

D A N D E L I

The Growth of an Industrial Village

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CHAPTER I

The Method, The Setting and the People

Selection of the Place: The investigation on which this report is based is a part of the larger programme of the Agricultural Economic Section of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, for a continuous study of socio-economic changes in the rural area. The broader objective is being accomplished by undertaking socio-economic surveys of a number of selected villages in the different districts of the western and central regions of India. These surveys will be repeated in the same groups of villages at intervals of about five years.

The villages studied in each district are so selected as to represent the socio-economic conditions of the rural area of the district. Usually, for convenience of study, a cluster of villages comprising a large nuclear village and a few neighbouring small ones, is selected in each district. Since the primary aim of the investigation is the study of change, the selection of the centre of investigation is also governed by the presence of a powerful factor of change such as an irrigation project, a new industry, or new farming practices, within or in the vicinity of the centre. As a rule the villages selected are dependent upon an agricultural economy.

In the case of the present study the centre selected for the survey is of a different type. The North Kanara district in which this investigation was conducted is noted for its forest wealth and the activities connected with the exploitation of forests are more important here than any other economic activity. It was therefore decided to select a centre which is concerned with the forest economy. The choice naturally fell upon Dandeli which is the most important centre of exploitation of forest produce in the district. It also appeared to be an ideal location for the study of socio-economic change, as its origin was recent and its growth rapid. Moreover at the time of planning the study, new industries were started. This offered the prospect of further rapid changes within a short period of time.

Design of Study and Collection of Data:

According to the broad scheme of the study a full appraisal of the changes was to be made only after a second investigation following this study. Since this was to be a bench-mark study which was to form the basis for subsequent investigations and since significant indicators of change had yet to be detected, attention had to be focussed on a wide variety of topics for investigation. Under the circumstances a descriptive design was adopted in conducting the research. A large number of topics suggested themselves for investigation. They include the factors that have conditioned the integration of inmigrant people into the present community of Dandeli, the various demographic characteristics of the population, the different economic activities prevailing in and around Dandeli, the distribution of available occupations and economic resources among the different groups of people, the socio-economic levels of living of people, the characteristics and conditions of work of migratory labour and so on.

The main tool of investigation was a fairly comprehensive schedule called the General Family Schedule which was filled for every household which is defined as a unit of common living and consumption. The questions asked in the schedule referred to a variety of socio-economic characteristics e.g. place of origin, language, religion, caste etc., of the head of the household; particulars of sex, age, marital status, education, inmigration, occupation, income, health etc., of each member of the family particulars regarding the family as a whole as to the articles in daily use, expenditure on certain selected items, assets and liabilities and so on. The schedule was printed in Marathi but the subjects were interviewed by the Investigator in their own languages, using interpreters whenever needed.

The population of Dandeli also included a number of seasonal inmigrants whose stay in the place was only temporary. It was therefore decided to administer the General Family Schedule only to the permanent residents of the place. By permanent

residents we mean all those who had settled down for over a year at the time of the investigation. A separate schedule was prepared for collecting information on the seasonal migrants, particularly the labourers. These were studied along with the other seasonal migrants working in the area round about Dandeli as all of them had several traits in common. The details of the schedule on migratory labour and particulars regarding its use are given in the chapter entitled Seasonal Immigrants.

The field investigation lasted for a year from August 1955 to July 1956. During this period a trained and experienced Investigator who was on the permanent staff of the Gokhale Institute was stationed at Dandeli. He was mainly charged with the work of filling the General Family Schedule and the collection of data from the available records. The schedules concerning the seasonal immigrants were filled up by competent local persons who were engaged on piece rate basis.

In addition to the information collected through the schedules, the author himself made a number of case studies of industries, associations, of groups of people, of the different types of labour operations and so on by personal observations and interviews. For this purpose he visited Dandeli several times during the period of field study at varying intervals. A good deal of the background material for the study was collected from the Forest Administration Reports of the Government of Bombay.

Theoretical Orientation:

The theoretical orientation of the study was suggested by some of the distinctive features of Dandeli. The economy of the community is based on forest and mineral resources. It is a new community whose population is made up almost entirely of immigrants and ^{their} descendants. Its activities are rather rigorously controlled by the Government. These features naturally give rise to certain significant questions: What kind of people have come to Dandeli? How have they forged themselves into a new community? What is the distinctive character of this community in comparison with the traditional village? What are its problems?

How do a different economic base and governmental control change social life and institutions ? How do the traditional relationships reassert themselves ? These and similar questions have provided a meaningful basis for the organization and presentation of data.

The social life of any community is organised by certain general principles which may vary in different types of communities. The community life could be better understood if it is viewed from these principles of organization. Kinship caste and class are the major organizing principles of social life which operate in different degrees in different societies. Kinship is most important in simple societies such as the tribal communities and class differences dominate in advanced societies. Traditional Indian villages were organized on the basis of caste and kinship. However, in the complex organization of industrial and urban communities, such as that of Dandeli, the hold of caste and kinship is weakening and giving place to class. It is, therefore, important to analyse the community living in Dandeli in terms of class differences without, of course, ignoring the influence of caste and kinship. While our investigation has given due importance to the study of caste, not enough data have been collected about kinship.

Gradation of Occupation:

For our purpose a social class may be defined as a category of persons having more or less equal socio-economic status. We have tried to measure the socio-economic status in terms of the occupational prestige which is known to be correlated with a number of variables which determine the former.

For the measurement of socio-economic status, first of all it is necessary to have a ranking scale of occupations according to their socio-economic standing. The usual procedure of obtaining such a scale is to rank order the occupations by referring the matter to a cross section of the population or to a group of experts. The rank ordered occupations are finally

divided into a fixed number of prestige categories, each comprising occupations of more or less of equal socio-economic standing and the various categories forming a scale of status hierarchy. This is a laborious process. However, for the purpose in hand even cruder socio-economic divisions of occupations would be adequate. With this idea the occupations in Dandeli have been graded arbitrarily into five socio-economic categories such as the following:

Grade I represented by unskilled manual labour also including unclean jobs like those of scavengers.

Grade II represented by semi-skilled and lowest administrative occupations. This includes a wide variety of occupations such as those of masons, ordinary carpenters, cleaners of trucks, linesmen, forest guards, watchmen, postmen, police constables etc.

Grade III represented by skilled manual workers consisting of different types of technicians such as mechanics, fitters, drivers, highly skilled carpenters and all those whose work requires specialised training and considerable skill.

Grade IV represented by clerical, teaching, supervisory and related occupations which require a good background of general education. Occupations included in this category are those of clerks, supervisors, foresters, teachers, postmaster, station-master, nurse, compounder etc. Although the skilled manual workers have higher incomes on the average the clerical and related occupations have been graded higher because they involve non-manual work and require a higher level of general education on the part of the workers.

Grade V represented by positions of officers and higher professions. The officers of the Forest Department, higher executives of private concerns and doctors are included in this category.

These five occupational grades form themselves into a hierarchy of social status in which grade I occupies the lowest

position and grade V the highest.

Besides the occupations which can be easily included in any of the above five grades there are some whose socio-economic status cannot be judged from the type of occupation alone. Occupations of contractors, hotel-keepers and those engaged in trade and commerce are of this type. In grading such occupations the exact income and the nature of business may have to be taken into account. For instance a Forest Contractor undertaking large contracts and earning high income will have to be classed in grade V while a small contractor undertaking pieceworks and earning a low income may have to be classed in grade II perhaps. On account of this difficulty which is by no means insurmountable these occupations are treated separately. The main feature common to these occupations is that persons engaged in them are usually employers and self-employed. These occupations are classed under two categories of contractors who are employers and of self-employed.

VII Contractors: The contractors are treated as a separate category because in Dandeli they form an important class.

VIII Self-employed: The majority of earners in these occupations are those engaged in trade, commerce and hotel-keeping industries. Tailors, carters, barbers and dhobies are also included in this category although perhaps these occupations could have been graded according to socio-economic standing. Tailors could have been included in grade III, and carters, barbers and dhobies in grade II. But with a view to making the occupational grades as homogeneous as possible this was not done.

Thus it is clear that the last two occupational categories of contractors and self-employed are not homogeneous in respect of socio-economic status.

Geographical, Physical and Administrative Settings

The North Kanara District in which Dandeli is situated was the southernmost district on the west coast of the old Bombay State at the time of the study, but now after the reorganisation of States forms part of the new Mysore State. Covering a total land area of 3,948.1 square miles,

it forms a belt of country about 110 miles from north to south and from 10 to 60 miles from east to west. Parallel to the coast, the District may be divided into three belts, a coastal tract with broad winding lagoons, rich plains and wooded hills; a central belt with the high Sahyadri mountains covered with magnificent forest; and an eastern upland which is thickly wooded in the west and passes into a level plain towards the east.

On account of the highly irregular geographical features of the District its climate and rainfall are not uniform throughout the area. Generally speaking, the temperature and rainfall in the lowland are higher than those in the upland. The mean temperature in the lowland ranges from about 24° C in winter to about 29° C in summer, while in the upland it varies from about 22° C in winter to 28° C in summer.

While the rainfall in the lowland is heavier than in the upland, it varies from place to place in both the regions. The mean of the average rainfall in some of the places like Karwar, Kumta and Honavar in the lowland is about 130 inches while the similar figure for the upland is about 80 inches. In the interior of the District which comprises high stand of forest the rainfall is quite heavy and in places like Supa the rainfall averages about 120 inches.

At Dandeli proper the rainfall during the period 1951 to 1955 averaged 65 inches, but in the forest area round about, it is known to be much higher. The rainy season usually starts in the month of June and ends in October.

According to the 1951 census, the total population of the North Kanara district was 517,780 or 106 persons per sq. mile. (1) The small size of the population is due to the fact that the major forest area is uninhabitable. Most of the population is concentrated in the non-forest or agricultural land which represents only 18.43% of the total land area. This area is restricted mainly to the narrow coastal strip and to the fringe of plain in the

(1) According to the 1961 census the population was 689,549.

eastern upland beyond the forests. Even in this, it is the coastal strip that accounts for the major part of the population. Thus the four talukas of Karwar, Ankola, Kumta and Honawar and the Bhatkal petha which compose the coastal tract and which cover a total land area of about 1274 sq. miles has a population of 3,28,906, that is about 258 per sq. mile. These divisions also contain large proportions of uninhabited areas and in the inhabited areas the density is much higher. As against this, the remainder of the district has a density of about 70 persons per sq. mile. Again much of this population is distributed in the narrow eastern fringe so that the population of the forest proper is negligible when compared with its vast area.

The population of the forest area is found in the Forest villages. Some of these villages which were inhabited once upon a time are now deserted and those which are inhabited at present have very small populations.

Thus out of the 140 villages of the Supa petha which is a typical forest area, 13 are deserted. The remaining 127 inhabited villages have a total population of 18,159 or an average of 143 persons per village. The largest village has a population of 3162 and the smallest one has 2 persons and the density of population in the whole division works out about 25^{per}/sq. mile.

Therefore, for all practical purposes the population of the district may be divided into two categories; (a) the people of the lowland or the coastal tract and (b) the people of the upland.

The division of the population of the North Kanara District into two categories is also culturally significant. The separation of these two categories by the intractable forests has diminished opportunities for cultural contacts between them with the result that the people of the upland are culturally more akin to the people of the adjoining Dharwar District, which is more accessible to them, rather than the people of the lowland even though they belong to the same District.

The population of the North Kanara District has been

increasing very slowly. From 1881 when the population was 4,21,840 to 1951 that is over a period of 70 years the population has recorded an increase of 95,940 persons or ^{22.74}22.62 percent only.

This comparatively low rate of increase is due to some extent, ^{to} the decrease in the population of the forest area. This area until recently was noted for its bad malarial condition and occasional epidemic diseases and so the death rate was higher than the birth rate. ⁽¹⁾ Consequently a large number of previously occupied villages now remain deserted. According to the 1951 census out of a total of 1222 villages as many as 174 were deserted.

The North Kanara District contains a very extensive and rich stand of forest. Of its total land area of 3948 sq. miles, the major portion comprising 3,220 sq. miles is covered with forests. Of the forest area, 3013 sq. miles is in charge of the Forest Department and the remaining under the Revenue Department. The authority of the Revenue Department is thus restricted only to a small part of the District. The greater part of the forest area covering 2,418 sq. miles representing ^{61.24}61% of the total land area is regarded as forest proper with a thick stand. However, the Forest Department has so far been able to organise under its Working Plans system i.e. exploitation on a sustained yield basis only an area of 1,510 sq. miles representing ^{38.24}38% of the total land area. About 845 sq. miles of very rich forest area representing ^{21.40}21% of the total land area has remained virgin and untapped owing to various reasons including that of inaccessibility. At the time of the study efforts were being made to organise as much of this area as possible.

The Forest Department has its own organisation. The forest area of the North Kanara district is included in the larger Forest administrative division known as the Southern Circle which also comprises the forest areas of the Dharwar, Bijapur and the Belgaum districts. The Southern Circle was one among four such circles in the old Bombay State, the other three being the North-

(1) Forest Administration Report 1919-20.

Western, the North-Eastern and the Central Circles which include convenient groupings of the forest areas of the remaining districts of the State. Each circle is headed by a Conservator of Forests. A circle is sub-divided into what are known as Forest Divisions. Ordinarily, when there is a fairly large area of forest in a district, the forest area of a single district is constituted into one Forest Division and when this area is small the forests of two or more districts may be included in one division. But the forest area of the North Kanara district is so considerable that it is constituted into three Divisions called the Kanara Northern, the Kanara Eastern and the Kanara Western Divisions.

Dandeli is situated in the Kanara Northern Division. It being the centre of the forest activities in this Division, its socio-economic life could only be studied on the back-ground of the whole Division. The Northern Division of Kanara contains the richest stand of teak in the district and it yields the major part of the large size timber in the whole of the Southern Circle. It comprises a total reserved forest area of 834 sq. miles of which only 53% is organised. A small part of the unorganised forest has been tapped but the greater part of it representing 42% of the total area of the Division is virgin. Of the unorganised forest the area comprising mainly teak accounts for 33% of the total area of the Division. Thus there is considerable scope for the further exploitation of the forest resources.

The Kanara Northern Division is further sub-divided into seven ranges, each range being under the charge of an officer called the Range Forest Officer. The seven ranges are named Dandeli, Halyal, Sambrani, Kulgi, Virnoli, Gund and Supa, after the names of the places in which their headquarters are located. Each range is sub-divided into small areas known as rounds, each round being under the charge of a minor forest official called the Round Forester. The rounds are sub-divided into beats. Each beat is entrusted to the charge of a guard called the Beat Guard.

The timber exploited through the Departmental Agency is brought to the timber depots. Dandeli is the chief timber

depot for the Kanara Northern Division. It occupies a central position in the Division and is within easy reach of areas producing the best variety of teak in the region. As a result the prices of timber, especially teak, obtained at Dandeli are the highest among those obtained in all the timber depots of Kanara. Therefore, the Forest authorities make it a point to bring to the Dandeli depot timber from as distant places as possible. Annually between 20,000 and 30,000 tons of timber is brought to this depot. In fact Dandeli was the biggest timber depot in the old Bombay State.

The timber depot at Dandeli is under the charge of an officer called the Depot Officer who is of the status of a Senior Range Forest Officer.

The Kanara Northern forest division coincides with the two Revenue divisions of Halyal taluka and Supa petha. One of the four principal rivers of the North Kanara district known as Kali-nadi (river Kali) passes through this forest division east to west and it forms a natural boundary between the two revenue divisions. Dandeli is situated on either bank of the Kalinadi and the settlement cuts across three old Forest villages of Dandeli, Kumbharkop and Virampali where their boundaries meet. The Forest villages of Dandeli and Kumbharkop are on the left bank of the river and the village of Virampali is on the right bank. For purposes of Revenue and Forest administration the first two villages are included in the Halyal Taluka and Dandeli range respectively and the third village is included in the Supa Petha and the Virnoli range respectively.

Thus the settlement of Dandeli does not encompass the three entire villages but only parts of them which are almost contiguous in extent. Even though these three parts are separated by natural and administrative boundaries they are integrated into one ecological unit that is now known as Dandeli and the village divisions are merely functional units set up by the revenue authorities for their administrative purposes. It^{is}/with this community that the present study is primarily concerned.

Growth of Dandeli:

Dandeli is centrally located in the Kanara Northern division. The three forest ranges of Kulgi, Virnoli and Gund on the right side of the Kali river and which contain the best high teak forests in Kanara are accessible only from Dandeli. But so long as the timber from these high forests remained unexploited, the developmental potentialities of Dandeli remained dormant. It was during the First World War when the Forest Department felt the need for more timber and it was thought advisable to exploit timber from the virgin forests of the interior, that Dandeli was selected as a centre of forest activities. Thus in 1916 a forest Depot was opened in the place. The headquarters of the Dandeli range which was situated at a nearby place called Barchi was also shifted to this place. In 1918 a saw mill was set up for the purpose of munition supplies. Being a forest depot the transport facilities of the place had to be improved. So in the year 1917-18 the Alnavar-Dandeli light railway line was constructed, connecting Dandeli to Alnavar which is a station on the Bangalore-Poona route of the Southern Railway. Thus the foundations for the development of Dandeli were laid.

Although the whole settlement now comprising the parts of the old forest villages of Dandeli, Kumbharkop and Virampali is called Dandeli, the initial forest settlement was established in the deserted village of Kumbharkop situated on the left bank of Kali river. A big part of this village which also slightly extends into the Dandeli village was set aside for the timber depot and all the new activities and the settlement itself were located in this area popularly known as the Depot Area. Even today the Depot Area forms the core of the community settlement. Besides, the timber depot, the head-quarters of the Dandeli range, the Government Saw Mill, the Railway Station, the post office, the schools, the dispensary, the market place etc., are situated in this area. With the inception of the plywood factory in 1943, the settlement was next extended to the Virampali village which

is on the right bank of the river. But for the dividing line of the river the area of the plywood factory with its colony is contiguous with the Depot area. And since the people in the Plywood Colony also share to some extent the socio-economic life of the Depot Area, both the Depot Area and the Plywood Colony may be regarded as parts of the larger community settlement of Dandeli.

Although a small part of the Depot Area cuts across the boundary of the Dandeli village, for all practical purposes the whole of the area may be regarded as lying within the Kumbharkop village. The new community grew into the Dandeli village to which it owes its name, only recently on account of the location of some new activities there. There was one rest house of the Forest Department intended for the use of the touring officers built as far back as 1910-11 and renovated subsequently. A second rest house was added in 1946-47. In 1954-55 the Electric Grid Sub-station was set up and in 1955-56 the work of construction of a Paper and Pulp Factory was started. It was also proposed to put up a building in this village for the High School which was started in 1956. Thus the Forest village of Dandeli too bids fair to become an integral part of the bigger community. But until the time of the study the community was concentrated in the Depot Area and the Plywood Colony and so for the purpose of the analysis of much of the data the community settlement may be broadly divided into two parts (1) the Depot Area and (2) the Plywood Colony.

It is, however, curious to note that while the new forest settlement was first started in the village of Kumbharkop, it acquired the name of the village of Dandeli. A plausible explanation may be given. At the time of the occupation of the deserted village of Kumbharkop the adjoining village of Dandeli was already populated. Moreover, the village of Dandeli seems to have occupied a pre-eminent position among the neighbouring villages. Evidence is the fact that of these villages only Dandeli has a village god by the name of Dandelappa and a shrine of Maruti or the god Hanuman. Therefore since the village of Dandeli was more popularly known the new forest settlement must have been named after it just as more recently the

Plywood Colony has come to be regarded as a part of Dandeli while actually it is situated in the Virampali village.

The river Kali which runs through Dandeli may be regarded as the life-blood of the settlement. It supplies running water throughout the year and there is no other source of water round about the place. The layout of the settlement therefore is primarily determined by the river.

Initially the settlement developed on the left bank of the river. During the rainy season the river runs in spate and intercommunication between the two banks becomes difficult. The main approach road to Dandeli is from Halyal which is on the left side. The railway line is also situated on this side. Therefore only the people residing on the left bank of the river could maintain their contact with the outside world throughout the year.

The part of the settlement on the right bank dates back only to the inception of the plywood factory. The contact between the two parts on the opposite banks of the river is easy during the fair season, i.e., between the months of October and May when the causeway across the river is serviceable. During the rainy season, when the causeway is submerged in water, contact is possible only by boats. When the river is in spate even this conveyance becomes difficult.

The topography of Dandeli is very uneven. Along the bank there is a narrow strip of low land which rises into hills of various sizes. Most of the hills are not steep. They have a gradual incline with flat tops. The habitations and establishments are built for the most part on the inclines and top levels of such hillocks.

The narrow strip of low land along the bank varies in width from place to place from a few yards to about 200 yards. In the Depot area much of this space is utilised for railway sidings and stacking. The Dandeli bazar too is located along the bank. The Government Saw Mills, the workshop and the Depot office, are situated on a slightly higher level adjoining the railway sidings and the quarters of the forest officers and subordinates are built on the flat

tops of the hillocks. The schools and the Forest Dispensary are also located in similar areas. The habitations of the contractors, the trading sections and the labourers who are not entitled to Government quarters are found on either side of the bazar area or on the slopes of hillocks not utilised by the Forest Department. The area beyond the residential locality covering several acres is used for stacking the timber of the Depot.

Since the area adjoining the inhabited locality away from the river bank is required for the purpose of stacking the timber of the Depot further contiguous expansion of the settlement in that direction is not possible. Such expansion therefore can take place along the river bank on either side of the Depot area. Since the approach road from Halyal to Dandeli which ends in the market place in the Depot area passes through the Dandeli village along the bank, the settlement has expanded in this direction.

The two major enterprises that have sprung up recently are the ferro-manganese factory and a paper and pulp factory. Both require railway facilities to transport their finished products which will be manufactured daily by the tons. So they have selected their sites on the same side of the river as the railway station is situated. Their sites are located on the opposite sides of the Depot area along the river bank. The ferro-manganese factory is located in the Kumbharkopvillage itself and the paper and pulp factory in the Dandeli Forest Village.

The plywood factory on the opposite bank and most of the labour quarters are built on the low lying land near the bank and the other residential quarters are built on the slope of the hill which, beyond the quarters, tapers still upwards.

The expansion of the Dandeli settlement has been further restricted by another important factor. Almost all the land available for settlement in Dandeli is under the charge of the Forest Department and this area is primarily meant for growing forest. The area set aside by the Department for purposes other than growing forest is known as disforested area. The community

in Dandeli therefore can utilise only the ^{is} deforested land. The area under the Revenue Department in the various forest villages is owned by agriculturists and is not available for other settlers.

When the timber depot was opened in Dandeli a large plot of forest land in the Khumbharkop village was disforested. This area was intended both for the timber depot and the other activities of the Forest Department. Small plots of land from this area were given out on hangami lagan (temporary) lease to people like the forest contractors, merchants and other persons who have to live in Dandeli in connection with the activities of the Forest Department. But according to terms of their lease they are not allowed to put up permanent constructions and have to hand over charge of their plots at a notice of 24 hours.

Subsequently, as and when required by private industries plots of forest land round about the Depot area were disforested and leased out on long term basis. The Department has no objection to permanent constructions being put on such plots. The plywood factory, the paper and pulp factory and the ferro-manganese factory have all leased such plots. By the time of the study the plywood factory had already established its colony of employees in its plot and the other two factories also intend to proceed on the same lines. Only the Electric Grid Substation was located in a plot of land purchased outright from the Revenue area owned by the local agriculturist of the Dandeli village.

Thus the layout of the Dandeli settlement is limited by the positions and extent of the disforested plots. While the different plots are near each other they are not exactly contiguous. The Depot area and the Plywood colony are separated by the river and the other plots are separated from each other by the intervening forest land. Therefore the layout of the settlement has not proceeded in a perfectly contiguous fashion.

The forest land so far disforested is intended for the use of specific industries. It is clear that private industries would allow to stay in their precincts only those persons who are

primarily connected with their own activities. The attitude of the Forest Department too has not been different. However, in the initial stages when only the activities of the Department were located in or round about the Depot area they also entertained other persons like the traders, tailors etc., who, though not primarily connected with the Departmental activities, rendered certain essential services to the people of the forest colony.

With the inception and development of the various private industries the activities and population in and around Dandeli have increased considerably and so also has the number of persons who are only indirectly concerned with the various industries. Being the earliest colony the Depot Area has remained to be the core of the entire settlement and the people not directly connected with different industries are concentrated in this area. But the Depot authorities refuse to provide them with accommodation and other facilities and mostly they are left to find for themselves. Some of them stay with their friends and relations who have leased plots or quarters supplied by the employers. A number of them occupy the quarters put up by a forest contractor ostensibly for the purpose of his own labourers. Others have put up temporary structures on vacant places without the permission of the Depot authorities.

Side by side with the problem of housing such persons, the authorities were faced with another important difficulty. The people staying for years together in huts built in the hangami lagan plots demanded permission to build permanent houses. In order to solve both these difficulties a scheme for the establishment of a township was under the consideration of the Forest Department. Accordingly, a plot of 180 acres was proposed to be ¹¹deforested so that all persons not primarily concerned with any industry could make their abodes there on a more permanent basis. The proposed site is centrally located in respect of the Depot area, the paper and pulp factory and the ferro-manganese factory but away from the Plywood Colony and also from the river.

Dandeli is the centre of a network of large number of

forest roads. But all these forest roads except that to Halyal are closed to traffic during the rainy season. The main approach road to Dandeli therefore is that which connects it to Halyal and it is serviced by State Transport buses throughout the year. During the fair season when the causeway across the river is serviceable the bus proceeds from Dandeli to Supa which is at a distance of 16 miles. The bus stand is in the market place situated in the Depot area.

Halyal with a population of 8,184 (1951 census)⁽¹⁾ is the nearest town to Dandeli at a distance of 17 miles. There is also a shorter forest road which cuts the distance by about five miles, but that is serviceable only during the fair season and not used by buses. Halyal is also the headquarters of the Halyal taluk in which the major portion of Dandeli is included. But the importance of Halyal to Dandeli is not derived from the fact of its being the taluk headquarters since the forest area of Dandeli is not very much concerned with it. It stems from the fact that Halyal is connected by motorable roads to all the important towns in the region such as Dharwar, Hubli, Belgaum and Karwar. Even though there is the railway route from Dandeli to Alnavar, it is mainly the bus route via Halyal that is used by passengers from Dandeli for boarding trains for further journeys from Alnavar.

The Revenue headquarters of the North Kanara district is Karwar. However, Dandeli has more to do with the Forest Divisional headquarters situated in Dharwar than with the Revenue headquarters. Moreover, the distance from Dandeli to Dharwar is 38 miles while to Karwar it is 114 miles. For commercial purposes the cities of Hubli and Belgaum along with Dharwar are frequented. These places are connected with Dandeli both by bus and railway.

The inflow of people

Although the old forest village of Dandeli proper had a small population for quite a long time, that population had little or nothing to do with the formation of the present

(1) Its population in 1961 was 10,343.

community which was first organised in the deserted village of Khumbarkop. The need for a settled population was felt in 1916 when a Forest Timber Depot was established. It was felt all the more keenly in 1918 with the inception of a saw mill for the purpose of supplying timber for the munitions during the First World War. Until then only seasonal labour was sufficient for the various forest operations in the jungles. But in those days it was difficult to secure even seasonal immigrants in adequate numbers. To persuade migrants to settle down permanently in the thick jungles and in places which were practically cut off from the rest of the ^{he}ld for want of proper communication was almost impossible. To tide over the initial difficulty in obtaining stationary labour to work in the saw mills the Bombay Government started at Dandeli a Criminal Tribes Settlement in 1919. Accordingly a group of Bedars and Lamanis belonging to the so-called Criminal Tribes was stationed there. So, apart from the regular employees of the Forest Department and a few merchants, the first inhabitants of the new settlement at Dandeli were the Bedars and the Lamanis.

Sometime later, about 1927, a new source of labour, which subsequently proved to be inexhaustible, appeared on the scene. These were the Telegu speaking Christians. They were from Andhra, particularly from the Kurnool district which is a famine-stricken area. A large number of these people were already employed as labourers in the Hubli railway workshop. For the first time in 1927 a young man from this group came to Dandeli. Very soon people from Hubli and from their native district of Kurnool began to pour in. By 1931 there was a sufficiently large group of them collected at Dandeli so as to necessitate the construction of a small place of common worship. In the wake of these Telegu Christians a few non-Christians from their native place such as the Scheduled Castes and Muslims also came in.

With the advent of the Telegu Christians who were only too eager to settle down at Dandeli in return for permanent employment

the supply of labour for the saw mills became ample. It was now no longer necessary for the Government to maintain the Criminal Tribes Settlement at high costs merely to supply labour for the mill. The maintenance of the Criminal Tribes Settlement was costly because it also involved the establishment of a supervisory staff. The settlement therefore was abolished in 1931. At that time a large number of the inmates are known to have sought their liberty rather than continue in their settled occupations forced upon them. All the same, because of the early contact of these tribes with the place quite a few Bedars and Lamanis representing the descendants of the early group and later immigrants are to be found in Dandeli at present.

The next influx of population came into Dandeli with the starting of the plywood factory in 1943. The difficulties in obtaining labour in Dandeli were still there at that time, so much so that one of the conditions stipulated by the Government with the plywood factory was that the latter should not employ labourers of the Government Saw Mills. The plywood factory therefore had to make arrangements for its own labour from outside Dandeli. Through the Telugu Christians working in the saw mills the plywood factory could very easily secure a large contingent of Telugu labour. But these people were capable of doing only light type of unskilled work. They were not accustomed to the difficult work of logging and loading in the forests. It so happened that among the senior employees of the factory there was a person from Malabar and he managed to secure over a hundred Moplahs from that area for this type of work. Many of these Moplahs left subsequently when the production of the plywood factory did not get on to a good start. When the work of the factory started in full swing, their place, particularly in so far as the logging work was concerned, was taken up by labour -ers from Karwar.

The plywood factory also required a large number of skilled workers. First of all they required some workers

with experience of working in a plywood factory. A band of such workers were obtained from a plywood factory operating in Calcutta. Of these people both Oriyas and Bengalis, only a few remained. Most of the skilled and clerical workers were employed from the neighbouring areas such as coastal Kanara and the districts of Belgaum and Dharwar. They belonged to various higher sections of the Indian society, high caste Hindus, Muslims and Christians. In the Government saw mills also the skilled workers are drawn from the higher sections of the population. While the bulk of the labour force in Dandeli belongs to a few categories, the skilled and clerical employees are from a very large number of groups.

The population of Dandeli increased further in recent years on account of the increased activity of manganese mining in the area. Although mining itself was carried on outside Dandeli, much of the ore was brought to the Dandeli railway station for further transportation. So a large number of workers are employed at the station for grading and loading work. Here again, the bulk of the labour was supplied by the Telugu people. Although initially it was the Telugu Christians that used to come to Dandeli, eventually different categories such as some of the Hindu castes also began to pour in.

The ferro-manganese factory and the pulp and paper factory were under construction during the study and a large number of people had already come to Dandeli in connection with the construction work. But it was too early to conclude whether these people would settle down in Dandeli or migrate as soon as the work in hand was completed. Most of these people therefore were excluded from the scope of the survey.

Apart from the various categories of employees who have come and settled down in Dandeli there are two important groups namely the forest contractors and the traders whose numbers particularly of the latter group have increased with the passage of time. Almost all the contractors residing at Dandeli originally

belonged to the North Kanara District coming either from the coast or the upland. The earlier and more established among the traders of Dandeli belong to the Gaud Saraswat caste of Kanara which is the most important trading group of the region. In course of time however people belonging to a large number of groups started business and other service activities.

As indicated already our detailed investigation included only the permanent settlers who are defined as those who had settled down in Dandeli for over a year the time of the commencement of the inquiry. There were in all 3110 such persons distributed in 845 households. With a view to indicating the trend of inmigration over the years the heads of households are classified in Table 1 according to age and years of stay in Dandeli after inmigration. Although not shown in the Table only one person was a descendant of the original inhabitants of Dandeli, the others being either inmigrants or their descendants. Among the 27 persons born in Dandeli 26 were the descendants of the inmigrants. All the inmigrants had come to Dandeli during the past 40 years prior to the commencement of the study and a vast majority, as many as 533, had come only within the past 10 years. The trend on the whole shows a rapid growth of the population of Dandeli due to inmigration. (1)

Table I

(1) According to the 1951 census the population of Dandeli spread in the villages of Kumbarkop, Virampali and Dandeli and including both migrant settlers and seasonal migrants was 3449. At the time of the study the corresponding number was much larger although not fully enumerated. In the 1961 census which was taken after the study the population of Dandeli was 14,454 showing a phenomenal increase.

TABLE I

Household heads according to age and time spent in Dandeli after migration.

Age groups of heads of families	Years of stay after immigration								Born in Dandeli	Total	
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36 & above			Not stated
13-20 yrs.	28	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	41
21-30	166	80	29	16	4	-	-	-	-	16	311
31-40	86	80	64	44	4	1	1	-	1	6	287
41-50	37	27	36	25	12	16	1	-	-	1	155
51 & above	9	12	8	7	1	8	3	3	-	-	51
Total	326	207	138	92	21	25	5	3	1	27	845

Regions of Origin of Immigrants:

Table 2 shows the distribution of the residents of Dandeli according to regions of origin. The residents are drawn from different parts of India scattered far a wide. But regions which are nearer Dandeli and which have easy access to it have contributed comparatively more migrants. As is to be expected the two regions of the North Kanara district in which Dandeli is located account for 1021 persons or about one-third of the total settled population of 3110. Of the two regions coastal Kanara has contributed the larger number of persons in keeping with its higher density of population. The districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and South Kanara and the region of Goa and Savantwadi are contiguous with the North Kanara district. But among these the Dharwar and Belgaum districts have better communications and transportation facilities with Dandeli and accordingly between them they account for roughly another one-third of the population of Dandeli. Of the remaining regions which are farther removed from Dandeli only Andhra has contributed a substantial number of persons for special reasons already mentioned.

TABLE 2

Residents of Dandeli according to Regions of origin.

<u>Region</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>
Coastal Kanara ...	838
Kanara Upland ...	183
Dharwar district ...	478
Belgaum district ...	492
Bijapur district ...	52
Goa and Savantwadi ...	118
South Kanara district ...	48
Andhra ...	613
Kerala ...	48
Rest of South India ...	207
North India ...	22
Dandeli proper ...	11
Total ...	<u>3110</u>

Naturally the different groups of people coming from diverse regions speak different languages. The languages and dialects spoken and the numbers speaking them in Dandeli are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Distribution of Residents by Mother-tongues

<u>Language or dialect</u>	<u>Persons speaking</u>
Konkani ...	538
Kannada ...	663
Marathi ...	286
Telugu ...	650
Urdu ...	674
Malayalam ...	32
Tamil ...	25
Hindi ...	27
Oriya ...	6
Lamani ...	158
Vaddari ...	40
English ...	9
Punjabi ...	1
Burmese ...	1
Total ...	<u>3110</u>

Population Groupings:

Next to differences in regional and linguistic backgrounds the people of Dandeli differ in their group affiliations. Culturally the most significant group to which people in India belong is the endogamous group or the inter-marrying circle. In most cases the endogamous groups which interact ^{with} towards each other acquire status connotations and are integrated into a structure of status hierarchy. Such groups are called castes. Since interactions among endogamous groups are limited by regional, linguistic and religious distinctions we have in India a series of more or less parallel caste structures. (1)

It is a common practice among social scientists in India to classify the Hindu population into castes and the non-Hindus on the basis of their religious distinctions such as Muslims or Christians. While the caste groups among the Hindus are significant for socio-economic analyses, the religious divisions of non-Hindus do not take into account the really significant groupings within these sections. Further, when Hindu groups from different regions have to be compared they lose their caste significance. Therefore in order to avoid all this confusion for the purpose of this study the endogamous group has been treated as a unit. Such endogamous groups are found in all religious categories. However at the time of the collection of data, for various reasons, the exact details regarding some of the endogamous divisions could not be obtained. For example, the people who go by the general name of Maratha by no means constitute a single endogamous group but have several endogamous groups with different socio-economic status. This is also the case with Lingayats and Scheduled Castes.

By and large members of each endogamous group belong to the same region, speak the same language and follow the same religion.

(1) For a detailed discussion on the concept of caste in the sense in which it is used here vide Victor S. D'Souza: "Caste and Endogamy: A Reappraisal of the Concept of Caste" in the Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay, New Series Vol. XI No. 1, 1959 Pp. 11-42.

In Table 4 the various groups are classified according to region of origin and language spoken. The Christian and Muslim groups are also characterised by their religious names and the rest are all Hindus. It may again be pointed out that not all the groups in the table are endogamous and where they are not so each group is shown as belonging to different regions and speaking different languages. As a more general term the groups in the table are referred to as population categories instead of endogamous groups. The table will show at a glance the highly heterogeneous character of the population of Dandeli.

Table 4

Population groups according to main regions of origin, languages spoken and number of members.

<u>Main region of origin</u>	<u>Population group</u>	<u>No. of persons</u>	<u>Main language spoken</u>
Coastal Kanara	Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	197	Konkani
"	Saraswat Brahmins	29	Konkani
"	Havik Brahmins	20	Kannada
"	Daivadnya Brahmins	18	Konkani
"	Vaishya	35	Konkani & Marathi
"	Nadavar	15	Kannada
"	Vani	8	Marathi
"	Lohar	15	Konkani
"	Panchal	17	Kannada
"	Namdhari	4	Kannada
"	Bhandari	13	Konkani
"	Komarpanth	38	Konkani & Kannada
"	Gauli	2	Marathi
"	Bandekar	11	Konkani
"	Karwar Muslims	344	Urdu
"	Konkani Christians	141	Konkani
Bombay Karnatak	Rajputs	37	Hindi
"	Lingayats	89	Kannada
"	Jains	6	Kannada
"	Kalal	17	Kannada & Urdu
"	Bhoi	12	Kannada
"	Bedar	159	Kannada
"	Lamani	158	Lamani
"	Kurubar	25	Kannada
"	Sungar	4	Kannada
"	Uppar	36	Kannada
"	Vaddar	40	Vaddari
"	Other Muslims	272	Urdu
Andhra	Telugu Christians	552	Telugu
"	Konar	4	Tamil
"	Nekar	3	Telugu
"	Telugu Muslims	23	Telugu
"	Nayadu	4	Telugu
Kerala	Nair	10	Malayalam
"	Moplahs (Muslims)	20	Malayalam
South India	Buddhists	3	Tamil
"	Reddi	10	Telugu
"	Mudaliyar	6	Tamil
North India	Oriya	4	Oriya

Coastal Kanara } & South India }	Kshatriya	20	Kannada
Cosastal Kanara } Bombay Karnatak }	Maratha	277	Marathi, Konkani & Kannada
& rest of Bombay State Various regions } chiefly Bombay }	Other Brahmins	96	Kannada & Marathi
Karnatak Coastal Kanara, } Bombay Karnatak }	Barber	16	Kannada & Telugu
& South India Various regions } chiefly Bombay }	Scheduled Castes	167	Kannada & Telugu
Karnatak			

Classification of People by Caste Status:

The various population groups may be further classified into broader categories so that groups of equal or near equal caste status are included in the same category. Since the various caste groups in Dandeli come from different regions and belong to different religions, they cannot be arranged in a perfect order of status hierarchy. Secondly in some groups the population numbers are too few to be of significance for the purpose of statistical analysis. Therefore these groups are generalised in Table 5 into 15 larger categories care being taken to see that each category comprises a sufficiently large number of persons and that the groups included in each category are as far as possible homogeneous considered from the standpoint of traditional occupations and status. Some endogamous groups having comparatively large number of members have been treated as separate categories. Since most of the categories comprise two or more endogamous groups and as such the persons included in a category as a whole do not interact among themselves in a significant manner, these categories cannot be called groups and they will be referred to as "population categories".

The 15 population categories may be briefly described as follows:

(1) Gaud Saraswat Brahmins: The group of Gaud Saraswat Brahmins has been singled out from the rest of the Brahmins because it is the single largest endogamous group among Brahmins comprising 197 persons out of a total Brahmin population of 342. They are a very important trading class of the region. Even though another endogamous group

of Brahmins locally known as Saraswats as distinguished from Gaud Saraswats is very close to the Gaud Saraswats from the ethnological standpoint, it is not included in this category since it is occupationally quite different, being primarily engaged in different types of services.

(2) Other Brahmins: This category includes all other groups

Table 5

Population Categories with their subdivisions,
and number of persons.

1.	Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	...	197
2.	Other Brahmins	...	145
	Saraswats	29	
	Haviks	20	
	Others	96	
3.	Warrior and Trading Castes	...	121
	Rajputs	37	
	Kshatriya	20	
	Nair	10	
	Vaishya	35	
	Vani	8	
	Bandekar	11	
4.	Sectarian groups mainly Lingayats	...	98
	Lingayats	89	
	Jains	6	
	Buddhists	3	
5.	Marathas	...	277
6.	Other Agricultural and Allied Groups	..	94
	Nadavar	15	
	Reddi	10	
	Mudaliyar	6	
	Konar	4	
	Ehandari	13	
	Komarpanth	38	
	Namdhari	4	
	Nayadu	4	
7.	Artisans and Allied Groups	...	89
	Lchar	15	
	Panchal	17	
	Odiya	4	
	Daivadnya)	18	
	Brahmins)		
	Barbers	16	
	Kalal	17	
	Gauli	2	
8.	Bedars	...	159
9.	Lamanis	...	158

10. Other Backward Hindus	...	120
Kurubar	25	
Uppar	36	
Sungar	4	
Bhois	12	
Nekar	3	
Vaddar	40	
11. Scheduled Castes	...	167
12. Karwar Muslims	...	344
13. Other Muslims	...	383
Deccani Muslims	340	
Moplahs	20	
Telugu Muslims	23	
14. Telugu Christians	...	552
15. Other Christians	...	141
Others not specified	...	65
Total	...	3110

of Brahmins. This is a heterogeneous category consisting of Saraswats, Haviks, Deshasthas and other groups of Brahmins. According to their mother tongue in this category those speaking Kannada are 74, Marathi 36, Konkani 25, Tamil 5, Telugu 4 and Punjabi 1.

(3) Warrior and Trading Castes: Next to the Brahmins the warrior and trading castes are counted among the higher sections of the Hindu population. The warrior castes have long since lost their proper vocations and the people who style themselves today as Rajputs and Kshatriyas claim superiority by virtue of their descent from the old ruling and fighting castes. The trading castes too have passed through many vicissitudes, some sections having lost their old occupations completely. All these groups have been combined into one category. The warrior groups consist of Rajputs, Kshatriyas and Nairs. The Nairs although regarded as Sudras are an old fighting caste of Kerala and the Nair residents of Dandeli come from that region and speak Malayalam. The Kshatriyas and Rajputs belong to various regions and speak languages like Kannada, Marathi, Konkani and Hindi.

The trading castes included in this category are Vaishyas, Vanis and Bandekar. All the Bandekars belong to the Kanara Coastal

region and their mother tongue is Marathi. The Vaishyas and Vanis are from the Kanara coastal and Bombay Karnatak regions. Most of them speak Marathi and a few Kannada. The traditional occupation of these castes is retail trade. Some of them prepare and sell sweetmeats.

(4) Sectarian Groups, mainly Lingayats: Most of the Lingayats come from Bombay Karnatak and their mother tongue is Kannada. The Jains too are from the same area. Five of the Jains speak Kannada and one Marathi. The Buddhists come from South India and speak Tamil.

As has already been pointed out elsewhere the term Lingayat does not connote a single caste but it is a sectarian division having several castes within it. So also is the case with Jains and Buddhists. This category, therefore, does not consist of homogeneous groups. In general, however, these sectarian groups as a whole have a social status higher than that accorded to the lower Hindu castes. Since the non-Lingayats in this category are very few the whole category may be designated as Lingayats.

(5) Marathas: This category too is not a homogeneous ^{one} and includes several endogamous groups. The members hail mostly from the districts of North Kanara, Dharwar, Belgaum and Ratnagiri.

(6) Other Agricultural and Allied Groups: The qualification "other" is used for this category because agriculture as a traditional occupation is also followed by some sections of Marathas and Lingayats. The Nadavars, Namdharis, Bhandaris and Komarpanthas, included in this category belong to the North Kanara district, the Reddis and Nayadus come from Andhra and the Mudaliyars and Konars from the rest of South India. Apart from their agricultural pursuits the Bhandaris and Komarpanths also had toddy tapping as their traditional occupation.

(7) Artisans and Allied Groups: This category includes the artisans and other self employed groups. The artisan groups include Daivadnya Brahmins, Lohars and Panchals who among them represent the blacksmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters etc. Four persons from Orissa calling themselves Odiya were also returned as artisans. The other groups included are Kalals whose

traditional occupations are the distillation of liquor and selling of mutton, Navaligs or people belonging to the barber castes and Gaulis whose traditional occupation is dairying.

(8) Bedars: Despite the presence of two or three endogamous groups among them, they all belong to the same main tribe. 151 of them speak Kannada and the rest Telugu.

(9) Lamanis: The Lamanis consisting of 158 persons form a single endogamous group and as such are highly homogeneous.

(10) Other Backward Hindus: Among the Hindu groups considered so far the Bedars and the Lamanis may be regarded as backward. The Kurubars are a caste of shepherds, the Sungars are lime sellers and the traditional occupation of the Uppars is the preparation of shell-lime. The Bhois belong to the caste of palanquin bearers. The description of Vaddars has already been given. The Nekars belong to a backward caste of weavers in Andhra.

(11) Scheduled Castes: This category consists of several different endogamous groups of untouchables and coming from various regions.

(12) Karwar Muslims: This category comprises Muslims from the Kanara coastal region and is distinguished from the other Muslims because it forms a fairly homogeneous group.

(13) Other Muslims: The members of this category include Moplahs, Telugu Muslims and the rest coming mainly from the Bombay Karnatak. As compared with the category of Karwar Muslims this category is more heterogeneous.

(14) Telugu Christians: This category comprises 552 members of whom 530 come from Andhra chiefly from the district of Kurnool and the remaining few from various parts. They all speak Telugu and belong to two different Christians sect of S.P.G. Mission (Society for the Propagation of the Faith) and the Lutheran Mission.

(15) Other Christians: These number 141 of whom 97 belong to the North Kanara district, 17 come from Belgaum district and the rest from various parts. As many as 125 among them have Konkani for their mother-tongue, 11 speak Kannada, 4 Marathi and 1 Tamil. Almost all of them are Roman Catholics.

The group affiliations of 65 persons could not be ascertained.

Broadly speaking, the Hindu population is divided into 11 categories namely categories 1-11, the Muslim population into 2 categories namely 12 and 13 and the Christian population is divided into two categories namely 14 and 15. Of the Hindu population categories 1 and 2 represent Brahmins, category 3 represents other advanced Hindus, people included in categories 4 to 7 may be termed intermediate Hindus, categories 8 to 10 Backward Hindus and category 11 Scheduled Castes. The Brahmins, the other advanced Hindus, the Intermediate Hindus, the Backward Hindus and the Schedules Castes form a descending order in the traditional caste hierarchy.

Age and Sex Composition

Table 6 shows the distribution of population by age groups and sex. The last column shows the percentage distribution of the total in each age group to the grand total. It will be seen that, on the whole, 52% of the population is male and 48% female. But there is considerable variation among the age groups in the relative proportions of the sexes. In general, in all other age groups below 25 years except that of 11 to 15 years the proportions of the female population are higher. Beyond the age of 25 years the males preponderate in every age group. The excess of males over females in the higher age groups is due mainly among other reasons to the fact that a good number of males come to Dandeli/leaving their families behind to find employment.

If the age groups are further generalised into three main categories of 0-15 years, 16-50 years and 51 years and above, we find that they comprise 1310, 1700 and 100 persons respectively or 42.1%, 54.7% and 3.2% of the population, respectively. It is clear that the proportion of the very young persons as compared with the proportion of very old persons is very high. This fact coupled with the phenomenon that the proportion of the female population is higher in the younger age groups goes to show

Table 6

Population by age groups and sex.

Age groups	Sexes		Total	%age of males to total	%age of females to total	%age of total to grand total
	Males	Females				
0-5	316	326	642	49	51	20.68
6-10	202	240	442	45	55	14.21
11-15	120	106	226	52	48	7.23
16-20	128	172	300	43	57	9.64
21-25	182	187	369	49	51	11.86
26-30	200	161	361	55	45	11.61
31-35	145	87	232	62	38	7.46
36-40	125	70	195	64	36	6.27
41-45	92	38	130	70	30	4.18
46-50	61	52	113	54	46	3.63
51-55	30	25	55	55	45	1.77
56 & above	25	20	45	55	45	1.45
Total	1626	1484	3110	52	48	100.00

that the population of Dandeli has a high potentiality for natural growth.

The peculiar age and sex composition of the population in Dandeli perhaps reflects the immigrant character of a population which has started settling down only in recent years. The people who come to Dandeli are usually young persons in their prime of life and at a time when they are likely to bring forth children quite frequently.

Age and Civil Condition:

Table 7 shows the classification of the adult and non-adult population by age groups and civil condition. Persons of twelve years of age and below are regarded as non-adults and those of age 13 years and above as adults.

All the non-adults except one girl are unmarried. Child marriage which is a common phenomenon in Indian society is almost non-existent in Dandeli. Among the adult males the percentages of unmarried, married, widowed and separated persons are 30.7, 64.7, 4.4 and 0.2 respectively. It is normal for an adult male to be in the state of married life and accordingly most of the men are married

Table 7

Adult and non-adult population by age groups
and civil condition

Age groups	Adult Males				Non-adult Males		Adult Females				Non-adult Males		Total
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Separated	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried	Married	Widowed	Separated	Unmarried	Married	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0 to 5 yrs.	-	-	-	-	316	-	-	-	-	-	326	-	642
6 to 10	-	-	-	-	202	-	-	-	-	-	239	1	442
11 to 15	67	2	-	-	51	-	47	11	-	-	48	-	226
16 to 20	115	11	2	-	-	-	27	141	2	2	-	-	300
21 to 25	95	85	2	-	-	-	3	177	6	1	-	-	369
26 to 30	25	171	3	1	-	-	3	154	4	-	-	-	361
31 to 35	8	134	3	-	-	-	2	68	16	1	-	-	232
36 to 40	5	110	10	-	-	-	2	52	16	-	-	-	195
41 to 45	1	80	11	-	-	-	-	18	20	-	-	-	130
46 to 50	4	49	7	1	-	-	-	10	42	-	-	-	113
51 to 55	1	25	4	-	-	-	-	1	24	-	-	-	55
56 & above	3	17	5	-	-	-	-	2	18	-	-	-	45
Total	224	684	47	2	569	-	84	634	148	4	613	1	3110

before they reach the age of 30. The proportion of widowed men is very small and that of the separated ones is negligible. In the case of adult women the percentages of unmarried, married, widowed and separated persons are 9.7, 72.9, 17.0 and 0.5 respectively. The proportion of adult unmarried women as compared with the corresponding proportion among the adult men is very small. This is because of the differential levels of the marriageable age for men and women, the marriageable age for women being lower. Relatively, a large proportion of women are widows. As will be shown elsewhere a large number of widows in Dandeli are earners. The proportion of widows in each age group goes on increasing after 30 years. It is very striking that beyond the age of 40 years the proportion of widows is much too large. Out of 135 women above the age of 40 as many as 104 are widows. Above the age of 50 out of 45 women 42 are widows.

Household Characteristics:

It may be recalled that the household as defined for the purpose of this study is not the sociological unit of the family which has for its basis the idea of parents and children living together, but only the unit of common living and consumption. Household in this sense may consist of even a single member or unrelated members. The average number of members per household was 3.66 which is rather small. This is mainly because 17.2% of the households had single members and another 35.8% had two or three members. Thus unimember households and small households with two or three members together constituted 53% of the total households. Medium households with four to six members were 36.8% and large families with seven to nine members were 9.1%. There were only two or 0.8% households with more than ten members. To be precise they consisted of 16 and 19 members.

In most of the population categories the average size of the households did not differ markedly from the total average. It was, however, relatively large with 5.3 members among the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins who are a trading class. Among the occupational categories the unskilled manual labourers had the smallest average

size with 3.31 members and the self-employed consisting chiefly of the traders, had the largest with 4.52 members.

If a household with members of two or more marital pairs living together is regarded as a joint family, about 20% of the households was of that type. They were found in every population category. While their proportion varied in different categories the variation was not of any striking pattern. Property relations as factors binding members into joint families do not operate in Dandeli. To some extent business connections as in the case of Gaud Saraswat Brahmins were responsible for the continuance of the joint families. But the most important factor may be regarded as the scarcity of living accommodation in the place. In any case, joint family living is not an important feature of the households in Dandeli.

Sex and Marital Status of the Heads of Households: Of the 845 households as many as 774 have male heads and the remaining 71 have female heads. 620 or 80% of the male heads are married, 116 or 15% of them are single and 37 or ^{nearly} 5% are widowed. In the case of one household the male head is separated from his wife. On the other hand in the case of the female heads of households 15 or 21% of the total are married and 54 or 77% are widowed. One female head is a separated woman.

The head of the household is usually a senior person in the family and in India in general it is the senior-most male member that occupies this position. Accordingly in Dandeli about 92% of the heads of households are males. The fact that 85% of the male heads are either married or widowed indicates that these persons are senior members in the families. Still 15% of the male heads are unmarried which condition goes to show that they are young in age. In their case mostly they belong to unimember households.

Where a woman is regarded as the head of the household it is almost certain that it is due to some special reason. In India one of the common factors resulting in a woman's assuming the role of head of the household is the death of her husband leaving behind minor children. Thus the fact that 77% of the female heads of households in Dandeli were widows does not merit any special attention.

The one case of a separated woman being the head of the ^{household} family is also understandable. But the fact that 15 female heads of ^{households} families were married women is rather intriguing because the husband of a woman is as a rule regarded as superior in the household. A closer study of these 15 cases has revealed certain significant facts. All these women, except one who lived on remittances received from her husband working outside Dandeli, worked as unskilled labourers and hence they belonged to the lowest occupational category. Four women did not have their husbands living with them. The husbands of another four women were not working, two on account of illness, one owing to old age and the fourth on account of unemployment. In the remaining seven cases both wife and husband were working. Of these in five cases the wives had steady employment in the saw mill and the husbands were working as casual labourers with incomes very much less than those of their wives. In the sixth case the wife had regular work in the plywood factory and the husband was working as a barber and his income was less than that of his wife. Only in one case had the husband an income higher than that of his wife. The wife worked in the plywood factory and the husband in the saw mill but both lived in the quarters provided for the wife by the plywood factory. In all these seven cases the living quarters were in the names of the wives being provided by the saw mill and the plywood factory in which these women worked. It would therefore appear that in their case it was not so much the assumption of the superior role in the household as the fact of possessing the living quarters in their names that these seven women were returned as the heads of ^{households} families. In the case of the previous eight cases there are sufficient grounds for the women to assume the role of head of the ^{household} family.

Of the persons who reside singly 125 are men and 21 women. Almost all the women are widows.

CHAPTER II

Economic Activity and Occupational Structure

The economic activity discussed here is divided into two broad categories: the activity which is carried on in the Dandeli area and that which is centred in Dandeli proper. Although the focus of our study is Dandeli the activity in the surrounding area is considered because it has an impact upon the socio-economic life of Dandeli and also because it is typical of the forest economy which is a distinctive feature of the North Kanara District.

Timber Economy of Kanara Northern Division.

Since Dandeli is the hub of the lumbering activities of the Kanara Northern Division a brief account of the timber economy of this division would be helpful in evaluating the position occupied by Dandeli in this area. The Kanara Northern Division is the most important of all the five forest divisions of the Southern Circle. It has the richest stand of teak forest and consequently the out-turn of timber excluding fuel and earnings from revenue of this division are the highest of all divisions. For instance for the period 1950-54 the average annual out-turn of timber of the Kanara Northern Division represented 34% of that of the Southern Circle and the average annual revenue 45%.

The quantity of timber and the type of species exploited are governed in the main by two important considerations namely (1) the Working Plan prescriptions which lay down in advance the compartments and coupes which can be worked out in a particular year and (2) the marketing conditions of forest produce. As far as possible, with a view to maintaining the equilibrium between exploitation and utilization and avoiding abnormal fluctuations in the timber market, exploitation of timber and fuel is regulated by fixing a definite sequence of compartments and coupes in all working plans.

Out-turn of Timber:

The timber extracted from the Kanara Northern

Division can be divided into two major categories: (1) The timber exploited by the Departmental agencies and (2) the timber sold from the forests directly to the consumers and purchasers. Table 8 gives the details of timber, fuel, sandalwood and bamboos removed from the forests by the Departmental agencies and by purchasers separately during the years 1951-52 to 1955-56.

Table 8

Timber and other forest products exploited in Kanara Northern Division by the Departmental Agencies and Purchasers.

Year	Exploitation by Departmental Agencies				Exploitation by Purchasers			
	Timber in 1000 cft.	Fuel in 1000 cft.	Sandalwood value in Rs	Bamboos value in Rs	Timber in 1000 cft.	Fuel in 1000 cft.	Sandalwood in 1000 cft.	Bamboos Value in Rs
1951-52	1190	195	3450	-	646	1221	-	43,123
1952-53	1473	56	1984	12	590	2279	-	43,100
1953-54	1056	-	3088	-	515	1862	-	41,412
1954-55	743	301	3503	5	498	1588	-	49,051
1955-56	806	6	2500	-	518	1650	-	45,051

Source: The Forest Administration Reports of the Government of Bombay.

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It may be observed that as between the two categories of exploitation there is a considerable difference in the quantities and types of the materials removed. The timber exploited by the Departmental agencies is almost double that removed by the purchasers. Moreover the timber removed by the purchasers ^{is} of inferior species and qualities. The fuel exploited by the Departmental agencies is negligible as compared with that exploited by purchasers. Sandalwood is exploited entirely by the Department. On the other hand bamboos and other products are exploited almost entirely by the purchasers.

So far as Dandeli is concerned it is the materials exploited by the Departmental agencies that are more significant because it is only these materials that are taken to the Government depots for sale. As Dandeli is the most important depot the major portion of the timber exploited from this division by the Departmental agencies is taken there. For instance, in 1951

56 out of 806,000 cft. of timber exploited by the Departmental agencies as much as 597,000 cft. was taken to the Dandeli depot.

Market Conditions:

During the past few decades the demand for timber and the price rates had gone on increasing. The two World Wars and the recent increase in the developmental activity in the country were the major contributory factors. The average outturn of timber which was about 738,000 cft. per year during 1914-16 rose to 1,135,000 cft. per year during 1916-19. Correspondingly the average price of teak which was Rs 25 per Khandy ⁽¹⁾ before the outbreak of the war rose to Rs 65 towards its end. Similar marked changes took place during the second World War also. The outturn of timber which was about 600,000 cft. in 1939-40 shot up to 1,983,000 cft. in 1942-43. The average price of teak which was less than Rs 40 per Khandy at the beginning of the War reached the highest peak of Rs 190 just before the cessation of War in 1945-46.

In both the Wars the prices of timber which were rising year after year during the war period showed a declining trend after the cessation of war. But since the Forest Department has almost the monopoly of timber trade it was able to prevent the rates from falling too low by regulating the sale of timber. For instance the price of teak which was Rs 190/- per khandy in 1945-46 suddenly came down to Rs 151/- in 1946-47. It would have come down still further the following year but for the fact that the Department did not put up any teak timber for sale during that year. Consequently the rate actually rose to Rs 163/- in 1948-49. After that year the rates came down again. Except in 1950-51 they were consistently lower until 1953-54. In order to arrest the downward trend in prices the Department cut down the outturn of timber considerably during 1954-56. Partly as a consequence of this and mainly as a cumulative result of developmental activities going on all over the country the prices of timber have again registered an upward trend since 1954-55.

(1) Name of a measure of 12.5 cft.

Table 9

Summary of Revenue and Expenditure of Kanara Northern Division from 1914-1954

(In 000 Rs)

Periods	Average Annual Revenue				Average Annual Expenditure				Surplus	
	Timber and other produce removed from the forest by Government agency	Timber and other produce removed from the forest by consumers or by purchasers	Miscellaneous	Total	Timber and other produce removed from the forest by Government agency	Communications, Buildings, etc.	Organisation, Improvements & Extension of Forests	Miscellaneous		Total
	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)	(000 Rs)
1914-16	591	183	4	778	249	17	7	75	348	431
1916-19	672	257	8	937	412	149	16	87	664	273
1919-22	621	269	13	903	185	180	29	135	527	375
1922-30	728	184	39	951	293	41	12	136	482	469
1930-39	781	215	41	1037	280	nil	n.a.	n.a.	467	570
1939-41	637	239	40	916	199	60	18	121	398	518
1941-45	2717	252	130	3099	1232	94	21	151	1498	1601
1945-50	3833	412	139	4384	1044	255	86	627	2011	2373
1950-54	4224	881	116	5221	1317	446	71	354	2189	3032

N.B. The revenues and expenditures of the following years were not available for the calculation of the averages: 1927-28; 1929-30; 1930-31; 1931-32; 1933-34; 1934-35; 1937-38; 1938-39; 1945-46.

Source: Forest Administration Reports of the Government of Bombay.

Revenue and Expenditure:

A summary of the annual average revenue and expenditure of the Kanara Northern Division during 1914-54 is given in Table 9. The period is broken up into smaller convenient intervals which are not equal and for each interval the annual averages of revenue and expenditure are given. In calculating the averages the figures for some years have not been taken into account as they could not be obtained.

It will be seen that during any period the largest proportion of the total revenue is derived from the source entitled "timber and other produce removed from the forest by Government agency". That is because most of the timber from the high forests of the Division is extracted by the Government through the contractors and this timber is subsequently sold at Government auctions. The timber thus extracted is brought to the Government timber depots of which Dandeli is the biggest. The total revenue of the Division has shown a phenomenal increase since the second World War. The average annual revenue which was about rupees nine to ten lakhs during the period 1919 to 1941 rose to about rupees thirty-one lakhs during the period 1941-45 and to rupees forty-four lakhs and rupees fifty-two lakhs during the period 1945-50 and 1950-54 respectively.

It may be observed that despite the lower out-turn of timber and slight decline in the timber rates since the war the revenues of the Department have actually increased after the war. The reason is that during the war although the market rates were very high the quantity of timber sold in the open market was very little, the bulk of the timber being supplied to the Defence Department at very low rates. After the war the slight decline in the timber rates was more than compensated for by relatively large quantities of timber sold in the open market.

In the case of revenue the source of timber and other produce removed from the forest by Government agency contributed the largest proportion of the receipts. In the case of expenditure also the same item accounts for the largest share of money spent. Since the out-turn of timber has increased considerably during and since the war the expenditure under this item has also increased very much

during the corresponding periods. The increase in expenditure however is out of proportion to the increase in out-turn. This is because the cost of extraction has been steadily increasing. Thus even though the out-turn after the war periods had decreased, the expenditure on this item has not come down. The expenditure on communications, buildings etc., has been stepped up after the war period. These activities could not be properly attended to during the war. Moreover the activities of the Department have increased greatly during and after war. The expenditure under the heading of organisation, improvements and extension of forests is no doubt showing increase comparable with the increase in the other items. But, considering the large amounts annually spent on the extraction of timber, the money spent on the organisation, improvements and extension of forests appears to be rather meagre. This can only be explained by the super-abundance of the natural growth of forests in this region. Consequently the attention of the Forest Department is focussed less on the improvement and extension of the forests than on their exploitation.

The expenditure under miscellaneous items has increased very much since the war mainly because of the greatly increasing costs of maintenance of the Alnavar-Dandeli railway.

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that the lumbering activity of the Kanara Northern Division has shown a steady increase despite fluctuations. This is one of the major factors that has contributed towards the growth of Dandeli in recent years.

Exploitation of Raw Materials in the Dandeli Area.

The economic activities of Dandeli are dependent upon the exploitation of raw materials round about the place. Forest produce, such as timber and bamboos, and manganese ore are the two main raw materials that are exploited in this area. Since they have an impact upon the socio-economic life of Dandeli a consideration of some of their salient features is necessary.

Exploitation of Forests:

According to the types and sizes of trees the forests are divided into three categories: (a) High forests with large size timber which can be converted into logs, (b) Pole forests which are suitable for converting into poles and (c) Fuel forests which can be used primarily for firewood. Of the 409 square miles of organised forests in the Kanara Northern Division about 125 square miles consist of pole and fuel forests, the remaining area comprising high forests.

The organised forests are worked as prescribed by the systematic Working Plans framed by technically trained officers. For the purpose of working each range is divided into a few regions, each region into blocks and each block into smaller working units which in high forests are called compartments and in the pole and fuel forests are called as coupes. The area of a compartment is roughly one square mile and that of a coupe ranges from 20 to 70 acres. In making these divisions the types of forests and trees are taken into account. Care is taken to see that a working unit consists mostly of the same type of trees. This is because a tree is felled when it reaches its age of maximum yield and this varies from type to type. Thus if all the trees are of the same type the felling operations can be undertaken at stated intervals. Depending upon the period of maturity and maximum yield of the trees the felling cycle of a compartment takes a period ranging from 20 to 30 years.

The different organised forest areas are under different systems of management as to regeneration, preservation and exploitation. These involve different types of forest operations. Here we are mainly concerned with the exploitation of forest produce.

So far as the exploitation of the forests in the Kanara Northern Division is concerned, the pole and fuel coupes are sold standing and whoever buys them removes the produce without diverting it to Dandeli. Thus the working of the coupes does not directly affect the economic activities in Dandeli. In 1955-56 a total of 21 coupes were sold standing. The timber from the high forests on the other hand is extracted by the Department through the agency of the

forest contractors who, for the most part, direct their activities from Dandeli. Most of the timber extracted is brought to the Dandeli Depot.

The work of exploitation of timber entrusted to the forest contractors may be included under four broad categories: (1) Logging contracts (2) Remnant contracts, (3) Clear felling contracts and (4) Sleeper making contracts. The following are the details of working of these contracts.

(1) Logging Contract: When a compartment in the high forest is to be exploited for timber, only the varieties of trees yielding good timber are to be cut. All such trees are marked and a list is prepared according to the Working Plan prescription. The total number of trees of each species and the probable yield of timber of each is calculated and tenders are invited for undertaking the felling of these trees and converting them into logs, pieces of scantlings. The contract also includes the work of transporting the material to the depot at Dandeli and stacking it there. The material to be supplied should be in accordance with the specifications of the Forest Department known as depot specifications. The rates are to be quoted per khandy of 12.50 cft. of timber that is finally stacked in the depot and these rates may vary for timber of different species, and also for logs, pieces and scantlings.

There are various factors to be taken into consideration by a contractor in quoting his rates. First of all he has to see to the probable rates for the work of felling and conversion which will be charged by the logging labour. These rates will depend upon the type of trees, whether they are soft or hard, whether solid or hollow, whether straight or bent and so on, upon the nature of the area, whether it is flat or sloping, the slopes making it very inconvenient to do such work, and so on. Secondly he has to prepare access in the compartment for the passage of the trucks and if the compartment is away from the main road an approach road to the compartment has to be prepared. The logs prepared at different places in the compartment have to be dragged usually with the help of buffaloes to places which can be approached by the truck. If the area of the compartment is even, this task is easy, but slopes and

thick growths of other trees make these operations more costly. The distance of the compartment from the depot is also one of the main factors to be taken note of. Apart from these variable factors there are other items like stacking at the depot and overhead charges of supervision.

When asked what would be the reasonable contract rate per khandy of teakwood if the compartment were about five miles away from the Dandeli depot, two of the contractors quoted the rates as Rs 7-50 nP and Rs 8-50 nP. They worked out the rates on the following basis:

<u>Items</u>	<u>Quotation I</u> Rs - nP	<u>Quotation II</u> Rs - nP
Felling and conversion charges	1-75	2-00
Road making	0-50	0-75
Dragging	1-00	1-00
Transport	2-50	3-00
Stacking at the depot	1-50	1-50
Overhead charges	<u>0-25</u>	<u>0-25</u>
Total	<u>7-50</u>	<u>8-50</u>

Most contractors would concur with the second quotation. For, the felling and conversion rates for teak varied from Rs 1-50 to Rs 2-25, the road making expenses worked out anything from 12 nP to 75 nP per khandy, the transport charges varied from Rs 2-50 to Rs 3-00, the stacking charges were Rs 1-50 if given on contract. However, since the contractor had his permanent establishment his expenses on the above items except those for felling and conversion were likely to be a little less.

Yet, while tendering for a contract a contractor^{or} might quote a much lower rate than either of the above rates. The number of logging contractors had increased in the past few years and there was keen competition in securing contracts.

A logging contractor has to maintain some pairs of buffaloes for dragging timber both in the forest and at the depot and one or more trucks for the transportation of timber from the forest

to the depot. These items are indispensable since the forest contracts have to be fulfilled within a limited period of time usually lasting from 3 to 7 months and a contractor cannot be sure of completing his work within a limited time if he has to depend for these important requirements upon others. Then there should be a regular staff to look after and drive the buffaloes and trucks. Although this establishment is maintained for the sake of carrying out the logging work, securing a logging contract becomes imperative in order to maintain the establishment. Therefore when there is keen competition a contractor has to quote very low rates whether or not they are profitable to him. Contractors were reluctant to show their accounts, but every contractor was emphatic that in the past few years he had been working on the logging contract invariably at a loss. This was also the considered opinion of the forest officers. In the past few years some of the contractors had been actually forced out of their profession and some were gradually diverting to other types of contracts.

In these logging contracts the trees to be cut have to be selected and so the operations have to be spread over wide areas. Every year therefore several compartments are given out for logging. In the Kanara Northern Division 10 compartments were worked in this way during 1955-56 and 11 compartments during the previous year.

(2) Remnant Contract: When all the good timber of depot specifications is removed from the compartment there will still remain much of the discarded timber, which, although is not of depot specifications is yet saleable. After the logging contract is over another contract is entered into for the sorting out of the saleable timber, converting it into suitable logs and pieces and stacking in the compartment itself. The rate for this contract has to be quoted in terms of the percentage of the sale proceeds of the entire timber thus collected and the payment will be made by the Forest Department to the contractor after the timber is sold. If the remnant timber is of a better quality the contractor will quote a lower percentage of the sale proceeds as his payment and if the timber is inferior

he will have to quote a higher percentage. Usually the quotations may vary from 40 to 60% of the sale proceeds. But owing to competition the contractors are driven to quote lower percentages and in 1955-56 one contractor had secured a contract at 18% of the sale proceeds.

The contractor also has his own tricks of the trade for trying to increase his profits. If he has secured the contract on a higher percentage he will try to sort out and collect as much ^{of saleable quality} timber/as possible. In this case even if the timber of inferior quality were to fetch a lower price he would secure a higher percentage of that amount. On the other hand if he has secured a contract on a lower percentage he will try to sort out only timber of the superior quality so that the sale proceeds of the timber collected will be comparatively higher and his share, although calculated at a lower percentage would be adequate for the work turned out. Thus the practice of giving the remnant contract on the basis of the percentage of sale proceeds may sometimes lead to wastage of timber which would be a national loss.

No felling of trees is involved in this type of contract and the labourers are paid according to the number of logs or pieces prepared and not according to their cubic contents. The rate of payment to the labourer generally varied from Rs 15 to Rs 30 per hundred pieces and in the same compartment no distinction was made between different types of timber for the payment of labour charges.

(3) Clear Felling Contract: After the good timber is removed and the remnant pieces are collected the area sometimes may have to be cleared of all the remaining trees for the purpose of new plantation. Such work is called clear felling. Since the trees left over are not of good quality the timber procured from these trees will not be taken to the depot. All the same some of that timber may find demand in the market. All such timber is left to the contractor. In addition the contractor may collect as much firewood as he wants. All that the Forest Department stipulates is that the specified area should be cleared of all trees etc., and the contractor has to quote his terms for doing so. If the area contains

saleable timber and if he also feels that he can sell the firewood profitably on account of the convenient location of the forest so that his sale proceeds on the aggregate will be more than the cost of clearing the area, he may even offer to pay some amount to the Forest Department. In case there is little or no saleable timber and it is uneconomical to make use of the firewood, the Forest Department may pay him a subsidy.

In 1955-56, 538 acres of forest was clear-felled and burnt for the purpose of artificial regeneration. Except two plots of 64 acres and 60 acres which were got clear-felled and burnt on payment of subsidies to the contractors the rest of the areas fetched revenues. During the previous year 563 acres were clear-felled and burnt.

(4) Sleeper Making: Forest Department receives orders from the Railways every year for a large number of railway sleepers in broad gauge and metre gauge sizes. In 1955-56 the total number of sleepers to be supplied was 1,32,000 of which B.G. were 54,000 and M.G. 78,000. This number is not constant every year. Sometimes it may be as low as 30,000. The sleepers are prepared out of teak and superior varieties of junglewood such as matti and karimattal. The teak used is only of inferior variety as the superior varieties fetch high prices in the log. Almost all the sleepers are prepared in the Kanara Northern Division.

Some of the sleepers are prepared in the Government saw mill out of the unsaleable logs from the depot. But most of the sleepers are prepared by the skilled labourers in the forests. The work is carried out through forest contractors. In 1955-56 out of the total number of 1,32,000 a total of 1,11,770 were given out on contract.

The sleeper contract given out to forest contractors includes felling the marked trees, converting them into sleepers and delivering the sleepers at the Dandeli Depot. The rates are to be quoted per sleeper, the rates for broad gauge sleepers being always higher than those for metre gauge ones.

The forest contractors are also entrusted with other types of contracts not directly connected with the exploitation of timber.

Just before auction the timber logs collected in the depot are sorted out according to size, quality etc., and are stacked in convenient lots of wago loads and truck loads. This type of work is called lot-wari stacking and it is given out by the Forest Department on contract basis. The rates are quoted per khandy of timber. Similarly railway sleepers have to be stacked and their ends have to be smeared with cow dung as a protective measure. This work also is given out on contract basis. The rates in this case are quoted per 100 sleepers, broad gauge and metre gauge sleepers carrying different rates.

When the timber is sold by the Forest Department they have to give delivery of it by loading in the wagons at the railway station at Dandeli. So timber has to be transported from the depot to the railway siding and loaded into the wagons, which work is also entrusted to the contractors.

A forest contractor usually undertakes different types of contracts described above. Some types of contracts necessitate the maintenance of a regular staff throughout the season. Take for instance the work like loading wagons. The supply of wagons is unceftain. When actually the wagons are allotted the notice given is too short. Under these circumstances it is not possible to depend upon the casual labour. Therefore to maintain a regular staff a contractor tries to undertake several contracts at the same time so that the same loading workers for trucks may be assigned different duties at different times according to the urgency of the work.

The need felt for having several contracts at the same time so as to provide sufficient work throughout the season has increased competition among the contractors to unhealthy proportions. How the mind of a contractor works in trying to have a contract at any cost may be illustrated by the following case.

A contractor who quoted the reasonable rate for logging work in a compartment about five miles away from depot as Rs 7-50 nP per khandy which is a very conservative rate had actually undertaken a logging contract in a compartment about six miles away from the Dandeli depot on Rs 5-50 nP per khandy. Asked how he could work the contract at such a low rate he came out with this explanation. Prior to securing this contract he had entered into another contract of a different nature that of transporting the timber from the depot to the railway siding and loading into the wagons. For this purpose it was necessary for him to have loading labourers always at his disposal. But the work itself was not sufficient to maintain them continuously. Therefore it was essential for him to procure logging work and the only way to make such work sure was to quote very low rates. Moreover he was keen on securing a compartment comparatively closer to Dandeli so that it would be convenient to divert the loading workers for station loading at short notices.

A contractor cannot calculate his profit or loss in any one particular contract since the rates quoted for one piece of work is usually interlinked with the fulfilment of some other contract. So, in this connection he has to take into consideration all the contracts completed during a season.

The Conservator of Forests has discretionary powers in accepting or rejecting tenders irrespective of the rates quoted. He has to take into consideration various factors such as whether the contractor is capable of doing the work satisfactorily, his past record of work and so on. It is reported that in the past the discretion of the Conservator played an important part in giving the contracts. But latterly there have been a number of complaints from the contractors that favouritism was shown in giving out certain contracts. Therefore, in the past few years in order not to give any room for such complaints tenders were being accepted as a rule on the basis of the rates quoted, the person quoting the most favourable rates for Government receiving the contract unless that person was black-listed for his previous

bad record of work.

The system of calling tenders and giving the contract to the lowest bidder is fraught with certain disadvantages both for the Government and the contractors. Very often small contractors with the anxiety of securing at least some work submit tenders for more work than they are capable of accomplishing. If a contractor is capable of working, say, only two compartments he is inclined to submit tenders for four so that he may secure at least two. And if his rates happen to be the minimum he may secure all the four compartments. This may eventually result in his inability to complete the work in time and consequent inconvenience to the Department.

If a contractor fails to complete the work within the specified period he may be required to pay a penalty for default. In addition he has also to meet the expenses incurred by the Department towards the emoluments of the officials attached to the working compartments for the period of extension. In one case during the year 1954-55 a contractor who had undertaken felling and conversion contract of two compartments and had delayed the completion of work by two months was imposed a penalty of Rs 100 together with officials' emoluments of Rs 500 i.e., a total of Rs 600. If a contractor has good reasons for delaying the work the fine may be waived. On the other hand, if he is persistently in default, his name is blacklisted and his tenders for further contracts may be rejected on that ground.

Sometimes if a contractor finds that the rates charged by the labourers are too high he may postpone the work to a time when work is slack and labour charges are lower. But, of course, he will try to make sure that his saving in labour charges would outweigh the penalty which he might have to pay for delaying the work.

Regeneration and Preservation of Forests:

While the Forest Department carries out the work of exploitation of organised forests through the agency of the Forest Contractors, it undertakes directly by

engaging labourers a number of forest operations in connection with regeneration and preservation of the forests. The important among these works are as follows: (a) Plantation, (b) Cultural Operations, (c) fire protection, (d) thinning operations (e) marking poles for thinning operations, (f) marking of coupes and compartments, (g) repairs to roads and buildings and (h) collection of seeds.

These forest operations are carried out in the different ranges under the charge of the Range Forest Officers. The different forest operations take place at different parts of the year. For instance, the plantation work takes place at the beginning of the monsoons, the cultural operations start after the monsoons, the need for fire protection arises only during the summer season and so on. The labourers for each operation therefore are engaged separately. Soon after one operation is over they may be taken up for another operation but there is no guarantee of continuity of tenure.

Mechanical Extraction: The greater demand^d for timber generated by the First World War prompted the authorities to look out for fresh sources of timber. Some of the best teak timber was locked up in the huge valley known as the Nagzari valley in the Kanara Northern Division. But the area was for a long time looked upon as inexploitable for one reason that it was very far removed from railheads and timber markets so that transport was difficult, and for another that the timber from the valley had to be hauled up over long and steep slopes. The opening of the Alnavar Dandeli railway line brought the railhead much nearer the rich sources of timber and the introduction of mechanical traction opened up the possibilities of the transport being quicker. The Department, therefore, now thought of introducing mechanical devices for the extraction of timber from the valleys especially for the purpose of hauling.

Previously, timber from the negotiable slopes was dragged upwards with the help of elephants. This was a very costly process. An elephant, besides costing over Rs 2000 in those days, was very expensive to maintain. Moreover, it could not work on steep valleys such as the Nagzari valley.

The Forest Department now has two sets of mechanical skidding equipment which can haul logs up to three tons in weight over the slopes of as much as 50 and from a range of 1700 feet. The hauling of timber through mechanical appliances is very useful. The skidders not only make possible for Government to secure revenue from forests which yielded nothing before but also render the cost of extraction of timber from these difficult areas even cheaper than the rates charged by contractors in very much easier localities.

Apart from the technical operators a team of about 20 labourers is also engaged for the working of each skidder.

Exploitation of Mineral Resources:

The Kanara Northern Division has not only the richest stand of timber but also the richest deposits of manganese ore in that region. However, great caution is taken in granting licences to the miners in view of the fact that the area consists of valuable teak. Usually licences are granted in the unorganised forests and that too in areas where the growth of timber is not quite rich. In the organised forests only poor timber yielding areas are leased out. With all these restrictions there is sufficient scope for manganese ore mining at present.

The working of manganese mines round about Dandeli was commenced for the first time in 1924. The Tilve Industrial Mining Enterprises, the Nagri Mining Company (Private) Ltd., and M/S Killick Nickson were among the pioneer concerns and the first two are still operating.

The areas for mining or prospecting are leased out for certain periods under stipulated conditions. The mining lessee has to pay the rate of Rs 10 per acre or 7½ per cent of the pit mouth value of the ore mined, whichever is higher. For the areas where mining has been completed a rent of Rs 2 per acre per annum is charged.

In the beginning the terms and conditions were more generous for the mine owners. For instance in 1924 the royalty per ton realised by Government was only 3½ annas owing to reduction

in the selling rate of ore. Subsequently the royalty came to be calculated on a percentage basis of the pit mouth value of the ore. For some years up to 1955 it was 5% of the pit mouth value and was raised to 7½% in 1956. Owing to large quantities of ore mined and good prices realised the earning of the Forest Department on account of mining leases have become quite considerable in recent years. In 1954-55 it was Rs1,20,340 in the Kanara Northern Division.

Since the manganese ore mined here was entirely for export to the foreign markets, the profits of the industry have depended upon the export prices. In 1924 the F.O.B. price for the first grade ore of about 46 to 48% was Rs 40 per ton. Since then the prices showd a downward trend and in 1929-30 it was as low as Rs 22 per ton which was more or less equal to the cost of production at the time. In 1936 the prices improved and in 1937 the F.O.B. price was Rs 50 per ton. The industry was closed from 1940 to 1946 due to restrictions on exports consequent upon the Second World War. In 1947, when the industry started again, the F.O.B. price was Rs 100 per ton. The price has gone on increasing ever since subject to temporary fluctuations which took rather a serious turn in 1953. At the time of the study in 1956 the prices were very attractive, about Rs 165 per ton F.O.B. of first grade ore.

In the beginning on account of scarcity of labour and transport difficulties the quantity of ore mined was quite meagre. It was 780, 1743 and 6732 tons in 1924, 1925 and 1926 respectively. The mining activity has expanded considerably after the second World War. In recent years the Forest Department has been receiving a large number of applications for mining leases and prospecting licences. In 1954-55 in the Kanara Northern Division alone there were 25 mining leases and 93 prospecting licences covering an area of 40,768 acres and in 1955-56 these figures rose to 62 mining leases, 107 prospecting licences and 52,563 acres under mining. Usually a single mining concern holds both the mining lease and the prospecting licence and more than one of each kind. Therefore the number of concerns working in the area is smaller than what is indicated by the actual numbers of leases and licences.

According to information obtained from the Bombay State Mine Owners' Association in all 28 mining concerns were operating during the first half of 1956 in the North Kanara and the Belgaum districts. It was estimated that over 25,000 labourers were working under these concerns. However, only three concerns had their mines round about Dandeli in a radius of about 15 miles. They were (1) Nagari Mining Company, (2) Tilve Mining Enterprises and (3) Western India Trading Company. The bulk of the ore mined by these concerns was brought to Dandeli from where it was further transported to Bombay.

Animal and Motor Transport:

The problem of transport originally arose in connection with the exploitation of timber. Next to the problem of labour for the conversion of trees into timber and fuel the other important problem is the transportation of material to the timber depots and timber markets. Initially the timber was transported by carts drawn by bullocks and buffaloes. This was done mainly through the agency of the carting contractors.

Before the opening of the Alnavar-Dandeli railway timber had to be transported by cart over long distances to railheads at Alnavar and Tavargatti. Naturally, a large number of carts were necessary for this operation. The contractors alone were unable to meet these requirements. So in 1915 the Department established a number of cart depots under its control at several places in the Southern Circle. The cart depot for the Kanara Northern Division was situated at Dandeli.

Soon the Department started experimenting with mechanical transport. But the regular use of trucks for the transportation was introduced just before the Second World War. By that time the role of bullock carts in the transportation of timber had been greatly reduced. It was taken away completely after the cessation of the War. Now the bullock carts confine themselves to the transportation of other types of material such as firewood, bamboos, bricks, road metal etc.

At present there is a very heavy demand for trucks not only for the transportation of timber, but also for shifting manganese ore from the mines to the railhead at Dandeli. For the transportation

of timber, trucks are maintained by the Department and the forest contractors. For carrying manganese ore the mine owners in addition to their own fleet of trucks also hire them from private owners.

The Alnavar Dandeli Railway:

As already mentioned, the Alnavar-Dandeli railway was constructed in 1917-18 for the purpose of exploiting the rich forest products from the interior of the Kanara Northern Division. Up to that time the timber from this area had to be transported to the Alnavar or Tavargatti railway stations by bullock carts for further transportation by rail. The importance of the extension of the railway line from Alnavar to Dandeli, a distance of 19 miles into the interior of the Kanara forests, cannot be overemphasised for the exploitation of high forests which were formerly inaccessible. The cost of construction of the railway, a sum of Rs 5,33,519 was borne by the Forest Department which owns the railway. However, the management of the railway and the upkeep of the lines was entrusted to the then Madras and Southern Maratha Railways which now forms part of the Southern Railway. The railway was opened for traffic on 1.2.1919.

This metre extension line is constructed with 40 lbs. rails as against the 60 lbs. rails of the main line. Consequently the axle load on this line is 8 tons as against 16 tons on the main line. Only small engines of the FM class type are operated on this line. These engines haul about 180 tons in the fair season and 120 tons during the monsoon, whereas the engines operated on the main line are capable of hauling 400 tons.

At the time of this investigation two FM class engines were operating on this line. One of these engines/^{was}also employed for shunting purposes at Alnavar station. And so only one was fully available and the other was partly so for hauling work on the line. Moreover the line itself was being worked on a one engine system, the charge of the engine lying with the Station Master at Alnavar. Accordingly, ^{the previous train must return} before any train can proceed from Alnavar to Dandeli. Under various limitations the train from Alnavar to Dandeli took about 2 hours 15 minutes to cover

nts.

a distance of 19 miles. Allowing about an hour and a half for the halt at Dandeli, the train from Alnavar took about 6 hours to return to the same place.

Further, in order to make the best use of both the engines, the two should be used for one train since only one train can be on the line at any time. When only one engine was used the train was attached with 6 wagons, 3 passenger coaches and a water tank. With double engines, the number of passenger coaches and water tank being the same as above, 16 wagons could be attached.

The train timings were scheduled for only twice a week, each time once a day. But when traffic was more heavy the trains were run/^{not}only every day but even twice a day. At the time of investigation there was a heavy rush of traffic and the trains used to run twice every day, and one of the two trips was usually with double engines. Thus between 12 and 22 wagons a day used to be cleared every day. The number of wagons dispatched was however not regular on account of shortage of wagons.

Initially the Alnavar Dandeli line was intended primarily for the transport of forest products like timber and bamboos. For this limited purpose the capacity of the railway was quite adequate although, during the Second World War, it had to be worked to its fullest extent.

Though the traffic in timber itself increased, with the commencement of mining in the area, manganese ore became an important element in railway transport. But the traffic in manganese ore has not been steady over the years and much of the fluctuation in the railway receipts can be attributed to the fluctuation in the quantity of ore transported. In recent years the output of manganese ore round about Dandeli has reached huge proportions thus adding considerably to the earnings of the railway.

The starting of the plywood factory was yet another factor augmenting the railway traffic. The ferro-manganese factory and the paper and pulp factory, which were under construction at the time of this study were also expected to add greatly to this traffic. It was estimated that the finished products of the ferro-

manganese factory alone would require about 100 wagons per month.

It is clear that the present arrangement in the Alnavar Dandeli railway is inadequate for the rapidly increasing traffic. Apart from the limitations of the line and running system, the railway is unable to cope with the traffic owing to the acute shortage of wagons. For instance, for 5 months from the beginning of January to the end of May 1955, 248 trips were made clearing 1703 wagons. This works out to on an average 1.6 trips per day and 6.8 wagons per trip approximately. Thus, despite great demand, the railway could not be worked to its full capacity owing to the shortage of empty wagons. If sufficient number of wagons and engines were made available the trains can be made at least three trips per day as was being done during the period of the Second World War.

Economic Activities Centred in Dandeli:

The various economic activities centred in Dandeli are related to either the collection and disposal of raw materials exploited round about the region or to the processing of these materials. Most of the timber extracted and the manganese ore mined are brought to Dandeli from where they are transported to other parts. Raw timber is exported in the shape of logs, scantlings and poles, and a large quantity of bamboos is also sent out. At the time of this study a saw mill was run by the Forest Department and a plywood manufacturing factory was owned by a private limited concern which processed a portion of the timber exploited from the area. A large paper and pulp factory which was under construction was expected to process huge quantities of bamboos which were practically wasted in the forest. While the entire quantity of manganese ore was exported a ferro-manganese factory was being constructed for processing a part of it.

Apart from being the centre of various economic activities, Dandeli also exerts direct influence over the lumbering and the mining operations in the forest round about. Most of the

forest contractors who undertake the timber extraction work for the Department reside in Dandeli and direct their work from there. The labourers who are engaged for such work first come to Dandeli and then go to their place of work. As soon as work in one place is completed they proceed to some other place through Dandeli. Their provisions are supplied from Dandeli. It is the same case with the mining labourers. Dandeli is the place through which these people pass and from where they disperse.

The main units of economic activities in Dandeli may be briefly described so as to indicate the volume of work involved.

The Government Forest Depot:

The Government Forest Depot run by the Forest Department is under the charge of the Depot Officer. The Depot Officer has a large number of duties. First and foremost he is in charge of all the timber that is brought inside the Depot. Only the timber from teak and other superior varieties of woods is brought to the depot. The timber that is brought to the depot is first checked as to the specifications and the logs, pieces, scantlings and poles are sorted out according to their species and qualities and stacked separately. The stacking is done with the aid of labourers and buffaloes. This work is mostly given out on contract.

The Depot Officer is also in charge of the sleepers that are prepared in the jungle and brought to the depot. He has to take all the necessary precautions for the protection and preservation of the timber that is stacked in the depot. This work consists chiefly of clearing and sweeping the stacking area from time to time and keeping a watch over the timber.

Some impression regarding the nature of the responsibility of the Depot Officer could be gained from a perusal of Table 10 which shows an account of the timber that passed through his charge during the years 1954-55.

Just before the auction sales the timber that is selected for sale has to be separated and stacked in lots of wagon loads and truck loads. This type of work is known as lot-vari

Account of timber in the Dandeli Depot
received and disposed of during 1954-55.

Description of material	Balance at the beginning of the year cft.	Received during the year cft.	Disposed during the year cft.
Teak logs	241034	95484	217317
Teak pieces	135571	62515	155146
Teak poles	12998	13482	24846
Sissum logs	24000	2261	33011
Sissum pieces	61594	182	23051
Junglewood logs	508114	17891	291686
Junglewood pieces	132240	15273	117455
Junglewood poles	11	-	-
Teak sawn wood	124980	108282	102830
Teak sleepers	27	5388	426
Junglewood sawn	7954	12931	5894
B.G. sleepers	27963	120705	135871
M.G. sleepers	32628	106693	38386
Total	13,19,134	5,61,087	11,95,919

Source: Records of the Government Forest Depot, Dandeli.

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stacking. This work too is given out on a piece rate basis. These auction sales are usually held twice a year.

It is also the responsibility of the Depot Officer to see to it that the timber that is sold from the Depot is delivered to the buyers at their places. This involves the work of procurement of railway wagons at the Dandeli station and loading the timber to the wagons. The work of loading the timber also is given out on contract.

Finally the Depot Officer has the entire Depot area under his administrative control. He is in charge of all the Government buildings and roads in the area, the sanitary arrangements, supervision of the plots given out on hangami lagan lease and the general supervision of the whole area.

The Jai Hind Mills:

The saw mill in Dandeli is also owned by the Forest Department was started during the first World War.

Before that and even afterwards for some time several small portable mills used to be worked by the Forest Department which set them up in various forest areas where the trees were felled and from where only the sawn material was found to be economical for being transported to Dandeli for sale. Generally speaking it does not pay to cut up logs of valuable timber which have good market as they are. So only such material which would hardly pay for exploiting in the log for distant markets, such as short end pieces, branch-wood of teak or less valuable timbers for which it was difficult to find a ready sale in the depots used to be sawn by these mills. During the war the Department began to receive indents for superior sawn material and Dandeli being one of the main depots a large size mill was started here.

Eventually the portable mills from the forest were shifted to Dandeli and for some time worked in four different mill units. In 1948 all these units were grouped together under one establishment which is known as the Jai Hind Saw Mills, Dandeli.

The Mill is run on steam power derived from a 110 H.P. horizontal steam engine. The fuel used for the generation of steam is supplied by the off-cuts and saw-dust obtained in the mill itself and in this respect the mill is self-sufficient. Because of this, even though electricity is now available from the Electric Grid Sub-station, the authorities are not thinking of replacing the steam power.

The mill is equipped with six saw benches ^d and an automatic log haul. The layout of the mill is so organised that all raw material comes in at the log depot end and passing straight through the mill goes out, after conversion towards the seasoning sheds.

The mill has a capacity to take about 15 tons of 50 cft. each, of round timber per shift per day. With bigger sizes of logs it can take even up to about 25 tons. Daily between 12 to 15 tons of raw timber are used and its capacity is almost fully

utilised for one shift a day. The bulk of the timber sawn is teak, but the mill also takes other important Indian hardwoods such as sissum, matti, handi etc. Generally between 30% and 35% of teak and between 50% and 60% of other wood goes waste. Since much of the timber used is teak, on the whole about 40% of the intake is wasted.

The mill intended primarily for sawing (a) timber specially indented by Central and State Governments, the Defence Department, Railways etc., and (b) inferior type of logs which do not fetch good price in the round form. With these limited objectives it has not been felt necessary for the mill to run on more than one shift per day. The material that is sawn and not supplied against indents is sold by public auctions usually twice a year. In 1954-55 out of a total sawn outturn of 2575 tons, 500 tons of teak sawn timber were supplied against indents to the various Government agencies.

All the sawn material produced in the mill is stored in the sawn timber yard in convenient lots with due precautions to avoid warping and splitting. Most of the material is stored in the Air Seasoning Sheds. There are nine such large sheds.

In order to protect the sawn timber against accidental fires a special fire fighting unit is maintained. It consists of a mobile van with a trailer attached with a powerful suction pump and high pressure hose pipes, and an adequate tank at a central place in the neighbourhood of sawn timber storage sheds.

There is also a small Seasoning Kiln to cater to the needs of those indenters who require scientifically and accurately seasoned material. Since its capacity is too small a new seasoning kiln having a capacity of 20 tons has been sanctioned by the Government.

Some of the Indian hardwoods which deteriorate or are attacked by white ants, need to be treated with various preservatives. For this purpose there is a hot Creosote Treatment Tank. Installation of a pressure treatment plant of a suitable type is under consideration.

Since the mill is situated away from industrial towns it needs to have independent arrangements for repairs and supply of engineering stores. It is therefore provided with a saw shop, a work shop and an engineering stores depot.

The employees working in the saw mill and Wood Preservation Division are broadly divided into two categories: (a) those who do manual work and are included under "labour" and (b) those who normally do no manual work and are included under "establishment". Category (a) is subdivided into 2 further groups, one consisting of unskilled labourers and the other comprising skilled workers such as sawyers, operators, fitters, benchmen, splicers, drivers, firemen, turners, welders, molders, sewerers, brazers and grinders. The unskilled labourers are engaged entirely on a temporary basis and are paid on muster rolls. The skilled workers are employed on work-charged or semi-permanent basis and ^{are} not entitled to earned and casual leave the skilled workers get these benefits. In January 1956 the total strength of unskilled labourers and skilled workers was 146 of whom 40 were women who were all unskilled labourers.

The employees included under "establishment" numbering in all 15 are taken up on a permanent basis and they are entitled to Government pension.

The unskilled labourers were paid a fixed monthly basic salary of Rs 30 and dearness allowance of Rs 30. Until 1956 all employees of the Forest Department working in Kanara and some other parts were given a bad climate allowance which amounted to Rs 5 in the case of those drawing a salary of less than Rs 50 and Rs 15 in the case of those drawing more than Rs 50. Thus the total emoluments of these labourers just before the bad climate allowance was stopped were Rs 65 per month. A notable feature of the salaries of the unskilled labourers is that both male and female labourers are paid the same rate of wages. This practice was started in 1947. The skilled workers were given salary grades.

The most common scale of pay was Rs 46-3-70 exclusive of all allowances. The dearness allowance in this case was Rs 45.

Among the unskilled labourers who also comprise women there were very few instances in which both husband and wife were engaged. Before 1950 many of the unskilled labourers represented husband and wife pairs. But during the heavy retrenchment that took place in 1950, such pairs were affected. Where the man was retained, the wife was retrenched and where the woman was retained, the husband was retrenched so that less hardship was caused to the family. Such an arrangement was easy to make because the wages of male and female labourers were equal.

The skilled operatives in the mill are selected from among the experienced labourers. No training is given to such people. In 1945, however, when a new type of machinery was introduced, such as a 7-inches Robinson Band Mill and a 5-inches Band Resaw, specially trained operatives from Malabar were recruited. In the retrenchment that took place in 1950 many of these new recruits were discharged on the principle "last come, first to go". By that time the older operatives had learnt the techniques of handling the new machinery.

The unskilled and skilled workers were neither entitled to pension nor provided with gratuity benefits. Some of them contributed to the general provident fund without the matching contribution by the Government. The workers, however, had to retire at the age of 55.

When the mill showed a profit the workers were paid a bonus amounting to a month's basic salary. The bonus was paid up to 1953 and the payment for the subsequent years was under consideration.

Among workers, only the skilled workers who were appointed on work-charged basis, were entitled to 15 days earned leave for every completed year and 15 days casual leave. The leave regulations of the unskilled labourers were governed by the Factory Act.

The Indian Plywood Manufacturing Company Ltd.

This company was formed in the year 1943. A Polish refugee by name M. Kleinberg with the help of some financiers from Bombay was responsible for its organisation. The Government of Bombay leased out to the company a disforested plot of

61.5 acres in Dandeli at 4 annas per acre for 40 years and granted concession for the same period for the extraction of soft jungle-woods for the purposes of manufacturing veneers and plywood and accessories necessary for making plywood containers or other finished or semi-finished plywood articles. The concession area is spread over the Gund, Virnoli, Kulgi, Sambrani and Dandeli ranges of the Kanara Northern Division and amounts to 2,20,363 acres. The company has also leased in a plot of one acre at Rs 40 per year for a godown near the Dandeli railway station. The production was started in 1945. Towards the end of that year the concern was taken up by Killicks Nixon & Co., which was also operating a manganese mining industry near Dandeli. This company too managed the plywood industry for a few years and sold the concern to its present owners M/S Vissanji Sons & Co.

The company is a Private Limited concern. As on 30th June 1955 it had an authorised and paid up capital of Rs 15 lakhs, incurred capital expenditure of about Rs 23 lakhs and a working capital of about Rs 9 lakhs.

This factory is one of the two biggest units in the country manufacturing plywood, the other being the Western India Plywood Manufacturing Company in Kerala. It is approved by the Development Wing of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India. The installed capacity as assessed by the Department of Government of India is 7,50,000 sq. ft. in terms of 3 ply - 4 mm. per 8-hour shift per month. If the factory works in three shifts the installed capacity is 22,50,000 square ft. per month, or roughly about 250,00,000 per annum. But the actual production is very much less. It was the highest in 1954-55 being about 55,00,000 sq. ft. per annum. The production figures for the year 1953-54 and 1952-53 were 31,00,000 and 36,00,000 sq. ft. respectively.

According to the assessed capacity of the plant the factory requires about 8,500 tons of timber per annum. It obtains most of its timber requirements from the forests leased to it on concession. Although this area is quite vast it does not contain the quantity of timber required by the company. The species of

wood which the company is permitted to take out are only those classified as soft junglewoods. Moreover, only those of the trees marked out by the Forest Department on the Working Plans basis may be felled every year. Such trees yield hardly 3000 to 3500 tons of timber annually. The factory has been trying to obtain timber from distant places like Malabar and Madhya Pradesh. But the quantity has to be restricted owing to the cost of transport of this heavy raw material over long distances and also because of the fact that while timber from the concession area is procured by paying only a royalty which amounts to a small sum that from other sources has to be purchased at the prevailing market prices. Thus the factory has never been able to obtain sufficient quantity of raw material.

In addition to the softwood which is the main raw material, superior timbers like teak and rosewood are also required but in small quantities. This material cannot be obtained at concession rates and has to be purchased at prevailing market rates.

The inadequate supplies of raw material therefore has been the main reason for the lower production.

The requirements of the company for more timber, however, could very well be met from the timber available in the North Kanara district itself. According to expert opinion, there is ample raw material available in the Kanara forests to feed even three large plywood factories. As a matter of fact, for a few years in the past, from 1945 to 194⁵³, another plywood company called the Karnatak Industrial Plywood Company, located at Dharwar, also used to be fed with raw material from the Kanara forests. That company however has stopped working. The Dandeli plywood company therefore has been negotiating with the Government for either allotting an extended area to it or otherwise to make more species of timber available from their concessional area.

About 50% of the raw material used is wasted. Some of this waste material is used as fuel for boilers and for preparing packing cases. Some of it is taken by the employees for fuel. Whatever is left over is burnt. According to the management better use of the waste material could be made by starting a Chipboard industry as

a by-product. Such a step was under contemplation.

Lines of Production: The main lines of production of this factory are (1) commercial plywood of all types required by the commercial markets, (2) plywood required by the Defence Department of Government of India like marine quality, aircraft quality etc., (3) decorative plywood, teak and rosewood faced, required by the commercial market (4) plywood for export - commercial and decorative, (5) blockboards and flush doors for the commercial market.

Marketing of Plywood: The plywood produced in this factory is supplied to places all over India particularly Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Calcutta, Karnatak and Saurashtra. In the country this company has been the main supplier of the Defence requirements of the Government of India. In recent years the company has been able to build up an export market for plywood in England and the Middle East. Before World War II India was importing the bulk of its requirements of plywood from the European countries mostly through England. After the war the Government of India gave tariff protection to the home industry and the industry has now reached the stage of exporting Indian plywood. The sales of the company during the past years are summarised in Table 11.

Table 11

Sale of finished products of the Indian Plywood Manufacturing Company Ltd.

Type of buyers	Y e a r							
	1952		1953		1954		1955	
	Quantity (000sq')	Value (000 Rs)	Quantity (000 sq')	Value (000 Rs)	Quantity (000sq')	Value (000 Rs)	Quantity (000sq')	Value (000 Rs)
Private Agencies	2197	970	1488	890	1566	576	2419	865
Railways	-	-	-	-	530	200	661	250
Other Govt. Depts.	1471	600	888	500	1040	400	680	250
Exports to foreign countries	-	-	178	100	400	150	570	200
Total	3668	1570	2554	1490	3536	1326	4330	1565

Source: Records of the Indian Plywood Manufacturing Company Ltd.

Works and Workers: The manufacturing of plywood involves different types of operations ranging from the supply of raw materials to the packing of finished products. Some of these operations like

felling and logging work, debarking of logs and shifting the waste veneers are given out on a contract basis. The other operations are performed by workers employed directly by the factory. These operations may be divided into two categories; (a) Activities having a direct bearing upon the manufacture of plywood such as the processes of peeling, drying, veneer-jointing, glueing and pressing, sizing and sorting, and the generation of steam and power necessary for the working of the entire factory. These operations have to be repeated for each shift. (b) Other ancillary activities which come under the heads of loading and transporting logs of wood, cross-cutting the logs according to suitable sizes, crate making, packing, Wood Working Shop, Fitters Shop Laboratory, Garage, Store, General Administration and the performance of odd types of jobs. All these operations are carried on only during the general shift. The employees engaged in activities of category (b) are said to work on general shift and those engaged in operations of category (a) are said to work on first, second or third shifts.

According to the existing pattern of work, when the factory works in the general and first shift it requires about 175 employees under category (b) and 96 employees under category (a). If the factory also works on the 2nd shift then an additional batch of 81 persons is necessary so that when the factory runs in full swing on all the three shifts the company can engage a total number of 433 persons. However, the second and third shifts may not run with the full complement of workers. These figures do not take into account the workers engaged by the contractors for the forest operations and for some types of jobs in the factory.

Actually in December 1955 when the factory was running on two shifts the company had 337 persons on its pay roll. Of these 215 were unskilled labourers, 19 semi-skilled workers including cleaners of trucks, office boys and watchmen, 66 skilled workers including machine operatives, drivers and chargehands, 14 supervisors and 23 others who included clerks, foresters, assistant foremen and higher technical personnel, the doctor, compounder, accountant and secretary.

The company engages workers of both sexes. But the number

of women workers as compared to men is very small. In December 1955 out of 337 persons on the company's pay roll only 36 were women. The disparity between the numbers of male and female employees is due to various reasons. All the women workers of the company are unskilled labourers. Even in unskilled work the women have to be given the lighter types of work which automatically restricts the scope for female employment. Here again the women are excluded from the night shift. Finally, some types of work such as shifting waste veneers etc., is entrusted to the contractors and the women employed by them are not included in the company's pay roll.

Wages and Salaries: The following are the wage rates and salary grades of the common jobs in the Plywood Company as prevailing in January 1956:

Among the unskilled labourers, some receive their pay on a monthly basis and the others on daily rates. The wage rates of male and female workers are different. The wages of males employed on monthly basis ranged from Rs 40 to Rs 53 and those of female workers on the same basis ranged from Rs 23 to Rs 35 per month. The daily wage rates were Re. 1-37 nP to Re. 1-75 nP for males and Re. 0-75 nP to Re. 1-00 nP for females. The loading labourers were paid more as their work was harder. They had a daily wage rate of Rs 2 to Rs 2-50 nP per day. If they made more than two trips a day they were paid Re. 1-50⁵ nP for each additional trip.

The charge hands and operatives including engine drivers, peeler operators, boiler attendants, fitters, senior carpenters etc., were paid monthly salaries varying between Rs 40 and Rs 140 a month. The wages of a few who were engaged on daily rates ranged from Rs 2 to Rs 4 per day.

The drivers received a salary ranging from Rs 55 to Rs 81 and the cleaners received about half this amount.

The monthly salary of supervisors varied from Rs 53 to Rs 80.

All the above categories of employees and a few other categories like office boys, watchmen, forest guards, foresters, etc. did not have any fixed grades and increments were based on length of service and efficiency. The clerical, executive and higher technical

personnel had regular grades. The grade for clerks and assistant foremen was Rs 80-5-120 EB 6-150-7½-245. The higher officers like the accountant, the secretary and the foreman were in the grade of Rs 200 to Rs 400. There was no provision for the payment of dearness allowance. However, quarters for the employees were supplied but no rent was charged.

About the middle of the year 1956 the salaries of all employees were raised. The salaries of all labourers who were paid on the monthly basis were raised by six rupees. The daily wages of those who had put in a service of more than a year were raised by 4 annas in the case of male and 3 annas in the case of female labourers. These increases in salary came into force after the General Family Schedules were filled in and so they are not reflected in the analysed data. The company contributes to the workers' Compensation Insurance thus covering all accidents to its workers.

The company instituted a Provident Fund in January 1954 according to which an employee has to contribute one anna per rupee of his salary and the Company makes an equal contribution. No other gratuity is admissible on retirement. In 1954-55 the Company paid a bonus of one month's salary to those who had completed one year's service.

The other facilities provided by the Company to its employees include a dispensary under the charge of a qualified Health Officer and a Primary School for the education of the children of employees and assistance to the employees to form themselves into a multi-purpose cooperative society, which in addition to providing credit facilities runs a provision store, a grain shop, a canteen, a Library etc. The success of this cooperative society whose activities are described elsewhere is due primarily to the keen interest taken by the Company's management.

Leave Rules: The workers who include labourers and operatives, chagemen, drivers etc., are entitled to leave facilities according to Section 79 of Factories Act of 1948. The supervisors are entitled to privilege leave of 15 days and casual leave of 5 days, the clerical staff to a privilege leave of 21 days and casual leave of

7 days and the officers to a privilege leave of one month and a casual leave of 7 days.

West Coast Paper Mills Ltd.

In 1951-52, M/S West Coast Paper Mills Ltd., were authorised by the Government to set up a pulp and paper factory at Dandeli. The company was incorporated in March 1955 with an authorised capital of Rs 5 crores of which rupees one crore and sixty lakhs were to be issued. A loan of one crore of rupees had been secured from the Industrial Finance Corporation of India. The factory was to have an installed capacity for the output of 60 tons of paper per day. It was expected to go into production in 1958.

Dandeli is ideally situated for the location of the pulp and paper factory. The area around Dandeli has large resources of bamboos and it is estimated that even an area within a radius of only 10 miles from the site is sufficient to supply continuously on a sustained yield basis the necessary quantity of bamboos for a daily output of 100 tons of paper. The river Kali flowing nearby provides a perennial abundant source of water essential for a paper factory. The discharge from the factory can also flow back into the river after necessary treatment. The Jog-Karnatak Electric Grid Sub Station which is situated at Dandeli can supply the necessary electric power. Moreover, the place also has adequate transportation facilities being both a terminus on the metre gauge branch of the Southern Railways and a centre of a number of motorable roads.

By an agreement dated the 13th August 1955 the Government of Bombay granted to the company necessary concessions for the extraction of bamboos for a period of 30 years from a sufficiently vast area. Seven compartments in all are reserved for the purpose on a royalty at Rs 3-12 nP per ton of paper or pulp going out of the factory subject to certain revisions. The company had also acquired the lease or occupancy rights for 200 acres of land for the construction of a factory building and colony on such terms and conditions as might be prescribed by the Government.

At the time of the study the work of clearing the factory site was completed and the preparations were under way for

the construction of the factory building.

Apart from managerial, clerical, supervisory and technical personnel, the paper factory, when completed/^{was} expected to employ about 2000 labourers at the factory site and another 2000 in the forest. The persons working in the factory would be housed at the factory site and thus a large colony would develop.

The Electro-Metallurgical Works Private Ltd:

During the year under study the construction work of the building for a ferro-manganese factory was completed. The concern under the name of Electro-Metallurgical Works Private Ltd., is owned by Shri Lalbhai Patel who also owns the Nagri Mining Co. Private Ltd., the largest mining concern in the area. The factory was scheduled to go into production in November, 1956.

Hitherto, all the manganese ore that was mined around Dandeli was being exported. The export of lower grades of ore is less profitable. While it fetches a lower price the transportation cost remains the same as that incurred on high grade ore. Moreover the very low grade of ore is wasted as it is not economical to export it. These lower grades of ore, however, contain a good percentage of iron ore and thus they are ideal for the manufacture of ferro-manganese. The ferro-manganese factory at Dandeli would utilise such low grade ore. This was expected to give a great fillip to the manganese ore mining industry in this area. The mining concerns can export their higher grades of ore and sell the lower grades to the ferro-manganese factory at more attractive prices. Even the hitherto unutilisable grades of ore would now be used.

Initially the ferro-manganese factory would utilize about 25,000 tons of ore producing about 12,000 tons of finished product. It was also contemplated to expand the plant when more electricity was made available. The 25,000 tons of ore required by the factory would be in addition to the quantity required for export the demand for which is on the increase. Therefore the mining activities in the area would have to be stepped up.

The factory would work in three shifts and would engage

about 500 labourers in addition to about 50 technical personnel.

As in the case of the paper factory, the employees of the ferro-manganese factory would be housed at the factory site. Moreover, the central office of the Nagri Mining Co. Private Ltd., which was situated during the fair season at Chipoli at a distance of 13 miles from Dandeli and transferred to Londa during the rainy season, was expected to be shifted permanently to this site.

The Electric Grid Sub-station:

The Electric Grid Sub-station of the Bombay Electricity Board started functioning on the 24th of May 1955 supplying electricity obtained from the Jog Falls. It has an installed capacity of 10,000 K.V.A. and 110,000 volts. At present, owing to lack of demand only half the capacity is connected.

The main equipment of the sub-station consists of (a) two step-down transformers from 110,000 volts to 11,000 volts of which one is in service and the other is spare, (b) a station transformer of 50 K.V.A. capacity and (c) six oil circuit breakers of 11 K.V. and 600 amperes capacity.

The rates for the supply of electricity are as follows:

Starting from 150 K.V.A. of maximum demand up to 250 K.V.A. at Rs 9 per K.V.A.

For the next 250 K.V.A. at Rs 7-50 nP per K.V.A.

For the next 500 K.V.A. at Rs 6.00 nP per K.V.A.

In excess of 1000 K.V.A. at Rs 4-50 nP per K.V.A.

In addition to the above the energy charges are at 0.6 anna per unit for the first 150 units per K.V.A. of billing demand, 0.45 anna per unit for the next one lakh units and 0.3 anna per unit for any quantity above that. There is also electricity duty at the rate of 0.5 anna per unit.

The Indian Plywood Manufacturing Company was the first to use electricity from the sub-station commencing from the 6th of November, 1955. It has placed a contract demand for 300 K.V.A

although up to May 1956 it was consuming only about 50 K.V.A. But its requirements had gone on increasing every month from 8350 units in November, 1955 to 27,790 units in May, 1956.

The next to take advantage of the electricity supply from the Electric Grid Sub-station was the Ferro-manganese Factory which started receiving the current from the 12th June 1956. The Ferro-manganese Factory had still not gone into production. Its requirement of electricity from the time of its going into operation would be 4500 K.V.A.

The paper factory had not taken the electricity connection until the conclusion of the study but arrangements were being made to have the connection. It had placed a contract demand of 1500 K.V.A. which would be necessary when it goes into production.

The Forest Department had plans of electrifying the buildings in the forest colony. On account of the slow movement of Government machinery they had not been able to utilise the electricity even after more than a year of establishment of the Electric Grid Sub-station.

The residences, shops and offices of the other agencies situated in the Depot area on land leased on the basis of hangami lagan were not likely to be permitted to be electrified by the Forest Department because they are supposed to be temporary and katcha constructions and also because the Forest Department was trying eventually to shift them to the proposed township.

people prefer these because in that case they need not give up their homes permanently. On the other hand it is not economical for people coming from long distances to take up seasonal jobs and go back to their native places after working for a few months. That is why among the unskilled labourers who have settled down permanently in Dandeli we find many coming from distant places.

Trading:

Trading in Dandeli may be better understood if studied against the background of four main characteristics. These are (1) the urban character of the village in which all the occupations are non-agricultural, (2) the cash nature of incomes, (3) the seasonal variation in the population of the village and its surrounding area and (4) the immigrant character of the population all of which are discussed elsewhere.

Nature and Growth of Trade: The demand at Dandeli has two principal features namely (1) it is entirely in cash and (2) it is mainly seasonal. Almost all types of traders, with the exception of some grocers reported doing business strictly in cash only. Those who reported having credit accounts placed their credit sales between 15 and 20 percent of their total turnover. None, however, reported had debts. It may be recalled here that two grocery shops run by the two cooperative societies, the Forest Department Employees' Cooperative and plywood factory employees' cooperative allow the members to buy on credit during the month. The societies then prepare a detailed list of the dues of every employee, and send it to the disbursing officer of the Forest Department and the management of the plywood factory respectively. Salaries and wages are paid only after deducting the dues. Thus the recovery of the arrears of these two grocery shops is secured. This however has a peculiar effect on the general traders, who are approached by these employees only after they have reached the maximum limit of credit purchases. The traders know that the dues of the society shops have a prior claim on the salaries of wages and that the employees actually receive a very small portion of their salaries in cash. They therefore are unwilling to sell on credit as they are aware of the inability of these

employees to pay their arrears.

During the busy season when large contingents of labour come to Dandeli to work as contractors' or mining labour the traders have to deal in cash only. This labour is imported from a number of places in the surrounding districts and as such is not known to the traders. Credit is usually allowed only to the local contractors and Government Officers who are well known to the traders. Some of the labourers of the contractors are allowed credit only at the bidding of their employers and the dues are collected directly from the employers themselves. Hence the total absence of bad debts in Dandeli.

The seasonal character of demand is due to the influx of labour mainly imported by the Forest contractors and the mining concerns. It is mostly employed on sites of work in the interior within a radius of 10 to 15 miles around Dandeli and purchases its weekly supplies from the Dandeli market. The consequent increase in demand and trading activity is reflected in two ways. Firstly, almost all traders reported that the monthly volume of trade during the fair season was twice or more than that during the monsoons. Secondly, the number of traders and trading establishments increases owing to the influx of small traders in the wake of the seasonal labour immigration.

Table 12 gives a breakdown of the permanent traders, the migrant traders and the months of migration, into broad categories. The Table reveals three important characteristics of the seasonal demand at Dandeli. Firstly, it shows the influx of migrant traders who go to Dandeli to exploit the seasonal demand. It may be noted that in the month of February as many as 49 traders (46 per cent of the resident establishments) came to Dandeli. The increase in the total number of trading establishments as well as the monthly variation in the number of migrant traders itself, may be taken as positive evidence of the existence of seasonal demand at Dandeli.

Secondly, it may be noted from the Table that these migrant traders are essentially small traders operating with small capital. The month of February recording the maximum number of

Table 12
Seasonal Increase in trading establishment at Dandeli during 1955-56

Type of Establishment	Additions of temporary establishments during the month														Total No. of Resident shops in June '56		Increase in Resident shops over those in November, '55	
	November '55 (Resident shops)		December '55		January '56		February '56		March '56		April '56		May '56		Nos.	Cap.	Nos.	Cap.
	Nos.	Capital	Nos.	Capital	Nos.	Capital	Nos.	Capital	Nos.	Capital	Nos.	Cap.	Nos.	Cap.				
1. Groceries and grain shops	23	45,300	1	500	1	500	6	1400	2	1100	2	1100	2	1300	25	46,100	2	800
2. Hotels, Tea shops, Soda Shops etc.	16	13,585	-	-	2	1100	9	2000	3	1600	3	1700	3	1900	19	15,485	3	1900
3. Pan Bidi Shops	10	3,030	-	-	-	-	4	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	2,930	-	100
4. Vegetable, Mutton, Fish etc.	24	2,795	-	-	-	-	2	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	2,795	-	-
5. Cloth, ready-made Clothes, etc.	3	5,200	-	-	3	3000	4	4000	4	5000	4	5000	4	5000	4	7,150	1	1950
6. Tailors	9	4,075	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	400	1	400	1	400	10	4,475	1	400
7. Flour Mills	4	10,300	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	10,300	-	-
8. Cycle Shops	2	1,175	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1,175	-	-
9. Goldsmiths	1	500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	500	-	-
10. Petrol Pumps	2	60,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	60,000	-	-
11. Service (Barber, Washerman, Mochi etc.)	9	1,967	-	-	5	700	3	150	4	150	4	150	2	100	11	2,067	2	100
12. Sundry Shops	2	90	-	-	10	500	20	1000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5050
Total	105	1,48,017	1	500	21	5800	49	8850	14	8350	14	8350	12	8700	114	1,53,067	9	5050
%age of total as in November '55	100	100	1.0	0.3	20.0	3.9	46.7	6.0	13.3	5.6	13.3	5.6	11.4	8.3	103.4	103.4	8.6	3.4

these visiting traders, also records the maximum quantum of capital invested by these. Whereas the per unit investment of capital is ^{Rs} 1409 for the resident establishments it is about Rs 190 for these visiting traders.

The third characteristic of demand, as revealed by this Table is the type of commodities sold by these visiting traders. The increase is greatest in the second category namely, "hotels, teashops, etc.", followed by grocery and grain shops, pan bidi shops and services such as washing, hair-cutting and preparation and repair of shoes. These represent the essential commodities and services of day-to-day consumption and use. It may be recalled, in this context, that the seasonal influx in Dandeli is mainly composed of labourers earning small wages.

The Table also brings out the secular growth of the Dandeli market. The last two columns show the total number and net increase in resident shops. Most of the temporary establishments are wound up by the end of May. But a few among them continue on a permanent basis. This secular increase may be interpreted as one of the indications of the growing demand at Dandeli in step with the growth of population. A breakdown of these additional shops shows that the maximum increase is in the second category again namely, "hotel, tea-shops etc." followed by trading in grocery and grain, washermen etc. The increase is 8.6 per cent with a 3.4 per cent increase in investment.

Table 13 gives a periodwise classification of five types of trading establishments for which detailed information was obtained. The two grocery shops run by the two cooperative societies are included under the category of 'grocery shops'.

Table 13

Classification of trading establishments according to duration

Type of trading	Duration 1 year	2-5 years	5-10 years	10-20 years	20-30 years	Total
Grocery	3	8	9	1	4	25
Hotels, teashops etc.	2	10	7	2	1	22
Pan bidi shops	1	5	3	-	-	9
Vegetables	-	3	2	2	2	7
Fish & mutton shops	-	3	-	4	2	7
Total	6	29	21	9	8	69

Pattern of Selling: Joint-selling is another important characteristic of supply at Dandeli. In this respect the village more akin to a rural community where articles of day-to-day consumption mainly food articles, constitute almost all the demand. Though the incomes in Dandeli are entirely in cash, there are no establishments selling exclusive lines, such as medicine, crockery and glassware, stationery etc. as are found in urban centres. This is mainly due to the very low level of incomes which does not permit expenditure on comforts and luxuries. The single cloth shop may be considered as an exception.

The following were combinations at Dandeli during the survey year:-

1. Grocery and grains.
2. Grocery, grains and general stores.
3. Grocery, grains and soda factory.
4. Grocery, grains, soda-factory and cycle-shop.
5. Grocery, grains and cloth.
6. Grocery, grains and stationery.
7. Grocery, grains, cloth and stationery.
8. Grocery and vegetable.
9. Grains and vegetables.
10. Tea-shop and soda factory.
11. Tea-shop, soda factory and pan-bidi shop.
12. Soda-factory and pan bidi.
13. Vegetables and pan bidi.
14. Vegetables, pan bidi and stationery.
15. Tailoring and cloth shop.

The differentiation between grocers and grain merchants in the above list is arbitrary but justified by the fact that there were three grainshops selling foodgrains only. As observed earlier, as many as 6 small traders visited Dandeli during the brisk season and most of them sold foodgrains. Secondly, it should be remembered that a village grocer invariable sells foodgrains also. In addition, he also sells a variety of other articles that cannot be categories exclusively as either stationery or cutlery or medicines etc. The combinations given in the above list are taken as

reported by the traders themselves.

It may be particularly mentioned here that the combination pattern No. 7 in the above list was reported by the two shops run by the two cooperative societies. In addition to the above lines of sales, the shop run by the plywood factory employees' cooperative society also runs a flour mill and a canteen, while the Forest Department employees' society's shop sells or manages to procure standard medicines for its members.

The two are the biggest shops in Dandeli and according to data reported by them, turnover amounts to about 38 per cent of the total for the village (resident trading establishments only). It may be seen that 51 out of the 69 shops were started during the decade prior to the year of the study. This period also marks the cessation of the second world war and the attendant boom. The plywood factory and the different manganese mines were also opened during these ten years. This increased demand was met by an increase in the number of supplying establishments. A continuous increase in their numbers is observable in the above table.

Occupational Structure

The economic activities discussed above would give a rough idea of the nature and extent of occupations in Dandeli and its surrounding area. The rest of the chapter deals with the occupational structure of the working force among the migrant settlers and their descendants in Dandeli proper.

Occupations and Industries: All the occupations in Dandeli are non-agricultural. The various industries which give rise to these occupations may be divided under nine broad heads as follows:

1. Forest^r and Woodcutting.
2. Mining: Although there is no actual mining carried on in Dandeli proper the ore mined is brought to Dandeli for further transportation. A large number of persons are engaged in the loading and grading of manganese ore near the station. The permanent residents of Dandeli engaged in this type of work are included in this category.

3. Processing of Forest Products:
4. Other Processing and Manufacture: The occupations of persons engaged in processing and manufacturing industries other than those connected with forest products are included in this category. Such industries are found on a very small scale, and they include flour milling, making of jewellery, tin-coating etc.
5. Commerce: All types of commerce are included in this category. These occupations include dealing in grocery, vegetables, pan, bidi, tobacco, fish and meat, milk etc.
6. Construction and Utility including Electricity Supply:
7. Public Administration, Health, Education, Communication etc.,
8. Other services including Transport.
9. Miscellaneous Persons.

Table 14 shows the distribution of earners by the various industrial categories and the grades of occupations. The table first of all gives an idea of the number of persons employed in each industry and the grade of occupation. Again it must be remembered that this covers only the permanent residents of Dandeli and does not include the seasonal migrants. It does not give an exact idea of the persons employed under different industries. Only two categories, viz., (a) Processing of forest products and (b) Public administration, Health, education, communication etc. does the number of employees shown more or less correspond with the total number of persons employed throughout the year. Category (a) includes the employees of the plywood factory and the saw mill. While the number of persons employed by the saw mill is constant throughout the year, that employed by the plywood factory may fluctuate depending upon the number of shifts worked and actually during the year of this study there was such a fluctuation.

Thus the Table is not indicative of the employment potential of the various industries in Dandeli but only a measure of the distribution of the earners among the permanent residents of Dandeli in the various industries.

Of the total earners of 1256 of whom 1249 are adults and 7 non-adults, the largest number viz., 540 are engaged in the industry of processing of forest produce. The plywood factory and the saw mill in which these persons are working are the two largest industrial concerns in Dandeli carrying an operations throughout the year.

Table 14

Distribution of earners by industrial categories & occupational grades.

Occupational grades.	Industrial categories								Total
	I. Unskilled manual labour.	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative.	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory and related	V. Officers and higher professions	Contractors	Self-employed	Miscellaneous	
1. Forestry & wood-cutting	90	10	8	11	-	18	-	-	137
2. Mining	123	6	5	3	-	-	-	-	137
3. Processing forest products	363	53	60	54	10	-	-	-	540
4. Other processing & manufacture	4	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	14
5. Commerce	2	-	-	-	-	-	101	-	103
6. Construction & utility including electricity supply	29	14	7	1	1	1	-	-	53
7. Health, education, public administration, communication etc.	16	59	5	37	4	-	-	-	121
8. Other services including transport,	69	12	-	2	-	-	60	-	143
9. Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8
	676	134	85	106	15	19	171	8	1256

Although Dandeli is the centre of rich forests there are only 137 workers among the residents of Dandeli employed in the forestry and woodworking industry. This is because this industry is worked mainly round about Dandeli by labourers who are seasonal migrants. The

residents of Dandeli who are engaged in this industry represent the contractors and the workers employed in loading and transporting wood. As against the large number of persons employed in the processing of forest produce those engaged in other processing and manufacturing industries make up the trifling figure of 14. They include 4 blacksmiths, 3 goldsmiths, 6 persons engaged in a flour mill and one tin-coater. 103 persons are engaged in commerce. Out of these 2 are employed as labourers in large shops and the rest are self-employed. Among the self-employed 15 are dealers in milk, 11 in meat and fish, 10 in vegetables, one is a confectioner and the remaining ⁶⁵64 deal in grocery stores, pan, bidi, tobacco etc.

137 persons are engaged in the mining industry which in Dandeli represents the grading and loading of manganese ore. Since these persons include only the permanent residents, the number working in these operations which also includes migrants is actually much larger.

If the industrial categories are further generalised into the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, the primary occupations includes in the industrial categories 1 and 2 number 274, the secondary occupations included in the industrial categories 3 and 4 number 554 and the tertiary occupations included in the rest of the industrial categories number 428. The percentage proportions of the primary, secondary and tertiary occupations are 22,44 and 34 respectively.

According to the grades of occupations it will be seen that 696 or just over half the total number are employed as unskilled manual workers of whom as many as 363 are engaged in the processing of forest products. In the mining industry there are 123, in forestry and woodcutting 90, in other services 69 and the rest distributed in the remaining industries.

The number employed in semi-skilled and the lowest administrative occupations is 154. Of these most of those engaged in the industries of forestry and wood-cutting, processing of forest products, construction and utility including the electricity supply, are semi-skilled technical workers and most of the persons employed

under health, education, public administration, communication etc., hold the lowest administrative posts.

There are 85 skilled technical workers, of whom as many as ⁵⁴60 are engaged in the industry of the processing of forest products. This is the only industry which is highly/mechanised and it requires a large number of workers of this category. The workers of this category, distributed in other industries, are mostly truck drivers.

The strength of the clerical and supervisory personnel is 108, most of whom are distributed in 2 industrial categories namely, 54 in processing of forest products and 37 in health, education, public administration, communication etc.

Under the grade of officers there are 15 persons. Actually their number in Dandeli is larger still. Our investigator was unable to fill in the family schedules of four officers, two from the plywood factory and two from the Forest Department. So among the permanent residents of Dandeli there are 19 officers, of whom 12 come under the industry of processing of forest products, and six under public administration etc.

There are 19 contractors of whom 18 come under the forestry and wood-cutting industry. The exploitation of timber from the forests in Kanara is done by the Forest Department through the agency of contractors and hence the great number of contractors in Dandeli. Of these contractors 16 are connected with the exploitation of timber and two of bamboos. One contractor undertakes building construction.

Finally, the self-employed persons number 171. Of these 101 are engaged in commerce, 10 in the industrial category of Other Processing and Manufacture and 60 in Other Services. Those returned under Other Services including Transport, include 17 tailors, 12 carters, 8 barbers, 3 dhobies and 20 persons running hotels and eating houses.

Earners and Employers:

The vast majority of the earners in Dandeli were working under different employers. In Table 15 the earners are

classified by employers and occupational grades. ~~It will be seen~~

Table 15

Distribution of adult earners by employers and occupational grades

Employers	I. Unskilled manual labour	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professions	Contractors	Self-employed	Miscellaneous	Total
1. Self-employed	4	4	-	4	1	17	165	1	196
2. Plywood factory	248	30	35	48	9	-	1	-	371
3. Saw mill	118	23	25	4	1	-	-	-	171
4. Forest Department	20	49	6	20	3	1	-	-	99
5. Other Govt. service	-	20	-	15	-	-	-	-	35
6. Electric Grid Sub-station	2	6	5	1	1	-	-	-	15
7. Paper factory	11	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	18
8. Manganese mining concerns	122	6	5	3	-	-	-	-	136
9. Contractors	101	10	7	11	-	-	-	-	129
10 Casual labour and others	63	2	-	1	-	1	5	-	72
11 Miscellaneous	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	7	7
Total	696 689	154	85	108	15	19	171	8	1249

It will be seen that 196 earners were working on their own. Among the employers the plywood factory is the biggest, employing 371 workers and the saw mill comes second with 171 workers. The Forest Department had 99 of its employees at Dandeli. Strictly speaking the saw mill workers also have to be included under the employees of the Forest Department, but the saw mill staff not only comes under a separate section but has distinctive features of its own among the staff of the Forest Department. 35 earners were in other Government services such as railways, post office, teaching etc. 129 persons were working for the manganese mining concerns. The newly started Electric Grid Sub-station had 15 persons on its staff. 72 earners were classed in the category of casual labour and other service.

18 of the permanent residents of Dandeli were working in the paper factory although the staff of that factory consisted of a large number of workers who had just arrived and who have not been taken within the purview of this study. Four of the earners were pensioners, two were beggars and one derived her income from remittances.

The workers employed by the plywood factory, the saw mill, the contractors, the manganese mining concerns and those included under the category of casual labour and other service comprise a relatively large number of those engaged in occupations of grade I. The employees of the Forest Department, other Government services and Electric Grid Sub-station are required for the purposes of administration and maintenance of essential services and their posts are mostly of the higher grades.

Working Force: Persons who are able and willing to work irrespective of the fact whether they are employed or unemployed may be regarded as constituting the working force. For a clearer understanding of the size of the working force it is necessary to divide the population into adults and non-adults since usually it is the adult persons who are the earning members. For the purpose of this study persons 12 years and below are defined as non-adults and those with ages 13 years and above are termed adults. Table 16 shows the distribution of workers and non-workers among the adult and non-adult population of the different sexes. It will be seen that the working force is made up almost entirely of adults, only seven workers being non-adults. The non-agricultural types of occupations available in Dandeli provide no scope for the employment of non-adults. Secondly, while most of the adult males are in the working force, only a small proportion of adult women are of this status. The percentage of women in the total working force works out to only about 24. The proportion of Workers in the population is about 42% .

During the period of the study 49 of the adult workers consisting of 31 men and 18 women were unemployed. Much of the further analysis is restricted to the adult workers.

Table 16

Size of working force

Working status	Adult males	Adult females	Non-adult males	Non-adult females	Total
Workers	991	307	3	4	1305
Non-workers	66	563	566	610	1805
Percentage of workers to total	93.7	35.3	-	-	41.9

Population Categories and Working Force: Table 17 shows the distribution of adult population according to population categories the working status of persons of each sex. It can be seen from column 9 that there is considerable variation in the proportion of persons in the working force in the different population categories ranging from 51% in the case of Gaud Saraswat Brahmins to 87% in the category of Other Backward Hindus. The reason for this variation becomes evident if the proportions of workers among men and women are considered separately as in columns 3 and 6.

Among the males a very high proportion in every population category are workers and the range of variation in these proportions is very small. Most of the few adult males, in all 66 persons, who are not in the working force had perfectly valid reasons for their non-participation in work. 29 of these persons were going to school as they were still of school-going age, although they are classified as adults because they had passed the age of twelve. 16 ^{persons} were too old to work. Three persons could not work on account of illness and six others did not work for various reasons like household work and physical and mental defects. 12 persons did not specify the reasons. It is clear on the whole that in all the population categories it is normal for an adult male to earn a living.

But the working status of adult women in the various categories shows altogether a different trend. With reference to column 6 it will be seen that first of all the range of variation in the proportion of women workers in the different categories is tremendous being from 2% to 38%. Secondly the proportion of women

Table 17

Working adult population according to population categories and sex differences

Population Category	Total Males	Male workers	% of 1 to 2	Total females	Female workers	% of 4 to 5	Total adults	Total adult workers	% of 7 to 8
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	54	51	96	48	1	2	102	52	51
Other Brahmins	52	48	92	43	3	7	95	51	54
Trading & Warrior castes	43	40	93	34	4	12	77	44	57
Lingayats	39	35	90	33	8	24	72	43	60
Marathas	96	91	95	72	19	26	168	110	65
Other Agricultural & allied groups	37	35	95	23	3	13	60	38	67
Artisans & allied groups	31	28	90	26	4	15	57	32	56
Bedars	37	35	95	46	24	52	83	59	71
Lamanis	46	44	96	47	29	62	93	73	78
Other Backward Hindus	43	41	95	37	29	78	80	70	87
Scheduled Castes	58	51	88	54	29	54	112	80	71
Karwar Muslims	114	102	90	90	6	7	204	108	53
Other Muslims	134	128	95	102	28	27	236	156	66
Telugu Christians	204	199	98	161	102	63	365	301	82
Other Christians	49	43	88	38	13	34	87	56	64
Miscellaneous	20	20	100	16	5	31	36	25	69
Total	1057	991	94	870	307	35	1927	1298	67

workers bears a positive correlation with the socio-economic standing of the population category. Generally speaking, the higher the socio-economic status the lower is the proportion of women workers. In the case of backward categories such as the Bedars, the Lamanis, the Other Backward Hindus, the Scheduled castes and the Telugu Christians, the proportions of women workers are very much higher than the proportion in the case of the entire population.

On the whole it is clear that the variation in the proportion of workers in the various population categories is in the main a function of the variation in the proportion of women workers.

Employment of Women: The facts that the majority of the adult women are not engaged in gainful occupations and that the proportions of working women differ markedly in the various population categories, call for a special consideration of female employment.

First of all it is important to ascertain why so many women keep away from gainful occupations. Table 18 presents the reasons given by adult women in the different population categories for their non-participation in the working force. While among men education and old age are the main reasons for not working, among women these reasons assume little or no importance. Out of 559 non-earning women only 46 gave old age, and 1 included under the miscellaneous category of reasons gave education as reasons for not working. Strictly speaking, old age as the reason for not earning is applicable only to those women who were working in their younger days. Our enquiry did not make sure that only such women were included under this category and the relevant data also include old women who have never worked in their lifetime. In the case of men, however, since working for a living is a universal practice, old age may be regarded as an obstacle to work.

The major reasons for not earning are household work, custom and parday. 220 persons did not work on account of household work, 115 due to custom and 108 owing to parday restrictions. Restrictions of custom and parday amount to one and the same thing, both being social prejudices against a woman's gainful occupation.

Non-earning adult Women by population categories and reasons
for not earning

Reasons for not earning	Custom	Pardah	House	Old	Ill-	Not	Misce-	Unspeci-	Total
Population categories			-hold	age	health	nece-	llaneous	fied	
			work			ssary			
1.Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	26	-	15	2	-	-	-	4	47
2.Other Brahmins	16	-	17	3	-	1	1	2	40
3.Warrior & trading castes	9	-	14	2	-	2	1	2	30
4.Lingayats	2	1	15	4	1	-	-	2	25
5.Marathas	24	-	18	4	-	2	-	5	53
6.Other agricultural & allied groups	6	-	9	-	1	2	-	2	20
7.Artisans & allied groups	9	-	9	1	-	-	-	3	22
8.Bedars	2	-	14	4	-	-	1	1	22
9.Lamanis	1	-	12	3	1	-	-	1	18
10.Other backward Hindus	-	-	5	1	1	-	1	-	8
11.Scheduled castes	2	-	14	2	-	-	-	7	25
12.Karwar Muslims	8	56	12	3	-	-	-	5	84
13.Other Muslims	2	51	12	3	-	-	-	6	74
14.Telugu Christians	2	-	36	9	2	-	-	10	59
15.Other Christians	4	-	13	2	-	-	-	6	25
16.Unspecified	2	-	5	3	-	-	-	1	11
Total	115	108	220	46	6	7	4	(47) 57	(559) 555

There are certain groups such as Brahmins and higher castes among Hindus, the Muslims etc. which regard it not proper for a woman to work outside her home. On the other hand in certain other groups such as the backward caste Hindus there is no social prejudice whatsoever against women working.

Household work is no doubt a very important reason why a housewife in India is not able to work outside. But it cannot be said that in the case of all the persons included under "household work" the main reason for not working is household work. This would have been the case if all these women were socially free to work but were prevented from earning solely by household work. Since our enquiry did not make this position clear the categories of custom and purdah on the one hand and household work on the other are not mutually exclusive. It is however seen from the Table that in the sections which do not attach social prejudice to female employment custom as a reason for not working is least prominent and among the higher sections both custom and household work are equally prominent. Most of the Muslim women have reported pardah as the reason for not earning.

Since the foregoing discussion would imply that gainful employment for women is looked down upon by society the real question is not why women do not work but why some of them do work. This question can be answered by analysing the occupational status of the working women and the socio-economic conditions of their families.

Table 19 shows the occupational distribution of adult female earners according to population categories and occupational grades. These workers do not include the women who were unemployed at the time of the study. Of the 289 earning women 238 are unskilled manual workers of occupational Grade I, 41 are in the occupational grade of Self-employed, 2 in grade II, 3 in grade IV, 1 is a contractor, 4 derive their income from remittances and such things. It is clear that the main avenues of employment for women are unskilled manual work and commerce. Most of the women engaged in commerce are petty retail traders whose economic status is of no higher order than that of unskilled manual workers. But the self-employment character of such an occupation renders the occupation a little more respectable than hired manual labour. That is why women of all population categories are found in this occupation. The one female contractor is the wife of a Lamani contractor and

Table 19

Distribution of female adult earners according to population categories and occupational grades.

Population categories	Occupational grades								
	I. Unskilled Manual labour	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professionals	Contractors	Self-employed	Miscellaneous	Total
1. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
2. Other Brahmins	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3
3. Warrior & trading castes	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	4
4. Lingayats	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	7
5. Marathas	14	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	17
6. Other agricultural & allied groups	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
7. Artisans & allied groups	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	4
8. Bedars	20	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	23
9. Lamanis	26	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	28
10. Other backward Hindus	26	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	29
11. Scheduled Castes	25	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	29
12. Karwar Muslims	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	6
13. Other Muslims	19	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	27
14. Telugu Christians	86	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	90
15. Other Christians	8	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	13
16. Unspecified	2	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	5
Total	238	2	-	3	-	1	41	4	289

both husband and wife undertake only small contracts. The two women included under occupational category II are a midwife and a labour supervisor. Of the 3 earners in grade IV, 2 are nurses and one is a teacher.

The employment of women as unskilled labourers bears a significant relationship not only to the social status of the caste or group to which they belong, but also to the economic and occupational status of the heads of their families who are usually

their husbands as will be shown below.

In general, of the 289 earning females 83 belong to families of which either they themselves or some other females are heads. In their case it is clear that mainly special circumstances like widowhood, desertion by husband or some other type of lack of male support have driven them to work. The remaining 206 women belong to families with male heads.

Table 20

Female earners with male heads of families by their occupational grades and occupational grades of male heads of families

Occupational grades of female earners	Occupational grades of male heads of families.								Total
	I. Unskilled manual labour	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professionals	VI. Contractors	VII. Self-employed	Miscellaneous	
I. Unskilled manual labour	148	9	1	6	-	-	4	-	168
II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
III. Skilled manual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory and related	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
V. Officers & higher professionals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VI. Contractors	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
VII. Self-employed	11	1	4	4	-	-	12	-	32
Miscellaneous	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
T o t a l	160	11	5	12	1	1	16	-	206

In Table 20 these 206 women are classified according to their occupational grades and the occupational grades of the heads of their families. In no case is the occupational grade of the woman higher than that of the head of the family. Of the 168 unskilled female labourers as many as 148 belong to families of which the male heads are also unskilled labourers. In the case of 9 women the male heads of their families are in grade II, in the case of 1 the head of the family is in grade III, in the case of 6 the male heads are in grade IV and in the case of 4 they are in the occupational grade of

Self-employed. Males in the occupation grade of self-employed who permit their women-folk to work as unskilled labourers are usually those who are at the lowest socio-economic level. Thus in all 152 female unskilled labourers belong to families with male heads in the lowest socio-economic level.

Most of the remaining 16 women belonging to families with male heads in the higher socio-economic levels are really abnormal cases. In the case of 9 women belonging to families with male heads in the semi-skilled and lowest administrative occupations, the husbands of two are working as masons, of one is a labour mukadam, of one is a carpenter working on daily wages and of one is a watchman who started life as an unskilled labourer. Two of these women are a wife and a daughter of a sawyer who was previously

a weaver and one woman is the widowed mother of a 17 year old office boy whose annual earnings amount to only Rs 216 but who is returned as the head of the family. Although by definition these heads of the families are included in the semi-skilled and lowest administrative occupational grade they are really borderline cases with socio-economic status not much above that of unskilled labourers. The one case in which the husband of the woman is in the skilled occupational grade is also a marginal one. This person is a skilled operative in the saw mills but who started as an unskilled labourer. A probe into the cases of the 6 unskilled female labourers related to male heads of families in the clerical and allied occupations also brings out their marginal character. In the case of two of these women the head of the family is a Lamani who is a clerk of a contractor. He is educated only up to the Kannada fifth standard and draws a monthly salary of Rs 60. He started his career as a labourer. Of the remaining four women 3 are wives and one a widowed mother-in-law of labour supervisors in the plywood factory. All these supervisors except one started their careers as unskilled labourers. Thus it can be perceived that in the cases in which the male heads of families of unskilled female labourers are found in higher occupations, as a rule either they started life as unskilled labourers or their occupational statuses are not really as high as suggested by the defined occupa-

tional grades. Their new occupations are not such as bring about any substantial increase in their emoluments. Hence their wives who were accustomed to work as unskilled labourers have not ceased to do so after the slight changes in the occupational positions of their husbands.

However a large number of semi-skilled and skilled workers in Dandeli started their working life as unskilled labourers. But only a negligible proportion of these have female members of their families working as unskilled labourers. It is therefore to be presumed that unskilled male workers in most cases stop their womenfolk from working as soon as they secure higher types of occupations. Since no attempt was made in the study to collect positive evidence in this regard the exact extent of the withdrawal of unskilled female labourers from the labour force cannot be given. In any case it is clear enough that men who start their working careers in the higher grades of occupations do not allow their womenfolk to work as unskilled labourers. That this is so is evidenced by the fact that even among the backward groups where it is normal for a woman to work as an unskilled labourer men in the higher occupational grades usually do not send their women to work outside. For instance among the backward Hindus consisting of the population categories of Bedars, Lamanis, other backward Hindus and Scheduled castes there are 64 female unskilled labourers belonging to families with male heads. In the case of 59 of these the male heads of their families/are also unskilled labourers. Of the remaining 5, two women belong to families with male heads in the semi-skilled occupations. But these males are masons with meagre income. While on the other hand in the same population categories there are 13 other male heads of families in grade II and none of the women in their families work as unskilled labourers. So also in all the five cases in which the male heads of families are in grade III none has a woman working as a labourer. In grade IV, however, out of the 4 male heads of families one person has two of the women members working as unskilled labourers. This person is the Lamani whose case has already been pointed out as a marginal one. The fifth woman belongs to a family with male head

in the occupational grade of Self-employed. But in this case the socio-economic status of the man is no better than that of unskilled labourers. So in effect only 3 male heads of families in higher occupational grades namely 2 in the IInd and one in the IVth have their women working as unskilled labourers and even these cases have been shown to be marginal ones.

Thus it would appear that employment of women as unskilled labourers is considered degrading by all groups of people and if many people in the lowest occupational grade accept such an undesirable practice it is mainly due to economic compulsion.

To substantiate this statement 321 families with male heads in the unskilled occupational grade are singled out and the personal incomes of the male family heads are analysed separately for families with female earners and those without female earners. The average personal income of male head of 160 families with female earners is about Rs 530 and that of male heads of 161 families with no female earners is about Rs 630. It is clear that the personal income of the males who are compelled to send their womenfolk to earn is significantly lower than that of the males who do not send their women to earn.

While it is mainly the economic compulsion that is responsible for the employment of women when it is necessary it is more acceptable in the socio-economically backward categories than in others. For instance, in every family where the male head is in the lowest occupational grade there is the need for the female adults, if there be any, also to work. But under such circumstances women in the families of backward categories are more likely to work than those in other categories. This may be shown to be the case by analysing the earner status of adult females in families in which the male heads are in the lowest occupational grade.

These families are classified in Table 21 by population categories and earner status of the adult females. The last column shows the percentage of families with adult female earners to total number of families with adult females in each category. It will be seen that except/1st the case of Bedars the percentages of families

Table 21

Distribution of families from occupational Grade I with male heads and adult females by population categories and female earners and non-earners.

Population categories	Families with female earners	Families with female non-earners	Total	%age of (2) to (4)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	-	1	1	0
2. Other Brahmins	-	-	-	-
3. Warrior & trading castes	-	3	3	0
4. Lingayats	5	6	11	45
5. Marathas	8	11	19	42
6. Other agricultural & allied groups	1	4	5	20
7. Artisans & allied groups	1	4	5	20
8. Bedars	7	12	19	36
9. Lamanis	17	14	31	55
10. Other backward Hindus	18	7	25	72
11. Scheduled castes	21	14	35	60
12. Karwar Muslims	2	23	25	8
13. Other Muslims	8	18	26	31
14. Telugu Christians	66	41	107	62
15. Other Christians	3	3	6	50
Unspecified	3	-	3	100
Total	160	161	321	50

with female earners are much higher in the backward categories such as Lamanis, Other Backward castes, Scheduled castes and Telugu Christians than in the other categories. Their percentage is lower among the Bedars because among them a high proportion of males work in the saw mills where the wages are much higher than elsewhere. On the whole, however, it may be concluded that while the women in families where there are male heads will work as unskilled labourers only if the male heads are also unskilled labourers, the possibility of women in such families working as unskilled labourers is greater if the families belong to lower or backward socio-economic status.

Unemployment:

The 49 unemployed persons constitute only 3.8 per cent of the adult working force. This shows that unemployment is not a serious problem. However, the extent of unemployment in Dandeli has to be realised in relation to the fact that people come to this place mainly in search of employment and settle down only if they find jobs.

31 of the unemployed persons are males and 18 females. With reference to the women it will be seen that in the case of the majority of them, being as many as 13 out of 18, the heads of their families are in occupational grade I. Since it has already been shown that the occupations of women as a rule are not higher than those of the heads of their families it is to be presumed that at least these 13 unemployed women are capable of doing only unskilled labour. 14 of the unemployed women are from the Backward population categories, the category of Telugu Christians alone accounting for 12 of them. The prevalence of unemployment among female unskilled labourers does not mean that there is a dearth of unskilled jobs for women in Dandeli. At least during the fair season all those who are willing to accept whatever unskilled jobs available are able to secure employment. But some of the women, especially those whose husbands work either in the plywood factory or the saw mill, come forward to work only if they find employment in either of these two places where the work given to women is of a lighter variety and employment is steady. Many of the unemployed women may be counted among these persons.

The unemployment of the males is of a different type. Among them the heads of families of relatively more unemployed persons namely 19 are in occupational grades other than the lowest one. Even in the cases where the heads of families are in the lowest grade it does not mean that the unemployed persons are unskilled labourers. As many as 27 unemployed males are below 25 years of age. The 4 persons who are above 25 years of age are the only unemployed persons who had worked before and the rest are all new entrants to occupations. Most of them, 24 in all, are literate and so it would appear that they are on the look out for jobs which are mostly other than the posts of unskilled labourers. Such jobs are relatively

difficult to secure in Dandeli.

Occupational Shift:

The earners were asked to state their occupations before taking up their jobs in Dandeli. Of the 1249 earners 715 persons gave this information. The remaining 534 persons who did not furnish this information were new entrants when they took up their first job in Dandeli. Some of these people were even born and bred in Dandeli itself.

In Table 22, the 715 persons who held jobs before coming

Table 22

Distribution of earners according to occupational grades before and after coming to Dandeli.

Occupational grade after									
Occupational grade before	I. Unskilled manual labour	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	III. Skilled Manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professions	Contractors	Self-employed	Miscellaneous	Total
a) Non-agricultural labour	273	25	12	6	-	2	14	1	333
b) Agricultural labour	53	5	3	-	-	1	4	1	67
c) Agriculture	5	1	1	1	-	1	2	-	11
d) Weaving	86	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	90
Grade I) a+b+c+d)	<u>417</u>	33	17	7	-	5	20	2	501
II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	9	<u>35</u>	11	4	-	-	4	2	65
III. Skilled manual	1	1	<u>22</u>	1	-	1	-	-	26
IV. Clerical, Teaching, Supervisory & related	2	1	-	<u>27</u>	-	1	5	-	36
V. Officers & higher professions	-	-	-	1	<u>5</u>	-	1	-	7
Contractors	1	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	5
Self-employed	14	-	3	3	-	-	<u>55</u>	-	75
Total:	444	70	53	45	5	9	85	4	715

to Dandeli are classified according to their occupational grades before coming to Dandeli and the present occupational grades.

A few of the important types of occupations held before coming to Dandeli such as agriculture, agricultural labour and weaving are not found in Dandeli and therefore they are indicated separately. But all these occupations are classified under occupational grade I. So far as agricultural labourers are concerned there can be no doubt as to their classification in this grade. Although weaving is a sort of semi-skilled occupation the persons engaged in this occupation in this case are people from Andhra belonging to backward groups. In the case of agriculture the persons involved are very few and many of them have taken to occupations of the lowest grade in Dandeli.

It is significant that out of 715 cases only 11 persons are returned as having agriculture as their previous occupation, although our rural areas are noted for the presence of a large number of cultivators of uneconomic land holdings. The number previously engaged in agricultural labour is 67. Together with persons giving their previous occupation as agriculture the number of all persons previously connected with agriculture comes to only 78. Thus an overwhelming majority of the earners in Dandeli was engaged in non-agricultural occupations before coming to Dandeli. Of these 333 persons were engaged in non-agricultural labour. 90 persons were weavers, almost all of them coming from Andhra. According to their testimony they had to give up their previous occupations because of the difficulties they experienced in procuring yarn and selling their cloth at economical prices. 65 of the immigrants were engaged in occupations of grade II, 26 in skilled occupations of grade III, 36 in clerical and related occupations of grade IV, 7 were of the grade of officers and 5 were contractors. Of the 75 who belonged to the category of Self-employed as many as 45 were engaged in some type of commerce or other, seven were tailors, six blacksmiths, four goldsmiths, five barbers, five washermen, two tincoaters and one a footwear maker, although these details are not shown in the Table.

The Table also indicates the vertical occupational mobility of earners as seen from their occupations before coming to Dandeli and their present occupations. The underlined figures

in the diagonal cells represent the individuals who after coming to Dandeli are engaged in the occupations of the same grade as previously. On the whole 563 persons or about 79 per cent of the individuals have not shifted from their previous occupational grades. Of the 501 persons who were previously in grade I, 417 or 83 per cent are still in the same grade. Two of them have ceased to work and for the remaining 82 shift from the previous grade has meant improvement in socio-economic status. 20 of these have shifted to the category of Self-employeds most of whom being engaged in commerce. In their case, however, it cannot be said that they have definitely improved their socio-economic status.

Of the 65 persons who were previously engaged in occupations of grade II, 35 or 54 per cent have remained in the same grade. Mobility in their case is comparatively very high but this has not been all to the good, for among those who have shifted 9 persons or about 14 percent of the total have gone down to occupational grade I. The status of the 4 persons who have shifted to the category of Self-employeds is not clear.

The category of persons who were in occupational grade III before coming to Dandeli are characterised by least degree of mobility. Of the 26 persons 22 or about 85 per cent are still in the same grade. Of those who have shifted two have moved downwards to grades II and I, one has moved to grade IV and the fourth to the category of contractors. Dandeli has good opportunities for such workers and so most of the skilled workers have succeeded in securing suitable jobs. But their shift to higher grades is note-worthy for its insignificance. For one reason, this is because movement to grades above that of skilled occupations requires a higher educational background which the skilled workers as a rule do not possess and for another, because the next higher grade of clerical and related occupations is not so remunerative as the skilled occupations.

Among those who were in grade IV before coming to Dandeli

27 out of 36 or 75 per cent have remained in the same grade. Of those who have moved 2 have gone straight down to grade I and 1 to grade II. One has become a contractor and five have shifted to the category of Self-employed. It is significant that none of the persons from this category have moved to grade III. The workers in grade IV are ill equipped for grade III in which the accent is on skill rather than on general education as a requisite qualification.

Among the seven persons who were previously in grade V one has moved down to grade IV and another has shifted to the category of Self-employed, the latter having retired from service.

Of the five former contractors only two are continuing in the same category. Two have shifted to grade IV and one has been reduced to the condition of an unskilled labourer.

Most of the former Self-employeds i.e. 55 out of 75 or 73 per cent have managed to remain in the same position. But quite a few of them, as many as 14, are now in the lowest grade. Eight of these persons were previously traders and as they had incurred loss in their previous business could not take up business again.

Reasons for leaving previous jobs: 658 of the 715 persons who had worked prior to their taking up jobs in Dandeli reported the following reasons for leaving their previous occupations.

<u>Reasons for leaving the previous occupation</u>	<u>No. of persons reporting</u>
Inadequate earnings	399
Temporary nature of the occupation	65
Unemployment	81
Resignation	8
Loss in business	22
Transfer	69
Miscellaneous	14
Total.	<u>658</u>

About three-fifths of the total number reporting gave inadequate earnings as the reason for leaving the previous job. This fact reflects the great extent of under-employment prevalent in the country.

The Regional Background of Earners:

Table 23

Distribution of earners by occupational grades and place of origin

Occupational category grade	Coastal Kanara	Bombay Karnatak	Rest of Andhra Bombay	Andhra	Kerala	Rest of South India	North India	Dan-deli	Total
I. Unskilled manual labour	62	287	26	268	13	30	3	-	689
II. Semi-skilled & Lowest administrative	56	52	14	21	-	11	-	-	154
III. Skilled Manual	25	33	9	6	5	3	3	1	85
IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	48	35	4	8	4	8	1	-	108
V. Officers & higher professions	3	5	1	-	1	3	2	-	15
VI. Contractors	8	7	-	2	-	2	-	-	19
Self-employed	47	75	6	8	8	24	2	1	171
Miscellaneous	4	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	8
Total	253	497	61	313	31	81	11	2	1249

In Table 23 the earners are classified by occupational categories and place of origin. It may be seen that an overwhelming majority of the earners come from the regions styled as (1) coastal Kanara, (2) Bombay Karnatak and (3) Andhra. These three regions together contribute 1063 earners out of a total of 1249. Out of the 313 earners coming from Andhra 268 or 85% are in the lowest occupational grade, while among those coming from coastal Kanara 62 out of 253 earners or only 24% are in the same occupational grade. The different patterns of occupational distribution of earners from different regions however, should not be taken as an indication of the socio-economic conditions in the different regions. The low proportion of earners in the lowest occupational grade among the immigrants from the region of coastal Kanara may be explained by the fact that a large proportion of the unskilled labourers from Kanara prefer to take up employment of a seasonal character. Such opportunities are ample in the North Kanara District and the local

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people prefer these because in that case they need not give up their homes permanently. On the other hand it is not economical for people coming from long distances to take up seasonal jobs and go back to their native places after working for a few months. That is why among the unskilled labourers who have settled down permanently in Dandeli we find many coming from distant places.

Chapter III

Household Income and Living

Income from occupations in the different Occupational Grades: The income of households in Dandeli are derived primarily from the incomes from the occupations of the earners. But the incomes from occupations vary according to the occupation. It would therefore first of all be useful to examine the variation of incomes from different occupations.

Table 24 shows the percentage distribution of adult earners according to occupational grades and the annual income from their occupations. Four persons have not reported any income. 34 persons worked jointly with other earners in the family and their income is included in the income of their respective heads of families. 30 of these persons belong to the occupational category of Self-employed, 3 to the category of contractors and 1 to Occupational Grade IV.

The median income would provide a rough index for comparing the incomes of different occupational grades. It may however be pointed out that in cases where the incomes of some of the earners are added to those of their heads of families, the median incomes are somewhat appreciated. The medians in such cases have been calculated by first subtracting from the total number of earners the earners whose incomes have been added to those of heads of households or who have not reported any income.

By and large the income from occupations increases according to the increase in the socio-economic grades of the occupations. However in the case of grades III and IV this observation does not hold good. This may be attributed to two factors: (1) Although the skilled manual occupations do not require as high an educational background and do not carry as much power of control as clerical and related occupations, they usually carry a higher salary and (2) the Clerical and allied Occupations also include the occupations of labour supervisors which are poorly paid.

Table 24

Percentage distribution of adult earners by occupational grades and annual income from occupations

Income ranges in Rupees	Nil	51	151	251	351	451	551	651	751	851	951	1001	1501	3001	Added to income of Head of Family	Total %	Total No.	Median Income Rs
	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	& above					
Occupational Grades																		
I Unskilled manual labour	0.4	2.6	14.5	8.1	25.7	12.2	13.6	5.5	16.1	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	100	689	445
II Semi-skilled and lowest administrative	-	-	2.6	-	3.9	12.3	6.8	8.4	29.9	17.5	4.6	15.0	-	-	-	100	154	806
III Skilled manual	-	-	1.2	-	-	1.2	5.8	10.5	16.3	5.8	5.8	40.7	12.8	-	-	100	86	1043
IV Clerical, teaching supervisory and related	-	-	-	-	2.8	8.3	13.0	16.7	8.3	5.6	6.5	25.9	12.0	-	0.9	100	108	866
V Officers and higher professions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26.7	46.7	26.7	-	100	15	2357
Contractors	-	-	-	5.5	5.5	-	-	11.1	-	-	5.5	27.8	16.2	11.1	16.2	100	18	1300
Self-employed	1.8	5.8	9.9	5.3	9.4	4.7	8.2	9.4	2.9	1.8	2.9	10.5	7.0	2.9	17.6	100	171	614
Miscellaneous	-	25.0	-	25.0	12.5	-	-	-	-	12.5	12.5	12.5	-	-	-	100	8	350
Total No.	4	30	123	68	205	121	136	96	185	51	26	114	45	11	34	4	1249	593
Total %	0.3	2.4	9.8	5.5	16.4	9.7	10.9	7.7	14.8	4.1	2.1	9.1	3.6	0.9	2.7	100		

Except in grade V there is a considerable variation in the incomes of the different earners within the same occupational grade. Such a phenomenon needs no explanation so far as the grades of Contractors and Self-employed are concerned because the occupations included in these grades are not socio-economically homogeneous.

Table 25

Annual Median Incomes of earners in Occupational Grades I to IV in Plywood Factory and Saw Mill

<u>Name of Concern</u>	<u>Plywood Factory</u>	<u>Saw Mill</u>
<u>Occupational grades</u>	<u>Rs</u>	<u>Rs</u>
I. Unskilled Manual labour	396	796
II. Semi-skilled and lowest administrative	516	970
III. Skilled manual	805	1312
IV. Clerical & Supervisory	687	1250
T o t a l	448	809

But in the case of the rest of the grades the occupations of a grade are by definition socio-economically homogeneous.

The disparities in the earnings of the workers in the same grade despite their similar status is due to the fact that for the same type of work different employers pay different grades of salaries and wages. This will be strikingly clear when the incomes of earners of corresponding occupations from the plywood factory and the saw mill, which are the biggest employers in Dandeli are compared. It will be seen from Table 25 that the incomes of earners in each of the first four occupational grades are much higher in the saw mill than the corresponding incomes in the plywood factory. Thus median income in grade I in the saw mill is almost double that of the corresponding grade in the plywood factory. This is because of two factors. One is that the wages of labourers in the plywood factory are much lower than those in the saw mill; and the other is that whereas in the saw mill both male and female labourers are paid equal wages, in the plywood factory the wages of female labourers are lower than those of male labourers.

Household Income: Since the incomes from occupations in the different occupational grades vary, the occupational grades of the

earners in the household will be one of the important factors influencing the household income. Another important factor influencing the income of a household is the number of earners. In general, the larger the number of earners in a household the higher is the household income. In Table 26 the families are

Table 26

Households by annual income groups and number of earners

No. of earners	Nil	1	2	3	4	6	Total households	Average No. of earners
Income range								
Rs 0-50	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	-
Rs 51-350	-	20	1	-	-	-	21	1
Rs 351-650	2	141	22	-	-	-	165	1.1
Rs 651-950	1	206	90	6	-	-	303	1.3
Rs 951-1000	-	16	24	1	-	-	41	1.6
Rs 1001-1500	2	96	85	26	5	-	214	1.7
Rs 1501-3000	-	41	19	15	9	2	86	2.0
Above Rs 3000	-	8	3	1	-	-	12	1.4
Total	7	529	244	49	14	2	845	1.4

distributed according to the annual income groups and the number of earners. In respect of the income ranges it will be seen that except in the last range of Rs ^{3,001} (3,000) and above, the average number of earners increases according to the increase in the income range.

In Table 27 the households are distributed according to the ranges of annual income and the occupational grades of their heads. The last row shows the average number of earners per household in each grade. Since the incomes of all the earners numbering about 1,256 including the 7 non-adult earners is distributed among a smaller number of 845 households, the household incomes in the various occupational grades of the heads of households are bound to be larger than the individual earnings under the corresponding categories.

The increase in the household incomes over the individual incomes of heads of households in the various occupational grades is mainly due to additional earning the members in the families.

Moreover, in some cases, particularly in the higher grades this is also due to income from other sources.

Table 27

Occupational grade of the head of the household and household income

Household Income	Occupational grade of H.H.	I. Unskilled manual labour	II. Semi-skilled lowest administrative	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professions	Contractors	Self-employed	Miscellaneous	Total
Rs 51-350		16	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	21
Rs 351-650		119	16	2	15	-	-	11	2	165
Rs 651-950		166	65	23	27	-	-	21	1	303
Rs 951-1500		92	43	43	39	1	6	29	2	255
Rs 1501-3000		15	7	14	19	9	5	17	-	86
Rs 3001 & above		-	-	-	1	4	2	5	-	12
Nil		-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
Total No. of families		408	131	82	101	14	13	89	7	845
Median income		775	880	1185	1070	2500	1500	1083	1088	883
Average No. of earners		1.70	1.17	1.04	1.01	1.07	1.38	1.90	1.14	1.49

It may be also pointed out that while the gaps in the median incomes between the different occupational grades are very wide in respect of the incomes of individual earners, these gaps are narrowed considerably in the case of the incomes of households. This has been done by a relatively larger number of persons per family in the lower categories taking to gainful employment.

Household size and income: Table 28 shows the distribution of households by annual incomes and number of ^{members per household.} earners per household. Excepting the highest income range of Rs. 3001 and over, the average number of members per household, the larger is the income range. Even in the highest income range the average size of the household is quite high, being 5.1. But in this case the number of households is too small to be statistically

TABLE 28

Households by annual income classes and number of members

No. of members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	16	19	Total families	Average No. of members
Rs 0-50	3													3	1
Rs 51-350	14	6		2	1									21	1.5
Rs 351-650	69	35	30	17	11	2	1							165	2.3
Rs 651-1000	41	64	82	51	49	36	19	1		1				344	3.5
Rs 1001-1500	12	20	48	46	26	29	20	9	4					214	4.3
Rs 1501-3000	6	5	9	8	17	13	12	7	5	1	2	1		86	5.4
Rs 3000 & above	1	2	2	3	2					1			1	12	5.1
Total:	146	132	171	125	106	80	52	17	9	3	2	1	1	845	3.6

significant. The larger incomes in the case of larger households has to be attributed to ^{the} a largeⁿ number of earners.

Income ^{per} for adult unit: The household's income loses much of its significance unless it is related to the consumption needs of the household. The consumption needs of a household depend upon the number and the type of members whether males or females, adults or non-adults. Since the consumption requirements of persons vary according to age and sex units, for the purpose of comparison the different members of a household are converted into adult male units. On the basis of the Poona Survey, ⁽¹⁾ the consumption requirement of a male adult over 14 years is taken to be 1 unit, that of an adult female over 14 years is 0.875, that of a child between 5 and 14 years of age is 0.625 and that of a child below 5 years is 0.375. After expressing the consumption requirements of the various members of a household in terms of the requirements of an adult male, the total income of the household is divided by the number of adult male units. The result is the income of the household in relation to its consumption needs. This is called the income per adult unit and it is comparable with all households.

With regard to Dandeli, however, it may be pointed out that some of the uni-member households form part of larger families, the other members being in home communities. So the calculation of adult units of consumption is under-represented, since it does not take into consideration members not residing in Dandeli. On the whole, therefore, the income per adult unit is not so high as is shown in Table 29. This is very much so in occupational grades I and IV in which there are many uni-member households.

Although the income per adult unit depends both upon the size of the household and the type of the members, the size of the household may be regarded as a fair index for comparisons among the various occupational grades. The median income per adult unit for the population as a whole unit is Rs 351. Among the occupational

(1) D.R. Gadgil: Poona: A Socio-economic Survey (Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, Poona, 1945) Part I, P. 293.

Table 29

Households according to occupational categories and income per adult unit

Income per adult unit in Rs	1-100	101-150	151-200	201-250	251-300	301-350	351-400	401-500	501-600	601 & above	Total	Median income	Average No. of family members	
I Unskilled manual labour	-	2	12	39	62	55	50	42	85	23	38	408	340	3.31
II Semi-skilled and lowest administrative	-	-	2	7	27	16	16	16	20	10	17	131	342	3.96
III Skilled manual	-	-	-	4	11	13	9	4	13	7	21	82	400	3.91
IV Clerical, teaching, supervisory and related	-	-	-	5	9	12	13	7	12	13	30	101	437	3.74
V Officers and higher profession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	2	10	14	660	4.06
Contractors	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	1	6	13	600	3.71
Self-employed	-	1	3	8	14	13	11	15	9	9	7	89	328	4.52
Miscellaneous	2	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	7	300	3.42
Total	2	3	17	62	125	111	101	87	143	65	129	845	351	3.66

categories it is the lowest in the category of Self-employed and the highest in grade V being Rs 328 and Rs 660 respectively. The income per adult unit is based upon the total income of the household, the type of members and the size of the household. In the occupational category of Self-employed the median household income is fairly high, being Rs 1,083, but the average household size is the largest being 4.52 members, and hence the low median income per adult unit. The median income per adult unit in the case of occupational grade I is Rs 340 which is quite good when compared with the overall situation. But actually there are a number of uni-member households in this category representing about a fifth of the total number, in many of which the household heads have to support their dependants outside Dandeli. As it is the average number of members per household in this grade is only 3.31, and so a comparatively low household income has resulted in showing a fairly high income per adult unit. The median income per adult unit in occupational grade II is 342, which is very nearly the same as that in category I although the household income in the former case is much higher. This is because the average number of members per household in this case is much higher, being 3.96. The proportion of uni-member households also is lower and consequently less dependants outside Dandeli. Therefore, although the incomes per adult unit are more or less the same in grades I and II, the real income per adult unit in grade I is much lower than it is in grade II.

The median income per adult unit in grade III is Rs 400. This is less than that in grade IV which is 437 although the family income in grade III is higher. But then the average number of members per family in grade III is also higher than in grade IV. However, the real income per adult unit in grade IV would be much less considering the fact that about 1/4 of the families in these categories are uni-member ones, and in many of these cases there are dependants outside Dandeli.

Living Conditions:

The level of living of the family is indicated by various factors such as the type of residence, household equipment,

dress, consumption pattern and so on. It was, however, not possible to make a detailed study of all these aspects. The relevant information collected on this topic includes the family expenditure on a number of specified items of consumption and the use in the family of certain articles of household equipment.

Consumption Pattern: With a view to gauging the consumption pattern of the households, information was obtained regarding the expenditure incurred by it on a number of items during the month preceding the interview. It was however not intended to make a complete account of the monthly expenditure of the family and our list of items did not contain such an important item as food-grains. Such as they are, the items covered are sufficient to give a rough idea about the consumption pattern. The above information, however, could not be secured from 64 families, either because they did not have separate establishments or because some of the being in the hotel business did not maintain any separate account of family expenditure as distinguished from business expenditure. Thus the information under this head was obtained only from 781 families.

The information regarding the expenditure of families on the specified items of consumption is summarised in Table 30. The families are categorised according to the occupational grades, of their heads. The consumption pattern is indicated by the percentage of families in each grade reporting expenditure and the median expenditure on the various items. The various items are: (a) kerosene oil, (b) firewood, (c) edible and vegetable oils, (d) jaggery (gur), (e) sugar, (f) tea and coffee, (g) betel, beedies and cigarettes, (h) milk and milk products, (i) fish, meat and eggs, (j) vegetables and fruits, (k) medicine, (l) clothes for men, (m) clothes for women, (n) clothes for children, (o) footwear, (p) soap, hair oil etc., (q) newspapers and books, (r) travel. The various items may be broadly generalised into two categories, those involving recurring expenditure every month and those which do not involve recurring expenditure, the latter comprising the items of medicine, clothes for men, women and children, footwear and travel; and the former all the remaining items.

Table 30

Monthly Household expenditure on specified items of consumption by occupational grades

Occupational Grades of H.F.	No. of Families supplying information	(a) Kerosene		Firewood		(c) Edible & Vegetable Oils		(d) Jaggery (Gur)	
		% Reporting Expenditure	Median Expenditure Rs nP	% Report-ing Expenditure	Median Expend-iture Rs nP	% Reporting Expenditure	Median Expenditure Rs nP	% Reporting Expendi-ture	Median Expend-iture Rs nP
I Unskilled Manual Labour	375	98	1-00	5	3-62	96	1-50	51	0-87
II Semi-skilled & Lowest administrative	128	96	1-19	16	2-69	94	1-62	63	1-00
III Skilled Manual	80	91	1-25	21	3-37	91	2-25	46	0-87
IV Clerical Teaching Supervisory & Related	92	80	1-31	44	2-31	82	2-06	61	1-25
V Officers & Higher Professions	14	50	2-50	36	2-50	100	2-31	36	0-87
Contractors	12	92	2-00	33	2-50	92	2-00	56	1-00
Self-Employeds	75	99	1-50	63	3-94	97	2-06	57	0-94
Miscellaneous	5	100	0-87	40	2-12	100	1-75	60	1-75
Total	781	94	1-12	20	2-87	92	1-69	54	0-94

<u>(e) S u g a r</u>		<u>(f) Tea & Coffee</u>		<u>(g) Betel, Bidies & Cigarettes</u>		<u>(h) Milk & Milk Products</u>		<u>(i) Fish, Meat & Eggs</u>		<u>(j) Vegetable & Fruits</u>	
% Reporting Expenditure	Median Exp.	% Reporting Exp.	Median Exp.	% Reporting Exp.	Median Exp.	% Reporting Exp.	Median Exp.	% Reporting Exp.	Median Exp.	% Reporting Expenditure	Median Expenditure
Rs nP		Rs nP		Rs nP		Rs nP		Rs nP		Rs nP	
82	3-37	87	1-12 1-62	89	5-31	90	3-56	91	4-62	92	1-94
92	3-56	95	2-19	88	4-69	96	5-56	84	5-25	88	3-62
95	4-50	90	2-87	86	7-31	96	8-69	84	7-31	89	4.37
87	3-94	88	2-81	70	5-62	86	9-62	58	6-56	80	3-69
93	10-00	100	4-50	36	7-50	93	20-00	22	5-00	93	15-00
92	7-00	100	3-00	50	20-00	100	12-50	83	8-31	100	4-00
86	3-75	83	2-69	78	4-00	93	6-00	74	5-00	86	3-31
100	4-00	100	3-00	60	3-50	100	4-00	60	10-00	100	6-69
86	3-62	88	2-06	84	5-44	91	5-00	82	5-19	89	3-25

<u>(k) Medicines</u>		<u>(l) Clothes for Men</u>		<u>(m) Clothes for Women</u>		<u>(n) Clothes for Children</u>		<u>(o) Foot-wear</u>		<u>(p) Soap, Hair Oil etc.</u>	
<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>
<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
	<u>Rs nP</u>		<u>Rs nP</u>		<u>Rs nP</u>		<u>Rs nP</u>		<u>Rs nP</u>		<u>Rs nP</u>
5	12-50	32	7-25	25	11-25	24	4-06	3	4-75	96	1-12
6	5-00	32	8-37	29	11-87	21	4-50	9	4-25	98	2-12
10	4-31	38	11-69	35	12-50	30	7-50	4	7-50	95	2-69
13	4-00	40	11-69	28	16-69	26	6-50	11	3-75	95	2-44
29	10-00	50	22-00	36	15-00	22	7-50	29	2-00	100	2-69
8	12-50	42	17-50	17	25-00	25	12-50	8	2-00	100	2-56
11	5-00	12	9-00	12	10-00	12	8-56	7	6-69	91	2-44
0	0-00	20	7-50	0	0-00	0	0-00	0	0-00	100	2-50
8	6-69	32	8-81	26	12-31	23	5-44	6	4-31	95	2-00

<u>(q) Newspapers and Books</u>		<u>(r) T r a v e l</u>		Median Expenditure on all items	
<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>%Reporting</u>	<u>Median</u>		
<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Exp.</u>	<u>Rs</u>	<u>nP</u>
	<u>Rs nP</u>		<u>Rs nP</u>		
1	2-25	2	17-50	40	
1	2-50	2	20-00	48	
4	1-75	5	20-00	65	
13	2-00	5	15-00	62	
43	3-75	22	10-00	104	
8	2-50	8	27-50	95	
9	2-00	4	10-00	55	
0	0-00	0	0-00	50	
4	2-31	3	16-00	50	

We may first analyse the consumption of the total population as gauged from the last row. One of the points to be considered is the extent of the use of the various items in the population and this is indicated by the percentages of families reporting expenditure. On this basis, for instance, the items of monthly recurring expenditure may be arranged in an order of diminishing common use as follows: 1) soap, hair oil etc., (95%), 2) kerosene oil (94%), 3) edible and vegetable oils (92%), 4) milk and milk products (91%), 5) vegetable and fruits (89%), 6) tea and coffee (88%), 9) fish, meat and eggs (82%), 10) firewood (20%) and 11) newspapers and books (4%). However, the extent of use of the last two items viz., firewood and newspapers, as indicated by the figures of expenditure is rather misleading. As regards firewood, although only 20% of the families are returned as spending money on it, almost all families use it for fuel. But many families do not have to buy their firewood because they obtain it free in the shape of waste veneers or offcuts from the plywood factory or the saw mill. Some families collect their firewood themselves from the adjoining forests. The buying of newspapers is highly selective and restricted to a very few persons of higher education and better means. But quite a few others who are interested in reading newspapers avail themselves of whatever library facilities there are or read borrowed papers.

It is noteworthy that most of the families are accustomed to drinking tea or coffee. It is not surprising that the number of families buying vegetables and fruits is larger than that buying fish, meat and eggs, for the former item can be used by all the families and the latter by only non-vegetarians. The higher groups among the Hindus are mostly pure vegetarians.

As is to be expected the monthly expenditure on items which are not bought every month is generally speaking incurred by lesser numbers of families. However, if the three items of cloth for adult males, adult females and children, are included under one category the number of families spending on this combined item would have been larger. The number of families spending on footwear and

its repairs is quite small even granting that this is a non-recurring expenditure, for in Dandeli as many as 1,255 persons belonging to 681 families used some kind of footwear. So also, considering the predominantly inmigrant nature of the population the number of families spending money on travelling is very small. Usually the rate of people travelling fluctuates according to the marriage and festival seasons, and our inquiry which is spread over one year might have failed to reflect adequately this seasonal activity. Similar may be the case with the purchase of footwear if such purchases have seasonal fluctuation which is quite likely.

The amount of money spent on these different items by the families using them varies from item to item depending upon the price and the quantity used. Generally speaking, expenses on non-recurring items are higher than those on recurring ones, which is but natural. Among the items of recurring expenditure attention may be drawn to items of food such as: 1) edible and vegetable oils, 2) jaggery, 3) sugar, 4) tea and coffee, 5) milk and milk products, 6) fish, meat and eggs and 7) vegetables and fruits. These items contribute towards balancing the diet of the families, which consists mainly of grains like rice, wheat and jowar. Since the quantities of these items are not given it is not possible to have direct measures of their food value. But the prices give a rough idea of the quantities consumed and they indicate that the diet is very inadequately balanced.

A prominent item among the recurring items of expenditure is the item of betel, beedies and cigarettes and the median amount spent on it is the highest of all such items.

We may next analyse the pattern of consumption of the families in the various occupational grades relative to each other. The percentages of families in the various occupational grades reporting expenditure on the different items and the median expenditures would indicate the consumption patterns of the different strata. Our main purpose is to find out the class differences, if any, in the use of the various items. The items may be considered one by one.

(a) Kerosene oil in Dandeli is used primarily for lighting purposes and in some families also as fuel for burning stoves. As can be seen from the Table in all occupational grades the major proportions of families use the commodity. However, the proportions of families who do not use kerosene oil are relatively larger in grades IV and V. This may be due to one or both of two factors: 1) Some families use electricity instead of kerosene for lighting and 2) some families who usually buy large quantities of kerosene at a time to use for a long period, might not have spent any money on this item during the month in question. While the median expenditure on this item is quite low in the case of the total population it is the lowest in occupational grade I.

(b) Although very few families are shown in the Table as spending on firewood, it has been pointed out already that almost every family uses this item for fuel, most families procuring their supplies free. The expenses on firewood of the families that purchase it do not show any significant correlation with their socio-economic standing. However, a relatively a higher proportion of the families in the grade of Self-employeds purchase their firewood. This is because the earners in these families being self-employed persons have no access to the wastewood from the plywood factory and the saw mill which are the main sources of free supply of firewood.

(c) The use of edible and vegetable oils is fairly common in all the grades. The economically higher sections spend slightly more than the others on these commodities.

(d) Over half the number of all families use jaggery. The amount spent is quite low in all the occupational grades. However in the higher income grades such as those of skilled manual and Officers, not only are the proportions of families purchasing sugar comparatively lower but relative to their income the amounts spent are also lower. This is because their consumption of sugar is relatively higher.

(e) The use of sugar is much more common than that of jaggery in all grades. Sugar is used in the preparations of tea

and coffee, which are commonly taken by all sections. But the consumption of sugar is greater in the grades of higher economic condition.

(f) As is to be expected the use of tea and coffee is as widespread as that of sugar. What is more, even the expenditure on this item by the various grades is of the same relative order as that on sugar. On the whole it would appear that the expenditure on sugar, tea and coffee, is a good index of socio-economic status and level of living.

(g) The use of stimulants like betel, beedies and cigarettes is fairly common in all the sections, but in lower grades it is greater. The median expenditure is comparatively high in most of the sections and higher in the higher income grades. It is however curious that the median expenditure in grade II is lower than in grade I. In this connection it may be pointed out that although the socio-economic standing of grade II is higher than grade I, in point of economic condition alone the two grades are very much near each other. Could it be possible that as an adjustment between the rising standard of living and stationary income the families in grade II are economising on such non-essential items as the stimulants ?

(h) Milk is used primarily in the preparation of tea and coffee and among the higher sections particularly vegetarians, milk and curds are eaten with meals. The use of milk is common in all the sections. Comparatively speaking the expenditure on this item is fairly heavy, the median expenditure of all the families being Rs 5/-. The expenditure is also correlated with the socio-economic standing of the sections. The pattern of expenditure is more or less similar to that of sugar or of tea and coffee.

(i) On the basis of the reported expenditure on fish, meat and eggs, it would appear that 82% of the total families are non-vegetarians. Relatively more families in grade IV and V have not reported expenditure on this item. This is because the higher caste ^{who} Hindus/are usually vegetarians are concentrated in these grades. However some of the Saraswat and Gaud Saraswat Brahmins among the

higher Hindus are non-vegetarians, and 11 such families reported expenditure on this item. But most of them are found in the grade of Self-employed. Although the median expenditure on this item in the case of grade I is the lowest, it does not show any significant correlation with the socio-economic standing of the grades. This may be due to the fact that most of the people who are really in a position to afford non-vegetarian food are vegetarians. Non-vegetarian food being comparatively more costly, very few of the non-vegetarians are able to include it in their daily diet. As a rule people in Dandeli have this item only once or twice a week.

(j) Naturally a large proportion of the families reported expenditure on vegetables and fruits. The median expenditure on the whole is less than that in the case of fish, meat and eggs since vegetables are relatively cheaper. The expenditure is significantly correlated with the socio-economic standing of the grades. The median expenditure in grade V is far greater than that in other grades, because in this grade the vegetarian habit of most of the families is combined with a higher economic standing.

(k) Very few families have reported expenditure on medicine. But the proportions of families spending on this item tend to increase with the rise in socio-economic standing.

(l, m & n) Although clothes are non-recurring items of expenditure they are essential items. So when the items of clothes for men, women and children, are taken together the expenditure is quite widespread and heavy. On the whole, women's clothing accounts for the highest expenditure among the items of clothes. There is also a positive correlation between the expenditure on clothes and the socio-economic standing of the grade.

(o) Only a few families have reported expenses on footwear and repairs, and the pattern of expenditure shows no significant relationship with socio-economic standing.

(p) Expenses on soap, hair oil etc., are reported most widely in all the grades. Excepting that the median expenditure is slightly lower in grade I, not much significant relationship between expenditure on these articles and socio-economic standing

is noticeable.

(q) Very few families have reported expenditure on newspapers and books. However, as is to be expected, relatively more families have reported expenditure on this item in grades IV and V as the proportion of literate and highly educated persons is the highest in these sections.

(r) Travelling expenses also are reported by very few families. One also cannot discern any significant pattern in the expenditures of the different grades.

On the whole it will be seen that the expenditure on items like kerosene oil, sugar, tea and coffee, milk and milk products, vegetables and fruits and clothes, is significantly related to the socio-economic standing of the population. The correlation between expenditure pattern and socio-economic standing is only slight in the case of edible and vegetable oils and little or nothing in the case of items like 1) jagery, 2) betel, beedies and cigarettes, 3) fish, meat and eggs and 4) soap and hair oil.

The last two columns of the Table show the expenses on all the specified items. It will be seen that by and large the total expenditure is related to the socio-economic standing of the various occupational grades. If the average expenditure in grade III is slightly higher than that in grade IV, the income of the former grade is also higher than that of the latter.

Household Equipment: The household equipment to a large extent would depend upon the type of the house. But in Dandeli almost all the people are living in houses which are not of their choosing. Excepting for a few of the staff quarters provided by the Forest Department, the plywood factory and the Electric-Grid Sub-station and some of the houses of the contractors most of the residences are mere huts. If the people were free to build houses many of them perhaps might have lived in much better residences. In point of housing therefore the people have involuntarily to live at a lower level. When the houses themselves are inferior the inhabitants cannot have better types of household equipment even if they so desired.

To find out their mode of living the respondents were asked to furnish information on a number of household articles such as cup and saucers, clocks, stoves, bicycles, radio and gramophones, sewing machines, petromaxes, tables, chairs, cupboards, cots and lamps. Obviously the list does not exhaust all the articles used in households but it is sufficient to indicate the level of living. Information regarding these items is summarised in Table 31, according to the occupational grades of heads of households.

To take these items one by one it may be seen that (a) the item of cup and saucers is most widely used in the population. However the percentages of families using it in different occupational grades vary and they seem to be associated with the socio-economic standing of the grades. So also the average number of cup and saucers per family is significantly correlated with the occupational grades.

(b) Only 16% of the total families possess a watch or a time-piece. But as is to be expected the possession of this item is very highly correlated with the socio-economic standing of the occupational grades.

(c) The percentage of families using kerosene stoves is barely 6%, but again their use is correlated with the socio-economic standing of the grades.

(d) The community at Dandeli extends over a small area and so bicycles or any other mechanical modes of conveyance are not needed. However there are a number of persons who in the course of their work have to visit the forest area round about Dandeli and who use mostly bicycles for this purpose. Only 5% of the families possess this item, and its use is not correlated with the socio-economic standing of the grades although bicycles are totally absent in the grade of Unskilled Manual Labour.

(e) There were in all 25 pieces under the item of radio or gramophones and of these only 3 were radios all owned by the officers. The use of this item also bears a significant correlation with the occupational grades.

Table 3^d

Households by occupational grades of heads of households and possession of specified items of household equipment

Occupational Grades	No. of families supplying information	(a) Cup & saucers	(b) Watch or time-piece	(c) Stove	(d) Bicycle	(e) Radio or gramophone	(f) Sewing machine	(g) Petromax	(h) Table &/or Chairs			Total % using tables & chairs	
		% rep Aver -ort- -age per fam-ily	% using	% using	% using	No. of fami -lies using	% using table but not chairs	% using chairs but not tables	% using table & chairs				
I Unskilled manual labour	375	59	2.2	1	-	-	1	1	1	2	4	2	8
II Semi-skilled and lowest administrative	128	74	2.8	14	3	14	1	-	-	2	21	13	36
III Skilled manual	80	90	3.1	24	10	3	4	-	-	4	30	26	60
IV Clerical, teaching, supervisory and related	92	76	2.9	39	17	11	4	1	2	3	17	42	62
V Officers and higher professions	14	100	5.5	86	86	22	57	1	3	-	8	93	100
Contractors	12	83	4.0	42	17	33	17	-	3	-	25	17	42
Self-employed	75	87	3.6	45	5	7	7	3	13	5	13	28	46
Miscellaneous	5	100	3.6	20	-	-	-	-	-	20	40	-	60
Total	781	71	2.8	16	6	5	3	6	22	2	13	16	31

Contd.

(j) Cupboards % using	(i) Cots % using	Average per family	(k) Lamps or lanterns
1	8	1.0	14
2	29	1.2	63
3	38	1.2	67
9	41	1.2	66
57	57	2.1	43
50	56	1.9	56
22	39	1.3	74
20	40	1.0	60
6	23	1.2	41

(f) Only 6 sewing machines were used by the families, and this number is too small to have any significance in the pattern of its distribution.

(g) Petromaxes were mainly used by the Self-employed and it may be presumed that they were used by them primarily to light their business premises. Ordinarily, however, the use of petromaxes is related to the higher socio-economic status of the families and this is to some extent true in Dandeli as in the rest of the cases they are used mainly by the higher grades.

(h) The use of tables and chairs is also a mark of a higher socio-economic standing. Attention may also be invited to the fact that in the higher grades tables and chairs are mostly found in combination, while in the lower grades mostly chairs alone are used without tables. We would also expect that there would be more such furniture.

(i) The proportion of families using cupboards is very small. Only in the case of officers, contractors and self-employed are their percentages quite sizeable.

(j) Only 23% of the families reported the use of cots. This shows that the vast majority of the population sleep on the ground. Sleeping on the ground is common in almost all the grades although the percentages of families having cots as well as the average number of cots per family are higher in the higher grades.

(k) Lamps or lanterns are commonly used for lighting purposes by the higher sections who also have comparatively better housing. In the lower section the common lighting devices are oil wicks. Some of the families in grades IV, V and of Contractors and Self-employed who have not reported the use of lamps were using either electricity or petromaxes. On the whole it would appear that the frequency of the use of lamps and lanterns in conjunction with electricity and petromaxes is correlated with socio-economic status.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that while the level of living of the families as indicated by their expenditure on specified items of consumption and their use of certain items of household equipment is on the whole low, it is significantly

correlated with the socio-economic standing of the various occupational grades. In our classification of occupational grades, notwithstanding the fact that the skilled manual workers have higher incomes than the clerical, supervisory, teaching and related workers, the latter have been given a higher rank by virtue of the fact that their work is non-manual and that they have a higher general educational background. A comparison between the levels of living of these two grades would also appear to justify this classification. It may be seen that while the families in grade III spend slightly more than those in grade IV on the specified items of consumption, the latter are slightly better off in respect of items of household equipment.

Financial Condition.

Sources of Income: If the total income of households is divided into 3 main categories according to the sources from which they are derived: (1) Income from main occupations, (2) income from subsidiary occupations and (3) income from other sources, it is found that the main occupations are the most important source of income of the population of Dandeli, the other sources dwindling into insignificance. Out of Rs 874,900 of total income as much as Rs 850,560 or 97% of the total amount is derived from the main occupations of the earners. Income from subsidiary occupations is only Rs 10,400 and that from other sources is Rs 13,940, the latter may be regarded as unearned income forming less than 2% of the total income. The frequency of households having unearned incomes and the amounts of such incomes are larger in the higher income ranges.

Subsidiary Occupations: In all 33 families reported income from subsidiary occupations. These refer to incomes of 35 individuals including 6 pensioners and 4 cases receiving remittances from relatives working outside Dandeli. So actually only 25 persons are engaged in subsidiary occupations such as dairying, shop keeping etc.

Immovable Property: Owing to the inmigrant character of the people their immovable properties such as land and buildings are located

not only in Dandeli but also in their home communities. There is no scope for owning land in Dandeli and the only immovable property that the residents can possess there are their residential quarters and business premises. But the value of such temporary constructions is not very great.

In Table 32, the families are classified by types of immovable property and occupational grades of heads of families. It may be seen that altogether 414 families of 49% of the total have some kind of immovable property. Of these, 35 families possess only land, 195 only houses, and 184 both land and buildings, the buildings being mostly residential houses. The percentage of families having some kind of immovable property is the lowest in occupational grade I and the highest in grade IV, being 41.5 and 69.3 respectively. If we give more importance to the possession of land either alone or together with buildings rather than to the ownership of buildings alone we find that while the percentage of occupational grade I is the lowest in this respect also, the corresponding percentage in the case of grade II is the highest. By and large the possession of immovable property is correlated with socio-economic standing of the occupational grades. However, the percentage of families having immovable property in grade III is lower than that in grade II, being ^{45.1}43.1 and 56.5 respectively. This is because the ownership of this type of property is also associated with the ethnic background of the population and some of the property owning population categories such as Brahmins are better represented in grade II.

The entire immovable property of the population is valued at Rs 5,05,040. But the annual income derived from it is only Rs 13,940 or about 2.8% of the value. This poor return is due to the fact that in many cases the properties, particularly buildings or houses, do not fetch any income at all. As a matter of fact, out of 414 families who own some kind of immovable property, as many as 182 families have not stated their value probably because it is trivial. Of the remaining 232 families who have mentioned the value of their properties only 72 derive income

- 123 a -

Table 32

Households by occupational grades of heads of households and types of immovable property

Occupational Grades of Heads of the Family	I Unskilled manual labour		II Semi-skilled & lowest admin- istrative		III Skilled manual		IV Clerical, teaching, supervisory, and related		V Officers and higher professions		Contractors		Self- employed		Miscel- laneous		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Land only	10	2.5	10	7.6	3	3.7	3	3.0	-	-	2	15.4	7	7.9	-	-	35	4.1
Building only	88	21.6	31	23.7	19	23.1	29	28.8	1	7.1	3	23.1	23	25.8	1	14.3	195	23.1
Land and building	71	17.4	33	25.2	15	18.3	38	37.5	8	57.1	2	15.4	17	19.1	1	14.3	184	21.8
Nil	239	58.5	57	43.5	45	54.9	31	30.7	5	35.8	6	46.1	42	47.2	5	71.4	⁴³¹ 331	51.0
Total	408	100	131	100	82	100	101	100	14	100	13	100	189	100	7	100	845	100

from them.

Movable assets: Information regarding movable assets was obtained only under the following heads: a) General Provident Fund of the Government, b) Shares of Cooperative Societies, c) National Savings Certificates, d) Bank deposits and e) Insurance policies. The following are the frequencies with which the different types of assets were possessed by the households:

Shares of Cooperative Societies	310
Government General Provident Fund	86
Insurance Policies	44
National Savings Certificates	4
Bank deposits	2
Total	<u>446</u>

In all 402 families or about 48% of the total hold one or more types of these assets. However, as many as 277 families or 56% of the total number of families possessing any of these assets own only the shares of Cooperative Societies. These shares are of trifling value and the main purpose in subscribing to them is to become a member of the Cooperative Society rather than to treat them as a form of investment. So only the remaining 175 of the 402 families possessing these assets may be regarded as having invested their moneys. They represent only 21% of the total families. Government General Provident Fund and insurance policies are the main types of investments. In occupational grade I the proportion of families investing in these items is negligible being 0.6%. In grades II to V where significant proportions of households -- 30, 21, 36 and 71 persons respectively have made investments, General Provident Fund is more common in grades II and III and insurance policies in grade IV and V. Between grades II and III the greater proportion of families holding assets in grade II is due to the presence in this grade of greater proportion of Government employees who contribute to the General Provident Fund of the Government.

The total value of all assets excluding insurance policies amount to Rs 1,59,150. The assets in the case of insurance

policies would be the total amount of premiums paid up to the time of the inquiry. But it was not possible to obtain this information. Except one household which reported an income of Rs 30/- from bank deposits none of the other households reported any income from movable assets. This is because the main investments are such that they do not fetch annual returns.

Thus it is clear that the incomes of families in Dandeli are derived almost entirely from the occupations of their earners. Although a sizeable number of families own land and buildings, such properties are either of insignificant value or fetch very little income. The only tangible investments of the families are Government General Provident Funds and insurance policies and in either case they are intended to provide for the future and not to procure immediate returns. Even so the proportion of families covered by such securities is very small.

All the same many households in Dandeli have cultivated the habit of saving. Although information on this point was not obtained through our General Family Schedule, this fact is evident from the Savings Bank Accounts operated by the Dandeli Post Office. These accounts however refer to the entire population of Dandeli, both permanent and temporary residents, but it is to be presumed that the vast majority of them belong to the permanent residents. In 1956 there were about 500 Savings Bank Accounts operated by the post office. The total deposits and withdrawals during the year ending March 31, 1956 were Rs 54,939 and 39,995 respectively.

These show a considerable increase over the corresponding figures for the previous year which were Rs 34,949 and 29,339 respectively.

Remittances: Several heads of households in Dandeli have their primary relatives such as wives and children, parents, brothers and sisters residing in their native places. It is therefore natural to expect that some of them would remit money to their dependents or quasi-dependents living outside Dandeli. The data collected show that 125 families sent monthly remittances and 21 sent occasionally. Among those who sent monthly remittances 44 sent amounts ranging up to Rs 10, 40 between Rs 11 and Rs 20, 25 between Rs 21 and Rs 50, 14

between Rs 51 and Rs 100 and 2 between Rs 101 and Rs 200. Of the families which made remittances occasionally as many as 16 sent amounts ranging up to Rs 10.

Indebtedness: Information regarding indebtedness was secured on such items as total debt outstanding on the date of inquiry, loans raised during the past twelve months, the sources from which loans were drawn, reasons for borrowing, the rate of interest etc. The data on the outstanding debt and the borrowing activities during the past twelve months have to be treated separately, for not all persons who had borrowed during the past twelve months had loans outstanding on the date of inquiry and not all persons with loans outstanding against them on the date of inquiry had drawn loans during the past twelve months.

In Table 33 the families are classified by the occupational grades of family heads and information regarding indebtedness on the date of inquiry. In all 332 families or 39.3% of the total are indebted to the extent of Rs 97,420. Most of the loans, as many as 233, range below Rs 200. While the number of such borrowers represents 70% of the total, their aggregate loan amount represents only 29% of the total amount. On the other hand at the other extreme 34 households or 10% of the total borrowers whose loans range above Rs 501 account for Rs 54,750 or 56% of the total loan amount.

When the indebtedness of the different occupational grades is reviewed it may first of all be observed that the proportions of debtors having higher amounts of outstanding loans, say, above Rs 300 are much lower in the lower occupational grades, namely grades I and II. In grade I only 14 out of 158 debtors have such outstanding loans and in grade II only 5 out of 51. On the other hand in grade III there are 19 such debtors out of a total of 55, in grade IV 11 out of 41, and in grade V and the grade of Contractors all the debtors owe more than Rs 300/-. In the grade of Self-employed 15 out of 21 debtors owe amounts more than Rs 300 each. The above phenomenon however does not call for any special comment, for the borrowing capacities of the parties are related to their earning capacities which are higher in the higher occupational grades. In the grade

Table 33

Households by occupational grades of heads of households and the extent of indebtedness

Ranges of loan amounts	Rs 1 to 50		Rs 51-100		Rs 101 to 200		Rs 201 to 300		Rs 301 to 500		Rs 501 & above		Total indebted families	Total Average age	Total families	% of indebted families to total	
	No.	Average amount	No.	Average amount	No.	Average amount	No.	Average amount	No.	Average amount	No.	Average amount					
Occupational grades of Head of the family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
I Unskilled manual labour	49	27	51	73	30	162	14	263	12	401	2	605	158	124	408	38.7	
II Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	14	32	11	84	12	157	9	266	4	365	1	590	51	151	131	39.0	
III Skilled manual	5	38	13	88	15	172	3	243	12	400	7	980	55	297	82	67.0	
IV Clerical, teaching, supervisory and related	6	35	11	82	11	148	2	300	1	370	10	1216	41	387	101	40.6	
V Officers and higher professions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	500	1	1130	2	815	14	14.2
Contractors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	430	2	1275	3	993	13	23.0
Self Employed	2	45	1	60	2	160	1	300	5	460	10	2945	21	1550	89	23.6	
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	800	1	800	7	-
T o t a l	76	29	83	81	70	161	29	266	36	407	34	1610	332	294	845	39.3	

of Self-employed it would appear that it is mostly persons with higher incomes who are able to secure loans as will be shown presently.

The average amount of outstanding loans among the indebted households is positively correlated with the occupational grades of the borrowers, but the incidence of indebtedness varies considerably among the different occupational grades. In grade I, II and IV the percentages of indebted families are more or less equal, being 33.7, 39.0, 40.6 respectively and these are also very nearly the same as the percentage of indebted families in the total population. But in grade III the proportion of indebted families is very high being 67% while the corresponding proportions are quite low in grade V and the grades of Contractors and Self-employed being 14.2%, 23.0% and 23.6% respectively. The differential proportions of indebtedness in the different occupational grades may have to be explained with reference to various factors leading to indebtedness. One of these factors is the need for borrowing, which in general is lower among people of higher incomes than those of lower incomes. This will probably explain why a lower percentage of families in grade V and among Contractors is indebted. Another important factor is the availability of loan facilities. Even though people are in urgent need of loans they simply cannot take them unless there are facilities to raise loans. The significance of this factor will be brought out while analysing the agencies offering loan facilities and the categories of people to whom they are accessible.

Sources of Loans: The indebted families have taken loans from one or more of the various agencies providing loan facilities as follows:

<u>Names of sources</u>	<u>No. of loanees</u>
Cooperative Societies	118
Government	2
Money Lender	13
Relative	1
Acquaintances	106
Unspecified	2
Cooperative Society and Government	15-2

Cooperative Society and Money lender	15
Cooperative Society and Relative	5
Cooperative Society and Acquaintances	61
Money lender and Acquaintances	1
Relatives and Acquaintances	1
Cooperative Society, Money lender and Acquaintance	3
Cooperative Society, Government and Merchant	<u>2</u>
	<u>332</u>

It will be seen that in 242 families the outstanding loans are from single sources, in 85 cases they are from two sources and in 5 cases from three sources. 83 out of the 90 indebted families who owe money to more than one source are indebted to a Cooperative society, which fact is rather significant. When a loan is taken from a Cooperative Society the repayment is made through deductions from the salary or wages. So when the loan is being repaid the party may find it most difficult not only to meet any emergency but even to meet the monthly expenses. Under these circumstances sometimes another loan is raised. Mostly small amounts are borrowed from friends and acquaintances without interest as is evidenced by the fact that in 64 cases a loan from the Cooperative Society is accompanied with another loan from an acquaintance. In 18 cases a loan from the Cooperative Society is accompanied with one from a money lender. On the whole it would appear that the need for taking loans from more than one source arises mainly on account of the peculiar mode of repayment of the loans drawn from the Cooperative Societies.

The Cooperative Societies are the most important sources of loans. As many as 206 families are indebted to these sources either wholly or partly. 172 families owe money to acquaintances. Usually in times of financial difficulties people make adjustments by borrowing small loans from friends and colleagues without interest. Interest on such loans is not usually charged for on reason that the loans are small and for another that such arrangements are often made on a reciprocal basis. 32 families owe money to the money lenders. There are no professional money lenders in Dandeli but some persons whose main source of income is some other occupation

also advance loans.

The relative roles of the different money lending agencies in Dandeli and the types of persons to whom they are accessible will be clearer if the data regarding the loan transactions carried on during the past twelve months is analysed. It may however be pointed out that the period of past 12 months referred to here is not uniform in all cases. The period stands for twelve months preceding the date of interview which varies from family to family, as the inquiry was conducted over a period of several months.

Table 34

Sources of loans	Employers Plywood factory	Saw mill	Forest Deptt.	Other Govt. Service	Contractors	Mining	Electric Grid	Casual Labour	Paper factory	Self-employed	Miscellaneous	Total
Cooperative Societies	142	73	6	3	-	1	1	2	1	1	1	231
Money lender	5	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	10
Merchant	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	7
Relatives	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4
Acquaintances	17	7	6	1	5	2	-	2	-	1	1	42
Total raising loans	165	83	13	4	6	5	1	4	1	6	6	294
Total families	269	157	89	32	81	36	14	39	7	96	25	844

In Table 34 the households are classified by the sources from which the loans were drawn during the past twelve months and the employers of the heads of households. It will be seen that in all 294 families raised loans during the past 12 months. Undoubtedly the most prominent agencies of lending money are the Cooperative Societies which account for 231 households. In 42 cases loans were raised from acquaintances and in 4 cases from relatives. Only in 10 cases loans were taken from money lenders. In 7 cases the loans were drawn from merchants. These loans actually represent the provisions taken on credit from the merchants. Such loans, it would appear, were quite numerous in the past. But now the Cooperative Societies provide credit facilities to most of the persons having steady income in Dandeli. These persons now usually do not approach the local merchants for credit. If at

all they do so, it is only after they have exhausted the quota allotted by the Cooperative Societies and the merchants are quick enough to see this.

Since the Cooperative Societies are the main money lending agencies in Dandeli, it is natural to expect that the category of persons who have an access to these societies are also the persons who indulge in borrowing the most and this in fact is the case as is evidenced from the Table. The persons to whom the Cooperative Societies are accessible are the employees of the plywood factory and the saw mill. So out of 294 families raising loans in 165 cases the heads of families are the employees of the plywood factory and in 83 cases they are the employees of the saw mill. Some of the employees of the Forest Department other than the workers of the saw mill are also members of the Cooperative Society. In the families whose heads work under other categories of employers there are a few members who work in the plywood factory or the saw mill and hence in a few cases these families too have been able to raise loans from the Cooperative Societies. In all categories of workers who are not entitled to draw loans from the cooperative societies the proportions of families drawing loans as compared with the categories of those who are entitled to take loans from these societies are very small. It is therefore clear that the borrowing propensities of the people are influenced greatly by the availability of facilities for raising loans. This fact will also partially explain the differential incidence of indebtedness in the different occupational grades observed in Table 33. In occupational grades I, II, III and IV it is mainly those workers who are employed in the plywood factory and the saw mill who mostly draw loans. But in grades I, II and IV there are also large proportions of employees who do not work in the plywood factory or the saw mill and consequently the proportion of families drawing loans is the highest in this grade. In the category of Self-employed none of the family heads is entitled to draw loans from the cooperative societies and consequently the percentage of families taking loans is very low.

A very large number of loans are annually sanctioned by the Cooperative societies. For instance during 1954-55 they together sanctioned in all 1016 loans. During the same year the total number of members who were entitled to take loans were 568 and in some cases more than one member belonged to the same family. Moreover not all members avail themselves of the loan facilities. Obviously, therefore, the 1016 loans were taken by a smaller number of households, some of which taking loans several times during the year.

Reasons for drawing loans: The reasons for drawing loans given by the 294 persons who have borrowed in the past 12 months are classified in Table 35 by occupational grades of heads of households and the types of reasons. Most of the reasons, as many as 111, come under the heading of household expenses such as expenses on food and other provisions. Purchase of cloth also may be included under this head, but where this purpose is specifically stated it is mentioned separately. There are 13 such instances. When persons are chronically in debt and are indebted specially to the cooperative societies, a good slice of their salaries or wages is deducted every month with the result that there is not sufficient left for household expenditure. Therefore, whenever the household needs accumulate the families go in for another loan. Thus household expenditures bulk large in the reasons given for drawing loans. 26 persons had to draw loans in order to repay old debts. If the loans are taken from the cooperative society they are repaid in due course through deductions from salaries and wages and so there is no question of drawing a fresh loan for the specific purpose of repaying the old loan. But where loans are taken from other sources repayment is usually in one lump sum and when the time for repayment comes the debtor is mostly compelled to raise another loan to repay the old one.

8 persons borrowed money for the purchase of livestock such as buffaloes, cows and bullocks. Marriages, deliveries and festivals are special occasions for which people have to incur extra expenditure. Accordingly 34 families raised loans on account of marriages, 13 on account of deliveries and 12 on account of festivals.

-131a-

raising loans

Table 35

Households by occupational grades of household heads and reasons for raising loans

Reasons for raising loans	Household expenses	Repayment of old debt	Delivery expenses	Travelling, Holiday & Fairs	Marriage	Medical	Festivals	Purchase of live-stock	Purchase of cloth	Misce-lane-ous	Unspe-cified	Total
I Unskilled manual labour	59	11	3	13	20	18	9	3	5	3	-	144
II Semi-skilled and lowest administrative	14	4	5	4	5	4	-	-	3	-	2	41
III Skilled manual	18	5	3	2	6	6	1	2	2	2	7	54
IV Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	16	4	1	3	2	4	2	1	3	5	2	43
V Officers and higher professions	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Contractors	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Self-employed	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	7
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	111	26	13	22	34	33	12	18	13	10	12	294

In the case of 22 families loans were drawn for the purpose of travelling in connection with holidays and fairs. 33 families had to raise loans in the emergencies of illness. In 10 cases miscellaneous reasons such as purchase of house and house repairs, education, funeral and business were given and in 12 cases the reasons were not specified. It is noteworthy that by and large loans were raised for expenditures and not for investment.

Period of loans: Of the 294 loan transactions executed during the past 12 months, 47 were repayable within six months, 146 within the period between 7 months and one year, 21 within 2 years and 11 within periods ranging from 3 to 10 years. In 69 cases the period is not specified. Thus most of the loans are repayable within 2 years. This is because most of the loans are drawn from the cooperative societies which have a specified period for the repayment of loans. In the Indian Plywood Employees Cooperative Society Ltd., the short-term loan has to be repaid within 3 months and a long-term loan within a year. The corresponding limits in the Dandeli Forest Department Employees' Cooperative Credit Society Ltd., are 10 months and three years respectively.

Rates of interest: Of the 294 families which had raised loans during the past 12 months only 237 reported interest being payable. Interest was charged on all the 231 loans drawn from the cooperative societies. The interest charged by the Indian Plywood Employees' Cooperative Society Ltd. is Rs 6½ % per annum, and that charged by the Dandeli Forest Department Employees' Cooperative Credit Society Ltd., is Rs 9-37 nP %. Thus out of 231 loans raised from the cooperative societies in 156 cases the interest was 6½% and in 75 cases it was Rs 9-37 nP%. The 6 other cases of loans for which interest was charged comprise 5 loans taken from money lenders and one taken from a merchant. The interest rates of money lenders ranged from Rs 9 to Rs 12% in 4 cases and Rs 80% in one case. The interest charged by the merchant was Rs 110%. It may be pointed out that in five cases, the loans taken from money lenders were interest free, Perhaps the creditors in these cases were termed money lenders through misunderstanding. Six out of the seven loans

taken from merchants were interest free probably because they represented only credit purchases. All the loans taken from relatives and acquaintances were without interest. In most cases the repayments were made towards loans drawn from single sources but in some cases towards loans drawn from two sources. Only in one case was repayment made towards loans drawn from three sources. The details about the sources of loans to which repayments were made are as follows:

<u>Name of sources</u>	<u>No. of families</u>
Cooperative societies	148
Government	2
Money lenders	9
Merchants	1
Acquaintances	36
Cooperative Society and Government	2
Cooperative Society and money lender	11
Cooperative Society and acquaintances	47
Cooperative Society, Government and money lender	1
Unspecified	<u>5</u>
Total	<u>262</u>

It will be seen that the main sources of loans to which repayments were made are the cooperative societies which received repayments of 209 loans. 83 loans towards which repayments were made are the ones from acquaintances. The money lenders were paid on account of 21 loans, the Government on account of 5 loans, and a merchant on account of a single loan. In the case of 5 loans towards which the repayments were made the sources are not specified.

Total picture of indebtedness during the past 12 months: The particulars regarding indebtedness during the past 12 months comprising the three variables of loans outstanding on the date of inquiry, borrowing during the past 12 months and repayment during the past 12 months and the combinations of these variables are summarised in Table 36 so as to show at a glance the positions, with regard to these variables, of households which have had something to do with loans

during the past twelve months. The households are also classified according to the occupational grades of the family heads.

If indebtedness is regarded as an unsatisfactory condition, next to the families who had nothing to do with loans during the past 12 months, the position of families who had fully repaid their old loans and who had not raised new loans may be considered most satisfactory. From this standpoint the positions of the different types of families who have had something to do with loans during the past 12 months may be arranged in descending order of satisfactoriness as follows: (a) Families who had repaid their old debts during the past 12 months and had no outstanding debt nor drawn loans. (b) Families borrowing and repaying debts but having no outstanding loans. (c) Families with outstanding loans who had made repayments but had incurred no new debts. (d) Families who had incurred debts and had outstanding loans but who had also made repayments. (e) Families who had borrowed and had outstanding debts but who had made no repayments and (f) Families who had outstanding loans of long duration but had made no repayments. The position of type (e) would be worse than type (f) if the outstanding loans in the former case also include loans of long duration, for, in that event it would mean that the families had not only made no attempt to repay the old debts, but had taken fresh loans in addition to old ones.

In all 354 families or about 42% of the total had something to do with indebtedness during the past 12 months. Of these the highest proportion of 226 families or about 27% of the total population seem to be routine borrowers of type (d). They had borrowed money, repaid and also had outstanding loans. Families of types (a), (b) and (c) together form only 4.5 of the total population and their condition is much better. On the other hand families of type (e) and (f) whose condition of indebtedness is most unsatisfactory form 10.5% of the total population.

Although the proportion of families having something to do with indebtedness is the highest in grade III their repayment performance is among the best. On the other hand although a small

proportion of families in the grade of Self-employed were indebted as many as 19 out of 21 of the indebted families had made no attempt at repaying their loans. Moreover as may be seen from Table 33 most of their loans are big amounts.

Housing: The houses in Dandeli are of two broad categories either permanent structures or temporary ones. Only the Forest Department and persons who have leased disforested area on a long term basis can put up permanent buildings. In the Depot area only the Forest Department can construct permanent buildings. The Department supplies quarters to all its employees and all these are permanent structures. But the larger bulk of the residents of this area are not employed directly by the Department. These people have to make their own residential arrangements by constructing temporary huts on hangami lagan plots.

In general, the permanent structures have plinth, plastered walls of bricks and stones, and gabled roofs made of wooden rafters and reapers and covered with Mangalore tiles. The housing accommodation provided by the Department is of this type.

Most of the permanent residential structures provided by the Department fall under three or four standard types. The first type includes the quarters provided for the persons of the status of Range Forest Officer. These are independent bungalows-with separate compounds. Each bungalow has a front open verandah, three living rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom. The flooring is of stone. A lavatory and a water tap are situated outside the house in the compound. There are four such quarters and a few others of a smaller size which do not exactly fit the above description but are also allotted to persons of the status of Range Forest Officer.

The second standard type includes the quarters intended for the use of foresters, clerks and persons of similar status. In this type two apartments are included in one building. Each apartment has a small verandah, a kitchen and a bathroom. The flooring is of mud. Two such buildings each with two apartments, together have a common tap and a two-seated lavatory.

The third type includes quarters intended for the use of forest guards and labourers of the Saw Mill. Each building or block in this case consists of 8 to 10 apartments each with a verandah, a living room and a kitchen-cum-bathroom combined. Except the two apartments at either end of the block which have windows, the others in between have no windows and hence the living rooms are not properly ventilated. Each block of 10 apartments has one water tap and three to four blocks together have a common lavatory of four seats. There are 9 blocks of this type. Some of the apartments in these blocks are also occupied by clerks and persons of similar grades, as the quarters proper to their grade are not sufficient for all.

The fourth type consists of the oldest labour quarters. There are two blocks of this type, each having ten apartments. Each apartment consists of just one room 14' x 12'. The occupants themselves have extended the front roof to make a verandah. These buildings have no plinth and their roofs are covered with country tiles. To make up for the insufficiency of accommodation the Department has constructed a row of ten bathrooms in front of each block and parallel to it. The residents are provided with a common lavatory. There is no separate water tap meant specially for these blocks, but there is a common tap in the vicinity which serves their requirements. Apart from these standard types of buildings there are also a few others which have different patterns.

In addition to the buildings which are used for regular residential purposes there are a few others which are intended for the use of casual visitors. They are: (a) two well furnished bungalows known as Riverside bungalows, intended for the use of touring officers. Others can make use of them when not occupied by Government officers on a daily rent of Rs 2-50 nP (b) Two rest houses called Dharamshalas each with 8 furnished rooms, 2 kitchens, 2 bathrooms and a two-seated lavatory. They are built specially for the use of contractors who visit Dandeli particularly during the time of timber auctions. When auctions are not held and when the rooms are not required for use of the Department others are allowed

to use them free of charge for a few days. In recent years the number of visitors to Dandeli has increased tremendously. Many important activities have been initiated and many people require temporary accommodation until their permanent quarters are settled. And the Dharamshalas are practically the only places where they can go. Thus there is a large demand for rooms there. Owing to this increasing demand the Department has been contemplating the idea of charging rent to the occupants.

None of the buildings in the Depot area were electrified up to the time of this study, but steps were being taken to have electrical installations as electricity was available from the Electric Grid Substation.

The other persons to have permanent type of quarters in the depot area are the railway employees. The post-master occupies a part of a building which houses the post office. The rest of the residents in Dandeli occupy temporary structures or what are supposed to be temporary structures.

The temporary structures should not have plinth and their walls should not be made of bricks or stones and should not be plastered with lime. When the walls are not strong the structures cannot have strong roofs either. The temporary residential structures in the Depot area may be divided into two broad categories. In one category we have the houses of the better class of people such as the contractors, the merchants and the hotel-keepers and in the other the huts of labourers.

In the first category of houses the walls are made of either bamboos placed close together vertically and plastered with mud or bamboo screens plastered with mud. The roofs are prepared out of bamboos and covered with country tiles. The houses vary in their area and number of rooms. Most of them have a verandah, a living room and a kitchen. Some have a lavatory and a bathroom outside but many do not have these conveniences. The shopkeepers and hotelkeepers usually have their living quarters just behind the business quarters in the same structure.

Although no one puts up a new structure, a permanent building, at the time of renovation some persons have surreptitiously converted the temporary structures into permanent ones by having stronger walls and roofs. The renovated house of one of the contractors is so patently a permanent building that he was promptly asked to show cause why he should not be prosecuted. But on account of his influence the proceedings against him were stayed.

The residences of the labourers and of those doing petty business are plain huts usually with just one room. They are constructed with a scaffolding of bamboo poles and slit bamboos both for the walls and roofs and covered with waste veneers from the plywood factory. The waste veneers are a convenient type of building material for temporary huts and are freely available.

Of the contractors who has many plots of leased land which was acquired some years ago has built several lines of rooms for the use of labourers. These structures have walls made of bamboos plastered with mud and roofs of bamboos covered with country tiles.

The houses and huts are as a rule built in rows and the space in between two rows becomes a street or lane. They are all built close to each other without having any independent compounds. But being temporary structures they do not have common walls and there is a very thin strip of space between the side walls of two houses.

Except the officers who are charged a rent for their quarters the Forest Department provides accommodation to its employees free of charge. Many of the persons who have leased Hangami lagan plots have constructed their own habitations. The lease rent for a plot of one gunta for a residential purposes was Rs 2 per annum previously but is now raised to Rs 6. For other purposes the lease rent is half of that charged for residential purposes. A large proportion of the residents do not have leased-in plots and in recent years the Department has stopped getting such leases. These people either stay in houses built in the plots owned by others or in huts constructed in unauthorised plots. The owners of hangami lagan plots

are/^{not} supposed to let out their plots or buildings. But in practice those who can spare/^{space} or accommodation do let them out on rent. Owners as well as tenants, however, were reluctant to disclose the amount of rent.

All the residential accommodation in the plywood colony is owned by the management of the factory and provided to the employees free of rent. Here also there are different types of buildings. The senior members of the staff including the manager, the chemist and the factory foreman live in separate bungalows, the residence of the manager being the largest. Persons next in importance such as the Accountant, the Secretary, the Doctor and the Deputy Foreman are accommodated in two buildings each with two apartments. Each apartment has a small open verandah, two living rooms, a kitchen, a bathroom and a lavatory, the last being situated outside.

For clerks and technical personnel of similar status there is one big block with 10 tenements and 7 small blocks each having two tenements. Each tenement in the big block has a verandah, a living room, a kitchen and a bathroom in a row one behind the other. The whole building is provided with two blocks of lavatories each with five seats. But owing to the dilapidated condition of the latrines there is no proper privacy as between different seats in the same block. Therefore one block is used exclusively by men and the other by women. There is one water tap common to all the residents of the building. In the seven smaller blocks each apartment has similar accommodation as in the bigger block except for the bathroom. Each family therefore has improvised a bathroom outside the building. There are common lavatories and two common taps.

All the buildings described above are permanent structures with plinth, cement flooring, brick walls and wooden roofs covered with asbestos sheets. Except for the 7 small blocks, the rest of the buildings are electrified.

The labourers are provided with one room tenements

14' x 12' each. These tenements are in temporary structures with no plinth and walls made of plywood sheets and roof covered with corrugated iron sheets. The flooring is of mud. Each structure has 10 tenements in a row. The labourers themselves have extended the roofs in front and from behind with waste veneers in order to have more space. A few of the labour quarters which were of later construction are of a permanent type with brick walls and roof covered with Mangalore tiles. The labour quarters are provided with common water taps and lavatories the latter not being used on account of their dilapidated condition. There is no electric lighting for these quarters. During the time of the study the management was contemplating putting up more buildings of a permanent nature for the use of the workers.

The plywood company also maintains a guest house with 2 suites of rooms for the use of visitors coming in connection with business.

Permanent residential accommodation for the employees of the ferro-manganese factory and the Paper and Pulp factory had not been built upto the time of the study. There was some temporary accommodation for those engaged in the various constructional activities. But the Electric Grid Sub-station has already provided permanent type of accommodation for its staff. There is an independent bungalow for the Assistant Engineer in charge of the Sub-station, guest house, 2 blocks with two apartments each for the Assistant Operators and 4 blocks with two apartments each for the use of Line helpers. All these buildings have plinth, cement flooring, brick walls and wooden roof covered with asbestos sheets.

Water Supply: The river Kali passing through Dandeli is the only source of water-supply for the population. Water to the saw mill, and the railway water tanks and all the establishments and quarters coming under the direct control of the Department is supplied through pipes with the aid of a pump and engine. But the persons not occupying Government quarters have to make their own arrangements and take water directly from the river. There was one tap in the market

place intended for the use of the public. But because of the too heavy demand on the part of the people it served only to create constant quarrels and fights among the competing users and so it had to be closed down.

All the independent bungalows and quarters of the forest officers have separate water taps and the quarters of the employees of the Department are concerned/water supply is quite adequate. *the lower cadre have common taps. so far the the employees*

The position of the other people who have to fetch water directly from the river is rather difficult. Those who reside beside the river bank find it easy enough to bring water, but those who stay farther away experience considerable difficulties. But all these people fetch only as much water as is essential for the purposes of drinking, cooking and washing utensils. For bathing and washing clothes they go to the river itself.

The water supplied by the Department is not purified. However care is taken to see that people do not dirty the river banks upstream above the place of pumping water by answering calls of nature etc. As a rule people are not allowed to have their residences along this area. Obviously this measure alone does not guarantee the purity of water but it is at least helps to ensure that the running water is not polluted further. However, the condition of the water taken by others may be described as deplorable. These people are allowed to take water only from the river downstream beyond the pumping station and this water is not protected against local contamination. As a matter of fact all the people having their houses along the river bank not only allow the sewage water to pass into the river but also use the bank for answering the calls of nature. Somehow people have a belief that running water cannot be contaminated.

In the plywood colony almost all the residents are supplied with pipe water and the factory authorities have their own pumping arrangement for the purpose. In this colony too only independent bungalows are supplied with separate taps and the rest have common taps.

Sanitation: In the Depot area the Depot authorities maintain a

rather to look after the sanitary arrangements. Under him there are eleven sweepers including four wet sweepers to sweep the streets and clean the lavatories. But these facilities are intended for and available only to persons directly employed by the Forest Department who stay in the quarters provided by the Department. All the quarters are provided with lavatories, the quarters of officers having separate lavatories and those of the subordinates common ones.

The other residents of Dandeli cannot utilise the services of the scavengers. The well-to-do people like the contractors have made their own lavatories by digging pits and covering them with planks. The nightsoil from these lavatories is not removed by the scavengers but is accumulated into the pits. Those living along the rivers bank have constructed their lavatories in such a way as to allow the nightsoil to fall into the river. During the summer season when the flow of water in the river is thinner and is confined to the central part the nightsoil accumulates near the bank itself. The vast majority of the people use the open space wherever available to answer the call of nature. The children invariably use the streets in front of the houses. Thus, despite the care taken by the Department to secure cleanliness in the vicinity of the quarters of its own employees the general sanitary condition is far from being hygienic. There is no drainage system and during the fair season the sewage water collects in stagnant pits near the quarters.

In the plywood colony the authorities have engaged five sweepers primarily for the purpose of sweeping the area. Only the lavatories provided for the quarters of the members of the superior staff are regularly cleaned. The other employees are also provided with lavatories but the nightsoil from them is not removed but is allowed to accumulate into pits covered with planks. The quarters of the labourers are provided with common lavatories, but are in a dilapidated condition. The labourers usually prefer

to use open space round about the quarters. There is no drainage for the sewage water. But many of the labourers have small kitchen gardens in their backyards for which they utilise sewage water and urine. The sewage water collected in the backyard and the nightsoil accumulated round about pollute the atmosphere with foul smell.

The living conditions of the poorer sections on the whole are unsatisfactory. This is probably the main reason why death has taken a heavier toll from these sections as can be seen from Table 37 which shows the distribution of households in the various occupational grades according to the deaths reported during the past five years.

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Table 37

Households according to occupational grades of heads of households and deaths reported in five years.

Deaths reported	Occupational grades								Total
	I. Unskilled manual labour	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professions	Contractors	Self-employed	Miscellaneous	
N11	358	114	74	101	14	12	79	7	759
1	40	16	8	-	-	1	7	-	72
2	8	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	12
3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total No. of families	408	131	82	101	14	13	89	7	845
Total No. of deaths	63	18	8	-	-	1	13	-	101

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Broadly speaking, social structure is the ordered social relationships among people. Wherever people are brought together into face-to-face association within a defined area and for a considerable period of time, they begin to share a common life and develop ordered pattern of social relationships. People living in a locality, sharing a common life, having a feeling of belonging together and following patterned modes of behaviour are said to constitute a community. The organisation of any community is accomplished through the formation of different types of groupings and in a well-integrated community these groupings are harmoniously inter-related. The community social structure varies not only according to the number and types of social groups but also according to the way in which the groups are integrated. In general the greater the opportunities for closer social relationships and the longer the period of living together, the greater will be the organization and integration of community life.

As pointed out already, Dandeli is comparatively a new settlement, almost all the inhabitants being either recent immigrants or the descendants of immigrants who have come to the place during the past forty years or so. The people have come from different communities and regions. They speak different languages, profess different religions and belong to a large number of castes. Such a conglomeration has to develop gradually the feeling of belonging together and has to organise itself into one community. ~~Among the factors taken into account~~

The vast majority of the population of Dandeli has in-migrated from villages where the dominant feature of social structure is the caste system. The members of each caste in a village are usually socio-economically homogeneous, following more or less the same type of occupation and they reside together in a contiguous locality or a street. The different groups have different status positions and are integrated into a structure of status hierarchy called the caste system. Sometimes social intercourse among the villagers is further restricted by the division

of people into religions or linguistic categories. In such cases people of each religious or linguistic category tend to reside separately in the village and within that area the different caste groups belonging to the same category further tend to segregate themselves residentially.

In studying the social structure of the community in Dandeli, among other factors attention has to be paid to the important social groupings and their organising principles, to the role of the traditional social structure in the formation of the new community and to the new patterns of social relations arising out of the peculiar conditions in Dandeli.

Caste and present socio-economic position: The socio-economic conditions of castes may be viewed from two angles: to what extent the members of the same caste are socio-economically homogeneous and how far their positions vary. Table 38 shows the percentage distribution of earners according to population categories and occupational grades. The table brings out at a glance the influence

Table 38

Percentage distribution of earners by population categories and occupational grades

Population categories	Occupational grades									Total %age	Total No.
	I. Unskilled manual labour	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professions	Contractors	Self-employed	Miscellaneous			
1. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	2	8	2	30	6	4	46	2	100	50	
2. Other Brahmins	2	10	8	48	20	2	10	-	100	50	
3. Trading & Warrior Castes	22.7	13.6	18.1	6.8	-	4.5	34	-	100	44	
4. Lingayats	40.2	17	4.8	9.7	-	2.4	17	2.4	100	41	
5. Marathas	44.8	23.3	12.1	10.2	0.9	1.8	5.6	0.9	100	107	
6. Other Agricultural & allied groups	37.8	27	5.4	13.5	-	2.7	13.5	-	100	37	
7. Artisans & Allied groups	18.7	6.2	12.4	-	-	-	50	-	100	32	
8. Bedars	71.4	10.7	5.3	1.7	-	3.5	7	-	100	56	
9. Lamanis	80.5	4.1	-	1.3	-	4.1	9.7	-	100	72	
10. Other Backward Hindus	80	7.1	-	1.4	-	-	11.4	-	100	70	
11. Scheduled Castes	82.2	3.8	2.5	1.2	-	-	8.8	1.2	100	79	
12. Karward Muslims	35.3	23.2	15.2	10.1	-	2.0	12.1	2.0	100	99	
13. Other Muslims	47.4	10.5	10.5	4.6	-	0.7	26.3	0.7	100	152	
14. Telugu Christians	85.3	7.2	2.5	2.9	-	-	2.2	-	100	279	
Unspecified	24.0	28.0	4.0	16.0	4.0	8.0	16.0	-	100	25	
Total	55.2	12.3	6.8	8.6	1.2	1.5	13.7	0.6	100	1249	

of caste upon the present socio-economic status of the population. It is true that in no case the earning members of a population category are perfectly homogeneous in the sense that they all belong to occupations of the same prestige grade. But in most cases the majority of the earners are either in one grade or in two adjacent grades which would indicate a fair degree of homogeneity. Actually, if each endogamous group were taken separately and if all the occupations were graded properly the homogeneity within groups would have been even more striking than what is indicated by the table. For instance, if the occupations of contractors and self-employed were graded we would find that among the socially higher castes the contractors, traders etc., are of a higher order and among the lower castes they are lower. In either case they would add to the socio-economic homogeneity of the population category concerned.

The patterns of distribution of earners of various population categories in the different occupational grades are very much in conformity with the relative status positions of groups in the traditional caste hierarchy. Among the higher sections of Hindus such as the Brahmins the earners are over represented in the higher occupational grades and among the backward sections such as the Bedars, the Lamanis, other Backward Hindus and the Scheduled Castes they are over represented in the lowest occupational grade. The positions of Trading and Warrior castes who are considered to be Advanced Hindus and the Intermediate Hindus represented by categories 4 to 7 are in between the two extremes. The advanced Hindus, as is to be expected are slightly better placed than the Intermediate Hindus.

Within the larger sections of the population there are certain differences which may briefly be commented upon. Among the two Brahmin categories the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins show a very high concentration in the occupational grade of Self-employed. This is because these Brahmins are the most important commercial community of the region. Many of them can be ranked among the

bigger traders and so socio-economically the Gaud Saraswats are in no way inferior to the other Brahmins.

Among the Intermediate Hindus the Lingayats and the Marathas are comparatively more backward. As has been pointed out already these categories also comprise some endogamous groups which are very backward. However, between the two, the Lingayats are more concentrated in the occupations of Self-employed because they have a group among them called Banajigs whose traditional occupation is trading. The Artisans and allied groups are apparently better placed among the Intermediate Hindus. But some of the earners among them such as barbers, washermen etc. who come under self-employed really belong to occupations of low prestige.

Among the Backward Hindus represented by the categories of Bedars, Lamanis and other Backward Hindus the over-whelming majority of earners are in the lowest occupational grade. The Bedars have made comparatively a higher progress in the semi-skilled and skilled occupations.

It is recognised practice to distinguish the Scheduled Castes from the other Backward Hindus. In so far as they are or were in the past treated as untouchables this distinction may be significant. If on the other hand the purpose underlying the distinction were to lay emphasis on their very backward status and if the pattern of distribution of earners in the various grades of occupations were any indication of socio-economic status there is hardly any justification for treating the Scheduled Castes as a category separate from that of the other Backward Hindus.

The Karwar Muslims among the Muslim categories show a higher socio-economic position analogous to that of Intermediate Hindus. The other Muslims who also include some backward groups are relatively more heavily concentrated in the lowest occupational grade. Their higher concentration in the grade of Self-employed is due to the fact that they contain some

endogamous groups such as the Bagbans whose traditional calling is trading.

The Telugu Christians among the Christian categories do not fare any better than the Backward Hindus. Having been converted from among the Backward Hindus their position has not materially changed after conversion.

On the whole it can be seen that the influence of the traditional caste structure is reflected in the present socio-economic positions of the people. But this influence does not appear to be absolute and there are indications that the lower sections of the population are on an upward march. One of the most important factors contributing towards such an advancement is the presence of several semi-skilled and skilled occupations which do not call for a high amount of education on the part of the workers and it would appear that for some time to come these occupations will provide a stepping stone for the backward sections for further advancement. If this trend continues and members of each endogamous group socio-economically become more and more heterogeneous, the groups will lose their status connotations and the caste society will give rise to a class society.

Ecological Pattern: The residential segregation of the migrants in their home communities is also reflected in their settlement pattern at Dandeli where they have again grouped themselves on the basis of their caste, religious, linguistic and regional differences. People belonging to a particular caste usually have a cluster of houses in one place in which there were no houses belonging to members of other castes. This formed the core of the caste group. However, for various reasons each caste group had not been able to have its exclusive locality and some of the houses are found scattered in different areas.

When the settlement was small the different groups seemed to have had their exclusive localities and the new immigrants of each caste built their habitations close to the core. As the settlement developed all available space in between the

residential areas of different groups was utilised and the new inmigrants had to find accommodation wherever possible. In some cases different employers have provided accommodation for their employees and so if members of the same caste work for such employers they are obliged to live apart. Even so all the members of a caste group living in the quarters supplied by the same employer tend to have their houses close together, separated from the houses of non-members. In some cases the administration took over the place occupied by caste groups. The displaced persons had to construct their hutments in other places and in that process sometimes the contiguous distribution of their houses was disturbed. In this manner the strong natural tendency for group segregation in respect of the distribution of houses which is influenced by the mode of living in the home community, has been checked by various forces in Dandeli. All the same the integrity of the caste group can still be seen in the new spatial structure. Any caste group has a cluster of houses in one place and the rest of the houses scattered about, or two or more clusters of houses in two or more places and the rest of the houses scattered about. In all these cases, one of the clusters forms the core round which the group activities are centred. If the group had a place of worship or a place of meeting it is located in that core.

What is true of the caste group is also true of the religious category in its spatial distribution. The various caste groups following the same religion tend to reside together contiguously. Thus the castes of Protestant Christians coming from Andhra lived together. The same pattern is followed by the castes among the Lingayats who constitute a separate sect among the Hindus. Most of the Muslim castes who know Urdu either as their mother tongue or a secondary language also live contiguously.

So also migrants coming from the same region and speaking the same language tend to reside together. For instance all the Telugu speaking religious categories -- Christian, Muslim and Hindu -- reside in a contiguous area. The Lingayat and non-Lingayat Hindus coming from the Kannada speaking areas also reside together. However, sometimes region, language and religion cut across each other. In that event any one of these factors has an over-riding influence on spatial distribution. Although most of the Muslim castes, despite their regional differences, tend to reside together on the basis of their religious unity, the Telugu Muslims alone prefer to live with people speaking their own language even though they belong to different religions. The Telugu Muslims know no other language except their own and so can not easily mix with the other Muslims. It is also interesting to know that where the Muslims of different regions such as North Kanara, Dharwar, Belgaum and Kerala reside together is further segregation within the area on a regional basis.

However, the tendency to group together on the basis of caste, religious and linguistic differences is more marked among migrants in the lower occupations. People in the higher occupations pattern their social relationships on the basis of their occupational prestige differences.

Not only are the occupational and spatial distributions of people in Dandeli but also their social behaviour influenced by their socio-economic conditions in their home communities. Of their several background characteristics the influence of caste and religion seems to be more potent. Their group behaviour, therefore, may be briefly described with reference to these characteristics bringing out at the same time the variation due to the new conditions in Dandeli. It is convenient to classify the people into the three major religious categories of Hindu, Muslim and Christian for this discussion.

Hindus.

Of the Hindus belonging to the large number of endogamous groups, coming from different regions and speaking different languages, only those coming from the region of Bombay Karnatak have been able to organise their group life to a greater or lesser degree. The chief among these categories are the Lingayats, the Bedars, the Lamanis, the Vaddars and the Scheduled Castes. These are not caste divisions strictly speaking and they do not operate in a status hierarchy. But it is generally recognised that their social status is in the above order, the Lingayats being at the top and the Scheduled Castes at the bottom. However, economically they are all on the same level in Dandeli as the majority of earners in each group are engaged as unskilled labourers. Since they all come from the same region they reside in a contiguous area. Still they maintain some degree of aloofness towards each other.

Lingayats: The Lingayats in general are a sectarian group among the Hindus. But they do not form part of the general Hindu caste structure although they are held in high social esteem by the lower Hindu castes. On the other hand they have several endogamous groups among themselves and these groups may be regarded as castes as they are integrated into a structure of status hierarchy. In Dandeli, small as the Lingayat group is it consists of three or four castes. There are a couple of families of the Jangam caste and the rest belong to the Panchamsali, Sadar, Banjig and Jadar castes. Although ordinarily these different castes would regard themselves as separate groups, here on account of their small numerical strength they regard themselves as one group for all practical purposes. However, as evidenced by their opinions the endogamous character of these groups does not seem to have changed even under the new circumstances. So also they have not been able to develop any institutionalised leadership. All the same, an old man, Shivabasappa, belonging to the Banajig caste and who is among the oldest Lingayat immigrants to Dandeli wields considerable influence.

The activities of the group are centred round a place of worship built in 1946 under the leadership of Shivabasappa. The place is named Om Nama Shivalaya and it has a ling of Shiva installed in it. Bedarsi. The Bedars are among the oldest inmigrants to Dandeli. Yet they too have not been able to evolve any institutionalised leadership although for all practical purposes they act as members of a group. The reason for the lack of institutionalised leadership among them seems to lie in the fact that as among the Lingayats they too have more than one endogamous group among them. There are three such categories in Dandeli known as the Naiknakkalus, the Talavars and the Bedars. But the houses of all these categories are concentrated in one sector. In 1952, under the initiative of a comparatively young man, Sadyappa, they constructed a place of worship which they call bhajanalaya (house for bhajan). This place has become the centre of activity for all the Bedars.

While the presence of different endogamous divisions among them had prevented for a long time the development of a collective leadership the establishment of the bhajanalaya had drawn together the different sections more intimately in their group activities and the person managing the affairs of the bhajanalaya is coming to be regarded as the group leader.

Lamanisi. The people who go by different names such as Lamanis, Lambadas, Vanjaris etc., in different regions belong to one and the same tribe which is wedely spread in India. The people of this tribe in the Karnatak region are known as the Lamanis. They speak a dialect of their own and their clothes and ornaments, rituals and ceremonies are distinct from those of the other local people. Many of them are found in the Dharwar and the Bijapur districts and those who have settled down in Dandeli are mainly drawn from these districts. As members of the Criminal Tribes Settlement in Dandeli along with the Bedars they are among the earliest inmigrants to Dandeli.

The Lamanis everywhere form themselves into groups of their own and segregate from other people. Either they live

in villages of their own or in the outskirts of the villages of other people but not as a part of the village community formed by other people. Such secluded groups of Lamanis are known as Lamani tanda.

Until a few years ago all the Lamanis of Dandeli were staying together in a separate place which though not quite far away from the habitations of other groups was secluded enough. But as that place was required by the Forest Department they were asked to vacate. Some of them who were in the employ of a contractor occupied a place provided by him and the others built their huts in some vacant place near the habitations of the Bedars. So now they are split up into two groups which reside at a distance of about a furlong from each other. Both these groups however are in the immediate neighbourhood of the other sections and they have not reconciled themselves to their new surroundings. The leader of the group pointed out to the author that according to their dharma (practice) they were bound to live away from the other people and that he had been requesting the Forest Department to sanction them a plot a few furlongs away from the residential area of Dandeli.

Their desire to live in a separate group is very strong. Even though a few of the Lamanis working in the plywood factory are entitled to quarters in the plywood colony they have not done so, because they want to live within their tanda itself in the Depot area. However, some of the Lamanis working in the saw mills are occupying the mill quarters as these quarters are quite close to their tanda.

Their group solidarity is further evidenced by the fact that they always like to work in teams of their own. For this purpose they prefer to work on piece rate basis so that they can select their own members to work together. When they are engaged as wage labourers they usually put the condition that all the Lamanis should be drafted to work in one team.

The Lamanis usually live in very cohesive groups, each group under the leadership and direction of a headman called

gowda who presides at all group functions and is the final authority for the group, and an executive known as karabari whose function is to carry out the group decisions at the behest of the gowda. The members of a group celebrate in common the important festivals like Divali, Holi, Ugadi and Dasara with common feasting and dancing. On these occasions the food is cooked in common.

The group distinctions among Lamanis in general are made on the basis of locality. The Lamanis of a locality form themselves into a group or a tanda. Since in Dandeli they occupy the same locality they have formed themselves into one tanda irrespective of their earliest group affiliations. They are all under the leadership of an old man, Kalappa, who has settled down in Dandeli from the days of the Criminal Tribes Settlement. He also takes up some minor contracts from the Forest Department and provides employment to some of the members of his group. Thus both on account of his long stay in Dandeli and control of employment opportunities he is very influential in his group. He is assisted by a karabari in the discharge of the group functions. The solidarity of the Lamani tanda in Dandeli was very great so long as all the people were residing in one cluster of houses. Now that they are divided into two clusters the cohesiveness between the members of the two groups is becoming somewhat weak. The gowda (leader) and the karabari both reside in one of the clusters of houses. Their overall authority is also accepted by the Lamanis residing in the other cluster. But on several matters of group activities the two sub-groups act separately. For instance, the common celebration of the important festivals is now done by the two subgroups separately. Again, it is the same principle of group formation on the basis of locality which united the Lamanis from different tandas into one tanda in Dandeli, seems to be at work in dividing the Lamanis of one tanda into two now that they are residing in two different places. However, Kalappa has been able to retain his authority over both the groups for one reason that both the

groups are residing not very far from each other and for another that Kalappa is the most influential person among the Lamanis in Dandeli.

The Lamanis usually marry within their own fold. In Dandeli, however, on account of their close contacts with other people there are two instances of inter-marriage with persons of other groups. In one case a Lamani woman has married a Bengali truck driver. They are both living within the Lamani tanda but are not allowed to participate in the group activities. In the other case a Lamani male has married a Scheduled Caste woman. But in this case the man can participate in the group activities while the woman cannot. Thus, the Lamanis while usually marrying within the group, countenance the union of a man with a non-Lamani woman but not that of a Lamani woman with a non-Lamani man. Under normal circumstances the Lamani woman living with the non-Lamani man would have been driven out of the tanda, but under the peculiar conditions of life in which they are living in Dandeli this has not happened. The Lamani woman who has married the Bengali man has given up or rather obliged to give up her typical Lamani costume as her position vis-a-vis the group has changed. The Scheduled Caste woman who has married the Lamani male and is living with him in the tanda has not changed her original mode of dress as by her marriage she has not become a member of the Lamani group.

Vaddars While the Vaddars are widely spread in Karnatak, originally they belonged to the Andhra region. Being in the Kannada region for generations together they can converse in Kannada but among themselves they speak a dialect of Telugu which they term Vaddari. Like the Lamanis they too do not mix freely with the general population and usually live on the outskirts of the villages. There are two main endogamous divisions among them known as the manny Vaddars or earth diggers and kally Vaddars or stone-quarriers. However, now-a-days either of the sections does both the type of works. They are engaged mostly in constructional activities, connected with both buildings and roads.

A number of Vaddars work in and round about Dandeli.

Some of them come from the neighbouring places like Halyal and Alnavar and have their permanent habitations there. A few of them, numbering 40, have permanently settled down in Dandeli. They all belong to the section of mannu Vaddars. When they have to work in the interior of the forests they move there with their families and return to their huts in Dandeli intermittently. All of them live in the same place, each family having a small hut. They are a hard-working people and usually work at piece rates. One among them who is regarded as their leader tries to procure work for the group from the various contractors. They live as a closely knit group.

Scheduled Castes: The scheduled castes in Dandeli belong to several endogamous groups and come from different regions. Of the 167 members, 100 persons come from Bombay Karnatak, 32 from Andhra and the rest from different regions. The Kannada and the Telugu Scheduled castes form two broad sections. These two sections live and act separately. The Telugu Scheduled castes have the core of their settlement in the sector occupied by the other Telugu people like Christians. The core of the settlement of the Kannada Scheduled castes is found in the sector occupied by the Kannada speaking people in general. Even though the Kannada Scheduled castes form a fairly large group, they comprise several endogamous groups such as the Mahars or the Holayas, the Bhangis, the Chelvadis and so on. They have therefore not been able to have any common group organisation and common leadership except that they all live together.

There are however certain influences at work tending to create a group feeling among them. In their settlement there is a Muslim named Hussein Saheb residing with his untouchable concubine. He has his Muslim wife and children in his native place. He came to Dandeli about 20 years ago on account of his involvement with this concubine and ever since he has been living there. He neither mixes with the other Muslims nor visits the Mosque, his only link with Islam being that he attends the Id prayers twice a year. On the other hand

he has installed a ling of Shiva in his house and is a great devotee of Hindu gods. Even before he came to Dandeli he had learnt the art of music and he is an expert in the singing of bhajans. As a matter of fact the practice of singing bhajans which is so common a pastime now-a-days among the Kannada section of the population in Dandeli was started and popularised by him. The Kannada Scheduled Castes of all groups gather in his house almost every night for the singing of bhajans. By occupation he is a mason. So by virtue of his comparatively superior occupation, his higher social status as a born Muslim and his mastery over the art of music he wields considerable influence among the Scheduled castes. Even though he lives in the Scheduled castes quarter the other Hindus such as the Bedars also respect him. Hussein Saheb's personality has been a cementing force bringing together the different categories of untouchables into one group.

Marathas: The people who go by the general name of Marathas constitute a large group in Dandeli, Yet there is almost a complete lack of group activity among them. This is not surprising when it is realised that the Marathas as a population category are far from being homogeneous. They come from different regions such as the North Kanara, Dharwar, Belgaum and the Ratnagiri districts. Linguistically too there are at least three main divisions. 115 persons speak Marathi, 99 speak Konkani and 57 have Kannada for their mother tongue. There are 6 persons whose mother tongue is Telugu. Moreover within the same linguistic or regional division there are endogamous groups which differ markedly in their socio-economic status. The distinction between the regular Marathas and the Maratha Kunbis is well known. The regular Marathas are mainly agricultural classes and the Kunbi Marathas are predominantly agricultural labourers. Because of the higher status of the regular Marathas the Kunbi Marathas often drop the qualification of Kunbi from their caste name. On a closer examination

most of the people from Ratnagiri and Savantwadi who are returned as Marathas are found to be Kunbis, Bhandaris and Gaulis. So also among those who are returned as Marathas from the North Kanara district there is a big proportion of Kunbis known as Konkan Kunbis. The Kannada speaking Marathas hail from the districts of Dharwar and Belgaum. The Kannada Marathas are regarded as inferior by the Marathi speaking Marathas, and among the Kannada Marathas themselves there are further sub-divisions.

Socio-religious life of Hindus: Since the residents of Dandeli are supposed to live there on a temporary basis and liable to vacate their place whenever the Forest Department so desires, the Department has systematically refused permission to the people to build any places of religious worship. Whatever places of worship that have sprung up therefore are not recognised as such by the Department.

For a long time the Hindu population of Dandeli depended mainly upon the places of worship found in the Dandeli forest village. They include the shrines of the gods Dandelappa, Ramling and Hanuman. While the god Dandelappa who may be regarded as the village god is equally important for all the people, the god Hanuman is more important for the lower castes like the Bedars and the untouchables and the god Ramling is more sacred to the higher castes like the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins. Visits to god Dandelappa are made on any day of the week but particularly on Sundays when people are more free. But the day sacred to the god Hanuman is Saturday and that to the god Ramling is Monday. So while a particular individual will pay homage to all these gods during any visit, the lower castes visit these shrines mostly on Saturdays and the higher castes on Monday. In general the greater proportion of the members of the lower castes visit the shrines than the members of higher castes, more women visit than men and the proportion of men to women visiting the shrines is lower among the higher castes than among the lower ones.

The people of the lower castes are great devotees of goddesses and the Kannada speaking people generally worship the goddess Yellamma whose chief shrine is at Savdatti in the Belgaum district. However in Dandeli there are no shrines of goddesses. Therefore the people have to make their own private arrangements. Three families among them, one belonging to Bedars, one to the Lamanis and the third to a Scheduled caste installed the image of the goddess Yellamma in their houses. These images are looked after by the womenfolk. Among the Lamanis it is the Scheduled caste wife of one of the Lamanis already referred to, that tends the image. Whenever the people feel the need of praying to the goddess or making offerings to her they go to these houses. The Bedars will visit the image in the Bedar house, the Lamanis in the house of their own group and so do the Scheduled castes. The members of the higher castes if so desire may visit the Bedar house, and the lower castes such as the Vaddars who are very low in caste status if not regarded as untouchables, visit the Scheduled caste house. The Lamani family is visited only by the Lamanis as members of other groups do not mix so freely with these people.

Especially among the people in the lower socio-economic levels, their religious activity pervades all aspects of their daily life. Their places of worship not only serve to satisfy their religious urge but also their need for recreation and social intercourse. For various reasons the places of worship already in existence in the village of Dandeli could not fully satisfy the needs of the people. These shrines are quite far away from the habitations of the people so that they cannot visit them regularly. They do not provide sufficient place for meeting together, and the religious and social requirements of the different groups are different.

The first among the Hindus to feel the need for a new place of worship were the Lingayats. Lingayats are usually

averse to worshipping in the shrines and temples of other HIs as they repudiate image worship. They wanted to establish a religious Math in Dandeli. But as the rules of the Department did not permit them to build a place of worship they put up a structure in 1946 ostensibly for the purpose of singing bhajans which could pass off as a recreational activity. All the same a ling of Shiva was installed in the place and pua or religious worship began to be performed there. This being the first place of meeting for Hindus in the midst of their locality, it became popular with all the Kannada groups of Hindus and they all joined together in the singing of bhajans. However the management of the place as well as official worship was under the control of the Lingayats. The bhajans that were sung there were only in praise of Shiva and not Vishnu. Naturally only Lingayats used to participate in the activities as a group and the others used to join as individuals.

Some years later in 1952 the Bedars built another place of worship on the same pattern as that adopted by the Lingayats. Here they have installed the pictures of several gods, chief among them being those of Shiva-Parvati and Hanuman. They too perform daily pua in this place. But the most important activity is that of singing bhajans. Here it is the Bedars who participate in the activities as a group and members of other groups may join as individuals.

Although the Lingayats and the Bedars do not mind the Scheduled castes joining them in their bhajan parties and a few Scheduled caste persons do join them occasionally - the Scheduled castes themselves have formed a group of their own and meet in the house of Hussein Saheb for the singing of bhajans. A peculiarity of the bhajan party here is that unlike the bhajan parties of Lingayats and Bedars in which only men participate here both men and women take part. Members of the other groups such as the Lamanis and the Kurubars join the bhajan parties of the Lingayats or the Bedars.

Thus the performance of the bhajans has become become a favourite form of religious devotion and a popular pastime. Attendance at bhajan parties is gradually replacing the visits to the religious shrines in the Dandeli village and their meeting places themselves have taken the character of sacred shrines. Previously the Bedars and the Scheduled castes used to sing bhajans every Saturday evening at the shrine of Hanuman in the Dandeli village. Their devotion to Hanuman has not diminished now. But instead of performing the bhajans at the shrine in the village now-a-days they observe this custom without fail at their new meeting places.

The Hindu categories whose behaviour is described above work mainly as unskilled labourers. Owing to lack of education and poor home background their interests are not sufficiently differentiated as to require for their satisfaction different types of associational groups. Members of a caste in this case therefore are able to satisfy most of their interests within their respective groups.

However, a large number of people although belonging to the lower castes and engaged in unskilled occupations do not participate in group activities similar to those detailed above. This is mainly because the respective groups to which they belong are not large enough to foster group activities. Thus for instance, even though there are large number of groups coming from Kanara coastal region none of them manifest any recognisable group behaviour. The presence of only a small number of members in each group explains this absence of group behaviour. Even among groups from Bombay Karnatak, it is only those groups which have a sufficiently large number of members that exhibit group organisation.

People belonging to the higher castes and those engaged in skilled and higher types of occupations are usually those who are educated and have a richer and more progressive family background. Their interests therefore are more differentiated and have to find outlets in various cultural associations.

Such people therefore cannot fully contain themselves in their caste or religious groups. The same situation is also met with in Dandeli where members of higher castes such as the Brahmins and those employed in higher occupations do not usually group together on the basis of their caste or religious differences. Their social status is determined mainly by their occupational and functional differences and the question of integration of these people may be discussed while dealing with the class structure.

Education persons and those engaged in skilled and clerical occupations coming from groups in which the members are predominantly unskilled labourers such as the Lingayats, the Bedars and the Lamanis, rather than assume leadership of their respective groups dissociate themselves from activities of their groups and participate in the activities of persons of similar occupations irrespective of their caste or religious affiliations. Among the Lamanis there is only one adult male employee who is educated and holds a clerical post under a contractor and he lives apart from the Lamani groups and does not participate in group activities. So also among the Lingayats and the Bedars the few persons who are employed in the skilled and clerical jobs do not usually mix with the other members of their categories and they do not take part in the bhajans which are regularly performed by the others.

Muslims

In this category there are people who come from different regions such as coastal Kanara, the Bombay Karnatak, Malabar and Andhra. They naturally speak different languages. The Muslims of the Kanara coastal region speak Urdu and Konkani, some having Urdu and some Konkani for their mother tongue; but as mother-tongue or as secondary language all are conversant with both the languages. The Muslims of Bombay Karnatak have Urdu for their mother-tongue while they are also familiar with the regional language Kannada. The Muslims of Malabar known as the Moplahs speak Malayalam, but they have a working knowledge of

Urdu. The Muslims from Andhra are very few in number and they speak only Telugu. So barring the few Telugu Muslims all the others know the common language Urdu.

In respect of religious persuasions they belong to two different schools of the Sunni sect viz., the Hanafi and the Shafi. All the Moplahs and a small proportion of the Kanara coastal Muslims are Shafites and the rest are Hanafis. On the whole the Hanafis far outnumber the Shafites.

The occupations of these people differ according to the region of their origin. Almost all Muslims from the Kanara coastal region are skilled or semi-skilled workers while some are engaged in the various trades. They are smarter in appearance and have a reputation for skilled work. The Muslims of Bombay Karnatak belong more or less to the same culture complex. The dominant sections among them are known as Syeds, Moghals, Pathans and Sheikhs, the last two categories comprising large numbers. The Pathans and Shaikhs usually inter-marry. Apart from these sections there are many other endogamous divisions such as Bhagwans, the Kakars, the Pendars, the Pinjars etc., who follow different traditional occupations. The Muslims of Bombay Karnatak as a whole follow a wide variety of occupations, but when they are broken up into finer divisions each division may be seen to follow particular types of occupations. Thus Sheikhs and Pathans are engaged in clerical and skilled occupations, the Bhagwans are dealers in vegetables, the Kakars are traders in other types of commodities, the Pendars and Pinjars, who have been displaced from their former occupations of pony-keeping and cotton cleaning respectively, work as unskilled labourers. While the Moplahs are engaged in a great variety of occupations in Malabar, those who have in-migrated to Dandeli are mostly unskilled labourers. All the Telugu Muslims in Dandeli also are unskilled labourers.

In Dandeli, all these different categories of Muslims, are organised into one religious group. For a long time there was

no formal religious organisation. There was, however, a Mulla from Karwar, Ibrahim Amiruddin, who used to help them in individual religious needs. The only common religious practice that was followed was the performance of the Id prayers twice a year, the practice having been started from the year 1926. In 1942 the Mulla took the initiative of organising all the Muslims into a body called Jamat, for the purpose of religious practice. The Mulla had no dependants of his own and so his house became the centre of activities of the Jamat, and where some of the members collected for their prayers. In 1949, just before the death of Mulla his house was purchased by the Jamat and was converted into a mosque. Now they had a better scope for the observances of their religious practices and in 1951 they introduced the regular practice of saying the community prayers on Fridays known as the Juma prayers. These weekly prayer meetings are attended by a large number of persons although perhaps the majority of the people do not find it convenient to do so. The attendance at daily prayers is very much thinner and confined mainly to the men of the older generation.

For some time after its inception the affairs of the Jamat were looked after by two persons, one representing the Kanara coastal Muslims and the other representing the Muslims of Bombay Karnatak. As the number of the Muslim population increased a bigger managing committee with a President, a Vice President and 12 other members was constituted. All the members are elected annually. Although for the purpose of collecting subscription and other conveniences the whole area is divided into five wards, four in the Depot area and one in the Plywood colony, the members of the committee are not selected on the basis of local representation but from the entire Muslim population. Thus the Kanara coastal Muslims being more skilled and generally smarter find a greater representation in the committee, disproportionate to their total numbers in the whole population. For instance, in the committee for the year 1956-57 out of the

total membership of 14 there were at least 9 persons from among these people. Similarly, as is to be expected, persons in the higher occupations are better represented in the committee than those in the lower occupations. The President was a retired Range Forest Officer and among the rest there were 5 skilled technicians, three clerical workers, 2 tailors, one hotel-keeper, one bidi shop owner and one dealer in dry fish. Not a single unskilled labourer was represented.

It may be pointed out that although these Muslims belong to two different religious schools, the religious organisation represents only one school namely the Hanafi school. As a rule in different regions the Hanafis and the Shafiites have separate religious organisations. In Dandeli, however, it was the Hanafis, by virtue of their larger number took the initiative in the organisation. The Shafii Muslims merely joined them. Any way in general there is no objection to the Shafiites and the Hanafis joining together in their religious observances as the two schools differ only in details and not in the essentials of their religious beliefs and practices. All the same, the Shafiites, particularly the Moplahs seem to play only a passive role in this common religious organisation. The Moplahs are neither represented in the managing committee nor take any prominent part in the activities of the Jamat.

Apart from the organisation of the Jamat they have an association called Anjuman the main function of which is social work. At the time of the Survey the Association was helping some poor students by way of providing books and stationery.

Although the religious organisation unites all the Muslims into one group the heterogeneous character of this group can easily be discerned. The Muslims may be broadly divided into four categories based upon the regional distinctions. They are (a) the Muslims of the Kanara coastal region who may be designated the Karwar Muslims for the bulk of them come from Karwar, (b) the Muslims of Bombay Karnatak, (c) the Moplahs of Malabar and (d) the Telugu Muslims. The vast majority of the Muslims belong to categories (a) and (b) and of these two catego-

ries. (b) is larger. People of each category usually mix more freely with persons of the same category. Even though Muslims as a group occupy a contiguous area in the Depot Area, within their locality the houses of Karwar Muslims and the Upghat Muslims fall in different clusters. The Telugu Muslims find it difficult to mix with the other Muslims as they cannot use the common Urdu medium. Moreover they are too few in number to form a separate effective group with the result that they mix freely with the other Telugu speaking people who are not Muslims.

The Moplahs too are few in number but they form a very cohesive group. Almost all these Moplahs are not accompanied by their women-folk and so they live in chummeries which is one of the reasons for their group cohesiveness. One among them has established a hotel and he is regarded as their leader. Another Moplah who is the Secretary of the labour union of the plywood factory also wields considerable influence over them. Either of these two persons can very easily influence the Moplahs as a group.

The Karwar Muslims also form a cohesive group although their cohesiveness is not as strong as that of the Moplahs for various reasons. 1. They are much greater in number than the Moplahs. 2. Occupationally they are on a higher level with the result that their interests are more differentiated and so they require for their fulfilment other outlets also besides their own group. 3. While the majority among them are Hanafis there are also a few Shafiites and these two sections are usually endogamous. All the same there is a great degree of unity among these people and they regard one person among them, Hyder Khan as their leader. Hyder Khan is among the oldest immigrants to Dandeli. He is a Boiler Attendant and this occupation is by no means superior to the occupations of many of the members of this group. But he has endeared himself to one and all by his helpful nature. He also knows some Ayurvedic medicines and administers them free of charge.

The category of the Bombay Karnatak Muslims is the least homogeneous as it comprises people belonging to a large number of endogamous groups and who follow a wide range of different

occupations as already explained. The different groups among them are under the influence of different individuals and there is no single person who can be regarded as the leader of the entire group.

Among these four categories it is the category of the Karwar Muslims that is more active and more respected and Hyder Khan being the leader of this category is also regarded as the leader of the entire Muslim population by both the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike.

The common religious organisation in Dandeli has facilitated social relations between members of the different Muslim categories. Such relations are on the increase. A striking illustration of this fact is the practice of inter-marriages between endogamous groups that is beginning to take root. Two of the Moplahs working in the Saw Mills have recently married wives from other groups. One has married a girl hailing from Belgaum and the other a girl from Karwar. One of the Moplahs was a bachelor at the time of his marriage and the other had divorced his Moplah wife.

Christians.

The Christians in Dandeli can be broadly divided into two distinct categories: (1) The Telugu speaking Christians coming from the Andhra region, particularly from the Kurnool district and (2) the other Christians chief among them being the Konkani speaking Christians belonging mainly to the Kanara district itself. These categories also belong to different religious sects. While the Konkani Christians are all Roman Catholics, the Telugu Christians belong either to the S.P.G. Mission or the Lutheran Mission. The Telugu Christians form the greater bulk of the Christian population and among them the S.P.G. Christians preponderate. The S.P.G. and the Lutheran Christians may and in Dandeli they actually do participate in common religious worship. But the Roman Catholics have to observe their religious practices as a separate group. Thus on account of the differences in language and religious persuasions the Tel-

Christians and the Konkani Christians form separate categories. These two categories are as different from each other as either of them is different from the Hindus or the Muslims. They are also different from each other in the type of occupations they follow. While the Telugu Christians work mainly as unskilled labourers many of the Konkani Christians follow skilled and semi-skilled occupations. These categories therefore have to be considered separately.

Telugu Christians: These people came and settled down in Dandeli at a time when no other people would willingly do so. They hail from a region noted for its endemic famine conditions and belong to the lower strata of the Andhra society, having been converted to Christianity, as it would appear, from the lower Hindu castes of Malas and Madigis. Almost all of them were either handloom weavers or agricultural and other types of labourers before coming to Dandeli. The weavers came to Dandeli in the wake of the disintegration of the handloom industry and the agricultural and other labourers with their chronic unemployment and underemployment problem were only too glad to leave their homes when they found sources of employment in Dandeli.

The Telugu Christians constitute the largest single homogeneous group in the total population of Dandeli. Both in the saw mills and the plywood factory they supply the largest numbers of labourers. Many of them are also employed as labourers in the manganese mining industry. Although they are among the older immigrants to Dandeli they have not risen to higher types of occupations. In this respect they are in no way better off than the backward groups among the Hindus who work mainly as labourers and do not aspire to rise higher.

Their residences are distributed in two large clusters one in the Depot area and the other in the plywood colony. The cluster of houses in the Depot area may be regarded as the core of their settlement. It is here that they first came and settled down and constructed a small place of worship in 1931. Their settlement in the plywood colony is comparatively recent. For

some years after their settlement in the plywood colony the members used to come to the Depot area particularly for the purpose of religious worship. However, eventually their population in the plywood colony assumed quite a large proportion and they also found that the place of worship in the Depot area was too small even to accommodate the population of the Depot area itself. So in 1951 they constructed a small church of their own near their quarters in the plywood colony. Now, therefore, they have their religious services in two different places. All the same the link between the two settlements and the pre-eminent position of the settlement in the Depot area are still in evidence. The people from the two settlements are related to one another and these kinship ties sustain their mutual contact. In 1953 they established a Telugu primary school in the Depot area, the classes taking place in the place of worship itself. Thus the children from the plywood colony were obliged to go there. During the year of this study however, they had started a new practice. The morning session of the school was held in the plywood colony and the afternoon session in the Depot area, and the children from both the settlements had to attend both the sessions. Most of the people residing in the Plywood colony owe a debt of gratitude towards the people in the Depot area for introducing them to Dandeli. Thus the Telugu Christians may be still regarded as belonging to one group in Dandeli while their activities are centred in two different places.

Religion is the most important factor fostering the group cohesiveness among these people. Since 1932 the priests belonging to the S.P.G. Mission from Hubli have been visiting the place for religious services. Their priest wields considerable influence over them and so all important social disputes are referred to him whenever he visits the place which is about once a month. For the management of their social and religious activities they have a council of 14 elders each representing a row of quarters or a street. Of these six are from the Depot area and eight from the Plywood colony. They are usually persons of good

reputation and their term lasts until death. Their main function is to see that the people under their jurisdiction observe their religious duties and behave properly. Deviant cases are reported to the council. The council usually settles all minor disputes and on major issues the advice of the priest is taken.

The members of the council in the Depot area and the Plywood colony act in two different bodies on matters affecting the two settlements separately. In matters relating to both the settlements they act together.

While the members of the council are influential in the group, their influence is restricted to certain sections. There is however one person in the group named Swamidas who is regarded as the overall leader of the entire group. Swamidas was the first Telugu Christian to come and settle down in Dandeli. He has been taking considerable interest in the religious activities of the group and has been appointed Catechist. In the absence of the priest he conducts the religious services in both the settlements.

The Lutherans among the Telugu Christians are very few and almost all of them are found in the Plywood colony. For a long time they used to join the S.P.G. Christians in their religious worship but latterly they have put up a small structure where they can meet separately for religious worship. However, they are not visited by any Lutheran pastor.

The religious organisation of the Telugu Christians is very effective. Apart from their common religious worship on Sundays when almost all people make it a point to go to church, they also meet in their churches every evening for common prayers. So every day in the evening the members of the group are brought together and these meetings provide an outlet for their leisure time.

While the S.P.G. Christians and the Lutherans mix together freely, they do not inter-marry. Each of these sectarian groups is further divided into two endogamous groups known as Kudipaite and Yedampaite. The women of the Kudipaite group pass

the loose end of palay of their sari over the right shoulder and in the other group they pass it over the left shoulder. The majority of the S.P.G. Christians in Dandeli happens to belong to the Yedampaita group and the larger proportion among the Lutherans belongs to the Kudipaita group. Each of the endogamous groups of Kudipaita and Yedampaita is divided into two exogamous groups called the Rajus and the Pradhanis. The Rajus have always to seek their mates from among the Pradhanis and vice versa.

These rules of endogamy and exogamy date back to their pre-Christian time as they are also found among the Hindu population of Andhra. It was ascertained that the Telugu Christians follow these rules scrupulously in their native places. In Dandeli too no breach of the endogamous rule as between the S.P.G. Christians and the Lutherans, and the exogamous rule as between the Raju and Pradhani sections has so far taken place. However intermarriages between the endogamous groups of Kudipaita and Yedampaita sections among the S.P.G. Christians have taken place in recent years. If the number of such intermarriages is not large it is mainly because the proportion of the Kudipaita population among them is too small. During the year^{of}/this study there was one such inter-marriage, the man belonging to the Yedampaita section and the wife to the Kudipaita section.

The Konkani Christians: These are fewer in number as compared with the Telugu Christians. They do not manifest any group cohesiveness although they too have a religious association for the limited purpose of fulfilling their religious interest. They have a small place of worship and the Roman Catholic priest from Halyal visits the place occasionally on Sundays to say Mass. For the purpose of keeping the people informed about the timings of the religious services and the collection of subscription they have an official called Budyant. He however does not have any social function.

Since many of these persons are engaged in semi-skilled

and skilled occupations and have more differentiated interests, they probably do not find their religious group quite adequate to satisfy their social needs. Moreover, since they belong to the same district they have regular contacts with their native places. They are also divided into different endogamous groups.

Recreational Associations: It has been sufficiently illustrated how the social structures of the home communities of the migrants has shaped the social structure of the new community at Dandeli. At the same time it has also been shown how the new community has modified some of the previous modes of behaviour. It may now be pointed out how the special needs of the new community have given rise to new features of social structure. One such feature is the prevalence of recreational associations. So far as the people in the lower socio-economic levels are concerned their religious organisations themselves are sufficient to cater to their recreational needs. Thus the bhajan parties as among the Lingayats, Bedars and Scheduled castes, the group meetings among the Lamanis and the regular prayer meetings among the Christians and the Muslims occupy these people in their leisure time and so their recreational needs have not resulted in the formation of separate associations.

However, most of the people belonging to the higher Hindu castes and the persons following higher types of occupations do not spend their leisure time in the activities of the religious or caste organisations. To serve their recreational needs, therefore, other types of groups have come into existence. One of such groups or associations is the Forest Club. The members of the Forest Club belong to the highest occupational strata such as the officers of the Forest Department, the important Forest Contractors and the higher executives and technical personnel of the private concerns. The monthly subscription rate of the club is Rs 3/- and naturally only people of the higher economic groups can afford to become members. In 1956 there were 24 members on the roll of the club and of these nine were officers of the Forest Department residing in Dandeli and the round about

areas, six Forest Contractors, one doctor, one Assistant Engineer in charge of the Electric Grid Sub-station, one hotel proprietor and the others were the managers and higher executives of the private concerns like the plywood factory, the manganese mining concerns and the pulp and paper factory. There was not a single member belonging to the clerical or other occupations of similar status. This group therefore is based upon the socio-economic status of the individuals and not upon their caste or religious affiliations.

The persons engaged as clerks, supervisors, technicians and in the various trades who are neither members of the Forest Club nor participate in the recreational activities of a religious character are quite many in number. The cultural and recreational needs of these people have not yet been properly organised. The employees of the plywood factory have a club of their own with a small library and a reading room managed by their cooperative society. Some of the persons belonging to this class particularly the employees of the Forest Department have formed themselves into an amateur dramatic association. Some others spend their leisure in the organisational activities of the labour unions. But a vast majority of them spend their leisure time outside any organised association, their usual mode of pastime being gossip. Two or three friends meet together in the evenings either in tea shops or in one another's house or go for walks.

Class Stratification:

The emergence of a class system is another new feature of the social structure of Dandeli. Since the people of Dandeli are derived from different regions and speak different languages the caste categories have their significance only within the regional bounds. For instance the Telugu people usually do not mix freely with the Kannada people and so while each of the groups is conscious about the caste categories within itself it does not try to distinguish between the castes in the other group. A Brahmin hotel-keeper belonging to Kanara has engaged a Telugu Scheduled caste as a domestic servant while he would not have engaged for the same job a person of the corresponding caste from

his own region. His customers too have not taken notice of this fact.

Even among the people of the same region the caste distinctions have lost much of their significance. For the operation of caste it is necessary that the members of the different caste groups should accept their relative status and functions. In Dandeli, although the past influence of the operation of the caste system is clearly seen in that the lower castes are engaged in lower occupations and the higher castes in higher ones, the various castes do not feel that they are tied down by their relative status positions and functions. Owing to their contact with persons from different regions and professing different religions the people -e hailing from a particular region are losing the sense of interdependence between castes of the same region.

While caste stratification is losing its significance in Dandeli class stratification is becoming more prominent.

The study of class stratification was not made in detail or with the use of any measuring techniques. It is based mainly upon a personal observation. So a finer distinction between the different classes cannot be attempted. However, distinction between three broad status categories is very clear. The lower status category comprises the unskilled labourers, the middle one consists of the clerical, supervisory and technical personnel, the persons running the various trading establishments and so on, and the upper one is represented by the officers of the Forest Department, the prominent forest contractors and the managers and higher technical and executive personnel of the various concerns, in short the people represented by the members of the Forest Club. These are only broad divisions and finer distinctions are possible. For instance, the people engaged in occupations that may be termed as semi-skilled and lowest administrative such as the forest guards, cleaners etc., cannot strictly be included either in the lower or the middle classes. The mode of life of these people is very much different from that of the unskilled labourers. While an

unskilled labourer would permit his wife to work as a wage labourer a semi-skilled worker would not countenance such a situation. At the same time these people are subordinate to the persons of clerical and other occupations of similar status. A forest guard is very often treated as a peon by the forester or clerk, a cleaner is subordinate to a driver and so on.

The three broad categories are much more than occupational divisions, since the modes of life of the individuals of the same category are similar while those between individuals of different categories are dissimilar. People of each category usually mix among themselves as is evidenced from the recreational activities of the different categories. Thus these categories can be regarded as classes. However the class consciousness is not the same in the three categories. The members of the lowest category are least class-conscious in the sense that they rather regard themselves as the members of the different caste or religious groups than the members of one corporate body of workers. Their behaviour patterns also are greatly influenced by their different group affiliations. All the same the Trade Unions which have begun to function are fast developing the consciousness of a community of interests among these people also. The members of the middle category are more conscious about their class. Their mode of life is determined by the general way of life of the middle class and not so much by their caste or religious affiliations. For instance while the Lingayats who are engaged as unskilled labourers participate in the group singing of bhajans a few of them who are employed in the clerical and technical occupations have joined the dramatic association made up of the middle class members. The class consciousness is the highest among the members of the upper class. These persons are drawn from different castes and religions. By virtue of their higher status they keep themselves aloof from the lower status members of their own castes and religions. In their behaviour they are least fettered by the behaviour patterns of their religious or caste groups.

This class structure however is far from being an open system particularly as applied to the people in the lowest strata. The groups like the Telugu Christians, some sections of the Muslims like the Pinjars and the Pendars, the Bedars, the Lamanis, the Vaddars, the Scheduled castes etc., do not show much occupational mobility. They not only do not find proportionate representation in the higher classes but are not represented at all in the highest class.

Economic Associations:

Industrialisation and urbanisation in Dandeli have given rise to certain economic associations which are characteristic of such processes. There are at least five such associations with economic interests as their main aims. Two of them are cooperative societies, two are trade unions and one an association of contractors.

Dandeli Forest Department Employees' Cooperative Credit Society Ltd:

This cooperative society was formed in 1948 with 154 members and with Rs 10,000 as authorised capital and Rs 1,340 as subscribed share capital. Initially it was called the "Dandeli Saw Mill Employees' Cooperative Credit Society Ltd.," and functioned exclusively for the benefit of the saw mill employees. But in 1953 its scope was enlarged so as to include all the members of the Forest Department and its name was converted to the present designation. At present almost all the employees of the Department resident at Dandeli are members of the society. In 1954-55 there were in all 232 members with a subscribed share capital of 25,010 which had clearly transcended the authorised capital. In its earlier form the society was functioning indifferently, but from 1952-53, when the society was reconstituted there has been a steady improvement in its working.

The society now undertakes two main activities: 1) Loan operations and 2) Grain shop. During 1954-55 it sanctioned in all 135 loans of which 51 were long term and 84 short term. The grain shop was started as a retail food grain shop in the beginning in 1948. During the second year all types of articles like groceries,

stationery, patent medicines etc. were added. Credit upto 60% of the purchasing member's pay is allowed and almost all the members make their purchases at the society's shop.

On the whole the working of the society has been quite successful. This success, however, is principally due to the sanction of the Forestion Department. In addition to supplying premises free of rent and making arrangements for the recovery of loans and credit dues from the borrowers' salaries, the Department's superior officers guide the society in all its undertakings.

The Indian Plywood Employees' Cooperative Society Ltd. This cooperative society was started in 1949 with an authorised capital of Rs 15,000 and is limited to plywood factory employees only. The number of members which was 119 to begin with rose to 363 in 1954-55. So also the paid up share capital which was Rs 3,970 at the beginning rose to Rs 9,190. The society began its activities as a consumers' cooperative society, but with the growing interests of the members and the active assistance of the factory management, it has in course of time grown into a general or multipurpose cooperative society embracing many other types of activities such as running a provision store, a grocery shop, a cloth shop, and loan business and controlling a canteen, a flour mill and dairy. It also manages a library, club and operates small savings schemes.

Provision store and loan business are the major activities of the society. The total sales of the provision store in 1955 amounted to about Rs 50,000, and it has been making good profits. The disbursement of loans has become by far the largest activity of the society. In 1954-55 it gave 881 loans of which 439 were for long term periods and 442 for short terms.

The profit of the society has been rising steadily. It has declared dividends throughout its existence at the rate of 6½% every year except in the first year when it was 5%. As in the case of the Forest Department's employees' cooperative society, the success of this society also to a large extent is

due to the active interest of the management. The society has received much assistance from the factory by way of buildings, personnel and loans.

The Indian Plywood Employees' Union: The workers and staff of the Indian Plywood Manufacturing Company had always been dissatisfied with their emoluments. The higher wages and salaries paid by the Government saw mill on the opposite side of the river was a constant reminder to them of their lower wages. They, therefore, started a trade union to redress their grievances in 1954 when their Manager was away for a few months on a business tour of Europe. The management, however, was unsympathetic towards the Union. While it encouraged the cooperative society with all possible help it discouraged all union activities and even turned down the request of the union for a plot of land in the factory colony for its office building.

In the beginning the workers adopted a constructive attitude. Absenteeism and late arrival for work which were previously chronic among the workers were reduced considerably after the formation of the Union and the production of the factory showed a marked increase. But when all their efforts at rise in wages were of no avail, a wave of frustration followed and consequently the production also registered a fall. During the year under study the union under-went the crisis of a strike. The strike continued from the 12th March to the 23rd March, 1956 when it was called off unconditionally. Despite the peaceful and disciplined manner in which the strike was carried on the management was successful in breaking it and punishing the leaders. Dandeli is still too small a place for workers to be able to match their strength with that of the management. (1)

The Dandeli Rashtriya Mazdoor Sangh: A union of the employees of the Jai Hind Saw Mills was formed as far back as February 1948 under the name "Rashtriya Saw Mills Mazdoor Sangh, Dandeli".

(1) For details about the Union vide Victor S. D'Souza, "Labour Management Relations and Industrial Productivity: A Case Study" in Bombay Labour Journal, Vol. II, 1962, Pp.

However, it was not functioning in the proper manner. Subsequently the secretary of the union died and with his death the activities of the union came to a stop. After the formation of the labour union of the plywood factory the workers of the saw mills once again became aware of the absence of a similar union among them. About the same time two employees of the saw mills retired from service. According to their terms of service they could secure neither pension nor gratuity. It was the first time that workers of the saw mills had retired after a long service and the incident served as an eye-opener to the other workers. So now they thought of forming a union with the main object of agitating for retirement benefits. The union was formally restarted in February 1956 under the new name of Dandeli Rashtriya Mazdoor Sangh. The members include not only the employees of the Jai Hind Saw Mills, including the workshop and sawn timber section but also those of the saw mill at Joida whose terms of service are the same as those of the workers of the Jai Hind Saw Mills. All these workers come under the administration of the Forest Engineering Circle.

The fact that the members of this union take only a lukewarm interest in union activities as compared with the members of the Indian Plywood Employees' Union is not at all surprising. As compared with the workers of the plywood factory the wages and working conditions of the workers of the saw mill are much better and except for the retirement benefits, the lack of which they have realised only latterly, they have nothing serious to complain of against their management.

The members of this union do entertain fraternal feelings towards the members of the Indian Plywood Employees' Union and these were displayed in a tangible manner when the latter went on strike. Obviously, the failure of the strike was a matter of dis-appointment to these workers as well.

The Kanara Northern Division Logging Contractors' Association:
Kanara was, of all the forest regions in the Bombay State the region where it was most difficult to procure forest labour. The fore, the Department has been getting its lumbering work in this

region done through the agency of the forest contractors. In the initial stages it was even difficult to find contractors who would work at reasonable rates. The Department therefore was obliged to offer some incentives to the contractors.

As the number of contractors who were eager to take work from the Department increased the relationship between the Department and the contractors began to change. Previously the Department was not only too eager to see that the contractors were not unnecessarily put into inconvenience but even went out of its way to give them all facilities in order to make sure of their continued service. Apart from the advance payments, they were given land in the depot area on hangami lagan lease merely for the asking. If their work was in arrears extension was freely granted and their contracts were not hedged in by any strict conditions. The contracts themselves were given at open auctions and as there was no competition the terms were usually favourable to the contractors.

With the changed conditions the Department was in a position to dictate terms to the contractors. So one by one the facilities previously granted to the contractors were withdrawn and new conditions and restrictions were imposed. Not only was the system of advance payment stopped, but the contractors were now also obliged to deposit cash securities with the Department. The new contractors were not easily given sufficient place in the depot area. The contracts were auctioned out through sealed tenders. The granting of extension for the work in arrears was made very strict and very often fines were levied. The logging contractors were given additional work. Whereas previously their work ended with giving delivery of the converted timber at the depot, now they were required also to clear the area worked. The refuse left in the compartment had to be collected in open area and burnt as a measure of protection against accidental fires.

On account of all these restrictions the forest contractors were now not the attractive propositions that they were

before. The contractors began to feel dissatisfied with the Department with the result that in 1951 they formed themselves into an association known as the Kanara Northern Division Logging Contractors' Association for the purpose of redressing their grievances. The contractors realise that the root of the trouble lies in the fact that there is too much competition among them. Therefore they propose to the Government to maintain a list of approved contractors and not to accept tender rates which are unprofitable or unworkable, without loss. But it is not easy for the Department to implement such proposals and the contractors themselves cannot agree among themselves. On one occasion the contractors agreed among themselves not to out-bid at the auctions. But they were betrayed by one of them who by breaking his promise introduced competition as usual. On the whole the Association has not served any tangible purpose so far apart from symboling the change in relationship between the Department and the contractors.

Power Structure: One of the several ways in which the community life integrates itself is through the various power structures controlled by different persons. Different power structures affect different segments of the population which may cut across the various segmental and stratified divisions described already. At the same time these segments sometimes overlap.

The most important power structure in Dandeli, that of the overall authority over the entire community is controlled by the officials of the Forest Department. The Forest Department in Kanara is not only concerned with the conservation and exploitation of the forest area under its charge but is also entrusted with a considerable part of the work of civil and other types of administration. For instance, normally in a district the administrative functions are distributed among several authorities under the heads of the Revenue, the Police, the Health and the Public Works departments. But in Dandeli most of these functions are concentrated in the hands of the Forest Department. The authority of the Collector (Revenue Department) over the area is nominal only that of the police officers is substantial. For the rest the

forest officers are in complete control of the area. Their authority is felt directly in the Depot area where they control most of the facilities and indirectly in the Plywood colony where they deal only with the management. Besides they control a large number of employees and job opportunities.

The various industrial organisations, chief among them being the Government saw mills and the plywood factory bind together various individuals coming from different caste, class and religious groups. Within these organisations there are other power structures such as the Cooperative Societies and the labour unions found both in the saw mills and the plywood factory. The membership of the cooperative societies is more inclusive than that of the labour unions. These societies control not only credit facilities but also marketing facilities and in the Plywood Factory, the cooperative society provides recreational facilities too. By trying to cater to a wide variety of interests of their employees the saw mills and the plywood factory tend to integrate them more fully within the ambit of their organisations. At the same time each organisation tends to isolate its employees from the employees of the other organisations. That is to say, supposing that neither of these organisations provided credit, marketing and other facilities their members would make use of common agencies for the satisfaction of these interests thus increasing the scope for mutual social relationships.

The forest and labour contractors on account of the employment opportunities and residential facilities controlled by them wield influence over certain segments of the population.

The shop-keepers have their spheres of influence over their customers. The establishment of cooperative societies in the saw mills and the plywood factory which provide credit and marketing facilities has reduced this influence. Still they cater to the needs of a large number of the population of Dandeli. The bigger hotel keepers too have their areas of influence.

The usual village officers such as the Talati and the police Pati-1 have practically no influence over the

people of Dandeli. Although the Talati stays in Dandeli he has little or nothing to do in the Depot area and the Plywood colony. The village Patil performs the duties of helping the police in their investigations and maintaining the registers of births, deaths etc., but in the presence of so many officers of the Forest Department and people with higher educational attainments and occupations his influence has not taken any significant shape. But the police constables stationed at Dandeli who have also jurisdiction over a wider area have a considerable influence, although the feeling on the part of the people that they expect bribes inspires fear rather than respect for them.

Of the several segments affected by the different power structures some are mutually exclusive and some are overlapping. For instance while the two segments controlled by the saw mills and the plywood factory are distinct, the sphere of influence of the Forest Department as a whole affects all individuals, although in different degrees.

Ordinarily the influence of the forest officers which embraces almost the entire community directly or indirectly ought to be of the greatest significance for the integration of the community structure. But this not the actual case mainly because of the fact that the forest officials are migrant individuals liable to be transferred and so they are not regarded as the members of the community. On the other hand the contractors, the owners of shops and hotels, despite their limited spheres of influence have achieved considerable leadership as they are regarded as the permanent inhabitants of the place.

Some of the segments affected by the various power structures are linked up at their leadership level by informal contacts between the heads. The forest officers, the prominent contractors, the bigger merchants and hotel keepers, the higher executives of the various industrial organisations are in a position to cultivate one another's friendship and they do mix together. The persons who control the important power structures constitute the highest status division in Dandeli, since all the

individuals in the community come under the sphere of influence of one or the other member of this class. In this sense the upper class may be said to control the entire society.

However, the fact that one class of people controls the entire society does not mean that all the individuals and groups are integrated into harmonious social relationships. This would be the case if the relationships between the members of the upper class were harmonious. But in some cases these relationships are not quite cordial. For instance, between the forest officers on the one hand and the other persons of influence on the other, there is a veiled feeling of antagonism. This arises out of the wide range of controlling powers concentrated in the hands of the forest officials. Many of the rules of the Forest Department are irksome and inconvenient. Those who have leased in land cannot cut any trees from their plots without the prior permission of the Department; permanent structures cannot be constructed on the plots obtained according to hangami lagan lease even though the people have to live there permanently, the forest roads are closed during a particular part of the year and so on. But some of these rules such as those relating to the cutting of trees, putting up permanent structures etc., are neither strictly observed nor enforced for practical reasons. Yet the forest officials can bring the culprits to book whenever they choose to. Thus they possess power either to grant favour or cause inconvenience. Such powers are resented by all concerned particularly so when the salaries of ^{the} forest officers are much lower than the incomes of some of the persons with whom they have to deal. (1) Thus in its power structure the social structure of Dandeli

(1) Talking about the relationship of the forest officials with the public of Dandeli, one of the contractors remarked: "The forest officials think no end of themselves. They do not realise that we spend much more money on the petrol of our trucks than the salaries of even the Collector or the Divisional Forest Officer."

differs widely from the social structures of the home communities of the migrants where the power structure is organised through the caste system.

Collective Organisation: The analysis of the society so far shows that there is no single council or organisation in Dandeli which can claim to represent the whole population. The presence of a village Panchayat might have remedied this shortcoming. Although the people have been clamouring for such an organisation, the Forest Department has consistently refused such a request as Dandeli is primarily intended to be a forest depot. However, during the year of the study the agitation of the people took an organised shape and an organisation was formed purporting to represent the public of Dandeli.

Apart from the people who are directly engaged by the Forest Department and the plywood factory who enjoy facilities such as housing, sanitation and water, a great proportion of the population does not have these facilities. No doubt, the Forest Department expect that all employers should provide their employees with these facilities but they could be provided only by a collective organisation and it is precisely such an organisation that is lacking.

The most important need of the people living in the Depot area is that of living accommodation. The people there have to put up temporary structures in plots leased out by the Forest Department. For some years the Forest Department was liberal in granting such plots to encourage people to settle down in the place. Even dwellings in unauthorised places were allowed so long as the area was not required by the Department. For some years the Forest Department was liberal in granting such plots to encourage people to settle down in the place. Even dwellings in unauthorised places were allowed so long as the area was not required by the Department. But as the population increased and much of the available area was occupied, the authorities stopped leasing out land to individual dwellers. Therefore may people

began to put up residential huts without permission. Since the people had no other alternative the officials used to wink at such practices although not entirely without harassment. Off and on the irregular practices used to be regularised. In 1953, fifty such encroachments were detected and regularised by issuing leases. In 1955 as many as 173 encroachments were detected. The residents were first made to pay the lease rent for the past occupation and then without issuing them leases for future occupation were served with quit notices. Since there was no other alternative accommodation the people in effect were asked to leave Dandeli. This unprecedented action of the Department caused resentment not only among the persons asked to quit but among the entire population of the place. So in January, 1956 the people of Dandeli held a public meeting to protest against the action of the Department and passed a resolution urging the Government to convert the residential area of Dandeli into a Gaothan area and to constitute a village panchayat so that the people themselves may be given a chance to solve their problems of accommodation, sanitation, water supply etc., which had long been neglected by the Forest Department.

The meeting set up a committee of 21 persons in order to pursue the objectives. The committee was called the "Dandeli Citizens Relief Committee" and it was fairly representative of the public of Dandeli. The President of the Committee was an M.L.A. from Karwar and the rest of the 20 persons were all from Dandeli. It is significant that all the three acknowledged leaders of homogeneous groups namely Hyder Khan, the leader of the Muslims, Swamidas the leader of the Telugu Christians and Kalappa, the leader of the Lamanis were included in the committee. The other members were the leaders of the various power structures. One was a manganese mine owner, five including the secretary were forest contractors, three hotel keepers, five merchants, two were persons holding clerical posts but with extensive supervisory functions and one was the secretary of the Plywood Factory Workers' Union.

Since the grievances of the public were against the Forest Department, the forest officers were naturally not represented.

The community feeling is nurtured and strengthened by the common sharing of certain institutionalised facilities. Institutions such as the market, the post office, the railway facilities, the bus transport etc., are shared in common by all individuals irrespective of their group affiliations. But certain institutions such as the medical dispensaries and the schools cater to different sections of the population. There are two dispensaries, one situated in the Depot area and primarily intended to serve the employees of the Forest Department and the other located in the Plywood facolony and meant for the employees of the plywood factory. The medical institutions therefore divide the population into two categories based upon the different localities and the employers. The educational institutions too do not serve to bring together people of all groups. Of the four schools in Dandeli, the Kannada school in the Depot area alone is patronised by almost all sections of the population, the Urdu school only by the Muslims, the Telugu school only by the Telugu people and the Kannada school in the plywood colony by some of the children only from that area.

In any properly integrated community the members should have a strong feeling of belonging to the locality. But this feeling has not sufficiently developed among the inhabitants of Dandeli. One of the most important reasons for this phenomenon is that the people in Dandeli cannot own their houses. Either they occupy quarters supplied by their employers, in which case they have to vacate them on termination of service or reside in temporary structures on land leased in from the Forest Department and in which case they can be asked to leave the place at a notice of 24 hours. In any case the people cannot acquire a permanent interest in the place.

General Administration.

The general administration of Dandeli is quite compli-

cated for two important reasons. One is that the area is under the control of both the Forest and the Revenue Departments although the control of the former is wider and more tangible. The second is that the area of the community is spread over different administrative divisions.

For some time until 1939 the revenue administration of the forest ranges of Dandeli, Virnoli and Kulgi in the Kanara Northern Division was entrusted to the Forest Department itself. For revenue purposes the ranges were regarded as Mahals and the Rangers of the respective ranges were ex-officio Mahalkaris and the Divisional Forest Officer was the ex-officio Assistant Collector. The Forest Department therefore had complete control over this area. This control has remained substantially the same even after the revenue administration was re-transferred to the Revenue Department. It is only where there is disforested agricultural land in the forest villages that the influence of the revenue officials has acquired a proportion which may be regarded as significant. Yet the revenue officials have to perform certain functions in this area, for the successful accomplishment of which they required their usual influence. A case in point is the making of arrangements for the visits of very important persons like the Governor and the Ministers. Arrangements for such visits are usually made by the Revenue authorities and so far as Dandeli is concerned the Mamlatdar of Haliyal is the officer in charge. During the year under study there were many such visits and owing to their limited influence in the place the Mamlatdar and his subordinates found it rather difficult to make suitable arrangements.

The Depot area and the Plywood colony which may be regarded as the sections of the same community are under different divisions for the purposes of Forest, Revenue and Police administration. As far as the forest administration is concerned the Depot area is directly under the charge of the Depot officer and the Plywood colony is under the supervision of the Range Forest Officer of the Virnoli range. For revenue administration the Depot area is under the Mamlatdar of Haliyal Taluka and the plywood colony is

under the Mahalkari of the Supa Petha, and for Police administration the former is under the police outpost at Dandeli directed by the police sub-inspector of Haliyal and the latter is under the police station at Supa directed by the police sub-inspector of Supa. These distinctions sometimes give rise to confusion and complication. For instance when important persons like the Ministers visit Dandeli, the Mamlatdar of Haliyal usually includes in the tour programme a meeting with the "Social workers" of Dandeli. These social workers are none other than some of the important persons from Dandeli such as the forest contractors whom the Mamlatdar considers to be the leaders of the place. But no person from the plywood colony is included among the invitees to such meetings. This is mainly because that area does not come under the jurisdiction of the Mamlatdar of Haliyal.

The divided police control of the community sometimes leads to certain malpractices. Since there is a police outpost at Dandeli itself there is constant police vigilance in the place. But this vigilance does not extend to the Plywood colony and the police who are in charge of this area are far away in Supa and visit the place only occasionally. Under these circumstances activities like organised gambling are conducted near the plywood colony although under the very nose of the police of Dandeli who could be enticed to wink at such illegal practices for a consideration, since they do not take place in their jurisdiction.

Apart from these complications the different administrative authorities and divisions do not tend to weaken the community feeling. But they certainly do not foster the integration of the community into a well knit social group.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Time was in India when caste and family connections were more important in determining the calling in life of a person. Persons destined by birth for particular occupations were subsequently trained to fit them to those occupations. Indian society, however, has changed and now the training and education of a person are considered to be crucial in determining his occupation. But the institutional structure of the past still plays a great part, although indirectly, in influencing the aspirations of persons for particular types of occupations and conditioning their education and training accordingly. Education and training in Dandeli therefore may be examined from this stand-point. For this purpose it is necessary to make a distinction between adults and non-adults, for the adults have concluded their education and non-adults are at a stage where education ought to be their main pre-occupation. In either case education has to be analysed against the background of social and occupational structure of the community.

The Educational Background of the Adult Population: Most of the adults in Dandeli are inmigrants and a few persons of younger age were born in Dandeli itself being the children of inmigrant parents. Therefore the nature of the educational facilities in Dandeli is not an important factor affecting the educational background of the adult population.

Table 39

The data regarding the education of adults are presented in Tables 39 and 40 according to the population categories and occupational grades respectively of the heads of households. About 44% of the adults are either literate or educated. This compares favourably with the educational background of the

Table 39

Percentage distribution of adults by population category and amount of education

Population Category	Education						Total %	Total No.
	Illiterate	Upto 4th standard	Upto 7th standard	Upto 11th standard	Matriculate	Technical, professional or higher		
1. Gaud Saraswat Brahmin	15.7	26.5	42.1	10.8	4.9	-	100	102
2. Other Brahmins	6.3	12.6	24.2	21.0	20.0	15.8	100	95
3. Warrior & Trading castes	38.9	36.3	15.6	3.9	3.9	1.3	100	77
4. Lingayats	52.8	13.9	29.1	2.8	1.4	-	100	72
5. Marathas	59.6	20.8	14.9	2.4	1.2	1.3	100	168
6. Other agricultural & allied groups	41.6	15.0	31.7	6.7	5.0	-	100	60
7. Artisans & allied groups	52.6	21.1	15.8	3.5	5.3	1.7	100	57
8. Bedars	89.2	7.2	2.4	1.2	-	-	100	83
9. Lamanis	88.2	9.7	2.1	-	-	-	100	93
10. Other Backward Hindus	86.2	10.0	2.5	-	1.3	-	100	80
11. Scheduled castes	79.5	8.0	12.5	-	-	-	100	112
12. Karwar Muslims	32.4	40.2	22.6	3.4	0.8	0.5	100	204
13. Other Muslims	69.0	16.5	12.3	0.8	1.3	-	100	236
14. Telugu Christians	68.2	17.0	11.8	2.5	0.5	-	100	365
15. Other Christians	34.5	26.4	20.7	14.9	1.1	2.3	100	87
Unspecified	50.0	16.6	13.9	8.3	5.6	5.6	100	36
Total %	56.3	19.3	16.2	4.3	2.5	1.3	100	1927
No.	1085	372	313	81	47	24		1927

population of the country as a whole and indicates that Dandeli has drawn relatively a greater proportion of educated persons from the home communities of the migrants.

The educational status of the adult population shows a positive correlation with the socio-economic status of the population categories as well as of the occupational grades. This is what is to be expected, for education is one of the important indicators of socio-economic status. It may, however, be pointed out that while the proportion of illiterate persons varies from category to category, in every category (not shown in the Tables) a greater proportion of women is illiterate than that of men. The higher socio-economic categories are not only characterised by a higher degree of literacy, but also by higher proportions of better educated persons.

Table 40

Percentage distribution of adults by occupational grade of heads of families and amount of education

Occupational grade of H.F.	Education Illit- erate	Upto 4th std.	Upto 7th std.	Upto 11th std.	Matri- culate	Technical professional or higher education	Total	
							%	No,
I.Unskilled man- ual labour	76.9	14.1	8.4	0.6	--	--	100	882
II.Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	48.0	27.5	19.9	2.9	1.3	0.3	100	302
III.Skilled manual	45.0	27.0	16.9	7.4	2.1	1.6	100	189
IV.Clerical, teaching, super- visory & related	17.6	18.1	30.4	15.8	13.2	4.9	100	227
V.Officers & high- er professions	5.6	13.9	13.9	25.0	16.7	25.0	100	36
Contractors	51.5	12.1	24.2	6.1	6.1	-	100	33
Self-employed	45.5	27.3	24.4	2.4	0.4	-	100	246
Miscellaneous	50.0	8.3	41.7	-	-	-	100	12
Total %	56.3	19.3	16.2	4.3	2.5	1.3	100	
No.	1085	372	313	81	47	24		1927

Since there is a close relationship between education and training on the one hand and occupation on the other, it is useful to analyse the educational background of earners in the various occupational grades. In Table 41 the adult earners are classified according to occupational grades and amount of education. It may be observed that among the earners in occupational grade I as many as 74% are illiterate. This is hardly

Table 41

Percentage distribution of adult earners by occupational grades and amount of education

Occupational grade	Education	Illit- erate	Upto 4th std.	Upto 7th std.	Upto 11th std.	Matri- culate	Technical professional or higher education	Total %	No.
I. Unskilled manual labour		74.0	16.2	9.0	0.7	-	-	100	639
II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative		26.6	35.7	27.9	5.9	3.2	0.7	100	154
III. Skilled manual		23.2	33.7	25.6	12.8	1.2	3.5	100	86
IV. Clerical, teaching supervisory & related		1.8	9.3	29.6	24.1	25.9	9.3	100	108
V. Officers & higher professions		--	-	6.6	20.0	26.7	46.7	100	15
Contractors		38.9	11.1	27.8	11.1	11.1	-	100	18
Self-employeds		44.4	24.6	26.9	3.5	0.6	-	100	171
Miscellaneous		50.0	12.5	37.5	-	-	-	100	8
Total %		52.9	19.8	17.1	5.0	3.3	1.7	100	
No.		660	247	214	63	41	21		1249

surprising because these occupations do not require any education. The education of those who are literate is mostly of an elementary nature. Among the earners in occupational grade II the illiterate form only 26.6% of the total. In this grade almost all those who work in the lowest administrative posts are required to have some education. The illiterates are mainly from among the semi-skilled workers who can acquire mechanical skill even without any education. Considering their higher status, as compared with the earners in grade II the educational background of earners in

grade II is of a rather low standard. If these workers were compared with only semi-skilled workers from grade II the difference in their educational background would have been impressive. The fact is that just as the semi-skilled workers can acquire their mechanical skill without the educational background. Of the 20 illiterates among the skilled workers 8 are drivers of trucks, 3 fitters, 2 carpenters and 7 operators of various engines in the plywood factory and the saw mills. Except for the carpenters who were doing the same type of work before coming to Dandeli, the rest started as unskilled workers and rose to their present positions through practical experience accumulated over the years. The drivers of trucks learnt driving after working as cleaners of trucks.

No doubt the educational background of the earners in occupational grade IV is quite high. But it is intriguing to find even two illiterate persons in these clerical and related occupations which as a rule require some general educational qualifications. This anomaly has arisen on account of the inclusion of labour supervisors in this category. Both these illiterate persons are labour supervisors from the plywood factory. They started as unskilled labourers and have now been promoted to the posts of Supervisors. The inclusion in grade IV of labour supervisors and some clerks of the contractors is also responsible for the presence in this category of some earners with only elementary education.

The Educational Background of Non-adults: Among the factors affecting the educational background of children, the availability of schooling facilities, the ethnic groups to which the children belong and the occupational grades of the parents may be regarded as crucial. The educational background of the children therefore is analysed in relation to these three main aspects.

During the Survey year there were four primary schools in Dandeli. Of these three, namely a Kannada school (started around 1920) with seven standards, an Urdu school (1950) with seven

standards and a Telugu school (1954) with two standards are situated in the Depot area and a Kannada school with four standards is located in the Plywood colony. Just before the Survey came to a close, that is in June 1956, an English High School was started with the eighth standard to begin with.

Thus opportunities for primary education have been in existence in Dandeli ever since the new community came into being. From the data collected regarding the educational background of the non-adults it is possible to estimate how far these facilities have been availed of by the parents to educate their children.

In Tables 42 and 43 the data regarding the school going status of the non-adults are classified according to population categories and occupational grades respectively of their household heads. In our analysis we are concerned mainly

Table 42

Non-adults by population categories and school-going status

Population categories	Total	Below the school-going age	Of school-going age	Going to school	%age of col. 4 to col. 3	Stopped going to school	Children of school-going age never gone to school	%age of col. 7 to col. 3
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins	95	50	45	43	96 ✓	1	1	2) ✓
2. Other Brahmins	53	35	18	18	100	-	-	-
3. Warrior & trading castes	41	20	21	13	62	-	8	38
4. Lingayats	26	21	5	2	40	-	3	60
5. Marathas	109	71	38	26	68	-	12	32
6. Other agricultural & allied groups	34	25	9	8	89	-	1	11
7. Artisans & allied groups	32	22	10	9	90	-	1	10
8. Bedars	76	40	36	14	39	1	21	58
9. Lamanis	68	44	24	11	46	-	13	54

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10. Other backward Hindus	40	25	15	7	47	-	8	53
11. Scheduled castes	52	35	17	10	59	1	6	35
12. Karwar Muslims	140	79	61	54	89	3	4	6
13. Other Muslims	147	78	69	42	61	6	21	30
14. Telugu Christians	187	127	60	30	50	5	25	42
15. Other Christians	54	32	22	18	82	-	4	18
Unspecified	29	18	11	9	82	-	2	18
Total	1183	722	461	314	68	17	130	28

with the non-adults of school-age. Of the 461 school age children 130 or 28% have never gone and possibly will not ever go to school and 17 had been to school for some time but have now stopped going. As compared to non-adults among whom 56% are illiterate the position of the non-adults in respect of literacy may be considered much better. But in view of the fact that in Dandeli the children do not contribute to the economic activities of the family and that facilities for education are available, the neglect of education of even 28% of the children is a matter for concern.

On the whole the school going status of the children is correlated with the socio-economic status of the heads of their households. In higher castes and in the higher occupational grades, the proportions of school age children going to school are also higher. Between the two categories of Brahmins only one child has not gone to school. When the categories 3 to 7 of Advanced and Intermediate Hindus are taken together 70% of the children go to school. For the categories 8 to 11 of Background Hindus the percentage of children who have gone to school is only 46 which is very small. Among the Muslims and the Christians also the school going status of the children bears a significant relationship with their socio-economic conditions.

As is to be expected the percentage of children going to school is the lowest in occupational grade I. It may

be pointed out that in the case of adults there is no significant difference between the educational backgrounds of persons in grades II and III. But among the non-adults while the proportion of school-age children who are going or have gone to school is 77 in grade II it is as high as 93 in grade III. The economic position of people in grade III as compared to those in grade II is much better. Consequently their level of living would be higher and the care of children greater.

The distribution of the school-going children according to the number of years they have been going to school (not shown in the tables) shows that in the higher socio-economic categories as compared with the lower ones not only are the proportions of school going children are higher but also the proportions of children who have been to school for longer periods are higher.

When we compare the literacy between the non-adults of school age and the adults we find that literacy among the former has risen by 28% which is a good advance. However the progress is not uniform in all the grades as shown in Table 43.

Table 43

Distribution of non-adults by occupational grades of heads of families and school-going status

Occupational grades of heads of families	Total	Below school-going age	Of school-going age	Going to school	%age of col. 4 to col. 3	Discontinued going to school	No. of non-adults of school-going age never gone to school	%age of col. 7 to col. 3.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I. Unskilled manual labour	471	287	184	85	46	3	96	52
II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	218	139	79	59	75	2	18	23
III. Skilled manual	130	84	46	43	93	1	2	4
IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	153	95	58	48	83	7	3	5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
V. Officers and higher professions	26	18	8	8	100	-	-	-
Contractors	20	11	9	8	89	-	1	11
Self-employeds	153	82	71	58	82	3	10	14
Miscellaneous	12	6	6	5	-	1	-	-
Total	1183	722	461	314	68	17	130	28

In making these comparisons, however, we have to bear in mind that the higher the percentage of literacy among the adults the lower is the scope for showing a high advance in the literacy of non-adults. For the convenience of comparison an index of improvement has been given in the Table which has been arrived at by dividing the difference between the percentage of literates between the non-adults and the adults by the percentage of illiterates among the adults. Accordingly the improvement in literacy among non-adults over that of adults is very high in grades III and V and it is the lowest in grade I.

It is clear that the socio-economic backwardness of the parents is one of the important reasons for neglecting the education of their children. The reasons for the neglect of education of these children may be further analysed.

Table 44

Distribution of children of school-going age who have not gone to school according to sex and occupational grades of heads of families.

Occupational grades of heads of families	I. Unskilled manual labour	II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	III. Skilled manual	IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	V. Officers & higher professions	Contractors	Self-employeds	Miscellaneous	Total	Percentage
Non-school going children of school-going age										
Boys	22	3	-	2	-	-	2	-	29	22
Girls	74	15	2	1	-	1	8	-	101	78
Total	96	18	2	3	-	1	10	-	130	100

Table 44 shows the distribution of the 130 children of school age who have never gone to school by sex and the occupational categories of the heads of families. The percentages of boys and girls among the non-school-going children are 22 and 78 respectively. Even in the lower economic categories which usually neglect the education of their children the neglect is directed mainly towards the education of girls.

In the higher sections also the education of girls is neglected. However, in their case the neglect does not lie so much in not sending the girls to school as in stopping them from going to school after a certain age. For instance among the 30 adults who attend school only one is a girl. Since all these adults are not above the 7th standard their ages cannot go very much beyond 14 or 15 years and the fact that only one girl who falls in this age group is attending school shows that the education of girls after, say, their maturity is not encouraged by people in Dandeli.

In the case of 130 children of the school age who do not go to school the parents were asked to state the reasons why they did not send their children to school. Table 45 shows the

Table 45

Distribution of children of school-going age who have not gone to school by occupational grades of the heads of families and reasons for not going to school

Types of reasons	Reasons for not going to school					Total
	Lack of tradition	Poverty	Household work	Defective	Not specified	
Occupational grades of heads of families						
I. Unskilled manual labour	33	31	22	1	9	96
II. Semi-skilled & lowest administrative	1	9	5	1	2	18
III. Skilled manual	-	-	2	-	-	2
IV. Clerical, teaching, supervisory & related	2	1	-	-	-	3
V. Officers & higher professions	-	-	-	-	-	-
Contractors	-	1	-	-	-	1
Self-employed	7	2	-	1	-	10
Total	43	44	29	3	11	130

distribution of these children according to the occupational grades of heads of families and the reasons given for not going to school. In 43 cases or about 1/3 of the total number of cases the reason stated for not sending the children to school is the lack of tradition of sending children to school. Of these cases, as many as 33 are in occupational grade I and VII in the category of self-employeds, in either case the parents belonging to the lowest socio-economic status. It is further observed that among the 43 children who do not go to school because of lack of tradition as many as 39 are girls and only 4 are boys. All these 4 boys are found in occupational grade I.

Poverty has been adduced as the reason for not going to school in the case of 44 children. These children are concentrated in occupational grades I & II. Again 15 of these children are boys and 29 girls.

29 children have not been able to go to school because of household work. 22 of these children are in occupational grade I, 5 in grade II and 2 in grade III. On the whole 5 of them are boys and 24 girls.

The reasons given for the pre-mature termination of the school career of 17 children (not shown in Table) are as follows: 7 children left school on account of the poverty of their parents, 4 because they were required to work at home, 4 were going to school before coming to Dandeli and the change of place disturbed their educational career, 2 stopped going to school because their parents did not think it was necessary for them to continue.

The various reasons for not going to school such as lack of tradition, poverty and household work are, however, not mutually exclusive. They all stem from the same basic factor, namely, the low socio-economic position of the family. Where the socio-economic position of the family is low both man and wife are required to work outside the home. Under such conditions during day time the children are left to fend for themselves. Even when children are not required at home it takes great effort

on the parts of the parents to send them to school particularly in the initial stage. It is therefore but natural for parents, who are in a hurry in the morning to reach their place of work and exhausted in the evening after the day's manual work, to adopt the line of least resistance with regard to the training of children. If there are several children in the house the older ones have to look after the younger ones especially during the absence of the parents. This work falls particularly to the lot of girls and it is small wonder that a great majority of the children who do not attend school are girls.

It is, therefore, not difficult to see why, despite the availability of facilities for at least primary education in Dandeli, so many children of school-going age do not go to school. The people of the lowest socio-economic grade face tremendous obstacles in the way of sending their children to school. Only with great determination and effort these obstacles may be overcome. But such determination and effort can come only if the parents visualise a bright future for their children. The aspirational level of a person is usually a function of the group with which he identifies himself. If the socio-economic status of the group is higher than his own he would aspire to catch up with the group standard. In a backward group the socio-economic status of the group is the lowest and the members with low occupations have not much incentive to strive for higher positions either for themselves or for their children unless motivated by other factors. Thus the problem of educating children of backward groups is more complete^{ly} than one of providing educational facilities.

CHAPTER V

Seasonal Immigration in the Dandeli Area

As discussed in Chapter II the primary industries of mining, forestry and wood cutting carried on in the Dandeli area are typical of the major economic activities of the North Kanara district. An important peculiarity of the workers engaged in these industries which are located in the jungles is that almost all of them are seasonal immigrants who return every now and then to their home community which they do not give up for good. The present chapter is devoted to a discussion of some of the aspects of such workers. The seasonal immigrants are mostly unskilled labourers and they are also referred to as migratory labourers in our discussion.

The various forest operations and the mining work which have to be performed in the jungles become almost impossible during the rainy season... The people working in the jungles have to live near the sites of work in improvised huts and their provisions of food are supplied from Dandeli periodically. During the rainy season not only is it most difficult to live in the dampness of the forest but also provisions cannot be obtained from Dandeli due to the closure of the forest roads to all vehicular traffic. The work in the forests is resumed only towards the end of the rainy season. It commences sometime in October and ends in May. During these seven or eight months a number of labourers come to Dandeli^{region} from different parts. The arrival and departure of these migratory labourers varies according to the places they come from, the type of work they are engaged in, and so on. Some labourers come at the beginning of the working season and depart at the end, some others visit the place two or three times during the season and there are some who come only for brief periods.

The modes of life and work of the seasonal immigrants are different from those of the migrant settlers of Dandeli. They also differ among the different categories of workers depending upon the types of work they undertake and the regions to which they belong. It is convenient to describe them first under the

headings of different categories of labourers. Some significant background characteristics of the seasonal immigrants obtained through a sample survey are presented in the latter part of the Chapter.

Forest Labour:

The forest labourers who are engaged in the different forest operations described in Chapter II work under different employers. In the various operations connected with the regeneration and preservation of forests, labourers are directly employed by the Forest Department on daily wages. For each operation the requisite number of labourers is recruited separately. As a rule the labourers employed for any operation are engaged again for the subsequent operations so that they may secure continuous employment. But no such guarantee is given although the paucity of labour makes secure the position of the labourers. On the other hand labourers who are engaged in the operations of the extraction of timber such as the conversion of logs, the preparation of sleepers etc., are employed on a piece-rate basis by the contractors mostly through labour suppliers. The labourers working in stacking, loading, bamboo cutting etc., are also employed at piece rates.

The migratory labourers are scattered in different parts of the forests where they work in different operations and under different employers. They also move from place to place, operation to operation, and employer to employer. The period of stay of different workers also varies. Owing to all these difficulties no attempt was made to find out the exact volume of migratory labour. The habits and modes of work of migratory labourers in some of the important forest operations may be described.

Sleeper Makers: In most cases where payment for work is made according to piece rates the work is such that it has to be done by a team of labourers. The formation of teams is required either because the division of labour in these cases increases efficiency or because for the same task several workers with complementary

skills are needed. It is difficult for any employer to form convenient teams out of labourers engaged on daily wages. So the work is allotted at a piece rate to any person who is capable of forming a team. The work of preparation of sleepers is of this type. It consists of different operations like felling trees, cross-cutting them into convenient pieces, converting the pieces into rectangular blocks, sawing the blocks into proper sizes and finally ^{adzing} edging or trimming the sides of the sleeper pieces. All these operations require different degrees of skill. So in the formation of the team care has to be taken to see that a sufficient number of persons with different skills are included.

The total number of persons in the team is decided according to the division of labour. When a team starts on the work of sleeper-making, all the members first apply themselves to the task of felling as many trees as possible. After this different persons are allotted different operations. If these persons are to do their respective tasks uninterruptedly the allotments should be made in a particular ratio. Since cross-cutting is done with the saw at least two persons are required for it. Four persons should be engaged in the work of the conversion of logs into rectangular blocks. Two are required to saw on the saw stand and two for adzing. Thus ten persons are required to form a convenient team for sleeper work. If there are a few persons extra they may be given the work of felling trees and in that case the workers will start their specific operations from the very start without first spending some days in felling trees. If there are too many persons they become unmanageable. So also if there are too few persons each person may have to perform different types of work. For instance the cross-cutters may have to spend some part of their time in preparing blocks or the sawyers may have to do the work of adzing also, and so on. Such a situation will naturally result in lowering the output per person. Similarly, the per

capita output will be lower if there are too many people in a group.

A team of workers is called a tanda and the headman of a tanda is called a tandedar. The tandedar is the person who forms the team and he is responsible for all the labourers working under him. Usually he is also the person who has acquired all the requisite skills.

Almost all the workers engaged in sleeper making come from the villages of the Karwar Taluka of the North Kanara District. They belong to different castes and religious groups such as Komarpanths, Bhandaris, Devalis, Kalavants, Padtis, Gosavis, Muslims, Christians etc.

The method of recruiting these workers is as follows: The contractor gets in touch with the supplier of labour known as the mukadam. According to the number of labourers required he gives the mukadam an advance amount to be paid to the labourers. The mukadam is acquainted with the tandedars and bargains with them. Ultimately, it is the tandedars who form their teams of labourers. The tandedar receives the advance from the mukadam and distributes it among his workers. Thus the mukadam takes to the contractor several teams of workers each under its own tandedar. The contractor will deal with the labourers only through the mukadam. As a rule he does not come in contact with the labourers at all.

The contractor makes payment to the mukadam on a piece-rate basis. The account is fully settled after the work is finished. In the meantime, in addition to the initial advance, the contractor has to keep on advancing money to meet the labourers' daily expenses.

Each team of workers is allotted a specified area in which the trees marked out are to be felled and converted. The record of the work of each team is kept separately. When the work is completed the contractor pays the full amount to the mukadam after deducting all the advances. The mudadam deducts his commission which is fixed per sleeper. Then each tandedar is paid according to the work turned out after deducting the

amount already advanced. The total amount is equally divided among all the workers taking into account the advances paid. Usually the tandedar keeps a small commission calculated per unit of work done. If a worker falls ill for a few days no deductions are made for the days of absence. If the illness persists for a longer period an amount is deducted for the days of absence. Sometimes a man may fall seriously ill at the beginning of the work and it will be the responsibility of the tandedar to send him home. In that case his bus fare and the advance taken will be a loss to the tandedar which he has to somehow make good, if possible by making use of the services of the person during subsequent trips.

Once they are in the jungles the workers of each team have to live together all by themselves. They have to cook their own food, take care of the persons who fall ill and so on. Therefore, for the sake of convenience people belonging to the same caste or the same religious category form themselves into one team. If there are members belonging to different castes who do not eat together, people belonging to each caste have to cook their food separately. Usually the person who has to cook is relieved from work an hour or so earlier and the rest work until the meal is ready. If there is only one kitchen only, only one person's time is wasted. On the other hand, if there are more than one kitchens, more persons will have to devote their time to cooking. To avoid this waste of time persons belonging to the higher castes are usually asked to cook so that all the others can eat it. Sometimes the different castes may be mutually exclusive in their eating habits. So, as far as possible, a tandedar will recruit labourers belonging to his own caste. A person's influence usually extends to only his own caste group in the rural areas.

A group of 118 sleeper makers engaged by a contractor to work in a particular area are classified in Table 46 according to the ethnic groups of the tandedars and those of the members. These workers form 12 tandas of which two have 8 members each, one

Table 46

Distribution of sleeper workers of 12 tandas by ethnic groups of tandedars and members

Ethnic groups of members Ethnic groups of tandedars	No. of teams	Ethnic groups of members													Total
		Komarpanth	Bhandari	Dhobi	Padti	Maratha	Gauli	Devalli	Kalavanth	Pagi	Gosai	Christian	Achari	Bandi	
Komarpanth	6	31	9	-	-	9	-	3	-	1	-	4	1	2	60
Bhandari	3	3	13	-	-	2	-	5	1	-	6	-	-	-	30
Dhobi	1	1	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Padti	2	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
Total	12	35	25	3	20	11	1	8	1	1	6	4	1	2	118

has 9 members, six have 10 members each, and three have 11 members each. In two tandas all the members are of the same caste. Among the tandedars there are 6 Komarpanths and 3 Bhandaris. Among the Hindu caste groups represented here the Komarpanths and Bhandaris are the highest in rank. They were originally toddy-tappers and distillers but now they have taken mainly to farming. On the other hand, the Padtis rank among the lowest castes although they are above the untouchables. It may be observed that while the Komarpanths have in their tandas people from different castes the Padtis have formed teams of their own caste. By and large the members of the tandedar's caste form the single largest caste group in a tanda. Neither these nor any other tandas of sleeper-makers have any untouchables because ^{the} work calls for close cooperation and the untouchables are barred from such close relations with others.

The practice of paying an advance to the labourers involves risks at every stage. Theoretically, since the final settlement of accounts is made only after the work is finished when the contractor can deduct all the money advanced, the contractor has no risk. But in practice it is he who mostly comes to grief. No doubt the mukadam and the tandedar have also their share of risk but being middlemen they usually succeed in passing on their losses to the contractor.

For the advance that is distributed among the labourers the tandedar is held responsible to the mukadam, and for the money advanced to the tandedars the mukadam is held responsible to the contractor. Ultimately, the whole system is based upon mutual confidence. A tandedar will advance money to labourers who he thinks will accompany him to work. The mukadam sees to it that the tandedar is reliable and the contractor has to make sure that the mukadam is trustworthy. In spite of all these precautions there are many cases of defalcations and ultimately it is the contractor who suffers.

There are various factors contributing towards the contractor's loss. Chief among these factors is the dishonesty

of the labourers. Some of the labourers after receiving the advance do not turn up for work, either intentionally or unintentionally. If four or five of a team of about 10 workers do not go to work the others may not be able to do the work. In that case the others may not go also. At times some members of the team go to the forest in advance and start the work expecting the others to join them soon. If the rest do not arrive within a reasonable period the early-comers have no other option but to abandon the work and go back. They can, of course, continue their work. But they find that without an adequate number of persons in the team the work does not progress and their earnings fall far short of their expectations.

The rates are fixed by the mukadam before taking the advance from the contractor and so the labourers have no say in the matter. If the labourers, after coming, find that the rates are too low for the difficulties involved in the work they may work just for a few days and run away without the knowledge of the contractor or the mukadam.

Another important factor is that the Karwar labourers do not stay in the forests for a sufficiently long time. As a rule their stay in the forests lasts from 2 to 5 weeks. The volume of work is so chosen that the work could be completed within a month or so. The contractor also sees to it that the work allotted is at least sufficient to enable him to recover the advances. But the period of their stay being short, sometimes their earnings may not be adequate to repay the advances.

Suppose a person takes an advance of Rs 50/- before coming and works for 30 days. He will have further drawn an advance of Rs 30 towards his expenses. Thus his advances will amount to Rs 80. Normally he should be able to earn about Rs 90 to 100 during that period. But if his earnings are less than Rs 80 he will owe some money to the contractor. All the same the contractor will be obliged to advance some more money towards the expenses of the workers' journey home. All this is done

through the mukadam who promises the contractor that he will bring those people to work for him on the next trip. Even if the team comes the next time the same procedure of advancing money has to be adopted and the workers will repay the arrears only when their earnings exceed the amount of fresh advances. Moreover in the forming of the next team of workers by the same tandedar much reshuffling will take place. The tandedar is helpless and so is the mukadam. If the contractor is strict with the mukadam and the mukadam with the tandedar, the mukadam will sever his connections with the contractor and the tandedar with the mukadam. Since labour is in short supply the contractor is obliged to close his eyes to the arrears and has to be contented with the continued services of the mukadam.

It is reported that as a rule a part of the advance payment made by the contractor is kept by the mukadam himself. This he does by supplying a less labourers than number promised and by telling the contractor that some of the labourers to whom advances were paid have failed to turn up. Thus almost every contractor engaging labourers from Karwar complains about the loss of the advanced money.

Since the sleeper workers are paid according to the number of sleepers prepared, their earnings depend not only upon the labour put in, but also on various chance factors such as the type of trees, the nature of the forest area and so on. Therefore, the per capita earnings may vary from team to team. Table 47 shows the number of marking days, the work done and the amount earned by 12 different teams in 1956. The number of working days are calculated after deducting the days of rest. The last column shows the average per capita daily income for each tanda. Except in the case of 2 teams where the average daily income per worker is Rs 1-82 nP, in all the other cases it is more than Rs 2. In one case it is as high as Rs 5-28 nP. On the whole the earnings of the sleeper workers compare favourably with those of the labourers who are paid daily wages. But, considering the great amount of work they put in, it is difficult to say

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Table 47

Work and earnings of 12 teams of sleeper workers who worked during the period March to May 1956

S.No.	No. of members	No. of days worked	No. of sleepers prepared		Total amount earned		Income per worker per day	
			M.G.	B.G.	Rs	nP	Rs	nP
1	11	38	262	314	1446-25		3-46	
2	10	43	358	228	1322-75		3-08	
3	8	43	223	204	1025-37		2-95 2-99	
4	10	43	162	160	783-25		1-82	
5	9	37	333	233	1298-37		3-95 3-90	
6	10	34	88	173	705-25		2-07	
7	8	31	97	117	537-87		2-16 2-17	
8	11	39	124	178	780-00		1-82	
9	10	41	332	192	1163-50		2-84	
10	10	40	299	179	1067-62		2-66 2-67	
11	11	26	165	189	882-37		3-08	
12	10	13	188	117	685-75		5-28 5-27	

whether the earnings are commensurate with the strenuous labour. Such strenuous labour as sleeper work could be done only for short spells at the end of which the workers go back to their homes.

Logging Workers: Among the various forest operations logging work may be regarded as the most extensive and voluminous and the largest number of labourers are employed in these operations under the various contractors. The conversion of logs however is not such a complicated work as the making of sleepers. It consists of the operations of felling the trees and cross-cutting them into logs of suitable sizes. Four to six persons may form a convenient team for the purpose. The felling of trees is the most important part of the work. In felling the trees care has to be taken to see that the stump is not left longer than is absolutely necessary and that the tree is not damaged. Only experienced workers can undertake such work.

At present the Karwar labourers do most of the logging work. The same workers who sometimes accept sleeper work also undertake logging at other times and the same procedure of recruiting labour is followed. But the initial advance paid to the labourers for logging are lower than those in the case of sleeper work. If in the case of sleeper work the advance money paid per worker varies from Rs 50 to Rs 100 in the case of logging it varies from Rs 25 to Rs 75 depending upon the scarcity of labour and the urgency of the work. The same difficulties which are encountered by the contractors in the recruitment of Karwar labour for sleeper work are also experienced by them in securing labour for the logging work. In the case of sleeper work the Karwar labourers are almost the only workers suitable for the purpose. But the logging work is also done by workers from different parts such as people coming from Savantwadi, Dharwar and Belgaum. But the work turned out by these workers is of inferior quality and their output is lower. These workers, therefore, are engaged only as a last resort. No special attempt is made to recruit them by advances and they are engaged only when they come and ask for work. Once they start working they are advanced money for their

daily expenses.

Perhaps the reason why the output of the other logging workers from is lower, that unlike the Karwar labourers they do not work in suitable teams. Among the other labourers the teams are composed of the closest relations like husband, wife, son, daughter etc. If there are two married brothers, in all likelihood each will form a separate team with his wife. Even in their living habits each family has a separate kitchen. Very rarely do unrelated persons join either in cooking or working. The pooling of complementary skills becomes possible when unrelated persons join in common tasks.

The team of workers is paid according to cubic content of the approved type of logs prepared. In this type of work there is a great element of chance involved. Suppose there is a tree trunk yielding about 50 cft. timber. If its trunk is straight and without branches the whole trunk could be converted into one log. In that case the work involved would be felling and cross-cutting at either end. On the other hand if the stem has some branches the parts near the branches will have to be discarded and the trees will have to be converted into two or three logs. In this case not only is the labour involved greater but also the yield of timber is less. Instead of 50 cft. only 30 cft. may be gained. Sometimes the whole tree may have to be rejected in which case the work involved in felling it goes waste. If the forest area is even, work becomes easy, and if there are slopes it is difficult.

Table 43

<u>Work and earnings of five teams of logging labours</u>			
<u>No. of members in each team</u>	<u>No. of days worked</u>	<u>Total earnings of the team Rs-nP</u>	<u>Average income per day per worker Rs-nP</u>
4	37	248-50	1-69
5	41	337-75	1-62
5	44	533-40	2-37
8	32	920-00	3-56
14	40	1390-00	2-44

Table 48 shows the average earnings per worker per day in 5 different tandas which did logging work in 1956.

In some cases the tandedar may keep a small commission which is not taken into account in our computation. The average rate per worker per day shows considerable variation from Rs 1-62 to Rs 1-56 which is quite common in work of this nature.

Although at the time of the survey the contractors were dependant upon the Karwar labour for most of their logging work, before the sealing of the Goa border this work was almost entirely turned out by labourers from Goa who came to the Kanara jungles in hundreds. The system of working of the Goan labourers is different from that of the workers from Karwar, and the contractors incur no loss by getting their work done by these people. Therefore, when many Goan labourers were available the Karwar labourers were not in demand. The Karwar labour was engaged in those days for sleeper work only and some contractors were reluctant to undertake sleeper contracts merely because they had to depend solely on the Karwar workers who were rather unreliable.

At the time of the study there were only two groups of Goan labourers, one comprising 22 members and the other five working under two different Goan contractors. The Goan labourers were almost all Christians. In the group of 22 labourers that was studied there was one Hindu. Most of the Christian labourers belong to a caste called Kudmi and are the agricultural labourers of Goa. They are a simple and timid people, their only armour of defence being their tears. They are noted for their honesty not only in their work but what is most important, in keeping their promise to report for duty after receiving the advance. They are, however, not accustomed to the work of preparation of railway sleepers.

Each group of Goan labourers works directly under the mukadam who is responsible to the contractor. The mukadam pays the labourers daily wages in addition to food while he himself is paid by the contractor at piece rate.

Unlike the Karwar labourers, the Goan workers are also

accompanied by their wives. But dependent children are always left behind in the native place. The proportion of women to men, in any group, however, is very small. The women are engaged only in cross-cutting the logs which is comparatively a light work.

The earnings of the Goan labourer even accounting for the free food, do not compare favourably with those of the Karwar labourer. But he has some additional privileges. While coming, his passage from Goa to Dandeli is paid by the mukadam. However, while returning he has to meet his expenses himself. Secondly, if he falls ill or is not able to work for any good reason he is fed free by the mukadam for an indefinite period; the cost of medicines only is debited to his account. This is a very important consideration because the incidence of disease especially malaria in the forest is very great or at least it used to be so in the past until the various anti-malarial measures taken by the Government authorities.

When the entry of Goans into India was unrestricted the Goan labourers used to come and go according to a set programme year after year. Most of the year they would spend in the forests, returning to Goa thrice, only for a brief period each time. About the end of May at the feast of Corpus Christi when fairs are held in different parts of Goa to collect provisions for the rainy season all the labourers would return to their homes. The money they took home would come in handy for buying provisions for the family. This is also the time when the monsoons start and farming is done. As soon as the work in the field was over they would go to the forests about the end of June or the beginning of July. Their next trip home would be in the month of September when it would be time to harvest. Even though not all had their own fields they went home en masse and those who had no fields would work for wages. In any case it would be a welcome family re-union. They would stay at home this time from two to four weeks and come to the forests in October. They would return home for the third time for the feast called Intruz, the carnival just before Lent in February or March.

The main object of their going home this time would be to enjoy themselves and so they would go back to their work quickly thereafter, say, within a fortnight. After this they would stay on till about the end of May.

Thus each time they would work in the forests for about three months at a stretch. Sometimes those who had returned from one trip to the forests might not go again on the next trip but send some other members of the family. Whatever might be the practice of individuals the groups would go according to the seasonal routine.

The Goan labourers used to work in large groups. Usually 20 to 30 workers would form a group but sometimes a group would consist of even a hundred persons. These groups, however, might be split up into several smaller units for the convenience of work and the personnel of these units might change from time to time.

The mukadam would usually secure labourers from his own home village or the neighbouring villages. Every time a labour^{er} was made to leave his village for the jungles he had to be paid an advance, which might be about Rs 20 or Rs 30. This amount was intended for the use of the family during his absence. The amount advanced was later deducted from his wages. The passage to Dandeli was paid for by the mukadam. At the end of the period of work, after deducting all the personal expenses and the advance taken, there would be very little left to his credit. Moreover, while returning home he had to pay his own fare. He would therefore normally require some more advance from the mukadam. Thus the labourer was always indebted to his mukadam and the arrears would go on accumulating. A part of these advanced had eventually to be written off as a bad debt. The mukadam, however, had to tolerate this state of affairs in return for the continued services of the labourer. Moreover, he knew that the worth of a labourer was much more than the money spent on him. The labourers on their part were honest enough not to change one mukadam for another.

Another category of labourers who seasonally come to Dandeli in groups year after year, and who are almost exclusively engaged in the forest operations, are the people from Ratnagiri district, particularly from the region of Savantwadi. Most of these people are Hindus and a few are Christians. The Hindus call themselves Marathas, but mostly belong to the castes of Kumbis, Bhandaris and Gaulis. Their mother-tongue is Marathi.

These seasonal immigrants do not bring their women-folk along with them. Their specialised job is to look after the buffaloes and drive them in the work of dragging logs. Persons engaged in this capacity are paid on a monthly basis ranging from Rs 45 to Rs 55 a month. They are noted for the care with which they tend the buffaloes. The people from Goa and they are good at this type of work. For the rest the Savantwadi people are unspecialised workers and do any kind of unskilled work such as clearing the forest, plantation operations etc., for daily wages.

The seasonal in-migrants from Savantwadi come to Dandeli about the time of Divali and go back when the season closes. They do not go home in between. They live in Dandeli in small groups, the persons employed by a particular contractor at a particular place living together. But members of different castes cook separately.

Loading and Stacking Labour: Every truck that carries timber has a group of 8 comprising a driver, a cleaner and 6 labourers. The six labourers constitute the loading batch. A truck usually makes about 4 to 5 trips. Some contractors engage the loading labourers at a daily wage of Rs 2 each. In other cases the loading work is entrusted to a mukadam who is paid Rs 4-50 per trip. The mukadam forms a batch of labourers by paying each a daily wage ranging from Rs 2 to Rs 3. Such mukadams also undertake stacking work for which they are paid about Rs 30 per 100 logs and Rs 20 per hundred poles. The loading and stacking work is very strenuous and the workers sprain their muscles very often. It is only the incentive of comparatively higher

wages that induces them to accept such work. In the circumstances it is very rarely that a batch of labourers work together for any length of time. On account of this difficulty of keeping a team together the loading work is entrusted to a mukadam who replaces the labourers from time to time.

The loading labourers do not have to reside in the jungles as they go by the trucks. They have their temporary huts in Dandeli proper.

Skidding Labour: Each of the two skidding outfits operated by the Forest Department has a batch of 25 labourers. They are paid a daily wage of Rs 2. per day. The labourers comprise both men and women. One batch consists only of Lamanis and the other has members from different ethnic groups including Lamanis. They all reside at the site of work.

Bamboo-cutting Labour: The bamboo cutting is done at piece rates. The rates are fixed per 100 bamboos. They vary according to the size of the bamboos. The bamboo cutters come mostly from the Dharwar district and belong to different ethnic groups like Marathas, Bedars, Lingayats, Scheduled castes, Muslims etc. They usually come with their entire families. The working members of a family do the work in a team. All these families reside at the site of work.

Labour at the site of the Paper Factory: During the year under study a large number of migratory labourers were working at the site of the paper factory in Dandeli which was in the initial stages of construction. The labourers worked mostly under different contractors in various operations like forest clearing, road making, excavation, stone crushing, building and so on. Some of these labourers such as those employed in stone crushing were piece rated and others were paid daily wages. Some of the workers at the paper factory site were the migrants who usually come to work in the various forest operations, plantation work, cultural operations, road making and so on. Since a large number of labourers were needed the factory authorities made special

efforts to recruit more labour from the districts of Dharwar and Belgaum.

Mining Labour

Of the three mining concerns operating around Dandeli, the "Nagari Mining Company (Private) Limited" is the largest, employing about 3000 labourers in their mines during the busy season. The "Tilve Mining Enterprises" employs about 500 labourers and the "Eastern Mining Company" about 800. Besides the labourers in the mines, these concerns engage in all about 1,000 labourers in Dandeli proper, to grade and load ore at the railway sidings. This part of the study is mainly concerned with labourers working in the mines and who temporarily reside at the mining sites. These labourers, go to Dandeli for their weekly marketing. However, one of the labour camps of the Nagari Mining Company at a place called Hudsa 13 miles from Dandeli, is so large that when the work is in full swing some of the traders from Dandeli have temporary trading establishments there.

The mining season usually commences in the month of October and terminates in May or June. The various mining concerns make special efforts at the beginning of the season to recruit labourers and send their representatives to the different regions from which the labourers usually come. The labourers, however, keep on coming throughout the season. At first they just trickle in but soon they come in large numbers. The inflow thins towards the end of the monsoon. Just as the labourers keep on coming they also keep on returning. The rate of departure which is low at the beginning increases towards the end of the season.

Turnover of Mining Labour: An analysis of the data available in the enrolment registers of the mining concerns gives one an idea of the labour turnover. The register contain details regarding name, address, age, sex, date of arrival and the date of departure of the labourers. The data relating to a 20 per cent systematic sample of labourers taken from the enrolment registers of the Nagari Mining Company and the Tilve Mining Enterprises for the

mining season 1955-56 have been analysed. The sample comprises in all 1,763 persons.

Table 49

Table 49 shows the distribution of the sample of mining labour according to their native regions and the month of arrival. It will be seen that the largest proportion of labourers, comprising 832 persons, comes from the neighbouring district of Belgaum. The next higher proportion comes from the district of Kolhapur; The neighbouring district of Dharwar also accounts for a good proportion of the labourers. Surprisingly enough, the proportion of mining labourers from the North Kanara district in which the mines are located is very small. This is because many of the labourers from this area are engaged in various forest operations. Besides the neighbouring districts a good proportion of the labourers come from the Andhra and Tamil regions. There are more Telugus than Tamilians.

Very few miners - 3.3 per cent -- arrived during the first month of the mining season. In November, the second month, 14.5 per cent of the labourers arrived. The largest proportion -- 34 per cent -- came in December. In January, February and March they came in large numbers -- 14.6, 13.1 and 10.3 per cent respectively. The arrivals were very few towards the close of the season. The season closed in the first half of June and there were no arrivals then.

Further, there is a noticeable difference in the patterns of the arrival of the labourers from the neighbouring regions and from the distant regions. The labourers from the distant regions of Andhra and Madras States come earlier than the labourers from the other areas which are nearer. About 83% of the labourers from Andhra and 86% from the Madras State

Table 49

Percentage distribution of the mining labourers according to their native regions and the months of arrival
(1955-56)

Month of arrival	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Febr.	March	April	May	June	Total	
										%	No.
Native region											
Belgaum	2.3	9.1	27.6	17.9	16.0	11.2	10.5	5.4	-	100	832
Dharwar	3.7	31.3	17.2	15.9	22.1	4.9	4.3	0.6	-	100	163
Kolhapur	1.2	16.1	28.5	16.7	11.2	18.6	3.4	4.3	-	100	323
Andhra	5.9	17.3	60.8	5.5	3.1	3.1	3.1	1.2	-	100	255
Madras State	8.2	13.4	64.2	6.0	4.5	1.5	0.7	1.5	-	100	134
N. Kanara	2.7	29.8	10.8	10.8	18.9	24.3	2.7	-	-	100	37
Other	10.5	15.8	21.0	15.8	26.3	5.3	-	5.3	-	100	19
Total:	3.3	14.5	34.0	14.6	13.1	10.3	5.5	3.7	-	100	1763

65

arrive by December. On the other hand only about 39% of the labourers from Belgaum and 52% from Dharwar come by that time. Most of the labourers from the neighbouring areas go to the mines only after reaping the jowar crop. However, the persons enrolled as new arrivals in the different concerns do not all represent the persons who have just migrated for mining work, for there is a widespread practice among the labourers to leave one concern in the middle of the season and join another. So it is possible that the same person may be enrolled in different concerns. The extent of such a turnover of labour among the various concerns cannot be determined. Nevertheless while the total number registered may not represent the exact numbers of fresh arrivals, the proportions of arrivals in different months may broadly indicate the monthly arrival pattern.

Table 50

Not all the labourers who come to work in the mines remain till the end of the season. Table 50 shows the distribution of the labourers by native regions and the month of departure. It will be seen that on the whole only 33.9 per cent of the migratory labourers work till the end of the mining season. Some of the labourers return during the very next month of the beginning of the season. But up to December the proportions of the persons leaving are insignificant. Moreover, in most of the cases shown as leaving the labourers may have just left one concern to join another, and not give up working in the mines once and for all. From January onwards people begin to return in significant numbers although some proportion of these may be persons only changing employers. People who come in October or November sometimes go back about January, particularly if they are needed at home for the harvest. The departure of miners is quite heavy in March, April and May. Cultivators

Table 50

Percentage distribution of mining labour according to native regions and months of departure
(1955-56)

Native region	Month of departure	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Febr.	March	April	May	June	Total	
		No.	%								
Belgaum		0.4	0.6	8.0	10.7	17.6	15.3	19.8	27.6	832	100
Dharwar		0.6	4.9	3.1	10.4	14.7	11.7	17.8	36.8	163	100
Kolhapur		-	-	3.4	8.7	10.5	24.1	18.9	34.4	323	100
Andhra		0.8	0.8	8.6	7.1	5.5	8.2	26.7	42.3	255	100
Madras		0.7	-	5.2	6.7	6.7	11.2	23.1	46.3 ^{46.4}	134	100
N. Kanara		-	-	5.4	8.1	10.8	18.9	5.4	51.3 ^{51.4}	37	100
Others		-	10.5	5.3	-	26.3	15.8	5.3	36.8	19	100
Total		0.4	1.0	6.5	9.3	13.4	15.3	20.2	33.9	1763	100

preponderate among persons returning during this period.

Table 51

Table 51 shows the distribution of mining labourers according to the regions of origin and the length of stay in the mining work. Here again may be pointed out that the data is incomplete because some of the labourers change employers. Very few persons work in the mines for the entire season of 8 to 9 months. About 40% of the labourers remain for over one month but less than 3 months. Among people who stay on longer a relatively large proportion namely 17.2% of the total work in the mines for 6 to 7 months. As has been observed already, labourers from distant regions stay longer. For instance, while the percentages of labourers from Belgaum and Dharwar who remain for over five months are 22.2 and 38.6 respectively, the corresponding percentages for labourers from Andhra and Madras are 59.7 and 64.9 respectively.

Table 51

~~Table 51 shows the distribution of labourers by sex and age groups. It will be seen that out of 1,763 mining labourers as many as 1,300 are men and only 463 are women. The percentages of men and women to the total labourers work out to 73.7 and 26.3 respectively. It would therefore appear that more males than females tend to migrate to the mining areas. Most of the labourers -- 83.7 per cent -- are younger, ranging from 15 to 35. 14.7 per cent are in the range 36 to 45. Only an insignificant proportion of 1.6% of the labourers are above 45.~~

Table 51

Percentage distribution of the mining labour according to native regions and the period of stay

Native region	Period of stay									Total	
	Upto 1 month	1 to 2 months	2 to 3 months	3 to 4 months	4 to 5 months	5 to 6 months	6 to 7 months	7 to 8 months	8 to 9 months	No.	%
Belgaum	7.5	32.0	19.7	10.7	7.9	6.8	10.0	4.0	1.4	832	100
Dharwar	4.3	22.7 ^{22.8}	17.8	7.4	9.2	4.8	12.9	18.4	2.4	163	100
Kolhapur	8.0	18.3	18.9	9.6	10.8	6.8	18.0	8.7	0.9	323	100
Andhra	3.1	9.8	8.2	8.6	10.6	17.3	31.0	9.4	2.0	255	100
Madras	1.5	3.7	11.2	6.0	12.7	16.4	40.3	3.7	4.5	134	100
N. Kanara	8.1	27.0 ^{27.1}	5.4	10.8	10.8	2.7	8.1	24.3	2.7	37	100
Others	-	31.6	15.8	10.5	21.0	-	10.5	5.3	5.3	19	100
Total	6.1	23.1	16.7	9.5	9.5	8.7	17.2	7.4	1.8	1763	100

Mining Work and Wages: Apart from the use of machines for drilling, which are employed in some mines, the purely manual work in mining consists of several types of operations, such as digging with crow-bars and pickaxes, spade work, carrying earth and ore either on the head or in wheel-barrow, the breaking and sorting of ore, arranging the ore in neat piles in measured quantities and so on. None of these jobs calls for any special skill but constant practice makes them easier. Therefore, a worker usually continues to do the same work. If he is a digger he will do the digging throughout. Only when digging is not required he may take to spadework or any other type of work that is on hand. Some operations are lighter than others. For instance, the carrying of earth and ore, the breaking and sorting of ore, etc., are lighter jobs. The women labourers are as a rule entrusted with the lighter jobs.

Since there are different operations in mining work, it has to be done by batches. For the optimum efficiency, the labourers in each batch should be allotted various tasks adequately. For instance, there should be just as many labourers to fill the ore as persons carrying it. If there are more carriers than the fillers can cope with, the carriers will have to slacken. All this calls for a close supervision of the mining. Therefore, every batch of labourers has a labour supervisor called the mukadam who can command the respect of his men. But the mukadam ^{is not} the is expected to do any manual work. Several batches of labourers are in the charge of an educated and responsible person who is called the supervisor. The supervisor works under the mines manager.

The mining labourers are usually paid daily wages. But in the Eastern Mining Company most of the labourers are employed at piece rates. The daily wages generally prevalent at the beginning of the mining season 1955-'56 were Re. 1-50 per man and Re. 1-00 per woman. They were raised in most cases in November or December 1956 to Re. 1-75 and Re. 1-25 per male and female

labourer respectively.

The piece rates are calculated per 25 cubic feet of ore. This quantity is called a para. 20 cft. of ore is equal to a ton. But in practice one para is taken as a ton, the excess of 5 cft. being allowed for depreciation. The rates vary according to the grades of ore. In 1955-56 the piece rate labour charges in the Eastern Mining Company were Rs 12 per para for the highest grade ore and Rs 8 for the lowest grade.

The labourers employed at piece rates work in teams ranging usually from 3 to 30 members. The teams consist of both men and women but no distinction is made between the sexes while the earnings are distributed. The work turned out is measured once a week. Out of the total earnings of the team a commission of one anna per rupee is paid to the headman of the team. The payment of the commission is made by the employer. An analysis of the earnings of the piece rated workers in the Eastern Mining Company for two weeks in March and April 1956 showed that the average per capita earnings were Rs 1-90 nP and Rs 1-83 nP respectively. The per capita earnings for different teams however varied from Rs 1.55 nP and Rs 2-88 nP during the former week and from Rs 1.14 to Rs 3.18 during the latter.

This is what might be expected, for the output of ore is governed by a number of chance factors apart from the labour. The deposit of ore and its quality are not uniform. Sometimes more earth has to be removed to get the ore. Ore may be found side by side with rocks in which case the breaking of the rocks will be additional work. The average earnings of the same team may vary from week to week. Sometimes the greater part of a week will have to be spent in the removal of earth in which case the output of ore will be quite small. But during the next week the output may be fairly high. The workers have to be prepared for such ups and downs. There are also instances in which newly arrived teams give up working after finding that their output is too small. In the initial stages the output is

bound to be small because much labour has to be expended in removing the outer layers of earth. If at that stage any team abandons its work, the next team working in the same pit benefits.

In the Eastern Mining Company the daily wages in 1956 were the lowest of all mining concerns. They were Re. 1-62 for men and Re. 1-12 for women. In view of this and considering that the piece rated workers divided their earnings equally irrespective of sex, it is clear that on the whole the incomes of the piece rated workers are higher. And yet it was reported that the labourers were paid daily wages than when they were employed at piece rates. The average labour cost per para of ore when the labourers were paid daily wages is at least Rs 15. But according to piece rates it worked out to Rs 10. There is no doubt that under suitable incentives the labourers work harder. For instance in 1955-56 in one of the mines of the Nagari Mining Company the workers were given a daily quota of work. When they completed their quota the work was stopped for the day. The quota was so determined that the average labour cost per para did not exceed Rs 15. It was found that the quota was invariably completed one or two hours earlier than the scheduled stopping of the work.

In the Eastern Mining Company the piece rated workers always worked longer than the daily wage labourers. They started work earlier and stopped later and wasted no time. If a person doing a particular job finished it he would immediately switch on to some other job. As compared with the amount of work put in, their earnings were rather meagre. This was because the piece rates were really very low. If they were to work for the same length of time and with the same tempo as the daily wage labourers their earnings would be even less than that of the latter. If at all many of the workers in this concern preferred to work at piece rates it was because they had their eyes upon the amount of earnings and not upon the amount of work involved. All the same, some piece rated workers had come to realise that they were not really the gainers, but they were persuaded to continue

by their headmen, who, incidentally, also got a commission.

The relatively higher income of the piece rated workers despite the very low rates of payment was due not only to longer and harder work but also to their neglect of the proper methods of work. For instance, according to the mining regulations, while digging a pit workers have to leave benches after every five foot depth. This prevents the sudden collapse of the walls of the pits. These regulations were very often ignored. Moreover, instead of digging systematically they concentrated only in places having better deposits of ore. On the other hand the daily wage workers could be made to work according to the regulation as they were not worried about the output. It is obvious that the piece-rated labourers could not afford to work systematically under the prevailing rates of payment.

Apart from the labourers who work in the mines there were batches of labourers to load ore onto the trucks. They were paid everywhere at piece rates. For one truck load, which is 80 cft ore, they were paid Rs 2-25. Their income depended upon the number of trucks they loaded. During the busy season each could earn from Rs 3 to Rs 4. The loading batch was usually under the supervision of a labour supplier who was paid a commission of an anna per every rupee earned by the batch.

General Characteristics of Migratory Labour as revealed by Sample Survey

The following is an analysis of the data regarding the migratory labourers collected with the aid of a specially prepared schedule. The purpose of this investigation was to find some of the important characteristics of the migratory labourers. The questions asked in our schedule were aimed at eliciting information on items like the subject's age, sex, marital status, native region, occupation before coming to Dandeli, daily income at that time, ownership and cultivation of land, indebtedness, reasons for leaving the native place, disposition towards permanently settling in Dandeli

etc.

Moreover, for various reasons it was not possible to select an adequately representative sample of the migratory labourers for the inquiry. Since the migratory labourers were scattered in the jungles not only round about Dandeli but in the contiguous areas, any demarcation of boundaries for assessing the total number of these labourers round about Dandeli would be arbitrary. As a matter of fact no such delimitation was attempted. Secondly, during the working season the labourers come and go at all times. But the inquiry was conducted during April and May 1956 and as such did not take into account the labour turnover during the entire season.

Under the circumstances all that was possible to do in the selection of subjects for the inquiry was to see that labourers employed in all the important seasonal operations were included in the sample. For this purpose the labourers engaged in the various operations were divided into four main categories: 1) Mining labourers, 2) labourers engaged in the clearance of the site of the paper factory, 3) sleeper makers and 4) labourers engaged in the other forest operations such as logging, loading and stacking of timber, bamboo cutting, skidding, plantation work and so on. The mining labourers were selected only from two places namely the Shirolli mines belonging to the Tilve Mining Enterprises, and the Hudsa Camp which houses the major part of the mining labourers engaged by the Nagari Mining Company. A 20 per cent systematic sample of these labourers was selected with the aid of their daily attendance tokens. In all 351 mining labourers were interviewed, 82 from Shirolli and 269 from Hudsa. In the case of the labourers working at the site of the paper factory all the 227 labourers working during the course of a week were interviewed. Most of these labourers were working under sub-contractors and labour suppliers. They could be interviewed only during working hours. Since the selection of a smaller sample was difficult under the peculiar conditions the entire population was interviewed in this case. The sleeper makers were contacted at two

different places in the Virnoli range and after preparing a list of their names a 20 per cent systematic sample was selected with the help of the list. In all 65 schedules were completed in respect of these workers. The labourers engaged in other forest operations were contacted at a number of places and in different groups. A 20 per cent systematic sample of labourers in these groups was selected. But no sampling method was adopted for the selection of the groups. The ^{sub-}sample consists of 79 labourers comprising 27 logging workers, 17 bamboo cutters, 17 plantation labourers, 12 loading and stacking workers and 8 skidding labourers.

Since the subjects of this inquiry are not a representative sample of the total population of the migratory labour the results may be taken only as rough indicators of the salient features of the migratory labour.

Age: Table 52 shows the percentage distribution of migratory labour according to labour categories and age groups. As is to be expected most of the migratory labourers are in the younger age

Table 52

groups and they preponderate in the age groups ranging from 16 to 35 years. There are 27 boys and girls representing 3.7 of the total number coming under the age group of 11 to 15 years. They are found predominantly among the labourers at the paper factory site. Such young boys or girls cannot cope with the various forest operations except perhaps plantation work. But the plantation labourers are hired directly by the Forest Department which does not engage such young persons.

Marital Status:

Table 53

As can be seen from Table 53 in all there are 567 males and 155 females, their percentages to the total being respectively

Table 52

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and age groups

Labour categories	Age groups										Total	
	11-15 years	16-20 years	21-25 years	26-30 years	31-35 years	36-40 years	41-45 years	46-50 years	51-55 years	56 year -s and above	No.	%
1. Mining labour	0.6	13.9	24.2	20.0	16.8	11.1	8.4	2.8	1.1	0.6	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site	11.0	21.6	22.5	17.6	8.4	8.4	6.2	3.1	0.8	0.4	227	100
3. Sleeper makers	-	15.4	21.6	30.8	6.1	12.2	3.1	9.2	-	1.5	65	100
4. Other forest labour	-	13.9	29.1	20.2	12.6	12.6	3.8	3.8	3.8	-	79	100
Total	3.7	16.3	23.9	19.8	12.8	10.5	6.9	3.6	1.2	0.5	722	100

Table 53

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and sex and civil condition

Labour categories	Sex and civil condition	M a l e s				F e m a l e s				Total	
		Married	Un-married	Widowed	Separated	Married	Un-married	Widowed	Separated	No.	%
1. Mining labour		47.6	22.2	2.9	0.6	20.5	1.4	4.6	0.3	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site		50.0	23.0	3.5	-	17.2	1.7	4.9	-	227	100
3. Sleeper makers		60.0	36.9	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	65	100
4. Other forest labour		58.2	26.6	6.3	-	6.3	-	2.5	-	79	100
Total		50.5	24.2	3.5	0.3	16.0	1.2	4.2	0.1	722	100

78.5 and 21.5. Therefore, fewer women immigrate. Among the labourers working in the last two categories of the various forest operations the proportion of women is either small or none at all. There are no women among the sleeper makers and no woman is ever known to have participated in such work. Likewise the female labourers do not take part in the loading and stacking of heavy timber. In the other forest operations like plantation work, bamboo cutting, skidding and occasionally logging, women labourers sometimes do take part. But their numbers are very small. Among the mining labourers and the workers at the paper factory site there are sizeable proportions of women, their percentages to the total in each category being 26.8 and 23.8 respectively. Incidentally the sex ratios in the sample of the mining labourers are almost identical with those found among the total number of labourers enrolled in the Tilve Mining Enterprises and the Nagari Mining Company discussed above.

While the proportion of unmarried among the men is quite substantial, among women it is negligible. The proportion of widowed persons is higher among the women than among men.

Native Regions: In Table 54 the percentages of migratory labourers are distributed by labour categories and native regions. It will be seen that the highest proportion of the labourers comes from the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur. The next higher proportion comes from North Kanara district itself. The Andhra labourers stand third in proportion. The proportions from Ratnagiri Kolhapur and the rest of South India are comparatively small.

When the different labour categories are compared with one another it will be found that there is considerable variation in the regional composition of their members. Among the mining labourers there is only an insignificant proportion of workers from the North Kanara district and none at all from Ratnagiri. The sleeper makers are exclusively from the North Kanara district and that too from the single Taluk called Karwar. The labourers working in the other forest operations come predominantly from North Kanara, Belgaum, Dharwar and Ratnagiri. The five workers from the rest of

Table 54

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and native regions

Labour categories	Native regions	North Kanara	Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur	Ratna-giri	Kolha-pur	Andhra	Rest of South India	Total	
								No.	%
1. Mining labour	2.0	57.2	-	7.9	23.9	8.8	351	100	
2. Labour at paper factory site	15.4	60.1	12.3	1.3	4.4	5.7	227	100	
3. Sleeper makers	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	65	100	
4. Other forest labour	25.3	40.5	26.6	1.3	-	6.3	79	100	
Total	17.5	51.4	7.9	4.4	13.0	7.9	722	100	

17.

58

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Table 55

Distribution of migratory labour by ethnic groups & labour categories

Labour categories	1 Mining labour	2 Labour at paper factory site	3 Sleeper makers	4 Other forest labour	Total
Ethnic groups					
Komarpant	-	-	25	-	25
Bhandari	-	1	21	1	23
Kalavant	-	-	1	-	1
Devali	-	-	2	-	2
Pagi	-	-	1	-	1
Bandekar	-	-	-	3	3
Padti	3	-	1	9	13
Gauli	-	-	1	-	1
Gosavi	-	-	6	-	6
Sonar	-	1	-	-	1
Lingayat	29	(21) 21	-	3	53
Panchal	6	-	-	1	7
Gaundi	1	(3) 3	-	-	4
Lamani	7	-	-	6	13
Koravar	2	-	-	-	2
Reddi	(14) 14	4	-	-	18
Naidu	5	-	-	-	5
Mudaliyar	1	1	-	-	2
Nadar	6	-	-	-	6
Gollar	2	-	-	1	3
Nair	-	1	-	-	1
Devang	2	1	-	-	3
Bhoi	1	-	-	-	1
Kurubar	21	21	-	1	43
Scheduled castes	67	18	-	5	90
Maratha castes	49	55	2	24	130
Kumbhar	4	(5) 5	-	2	11
Washerman caste	2	1	1	-	4
Bedar	53	9	-	7	69
Kshatriya	2	-	-	2	4
Vaddar	4	42	-	-	46
Christian	16	2	4	4	26
Muslim	51	32	-	10	93
Unspecified	3	9	-	-	12
Total	351	227	65	79	722

South India are Moplahs from Malabar who have recently come to the Dandeli region for logging work. The labourers at the paper factory site also belong mostly to the same regions as those from which the labourers working in the other forest operations come. On the whole it may be observed that the labourers from the North Kanara and Ratnagiri district who have a long tradition of working in the various forest operations are very slow in taking to the newly established mining operations. The few persons from North Kanara who work in the mines are usually from the villages adjoining the mines and they are mostly engaged in the work of clearing forests which is incidental to mining work. On the other hand the Telugu and Tamilian labourers from Andhra and Madras have not yet begun to work in the forest operations.

Ethnic Groups: The migratory labourers coming to the region of Dandeli belong to a large number of ethnic groups. In Table 55 the labourers are classified by ethnic groups and labour categories. Not all the so called ethnic groups are homogeneous categories. For instance, each of the categories like Marathas, Scheduled castes, Muslims and Christians consists of further endogamous subdivisions belonging to different regions and socio-economic statuses. But certain ethnic groups belong exclusively to particular regions. For example the people going by the names of Komarpanth, Bhandari, Kalavant, Devali, Pagi, Bandekar, Padti, Sonar etc., belong exclusively to the North Kanara district. The Lingayats, Panchals, Lamanis, Devangs, Kurubars, Bedars etc., are mainly from the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, and Bijapur. The Reddis, Naidus, Mudaliyars, Nadars etc. are from Andhra and Madras. Just as the regional distribution of labourers in the different labour categories varies, so also the ethnic composition of the different categories differs depending upon the native regions of the members. The large number of groups points to the great ethnic diversity of the migratory labourers. But by and large these labourers belong to groups which do not regard manual labour as degrading.

It is significant that persons belonging to the

different ethnic groups as in the case of immigrants from different regions, are not distributed randomly in the various labour categories. This is due to the fact that the seasonal migrants come and work in groups based on caste and regional backgrounds. In any one place of work the majority of the workers belong to a few caste groups each having a relatively large number. For instance, among the 227 labourers at the paper factory site as many as 189 comprised six caste groups the membership of each ranging from 18 to 55 persons. Of the 65 sleeper makers 46 belong only to two castes.

Table 56

It will be seen from Table 56 that a majority of the labourers, about 65% of the total, have come to Dandeli for the first time. It was gathered that most of the persons who once came to Dandeli kept on coming during the subsequent seasons. But there is no way of verifying this information. All the same the large proportion of newcomers is indicative of the great expansion of the economic activity near Dandeli. The proportions of newcomers are very high among labourers at the site of the paper factory which is a new activity and in the mines. Among the mining labourers there is none who has been coming for more than five years. That is because the mining activity in this region has gained impetus only recently. Of late it has been expanding progressively. Consequently the number of persons who have been coming during the succeeding years is also increasing. Since a large number of persons were needed to work at the site of the paper factory many people were recruited for the first time. They were also joined by some people who were temporarily working in the forest operations, and by some mining labourers who preferred to work at Dandeli rather than in the midst of the jungles. Among the workers engaged in the other forest operations

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Table 56

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and number of times migrated

No. of times migrated Labour categories	First time	2nd time	3rd time	4th time	5th time	More than 5 times	Total	
							No.	%
1. Mining labour	68.4	15.7	6.8	6.5	2.6	-	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site	88.2	7.9	1.3	0.8	-	1.8	227	100
3. Sleeper makers	6.2	16.9	21.5	10.8	3.8	41.6	65	100
4. Other forest labour	27.9	34.2	7.6	12.7	7.6	10.1	79	100
Total	64.6	15.4	6.5	5.8	2.3	5.4	722	100

a large number of persons are regular immigrants.

Table 57

Table 57 shows the percentage distribution of migratory labour by native regions and number of times migrated. In general it will be seen that immigration from the regions of North Kanara, Belgaum, Dharwar, and Ratnagiri is of comparatively longer duration. These are the districts from which the workers in the various forest operations are traditionally derived. On the other hand the immigration from Kolhapur, Andhra and rest of India which started in the wake of the development of the mining industry is of recent origin.

Reasons for migration: Table 58 shows reasons for migration. The most important reasons for migration are unemployment, incentive of higher wages and repayment of debt, each accounting for the migration of 32.3%, 28.7% and 30.5% labourers respectively. As compared with the other categories of labourers, the proportion of sleeper makers who gave incentive of higher wages as the reason for migration is negligible. On the other hand they are more prominent among those stating failure of crops and purchase of bullocks as the reasons. They are also prominent among those who have not specified the reasons. This is quite understandable, for coming to the jungles periodically is their way of life.

Occupations in the Native Place: As can be seen from Table 59 in most cases the occupations of the migratory labourers in their

Table 59

native place are either agriculture or non-agricultural labour. 38.5% are agriculturists and 53.4% are non-agricultural labourers. Agricultural labourers are 2.9%. The rest include 9 weavers, 2

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Table 57

Percentage distribution of migratory ^{labour} by native regions and number of times migrated

Native regions	North Kanara	Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur	Ratna-giri	Kolha-pur	Andhra	Rest of South India	Total
No. of times migrated							
1st time	33.9	75.8	61.2	78.2	68.1	47.0	64.6
2nd time	22.8	12.9	14.3	6.2	12.7	26.6	15.4
3rd time	11.8	3.8	2.0	9.4	8.5	12.2	6.5
4th time	8.7	4.0	4.1	6.2	6.4	12.2	5.8
5th time	1.6	2.4	4.1	-	4.3	-	2.3
Over 5 times	21.2	1.1	14.3	-	-	2.0	5.4
Total:							
No.	127	371	49	32	94	48	722
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	17.6	51.4	6.8	4.4	13.0	6.6	

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Table 58

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and reasons for migration

Reasons for migration Labour categories	Unemploy- ment	Higher wages	Repayment of debts	Failure of crops	Purchase of bullocks	Domestic quarrels	Induced by employers	Not specified	Total	
									No.	%
1. Mining labour	40.1	27.1	31.9	0.3	-	-	-	0.6	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site	19.8	38.8	34.8	0.4	-	1.3	4.9	-	227	100
3. Sleeper makers	13.8	1.5	33.9	21.5	15.4	-	-	13.8	65	100
4. Other forest labour	48.1	29.1	8.9	6.3	1.3	1.3	-	5.1	79	100
Total	32.3	28.7	30.5	2.9	1.5	0.6	1.5	2.8	722	100

Table 59

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and occupations before coming to Dandeli

Labour categories	Occupation before coming	Agricul- ture	Agricul- tural labour	Non-agri- cultural labour	Weaving	Carpentry	Barber	Trading	Tailoring	Not specified	Total	
											No.	%
1. Mining labour		34.2	2.6	56.1	2.3	-	0.3	2.3	0.3	2.0	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site		29.9	2.6	62.5	0.4	0.4	-	1.8	0.4	11.8	227	100
3. Sleeper maker		75.4	1.5	23.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	65	100
4. Other forest labour		51.9	6.3	40.5	-	1.3	-	-	-	-	79	100
Total		38.5	2.9	53.4	1.2	0.3	0.1	1.7	0.3	1.5	722	100

carpenters, 1 barber, 12 traders, 2 tailors and 11 who have not specified their occupations, each category forming a negligible proportion. Between agriculturists and non-agricultural labourers who preponderate in every labour category, the proportions of agriculturists are lower among the mining labour and labour at the paper factory site and higher among the workers of the last two categories of sleeper makers and labourers engaged in the other forest operations.

It may be recalled that the proportion of cultivators among the migrant settlers in Dandeli is very insignificant. Cultivators in India are known to be reluctant to abandon their land and the presence of the relatively greater proportion of cultivators among the seasonal inmigrants than among the migrant settlers may be due to the fact that in the case of the former, migration does not result in their giving up cultivation.

Extent of cultivation and land-ownership in native place: Since a significant proportion of migratory labourers are agriculturists, it would be useful to know something about the land cultivated and owned by them. It will be seen from Table 60 that in all

Table 60

46.7% of the labourers have reported land under cultivation in their home communities although the number of labourers reporting agriculture as their occupation is only 38.5%. This is because in some cases the cultivated area is too small for any one to be dependent solely upon it. In such cases the main occupation of the persons must be other than agriculture. On the whole it will be seen that the size of land under cultivation is very small. Only in the case of about 8% of the labourers is the cultivated land more than 5 acres. Thus it is clear that only small farmers undertake seasonal migration.

Extent of indebtedness: Among the migrants reasons for leaving

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Table 60

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and land under cultivation

Ranges of cultivated area	Nil	Less than 1 acre	1 to 2 acres	2 to 3 acres	3 to 5 acres	5 to 10 acres	Over 10 acres	Total	
								No.	%
Labour categories									
1. Mining labour	57.0	16.2	8.0	5.1	7.7	2.3	3.7	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site	58.6	5.7	6.6	7.5	11.9	4.8	4.8	227	100
3. Sleeper makers	24.6	21.5	18.5	13.8	10.8	10.8	-	65	100
4. Other forest labour	45.6	13.9	13.9	3.8	13.9	7.6	1.3	79	100
Total	53.3	13.2	9.1	6.5	10.0	4.4	3.5	722	100

their home communities, repayment of debt is an important one, as many as 220 persons reporting it. Table 61 shows the percentage distribution of labourers according to labour categories and debt outstanding at the time of departure from the native place.

Table 61

About 40% of the labourers have reported indebtedness. In most of these cases the amount of debt is less than Rs 400. The incidence of indebtedness is the highest among the sleeper makers. This is partly due to the fact that these workers demand heavy advances from their mukadams before commencing work and sometimes do not fulfil their obligation to work.

When indebtedness is analysed according to the categories of the family occupations of the labourers, it is found that in the two major categories of agriculturists and non-agricultural labourers 47.3% of the former and 37.4% of the latter are indebted. Since the borrowing capacity is also related to the credit-worthiness of the persons the higher incidence of indebtedness among the agriculturists may be attributed to their relatively higher degree of credit-worthiness. It is also found that the amounts of loans of the agriculturists are comparatively larger.

Migrant status of other members of the family: Table 62 shows

Table 62

the distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and the number of other family members working in the Dandeli region. It will be seen that in 54.6% of the cases the respondent is the only member of the family working in Dandeli. In the other cases the respondents are also accompanied by other working members of the family ranging from 1 to 4 but in most cases by one member. While men may migrate single women as a rule

Table 61

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and debt outstanding

Range of debt	Nil	Less than Rs 100	Rs 101 to Rs 400	Rs 401 to Rs 1000	Rs 1001 to Rs 3000	Total	
						No.	%
Labour categories							
1. Mining labour	63.4	12.8	17.1	6.3	0.6	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site	59.9	9.2	25.1	4.4	1.3	227	100
3. Sleeper maker	32.3	18.5	43.1	4.6	1.5	65	100
4. Other forest labour	65.8	12.7	17.7	2.5	1.3	79	100
Total	59.7	12.2	22.0	5.1	0.7	722	100

Table 62

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and number of other family members working round about Dandeli

Labour categories	No. of other members	Nil	1	2	3	4	Total	
							No.	%
1. Mining labour		40.7	41.6	13.1	3.1	1.4	351	100
2. Labour at paper factory site		55.0	36.5	5.7	2.6	-	227	100
3. Sleeper makers		95.4	4.6	-	-	-	65	100
4. Other forest labour		82.3	13.9	3.8	-	-	79	100
Total		54.6	33.6	8.6	2.4	0.9	722	100

accompany the male members. So a large proportion of cases having more than one earner in the Dandeli region would comprise members of both sexes. Where it is not customary for women to accompany their menfolk there would be fewer cases having more than one earning migrant family member. For instance, among the sleeper makers who are all males, only in 4.6% of the cases are the respondents accompanied by one other earning member of the family. In labour categories I and II where there are more women the proportions of cases, where there is more than one migrant earner from the same family, are also higher.

In cases where both husband and wife migrate their dependents who are chiefly small children have perforce to accompany them. Table 63 shows the percentage distribution of labourers by labour categories and number of dependents accompanying. In all 21.8% of the cases the labourers have brought their dependents with them. There is not a single case among the sleeper makers where the labourer is accompanied by his dependents. Among the labourers engaged in the other forest operations there are 16.4% of the cases in which the dependents are with the respondents. The proportions of labourers coming with dependents are higher among those working in the mines and at the paper factory site. The proportions of cases with dependents are more or less directly related to the proportions of women in the various labour categories.

Migration of family members to other places: The migratory labourers were also asked to furnish information about whether any members of their families have migrated to places other than the Dandeli region. In all there are 15 cases having such migrants, and of these in 10 cases the number of migrants is 1 each, in 3 cases 2 each and in 2 cases 3 each. Thus it is clear that in the families of migratory labour out-migration to regions other than Dandeli is negligible.

Table 63

Percentage distribution of migratory labour by labour categories and number of dependants accompanying

Labour categories	No. of dependants				Total	
	Nil	1	2	3 to 5	No.	%
1. Mining labour	75.2	14.5	7.4	2.8	352	100
2. Labour at paper factory site	75.3	11.9	5.3	7.5	227	100
3. Sleeper makers	100	-	-	-	65	100
4. Other forest labour	83.6	6.3	6.3	3.8	79	100
Total	78.2	11.5	5.9	4.2	722	100

Family members in the home community: While in a few cases entire families have migrated in some cases some of the family members are left behind in the home community. Members left behind may be divided into earners and dependents. It will be seen from Table 67 that in 44.9% of the cases no earners are left behind. In the remaining families there are one or more earners .

The total number of earners left behind in the native place is 735. Of these 373 work in agriculture, 337 work as non-agricultural labourers and only 25 work in occupations other than agriculture and manual work. Thus most of the earners in the families of migrant labourers are either accustomed to do manual work as agriculturists or to do some other type of manual labour.

Table 67

Family size and earner status: In the foregoing discussion all the members of families of migratory labour have been taken into account They include besides the respondents the other members of the family working in the Dandeli region and also outside Dandeli, the dependents at Dandeli, the working members and the dependents in the home communities. Table 68 shows the distribution of the families of migratory labour by labour categories and the average number of earners per family, the average number of dependents, the ratio of earners to dependents and the average size of the family.

Table 68

On the whole the average size of the family is quite small pointing to the fact that usually persons with small families tend to undertake seasonal migration. But within the labour categories there is considerable variation, the size of the family being the largest among the sleeper makers. This may be attributed to the fact that the pattern of migration is different in

Table 68

No. Distribution of families of migratory labour by labour categories and earner status and family size

Labour categories	Average No. of earners	Average No. of dependents	Ratio of earners to dependents	Average No. of family members	Total families
1. Mining labour	2.53	0.59	1: 0.23	3.11	351
2. Labour at paper factory site	2.81	1.71	1: 0.61	4.53	227
3. Sleeper makers	3.47	1.58	1:0.46	5.06	65
4. Other forest labour	2.11	1.05	1:0.49) 50	3.16	79
Total	2.65	1.08	1:0.35) 41	3.74	722

different categories. In some cases such as the mining labour, in which the labourers mostly come in the beginning of the season and return towards its end and in which they also very often bring their family with them, the small size of the family seems to facilitate migration. In the other extreme in the case of the sleeper makers who invariably leave their families behind and return to their families several times during the season, the size of the family is immaterial for seasonal migration. In certain parts of North Kanara district seasonal migration is the regular way of life with some groups of people irrespective of the size of their family. In the case of labour at the paper factory site who also have fairly large families, many of the labourers had come mainly due to inducement by employers; and so the principle of selective migration in so far as the size of the family was concerned seems to have had no opportunity of operating.

The Table also reveals that the proportion of dependents among the migratory labour is very small. This is because labourers come from the poorest sections among whom it is customary for all able-bodied persons, except the very old and the very young to work. Their low income makes it imperative for more persons in the family to work for the barest necessities of life.

Disposition towards leaving the native place for good: There is a widespread belief that the rural people in India are averse to changing their habitat, although such a belief is belied by recent trends in the moving of populations. All the same it was decided to elicit the opinion of the migratory labourers towards leaving their native place for good. However, the question was asked in a different form. On account of the seasonal nature of work in the Kanara jungles it is clear that the labourers are obliged to go back to their native place during the off-season. But supposing there was continuous work would they have permanently settled in Dandeli or would they have returned to home community? The labourers were therefore asked whether they were prepared to settled down permanently where they were working in case they were

provided with continuous work. Their answer in the affirmative would indicate that they were not averse to giving^{up} their home communities for good.

Table 69

It will be seen from Table 69 that 63.3% of the labourers were willing to settle down in Dandeli without any hesitation. 5.2% were undecided. Although 31.5% replied that they were not prepared to stay on, the majority of them -- 23.8% -- gave bad climate as their reason. It would mean that they were not unwilling to give up their home communities. It would thus appear that the vast majority of the migratory labourers did not express any undue attachment to their home communities. Among those who had made up their mind not to give up their home community persons with property at home were more prominent. On a further analysis it was found that among the persons who did not want to leave their home community permanently as many as 46 persons out of 56 belonged to agricultural families. However, the verbal responses of the labourers to a hypothetical situation cannot be regarded as fully corresponding to their actual behaviour under the real situation.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the fear of bad climate in the forests which is excessive in the first two categories of labourers having larger proportions of new comers, is almost absent in the last two categories which have a longer record of seasonal migration.

Summary! In summing up it may be stated that among the seasonal migrants men preponderate. In some of the forest operations such as sleeper-making, loading etc. the women are entirely absent. The migrants come not only from North Kanara and the districts of the contiguous area like Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur, Ratnagiri and Kolhapur, but also from the distant regions of Andhra and Madras. The workers engaged in the various forest operations are from the

Table 69

Percentage distribution of migratory labourers by labour categories and disposition towards permanently settling down in Dandeli

Labour categories	Prepared to stay	Undecided	Not prepared to stay			Old age	Total	
			Indispensable at home	Bad climate	Property at home		No.	%
1. Mining labour	61.5	2.0	-	28.7	7.7	-	351	100 351
2. Labour at paper factory site	60.7	7.0	-	29.5	2.6	-	227	100
3. Sleeper makers	63.0	16.9	12.3	-	1.5	6.2	65	100
4. Other forest labour	78.5	3.8	-	5.1	12.6	-	79	100
Total	63.3	5.2	1.1	23.8	6.1	0.5	722	100

neighbouring regions and among them the sleeper makers are exclusively from the Karwar Taluk of the North Kanara district. The migrants from distant regions are engaged primarily in mining. The migrant labourers belong to a large number of ethnic groups but they all come from groups which do not regard manual labour as degrading. The labourers accustomed to working in the forest operations have been coming to the Dandeli region for a longer period. Most of the migrants have been either agriculturists or non-agriculturist labourers in their home communities. The main reasons for their migration are unemployment, incentive of higher wages and the repayment of debts. About 40 per cent of the migrants are indebted in their home communities, the incidence of indebtedness being higher among the agriculturists. In a little less than half the number of cases more than one family members work in the seasonal operations round about Dandeli. The women labourers usually accompany the men of the family. In some cases entire families with their non-earning dependents have come to Dandeli. Most of the migrants are prepared to leave their home communities for good for the sake of more remunerative and permanent employment and among the few who are not willing to do so the majority are agriculturists.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSIONS

As mentioned in the beginning this is a bench-mark study intended to provide a point of departure for assessing socio-economic changes that will have taken place in Dandeli between now and the next investigation. But the community in Dandeli is of recent origin and the history of its development is not very difficult to recapitulate and therefore certain guiding lines for observing trends can be found even in the present study. Owing to the descriptive design of the study no attempt has been made to fully develop and investigate any single theme. The study covers a wide range of topics and so a summary of the significant findings and some comments on the main trends may here be in order.

Dandeli is situated in the midst of very rich natural resources some of which are yet untapped. A thorough-going techno-economic survey of the region would lay bare the full developmental potentialities of the place. Dandeli first came into importance because of its strategic position for the exploitation of timber from the magnificent forests around the place. Subsequently it also proved to be a centre for the mining of mineral ores in the neighbourhood. But gradually its importance increased because of the setting up of certain industries for the processing of raw materials which are available in plenty in the region. Hitherto, the influence of the exploitation of raw materials round about the place has been dominant in Dandeli. But now the processing and manufacturing industries centred in the place itself are becoming more prominent.

Dandeli is the centre of a network of forest roads. But these roads are mainly designed to serve the exploitation and disposal of raw materials. Since the lumbering and mining activities take place only during the fair season it has not been necessary to strengthen the roads to make them serviceable during the rainy season. Owing to the lack of a bridge across

the river the rich forest and mining area is cut off from Dandeli during the rainy season. So long as most of the raw material was sent out of Dandeli it was possible to regulate its exploitation only during the fair season. But now the new industries that are being started in the place would require raw materials in bulk quantities throughout the year. It would therefore be necessary in the long run to arrange for the exploitation and transport of raw materials throughout the year. The strengthening of the forest roads and the construction of a bridge across the river would be two important measures to be undertaken in this connection.

To allow for the great increase in the outgoing traffic from Dandeli the railway facilities have to be increased. Other facilities which are urgently needed by the business and industrial concerns include a telegraph office and a bank.

Procurement of labour to work under the rigorous conditions of forest climate in and around Dandeli had always been a major problem for the authorities concerned. But with the increasing tempo of economic activities and with the virtual eradication of endemic malarial conditions in recent years the labourers now come freely to the area although the ever expanding activities can absorb even larger numbers. The population of Dandeli, both permanent and migratory, has been increasing.

The employment opportunities in Dandeli have attracted people from regions far and near. While the majority of the settled persons have come from the neighbouring regions a sizeable proportion have come from the distant Andhra. But whether they are from the nearer regions or the farther the immigrants have not come evenly from the areas of out-migration and so they do not represent a cross-section of the society. Except in a few cases most of the people particularly from the socio-economically lower sections are found in regional, ethnic, or endogamous groups.

Apart from the tendency of the population of Dandeli to grow rapidly through accretion, the age and sex composition of

the existing population shows a high potentiality even for natural growth. The families which are at present rather small in size are likely to grow larger. Joint family living which is an important feature of Indian society is of minor importance here and under the industrial set up it is not likely to gain in importance in the future. A considerable proportion of the households has only single members.

The occupational structure of a community in respect of occupations of different degrees of prestige would provide a good index of socio-economic growth. It is well known that as the socio-economic conditions of a community improve, the proportions of jobs of higher prestige categories expand at the expense of proportions of jobs of lower prestige categories. It would therefore be interesting to watch the developments in Dandeli in this respect. If we allow for the low prestige jobs in the occupational grade of self-employed, over 60% of the jobs in Dandeli may be regarded as belonging to the category of the lowest prestige. The indications are that their proportion will contract. As more and more highly mechanised manufacturing and processing industrial concerns are set up in the place, the proportions of semi-skilled and skilled manual jobs are likely to increase.

Taking the earners to be the persons who are actually employed there are 1,256 such persons of whom only 7 are non-adults. The ratio of earners to non-earners works out to 1 : 0.68. Of the 1,298 both employed and unemployed persons who are in the working force, 307 or about 24% are women. The vast majority of the women earners are employed in occupations of the lowest grade. The women workers mostly belong to families in which the heads of families are also employed in occupations of the lowest prestige. Even in the case of families in which the heads of families are engaged in occupations of the lowest grade it is mainly their low income that is responsible for their women taking to fruitful occupation.

It would therefore appear that with the improve^{ment in} socio-economic conditions the proportion of women in the working force is likely to diminish and so also is the proportion of earners in the population. The tendency for women to re-enter the working force at higher occupational levels is not discernible in Dandeli.

The backward groups in the population are characterised not only by the concentration of their earners in the lowest occupational grade but also by a relatively large proportion of women working in the same grade. A rise to higher occupations would require a higher educational background in which they are lacking. However they are now acquiring elementary education in larger numbers. These persons can avail themselves of the semi-skilled and skilled manual jobs the opportunities for which are increasing. Once they are in these positions their womenfolk would cease to work and address themselves to the task of improving the level of living of their families and taking better care of their children who eventually may rise higher. Thus it would appear that for some time to come the semi-skilled and skilled manual jobs would provide a stepping-stone for the backward sections.

People derive about 97% of their income from their main occupations. Incomes derived from occupations of lower grades are naturally lower than those derived from occupations of higher grades. But when we consider the family incomes of persons in the various occupational grades we find that the disparities among the various occupational grades are not so high as are indicated by the disparities in their individual incomes. This is because in the lower occupational grades the average number of earners per family is higher. On the whole the incomes of families are very low as revealed by the income per adult unit, the median of which is only Rs 351 per annum. The real income per adult unit is even less than what is indicated by our computation as many persons have to support their dependents outside Dandeli. In any case the median income per

adult unit is much below the Poverty Line. In the Poona city resurvey of 1954 the Poverty Line has been put at an income of Rs 600 per adult unit per annum*. On this basis about 85% of the families in Dandeli were below the Poverty Line. If the Poverty Line were arbitrarily lowered even to Rs 500, about 77% of the families would be below it. It would therefore be clear that the economic development of Dandeli has not brought any prosperity to its residents.

Although nearly half the number of families possess some kind of immovable property the income derived from it is inconsiderable. In most cases the properties are of small value and are also situated outside Dandeli. Income from movable assets is almost nil. Therefore the families have to depend almost entirely upon income derived from occupations in Dandeli. In 15% of the cases they have even to make monthly remittances to dependents outside the place.

^{About 39%}
Nearly 40% of the families are indebted. Apart from acquaintances who usually oblige with small loans without interest the main agencies providing credit facilities are the two cooperative societies. The propensity to borrow therefore is higher among members of the cooperative societies. While the borrowing activity among these persons is brisk the loans are taken mainly for the purpose of expenditure and not for investment. This is partly because the families have inadequate incomes and partly due to the absence of investment opportunities. On the other hand, the self-employed persons who have scope to invest money in their own trade or business are not covered by cooperative societies and hence the extent of indebtedness among them is comparatively less. The repayment performance by the loanees on the whole is good but owing to low incomes many families are chronic borrowers.

* N.V. Sovani & others, Poona: A Resurvey. Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1956, p. 442.

One of the worst features of the living conditions in Dandeli is inadequate housing accommodation for a large section of the population. This is mainly due to the policy of the Forest Department not to allow the public of Dandeli to raise permanent constructions in the plots leased by them. Latterly newcomers have been forbidden to put up temporary huts. Circumstances have now forced the Department to set aside a small area for permanent residential quarters. But again it will have to face the problem of shifting the residents from their present locations.

The major industrial concerns and contractors are expected to provide housing and other amenities to their own employees. In some cases the facilities provided are of an indifferent quality and there seems to be hardly any check on the fulfilment of obligations on the part of the employers.

It has not been possible to make an adequately objective study of the health of the people. But whatever the information collected and a general observation give one the impression that the state of health is far from satisfactory.

However it is better than what it was prior to the eradication of malaria. At present the main ailments of the people are the water-borne diseases which could be greatly reduced by providing clean water to the entire population. Other main preventable causes of ill health are inadequate housing, poor sanitation and low living standards. It is significant that among the sections where these necessities are most inadequate the frequency of death is the highest. On the curative side there are elementary medical facilities. But these require to be improved and hospital facilities need to be made available.

With low incomes and inadequate living conditions the level of living of the families cannot but be very low. That this is so is also shown by the information regarding the consumption pattern and household equipment of the families.

The community of Dandeli has evolved during the past forty years or so and consists almost entirely of immigrants and their descendants. Among the major forces in shaping the integration of the new community are the old backgrounds of the immigrants.

Although the traditional caste system in all its ramifications does not operate in Dandeli its past influence is clearly discernible. The patterns of distribution of earners belonging to the different population categories in the various occupational grades are true to their traditional socio-economic backgrounds, the earners from groups which are traditionally noted for their backwardness being concentrated in the lowest occupational grade.

Not only have the immigrants come in clusters of families belonging to different castes, religions and regions and speaking different languages, but they have again grouped themselves in Dandeli, on the basis of their cultural differences. This is reflected to a large extent in the location of their habitations. They have almost recreated in the new community the cultural conditions of their home communities.

Kinship also would appear to be a very important factor in the selective migration and adjustment of immigrants in Dandeli, but it has not been possible to study this factor. Next to kinship and ethnic ties religion seems to be the main principle structuring the social life of the people. Even though the Forest Department has prohibited the construction of places of worship, people have devised ways of circumventing this regulation. It is time that the authorities respected the religious impulse of the people.

In the lower sections social intercourse is based primarily on kinship and ethnic ties. But the various economic activities, associations and power structures serve to bring about interactions among people belonging to diverse backgrounds. The people therefore are likely to be more cosmopolitan in course

of time. Such an outlook is already noticeable in the behaviour of the higher sections.

With the advancement of industrialization and urbanisation in Dandeli the variety and importance of economic associations are also growing apace. Two important cooperative societies have been well established. However, the successful working of these societies is due largely to the active interest taken by the employers. The important functions of these societies are the provision of credit and marketing facilities for their members.

The growth of industries has resulted in the formation of workers' trade unions. In a predominantly industrial place associations like these are bound to grow. The competition among the forest contractors has resulted in the Forest Department's adopting a stricter attitude towards them, and this in turn has given rise to the formation of an association by the forest contractors to redress their grievances. But again because of their competitive roles in securing contracts the contractors have not yet been able to put up a united front.

The number of private industrialists in Dandeli is increasing. They too have their common problems particularly in their relationship with the Forest Department. The formation of an association by these persons in the near future cannot be ruled out. In most cases their interests do not clash and so their unity can be more secure. But at the same time their bargaining position with the Forest Department is not so strong as that of the forest contractors on whom the Department is more dependent. However, they have greater influence with the Government officials.

Only 44% of the adults are literate. The literates in occupational grade I is 33% and moreover the education in their case is very low. There has been an increase in the literacy of non-adults of schoolgoing age, of whom 72% are either going to school or have had school education. Still the literacy among such children in occupational grade I is very

low being 48%. Of the children of schoolgoing age who are not sent to school 78% are girls. Of late greater proportions of children of schoolgoing age have started going to school. In the lower socio-economic sections since as a rule both husband and wife work outside, the parents are not able to give sufficient attention to the education of their children. If equality of opportunity is to be one of the major aims of a welfare state special attention needs to be given to the education of children in lower socio-economic sections. The educational facilities available for the general public are poor in quality as almost all the schools are under-equipped and under-staffed.

Since the work of the exploitation of forest produce and the mining of manganese ore around Dandeli is carried on only during the fair season, and since the locations of this work keep on changing, it has to be done by migratory labour. The presence of migratory labour during the fair season in and around Dandeli exerts a great influence upon the socio-economic life of the place. The traders are the direct beneficiaries of their presence.

Some of the of the migratory labourers are potential settlers. As in the case of settled labourers they too come in groups. In their case also their socio-cultural background influences the pattern of migration and adjustment in the new place. But there is a significant difference between the occupational backgrounds of the two categories of labourers. While the proportion of agriculturists is negligible among the settled population it is substantial among the migratory labour. The agriculturists among the migratory labourers, however, are small farmers. Such persons cannot make up their minds to leave their homes permanently on account of their holdings but welcome the opportunity of seasonal migration to supplement their slender farm incomes. All the same the majority of the labourers whether among the settled population or the migratory were non-agricultural labourers in their native places.

The seasonal employments are of different kinds. Some are piece-rated and others based on daily wages. They also differ in the mode and duration of work, skills required and so on. Hence the labourers engaged in them have different patterns of migration. The migratory labourers belonging to a particular region follow more or less a uniform pattern of migration.

While all the migratory labourers have their common problems chief among them being the problem of living under trying conditions of life without any amenities, people of different groups and coming from different regions have their own peculiar problems. Labourers coming from distant regions and those who are accompanied by their dependents are particularly hard hit. A large proportion of the migratory labourers are in favour of settling down in the area of immigration if only they could secure permanent employment.

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