implements, seeds, and methods of cultivation, and to use of manure and chemical fertilizers is being attempted to be brought about through various measures and extension officers by the Government. The efficacy of these methods has remained doubtful, because the results have not appeared commensurate with the input of efforts through men and money. Therefore another method is suggested here for trial. This method is also tied with the solution of another problem that of fragmentation and the resulting non-cultivation of cultivable lands.

The tribals, it is believed, best learn by examples and demonstrations and less, if at all, by verbal goading. It is suggested here that the abandoned cultivable bits of land may be pooled together under the charge of Farmers' Co-operatives or some such agency which is to be induced through proper incentives and the guidance of the respective extension officers to bring the land under cultivation according to the new methods, utilizing the improved seeds, better implements, fertilizers etc., in short, the agency should experiment all the remedies of improving agriculture that are often preached to the tribals in this pooled land. The efficacy of the remedies preached can be best demonstrated by this method. The farmers do not stand to lose in this in any way. This method calls for the best co-operation among the people. They may be taken into confidence by declaring statutorily that these bits of land will not be permanently taken away from them. As the tribals pick-up the new things or at some such suitable time the land may be handed back to them. The extension officers as well will be put to better use by this method.

The co-operative agency can play an effective role in yet another field. This is especially in matters like bunding and construction of wells. It is found that many a time the money sanctioned and spent in these is either wasted because of unscientific approach or the money goes into wrong hands. It is suggested that the demands for bunding and construction of wells etc., may be registered with the society or the government agency. If necessary a survey in order to check the genuineness of the demand and the feasibility, or usefulness of sanctioning the demand, may be conducted by a government expert or some such person who can be at the service of the society or a group of such societies. He can pay periodic visits to check up a number of demands in order to minimise the travel-load. If the survey recommends the demands made, then the co-operative society or societies which should have a unit of workers for bunding, construction of well etc., should undertake to meet the demands directly instead of handing over the money to the farmer. It may as well employ the local people as workers, drawn from a list prepared in advance. This society may be termed as service co-operative society although in actuality what it handles may be only money. The money spent in meeting the demands may be termed as loan and may be recovered the same way that the taccavi loans are.

It has been seen that the cattle wealth, especially the milch one, is merely wasted. It should be seen whether an improved breed can be introduced in the existing stock. Cattle rearing or dairying have been neglected in this area. The cattle are simply let loose by the day and no proper care is taken to feed them discriminatingly and drive them home regularly. Here again it is suggested, the cattle of a village should be kept under the supervision of locally, collectively employed persons, and gradually a village unit of dairy may emerge out of it. Of course the milk or other products if they are to be sold depend upon the communication system to develop. But a beginning in at least collective rearing can be made.

Wherever workers are employed by all these societies or agencies the wages paid in cash or kind should be competitive in relation to the wages paid to the agricultural labour.

As for confronting the moneylender and minimising his influence the same method of collective co-operative agency may be employed. We have seen that the grain banks are operating in all the villages. These banks may further be induced to keep cloth and other expensive imperishable and less cumbersome items for sale and the value may be collected in grain as well. These should be available to the tribals on credit as well and the interest charged, if at all, should be justifiably low.

The hunger for land can be checked only by finding out continuous non-agricultural employment for the people. This employment should be as security-giving as agriculture itself. For this purpose the Forest Labour Co-operatives may be utilized to the full. It is seen that the felling operations engage a fairly large number of people for at least two months in a year. They may be assigned the work of teak plantation and collection of herbs and other produce as well. Kiln operations of coal are able to employ only a small number of people. It is proposed therefore that along with felling the trees, cutting, sawing, sizing and shaping them as well may be assigned to them. For this a saw-mill at Harsul or Chinchawade may be established. As at present a rice-mill and an oil-ghani are run at Harsul on co-operative basis (the accounts of which unfortunately were not available during our visit). Initial training in carpentry and other skilled jobs, pertaining to the saw-mill may be imparted to the local people preliminary to the establishment of the saw-mill. The wood cut into different shapes and sizes will yield to transport in more efficient way. The agricultural labour and small farmers should be the main target in selecting people for these. At best youngsters should be selected, keeping the aged for unskilled jobs. With the developing communication system the saw-mill may be expanded into branches dealing with finished goods. The wages or stipends paid to the workers and the trainees should be reasonably competitive in relation to the wages paid to the agricultural labour.

Schools in carpentry and basketry or in other vocations dealing with bamboos may be founded at different places in the area. The tribals appear to have a fascination for carpentry. This may be fruitfully utilized. They may be initially started in the forest zones at Ozar, Deodongara, Thenapada, Goldari and Torangan. Deodongara,

Golderi, and Torangan may also be selected for training schools in basketry.

This talent may be tried to be absorbed in the local forest-based industries. The Ashram Schools therefore need be more broadbased and train people for quick absorption. The number of trainees and the kind of training need be in tune with the local requirements of saw-mills, etc.

These in short are some of the measures suggested here which may at least form as the basis on which further exploration can be made to find out the efficient ways to implement them or to find out better alternatives.

All along co-ordination among the various departments on the one hand and among various aspects of development of the area as well as of the people is hinted at. As to how best it can be achieved is beyond the scope of this Report although it has thrown some light on it.

The tribal culture should be left to shape and adapt itself to changing conditions. Neither it needs be stressed nor derided. Already Hinduisation has taken place among them with no missionary work. In his attempt to be one with the larger society the tribal man alone is the best judge as to what elements of his culture are to be retained. Judicious utilization of the natural resources, and creation of the necessary man-power for the same as far as possible from among the local tribal population, thereby lessening the pressure on agricultural land, and thus achieving the economic development of the area and the people simultaneously should, it is felt, receive the first priority. Needless to say, this only follows an easier and quicker communication system.

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