

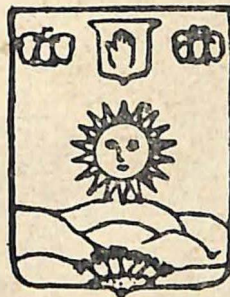
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*Deccan College Dissertation Series 28*

# **Social Organization, Migration and Change In a Village Community**

By

T. N. Valunjkar, M.A., Ph.D.



**DECCAN COLLEGE**

Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute,

**POONA**

1966

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, MIGRATION AND  
CHANGE IN A VILLAGE COMMUNITY

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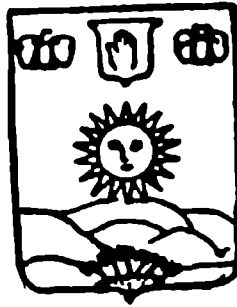
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, MIGRATION  
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COMMUNITY

BY

T. N. VALUNJKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

Reader in Sociology

Nagpur University, Nagpur



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TO THE MEMORY OF  
MY MOTHER

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## P R E F A C E

This work is based on the author's Ph.D. thesis entitled 'Social Organization And The Migration Pattern of A Village Community' which was accepted by the University of Poona for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the year 1960. Some modifications are made regarding the presentation of the material but otherwise there is no substantial change in the present work and the original dissertation.

It is a pleasure to express my grateful thanks to my guide Dr. (Mrs.) Irawati Karve, Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of the Deccan College, Poona 6, for her guidance and encouragement. Without her support and encouragement this work would not have been completed.

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The preparation of this work was undertaken during the period of my association with the Department of sociology, M. S. University of Baroda. I am very much thankful to Prof. I. P. Desai, Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, M. S. University of Baroda for giving all facilities for completing this work.

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The maps and diagrams for this work are prepared by my friend Shri V. K. Mulay. Similarly the typing of this draft was done very neatly and efficiently by Shri Mohandas. I am thankful to both of them for their help.

Nagpur,  
July, 1966.

T. N. Valunjkar



## INTRODUCTION

The village communities in India were 'little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations.'<sup>1</sup> Except for marriage and occasional pilgrimages village people hardly had any relationship with the outside world. The Baluta system and the village panchayat fostered the sense of stability and self-sufficiency in the village community. However, the atmosphere of stability and self-sufficiency was affected by the advent of the British rule in India. Steps taken by the British rulers to bring about uniformity in the administration and the judicial system of the entire country, and the introduction of the money economy introduced seeds of change in the traditional set-up of the village community. The impact of these forces was felt not only by the villages which were nearer to townships and within easy distance but even by the villages situated in the hilly regions.<sup>2</sup> However the change brought about by these forces was not of a radical nature. There were other powerful forces which had a greater potentiality of bringing about radical change in the relative isolation and stability of the village community. These forces were, introduction of rapid means of communication like railways and automobiles, industrialization, and urbanization. Railways connected remote territories with industrial townships and cities. As a result villages which were connected with industrial and urban centres started changing more rapidly as compared with other villages which were not so connected. These forces affected the traditional economy, introduced money and made its use more frequent and popular, introduced commercial farming, and induced urban migration. However the impact of industrialization and urbanization was not felt by the villages which were at a considerable distance from industrial townships and cities, and they continued to enjoy a sense of isolation, stability, and self-sufficiency.

The village community in the eastern part of the Satara District of Maharashtra, is very much removed from direct contact with the cities and industrial townships. The means of communication are also very poor. The important cities and industrial townships are considerably away from here. In spite of these factors conducive to a sense of isolation and stability, villages in this area are showing greater urban migration and other signs of disintegration and the reasons for this phenomenon are to be found in economic scarcity created by perpetual semi-famine conditions. This exploratory study is undertaken with

1. The quotation is by Sir Charles Metcalf, quoted by F. G. Baily in the *Caste and*
2. F. G. BAILY: *Ibid.*  
*Economic Frontier*, 1959.

a view to investigating the impact of famine conditions on the social organization of a village community in this region.

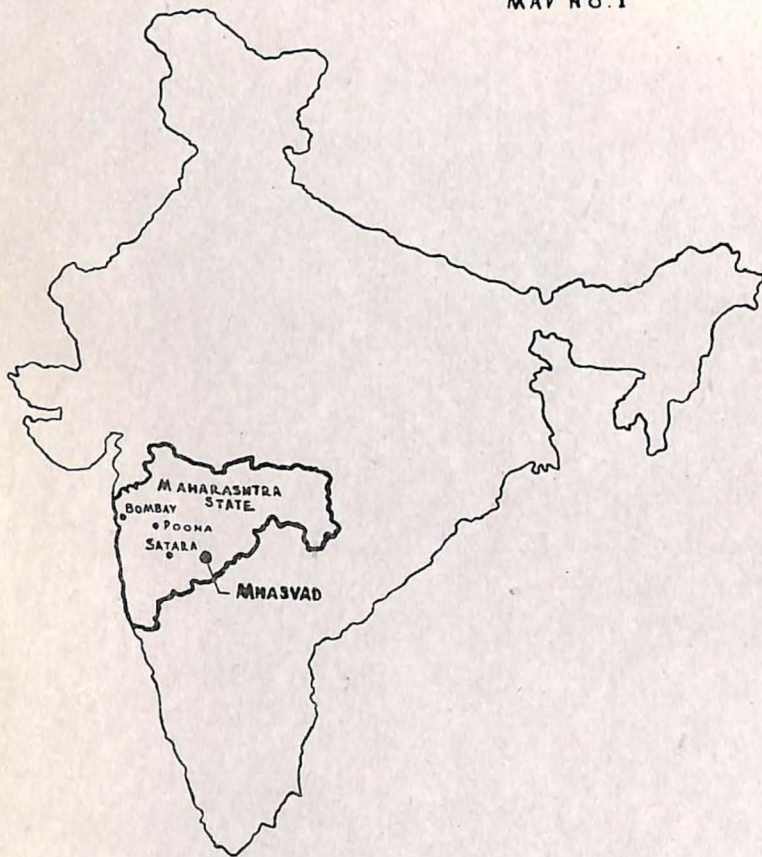
Choice of the villages. — After a preliminary study of the caste composition of 21 villages situated in the eastern part of the Satara District, two villages, Divad and Palsavade were selected for field work. Following considerations determined the choice of the villages: (a) of the two villages one should be a typical multi-caste village, representative of the famine affected village community in this area and (b) the other village should be comparatively free from the influence of famine and having a similar social background so as to allow comparison to assess the influence of famine. The village Divad represents a typical multi-caste famine affected village, and Palsavade which is situated near Mhasvad Tank, represents a village least affected by water scarcity. Both these villages have a common social background and they differ in regard to famine condition.

Methods of data collection. — The use of questionnaire method was the principal instrument of data collection. Questionnaires were filled by the author by personal interview with the head of each household. Besides this method, use of informal interviews was also made in the collection of data. Appendix 'B' gives the questionnaire.

LOCATION OF MHASVAD

IN THE MAP OF INDIA

MAP No.1



## CHAPTER I

### POPULATION AND THE HABITATION PATTERN

The two villages, Divad and Palsavade, are situated in Man Taluka, in Satara District, in Maharashtra State. Divad is five miles to the west and Palsavade is six miles to the south-east of Mhasvad, which is the biggest market town in Man Taluka. Mhasvad is connected with Dahivadi, the taluka head-quarters, and Satara, the district head-quarters, by a trunk-road known as Satara-Pandharpur road, which is one of the important all-weather metal roads in the district. Divad is situated half-a-mile away from the Satara-Pandharpur road while Palsavade is situated six miles away from this road. A state-owned bus service which has the monopoly for passenger traffic, operates on this road. Palsavade is connected with Mhasvad by a rough road which is mainly used for bullock-cart traffic. In recent years State-owned buses have also started plying on this road, but in rainy season the bus service is suspended. As a result, Divad enjoys better communication facilities as compared to Palsavade.

The geographical area where the two villages are situated is popularly known as Man Desh, a land through which Man river flows. It includes Man taluka and part of Sangli District. Man-desh is known for centuries as a famine area. The annual rainfall is 15 to 20 inches. The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency describes geographical features of Man taluka in following words:

‘Man is a lower level and on three sides is shut in by low hills. At the best of times it is barren and desolate, sparsely wooded even near the river and rock everywhere staring out from shallow unfruitful soil. . . . Except in occasional monsoon floods, the beds of the Man and its feeders are dry.’

‘. . . The area of the black soil is small and owing to the scanty rain and the want of water-works what black soil there is yields but little. . . . Man is subject to constant draughts and suffered terribly in the 1876-77 famine.’<sup>1</sup>

This bleak prospect of perpetual famine has started changing in recent years in some parts of Man Taluka where water-works are completed. So far three water reservoirs, Mhasvad tank, Ranand tank and Pingli tank, have been completed and as a result many villages in Man taluka are benefitted. However, these water-works have not benefitted the rural community in the eastern portion of Man taluka and the prospect of famine still looms large over this part. Divad is one such famine affected village. The case of Palsavade is somewhat different.

---

1. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency — District Satara*, Vol. XIX, 1885.

In the year 1876 which was a famine year, the British Government undertook the construction of Mhasvad tank near Palsavade, six miles to the south-east of Mhasvad. Being situated at a higher level than the lake, Palsavade is deprived of the benefits of irrigation, yet it enjoys some other advantages due to the tank. In winter and summer when the water of the tank recedes, quite a large portion of the submerged land becomes available for cultivation. Every year the District Collector allots 258 acres of land to the people of this village for cultivation. Constant deposits of mud brought by the flooded Man river has made the soil in the tank very rich and fertile. Besides, due to the existence of the tank near the village, the water of the tank percolates into the soil and in the village wells. These benefits have alleviated famine condition in this village to a large extent.

### I. POPULATION

#### 1. Caste:

According to 1951 Census Report, the population of Divad was 1,214 and that of Palsavade was 178. The present investigation was undertaken in the year 1955, after the period of five years of the census inquiry. As a result it was felt desirable to undertake independent census of the population of the two villages. The results of this inquiry are shown in Table No. 1, below.

TABLE NO. 1  
POPULATION OF THE TWO VILLAGES ACCORDING TO CASTE

CASTE	Divad		Palsavade	
	No. of households	No. of persons	No. of households	No. of persons
Maratha	157	710	13	58
Dhangar	70	333	19	102
Lonari	5	18	1	2
Brahman	1	9	—	—
Gurav	3	9	—	—
Sutar	3	10	—	—
Nhavi	3	6	—	—
Lohar	1	4	—	—
Davari	1	4	—	—
Vani	1	1	—	—
Sonar	1	2	—	—
Koli	—	—	1	5
Mahar	10	42	8	29
Mang	13	71	1	5
Ramoshi	6	27	7	38
Holar	7	37	—	—
Dhor	2	5	—	—
Wadar	1	6	—	—
Musalman	4	18	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>1,312</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>239</b>

There were 1,312 persons and 289 households in Divad and 239 persons and 50 households in Palsavade. The population of Divad was divided into 17 castes Hindus and Muslims, and that of Palsavade into seven castes. Muslims occupy a marginal status in Hindu society in this area. Being members of a different religion, they are not treated as full members of Hindu society, yet their socio-economic role in the caste system gives them the status of a functional caste. Their major functional role is that of butchers, an occupation which is usually not followed by caste Hindus in this area. Some of them are also to be found as betel-leaf sellers. Muslims occupy the lowest ritual status among the touchable Hindus but they are regarded as superior to untouchables. In this work Muslims are treated as a functional caste.

Of the 19 castes shown in the table, 18 were represented in Divad. One caste which was not found in Divad but which was found in Palsavade was Koli. In Palsavade seven castes were noted. These were Maratha, Dhangar, Lonari, Koli, Ramoshi, Mahar and Mang. Six castes out of the 19 castes shown in the table were regarded as 'untouchables' by the village people and 'scheduled castes' by the government. These castes were Mahar, Mang, Ramoshi, Holar, Dhor and Wadar.

The caste-wise analysis of the population of the two villages given in the table above shows that in Divad, Marathas were more in number as compared to the rest of the castes. This position of dominance in the sphere of population was accompanied by dominance in socio-economic and political spheres, a position occupied by the Marathas in the whole of Maharashtra. The term 'dominant caste'<sup>2</sup> can be appropriately used in regard to Marathas in Divad as well as Marathas in Maharashtra as a whole. However, the case of Marathas in Palsavade was somewhat different. Although they were dominant in socio-economic and political affairs, numerically they were next to Dhangars. This change in the population structure of Palsavade, can be seen in other villages in this area also, and may be regarded as of great significance in understanding social change in this area.

Similarly in Divad, the population of the touchable castes taken together was 1,166 (85.6%) and that of the scheduled castes was 146 (14.4%). In Palsavade the population of the touchable castes was 168 (69.88%) and that of the scheduled castes was 71 (30.12%). The percentage of the scheduled caste population was greater in Palsavade as compared with Divad. This may be

2. SRINIVAS, M. N.: "*The Social System of a Mysore Village*" in *Village India*, Ed. McKim MARRIOT, 1955.

regarded, as it will be shown later, as an indication of the capacity of Palsavade to support a large percentage of non-agricultural population due to its prosperous agricultural position.

## 2. Clan:

In both the villages, some castes were composed of a number of exogamous groups known as 'Kula' or clan, while others were composed of only one clan. Theoretically each Kula is a group of persons who trace their origin from one common male ancestor and who do not marry among themselves. The fact that some castes from both the villages were composed of one clan means that other clans were not found staying in these villages. Among the multi-clan castes, in the two villages, it was noticed that one clan from each such caste was regarded as a dominant clan while others were regarded as affinies. The dominant clan exhibited the same characteristics of dominance, numerical preponderance and socio-economic and political dominance, which were applicable to the dominant caste. These dominant clans were regarded as the original inhabitants of the village and they enjoyed special privileges. The remaining minor clans which came afterwards were called 'Pahune' which means affinal relatives. It was said by the village people that the majority of these minor clans came as affinal relatives of persons belonging to the dominant clans. Inquiry in this regard showed that this belief was well-founded. In both the villages, a large number of families belonging to minor clans reported that they came to the village because they had affinal ties with the earlier inhabitants of these villages. Some social usages of the village people also throw light on this problem. All those who were treated as 'soyare' or affinal relatives by a family were under social obligation to give presents on ceremonial occasions like marriage and similar occasions. All the minor clans in each caste were required to give presents at the time of the marriage of the dominant clans. Presents at the time of marriage were not given by agnates but by affinal relatives. This usage also shows that the minor clans within each of these castes were affinal relatives of the dominant clan. Table No. 2 shows analysis of the clans in each caste, the major and the minor clans and the number of families belonging to each clan.

It will be observed from the table that each of the multi-clan castes had one dominant clan and several minor clans. In the case of Dhangars of Divad there were two major clans living in two separate habitation clusters. These were Didwagh and Sargar. However, between the two, Didwagh enjoyed superior position since they had established Didwaghwadi, before the coming of Sargars in the village. In Divad, the Savant clan, the dominant clan among Marathas, was regarded as the founder of this village. Similarly in Palsavade, Yadav, the

TABLE No. 2  
CLANS IN EACH CASTE IN THE TWO VILLAGES

CASTE	Divad						Palsavade					
	Total		Major Clan		Minor Clan		Total		Major Clan		Minor Clan	
	Clans	Families	No.	No. of families	No.	No. of families	Clans	No. of families	No.	No. of families	No.	No. of families
Maratha	17	157	1	108	16	49	5	13	1	9	4	4
Dhangar	9	70	2	59	7	11	8	19	1	8	7	11
			(33+26)									
Lonari	2	5	1	4	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Brahman	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gurav	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sutar	2	3	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nhavi	2	3	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lohar	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Davari	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vani	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sonar	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Koli	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Mahar	1	10	—	—	—	—	4	8	1	5	3	3
Mang	3	13	1	10	2	3	1	1	—	—	—	—
Ramoshi	2	6	1	4	1	2	2	7	1	6	1	1
Holar	1	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dhor	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wadar	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Musalman	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

dominant clan among Marathas, was the founder of the village. The post of the village head-man was inherited by persons belonging to the Savant clan in Divad and Yadav clan in Palsavade. The dominant clan among Marathas enjoyed various privileges. The first invitation of marriage of any caste in a village was given to the village head-man called 'Patil' who belonged to the dominant clan. Similarly the dominant clans belonging to other castes also enjoyed privileges, although to a lesser extent, in socio-economic life.

### 3. Occupation:

It is well-known that in India every caste is associated with the pursuit of some occupation which is called its traditional occupation. The traditional occupation of each caste and the actual occupations followed by the heads of the families in each caste in the two villages is shown in Table No. 3.



TABLE No. 3  
PURSUIT OF OCCUPATIONS IN THE TWO VILLAGES

Caste	Traditional Occupation	Divad			Palsavade		
		No. of families following the traditional occupations	No. of families following the non-traditional occupations	Total	No. of families following the traditional occupations	No. of families following the non-traditional occupations	Total
Maratha	Agriculture	141	16	157	13	—	13
Dhangar	Sheep-raising & agriculture	70	—	70	18	1	19
Lonari	Agriculture	4	1	5	1	—	1
Brahman	Priest	—	1	1	—	—	—
Gurav	Temple priest	3	—	3	—	—	—
Sutar	Carpentry	2	1	3	—	—	—
Nhavi	Barber	2	1	3	—	—	—
Lohar	Iron-smith	1	—	1	—	—	—
Davari	Religious service	1	—	1	—	—	—
Vani	Shop-keeping	1	—	1	—	—	—
Sonar	Gold-smith	1	—	1	—	—	—
Koli	Fishing & supplying water	—	—	—	1	—	1
Mahar	Village servant	9	1	10	7	1	8
Mang	Rope making	13	—	13	—	1	1
Ramoshi	Village watchman	4	2	6	6	1	7
Holar	Cobbler	7	—	7	—	—	—
Dhor	Leather tanning	2	—	2	—	—	—
Wadar	Supplying stones and earth	1	—	1	—	—	—
Musalman	Butcher	4	—	4	—	—	—
TOTAL		266	23	289	46	4	50

From the table it will be observed that except 23 families in Divad and four families in Palsavade all others were following traditional occupations. In Divad out of 23 families following non-traditional occupations, 16 were Marathas, one Lonari, one Brahman, one Sutar, one Nhavi, one Mahar and two Ramoshis. Further analysis shows that four of these 16 Maratha families had taken to sheep-raising, two were salaried servants (one was a primary school teacher and the other was a secretary of the village Gram Panchayat), eight were labourers, one mason and another was maintaining a grocery store. From the remaining seven families, out of 23, one Lonari family had taken to unskilled labour, one Brahman was a farmer, one Sutar, one Nhavi and two Ramoshi families were working as unskilled labourers. The remaining Mahar family was that of a retired railway servant living on his pension and income from land. In Palsavade, out of four families following non-traditional occupations, one Dhangar family

was working as a temple-priest, an occupation usually followed by persons belonging to Gurav caste, one Ramoshi was engaged in agriculture, one Mang was a carpenter, a traditional occupation of a Sutar, and one Mahar was working as an unskilled labourer.

A number of families in both the villages were following secondary occupations besides their main occupation, to supplement their income. Table No. 4 shows castewise analysis of the secondary occupations in the two villages.

TABLE No. 4

## PURSUIT OF SECONDARY OCCUPATIONS IN THE TWO VILLAGES

CASTE	Divad						Palsavade					
	Agriculture	Sheep-raising	Labour	Priest	No. of families not having secondary occupation	Total	Agriculture	Sheep-raising	Labour	Cattle tending	No. of families not having secondary occupation	Total
Maratha	9	5	18	—	125	157	—	—	2	—	11	13
Dhangar	3	17	7	—	43	70	5	2	2	—	10	19
Lonari	1	—	—	—	4	5	—	—	—	—	1	1
Brahman	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gurav	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sutar	1	—	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nhavi	1	—	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lohar	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Davari	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vani	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sonar	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Koli	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Mahar	5	—	3	—	2	10	3	—	4	—	1	8
Mang	8	—	1	—	4	13	—	—	—	1	—	1
Ramoshi	4	—	—	—	2	6	2	1	2	1	1	7
Holar	4	—	—	—	3	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dhor	1	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wadar	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Musalman	4	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>50</b>

Ninety-eight families in Divad and 25 families in Palsavade reported secondary occupations. These occupations were agriculture, sheep-raising, unskilled labour, priesthood and cattle-tending. The pursuit of agriculture, as it is evident from the table, was open to all castes, although some castes were regarded as the traditional farming castes. The same was true of sheep-raising the traditional

occupation of Dhangars. One Ramoshi family from Palsavade was engaged in sheep-raising. One Brahman family in Divad was practising priesthood, the traditional occupation of the caste, as a secondary occupation.

The distinction between the main occupation and the secondary occupation is purely an economic one and is not in any way related to social norms in the choice of occupations. In general, it can be said that the pursuit of occupations in both the villages was in conformity with the caste norms. However, these norms were not rigidly followed and a good deal of flexibility was allowed to the individuals and families. The flexibility which was allowed within the caste system was regulated by considerations like untouchability, fear of pollution etc. Thus touchables would never think of taking to occupations which are polluting and conversely they would never allow untouchables to take to occupations which involve fear of pollution. Carpentry which is a traditional occupation of the Sutar, a touchable caste, was allowed to untouchables also, but not occupations like washing clothes, because carpentry does not involve fear of pollution while washing clothes does. Such a change of occupation was allowed only when the traditional castes had migrated to urban areas or when they could not cope with the existing demand. In Palsavade a Mang was allowed to work as a carpenter since the traditional carpenter found better opportunities in the town and hence gave up his work in the village. The same was true of Gurav and other skilled craftsmen.

## II. THE HABITATION PATTERN

### 1. General features:

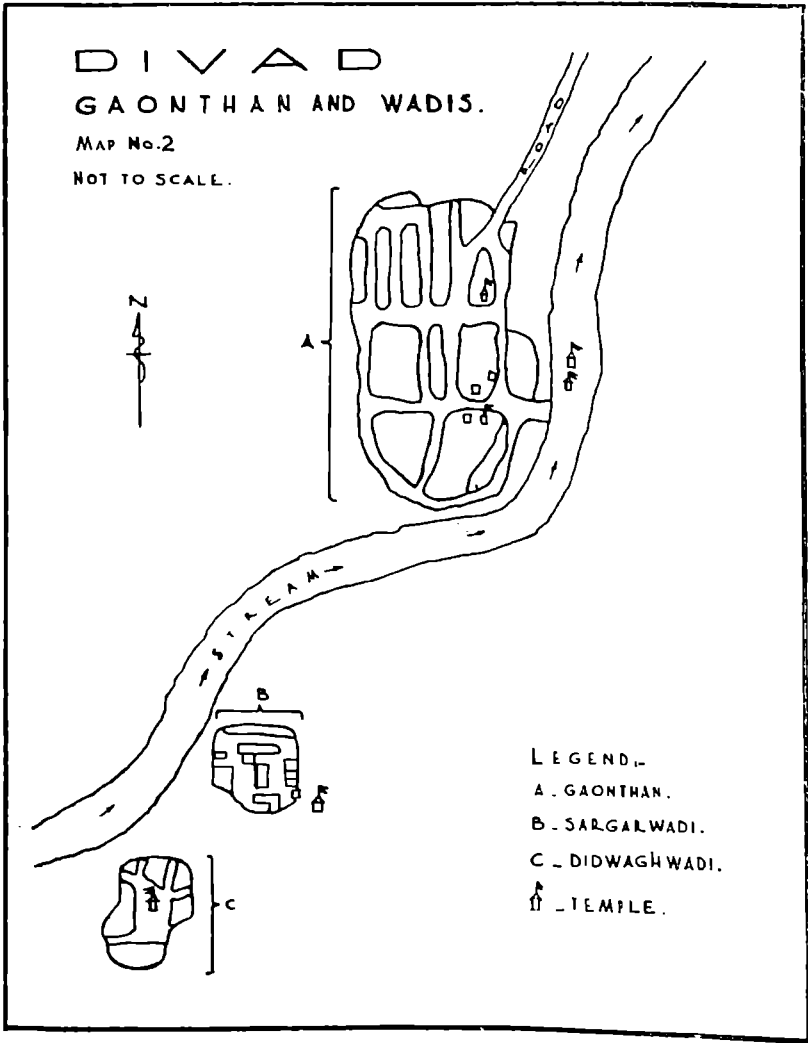
The two villages, Divad and Palsavade, belonged to a nucleated type of village, which is characterized by a packed habitation area surrounded by fields.<sup>3</sup> This habitation area is called in Marathi 'gaon-than' a word which is derived from the Sanskrit word 'gramasthan' which means the site of the village. At the time of a foundation of a new village, people usually choose the rocky portion for habitation and reserve more fertile land for cultivation. The colour of the soil of the habitation area is often white for which the Marathi word is 'pandhari'. Hence the habitation area is often called 'Pandhari-Aai' (the white mother) and the fields are called 'Kali-Aai' (the black mother).<sup>4</sup> When a village grows in size and when sufficient protection is available, farmers and shepherds prefer to stay away from the main village in small habitation clusters, so that farmers

3. KARVE IRRAWATI: "The Indian Village", *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 18, Poona, 1958.

4. ATRE, T. N.: *Gava-Gada*, 1955.

DIVAD  
GAONTHAN AND WADIS.

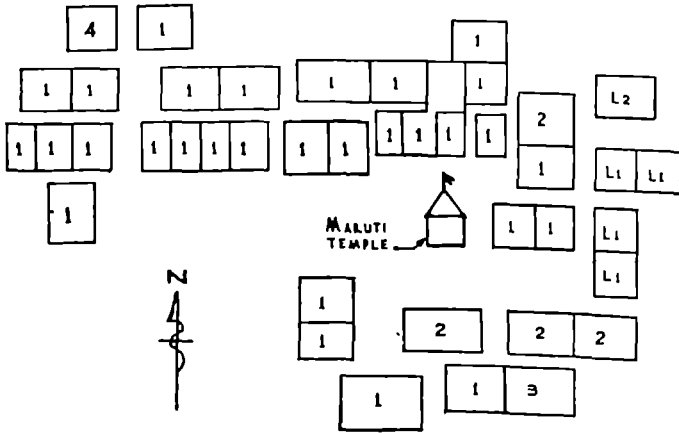
MAP No.2  
NOT TO SCALE.



# THE HABITATION PATTERN OF DIDWAGHWADI

MAP No.4

NOT TO SCALE



## LEGEND:-

HOUSE No.	CASTE	CLAN NAME.
1.	DHANGAR	DIDWAGH.
2.	"	PAVANE.
3.	"	MADHE.
4.	"	KALE.
L1.	LONARI	DHEMBRE
L2.	"	BAD.

can manage their farms better being nearer to the fields and also shepherds find more open ground for penning their sheep. Such a habitation cluster is called 'Vasti' or 'Wadi' and it acquires its name after the principal clan, like Mane Vasti, where Mane is a principal clan, or Bangar Wadi, where Bangar is a principal clan. Although in such a way people stay away from the main village and are thus physically separated, for social, economic, political and religious purposes they are dependent on the main village. The village 'Chavdi' where administrative and judicial functions are carried out, is situated in the main village (gaon-than). Similarly, artisan castes and the village servants known as balutedars stay in the main village. At the time of important religious festivals, people staying in wadi and vasti participate in the festivals held in the 'gaon-than'.

Map No. 2 shows in outline, the habitation area of Divad, comprising of three clusters, two wadis and the gaon-than. The wadis are called 'Sargar Wadi' and 'Didwagh Wadi' after the names of the principal clans residing in these clusters. The two clans belong to Dhangar caste. Map No. 6 shows the habitation area of Palsavade. Being a small village the entire village population stayed in one cluster and unlike Divad it had no wadis. Some 25 years ago, the Dhangars of Palsavade were staying in a wadi but they abandoned it due to the fear of dacoits.

In Divad, the stream which flows in the south-north direction, first touching Didwagh wadi, then Sargar wadi and then gaon-than, supplied water to the entire village. Touchables conventionally took water upstream and the scheduled castes took water down-stream to avoid pollution. In summer, when the stream dried, people used to dig small wells called 'hel' and water holes called 'zara'. Touchables and scheduled castes had separate 'hels', but various touchable castes took water from one or two 'hels' used in common by all the touchables. Observance of social distance and pollution was more marked among scheduled castes than among touchables.

In Palsavade, the village people depended for the water supply on Man river which was half-a-mile from the village. Although there was a small streamlet near the village, it was not useful as a source of water supply since the stream was dry except in monsoon. Excess water of the Mhasvad Tank was released in the original river bed of the Man river, as a result of which there was water in the river throughout the year.

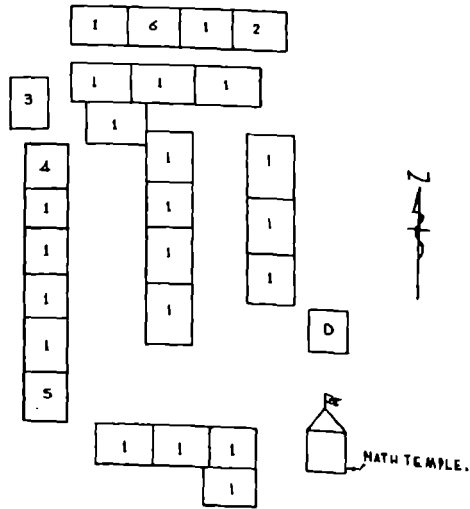
## 2. Caste pattern:

The habitation area of both the villages was divided into two blocks, one for the touchable castes and the other for the scheduled castes. In Divad, all the

# THE HABITATION PATTERN OF SARGARWADI

MAP No. 5

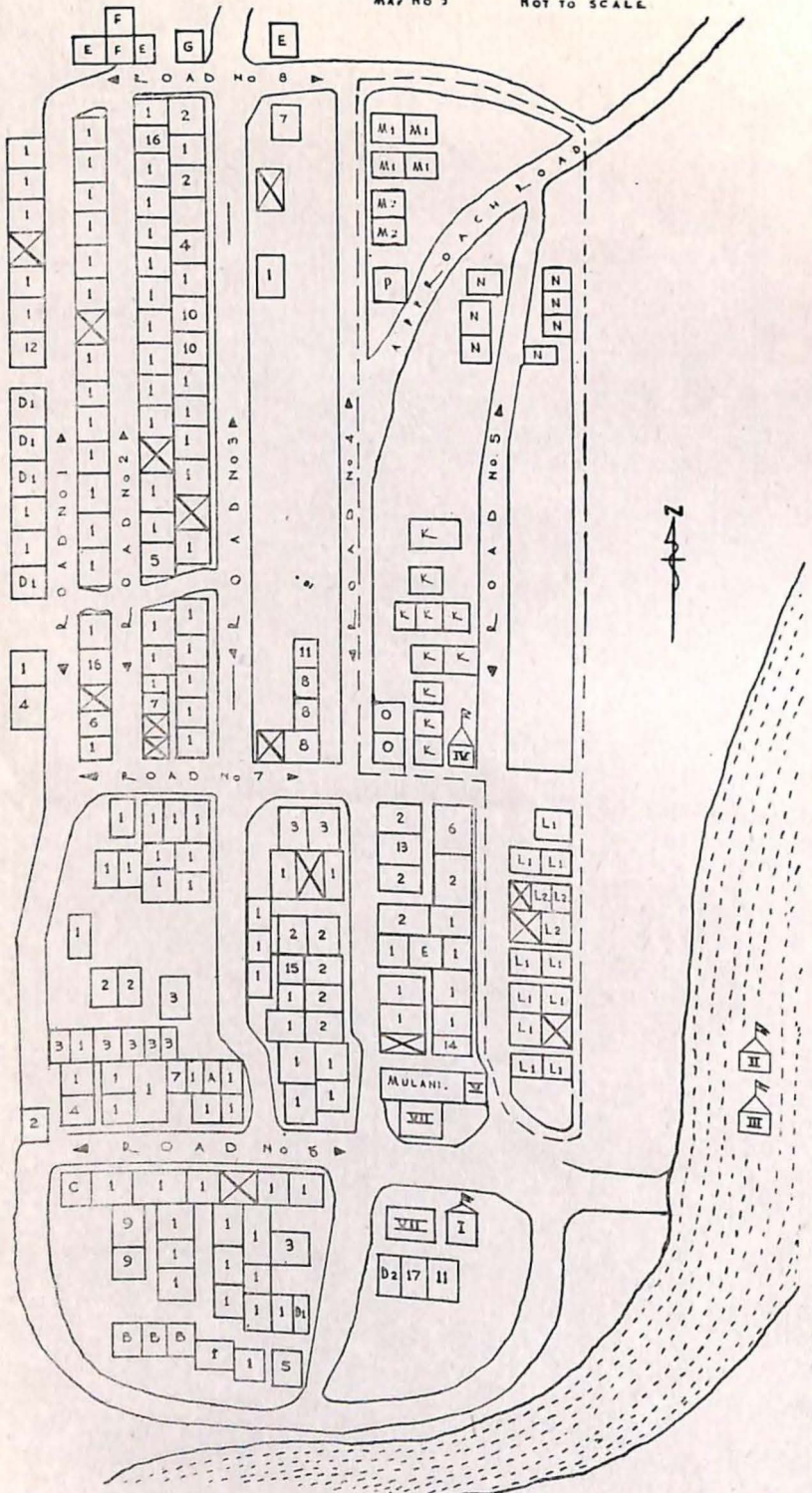
NOT TO SCALE



## LEGEND

HOUSE No.	CASIE.	CLAN-NAME.
1	DHANGAR	SARGAR.
2	"	DIDWAGH.
3	"	GORAD.
4	"	MAHARAWAR.
5	"	MADNE.
6	"	CHORMALE.
D	DAVARI.	-

THE HABITATION PATTERN OF  
DIVAD-GAONTHAN.  
MAP No 3 NOT TO SCALE.



LEGEND-

- I - MARUTI TEMPLE. II - MAHADEV TEMPLE. III - BAWILOBA TEMPLE. IV - MARI BAI TEMPLE.  
V - MOSQUE. VI - VILLAGE CHAVADI. VII - VILLAGE SCHOOL.  
--- THE BOUNDARY OF SCHEDULED-CASTE RESIDENTIAL AREA. --- STREAM

HOUSE No.	CASTE	CLAN-NAME	HOUSE No.	CASTE	CLAN-NAME
1	MARATHA.	JAVANT	A	VANI	-
2	"	BHOSLE.	B	GURAV	-
3	"	KATKAL	C	SONAR	-
4	"	JAGDALE.	D1	DHANGAR	SARGAR
5	"	PADAVAL.	D2	"	GHUTUGADE
6	"	GODSE.	E1	SUTAR	DOLAS
7	"	SHINDE	E2	"	-
8	"	PAVAR.	F1	NHAVI	SALUNKE.
9	"	KADAM.	F2	"	LOKHANDE
10	"	BAGAL	G	LOHAR	-
11	"	JADHAV.	H	BRAHMAN	-
12	"	DEVKAR	K	MAHAR	-
13	"	POL.	L1	MANG	-
14	"	DHAM.	L2	"	LOKHANDE
15	"	SURYAVAMSHI.	L3	"	KAMBLE
16	"	WAGH.	M1	"	PATOLE.
17	"	MANE.	M2	RAMOSHI.	CHAVAN
			N	"	JADHAV
			O	HOLAR.	-
			P	DHOR.	-
				WADAR.	-

⊗ - CLOSED HOUSE



scheduled castes were staying in the main village (gaon-than) along with the Marathas and other touchable castes and in the two wadis only touchable castes, mainly Dhangars, were staying. The residential area of the scheduled castes in both the villages is shown by a dotted line in the maps No. 3 and 6. Also, in both the villages, the scheduled caste residential area was situated in the eastern part of the village habitation area, a pattern which is to be found in many villages in Maharashtra.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the two-fold division of the habitation area into touchable and scheduled caste blocks, within each of these blocks there was a further division of the habitation area on caste lines. It can be seen from the map No. 3 that in Divad each scheduled caste lived separately and formed small caste-wise habitation cluster.

Similarly, among touchable castes the same tendency to form caste clusters was apparent. In the gaon-than of Divad, besides Marathas who were most numerous, there were other touchable castes like Gurav, Nhavi, Sutar, Dhangar, Lohar, Vani, Sonar, Brahman and Musalman. The houses belonging to those castes other than the Marathas were few and excepting six houses which were situated on the outskirts of the village, the others were situated in the midst of the Maratha habitation area. In addition to these six houses situated on the outskirts of the village, 13 houses belonging to touchable castes other than the Marathas were situated in the midst of the Maratha habitation area.

In the two wadis, besides Dhangars who were numerous, five houses belonging to Lonari caste were situated in Didwagh wadi and one house belonging to Davari caste was situated in Sargar wadi. Maps No. 4 and 5 show houses in the two wadis.

It will be observed from the maps of the two wadis and the gaon-than that the tendency to form separate caste clusters was visible among touchable castes also. However, this tendency was not very dominant since the neighbourhood of one touchable caste was allowed by the other.

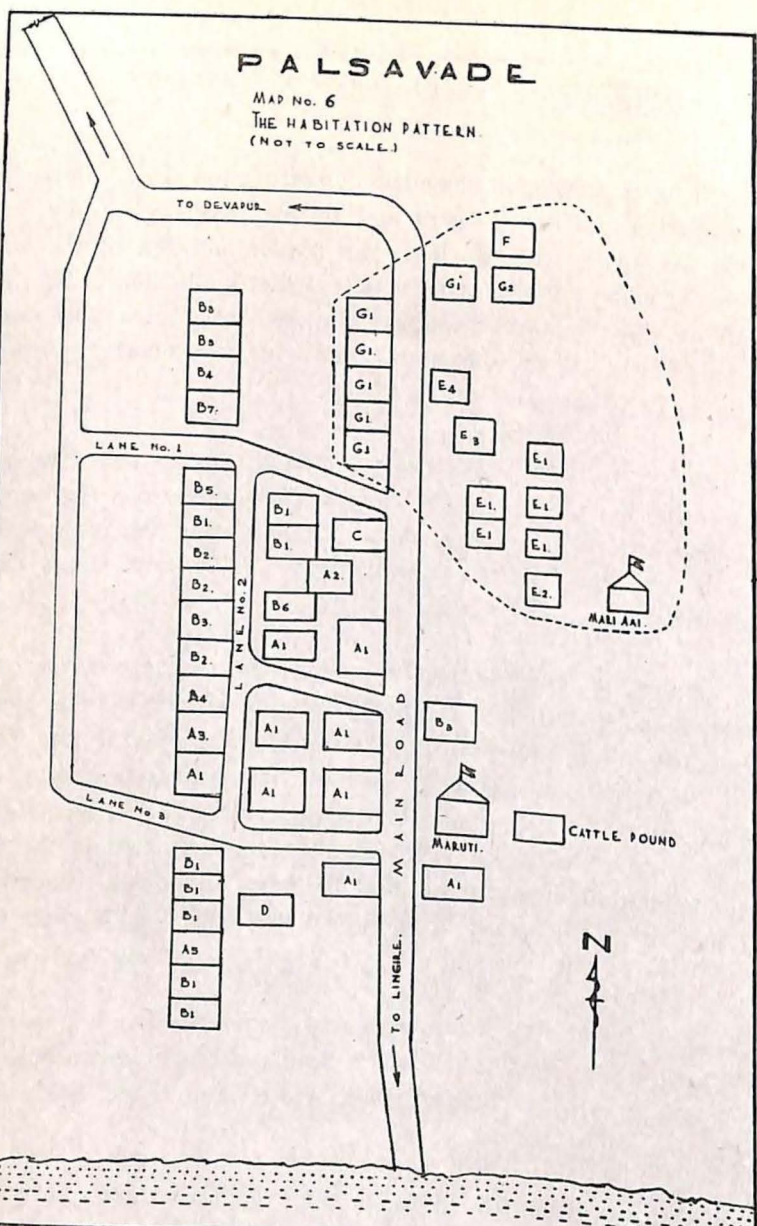
In Palsavade also the same tendency to form caste clusters was to be seen both among scheduled castes and among touchable castes. There was a greater observance of social distance among scheduled castes as compared with touchable castes.

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5. ATRE, T. N.: *Ibid.*

# PALSAVADE

MAD No. 6  
THE HABITATION PATTERN  
(NOT TO SCALE.)



LEGEND -

- 1. ROAD
- 2. STREAM
- 3. TEMPLE
- 4. HOUSE
- 5. BOUNDARY OF THE SCHEDULED-CASTE RESIDENTIAL AREA.

CASTE AND CLAN PATTERN

HOUSE No.	CASTE	CLAN-NAME.	HOUSE No.	CASTE	CLAN.
A1	MARATHA.	YADAV.	C	LOHARI	..
A2	"	UTHALE	D	KOLI	..
A3	"	KHARADE	E1	MAHAR	BANSODE.
A4	"	JARE.	E2	"	MOTHE.
A5	"	GHODAKE.	E3	"	KATE
B1	DHANGAR.	SHENDAGE.	E4	"	TORANE.
B2	"	JANKAR.	G1	RAMOSHI.	CHAVAN.
B3	"	KALE.	G2.	"	BODRE
B4	"	MADANE.	F	MANG	..
B5	"	HORKATE.			
B6	"	GADHAVE.			
B7	"	KHUPKAR.			
B8	"	DHULGUDE.			

### 3. Clan Pattern:

The residential areas of the two villages show the influence of clan organization. In Divad, the major part of the gaon-than was occupied by Marathas who were composed of 17 clans. The Savant was the dominant clan and the remaining 16 clans, most of whom were the affinal relatives of Savants, were minor clans. Residential pattern of these 17 clans is shown in map No. 3.

It will be seen that Savants had occupied the major portion of the habitation area meant for touchables in gaon-than while the houses belonging to other Maratha clans had formed small clusters in the midst of the habitation area of Savants. One gets an impression by observing the map that the houses belonging to minor clans were assimilated in the habitation area of Savants. Houses belonging to other touchable castes staying in the gaon-than were too small in number to show any clan pattern.

Among scheduled castes of Divad, all of whom were staying in the gaon-than, Ramoshi and Mang were multiclans and the rest were uni-clan. Of the 13 houses belonging to Mang, 10 were of Lokhande, the dominant clan, two belonged to Kamble and one belonged to Patole. Among scheduled castes also one finds the same housing pattern as among Marathas, namely houses belonging to minor clans being situated in the midst of the habitation area of the major clan.

In the two wadis of Divad, Didwagh-wadi and Sargar wadi, the same housing pattern was to be seen. In Didwagh-wadi where Dhangars and Lonaris were staying, the habitation area was mainly occupied by Didwagh, the dominant clan among Dhangars. The houses of the three minor clans, Pavane, Madne and Kale were situated in the midst of Didwagh habitation area.

It will be observed from the map that the houses belonging to minor clans were absorbed in the habitation area of Sargar clan. Among Marathas of Palsavade, there were five clans of which Yadav was the dominant clan. Similarly Shendage was the dominant clan among Dhangars. Among scheduled castes, two castes, Mahar and Ramoshi were multi-clan castes. In all these cases it will be observed that houses of the minor clans were situated in the midst of the habitation area of the major clan.

Thus it can be said about the habitation pattern of the two villages that untouchability and caste distinctions had created segregation of residential areas. This had resulted, in the first place, in the residential separation of scheduled castes from the touchables, and in the second place, in the separation of residential areas of each caste. Influence of clan organization was also

16 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, MIGRATION & CHANGE IN A VILLAGE COMMUNITY

noticeable. In a multiclans caste various clans were related to each other through kinship and marital ties. As a result there was a unity in the residential pattern of various clans. The social unity among various clans in a multiclans caste was reflected in the residential unity and the division in the village population on the basis of caste and the concept of pollution was reflected in the residential segregation. Thus it can be said that the social organization was clearly reflected in the habitation pattern of the two villages.

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## CHAPTER II

### THE BALUTA SYSTEM

An important aspect of economic activities in rural India, namely performance of services, both auxiliary agricultural services and non-agricultural, by what are called service castes and the payments they receive for the same is regulated by a system which is called differently in different provinces, but which shows similarity of principles. In North India this system is known as 'jajmani system'<sup>1</sup> and in Maharashtra it is known as 'baluta system'<sup>2</sup>. Irrespective of the regional differences in the functioning of this system which one may come across, one also becomes aware of the structural similarity in the functioning of this system in different regions of India. The points of similarity are, (1) adherence to caste norms in respect of the performance of services by various caste groups; (2) inheritance of occupational monopolies of different caste-groups; and (3) payment in kind which is regulated on certain accepted principles.

In Maharashtra, the word 'baluta' is used for payment in kind given to a member of a service caste by a farmer for his services and a person who performs services and accepts payment in kind is known as a 'balutedar'. Such balutedars are believed to be twelve in number and as a result the baluta system is also known as a system of 'Bara Baluta'<sup>3</sup>. However, in actual practice, variations are possible in the number of balutedars to suit the needs of local communities. Following pages discuss the functioning of the baluta system in the two villages.

#### 1. *Baluta system in the two villages:*

In Divad, the number of balutedars was ten and in Palsavade it was nine. Table No. 1 shows classification of families as balutedars and non-balutedars, in the two villages.

In Divad, 48 families belonging to ten different castes were regarded as balutedars of the village. These castes were (1) Gurav, (2) Sutar, (3) Nhavi, (4) Lohar, (5) Musalman, also known as Mulani, (6) Mahar, (7) Mang, (8) Ramoshi, (9) Holar and (10) Dhor. Of these, the first four castes were touchable Hindus, the fifth was Musalman and the remaining were scheduled castes. The percentage of the balutedar families to the total families of the village

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1. WISER, W. H.: *The Hindu Jajmani System* (Lucknow, 1936).

2. T. N. ATRE: *Gava-Gada* (Marathi), 1915.

3. T. N. ATRE: *Ibid.*

TABLE No. 1

## BALUTEDAR AND NON-BALUTEDAR FAMILIES IN THE TWO VILLAGES

CASTE	Divad			Palsavade		
	No. of families			No. of families		
	Balutedar	Non-Balutedar	Total	Balutedar	Non-Balutedar	Total
Maratha	—	157	157	—	13	13
Dhangar	—	70	70	1	18	19
Lonari	—	5	5	—	1	1
Brahman	—	1	1	—	—	—
Gurav	3	—	3	—	—	—
Sutar	3	—	3	—	—	—
Nhavi	2	1	3	—	—	—
Lohar	1	—	1	—	—	—
Davari	—	1	1	—	—	—
Vani	—	1	1	—	—	—
Sonar	—	1	1	—	—	—
Koli	—	—	—	1	—	1
Mahar	9	1	10	7	1	8
Mang	13	—	13	1	—	1
Ramoshi	4	2	6	6	1	7
Holar	7	—	7	—	—	—
Dhor	2	—	2	—	—	—
Wadar	—	1	1	—	—	—
Musalman	4	—	4	—	—	—
Total	48	241	289	16	34	50

was 16.6%. All these were local balutedars and there were no non-local balutedars in this village.

In Palsavade, 16 families belonging to four different castes were functioning as balutedars of the village. These castes were Koli, Ramoshi, Mahar and Mang. Of these four castes, Koli was the only touchable caste while the rest of the three castes were scheduled castes. In addition to these four balutedar castes, there was one Dhangar performing the duties of Gurav, namely, upkeep of the village temple and worship of the village deities. But he was not regarded as a full-fledged balutedar, since this was not his caste occupation. He was allowed to do this work because Gurav was not available in the village. So he was treated as a quasi-balutedar. All these four castes and the Dhangar were local balutedars. Besides these local balutedars, there were some non-local balutedars who used to serve the village people by paying periodic visits. These were Nhavi, Holar, Mulani and Brahman. Except Brahman who was living in Mhasvad, the

rest of the three balutedars were residents of Lingire, a large village, three miles from Palsavade. The percentage of the local balutedar families to the total families of the village was 32%.

## 2. *Duties of the balutedars:*

In both the villages balutedars were performing duties which were in keeping with the caste norms. Duties of various balutedars in the two villages are described below.

(i) Gurav. — Duties of this balutedar were mainly concerned with the upkeep of the village temples and the worship of the village deities. He was required to keep the temples clean, light the lamps and worship the deities. He used to look after only those temples meant for the touchables while the temples of the scheduled castes were maintained by their caste members.

In Palsavade, since there was no Gurav family in the village, the tasks described above were carried out by an old person belonging to the Dhangar caste.

(ii) Sutar. — All carpentry work in connection with agriculture was carried out by the Sutar caste within the frame work of the baluta system. Non-agricultural carpentry work like the work involved in the construction of a new house was not a part of the baluta system and this was charged differently. Every farmer was required to supply wood to the Sutar for making as well as repairing agricultural implements. Sutar was regarded as highly important balutedar by the village people.

In Palsavade, since there was no family belonging to Sutar caste, his place was filled by one Mang family who did all carpentry work of the village.

(iii) Nhavi. — His work was to shave male members periodically, usually once in a fortnight or once in a month. Besides this, his services were required at the time of funeral rites for shaving male relatives of the deceased and also at the time of the first hair-cut of a male child. For performing ceremonial shaves he was given extra payment. Since his job involved physical contact, his services were denied to scheduled castes because of the fear of pollution. Scheduled caste persons in both the villages used to shave themselves by mutual help, and there was no specialized person who served as their barber.

(iv) Lohar. — His duties as a balutedar were concerned with making and repairing small iron implements like weeding-hook, sickle, bill-hook, pick, shovel etc. For heavy agricultural implements farmers had to pay in cash.

Since there was no Lohar in Palsavade, the people of the village met their requirements by purchasing these implements in the Mhasvad market.

(v) Mahar. — The work of Mahar, as a balutedar, was mainly concerned with the village administration and the village sanitation. A person who assists the village headman and the revenue clerk (Talathi) in their administrative work by performing all kinds of manual tasks is known in Marathi as Taral. Every village in Maharashtra has a Taral. In the two villages, the post of a Taral rotated annually among Mahar families who had hereditary claim to this post. The Mahar caste decided the appointment of a person to the post of a Taral. When the work of the village administration exceeded the capacity of one person, other persons of this caste were called to assist the Taral.

The duties of Mahars in regard to maintaining the village sanitation were sweeping the village streets, removing all kinds of dirt and filth, and disposing dead animals. Besides these duties, Mahars supplied wood at the cremation ground and conveyed news of bereavement to the relatives of the deceased, staying in nearby villages. At the time of village festivals Mahars supplied wood for cooking food and did other manual tasks.

In Palsavade, besides the duties described above, Mahars were also employed by the farmers as farm hands. However, this was not a part of the baluta work and the farmers were free to choose any Mahar for this work. The relationship was purely contractual and personal.

(vi) Mang. — Mang made ropes and strings of various size which were useful to the farmers in their agricultural tasks. They collected green sisal leaves from nearby farms and jungles and after soaking in water and processing, prepared stout ropes and strings. Similarly, they assisted farmers at the time of threshing the corn by performing various manual tasks. Also one family of Mang in Divad was assigned a task of blowing 'Shing', a semi-circular bugle made of brass, before the village gods on specific days in a week.

In Palsavade there was no Mang balutedar, although there was a Mang family. This family was working as a carpenter in the village and was not performing the duties of the traditional Mang balutedar. People of Palsavade got ropes, strings etc. from Mhasvad market or by entering into contract with Mangs from the nearby villages.

(vii) Ramoshi. — Ramoshis were the traditional village watchmen and police. Just as there is a post of a 'Taral' in every village, similarly every village has a 'Rakhwadar' to protect the government property and revenue collection. In the two villages this post rotated annually among Ramoshi families having



baluta rights. Rakhwaldar was supposed to guard the village office, accompany the village headman and the Talathi at the time of depositing revenue collection in the Taluka Office, etc. Other Ramoshis used to assist a Rakhwaldar in the same way as Mahars assisted a Taral. The duties of Ramoshis towards village people were to protect the crop and the village property and maintain watch and ward in the village.

(viii) Holar. — Holars were cobblers by profession. The work of Holars as balutedars was to prepare leather articles needed by the farmers like leather strings, whips etc. Also, Holars used to repair shoes and other leather articles. The difference between Holars and Chambhar, a major shoe-making caste in this region, was that Holars were unskilled workers in leather and socially they were inferior to Chambhars since Holars served scheduled caste customers along with the touchables, while Chambhars confined themselves to touchable customers.

In addition to the above work, one Holar family in Divad played the drums before the village gods on specific days. Similarly, Holars also worked as musicians in the village at the time of marriage and on similar occasions. But for this service they were paid extra since this was not a part of their baluta work.

(ix) Dhor. — The duty of Dhor as a balutedar was to supply tanned leather to farmers, needed for various purposes. When sheep or any other animal was killed as a sacrificial offering to gods or for domestic consumption, the Dhor removed hide and after curing returned it to the owner. For these services Dhor was paid baluta.

(x) Mulani. — Musalmans who worked as balutedars were called in this area as Mulani. Mulani was regarded as a village balutedar and his duty was to kill sheep, goats, at the time of sacrificial offerings and also for domestic consumption.

(xi) Koli. — This is a traditional fisherman caste. As a balutedar, Koli supplied water to the touchable Hindus who were in a position to pay him for his services. Only in Palsavade Koli was working as a balutedar. His services were utilized by well-to-do Maratha and Dhanger farmers.

It will be observed from the above description that the majority of the balutedars in both the villages were performing their caste occupations. There were only two cases of deviance from the caste norms in respect of occupation, both in the village Palsavade. One was the case of Lonari functioning as Gurav in the village and another was the case of Mang taking to carpentry. This flexibility in the caste norms was allowed by the village people since the traditional balutedars namely Gurav and Sutar were not serving this village

because of its small size. Also, skilled craftsmen like Sutar and Lohar made a better living by working in a town and as a result they neglected small villages which were economically unprofitable. This process of traditional craftsmen being replaced by scheduled castes like Mang and Mahar is still going on in many villages in this area.

### 3. *Inheritance of occupational monopolies:*

The pursuit of various occupations and services which were within the purview of baluta system was hereditary in both the villages. Normally no person was allowed to work as a balutedar unless he inherited this right. Exceptions to this rule were due to: (a) total absence of some balutedar castes in the village, and (b) relinquishment of baluta rights by the hereditary balutedar in favour of better opportunities available in urban market. In Palsavade instances were noted where persons were allowed to work as balutedars although they had not inherited these rights. One was the case of a Koli who was invited by the village people to supply water from a distant river. Another was the case of a Mang working as a carpenter. He was allowed to do so since the hereditary Sutar of this village had relinquished his baluta rights in favour of opportunities available in the township of Mhasvad. Similarly the hereditary Chambhar family had migrated to Mhasvad and its place was filled by the Holar of Lingire. The same was true of the Lonari who was working as a temple priest since the original Gurav family had relinquished the baluta rights. However, in Divad all the balutedars were hereditary balutedars.

The inheritance of the baluta rights was on the same lines as the inheritance of the family property. Agnates inherited the baluta rights but in the absence of male issue in the family, son-in-law was allowed to inherit the baluta rights. In the two villages some instances of affinal relatives inheriting the baluta rights were noted. In Divad, seven families, one Sutar, one Nhavi, three Mangs and two Ramoshis, had inherited the baluta rights, as affines. Similarly in Palsavade, two Mahars had inherited the baluta rights as affines. Apart from these instances of affines inheriting the baluta rights, the inheritance was restricted to descendants of one agnatic clan in each caste.

One important aspect of the hereditary character of the baluta right was its susceptibility to fragmentation which gave rise to disproportionate distribution of the baluta work among balutedars<sup>4</sup>. As a result, the balutedars in the

4. Jajmani rights, like baluta rights are also subject to fragmentation. For a good description of the process of fragmentation, mention may be made of an article by REDDY, N. S.: "*Functional Relations of Lohars in a North Indian Village*", in *Eastern Anthropologist*, VIII — 129 (1955).

two villages did not enjoy equal opportunities to earn a living and many had to supplement their income by doing other work or by migrating to other places for a short period. It was found that those balutedar castes which were subject to greater degree of fragmentation reported greater migration.

The hereditary character of baluta rights was at the basis of the creation of the structural village group,<sup>5</sup> which can otherwise be called as Kasba (town) Mouje (village) complex. This comes about in the following way. Each balutedar caste has a monopoly right to serve the entire village population including those who stay in distant wadis and vastis, habitation clusters which are usually removed from the main habitation area by a considerable distance<sup>6</sup>. However, in the process of growth these smaller habitation clusters called wadis or vastis become independent villages, socially as well as administratively. These new villages continue to be served by the original village balutedars, since these were former wadis grown bigger and thereby independent. When in this way new villages evolve out of wadis, people of the new villages refer to their original village as Kasba, a place where craftsmen stay<sup>7</sup>. The original social ties are maintained by way of participation in religious festivals held at Kasba. Continuation of the original balutedars who have roots in the Kasba also serve as a strong link binding a Kasba with the new villages which are extensions of wadis.

The Kasba-Mouje relationship, described above was found to have been existing between Mhasvad and the two villages investigated, in addition to number of other villages in this area. It was found in personal interviews that the majority of the balutedars in the two villages originally came from Mhasvad. The balutedars who claimed relationship with Mhasvad were Mahar, Ramoshi, Mang, Gurav, Sutar, Nhavi, Lohar, Dhor and Mulani. These balutedars told the author that their ancestors in Mhasvad had monopoly rights to serve Mhasvad and its wadis some of which had become independent villages. As a result, their agnates were to be found in a number of villages round about Mhasvad. To investigate this claim, an analysis of the clan names of the three major balutedar castes, Mahar, Mang and Ramoshi of 19 villages situated within the radius of eight miles from Mhasvad was undertaken. The reason for choosing eight mile radius was that the villages lying within this circle had Mhasvad as the nearest market town. The reason for selecting only three castes was that these castes were to be found in the majority of the villages. The analysis is shown in Table No. 2.

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5. The term is taken from Marian W. SMITH, who has described similar groupings of villages in Punjab.  
Smith MARIAN, W.: *The Misal: "A Structural Village Group of India and Pakistan"*, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 54, pp. 41-56, 1952.
  6. KARVE IRAWATI: "*The Indian Village*", *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 18, p. 83, 1958.
  7. T. N. ATRE: *Op. cit.*

TABLE No. 2

ANALYSIS OF THE BALUTEDAR FAMILIES OF 19 VILLAGES ON THE BASIS  
OF THEIR CLAN NAMES

Village	Mahar			Ramoshi			Mang		
	Sartape (Bansode)	Others	Total	Chavan	Others	Total	Lokhande	Others	Total
1. Dhakni	10	2	12	—	2	2	—	9	9
2. Bhatki	2	—	2	2	—	2	1	1	2
3. Devapur	16	—	16	8	17	25	1	—	1
4. Hingni	13	2	15	10	1	11	2	—	2
5. Shirtav	4	8	12	9	—	9	—	6	6
6. Paryanti	15	1	16	—	3	3	—	3	3
7. Dhuldeo	5	—	5	2	—	2	5	—	5
8. Dhamni	—	4	4	2	—	2	—	1	1
9. Jambhulni	—	20	20	4	—	4	—	3	3
10. Pulkoti	7	3	10	3	12	15	1	—	1
11. Ranjani	9	2	11	1	6	7	3	—	3
12. Gangoti	4	—	4	9	5	14	—	7	7
13. Injabav	18	—	18	2	—	2	5	9	14
14. Vaki	1	—	1	3	—	3	1	2	3
15. Khadaki	2	—	2	1	11	12	—	1	1
16. Karkhel	7	—	7	2	—	2	7	—	7
17. Sambhukhed	2	—	2	—	3	3	—	6	6
18. Varkute	12	—	12	12	3	15	6	1	7
19. Panvan	—	12	12	—	18	18	—	13	13

Three clans, Sartape (also known as Bansode), Chavan and Lokhande belonging to Mahar, Ramoshi and Mang castes respectively were the native balutedar clans of Mhasvad, possessing rights to serve the wadis of Mhasvad also. From the table it will be observed that the families belonging to these clans were to be found in the majority of the villages. All the three clans were in nine villages and only two clans, Sartape and Chavan, were found in four villages. Thus it is obvious that the inheritance of baluta rights gave rise to the Kasba-Mouje complex.

A further light is thrown on this problem by the Brahmans of Mhasvad. The Brahmans had 'Kulkarni Watan' (hereditary right to work as a revenue clerk and to receive baluta and other payments for such work). Those possessing the 'Kulkarni Watan' of Mhasvad proper, excluding the Wadis, were called 'Kasbekar' (possessing Kulkarni Watan of Kasba or the main town) and those

possessing 'Kulkarni Watan' of wadis were called Barwadkar (Kulkarni of twelve wadis). These twelve wadis, as reported by some elderly Brahmans who had served as Kulkarnis, were as follows: (1) Bangar wadi, (2) Irkar wadi, (3) Masai and Bone wadi, (4) Masal wadi, (5) Shirtao, (6) Divad, (7) Bhatki, (8) Vaki, (9) Varkute, (10) Palsavade, (11) Devapur, and (12) Ranjani. Of these, the first four wadis were still the wadis of Mhasvad while the rest had grown into villages. In map No. 7 the twelve wadis and those villages having Mhasvad as a market town but which are not wadis of Mhasvad are shown.

#### 4. *Payments to balutedars:*

In the two villages, balutedars were paid for their services in four ways:

(a) Gift land, (b) cooked food, (c) meals on ceremonial occasions and (d) payment of grain at the time of harvest. Some balutedars were paid in all the four ways while others were paid in less than four ways. The details of the payments made are discussed below.

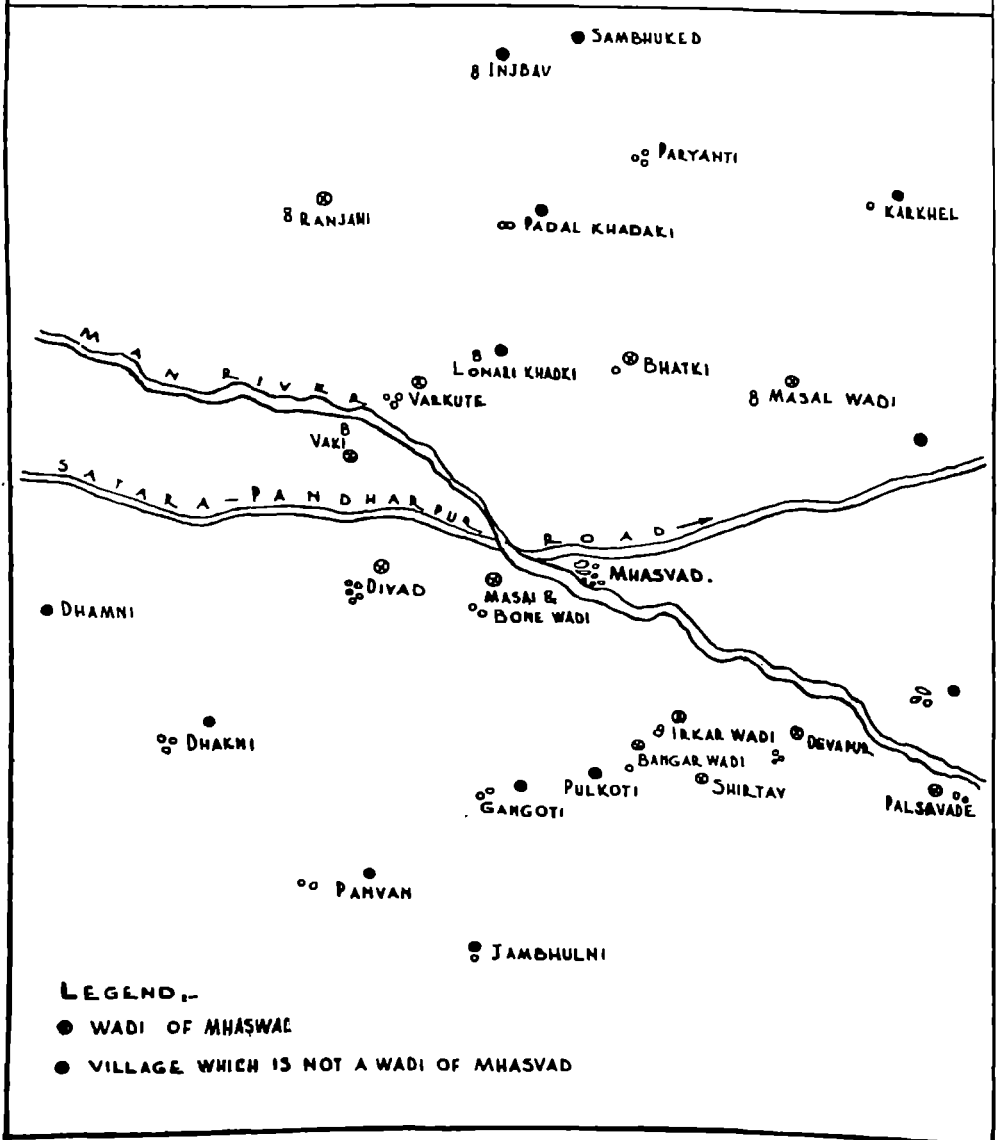
(a) Gift land. — Inam or gift land was given to Gurav (seven acres) and Ramoshi (78 acres) in Divad and to Ramoshi (305 acres) in Palsavade. In this area, besides the above mentioned balutedars, other balutedars like Mahar, Mulani and Brahman (Kulkarni) also possessed Inam land. The village records of Divad and Palsavade showed that formerly Mahars in the two villages had possessed Inam land for their services to the government, but in course of time these Inams were abolished and Mahars now receive fixed cash payment from the government.

(b) Cooked food. — Cooked food was given by farmers to those balutedars who were conventionally allowed to collect this form of payment. Such balutedars would go round the village two times in a day, morning and evening, and collect cooked food, mostly pieces of jwar bread, from every household. Only a fixed number of individuals were allowed to collect food. In both the villages the two village servants, Taral and Rakhwaldar, collected food two times in a day. Since these posts rotated among the members of the respective castes, only the office-holders were allowed this privilege.

In Divad, besides the two village servants mentioned above, two persons, one Holar and other Mang, were given cooked food three times in a week for their services as musicians to the village gods. Similarly in Palsavade the Koli family received one jwar bread per family on alternate days from those who utilized his services as a water supplier.

MAP No.7

SHOWS THE TWELVE WADIS OF MHASVAD, AND THE REMAINING VILLAGES WHICH ARE NOT WADIS OF MHASVAD.



(c) *Meals on ceremonial occasions*:— On ceremonial occasions like marriage, it was customary to invite balutedars for dinner, since they had special duties to perform on these occasions. Balutedars belonging to superior castes were given uncooked items of food called 'Shidha' like wheat flour, ghee, pulses, spices etc., since traditionally superior caste people were not supposed to eat food cooked by any inferior caste.

Similarly on the occasion of every festival of Hindus, food was given by the farmers to those balutedars who came round to take it.

The well-to-do farmers gave meals on ceremonial occasions like marriage to the majority of the balutedars. But poorer farmers who were not in a position to spend much invited only a limited number of persons from each balutedar caste. Castes like Ramoshis and Mahars who were the servants of the entire village, chose their own representatives for attending ceremonial dinners.

(d) *Payment at the time of harvest*. — Every farmer made grain payments to various balutedars, who had rendered services to him. Occasionally farmers also gave other farm products like vegetables to balutedars. However, in the baluta system grain payment occupied an important place. There were certain unwritten principles on the basis of which farmers made payments to balutedars. The regulative principles were, the area of land, the number of cattle owned, the number of males in the family etc. The barber was paid on the basis of the number of male members in the family, the carpenter on the basis of wooden ploughs, Mang on the basis of the acreage of land tilled, and in the same way other balutedars were paid. However, there was no rigidity about payments and variation was possible due to extraneous circumstances like failure of crops, famine condition etc. The details of the actual payment made by the farmers to balutedars at the time of the last harvest were collected during the course of investigation and the findings and various implications are discussed in following paragraphs.

The number of families in the two villages who paid baluta to various balutedars is shown in Table No. 3.

Generally speaking, baluta payment was made by all those who were engaged in farming. However, the majority of the farmers who actually cultivated the land belonged to traditional farming castes. Land-owners belonging to non-farming castes gave their land for cultivation to traditional farmers on crop-share basis or on the basis of fixed rent in the form of grain or cash, as a general rule. When this was the case, baluta was paid by the tenant and not by the land-owner. However, for services of Nhavi and for other personal services,

TABLE No. 3

## NUMBER OF FAMILIES PAYING BALUTA IN THE TWO VILLAGES

Balutedar	Divad	Palsavade
	No. of families paying Baluta	No. of families paying Baluta
Sutar	179	30
Lohar	83	—
Nhavi	176	29
Holar	175	22
Mahar	173	31
Mang	184	—
Ramoshi	182	30
Mulani	42	27
Dhor	82	—
Koli	—	10
Gurav	124	16
Brahman	—	7

the land-owner paid baluta. Similarly among balutedars, those who owned land exchanged their services among themselves and as such they were not required to make grain payments.

It will be observed from the table that in Divad the number of families paying baluta to Sutar, Nhavi, Holar, Mahar, Mang, Ramoshi was significantly high as compared with other balutedars. Similarly in Palsavade, Sutar, Nhavi, Mahar, Ramoshi figured prominently. The reason for this difference is to be found in the nature of the services performed by these balutedars. Except Mahar and Ramoshi who were village servants, others like Sutar, Holar, Nhavi and Mang performed services which were very useful to farmers in their agricultural activities or for fulfilling other social needs. Although Mahars and Ramoshis did not perform useful services in agriculture, in the village administration their work was essential and as a result they were paid by most of the farmers. There was yet another reason why people usually paid baluta to Mahars and Ramoshis. These two castes were notorious for anti-social activities. Mahars were notorious for poisoning cattle and Ramoshis for theft of crop with a view to avenging those farmers who refused to pay them baluta. As a result, the majority of the farmers preferred paying baluta to Mahar and Ramoshis rather than risking the property. Thus it can be said that the villagers found the services of Sutar, Nhavi, Mang and Holar more useful as compared with others.



As a result of a general famine condition, farmers in Divad found it difficult to pay baluta to all and there was a tendency among people to pay baluta only to those balutedars whose services were essential. In Palsavade, on the other hand, due to the advantage of Mhasvad tank, agriculture was more prosperous and certain and as a result farmers were in a position to pay balutedars adequately. In Divad 26 families belonging to traditional farming castes and having agriculture as the main occupation were unable to pay baluta because of the famine condition, while in Palsavade only one family was not in a position to pay baluta because of the failure of crop. This shows that the baluta system in Divad was put to lot of strain as a result of a famine condition. This had resulted into growing unwillingness among farmers of Divad to pay baluta to those balutedars whose services were not essential. This is borne out by Table No. 4.

TABLE NO. 4

PERCENTAGES OF THE FAMILIES PAYING BALUTA  
IN THE TOTAL FAMILIES BELONGING TO  
TRADITIONAL FARMING CASTES, IN THE TWO  
VILLAGES

	Percentage of the families paying Baluta	
	Divad	Palsavade
Gurav	53.45	48.85
Sutar	73.27	84.85
Nhavi	73.27	84.85
Holar	73.27	66.67
Mahar	72.84	90.91
Ramoshi	75.00	90.91
Mulani	21.12	78.79

The table gives percentages of families belonging to traditional farming castes paying baluta in the total families belonging to traditional farming castes. The reason for confining only to traditional farming castes is that agriculture was largely confined to these castes. Also, owners of land belonging to non-farming castes were in the habit of renting their land to traditional farmers for actual cultivation. Hence instead of making a general comparison of families paying baluta in the two villages, comparison of families belonging to traditional farming castes only, will be more significant. Similarly, only those balutedars who were to be found in both the villages are chosen for comparison.

It will be observed from the table that the greater number of families in Palsavade have paid baluta to various balutedars except Gurav and Holar

as compared to similar figures in Divad. In Divad the Holar was paid by 73.27% families while in Palsavade he was paid by 66.67% families. This might be due to the fact that the Holar in Divad was performing religious duties like beating drum before village gods besides his regular leather work. Also in Palsavade Holar was not a resident balutedar of the village. As regards Gurav who was paid by greater number of families belonging to Divad, one important thing which needs to be considered is, Gurav in Palsavade did not possess full ritual status since he was a Dhangar. This fact might have affected his position in Palsavade. Apart from these two balutedars, it will be observed that the percentages of families paying baluta to various balutedars were much higher in Palsavade than in Divad.

Similarly the importance of various services to the farming community had also affected the behaviour pattern in the two villages. Services of Mahar, Ramoshi and Mulani were not regarded as essential by the farmers while the services of Sutar and Nhavi were considered as essential. The difference in the percentages of families paying baluta to non-essential balutedars was greater as compared with the difference in regard to essential balutedars, as it will be observed from Table No. 5 shown below.

TABLE No. 5

SHOWS PERCENTAGES OF THE FAMILIES PAYING BALUTA IN THE TWO VILLAGES AND THE DIFFERENCE

	Not essential			Essential	
	Mahar	Ramoshi	Mulani	Sutar	Nhavi
Palsavade	90.91	90.91	78.79	84.85	84.85
Divad	72.84	75.00	21.12	73.27	73.27
Difference	18.07	15.91	57.67	11.58	11.58

The quantity of the baluta paid:

The utility of various services to the farmer was a determining factor in the quantity of baluta paid to various balutedars. Table No. 6 gives the mean value of baluta paid to various balutedars by families in Divad and Palsavade.

TABLE No. 6

SHOWS MEAN VALUE OF THE BALUTA PAID TO  
VARIOUS BALUTEDARS, IN THE TWO VILLAGES

Balutedar	Divad	Palsavade
	Mean Value	Mean Value
Gurav	1.53	1.5
Sutar	5.07	9.6
Lohar	1.97	—
Nhavi	2.9	12.74
Holar	1.7	1.54
Mahar	1.66	2.53
Mang	10.07	—
Ramoshi	1.8	2.4
Mulani	1.6	1.72
Dhor	1.9	—
Bhahman	—	1.78
Koli	—	22.6

Payments to various balutedars varied from one seer to 88 seers. In Palsavade payments did not go beyond 40 seers while in Divad two families paid 88 seers to Mang. From the table it will be observed that in Divad, Mang, Sutar, and Nhavi received larger quantity of baluta as compared to others. Similarly, in Palsavade, Koli, Nhavi, and Sutar were highly paid balutedars as compared to others. These balutedars were performing useful services and as a result, they were given larger quantity of baluta. Farmers used to regard Mang, Sutar and Nhavi as important balutedars. Another thing which is obvious from the table is that in general, payments made to balutedars in Palsavade were much larger than the payments made in Divad. This was a result of famine conditions in Divad and prosperous agriculture in Palsavade.

To sum up, we find that the number of families paying baluta was greater in Palsavade than in Divad; the amount of baluta paid was greater in Palsavade than in Divad; and the number of families who were unable to pay baluta as a result of the famine condition was greater in Divad than in Palsavade.

The strain on the baluta system of Divad was manifest in yet another way. As a result of a general famine condition, 13 families in Divad resorted to cash payments, thus making the relationship with the craftsmen more contractual as against the traditional and stable relationship involved in the baluta system. In Palsavade nobody made cash payments.

Thus it is evident that the baluta system in Divad had to face a considerable strain as a result of famine conditions while baluta system in Palsavade was more stable.

## CHAPTER III

## FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

## I - Family

In Maharashtra the family type which is most common is the patrilineal, patrilocal, joint or elementary family. Although the family type is predominantly agnatic in character, it is not uncommon to meet non-agnatic relatives living as members of the family, in such a family. These relatives would be, for example, a widowed daughter and her children, a son-in-law, wife's brothers and her parents. Thus the family type which one frequently meets in Maharashtra is not pure agnatic family, but it shows influence of matrilineal cultural traits. For the purpose of this study, a family is regarded as a group of agnates and those non-agnates living as members of the family, functioning as an economic unit and sharing the same kitchen. Various aspects of the family in the two villages are discussed below.

1. Size of the family: The task of determining the size of the family, although a simple one, became complicated due to periodic and long term migrations of people, as well as customary movement of married females between their natal family and husband's family. It was decided while determining the size of the family not to include those family members who were staying outside for more than one year, but short-term migrants were included in the family. Similarly, married daughters of the family who had come on a short visit were excluded from the membership of the family, while daughters-in-law who had gone on a short visit to their parent's place were included as members of the family. Table No. 1 shows size of the family in the two villages, according to caste.

TABLE No. 1

## SIZE OF THE FAMILY

Size	No. of Families	
	Divad	Palsavade
Small (1 to 6)	234	37
Large (7 to 13)	55	19
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>50</b>

Families are grouped into two classes : (a) small, consisting of 1 to 6 persons and (b) large, consisting of 7 to 13 persons. Since no family had more than 13 persons, this number is taken as an upper limit. It will be observed from the table that in Divad 81% of the families were small and 19% were large. In Palsavade 74% of the total families were small and 26% were large. Similarly in Divad the proportion of the small families in the total families is more as compared with Palsavade. This might be due to greater rate of migration from Divad due to famine condition.

It was felt that the occupation of farming as compared with non-farming occupations would require services of greater number of persons for performing various agricultural tasks. As a result, the traditional farming community, comprising of Maratha, Dhangar and Lonari castes in the two villages, might be in favour of staying in large families as compared with the non-farming castes. To test this contention, analysis of the family size among farming and non-farming castes is attempted and the results are shown in Table No. 2 below.

TABLE No. 2  
SIZE OF THE FAMILY AMONG FARMING AND NON-FARMING CASTES, IN  
THE TWO VILLAGES

	No. of families							
	Divad				Palsavade			
	Farmers		Non-farmers		Farmers		Non-farmers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 - 6	186	80.17	48	84.21	23	69.70	14	82.35
7 - 13	46	19.83	9	15.79	10	30.30	3	17.65
<b>TOTAL</b>	232	100.00	57	100.00	33	100.00	17	100.00

From the table it will be observed that in Divad the percentage of the large families among the farming castes was 19.83% and that among the non-farming castes was 15.79%. Similarly in Palsavade large families were 30.30% among the farming castes and 17.65% among the non-farming castes. Thus it can be said that in Palsavade as well as in Divad large families were more among farmers as compared with non-farmers. This difference was considerable in Palsavade. The lesser percentage of the large families among the farming castes of Divad as compared with Palsavade was, as it will be shown later, due to large scale migration.

2. Family types: In the two villages, families were of two types : (a) elementary, and (b) joint. Both these family types were agnatic in regard to kinship composition. However, there were some joint families where non-agnates were staying as family members. Hence two sub-types of the joint family are recognized, namely, (1) agnatic and (2) mixed. Similarly elementary family is divided into two sub-types: broken elementary and normal elementary. A family where only one spouse, husband or wife, was alive, is regarded as broken elementary, and where both were alive, is regarded as normal elementary family. Hence there is reason to believe that although joint important in both the villages.

TABLE No. 3

## FAMILY TYPES IN THE TWO VILLAGES

Type	Divad	Palsavade
Elementary:		
a) Normal	50	6
b) Broken	110	22
Joint:		
a) Agnatic	104	17
b) Mixed joint	25	5
TOTAL	289	50

It will be observed from the table that in Divad out of 289 families, 160 (55.36%) were elementary, and 129 (44.64%) were joint. Similarly in Palsavade out of 50 families 28 (56%) were elementary and 22 (44%) were joint. It can be said that in both the villages joint families were less in number as compared with elementary families. Although this was so, by definition a joint family is a large group covering larger number of persons as compared with an elementary family. Hence there is a reason to believe that although joint families were round about 44% in both the villages, yet the number of persons living in the joint families would be much more than 44% of the total population of each village. Thus it would be reasonable to conclude that although an elementary family was slowly becoming more common, the joint family was important in both the villages.

To see whether there was any preference for the joint family among the farming castes as compared with the non-farming castes an analysis of the family types among the farmers and the non-farmers is attempted and the results are shown in Table No. 4.

TABLE No. 4

## FAMILY TYPES AMONG FARMING CASTES AND NON-FARMING CASTES, IN THE TWO VILLAGES

Type	Divad				Palsavade			
	Farmers		Non-farmers		Farmers		Non-farmers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Elementary	126	54.31	34	59.65	18	54.55	10	58.82
Joint	106	45.69	23	40.35	15	45.45	7	41.18
TOTAL	232	100.00	57	100.00	33	100.00	17	100.00

It will be observed from the table that the percentage distribution shows remarkable similarity for the farming and non-farming castes of the two villages. Percentages for the elementary families for the farming castes in Divad and Palsavade are 54.31% and 54.55% respectively and for non-farming castes are 59.65% and 58.82% for Divad and Palsavade respectively. Similarly, percentages for the joint family among the farming castes are 45.69% and 45.45% and among the non-farming castes are 40.35% and 41.18% for Divad and Palsavade respectively. This shows that in both the villages non-farming castes had slightly greater number of elementary families as compared with the farming castes. However, there was no variation between the two villages. Hence it can be said that there was no structural change in the family as a result of famine condition. The only change produced by the famine was in relation to size.

3. Generation depth : Another characteristic which needs to be taken into consideration while discussing the structure of the family is generation depth. Classification of the families on the basis of generation depth is shown in table No. 5.

TABLE No. 5

## CLASSIFICATION OF THE FAMILIES ON THE BASIS OF GENERATION DEPTH

	GENERATION									
	One		Two		Three		Four		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Divad	48	16.61	170	58.82	66	22.84	5	1.73	289	100.00
Palsavade	5	10.00	34	68.00	11	22.00	—	—	50	100.00

It will be observed that in both the villages families having four generation depth were rare. In Palsavade such families were altogether absent while in Divad they were few in numbers. The majority of the families had two generation depth in both the villages. Families with one generation depth were greater in Divad as compared with Palsavade.

4. Non-agnates as family members : Non-agnates were found to be staying as permanent family members in 25 families in Divad and five families in Palsavade. These non-agnates were mainly of three types : (a) daughters of the family coming back to their parent's home for support in case of widowhood, (b) wife's kin, like her parents and other near kin, and (c) one's son-in-law staying as 'ghar-javai' (i.e. a person who stays in one's father-in-law's house and inherits his property, when the father-in-law does not have any male issue). Analysis of the non-agnatic joint families in the two villages on the basis of the types of non-agnates is shown in Table No. 6 below.

TABLE No. 6  
ANALYSIS OF THE NON-AGNATIC JOINT FAMILIES ON  
THE BASIS OF THE TYPES OF NON-AGNATES

Types of Non-agnates	Divad	Palsavade
a) Daughters of the family	12	5
b) Wife's Kin	9	—
c) Son-in-law (Ghar-Jivai)	4	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>

Thus it will be seen that there was a considerable influence of the southern pattern on the composition of the family. In North India, a woman enjoys less freedom in her conjugal family,<sup>1</sup> which is not the case in Maharashtra, where a woman enjoys more freedom not only in her natal family but also in her conjugal family.<sup>2</sup> She can give shelter to her kin. Similarly her parents can visit her frequently. In the investigation undertaken for another project in the village Varkute which is five miles from Divad, the author came across a case of a woman who had visited her daughter more than hundred times in one year.

1. MARRIOT MCKIM: "Social Structure and Change in a U. P. Village", *The Economic Weekly*, Vol. IV, August, 1952.
2. KARVE IRAWATI: "Kinship Terminology and Usages of the Maratha Country", *Bulletin of the Deccan College*, Vol. 2, No. 1 and 2, Poona, 1940.



After marriage a girl always moves to and fro between her conjugal family and natal family. The responsibility of parents to support their daughter does not cease completely after her marriage. At the time of her first delivery and sometimes successive deliveries, a girl goes back to her natal family. Similarly at the time of important Hindu festivals every father is expected to bring his daughter home and send her back afterwards with some gift. In the event of widowhood and destitution a girl can always rely for support on her father's family. Hence it can be said that the family pattern in Maharashtra shows a considerable influence of the southern pattern.<sup>3</sup>

5. The characteristic feature of the joint family in contemporary times is that although such a family gets spatially divided, the family members continue to fulfil their socio-economic obligations towards their original joint family.<sup>4</sup> In Divad 61 families and in Palsavade two families had some family members staying outside the village for more than one year's time. Although these members were thus separated from their joint families, majority of them were fulfilling socio-economic obligations towards their joint families by giving financial help and by paying occasional visits. Thus in Divad out of 61 such families, 9 were receiving financial help, another 9 only visits and 34 both help and visits of their members staying outside. Only 9 families from the above 61 families did not report any such relationship with their members staying outside. Similarly both such families in Palsavade had received help and visits from their family members.

To sum up, it can be said that the effect of the famine condition was noticeable so far as the size of the family was concerned but the family structure was not affected.

## *II - Marriage*

### 1. Restrictions and preferences :

a) Restrictions: At the time of marriage, in Maharashtra, various exogamic restrictions have to be taken into consideration while selecting a mate. The most important and widely prevalent restriction is clan exogamy. People are not allowed to marry members belonging to the same clan. Clan exogamy is practised by all the castes except Brahmans who practise gotra exogamy. Although gotras are similar to agnatic clans of the non-Brahmans, there are other rules of avoidance like Pravara exogamy observed by the Brahmans which distinguishes them

3. KARVE IRAWATI: "*Kinship Organization in India*", Poona, 1953.

4. DESAI, I. P.: "*The Joint Family in India — An Analysis*", in *The Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. V. No. 2, Bombay.

from the non-Brahman castes. Hence gotra exogamy is differentiated from clan exogamy. Thus the rule observed by castes other than the Brahmans is avoidance of persons belonging to the same clan at the time of marriage. However, sometimes two clans having different clan names happen to be agnatically related to each other. Such clans are regarded as 'brother-clans' by people. Under these circumstances the fundamental rule of exogamy, namely 'Devak exogamy' which is implicit in the clan exogamy, is adhered to. Devaka which is worshipped at the time of marriage may be any living thing or an artifact, or creeper or leaves of certain trees etc. Families worshipping the same 'Devak' form one exogamous group. Usually each clan has its separate 'Devak' but instances of two or three clans having the same Devak are not unknown. In the two villages studied, Devak exogamy was the basic rule of avoidance. There were no other restrictions like the village exogamy which is prevalent in North India.

b) Preferences : The marriage practice in Maharashtra is very much influenced by the southern pattern, and this is reflected in preference given to kin marriage by all the castes. Marriage of a person with mother's brother's daughter is regarded as the most preferred type of kin marriage.

## 2. Marriages in the two villages :

Every informant was asked to give information of the marriages of his family members, present as well as past. No limit of generations or years was placed. However, no informant remembered marriages of his relatives belonging to his grand-parent's generation, which placed the limit of three generations to marriage data, namely, parental generation, present generation and filial generation. Total number of marriages thus recorded were 627 in Divad and 132 in Palsavade. Detailed analysis of the marriages in the two villages is attempted below :

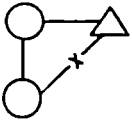
a) Kin and non-kin marriages : Out of 627 marriages in Divad and 132 marriages in Palsavade, 191 (30.05%) marriages in Divad and 40 (30.30%) marriages in Palsavade were kin-marriages. The types of relationships involved in these kin marriages are shown below :

(From the point of view of a girl) :

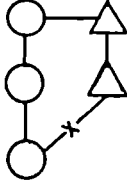
1. With mother's brother
2. With mother's classificatory brother
  - a) With mother's mother's brother's son
  - b) With mother's mother's father's brother's son's son

# GENELOGICAL DIAGRAMS OF KIN MARRIAGES

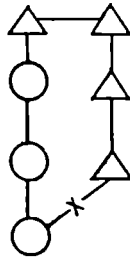
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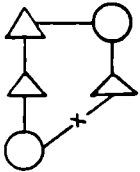
No. 2-a.



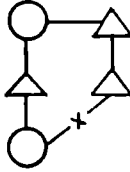
No. 2-b



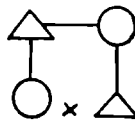
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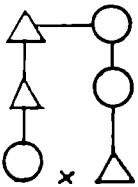
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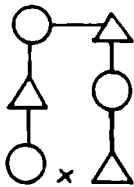
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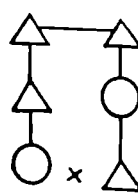
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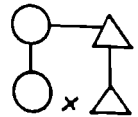
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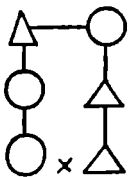
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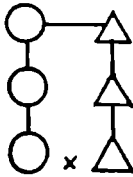
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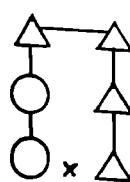
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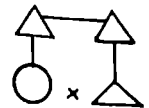
No. 7-b.



No. 7-c.



No. 8.



3. With father's cross-cousin
  - a) With father's father's sister's son
  - b) With father's mother's brother's son
4. With father's sister's son
5. With father's classificatory sister's son
  - a) With father's father's sister's daughter's son
  - b) With father's mother's brother's daughter's son
  - c) With father's father's brother's daughter's son
6. With mother's brother's son
7. With mother's classificatory brother's son
  - a) With mother's father's sister's son's son
  - b) With mother's mother's brother's son's son
  - c) With mother's father's brother's son's son
8. With father's brother's son

Table 7 shows classification of marriages into kin and non-kin marriages.

TABLE NO. 7

## KIN AND NON-KIN MARRIAGES IN THE TWO VILLAGES

Type of marriage	Divad	Palsavade
<b>Kin marriages:</b>		
1. With Mother's Brother	2	—
2. With Mother's Classificatory Brother	5	1
3. With Father's Cross-cousin	4	1
4. With Father's Sister's Son	82	16
5. With Father's Classificatory Sister's Son	9	2
6. With Mother's Brother's Son	21	5
7. With Mother's Classificatory Brother's Son	5	1
8. With Father's Brother's Son	1	1
9. Distant Kin marriages	62	13
<b>Non-Kin marriages</b>	<b>436</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>627</b>	<b>132</b>

It will be observed from the table that although kin marriages were practised by people, the majority of the marriages were with non-kin. Non-kin marriages were 436 in Divad and 92 in Palsavade, approximately 70% in both the villages. Among kin marriages, marriage of a girl with her father's sister's son (No. 4) was most popular and such marriages were 82 in Divad and 16 in Palsavade. Similarly, marriage of a girl with mother's brother, mother's classificatory brother and father's cross-cousin were noted. Such cases were 11 in number.

Among non-kin marriages, one special type needs mention here. This is marriage by exchange. Such cases were 4 in Divad and 2 in Palsavade and the castes were Maratha, Dhangar, Ramoshi and Mang. In Maharashtra exchange marriages are looked down upon and they convey a sense of low social status. When parents are too poor to pay bride-price they resort to exchange marriage.<sup>5</sup>

b) Dowry : Money transaction forms an important part of marriage ceremony in Maharashtra and is prevalent in two forms: (1) bride-price which is given to the parents of the bride, and (2) bride-groom-price given to the groom by the father of the bride. The bridegroom-price is popular mainly among the Brahmans and well-to-do Marathas. However, among the poorer castes bride-price is the only mode of payment in vogue.

Marriage data collected from the two villages shows 66 cases of bride-price and 5 cases of bride-groom-price. Of the 66 cases of bride-price, 64 were from Divad and 2 were from Palsavade. The caste-wise break up of the 64 cases in Divad is as follows : 23 Maratha, 25 Dhangar, 2 each among Sutar, Nhavi, Holar and Wadar, 4 Mahar, 3 Mang and 1 Lohar. The two cases of bride-price in Palsavade were from Dhangar caste. Similarly, all the 5 cases of bridegroom-price were from Divad, 4 among Marathas and 1 among Dhangars.

Whether the marriage is with kin or non-kin does not seem to have any bearing on the payment of bride-price or bridegroom-price. Out of 67 cases of dowry in Divad, 24 were in connection with kin marriages and 43 were in connection with non-kin marriages. In Palsavade only two cases were noted and both were in connection with non-kin marriages.

The amount of the bride-price and the bridegroom-price paid is shown in table No. 8 below.

TABLE No. 8  
THE AMOUNT OF THE BRIDE-PRICE AND BRIDEGROOM-PRICE PAID  
IN THE TWO VILLAGES

Amount	No. of cases			
	Bride-price		Bridegroom-price	
	Divad	Palsavade	Divad	Palsavade
1 — 25	2	—	—	—
26 — 50	22	1	—	—
51 — 75	3	—	—	—
76 — 100	8	1	1	—
101 — 200	16	—	4	—
201 — 300	6	—	—	—
301 and above	7	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>—</b>

It will be observed from the table that in the majority of the cases the amount paid did not exceed Rs. 300. Only in 7 cases the amount exceeded Rs. 300.

In the case of marriage where payment of bride-price or bridegroom-price was not reported, some gifts like dress for the groom, saris for the bride etc. were given. Hence it can be said that payment of bride-price or bridegroom-price or small gifts was an important aspect of the marriage custom of the village people. However, due to economic poverty of the village people these transactions were confined to a small amount.

c) Territorial extension: In Maharashtra there is no ban against marriage within the village as is the case in the North India. There is a general tendency among people not to give their daughters far away from the village. After the marriage the daughter is not lost to the family but she frequently comes home on various occasions. Due to this cultural pattern people have a tendency to give their daughters in nearby villages so as to facilitate her moving to and fro. As a result, local marriages were favoured by people. However there were certain limitations put on the occurrence of local marriages. These limitations were various exogamic restrictions, clan composition of caste etc.

In the two villages, in the case of those castes which were composed of only one clan, the question of local marriages did not arise. In Divad such castes were Sonar, Gurav, Davari, Vani, Brahman, Lohar, Mahar, Holar, Dhor and Wadar. In Palsavade Lonari, Koli and Mang were uni-clan castes. The remaining multi-clan castes in both the villages practised local marriages.

Out of 627 marriages recorded in Divad, 133 were local marriages (21.22%). Similarly in Palsavade out of 132 marriages, 23 were local marriages (17.42%). 494 marriages in Divad and 109 marriages in Palsavade were non-local marriages. These non-local marriages had affined 130 villages with Divad and 51 villages with Palsavade. In table No. 9 the analysis of these affined villages is given on the basis of the frequency of marriages reported.

TABLE No. 9

## VILLAGES AFFINED

	No. of villages having marriages from							Total
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31 and above	
Divad	110	10	3	1	2	2	2	130
Palsavade	47	3	1	—	—	—	—	51

It will be observed from the table that Divad had intensive marriage relationships with ten villages out of 130 villages. All these ten villages showed frequency of more than 10 marriages and all of them were situated within the distance of 10 miles from Divad. However, out of these 10 places, two small towns, Mhasvad and Kukudwad, showed greater concentration of marriage relationships, showing 37 and 36 marriages respectively. Palsavade, being a small village, does not show such a greater concentration of marriage relationships. Only one village, Lingire showed more than ten marriages. Three villages, Devapur, Hingni and Khutbao showed 6 to 10 marriages. Khutbao was 15 miles from Palsavade while rest of the three villages were within the distance of five miles.

Table No. 10 shows analysis of marriages in each caste according to distance.

TABLE No. 10

## CLASSIFICATION OF MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO DISTANCE

Caste	Distance							
	Divad				Palsavade			
	1-15	16-30	Above 30	Total	1-15	16-30	Above 30	Total
Maratha	256	38	29	323	30	5	2	37
Dhangar	152	5	3	160	46	3	4	53
Lonari	8	4	1	13	3	—	—	3
Brahman	—	3	1	4	—	—	—	—
Gurav	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
Sutar	6	1	1	8	—	—	—	—
Nhavi	4	2	—	6	—	—	—	—
Lohar	1	1	—	2	—	—	—	—
Davari	3	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Vani	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Sonar	—	1	1	2	—	—	—	—
Koli	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Mahar	21	2	1	24	11	3	—	14
Mang	29	3	3	35	1	—	—	1
Ramoshi	7	2	3	12	15	5	3	23
Holar	16	1	2	19	—	—	—	—
Dhor	3	3	—	6	—	—	—	—
Wadar	1	1	—	2	—	—	—	—
Musalman	1	2	2	5	—	—	—	—
Total	508	70	49	627	107	16	9	132

It will be observed that except Brahman, Gurav, Vani, Sonar, Wadar, and Musalman, the remaining castes had most of their marriage alliances within the distance of 15 miles. Some castes like Brahman, Gurav, Vani, Sonar were mainly to be found in towns and as such their marriage alliances were more spread out.

Similarly, taking the general pattern into consideration, it can be seen that a little over 81% of the total marriages were confined to a distance of 15 miles. Thus it can be said that a territorial circle of 15 mile radius was an effective circle of endogamy for two villages taken as a whole as well as for the majority of the castes in the two villages. This behavioural pattern is culturally nearer to south India where the majority of the marriage relationships are usually confined to smaller territorial circle.<sup>6</sup>



## CHAPTER IV

### MIGRATION

#### *Introduction*

1. One of the characteristic features of the village community in this area is the migratory behaviour of farming and non-farming population. Every year, a large percentage of the village population from this area migrates in search of jobs. Some go to industrial areas as labourers, others go as farm labourers to more prosperous agricultural areas where money crops, especially sugarcane, are grown. In addition to these the shepherds also migrate in search of pastures for their sheep. From these three classes of migrants, shepherds are a special class. In Maharashtra, they generally occupy the eastern belt which is rather barren and not cultivated intensely by farmers. The grass dries up quickly after the rains and even the small bush withers by early December. Then the great trek of shepherds starts in search of grazing land.

The migratory behaviour of the people in this area is not a temporary phenomenon but it has become a permanent necessity of life of villagers in this area. Due to various irrigation schemes undertaken by the government, the famine belt in Maharashtra is rapidly changing. In Man Taluka also a few irrigation schemes like Ranand Tank and Pingli Tank have been completed but their benefits are not received by the villages nearby Mhasvad. To this day the area between Gondavale to the west and Piliv to the east is as barren and famine affected as it was some centuries ago.

The tradition of migration, in this area, is more than a century old. Although every year is a semi-famine year, severe famines are also frequent. Among the most severe famines in the past which caused tremendous emigration, were the famines of 1792, 1803, 1824 and 1876. About the famine of 1876 the District Gazetteer writes, '... In the recent severe famine of 1876-77, large numbers, both the Kunbis and lower castes, went to Bombay and Berars. This movement was only a development under a passing emergency, of a custom which for years has existed in the east of the district, among the labouring classes, who rarely find local work, either in the hot weather or in the early rains. Since the great development of trade and demand for labour in Bombay, this movement in many cases has become yearly.'<sup>1</sup> This goes to show that migration has become a permanent way of life of many villagers of this area.

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1. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* — District Satara, Vol. XIX, p. 50, 1885.

## I - Migration from the two villages

## 1. Volume of Migration:

Migration of one or more family members was reported by 130 families in Divad and 10 families in Palsavade. In Table No. 1 castewise distribution of the families reporting migration is shown.

TABLE No. 1  
CLASSIFICATION OF MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT FAMILIES ACCORDING  
TO CASTE

Caste	Divad			Palsavade		
	Total families	Families reporting migration		Total families	Families reporting migration	
		No.	%age		No.	%age
Maratha	157	54	34.39	13	2	15.38
Dhangar	70	42	60.00	19	7	36.84
Lonari	5	3	60.00	1	—	—
Brahman	1	—	—	—	—	—
Gurav	3	1	33.33	—	—	—
Sutar	3	—	—	—	—	—
Nhavi	3	2	66.67	—	—	—
Lohar	1	—	—	—	—	—
Davari	1	—	—	—	—	—
Vani	1	—	—	—	—	—
Sonar	1	—	—	—	—	—
Koli	—	—	—	1	—	—
Mahar	10	9	90.00	8	—	—
Mang	13	7	53.85	1	—	—
Ramoshi	6	4	66.67	7	—	—
Holar	7	3	42.86	—	1	12.05
Dhor	2	2	100.00	—	—	—
Wadar	1	1	100.00	—	—	—
Musalman	4	2	50.00	—	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>44.98</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20.00</b>

In Divad migration was reported by 12 castes out of 18. Castes which did not report migration were Brahman, Sutar, Lohar, Davari, Vani and Sonar. As compared with other castes the volume of migration was largest among Mahars, being 90% of the total families of this caste.<sup>2</sup> In Palsavade three

2. In the study of the rural migrants in Bombay, Mahars constituted the majority (44.36%) among the sample respondents. See P. N. PRABHU: 'A Study on the Social Effects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers Migrating from Rural Areas to the City of Bombay' in Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization, UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956.

castes, Maratha, Dhangar and Ramoshi, reported migration, Dhangars showing the largest volume of migration as compared with the rest of the two castes.

Relationship of migration with occupation is shown in Table No. 2.

TABLE No. 2

## RELATIONSHIP OF MIGRATION WITH OCCUPATION

Main Occupation	Divad			Palsavade		
	Total No. of families	Families reporting migration		Total No. of families	Families reporting migration	
		No.	%age		No.	%age
Farming	211	90	42.65	15	2	13.33
Sheep-raising	8	7	87.50	18	7	38.89
Baluta work	47	26	55.32	16	1	6.25
Other	23	7	30.43	1	—	—
Total	289	130	44.98	50	10	20.00

Various occupations followed in the two villages can be conveniently grouped under four categories. These are farming, sheep-raising, baluta services and 'other occupations'. In the category of 'other occupations' are included occupations like shop-keeping, skilled work not included in the baluta system and salaried employment. Among the four types of occupations, sheep-raising and agriculture can be called 'primary' occupations which render support to baluta services and 'other occupations'. However, the dependence of baluta services on village agriculture was greater than that of the other occupations'. 'Since agriculture was precarious due to famine its impact was felt more by the balutedars. In Divad shepherds reported greater volume of migration (87.50%) as compared with others. Next to them were balutedars showing 55.32% migration. In Palsavade, as in Divad, shepherds reported greater volume of migration. The reason why shepherds in both the villages figured prominently as migrants was that migration was inherent in the very nature of their occupation. In Divad, next to shepherds were balutedars.

## 2. Types of Migration:

Migration of the people from the two villages was mainly of two types: (a) migration for grazing sheep and (b) migration for work. Migration for

grazing sheep is a 'nomadic' migration in search of pastures for sheep. Dhangars who are traditional shepherds constituted majority in this class of migrants. Migration for work is a migration of those people who leave their villages in search of jobs, either for a short and a specific period of time or for a longer and unspecified period of time. Migration for work in this way shows two sub-types: (a) short term or seasonal migration, (b) long term or non-seasonal migration. Table No. 3 shows types of migration according to caste.

TABLE No. 3  
TYPES OF MIGRATION ACCORDING TO CASTE

Caste	Divad			Palsavade		
	Migration for grazing sheep	Migration for work		Migration for grazing sheep	Migration for work	
		Seasonal	Non-seasonal		Seasonal	Non-seasonal
Maratha	12	12	34	—	—	2
Dhangar	10	23	11	7	—	—
Lonari	—	2	3	—	—	—
Brahman	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gurav	—	1	—	—	—	—
Sutar	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nhavi	—	—	2	—	—	—
Lohar	—	—	—	—	—	—
Davari	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vani	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sonar	—	—	—	—	—	—
Koli	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mahar	—	3	6	—	—	—
Mang	—	4	3	—	—	—
Ramoshi	—	4	1	—	1	—
Holar	—	3	—	—	—	—
Dhor	—	—	2	—	—	—
Wadar	—	1	—	—	—	—
Musalman	—	2	—	—	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

In Divad there were eight families who reported more than one type of migration and the remaining families reported only one type of migration. Hence the total of all the sub-types exceeds 130, the total number of families reporting migration. In Palsavade all the ten families reported only one type of migration. Migration for grazing sheep was largely confined to Dhangars, the traditional shepherds. Besides Dhangars there were twelve Maratha families from Divad reporting this type of migration.

Seasonal migration for work was reported by 55 families in Divad, of which 12 were Marathas, 23 Dhangars, 2 Lonaris, 1 Gurav, 3 Mahars, 4 Mangs, 4 Ramoshis, 3 Holars, 1 Wadar and 2 Musalmans. From Palsavade only one Ramoshi family reported seasonal migration. It will be seen that among seasonal migrants Dhangars were the majority. Similarly non-seasonal migration for work was reported by two Maratha families from Palsavade, and 62 families from Divad of which 34 were Marathas, 11 Dhangars, 3 Lonaris, 2 Nhavis, 6 Mahars, 3 Mangs, 1 Ramoshi and 2 Dhors. In this class of migrants Marathas were the majority.

Thus regarding the types of migration in relation to caste, it can be said that Dhangars showed preference for migration for grazing sheep and seasonal migration for work, while Marathas showed preference for non-seasonal migration. Regarding non-agricultural castes, the majority of whom were balutedars, it can be said that the greater percentage of families reported seasonal migration for work as compared with non-seasonal migration. The pattern of migration described above was consistent with the occupational roles of different castes. The seasonal migration of Dhangars for grazing sheep was inherent in the nature of their occupation which required dry climate. Similarly the balutedar castes had their baluta work in their village which they were not willing to give up permanently. However, the income from baluta work was not sufficient to maintain the family and as a result the balutedars usually preferred to migrate for a short period. Similarly the preference of farming castes like Marathas for non-seasonal migration was due to the fact that the migration was mainly due to famine which used to paralyse farming directly.

The three types of migration showed characteristic patterns in the case of the migrants from Divad who were sufficiently large in number. In the case of Palsavade, however, it is not possible to look for the pattern of migration, since the volume of migration was very small. Hence in the detailed analysis of the types of migration attempted below, the case of Palsavade is not considered. However, references will be made to migration from Palsavade wherever it is relevant.

## *II - Types of Migration*

### A. *Migration for grazing sheep.*

1. Migration for grazing sheep or nomadism<sup>3</sup> is a typical feature of the famine tract. Sheep breeding requires dry climate and scanty rainfall. In a region where rainfall is heavy and the rainy season long, sheep won't thrive. Due to these climatic requirements of this occupation many shepherds have made this area their permanent home. From June to October when it rains, shepherds graze their sheep on the grazing ground of the village. By the beginning of November the rain stops in Maharashtra and many shepherds start migrating in search of grazing ground outside and come back in June when the rainy season starts. Apart from this environmental factor, another factor that motivates shepherds to move to other land is the use of sheep for manuring fields. When shepherds migrate outside, it is their daily routine to graze sheep throughout the day when the night falls to pen them on the fields for manure. The owner in return pays certain quantity of grain to the shepherds for manuring their fields. This serves double purpose, namely, sheep are grazed outside till the rains come and shepherds get livelihood by penning sheep on fields during the period of migration.

2. Persons from 22 families from Divad had migrated for grazing sheep. From these 22 families 3 Maratha families reported migration after June, the time when the shepherds usually start coming back. The three Maratha families possessed a small stock of sheep and were in the habit of grazing them on the village pastures. The reason why these families had migrated after June in this particular year was a considerable delay in the rainy season which had created shortage of grass and water in the village. Hence they had sent their sons to places which were within the distance of ten miles to graze their small stock of sheep till the arrival of the rains in the village. All the three migrants had camped at one place, two of them were staying with their relatives.

The remaining 19 families had migrated after November. Of these 19 families 11 were Dhangars, and 8 were Marathas. The possession of sheep of the 19 families ranged from 20 to 60 sheep. Two families possessed 20 sheep, four possessed 21 to 30, six possessed 31 to 40, another six possessed 41 to 50 and one possessed 60 sheep. The majority of the migrants possessed sheep ranging from 31 to 50.

Of the 19 families, five reported migration of one family member, another five reported migration of some family members but not all the members, and

3. The word 'nomadism' is used here in the sense in which it is used by William PETERSON in his article, 'A General Typology of Migration', American Sociological Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, June, 1958.

six reported migration of the entire family. Among the chief 19 migrants, excluding their dependents, five were sons of the heads of the families, one was a brother, and 13 were heads of the families. The majority of the families reported migration with some or all family members, and among the chief migrants the heads of the families were in the majority.

People had started leaving their village with their sheep after Divali festival (October-November) and this process had continued till February. Many persons had consulted astrologers for the auspicious time for leaving the village. Four migrants had left their village in November, three in December, eight in January, and four in February. They had stayed outside for the period varying from one month to eight months. Three persons reported shortest stay (1 to 3 months), twelve reported longer stay (4 to 6 months), and four reported the longest stay outside (7 to 8 months).

During the period of migration the shepherds used to move from place to place, earning their livelihood by penning sheep on the farms for which they were paid grain by the farmers. Twelve persons had gone as far as 100 miles, four had gone upto 60 miles and three had gone upto 30 miles. The majority of the shepherds of Maratha caste, six out of eight, had gone east upto Tuljapur, while the Dhangar shepherds who had gone to Tuljapur were six out of eleven. Tendency to form caste clusters which we find among Marathas who had gone to Tuljapur was probably due to the fact that Marathas were less likely to come across other Maratha migrants, since only few persons of this caste had taken to this occupation. It was customary among migrants to move in groups and not alone. Many persons usually preferred to migrate with their kin and caste men.

Annual migration for grazing sheep had become a pattern of life with many persons. This is borne out by the data regarding frequency of migration during the last five years. Eleven persons, 7 Dhangars and 4 Marathas, had migrated every year during the five year period. Two persons, one Maratha and one Dhangar, had migrated three times during the last five years. One Dhangar had migrated two times and the remaining five, two Dhangars and three Marathas, had migrated only once. It will be seen that the majority of the persons had migrated every year.

Migration from Palsavade:— Seven families belonging to Dhangar caste had migrated with their sheep. Out of the seven, four had migrated with the entire family and the remaining three had migrated with some family members. All of them had migrated to western hills in the month of November and had come back in June. All of them used to earn their living by penning sheep. In all respects the pattern was similar to that of shepherds from Divad.

In conclusion it can be said that the migration for grazing sheep was a way of life which was adopted by many shepherds in this area. This involved going out of village when the rainy season was over and coming back at the beginning of the rainy season. The main aim of this migration was to graze sheep. The practice of penning sheep on the farm for manure enabled the migrants to earn their maintenance during the journey; however, nobody saved anything.

### B. *Migration for Work.*

1. Seasonal migration: The nature of the seasonal migration from the village was determined by the agricultural activities in the village and by the crop schedule of the areas supplying seasonal work, since this was mainly migration of people who worked as farm labourers outside. Among the avenues of work which were open for the migrants, the sugar belt of Sholapur district and the market gardening area of Vasai on the west coast near Bombay were the major ones. Sugar factories situated in the sugar belt used to start sugarcane crushing from November and continue upto June. Agricultural labour was mainly needed by these factories for cutting sugarcane and for transporting it to factories. In addition to these large scale industries, individual farmers from the sugar belt also needed labour for cutting crop. Vasai which specializes in banana and betel leaf plantation was another avenue of employment for seasonal labour. Every year due to heavy rains, the mud bunds were destroyed and farmers of Vasai needed outside labour to carry out bunding operations.

In Divad, rainy season is confined to the period starting with June and ending by October. The major agricultural operations were carried out during these months. Due to shortage of rainfall, the harvest was never enough to maintain the family throughout the year. Hence when the busy season of work was over people were forced to go outside in search of seasonal work, leaving some family members in the village to protect crop and reap the harvest. In the following paragraphs, detailed analysis of the seasonal migration for work is attempted, confining the inquiry to one season only, in the years preceding this inquiry.

Seasonal migration for work was reported by 55 families. Among these 55 families were 12 Marathas, 23 Dhangars, 2 Lonaris, 1 Gurav, 3 Mahars, 4 Mangs, 4 Ramoshis, 3 Holars, 1 Wadar and 2 Musalmans. Dhangars constituted the majority among seasonal migrants. Of these 55 families, 17 families reported migration of one person only, 22 reported migration of some family members, while 18 reported migration of the entire family. In the case of those who reported migration of some or all family members, it was found that only one person from



each family worked as a labourer while others who were his dependents occasionally supported him in his work and managed the transitory household. Thus the 55 persons who were the earning migrants are referred here as migrants and the rest who accompanied them are referred as dependents. Such dependents were 99.

Of the 55 migrants, 51 were males and 4 females. Of the four females, three were Marathas and one was Dhangar. Analysis of the marital status of these 55 persons shows that 3 were unmarried, 47 were married and 5 were widowed persons. Of the 55 migrants only one person was below 21 years, 17 were between 21 to 30, 16 were between 31 to 40, another 16 were between 41 to 50 and 5 were above 50. The majority of the migrants were between 21 and 50 years of age.

There were 99 dependents who had accompanied the migrants during the period of migration. Most of these dependents, numbering 64, were below 21 years of age, while 28 were between 21 to 30, 6 were between 31 to 40 and 1 was above 50. Sex composition of the dependents show that 62 were females and 37 were males.

It is already pointed out that 17 persons had migrated alone, 22 had migrated with some family members and 18 had migrated with the entire family. Of the 22 persons who had migrated with some dependent members, 2 had taken their wives while the remaining 20 had left their wives behind. Similarly the analysis of the kinship position of the migrants in their respective families show that of the 55 persons 38 were heads of the families, 13 were sons, 2 were brothers, 1 was a wife and 1 a son-in-law. The majority of the migrants were heads of their families, and next to them were sons.

Occupations which were followed by migrants during the period of migration were of three types: (a) farm labour, (b) non-agricultural labour, and (c) skilled work. 33 persons out of 55 reported that they were working as farm labourers, 19 reported that they were engaged in non-agricultural labour, and 2 reported that they had taken to skilled occupations. Thus it can be said that the majority of the persons were working as unskilled labourers. However, among the unskilled labourers, farm labourers were predominant (61.82%).

Seasonal migrants who worked as labourers were mostly stationary and were not moving from place to place during the period of migration. Although migrants had gone to 20 different places, the majority of them were stationed in 4 places. These places were Vasai, Akluj, Helwak and Bombay. Out of 55 persons, 22 had gone to Vasai, 5 had gone to Akluj, 3 had gone to Helwak, the place where Koyana dam was being constructed, and 5 had gone to Bombay.

The remaining 20 persons were scattered in 16 different places. The castewise distribution of persons according to the place where they had migrated is shown in Table No. 4 below.

TABLE NO. 4  
PLACE OF MIGRATION ACCORDING TO CASTE

Place of migration	Caste										Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Gurav	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Holar	Wadar	Musalman	
Vasai	2	17	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	22
Akluj	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	5
Helwak	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Bombay	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	5
Other places (in all 16) where not more than two families migrated	4	2	2	1	1	3	4	1	1	1	20
Total	12	23	2	1	3	4	4	3	1	2	55

It will be observed from the table that among those who had gone to Vasai, as farm labourers, the majority were Dhangars (77%). Also among Dhangar migrants the majority (73.91%) had gone to Vasai. The majority of the Marathas had gone to places other than Vasai. The caste bias in the migration is obvious.

Places like Bombay and Vasai are far away from the village, beyond the distance of 200 miles, while other places are nearer, within the distance of 200 miles. The figures show that 27 persons (49.09%) had gone to places which are beyond 200 miles and the remaining 28 persons had gone to nearer places. To find out whether distance of a place has any relationship with migrating alone or with dependence, an analysis is attempted, the results of which are shown in Table No. 5 below.

TABLE No. 5

## MIGRATION BEYOND 200 MILES AND WITHIN 100 MILES, ACCORDING TO WHETHER PERSONS HAD MIGRATED WITH OR WITHOUT DEPENDENTS

Nature of migration	To distant places (beyond 200 miles)		To nearer places (within 100 miles)		Total	
	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age
Migrated alone	11	64.7	6	35.3	17	100
Migrated with dependents	16	42.1	22	57.9	38	100

The table shows that out of 17 persons migrating alone, 11 (64.7%) had gone beyond 200 miles and out of 38 persons migrating with dependents, 16 (42.1%) had gone to distant places. Thus it can be said that the majority of those who had migrated alone had gone to distant places, while the majority of those who had gone with dependents had gone to nearer places.<sup>4</sup>

The period of migration varied from one month to eight months. Only one person came back before one month. In Table No. 6 given below period of migration is shown according to caste.

TABLE No. 6

## DURATION OF MIGRATION, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Duration of migration	Caste										
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Gurav	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Holar	Wadar	Musalman	Total
Less than one month	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
1 to 3 months	7	1	1	—	1	3	—	1	1	1	16
4 to 6 months	4	12	1	1	2	1	—	2	—	1	24
7 to 8 months	—	10	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	14
Total	12	23	2	1	3	4	4	3	1	2	55

4. Similar tendencies are observed by M. B. DESHMUKH and Noel P. GIST. M. B. DESHMUKH: 'A Study of Floating Migration' in *The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization*, UNESCO, Calcutta, 1956. Noel P. GIST: 'Selective Migration in South India', in *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 2.

The figures show that the majority of the persons had migrated for four to eight month period. However, maximum period of migration, 7 to 8 months, was reported by 14 persons, 10 Dhangars and 4 Ramoshis. The castewise analysis shows that the majority of the Dhangars (22) had migrated for a longer period of time while the majority of the Marathas (8) had migrated for a shorter period of time.

#### Financial benefits of migration:—

Financial benefits reported by the migrants were of three types: (1) help given to dependents at home either monthly or occasional, (2) savings of the migrants, and (3) purchasing useful articles like clothes, utensils etc. Twelve persons gave financial help to the dependents at home every month. The amount of such assistance was between Rs. 10 to 20. Another 7 persons gave occasional help to the dependents at home. In the majority of the cases the amount was between Rs. 10 to 20. The castewise analysis shows that among 19 persons who gave monthly or occasional help there were 2 Marathas, 6 Dhangars, 1 Gurav, 3 Mahars, 2 Mangs, 1 Ramoshi, 1 Holar and 1 Musalman. The highest number was of Dhangars.

(2) Savings.—26 persons out of 55 reported that they were able to save some money out of their earnings. In Table No. 7 savings of 26 persons is shown according to caste.

TABLE No. 7  
MONEY BROUGHT HOME ACCORDING TO CASTE

Amount	Caste										Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Gurav	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Holar	Wadar	Musalman	
Less than Rs. 20	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rs. 21 to 40	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	4
Rs. 41 to 60	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Rs. 61 to 80	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Rs. 81 to 100	—	7	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	8
Above Rs. 100	—	4	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	7
Total	2	19	1	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	26

It will be seen from the table that among the 26 persons Dhangars were in the majority, being 19. Savings above Rs. 100 was reported by 7 persons out of which 4 were Dhangars. Similarly among those who reported savings between Rs. 81 to 100, seven were Dhangars and one was Ramoshi. There were only two Marathas who reported savings. Thus it can be said that among those who reported savings, Dhangars were in the majority while Marathas were in the minority.

(3) Purchasing useful articles.—Only seven persons had brought home useful articles like utensils, clothes etc. Among these seven were 3 Dhangars, 2 Marathas, 1 Mang and 1 Holar.

The analysis of the financial gains of migration is presented above. However, this analysis does not give us any information regarding persons who had profitted in more than one way and those who did not profit at all. This is given in Table No. 8.

TABLE NO. 8

## FINANCIAL BENEFIT GAINED BY MIGRANTS ACCORDING TO CASTE

Financial benefit	Caste										Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Gurav	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Holar	Wadar	Musalman	
Help given	2	1	—	—	3	2	1	2	—	2	13
Money brought home	2	13	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	18
Useful articles brought home	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3
Help given and money brought home	—	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Help given and useful articles brought home	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Money and useful articles brought home	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3
No such benefit	6	2	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>55</b>

It will be seen that 13 persons reported financial assistance only to the dependents at home, 18 reported savings only, three reported purchase of useful articles only. Nine persons reported benefit in more than one way. There were 12 persons who did not report financial benefit of any kind. The castewise analysis shows that Dhangars had profitted most and the Marathas were least to profit from migration.

To find out whether migration had become a permanent feature of life, an analysis of the frequency of migration within the last five years is made and the results are shown in Table No. 9.

TABLE NO. 9

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION, 'HOW MANY TIMES HAD YOU MIGRATED DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS?' ACCORDING TO CASTE

Answers	Caste										
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Gurav	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Holar	Wadar	Musalman	Total
Once	7	2	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	13
Twice	1	1	—	1	3	—	1	—	—	1	8
Thrice	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Four times	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
Every year	1	17	1	—	—	3	3	1	1	—	27
Total	12	23	2	1	3	4	4	3	1	2	55

Out of 55 persons reporting migration, 27 reported that they had migrated every year during the last five years. Similarly two reported that they had migrated four times, five reported migration for three times, eight reported two times and 13 persons reported migration only once. The castewise analysis shows that the majority of Dhangars had migrated every year.

Migration from Palsavade:— Seasonal migration for work was reported by one Ramoshi family. The entire family, with the exception of one brother, had migrated to Vasai, where the head of the family worked as farm labourer. The family migrated in November and came back in June. The brother had also migrated to Pandharpur for the period of two months where he worked as a farm labourer.

To sum up, it can be said that among those who reported seasonal migration for work, Dhangers were in the majority. Most of these people worked as farm labourers. Besides maintaining themselves many persons reported financial benefits. The caste which showed maximum benefit was Dhangar.

C. *Non-seasonal migration for work:*

1. Non-seasonal or long term migration for work was reported by 62 families, out of which persons from one family had come home after spending two years outside. This family of a Mahar caste is excluded from the detailed analysis presented below, since migrants from the remaining 61 families were staying outside, at the time of inquiry.

From the 61 families mentioned above, 141 persons had migrated. Of these 83 were earning members and 58 were dependents. For the sake of clarity, 83 persons who were earners will be called migrants and the remaining persons, 58 in number, will be called dependents. Table No. 10 shows migrants and dependents on the basis of caste.

TABLE No. 10  
TOTAL NUMBER OF MIGRANTS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS, ACCORDING  
TO CASTE

Migrants	Caste								Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	
Migrants	45	12	4	2	10	5	1	4	83
Dependents	21	5	2	1	16	11	2	—	58
<b>Total</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>141</b>

Among the migrants belonging to various castes, Marathas constituted the majority, being 45 persons. Their percentage was 53.01% among the total migrants. The number of dependents was less than the migrants except among Mahar, Mang and Ramoshi.

The 83 migrants came from 61 families, which means that there were some families reporting more than one migrant. This is shown in Table No. 11 which attempts classification of families on the basis of the number of migrants reported.

TABLE No. 11

CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES ON THE BASIS OF THE NUMBER OF  
MIGRANTS, ACCORDING TO CASTE

No. of migrants	Caste								
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	Total
1	25	10	2	2	2	2	1	1	45
2	7	1	1	—	2	—	—	—	11
3	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	4
4	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>61</b>

Out of 61 families, 45 reported one migrant, 11 reported two migrants, 4 reported three migrants and one family reported four migrants.

## 2. Characteristics of migrants:

All migrants were males and there was no female migrant in this category of migration. Age of the migrants is shown in Table No. 12.

TABLE No. 12

## AGE OF THE MIGRANTS, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Age	Caste								
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	Total
Below 21	1	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	5
21 to 30	29	5	2	1	8	4	1	3	53
31 to 40	12	2	1	—	—	—	—	1	16
41 to 50	2	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	7
Above 50	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>83</b>



It will be seen that the majority of the migrants were in the age-group of 21 to 30.<sup>5</sup> The number of persons who were above 50 years was very small. Similarly those who were below 21 were also very small.

Marital status of migrants is shown in Table No. 13.

TABLE No. 13

## MARITAL STATUS OF THE MIGRANTS, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Marital status	Caste								Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	
Unmarried	7	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	12
Married	37	9	2	1	9	5	1	4	68
Widower	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Total	45	12	4	2	10	5	1	4	83

Of the 83 persons, 12 persons were unmarried, 68 were married, and three were widowers. The majority of the migrants were married.

Kinship relation of the migrants with the head of the family in the village is analysed in Table No. 14.

TABLE No. 14

## KINSHIP RELATIONSHIP OF MIGRANTS, EXCLUDING THEIR DEPENDENTS, WITH THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Relationship	Caste								Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	
Brother	13	5	—	1	4	—	—	—	23
Son	27	4	3	1	6	4	1	4	50
Husband	3	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	7
Son-in-law	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Father	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Husband's brother	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total	45	12	4	2	10	5	1	4	83

5. Similar characteristics are noted by EAMES in the study of urban migrants from a village in North Central India. E. EAMES: 'Some Aspects of Urbanization from a Village in North Central India', *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. III — 19, 1954.

From the table it will be observed that 23 persons were related as brothers with the head of the family, 50 were sons, 7 were husbands (in the case of female head), 1 son-in-law, 1 brother-in-law and 1 father (real head). In the majority of cases, migrants were related as sons.

### 3. Migration Pattern:

Non-seasonal migration for work was migration to cities and industrial towns. Table No. 15 shows places where people had migrated.

TABLE No. 15  
PLACE OF MIGRATION, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Place	Caste								Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	
Bombay	40	10	3	1	7	5	—	3	69
Poona	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3
Ahmedabad	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Madras	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Walchandnagar	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Belapur	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Borgaon	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Akluj	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Limbgaon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Kurubai	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Gondavale	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total	45	12	4	2	10	5	1	4	83

In the Table, 11 places are noted. The first four places, Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad and Madras, are industrial cities. The next four places, Walchandnagar, Belapur, Borgaon and Akluj, are industrial towns where sugar factories are situated. The remaining three places, Limbgaon, Kurubai and Gondavale, are big villages. The table shows that out of 83 persons, only 3 had migrated to villages, 6 had migrated to industrial towns and 74 had migrated to the cities.

Of these 74 persons, 69 had migrated to Bombay, 3 to Poona, 1 to Ahmedabad and 1 to Madras. The percentage of persons migrating to cities was 89.16, of which 83.13% persons had migrated to Bombay. The percentage of those who had migrated to industrial towns was 7.23, and of those who had migrated to villages was 3.61. Thus the characteristic feature of the non-seasonal migration was that it was a migration to industrial areas, and secondly the overwhelming majority had gone to Bombay. The castewise analysis also shows that except one Ramoshi who had migrated to Borgaon, the majority of the migrants from each caste had gone to Bombay.

Occupations which were taken up by the migrants were mainly of three types: (a) labour, (b) white-collar jobs, and (c) other. Table No. 16 shows castewise analysis of the occupations followed by migrants.

TABLE NO. 16

## OCCUPATION OF MIGRANTS, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Occupation	Caste								Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	
Labour in the mill or factory	44	12	3	1	6	4	1	3	74
Labour except in the mill or factory	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	2
White-collar occupation	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Other occupations	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	3
Salaried occupation	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>83</b>

Labour in industry was reported by 74 persons and non-industrial labour by 2 persons. White-collar occupation (clerk) was reported by 3 persons who were Mahars. Other miscellaneous occupations were reported by 4 persons. It will be observed that the majority of the migrants (89.16%) were working as industrial labourers. The castewise analysis also shows that the majority of the migrants in each caste were working as industrial labourers.

Duration of stay outside of the migrants is shown in Table No. 17.

TABLE No. 17  
DURATION OF MIGRANTS' STAY OUTSIDE, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Duration of stay	Caste								Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	
Less than 1 year	4	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	8
1 to 3 years	10	1	2	—	—	1	—	3	17
4 to 6 years	15	3	—	—	3	—	—	1	22
7 to 9 years	8	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	13
10 to 12 years	5	1	1	2	1	3	—	—	13
13 to 15 years	3	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	6
Above 15 years	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Total	45	12	4	2	10	5	1	4	83

The table shows that of the 83 persons, 8 were living outside the village for less than a year, 17 persons were living for 1 to 3 years, 22 for 4 to 6 years, 13 for 7 to 9 years, another 13 for 10 to 12 years, 6 for 13 to 15 years and 4 for more than 15 years.

Since this type of migration was a long term migration it was of interest to find out whether the immediate dependents, wife and children, had migrated or were left behind in the village either in the joint-family or in a separate household. This is attempted in Table No. 18.

TABLE No. 18  
FAMILY POSITION AND MARITAL STATUS OF MIGRANTS,  
ACCORDING TO CASTE

Nature of migration	Caste								Total
	Maratha	Dhangar	Lonari	Nhavi	Mahar	Mang	Ramoshi	Dhor	
Migrated alone, unmarried or widower	8	3	2	1	1	—	—	—	15
Migrated alone, left wife and children (if any) in the village, in the joint-family	20	4	—	—	1	1	—	4	30
Migrated alone, left wife and children (if any) in the village, by themselves	2	3	1	—	—	1	—	—	7
Migrated with wife and children (if any)	15	2	1	1	8	3	1	—	31
Total	45	12	4	2	10	5	1	4	83

The table shows that 52 persons had migrated alone while only 31 persons had taken their immediate dependents with them. Out of 52 persons migrating alone, 15 were either unmarried or widowers, and hence the question of taking wife did not arise in their cases. The remaining 37 persons who were married, had left their dependents behind. Of these 37 persons dependents of 30 persons were living in joint-families in the village, and dependents of 7 persons were living in individual families. Thus it can be said that among married persons there was a greater tendency to migrate alone leaving their wives and children behind in a joint-family in the village. It appears that a joint-family was a great asset to migrants going to industrial towns and cities, where they were exposed to economic insecurity, scarcity of housing and other difficulties, as they can always depend upon their joint-families for support of the immediate dependents.

The above phenomena, of migration with dependents or without dependents, shows relationship with occupational differences running on caste lines. Grouping together all the farming castes, Maratha, Dhangar, and Lonari, on the one hand and all the non-farming castes on the other, we obtain significant differences which are shown in Table No. 19.

TABLE No. 19

## FAMILY POSITION AND MARITAL STATUS OF MIGRANTS, ACCORDING TO CASTE

Nature of migration	Caste		Total
	Farming Castes	Non-farming Castes	
Migrated alone, unmarried or widower	19	2	15
Migrated alone, left wife and children (if any) in the village in a joint-family	24	6	30
Migrated alone, left wife and children (if any) in the village by themselves	6	1	7
Migrated with wife and children (if any)	18	13	31
Total	61	22	83

It will be seen that out of 48 married persons belonging to farming castes only 18 (37.5%) had taken their wives and children with them, while in the case of non-farmers out of 20 persons who were married 13 (65%) had taken their wives and children with them. Thus it can be said that there was a greater tendency among non-farmers to migrate with wives and children as compared with farming castes. The reason behind this difference appears to be that in the occupation of farming, having more persons is an asset. Hence there was a greater tendency among farmers to leave their dependents behind. Such was not the case with the families of hereditary balutedars. These balutedars had insufficient work in the village. Also opportunities of earning daily wages in the village were very few. As a result there was a tendency among them to migrate with their wives and children.

It is observed earlier that a joint-family was an asset to the migrants who had to face uncertainty in the towns and cities, and as a result they preferred migrating alone, leaving their dependents in a joint-family. However, the uncertainty was likely to diminish the longer he stayed in the city. In that case it is expected that those persons who were staying outside for a longer period of time would be more prone to take their dependents with them. This is borne out by the figures shown in Table No. 20.

TABLE No. 20  
FAMILY POSITION OF EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO DURATION OF  
STAY OUTSIDE

Nature of migration	No. of migrants staying outside for the period of —		
	Less than 4 years	More than 4 years	Total
Married, left wife and children in the village	16	21	37
Married, migrated with wife and children	3	28	31
Unmarried and widowed migrants	6	9	15
Total	25	58	83

Duration of stay outside is divided into broad categories, namely, less than four years and more than four years. Among the married persons 19 were outside for less than four years and 48 were outside for more than four years. Out of the group of 19 persons only 3 (15.79%) had taken their wives and children with

them while the rest had left them in the village. As against this, out of the group of 49 persons staying for a longer period of time 28 persons (57.14%) had taken their wives and children with them. Hence it can be said that there was a greater tendency on the part of those staying outside for a longer period of time to take their wives and children with them.

#### 4. Help received:

Out of 61 families reporting non-seasonal migration, 43 had received monthly or occasional help from the migrants while 18 had not received any. Out of 43 families who were the recipients of help, 28 used to get monthly help and 15 used to get occasional help. The maximum amount of monthly help received was thirty rupees and that of occasional help was rupees one hundred and fifty. Among the families receiving monthly help, 11 families had received Rs. 1 to 10, 13 had received Rs. 11 to 20, and 4 had received Rs. 21 to 30. Among the families receiving occasional help, one had received Rs. 21 to 30, another one had received Rs. 31 to 40, 6 had received Rs. 41 to 50, 4 had received Rs. 91 to 100, and 3 had received Rs. 100 to 150.

It is pointed out earlier that many migrants had left their wives and children in the village either in a joint-family or a separate household. Naturally the question arises whether help given to family members has anything to do with leaving dependents in the village. Table No. 21 analyses help received according to the mode of migration (i.e. whether the migrant had taken his wife and children with him or left them in the village).

TABLE NO. 21

#### HELP GIVEN ACCORDING TO THE NATURE OF MIGRATION

Nature of migration	Help given or not		
	Help given	Help not given	Total
Migrated alone, unmarried or widower	7	8	15
Migrated alone, left wife and children (if any) in the village in a joint-family	17	13	30
Migrated alone, left wife and children (if any) in the village by themselves	6	1	7
Migrated with wife and children (if any)	13	18	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>83</b>

It will be seen from the table that 37 persons had left their dependents in the village, 31 had migrated with the dependents and 15 were either unmarried or widowers. Thus out of 37 families of persons who had migrated alone leaving dependents at home, 23 families (64.9%) had received help. Similarly out of 31 families of persons who had migrated with their dependents 13 (41.93%) had received help. Similarly from the 15 families of persons who were either unmarried or widowers 7 had received help (46.67%). Thus it can be seen that the majority of the families (64.9%) of those persons who had left their dependents in the village had received help while the majority of the families (58.07%) of persons who had migrated with dependents had not received any help.

Help received by the families of migrants also show relationship with the duration of stay outside. Table No. 22 shows help received according to the duration of stay outside.

TABLE No. 22

## HELP GIVEN OR NOT ACCORDING TO THE DURATION OF STAY OUTSIDE

Help given or not	Duration of stay outside		Total
	Less than 4 years	More than 4 years	
Help given	16	42	58
Help not given	9	16	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>83</b>

It will be seen from the table that from the group of 25 families of persons who were staying out for less than four years, 16 families (64%) had received help. On the other hand, out of 58 families of persons staying outside for a longer period of time, 42 families (72.41%) had received help. Thus it can be said that the duration of stay outside shows some relationship with help received.

**Visits:**

Although persons in this category of long-term migrants were separated from their joint-families, the majority of them had maintained ties by paying occasional visits to their family members staying in the village. Out of 83 persons who were working outside, 53 persons had come home in the year previous to



this investigation. Of the 53 persons, 8 had come home because of marriage in the family, 3 had come because of death in the family, one had come because of his sickness and 41 persons had come for no particular reason.

Just as migrants used to visit their families similarly some persons from the village had gone to meet the family members working in the cities and towns. However, such cases were few in number. Nine families out of 61 families reported that some persons from the families had gone to meet the family members working outside.

Migration from Palsavade:— Two Maratha families reported this type of migration. Both the persons had migrated to Bombay where they were working in industry as labourers. Both the persons were staying in Bombay for a sufficiently long period, one was away for 4 years and another for 30 years. Both of them had come to the village and in this way they were maintaining relationship with the family members in the village. They also used to give financial help.

To sum up, the important characteristics of the non-seasonal migration were (1) this was a migration from village to cities and industrial towns; (2) the majority of the persons in this category of migration were employed as industrial workers; (3) among this class of migrants Marathas were predominant; (4) although these migrants were staying outside for a longer period of time many of them had maintained relationship with their family members by giving help to them as well as by occasional visits.

### III—Conclusion

1. The study of migration from the two villages shows that as compared with Divad, migration from Palsavade was on a very small scale. From Palsavade 20% families had migrated, while from Divad 44.98% families had migrated. Among the migrants in Palsavade the majority were shepherds, and apart from shepherds, cases of other types of migration were very few. Only three families in Palsavade reported migration for work. In Divad, however, the majority of the persons had migrated for work of seasonal or non-seasonal type. It has been already pointed out that shepherds' wandering was inherent in the nature of the occupation and was not influenced by environmental factors like famine. On the other hand, migration for work, seasonal or non-seasonal, was very much influenced by famine as the insignificant number of such cases of migration in Palsavade shows. Hence it can be said that the seasonal and non-seasonal migration for work was the characteristic feature of the famine affected village.

2. The migrational behaviour reveals the part played by caste and kinship in the lives of the villagers. It has already been pointed out that shepherds from Divad had migrated in groups consisting of their kin and caste people. In Palsavade also, we saw that all Dhangar migrants had migrated together and to the same place. In the analysis of the seasonal and non-seasonal migration for work from Divad it was shown, that the majority of the Dhangars had migrated to Vasai and the majority of the Marathas had migrated to Bombay. Not only that, but, as reported by some migrants in informal talk, the majority of these migrants were staying in the same chawl in Bombay. For instance, one Mahar migrant reported that the majority of the Mahar migrants from Divad were staying in one chawl in Bombay. It has already been shown that the majority of the persons belonging to the same caste were related to each other by blood ties or by marriage ties. The boundaries of the caste and the kinship group tended to coincide. Hence it can be said that the kinship and the caste have influenced the migrational behaviour. Persons migrated to the places where their kinsmen and castemen were situated.

3. The two types of migration, migration for grazing sheep and the migration for work, differed in their capacity to bring about change in the village. The wanderings of shepherds for grazing sheep were on par with the other types of primitive wanderings for food gathering and hunting. In all these types of wanderings the main aim is subsistence of people or animals. It has been shown that the activities of shepherds were directed towards getting food for themselves and for their sheep during the period of migration and there was no attempt on the part of shepherds to earn more than what they actually needed for subsistence during the period of migration. These shepherds, both from Divad and Palsavade, had not gained anything except preserving their flock of sheep. Hence shepherds' migration can be called as essentially a conservative migration.

Migration for work, both seasonal and non-seasonal, was innovating migration. In both seasonal and non-seasonal migrations, the migrants received cash payment, part of which was sent to the family members staying in the village, or was brought home by the migrants. Every migrant worked not only for his own subsistence but also for the subsistence of those in the village who depended on him. This flow of money from outside every year was a potential source of change in the traditional social organization of the village. In addition to the change introduced in the village by the flow of money, non-seasonal migration brought villages in touch with cities. The fact that a good number of people were staying in the city for a long time, and were paying annual visits to the family members in the village and in the event of retirement or unemployment were coming back

in the village, suggests that non-seasonal migration for work in the urban areas contains the potentiality of introducing new urban values and social norms in the village.

a) *Impact on the traditional pattern of caste domination*: In Maharashtra to undertake a detailed investigation of social change in the village brought about by migration. However, a few broad trends of social change which were taking place as a result of migration are indicated in the following paragraphs.

a) *Impact on the traditional pattern of caste domination*: In Maharashtra villages Marathas occupy supreme position in the caste hierarchy. Although Brahmans are treated as ritually superior to Marathas, political, social and economic power is concentrated in the hands of Marathas. The village headman always belongs to the Maratha caste. The major portion of the village land is possessed by Marathas. This superior status of Marathas in the village society was being challenged by Dhangars, in this area.

In the analysis of seasonal and non-seasonal migration it is pointed out that Dhangars had derived maximum economic benefit while Marathas had derived less economic benefit. Among Dhangars, out of 70 families, only 7 were landless. If we take into consideration the fact that these Dhangars were landless immigrants who came in the village with their flocks of sheep some generations ago, then this will leave no doubt about the fact that the land owned by Dhangars today was purchased by them from Marathas out of their earnings from migrations. Owing to recurring periodic famines and the consequent economic impoverishment, the frequency of such land transfers was likely to be great. In an informal talk, one Maratha farmer from Divad narrated a story to the author, telling how in one of the severe famines the village Patil had incurred small debt in order to provide for his family, and finding himself unable to repay the debt as a result of the semi-famine condition, lost his land to the money-lender. Thus we have on the one hand immigrant Dhangars who were purchasing more and more land by the money accumulated in the migration, and on the other hand Marathas who once constituted politically and economically a dominant group in the village, selling their land due to impoverishment resulting from periodic famines. Thus the political and the economic power of the Marathas in the village was constantly being undermined.

This imbalance in the traditional power-structure of the village had resulted in the assertion of independence by Dhangars from the Maratha domination.<sup>6</sup> In Divad, Dhangars of Didwaghwadi had refused to participate in the village festival of Divad. In other famine affected villages such trends were also visible. In Shirtao, a village near Divad, for instance, the village Patil

told the author that due to poverty he had to sell the major portion of his land to Dhangars who are now dominant. In Varkute, a village four miles away from Divad, growing rivalry was noticed between Dhangars and Marathas. The majority of Dhangars of Malwadi, a wadi of Varkute, had family members working in Bombay and other towns. Once the Dhangars of Malwadi refused to participate in a village festival. The Patil of the village, however, brought these Dhangars to book by destroying their farms, agricultural implements, wells etc. with the help of Ramoshis. This only goes to show that the traditional authority of Marathas was constantly being challenged by Dhangars.

b) *Impact on the joint-family*: It has already been noted that migration is affecting the joint-family. In the analysis of non-seasonal migration it was shown that migration with wife and children was a factor in the weakening of the economic relationship of migrants with their joint-families. Although in the initial stage the joint-family was an asset to the migrants who had to face many difficulties in securing accommodation and in gaining economic stability, once the stability was gained there was a growing tendency among migrants to take their wives and children with them, which in turn had affected the relationship with the joint-families. Although the extent of such a change was small its existence was beyond doubt.

c) *Impact on the baluta system*: In the second chapter on the baluta system it was shown that of the six families belonging to the traditional farming castes who paid in cash for the services of balutedars, five used to receive money from family members who were working outside. Thus the flow of money from outside in the village was affecting the baluta system, although the pace of such a change was very slow.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION: THE EFFECTS OF FAMINE ON THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

This report has attempted to show that the village community in this part of Maharashtra was showing change due to perpetual semi-famine condition. This has been done by studying the social organization of Divad, a typical famine affected village in this area, and comparing it with Palsavade, a village not affected by famine condition. Although the two villages did not show radical differences in the social organization, there were significant differences in the functioning of the baluta system, the joint-family, the political relations, and the relations with outside world. In this chapter it is proposed to give a coherent account of the social change in the famine affected village community.

The social change that was coming about in the village community in this area was mainly due to inadequate rainfall and absence of adequate water-supply to agriculture. As a result, the rural community was very much affected by economic scarcity. Village Divad was one such famine affected village. Inadequate rainfall and absence of any water work had made village agriculture precarious, and this had directly affected the livelihood of the traditional farmers among whom Marathas were in the majority. In turn, precarious agricultural situation had affected the balutedar castes and other dependent castes.

With a view to facing the condition of economic scarcity, many people found it necessary to migrate to other places, either for a short period of time or for a longer period of time, in search of livelihood. With many people, migration became a permanent necessity of life.

Two major types of migration were noted, namely, migration for grazing sheep and migration for work. Migration for grazing sheep was in the very nature of the shepherd's occupation and was not due to famine condition. Both the villages, Divad and Palsavade, reported this type of migration, and this was the only type of migration worthy of note from Palsavade. This gives support to the observation that migration for grazing sheep was not influenced by famine condition. The majority of the persons

reporting this type of migration were Dhangars while Marathas were the negligible minority. These shepherds migrated to distant grazing grounds. During the course of their trek the shepherds used to earn subsistence by penning their sheep on farms for manure. The wanderings of the shepherds were confined to countryside. Kinship and caste loyalties were visible in the migrational behaviour.<sup>1</sup> People preferred to migrate with their kin or persons of the same caste or of the same village. In all its aspects this was a conservative migration.

Migration for work, on the other hand, was innovating migration and was most influenced by famine. Palsavade, the village least affected by famine condition, reported only negligible number of migrants in this category of migration. Migration for work was of two types, seasonal and non-seasonal. Seasonal migration for work was characterized by migration of persons who got employment as farm labourers in the sugar belt and other prosperous agricultural areas. Among the seasonal migrants Dhangars were greater in number and the majority of them had gone to Vasai (Bassein near Bombay). Next to them were Marathas. While the majority of the Dhangar migrants used to migrate every year the majority of the Maratha migrants had migrated only once. The Dhangars had reported the maximum economic benefit while the Marathas had reported the least economic benefit.

Non-seasonal migration for work was migration of persons to industrial areas and cities to work as industrial labourers in mills and factories. In this class of migration Marathas were predominant. This type of migration involved longer stay in cities and towns. The majority of the persons had migrated alone leaving wives and children behind in a joint-family or by themselves, while some had taken their wives and children with them. The majority of the migrants were maintaining loyalty to their joint-families by regularly remitting money. However, those who had migrated with their wives and children rarely remitted money. The overall picture of migration due to famine condition shows, in the first place, that migration for work was mainly a consequence of economic scarcity while shepherds' migration was part of the occupational pattern. Secondly, between Marathas and Dhangars, Marathas suffered most due to famine since their subsistence was mainly on agriculture. In the case of Dhangars their traditional occupation of sheep-raising alleviated strain on agriculture due to famine. Similarly between Marathas and Dhangars, Marathas show

1. These loyalties are so strong in Indian Society that they are also to be seen in the behaviour of migrants going to foreign countries.  
See NAIK, T. B.: "*Migrations in India*", Journal of Anthropological Society, Bombay, Vol. X, No. 2.

least economic gain from migration as compared with Dhangars. Thirdly, migration for work started flow of money into the village. Fourthly, migrational behaviour revealed the part played by kin, caste and village loyalties in determining the nature of migration.

Repercussions of economic scarcity, and migration due to famine condition were to be seen on the baluta system of Divad. As a result of economic scarcity baluta system in Divad was functioning under a great strain. The flow of money in the village from migrants added a new dimension to the already existing strain. The net effect of all these factors on the baluta system was four-fold. In the first place, there was a growing tendency among farmers of Divad to reward the services of essential balutedars only, and disregard the non-essential balutedars who performed religious and other less essential services. Secondly, in Divad, tendency to underpay balutedars was also growing. The amount of baluta paid by each family was less in Divad and more in Palsavade. Thirdly, many families in Divad were incapable of paying anything to balutedars. And fourthly, money payment was slowly becoming popular among those families who were receiving financial help from migrants. As a result of this strain many balutedars had reported migration. Baluta occupations reported the highest percentage of migration from Divad.

Migration for work, especially non-seasonal migration, had affected the joint-family although to a small extent. It was found that migration with wife and children was a factor in the weakening of economic relationship of migrants with their joint-families. However, it must be noted here that a joint-family was an asset to migrants in the initial stage. But once migrants achieved job security there was a growing tendency to bring wife and children to live with them which weakened their attachment with their joint-families.

The existence of perpetual famine condition and the consequent migration of villagers affected the traditional pattern of political relations by disturbing the relationship between Marathas, the dominant caste in the village, and Dhangars, another numerous caste. Marathas were solely living upon agriculture which was in a precarious condition due to famine and consequently were being impoverished, while Dhangars were combining agriculture with their traditional occupation of sheep-raising which enabled them to adapt themselves successfully to economic pressures due to famine. There was another factor in favour of Dhangars which enabled them to meet the threat of famine and to some extent overcome it, namely their habituation to migratory way of life. Dhangars migrated every year to work as farm labourers with the same ease with which they used to migrate for grazing sheep which was their traditional occupation. Marathas on the other hand migrated only when they were im-

poverished or indebted. As a result of these factors which were in favour of Dhangars and against Marathas, Dhangars started improving their economic position while Marathas were gradually losing the ground. This had disturbed the balance of relationship between Marathas and Dhangars and there were many indications of assertive tendencies shown by Dhangars. Dhangars had refused to participate in the common village festival which was celebrated when this investigation was in progress, and had organized parallel festival in their habitation area. Several instances were noted of growing rivalry between Dhangars and Marathas in many other villages in this area. Thus it is evident that due to famine condition the traditional political structure was also affected.

Migration, by connecting the villages in this area with the industrial townships and cities and making them more dependent upon urban economy, had affected the isolation and self-sufficiency enjoyed by these villages. The social, religious and kinship ties of the people were confined to a 30 mile radius. People hardly used to undertake long travels since most of their relations were confined to a nearby territory. Information was collected regarding travels undertaken by the village people for any other reason except migration. The analysis of this information shows that people from both the villages had undertaken only a few travels which were mostly confined to other villages within the radius of 40 miles. Among the reasons reported for such travels, religious activities were the first in importance, second importance was given to social reasons like marriage, death etc., and the third place was given to administrative work like going to taluka office for some work. Selling and buying activities were mostly confined to Mhasvad, a market town, and very few people had to go to other market towns. For people from both the villages Mhasvad was a centre of social activities where they could meet their kin and friends from neighbouring villages. Thus Mhasvad with its satellite villages was more or less a self-sufficient group. But the self-sufficiency and relative isolation enjoyed by the village community was affected by migrations of people for work and had brought the village community nearer the urban society and had vitally connected it with important cities like Bombay. This constant link between the village community and the urban community was a potential source of social change in this area. Migrants became channels of communication of new social and political ideology in the village. Many people in this area were familiar with new political ideology like communism, socialism and with labour movement.

Thus it can be said that due to perpetual famine condition the village community in this area was changing and was coming under the influence of urban society.



## APPENDIX A

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## APPENDIX B

### THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Date Serial No.

Village House No.

#### I. GENERAL INFORMATION:

1. Name of the head of the family:
2. Age 3. Caste 4. Education
5. Place of education.
6. Occupation: (a) Main (b) Secondary
7. Land: (a) Irrigated (b) Unirrigated
8. Livestock: (a) Cows (b) Buffaloes (c) Bulls  
(d) Goats (e) Sheep (f) Fowls  
(g) Other (h) Total
9. Number of persons in the family: (a) Males Females  
(b) Children (below 16 years)  
(c) Local Staying outside
10. Which is your family god and where is it?  
 So far, how many times had you been there?  
 When had you been there?  
 How many of you had been there?
11. Are you a native of this village?  
 If not, then which was your native place?  
 When and why did you come here?

#### II. ECONOMIC LIFE:

A — Purchase: From where, when and how did you purchase the following articles, in the last year?

Item	Place	Day of purchase (bazaar day or any other day)	Nature of pay- ment (cash or kind)
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1. Grocery
2. Food grain
3. Cloth
4. Fuel
5. Utensils

6. Livestock
7. Seeds
8. Agricultural implements, fertilizers etc.
9. Other

B — SALE: Where, when and how did you sell your farm produce, milk and other articles?

Item	Place (Name of the place or festival)	Day of Sale (bazaar day or any other day)	How it was sold? (through co-operative society, agent, or self)
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C — SERVICES: Of the following artisans and village servants whose services you had utilised in the last year?

Artisan or village servant	Place of residence	Nature of payment (cash, barter or baluta)	Nature of the need for services
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1. Blacksmith
2. Carpenter
3. Shoe-maker
4. Barber
5. Potter
6. Goldsmith
7. Mahar
8. Ramoshi
9. Mang
10. Pareet  
(Washerman)
11. Brahman
12. Mulani

## III. FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

A — Information regarding family members (staying in the village and outside).

Name	Age	Place of residence	Relationship with the head of the family	Education	Place of education	Marital Status	Occupation
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## B — FOR FAMILY MEMBERS STAYING OUTSIDE

1. Had the members of your family who are staying outside, come here in the last year?
2. If so, who had come?
3. What was the reason for the visit?
4. For how many days they were here?
5. How much money had you received from the family members staying outside?  
what was the reason for receiving help?
6. How many times, in the last year, had you visited them?  
How many days were you there?
7. How many of you had paid a visit?
8. For how many years, the members of your family are staying outside?

## C. MARRIAGE

Full name	Relationship of the family with the head	Full name of the spouse	Place of residence	The nature and the amount of money transacted	Previous kinship relationship (if any) / If not how the marriage was arranged
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## IV. MOBILITY.

A — Occasional travels: How many times, for what reasons, and how many of you had gone to other places, in the last year?

Place	Reason	No. of times	Duration of stay	Persons
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## B. MIGRATION FOR WORK:

1. Had you or your family members migrated last year?
2. If so, who had migrated?
3. Place of migration.
4. Duration of stay outside.
5. Occupation during the period of migration.
6. Who were the persons living in the village?
7. What was the source of livelihood of those members who were staying in the village during the period of migration?
8. Were you remitting money to your family members staying at home?
9. If so, state the amount and the frequency.
10. Were you able to bring home money, clothes, utensils, and other useful articles when you returned to the village?
11. State the frequency and places where you had migrated during the last five years.
12. What was the reason in the year when you had not migrated?
13. If you do not migrate every year then was there any special reason for migrating when you had migrated?
14. With whom were you staying during the period of migration? Or had you made your own arrangements?

## C — MIGRATION FOR GRAZING SHEEP

1. Had you migrated for grazing sheep, in the last year?
2. If so, where had you migrated?
3. How many sheep and goats were with you?  
How many were there when you came back?
4. How many of you had migrated?
5. Who remained in the village?

6. When had you migrated?
7. How many days you were staying outside?
8. Had you camped at one place or were moving from place to place?
9. How were you maintaining during the period of migration?
10. What was the source of livelihood for those who remained in the village during the period of migration?
11. How many times during the last five years had you migrated for grazing sheep? When did you leave the village and when did you come back?
12. What was the reason for not migrating in the year when you did not migrate?
13. If you do not migrate every year then was there any special reason, in the year, when you had migrated?

V. GENERAL REMARKS:

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